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Accessibility
Alice Speaks Russian:
The Russian Translations of Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass

Nina M. Demurova

The first Russian translation of Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland appeared in Moscow in 1879. It bore the title Sonya in the Kingdom of Wonder and was printed by Mamontov’s Press. No name of author or translator appeared on the title page, and the identity of the translator of Wonderland has been a matter of speculation. D. M. Urnov, for example, writes, “Who was it? Possibly Olga Ivanovna Timiriaseva, cousin to K. A. Timiriasev, the well-known scientist. Her brother left a memoir in which he tells us about their family, who were on good terms with Pushkin and his circle. He says that in his childhood he and his sister read much in European languages, English included, the books being selected by Zhukovsky himself. Indeed, Sonya in the Kingdom of Wonder follows the tradition of the literary fairy tale which was started by Pushkin and Zhukovsky.”

Supporting the attribution to Timiriaseva is a letter of 31 March 1871 from Lewis Carroll informing his publisher that “a Miss Timiriasef” wished to translate Alice into Russian. The letter was written only six years after the English publication of Alice. Meanwhile, Carroll had made his Russian tour of 1867. One could suppose that during the tour he had made the acquaintance of his future translator. However, the name of Miss Timiriasef does not appear in Carroll’s Journal of a Tour in Russia in 1867. It seems unlikely that Carroll, who painstakingly noted down every detail of his tour, would fail to mention a meeting with Miss Timiriasef, if one took place. In the absence of access to the Timiriasef family papers, we cannot be sure that she was the translator.

English citation of the title of this first Russian translation of Alice has been something of a Wonderland misadventure itself. A Sotheby catalog for 3 March 1958 sale gave the title erroneously as Son v tsarste deva and translated it as A Dream in the Kingdom of a Maid. The title appeared in that form in Warren Weaver’s Alice in Many Tongues (1964), which provoked Simon Karlinsky to make a very caustic
remark in his article on Nabokov’s *Anya in Wonderland*. In note 5 to the text Karlinsky writes: “This particular transformation is the subject of a rather lame exegesis in Weaver. . . . Weaver’s help in matters Russian was not all it should have been. His preposterous reconstruction of the Russian subtitle of the 1879 edition of *Alice* as *A Dream in the Kingdom of a Maid* (p. 61) is based on a distorted entry in Sotheby’s catalog that read *Son v tsarsve deva*. A moment’s thought is all that it takes to see that this is a misprint for *Son v tsarsve detstva*, i.e., *A Dream in the Realm of Childhood*.”

Alice Speaks Russian

What Karlinsky did not realize was that he himself failed to see that there were two misprints in Sotheby's catalog, other than tsarsve for tsarstve. The first is Son (dream), which should have appeared as Sonya (a girl's name), and the second is deva (maid), which should have been diva (wonder); so that the whole title actually reads Sonya in the Land of Wonder.

A copy of the first Russian Alice in Wonderland can be found in the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library in Saint Petersburg. Curiously enough, the former Lenin State Library, which was the copyright library for the whole of Russia and is admittedly the best and the largest library in Russia (and certainly the best funded), does not now possess a copy, though it did a few years ago. According to the Lenin Library General Catalog it was de-accessioned by Protocol 34, 1979 (circular letter 02.02.82). What this means exactly, whether it was stolen or simply fell to pieces and was never restored, is now impossible to say.

Other translations followed. Warren Weaver tells of the letter he received concerning early Russian translations of Alice from the Lenin State Library in Moscow. He writes:

Madame I. U. Bagrova, the chief of the Reference Bibliography and Information Service of the Lenin State Library, has very kindly sent me a complete list of the editions in the possession of that library. Madame Bagrova lists first a translation . . . by A. I. Rozhdestvenskaya. Madame Bagrova stated, "Unfortunately we have not been able to establish the year of the translation of A. I. Rozhdestvenskaya . . . the year of the edition is not marked either on the book or in the bibliographies." . . .

In second place Madame Bagrova lists the 1909 translation. This text was published by the journal Tropinka in St. Petersburg. It was translated by "Allegro," which was the pen name of Poliksena Sergeevna Solov'eva.4

A few more details may be added here. It is true that A. N. [sic] Rozhdestvenskaya's translation did not bear the year of publication, but the title page informed readers that the book was embellished with illustrations by Charles Robinson.5 Since the English Alice in Wonderland with Charles Robinson's illustrations came out in 1907, the Russian edition with Robinson's illustrations could not possibly have appeared earlier. In fact, it was first published in the magazine Zadushevnoe Slovo in 1910.6 It was customary in those days to bring out a book very soon after serialization in a magazine (they did not have paper shortages then!). According to the Knizhnaya Letopis of 1912, it was, in fact, published in 1911 by the M. O. Volf Publishing Company in Saint Petersburg and Moscow.

In 1909, the magazine Tropinka serialized Allegro's translation.7 Poliksena Sergeevna Solov'eva (1867-1924), daughter of the historian S. M. Solov'ev and sister of the poet and philosopher Vladimir Sergeevich Solov'ev, wrote poetry and prose; and in the period from 1906 to 1912, with N. Manasseina, she published the

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4 Warren Weaver, Alice in Many Tongues: The Translations of Alice in Wonderland (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 60.
5 Львов Кирролялл, "Приключения Алисы в волшебной стране," перевод А. Н. Рождественской; иллюстрации Ч. Робинсона, Задушевное слово, поз. 1-7, 9-21, 22-33 (1908-1909).
6 Львов Кирролялл, Приключения Алисы в стране чудес. Перевод А. Н. Рождественской с приложением и вступительной статьей. С илюстрациями и рисунками в тексте Чарльза Робинсона (Санкт-Петербург: Издательство товарищества М. О. Вольф [1911]).
7 Львов Кирролялл, "Приключения Алисы в стране чудес." Перевод Аллегро (П. С. Соловьева); иллюстрации Дж. Теннелла, Tropinka, поз. 2-5, 7-17, 19, 26 (1909).
children’s magazine *Tropinka*. It was there that her translation first appeared; later it was printed in book form in the Golden Library series.\(^8\)

A minor sensation occurred in Moscow in the spring of 1900, when the mathematician A. M. Rushailo received as a present from his friends a rather shabby hard-cover volume of *Angliiskie skazki* (*English Fairy Tales*). On opening the cover the astounded Rushailo saw that it contained, among other stories, a hitherto unknown translation of *Alice in Wonderland*.\(^9\) It was published as a supplement to the children’s magazine *Detstvo*, but neither the title of the magazine nor the name of the translator or illustrator appears on the title page. The place of publication and the publisher are also lacking. It was easy enough to identify the illustrator, who proved to be Harry Furness. The year of publication was established by looking through the issues of *Detstvo* from 1907. Rushailo found, in the 1913 and 1914 issues, advertisements for the forthcoming publication of the collection of “*English Fairy Tales* (including the famous *Alice in Wonderland*)” as a supplement to the magazine. In the early issues of 1914 the supplement was advertised as being on sale. So we may with certainty say that this last pre-revolutionary edition was published at the end of 1913 or early in 1914.

The name of the translator of this edition remains more of a mystery. *Detstvo* was published by Mikhail Pavlovich Chekhov, younger brother of the great Russian writer, Anton Pavlovich. He was its editor and a major contributor as well. It is also known that he often translated books from English and French. At the beginning of the 1920s, a ten-volume collection of his translations appeared. It is therefore likely, as Rushailo believes, that this translation of *Alice in Wonderland* was also made by Mikhail Chekhov.\(^10\)

More translations of *Wonderland* were published in the early 1920s. In the year 1923 two different translations appeared. One was printed in Petrograd, adapted for Russian children by A. D’Actyl;\(^11\) the other in Berlin, translated by V. Sirin.\(^12\) Both translators are here using pen names. A. D’Actyl is, in fact a rather obscure translator A. A. Frenkel, whereas V. Sirin’s real name, Vladimir Nabokov, has since become known around the world.

With regard to Nabokov’s translation, some comment is required on the heroine’s name, which was changed by the translator. This was not the first time that the distinctly foreign name Alice was replaced by one more familiar to the Russian child. Curiously enough, Alice in those days was perceived to be German rather than English, and Germany was unpopular. Both Sonya, in the first Russian translation, and Anya in Nabokov’s *Anya v strane chudes*, accordingly, are cozy petnames (diminutives of Sofia and Anna) that were perfectly acceptable in the Russian nursery. In Russian pre-revolutionary society, which was strictly stratified,

\(8\) Люс Кирролл, *Приключения Алисы в стране чудес*. Перевод Н. М. Демуровой; стихи в переводах С. Я. Маршака, Л. Г. Орловской и О. А. Седаковой; иллюстрации Дж. Тенинела (Москва: Наука, 1990), т–vi.


\(10\) А. М. Рушайло, “*Юбилей Алисы в стране чудес*” in Люс Кирролл, *Приключения Алисы в стране чудес*. Сказывает зеркало в Что там увидела Алиса, или Алиса в Зазеркалье. Перевод Н. М. Демуровой; стихи в переводах С. Я. Маршака, Л. Г. Орловской и О. А. Седаковой; иллюстрации Дж. Тенинела (Москва: Наука, 1990), 7–vi.


\(12\) Люс Кирролл, *Анна в стране чудес*. Перевод В. Сирина (В. Набоков); иллюстрации С. Зацшутинна (Берлин: Издательство "Гамак", 1923).
names tended to carry certain class connotations. Towards the end of the nineteenth century such names as Matryona, Fyolka, or Akulina, for instance, were found mostly among the families of peasants, laborers, shopkeepers, and clerks. The upper classes tended to choose different names. Diminutive forms were also affected. Though both Anna and Sofia, like Maria, were common to all classes, a daughter in a family of Alice’s social standing would be called Anya, whereas a maid in the same family would almost certainly be called Annushka, a different diminutive variation of Anna.

Nabokov may have had another good reason not to call his heroine Alice, for that happened to be the name by which the Empress Alexandra Fedorovna, wife of the last Russian tsar Nicholas II, was commonly known. Born Princess Alix of Hesse, she changed her name to Alexandra Fedorovna upon her marriage in 1894, but remained Alix to her family and Alice to the man in the street. It may be that Nabokov wanted to avoid the name of the unfortunate woman who was murdered by Bolsheviks in Ekaterinburg on the night of 16–17 July 1918.

Through the Looking-Glass was less frequently translated into Russian than Wonderland. Not until 1924 did the first Russian translation of Through the Looking-Glass appear. The prose text in this edition was translated by A. A. Azov (pseudonym of the minor poet B. A. Ashkenazi), whereas the poems were translated by T. L. Shchipkin-Kupernik (1874–1952), well known for her translations of Shakespeare, Molière, Goldoni, and Sheridan, among others.

In 1940 the children’s magazine Koster published a few poems from Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass, translated by V. and L. Uspensky. These were the introduction to Wonderland, “Father William,” “They told me you had been to her,” “Jabberwocky,” and the final acrostic from Through the Looking-Glass. The editor’s note introducing these poems stated that V. and L. Uspensky had translated poems from both Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass and that the prose texts were translated by Yu. Remennikova. These never appeared, the manuscripts having been destroyed during the siege of Leningrad in World War II.

Lev Vasil’evich Uspensky (born in 1900) is well known for his linguistic works, as well as for his translations and adaptations of English, French, and German poetry for children, particularly The Twelve Labours of Hercules (1938) and The Golden Fleece (1941). He is one of the compilers of the Old-Russian Dictionary, edited by B. A. Larin, and has also published a number of books on toponyms and popular linguistics. His younger brother Vsevolod was, as Lev Vasil’evich wrote in a letter to me on 18 January 1976, a talented poet who, ironically, never published his poems. He collaborated with L. V. Uspensky on a number of books for children. He died in 1960.

In the same year, 1940, A. Olenich-Gnenenko published his translation of Alice in Wonderland in Rostov-on-Don. Alexander Pavlovich Olenich-Gnenenko

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13 Льоне Кэрролл, Алиса в Зазеркалье. Перевод с английского В. А. Азова (В. А. Ашкенази); стихи в переводе Т. Л. Щепкиной-Куперник; иллюстрации Джона Тенниела; обложка Д. И. Митрохина (Москва-Петроград: Издательство Л. Д. Френкель, 1924).
14 Льоне Кэрролл, "Алиса в стране чудес." Стихи в переводе В. и Л. Успенских, Костер, №7–8 (1940): 80–83.
15 Льоне Кэрролл, Алиса в стране чудес. Перевод А. П. Оленич-Гнененко; Обложка Бирюкова; иллюстрации Дж. Тенила (Ростов-на Дону: Ростовское издательство, 1940).
(1893–1963), writer and poet, wrote much for children; his rhymed fairy tales, as well as his translations from Ukrainian, Azeri, and English, enjoyed a measure of popularity. His translation of *Alice in Wonderland* was reprinted several times (Rostov-on-Don, 1946; Moscow, 1956, 1958, 1960; Khabarovsky, 1961). It followed the literal tradition of translating, which for Carroll’s works is fatal. I remember a friend of mine saying that *Alice* was a very “strange book, with something almost pathological about it.” His impression, I gathered, came from reading Olenich-Gnenenko’s translation, which for twenty-seven years was read by the Soviet public, the earlier translations not being reprinted until the late 1980s.

In 1967, twenty-seven years after the first publication of A. Olenich-Gnenenko’s translation, the author of this paper finished her translation of Carroll’s two tales. Published the same year in Sofia, this volume included four nursery rhymes that had been translated by Samuil Marshak and had long become Russian classics in nursery lore (“Father William,” “The Lobster Quadrille,” “The Queen of Hearts,” and “Humpty-Dumpty”). The other poems were translated by D. G. Orlovskaia, known for her translations of Byron and other Romantics, of old and new Irish poetry, and of poets of the Soviet national republics. Sadly, she died two years after the book was published.

In 1969 the children’s magazine *Koster,* as it to continue the tradition interrupted by the Second World War, published Alexander Shcherbakov’s translation of *Through the Looking-Glass.* In 1977 it was followed by the publication of his translation of both *Alices* under one cover.

In the early seventies Boris Zakhoder’s adaptation of Wonderland came out, at first in the children’s magazine *Pioner,* and later, in book form. B. V. Zakhoder, children’s poet and writer, is also known for his adaptations from English, Czech, and other languages.

In 1978 a second edition, or rather a second variant of my translation of both *Alices,* was brought out by the Academy of Sciences publishing house Nauka, with various additions, including Martin Gardner’s annotations to *Alice* from his *The Annotated Alice* (slightly abridged when explaining certain usages of English words), together with an extensive commentary and appendix. The latter included a number of essays: G. K. Chesterton’s “Lewis Carroll” and “Both Sides of the Looking-Glass,” Virginia Woolf’s “Lewis Carroll,” and an extract from Walter de la Mare’s book on Lewis Carroll; also an article by the scientists Yakov Abramovich Smorodinsky (1917–1992) and Yuliy Alexandrovich Danilov, “Carroll Through...

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16 Льоис Кэрролл, “Закрываем. (Про то, что там увидела Алиса).” Перевод А. А. Щербакова; иллюстрации Г. Ковненкука, Костера, нос. 3–7 (1969).
17 Льоис Кэрролл, *Приключеня Альсы в Стране чудес. Закрываем. (Про то, что там увидела Алиса).* Перевод А. А. Щербакова; предисловие Ю. И. Казарлицкого; иллюстрации М. М. Митурича; оформление Е. Ганиушкина (Москва: Художественная литература, 1977).
19 Льоис Кэрролл, *Приключеня Альсы в Стране чудес. Сквозь Зеркало и Чето там увидела Алиса,* или *Алиса в Закрываем.* Перевод Н. М. Демуровой; стихи в переводах С. Я. Маршака, Д. Г. Орловской и О. А. Седаковой; иллюстрации Д. С. Тенниса (Москва: Naука, 1978).
Physicists’ Eyes,” and an essay written for the 1967 edition by the late Solomon Grigor’evich Gellershtein (1896–1967), a leading Soviet psychologist, “Can One Remember the Future?”. There were also two articles of mine on Carroll’s life and work and on the principles employed in translating Carroll. The poems for Martin Gardner’s commentary were translated by Olga Alexandrovna Sedakova, who also produced some new translations of Lewis Carroll’s poems, which naturally enough had to be altered for publication with Martin Gardner’s notes. O. A. Sedakova is a distinguished Russian poet whose work has since received international acclaim.

The 1978 edition of my translation came out in the series Literary Landmarks. It measures 22.2 cm and is in a dark olive cloth binding; on a white dust jacket a few of Tenniel’s illustration form a frame for the central picture of Alice seated in an arm-chair. It may be noted here that this translation of Alice was the first children’s
book to be brought out by the Soviet Academy of Sciences, literally Arts and Sciences, because the Russian word nauka includes both meanings. (Only one other children’s book has been published by them so far, a collection of Hans Christian Andersen’s fairy tales, translated and annotated by Dr. Ludmila Iulevna Braude.)

On the recommendation of the late Academician A. A. Liapunov, an outstanding Soviet mathematician, the Academy decided to publish this edition. Liapunov wrote to the then director of Nauka, and his suggestion was put to a vote at the meeting of the editorial board of the Literary Landmarks series presided over by Academician D. S. Likhachev. It was also very strongly supported by two other eminent scholars, the late Professor B. I. Purishev, whose lectures I had the privilege of attending at Moscow University, and Dr. A. A. Elistratova, a leading English scholar.
The recommendation of the two full members of the Soviet Academy failed to secure agreement, however, on publishing all of the material intended for the appendix. Besides the essays mentioned above, I had hoped to publish translations of essays by W. H. Auden and J. B. Priestly as well as two pieces by Dr. Elizabeth Sewell, one a long extract from her book The Field of Nonsense and the other a comparison of Carroll and T. S. Eliot. These were eventually suppressed, allegedly because the appendix was too long (almost twice the length of the original text), an implausible rationale, given that Nauka publications were known for the length and thoroughness of their commentaries and appendices.

The real reason for the suppression was that in 1978 Auden’s name was odious to the official ear. It was, I believe, on the proscribed list. Moreover, Priestly, in his essay written in 1926, made fun, prophetically, of what future psychoanalysts might do to Carroll’s fairy tales. In the Soviet Union of the 1970s, there was no official ban on Freud’s name, but psychoanalysis was still viewed as one of the so-called pseudo-sciences; and though Priestly actually mocks the possible psychoanalytical interpretations, it was evidently deemed safer not to publish it. As for Elizabeth Sewell’s brilliant pieces, they were evidently too novel in their approach, and therefore seemed rather menacing to some members of the Literary Landmarks board. Also suppressed was a page in my essay in which I compared the end of the Wonderland trial scene with the final pages of Nabokov’s Invitation to a Beheading, seeking to establish a similarity, and, perhaps, an influence. Nabokov’s name, however, was another taboo in the Soviet Union at that time. Only recently have I been able to discuss the Carroll-Nabokov relationship.²²

A second edition of this book was brought out in 1990 by Nauka. A short appended article by A. M. Rushailo included a bibliography of translations of Alice into Russian and other languages of the Soviet Union. Besides Russian, he lists Azeri, Armenian, Georgian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Tajik, Ukrainian, and Estonian editions. According to Rushailo, Alice has been published in the Soviet Union more than seventy times in eleven languages, including English, with print runs exceeding six million copies.

Some Problems of Translation and Their Solutions

Russian translators of Alice are beset with numerous problems, some of them common to all translations from English. English has a large stock of one- and two-syllable words as against three- and five-syllable Russian ones; its syntax allows the omission of conjunctions and relative pronouns such as where, which, and that, which is absolutely impossible in Russian. As a result, an English sentence generally becomes much heavier and longer when translated into Russian. This is so well known by translators and publishers that in calculating the length of Russian text translated from English they allow for 10 percent growth. Only very experienced—and ingenious—translators manage to keep translations down to the length of the original.

Other difficulties stem particularly from Carroll. These include choice of vocabulary, sentence structure, dialogue, nonsense and word play, puns, and imagery, much of which is alien to the Russian reader.

To cope with these problems, the first translators, wishing to bring the original as close as possible to Russian readers, attempted to substitute familiar Russian realia for the English ones, to Russify Carroll, as it were. Not only was Alice’s name changed because it was “un-Russian,” but a number of other English names and realia were also “translated.” In D’Actyl’s translation, Alice wonders whether she has become Tatochka or Murochka (familiar abbreviations of Russian names); she meets a Siberian cat; the name of the White Rabbit’s maid is Marfusha (a typical servant’s name); it is Yasha (again, a typical servant’s name) who is sent by the White Rabbit to climb on the roof and into the chimney; and he later says that somebody very much like Petrushka-in-the-box jumped at him. In Nabokov’s translation, Anya, while falling through the earth, fears that she has become Asya (a name significant because it was used in “good families”); she wonders whether the Mouse is a French mouse who stayed on in Russia after the retreat of Napoleon’s army. In Allegro’s translation, the Mouse reads aloud a passage about Vladimir Monomakh from a Russian history book.

While transplanting the English names and realia onto Russian soil, the first translators of Alice treated the author’s ideas with tact and a degree of understanding in trying to render the spirit and general tone of Carroll’s tale. It must be noted, though, that for them Alice was exclusively a children’s book. Therefore, in their translations they relied rather heavily on the wording and intonations of children’s books of the period, which, to today’s ear, sound sweet and sentimental. The second, submerged level of Carroll’s text, whether deeply personal, lyrical, or philosophical, was often lost in these old translations.

Carroll’s nonsense, also, not infrequently presented a certain psychological difficulty that was not always overcome by the early translators. The easiest to render were puns, for they are a familiar device. But if the original text lacked a direct pointer or sign to draw attention to a particular kind of nonsense trick, or if the logical play were very subtle or unusual, the translators sometimes missed the point, or even corrected the author. I shall give but one example. It is from Rozhdestvenskaya’s translation of the passage that in the original reads as follows:

She had read several nice little stories about children who had got burnt, and eaten up by beasts, and other unpleasant things, all because they would not remember the simple rules their friends had taught them: such as, that a red-hot poker will burn you if you hold it too long, if you cut your finger very deeply with a knife, it usually bleeds; and she had never forgotten that, if you drink much from a bottle marked poison, it is almost certain to disagree with you, sooner or later.

This is how the passage is rendered in A. N. Rozhdestvenskaya’s translation:

Она читала много разных хороших, страшных рассказов про детей. Иногда дети, о которых в них говорилось получали смертельные ожоги и умирали, иногда их съедали дикие звери и вообще случалось с ними что-нибудь другое, такое же неприятное. А почему? Да только потому, что они поступали необдуманно и забывали, что им говорили папа и мама, например, что раскаленную кочергу сильно обожжешься, если схватишься за нее, а если обрежешь палец ножом, то из пальца потечет кровь. Но Алиса хорошо помнила все это; помнила она также, что не следует пить из пузырька, на котором написано "яд", потому что от этого очень сильно заболевешь.
To translate it back from the Russian into English:

She had read several nice and terrifying little stories about children. Sometimes these children received bad burns and died of them; sometimes they were eaten up by wild beasts, and other unpleasant things. And why? Only because they were silly and forgot what their papa and mama told them: that a red-hot poker will burn you if you hold it, and that if you cut your finger with a knife, it will bleed. But Alice remembered it all; she also remembered that one should not drink from a bottle marked "poison," for one is sure to fall very ill because of it.

Nabokov’s translation stands out from these early translations. It is vigorous and has a degree of freedom that bespeaks a future master. His verse parodies are very funny. In following a well-established tradition he subjects Alice to naturalization and does so constantly throughout the text. Like other translators of Alice he realizes only too well that no parody could be funny if the originals that it mocks are not known. So he very cleverly substitutes Russian verses for the English ones and then satirizes them (Lermontov’s “The Cossack Lullaby” for the Duchess’s “Speak roughly to your little boy!”; Lermontov’s “Borodino” for “You are old, Father William”; Pushkin’s “The Song of the Wise Oleg” for “Tis the voice of the Lobster,” for example).

Sometimes, however, he is overzealous, so that his parodies become too strong and too satirical; and he uses imagery of which Lewis Carroll might not have approved. To give but one example, in the next to the last stanza of “Father William,” Nabokov writes:

Еще одно позволь мне слово:
Сажаешь ты угря живого
На угреватый нос.
Его подкинь два-три раза,
Поймаешь... Дядя, жду рассказа:
Как приобрел ты верность глаза?
Волнующий вопрос!

Retranslated from Russian it sounds like:

Please, allow me one more question:
You balance a live eel on the end of your pimply nose,
You throw it up a couple of times,
And catch them... Uncle, please tell me,
How you acquired that steadiness of eye,
I should awfully like to know!

Nabokov here plays on the Russian word угорь, which means both “eel” and “pimple.” In cases like this one feels, as Simon Karlinsky puts it, that it is not the perfect translation it could have been, and that “it does contain pages not equal in imagination and fidelity to what Nabokov had done in the best and most successful passages.”

V. A. Azov and A. Olenich-Gnenenko did not attempt such methods of Russification; they chose the path of literal translation, though they found themselves finally able to carry out this method to its logical end. Clearly Carroll’s text cannot be treated in this way; not only the brilliance of the style, but the very sense is often lost. V. A. Azov translates the names of the Looking-Glass insects into

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23 S. Karlinsky, "'Any in Wonderland,'" 23.
Russian literally, but Конская Муха (Horse-fly) or Драконова Муха (Dragon-fly) do not mean anything to the Russian ear, since these insects have different names in Russian. Конская Муха-качалка (Rocking Horse-fly) provokes only puzzlement, while sawdust and sap, and other attributes of other Looking-Glass insects seem completely irrelevant.

A. Shcherbakov’s translation and B. Zakhoder’s adaptation published in the 1970s are based on yet another principle. For all the differences between these two Russian texts, they have, as I see them, much in common. Both address children exclusively, and both make wide use of modern colloquialisms, slang, and the so-called children’s language. Often there are some funny passages, rendered very nicely indeed; yet, in their radical changes, much is lost. The language is too contemporary, and Alice is made to say things that an ideal Victorian child would never say. This is carried further in L. Yakhnin’s translation of Wonderland. This is how he begins the story:

Алиса скучала, сидя на берегу реки безо всякого дела. А тут еще и сестра уткнулась в скучную книжку. “Ну и скокота эти книжки без картинок! – лениво подумала Алиса. От жары мысли путались, веки слипались. – сплишь, что ли, венок? Но для этого надо поднятьсь. Пойти. Нарвать. Одуванчиков.”

Вдруг! . У неё перед глазами! (Или в глазах?) Промелькнул белый кролик. С розовыми глазками.

Ну и пусть! . .”

To retranslate into English:

Alice was bored to sit on the bank of the river and having absolutely nothing to do. And the sister, to add to it, buried her nose in some boring book. “What a bore all these books without pictures are!” Alice thought lazily. The hot day made her sleepy, she could not think clearly. “Shall I, perhaps, go and make a flower chain?. But I must get up. And go. And pick. The dandelions.”

Suddenly! . . . Before her eyes! (or was it in her eyes?) A white rabbit ran by. With small pink eyes.

“Well, let him. . . .”

Carroll’s celebrated beginning with its long breath and rhythmic cadences “So she was considering, in her own mind (as well as she could, for the hot day made her feel very sleepy and stupid), whether the pleasure of making a daisy-chain would be worth the trouble of getting up and picking the daisies” is broken into a number of short elliptical sentences with somewhat vulgar intonation and vocabulary (“Ну и скокота!”, “Сплести, что ли, венок?” и пр). It is true that the Russian text sounds energetic; but is it really suitable here? Carroll knows how to make his text very energetic better than anybody, but here he has something else in mind. The central objection to these adaptations is that they make the text something quite different from the author’s original intention.

In my translation I discarded both Russification and literal translation. I also tried to avoid modernization. I wanted to recreate Carroll’s particular style with the particular tone and cadence of his choice. Remembering the dual intention of his tale, I tried to reproduce not only the first, upper level with its dynamic narration,

44 Льюис Кэрролл, Приключения Алисы в стране чудес. Перевод с английского и пересказ Л. Якхина; рисунки А. Мартынова (Москва: Кристина и Ольга, 1993).
expressive dialogue, laconic characterization, laughter, fun, and nonsense, but also the deep earnestness and, at times, sadness and lyricism of the submerged, second level. I thought it very important to avoid sentimentality and talking down to children. At the same time, I set myself another, far more difficult task: to try to render, with the help of the Russian language, the particular imagery of Carroll's tale, its originality and eccentricity. I realized, of course, that strictly speaking, this was an impossible task, since one cannot render exactly the notions and concepts of one language and culture into another language and culture in which they have never existed. Yet, I wanted to come as close to the original as I could, to follow a parallel path, if none converged; in short, I tried to render as much as possible of the organic unity of the original's spirit and letter.

Perhaps the most complex task that faces the translator of Alice comes at the very start: rendering names. At first, it seems very simple; one has only to translate them as they are. Alice, of course, is neither Sonya, nor Anya, but Alice; the March Hare is the March Hare; the Queen of Hearts is the Queen of Hearts; the White Knight is the White Knight. In fact, this is not at all as simple as it seems, for very often the names in Carroll's books are a kind of cipher or sign referring to a number of things (personal hints, literary allusions, various levels of national culture and consciousness). A translation capturing one level of meaning often results in loss of the other meanings.

Personal references, however oblique, are not always understood even by English readers (unless, of course, they have read Martin Gardner's or R. L. Green's editions), yet I tried to render these, too. The Duck and the Dodo, the Lory and the Eaglet who swim together with several other curious creatures in the pool of tears, as we now know, were real people who took part in the famous picnic of 4 July 1862. The Duck is Robinson Duckworth; the Lory is Lorina Liddell; the Eaglet is Edith Liddell; whereas the Dodo is Dodgson himself. I attempted to render the names of these creatures in such a way as not to lose the thread connecting them with the real persons. The most difficult of these names was that of the Duck (Duckworth). It could not be translated directly because in Russian, with its grammatical category of gender, утка (duck) is feminine, which makes it impossible to represent Robinson Duckworth. Furthermore, no masculine aquatic bird suggests Duckworth, neither лебедь (swan), nor селезень (drake), nor гусь (goose). I tried them all and failed to find any connection. At last, I turned to Duckworth's first name. "Robinson... Robin...", I repeated to myself. "Робин Гусь" (Robin Goose) came out suddenly. And that was the name I gave to the Russian counterpart of the Duck. It has a number of necessary characteristics: Robin Goose is, of course, an aquatic male, whose name connects with Robinson Duckworth. It also has a familiar ring, since it recalls (most unexpectedly even for me) the name of Robin Hood (Robin Good, as in Гуд). In the preface to the 1967 edition, which was meant mainly for children, I explained how the name of this creature connects with Duckworth's name.

Since Robin Goose received a double name, the first element being personal, the second generic, I decide to use the same pattern for the names of the other creatures. Thus, the Eaglet became Орлёнок Эд (Ed Eaglet), because the Russian for Eaglet is phonetically very far from Edith's name; and the Lory became Попугайчик Лори (Lory Parrot), since the word Lory is not familiar to the majority of Russian readers. Dodo, in Russian, can be translated as Дронт (Dront) or
Додо (Dodo). I called it Птица Додо (Dodo Bird); since Додо is a very unfamiliar word in Russian, it had to be explained some other way. Донт was discarded for I could not see any way of connecting it with Dodgson’s name. Thus the English one-unit names, combining the generic and the personal, acquired another unit in Russian translation, the first being specific and personal, and the second generic. It was interesting to observe that the same thing happened in Dream Child, an English film based in part on Wonderland, where Dodo appears in the subtitles as Птица Додо (Dodo Bird), and Lory as Птица Лори (Lory Bird) accordingly.

There are relatively few names hinting at real persons in Alice. English folklore is the source for more, and these names are alien, and sometimes quite incomprehensible, to Russian readers.

In the chapter on the Mad Hatter’s Tea-Party we make the acquaintance of the two lunatics, the Hatter and the March Hare. Their madness is taken for granted by English-speaking readers; but the Russian reader has no inkling of it, since there are no Russian equivalents to English similes, “as mad as a Hatter,” or “as mad as a March Hare.” Here the translator faces a difficulty that is practically insurmountable; the absence of an analogous notion or imagery in one of the languages. In fact, lunatics and madmen seem to be present only in English folklore; in Russian folklore they simply do not exist in that form. Thus, the literal translation of the names carry no meaning for the Russian audience.

Some sort of a compromise had to be devised. The closest to English madmen are Russian fools, which frequently appear in Russian folk tales; in fact, English madmen and Russian fools have not a little in common. Both madmen and fools behave not as ordinary people, both commit all kinds of follies, and both live in a topsy-turvy world. The lunacy of the former, as well as the stupidity of the latter, not infrequently turn out to be a kind of wisdom in disguise; they often challenge everyday common sense. I decided to use this frame of reference, at the same time taking care to avoid any purely Russian realia or connotations.

“A что здесь за люди живут? — спросила Алиса.
—Вон там, — сказал кот и махнул правой лапой, — живет Шляпных дел Мастер. А там, — и он махнул левой лапой, — живет Мартовский Заяц. Все равно к кому ты пойдешь. Оба в своем уме.
— Почему? — спросила Алиса.
— Мастер столько везись с болванками для шляп, что совсем обольванился. Теперь все зовут его просто Болванщик. Ну, а Мартовский Заяц вконец окосел от весенного мартовского солнца . . .
— На что мне безумцы? — сказала Алиса.
— Ничего не поделешь, — взразил кот. — Все мы здесь не в своем уме — и ты, и я!”

To translate back into English:

“What sort of people live around here?” Alice asked.
“In that direction,” the Cat said, waving its right paw round, “lives a Blockhead, and in that direction,” waving the other paw, “lives a March Hare. Visit either you like: they’re both mad.”
“But why?” Alice asked.
“The Hatter has been so busy with blocks for hats that he has become completely blockheaded himself; now everybody calls him Blockhead. And the March Hare has become completely cross-eyed [in Russian it also means to go mad; to become intoxicated] because of the March sun.”
“What do I want with madmen?” Alice remarked.
“Oh, you can’t help that,” said the Cat. “We are all mad here. I’m mad. You’re mad.”
Of course, much is lost here, since any kind of explanation is less expressive than what is remembered from childhood. Yet, this kind of substitution allows the Russian reader, to grasp at least the meaning of this famous chapter.

Another most difficult name is that of the Mock Turtle. Carroll's etymology—"the thing Mock Turtle Soup is made from"—does not suggest anything to the contemporary Russian reader.

In old translations of Alice the name appeared as Фальшивая Черепаха (False Tortoise/Turtle), or Черепаха с Телячей Головой (Tortoise/Turtle with the Cal's Head), or Лже-черепаха (Pseudo-tortoise/turtle), or simply Мок Тартль, a transliteration that means nothing in Russian. These names seem, in fact, to be misleading. Черепаха in Russian is feminine, whereas the Mock Turtle must be a male. Also, the word черепаха means tortoise (turtle in Russian is морская черепаха, or sea tortoise), and the connotations are those of dry land and sun, slow and clumsy movement, whereas the Mock Turtle, like real turtles, is quick and agile, and belongs to the sea. Everything around him is also connected with the sea (lobsters, the shingle, the sea-school, etc.). To create the proper frame of reference, one should have spoken not of Фальшивая Черепаха (False Tortoise), but of Фальшивая Морская Черепаха, although, besides being too lengthy, this term would have been misleading in another sense, too. The words фальшивая (false) or лже (pseudo-) denote something very unpleasant, both in their meaning and sound, and they have emotional connotations quite different from those of mock.

In the search for a Russian name for the Mock Turtle, I wanted four conditions to be met: (1) it was to be a masculine name; (2) it was to be connected with the sea; (3) it was to signify something imitating another thing; (4) it was to be based on something well known to our readers. At first, I remembered another dish that still appears occasionally on our menus, more in the Baltic area than in central Russia. It is called фальшивый заяц (false or mock hare), and is not unlike mock turtle since it is prepared not of hare, but of beef.

Three of my four conditions would have been satisfied. But the hare, even false or mock, can hardly be associated with the sea. Moreover, the dish is not widely known. Above and beyond these considerations, Wonderland already has a March Hare and a White Rabbit. Surely an extra hare would be one too many.

The Russian analogue to the Mock Turtle that I finally chose for my children's version was Под Котик (Mock Seal).

Наконец, Королева бросила игру, и, переводя дыхание, спросила Алису:
— А видел ты Под-Котика?
— Нет, — сказала Алиса. — Я даже не знаю, кто он такой.
— Как же, — сказала Королева. — Это такой зверь. Из него делают шапки
и мулты "под котик".
— Никогда не слышала, — сказала Алиса.

To retranslate into English:

Then the Queen left off, quite out of breath, and said to Alice, "Have you seen
the Mock Seal yet?"
"No!" said Alice, "I don't even know what a Mock Seal is."
"It's the thing Mock Seal caps and muff's are made from," said the Queen.
"I never heard of one," said Alice.

Под-Котик meets all four necessary conditions. It is male, or to be more exact, masculine; it is immediately associated in the mind with the sea, and it represents
imitation seal hats, caps, and coats, though the Queen, ignorant of the rigors of the Russian winter, does not mention the latter while giving the etymology of the new creature’s name. The shortness of Под-Котик and its phonetic likeness to the Mock Turtle decided the issue.

Of course, Под-Котик was not fully analogous to Mock Turtle, but, alas, the partial loss had to be accepted. In practice, one very rarely achieves complete equivalents, because different languages operate with different notions and frames of reference. Nobody, perhaps, understands this better than the translator.

What does the Russian Под-Котик look like? Tenniel’s Mock Turtle looks like a turtle with a calf’s head and tail; its hind legs have hooves, whereas the front legs are those of a turtle. If we were to draw the portrait of Под-Котик, it would have to be a combination of seal and rabbit (‘What fur is this?’ one used to ask in a shop, ‘Imitation (or mock) seal, made of rabbit,’ the shop girls would answer”).

The transformation of the Mock Turtle into Под-Котик brought about some change in the details connected with him. The most important of these was the song that the Mock Turtle sings with choking tears. The humor of the situation lies in the fact that the Mock Turtle sings a sentimental song about the soup that will be made of him. Obviously, in the Russian translation Под-Котик had to sing about something he would be made into. After a discussion of the various possibilities with Dina Orlovskaya, we decided that he would sing a tearful romance about a beautiful muff. This is how she translated it:

Черная муфта мягка и нежна.
Сумрак вечерний таит она.
Кто не оценит волшебный мех?
Черная муфта пленяет всех.

Чудесная муфта под котик!
Чу-у-дная муфта!
Чу-у-дная муфта!
Вечерняя муфта под котик!

Черная муфта! кому нужна!
Белки и прочие грызуны?
Счастье найдете, всего лишь два фунта за муфту одну отдавать!

Два фунта за лучшую муфту!
Чу-у-дная муфта!
Чу-у-дная муфта!
Вече-е-рняя муфта под котик!

To retranslate it into English:

The black muff is so soft and tender
The evening dusk seems hidden in it.
Who for such magical fur would not fall?
Beautiful muff of Mock Seal!
Beautiful muff!
Beautiful muff!
Beautiful muff of Mock Seal.
The black muff! Who cares for squirrel,
And other rodents?
You will find your happiness for only two p
ounds for a beautiful muff!
Two pounds only for a beautiful muff!
Beau-ootiful muff! etc.

Orlovskaya follows the original in all its details. The Mock Turtle’s soup is so
“rich and green,” Под-Котик’s black muff is “so soft and tender.” The Mock
Turtle asks, “Who for such dainties would not stoop?” while Под-Котик inquires
“Who for such magical fur would not fall?” The Mock Turtle wonders, “Who
cares for fish, game or any other dish?” Orlovskaya replaces this with the question,
“Who cares for squirrels and other rodents?” Even the humorous enjambment is
repeated in the Russian text. “Who would not give all else for two p / ennyworth
only of beautiful soup?” is admirably replicated in “Счастье найдете, всего лишь
dва ф / утга за муфту одну отдавать”.

Another major difficulty for Carroll’s translators, as Warren Weaver points out,
is rendering puns and other forms of word play. There is practically no humor of
situation in Carroll’s tale; what we have to deal with is mostly verbal play and,
again, translators meet with difficulties which, strictly speaking, cannot be overcome.
One cannot translate word play; one can only choose between what is said and the
way it is said, that is, between the concrete fact (or content) and the device.

In “The Garden of Live Flowers,” for instance, Alice asks the Rose whether the
flowers are not sometimes frightened at being planted out there, with nobody to
take care of them.

The flowers, in their answer, play upon the word bough, which, in this case
means both a branch of a tree and a dog’s barking. But in Russian, try as one may,
one cannot cover with one word both a branch (ветвь, сук) and barking (лай). It
was necessary to give up branches and barking and to try different kinds of trees,
seeing whether any might be used for word play. Вяз (elm), for instance could
взять (bind, or tie up) the offenders; граб (hornbeam) could грабить (rob).
Сосна (pine tree) and ель (fir trees) would be more passive and unable to defend
the flowers. Сосна could only do something unexpected со сна (half awake); ель
would always be ели (eating). At last, I decided to use дуб (oak), since it could
behave in a more aggressive way than other trees (the verb дубасить means to
beat up). Here was a tree that could really defend the flowers!

“А вам никогда не бывает страшно? – спросила Алиса. – Вы здесь совсем
одни, и никто вас не охраняет . . .
– Как это одни? – сказала Роза. – А дуб на что?
– Но разве он сможет что-нибудь сделать – удивилась Алиса.
– Он хоть кого может от ДУБасить, – сказала Роза. – Что-то а ДУБасить
он умеет!”

To retranslate:

“Aren’t you sometimes frightened at being planted out here, with nobody to
take care of you?”
“There is the oak in the middle,” said the Rose. “What else is it good for?”
“But what could it do?” Alice asked.
“It could beat anybody up. It’s the one thing it knows how to do,” said
the Rose.
“That’s why it is called oak,” cried the Daisy.
Another example of word play is the scene in which Alice wonders whether cats eat bats. Sometimes, since she is sleepy, the question is inverted: “Do bats eat cats?”

Translated literally, this would lose its humorous effect, since bats in Russia are летучие мыши (flying mice). The rhyming nouns кошки and мошки (cats and moths) suggest themselves. The Russian lines

Едят ли кошки мошек?
Едят ли мошки кошек?

are not unlike the original in sound and structure, though of course they differ in meaning. But it is the principle of nonsense as a game that is paramount here.

In a number of cases, I was able to retain in my translation one element of the original pun, finding for it another partner.

“Это очень длинная и грустная история, — начала Мышь со вздохом. Помолчав, она вдруг взглянула: “Прогвост”!
— Про хвост? — повторила Алиса с недоумением и взглянула на ее хвост.
— Густая история про хвост?
Но Мышь ее не слушала — она вся ушла в свой рассказ. И пока она говорила, Алиса все никак не могла понять, какое это имеет отношение к мышиному хвосту. Поэтому история, которую рассказала Мышь, выглядела в ее воображении вот так . . .”

The word прогвост (scoundrel) here when divided is read as прогвост (about a tail). This is how the whole passage reads in retranslation from Russian:

“Mine is a long and sad tale!” said the Mouse, turning to Alice and sighing. “The scoundrel!” she suddenly screamed.

“About a tail?” said Alice looking down with wonder at the Mouse’s tail. “But why do you call it sad?” And she kept on puzzling about it while the Mouse was speaking, so that her idea of the tale was something like this. . .

The poem, which D. Orlovskaya translated with her usual wit and ability, makes it clear who that scoundrel was.

Another type of word-play problem was presented by Looking-Glass insects, the structure of whose names follows a mathematical pattern: the two binomials A–B and B–C are glued together with the help of the common element B. Thus in Bread-and-butterfly the two binomials Bread-and-butter and Butter-fly are made into a new name, Bread-and-butterfly.

To make up a new name, I used two words баобаб (baobab) and бабочка (butterfly). Following the same mathematical principle, I superimposed B–C upon the A–B binomial, which resulted in бао-бабочка, a curious baobab-butterfly insect. Of course its attributes had to be changed, too. I appropriated for it some of the Rocking-horse-fly’s attributes.

“—Ну, вот, к примеру, есть у нас Бабочка, — сказала Алиса и загнула на руке один палец.
— А-а-а, — протянул Комар.— Взгляни-ка на тот куст . . . Там на ветке сидит . . . знаешь кто? БАОБАБОЧКА! Она вся деревянная, а усики у нее зеленые и нежные, как молодые побеги!
— А что она ест? — спросила Алиса с любопытством.
— Стружки и опилки, — отвечал Комар.”
To retranslate:

"Half way up that bush, you’ll see a Rocking-horse-fly, if you look. It’s made entirely of wood, and gets about by swinging itself from branch to branch."

"What does it live on?" Alice asked with great curiosity.

"Sap and sawdust," said the Gnat.

Occasionally opportunities arose to compensate for the inevitable losses. Here is an example from the beginning of "The Mock Turtle’s Story," when Alice meets the Duchess again and wonders at the change in her.

"Maybe it’s always pepper that makes people hot-tempered . . . and vinegar that makes them sour—and camomile that makes them bitter—and—barley-sugar and such things that make children sweet-tempered. I only wish people knew that: then they wouldn’t be so stingy about it, you know—"

Here the words hot, sour, bitter, and sweet are used in both their literal and their figurative meanings, which provides the basis for the play.

"—Должно быть, это она от перца была такой вспыльчивой, подумала Алиса.
Помолчав, она прибавила (без особой, правда, надежды):
— Когда я буду Героиней, у меня в кухне совсем не будет перца. Суп и без него вкусный! От перца, верно, и начинают всем перечить . . .
Алиса очень обрадовалась, что открыла новый закон.
— От укуса кусаться, — продолжала она задумчиво, — от горчицы — огорчаться, от лука — лукавят, от вина — винятся, а от слобы — добреют.
Как жаль, что никто об этом не знает . . . Все было бы просто! Ели бы слобу и добрели!"

The whole passage in Russian is based on the play of the roots of the nouns with the totally unexpected derivatives from them. Thus перец (pepper) is unexpectedly coupled with the verb перечить (to quarrel), вкус (vinae) with кусаться (to pout, to be sour), горчица (mustard) with огорчаться (to be sad or unhappy), лук (onion) with лукавить (to be cunning), вино (wine) with виниться (to proclaim oneself guilty), and слоба (buns) with добре́ть (soften, and to grow plump).

In this particular scene Carroll chooses a different kind of word play, but I felt I had a right to a measure of compensation. I chose a derivative play which, I am sure, Carroll could have used had he known Russian with its complex system of affixation. I also played upon homonymous forms—добре́ть means both to grow plump and to soften)—a device widely used, though in a different context, in the original.

I have not covered here even a small part of the numerous puzzles that present themselves to a translator of Alice. I have nevertheless attempted a general outline of different methods that have been adopted to render Carroll’s text, and I have illustrated these with a few examples. My methods sometimes stretch the "context length" very far, though at other times I was fortunate enough to find a Russian equivalent that was commensurate with the original.

25 The "context length" is a term coined by M. Gasparov, a prominent classical scholar and translator, in his book on Valery Bryunov’s translation of Aeneid. M. Gasparov writes: "In literary translation . . . one may speak of ‘context length.’ It is the length of the original text which requires for its equivalent, a comparable length in translation. A ‘context length’ may be different: it may be a word, a phrase, a sentence, a line (in poetry), a stanza, a paragraph, or even a whole work. The shorter the ‘context length,’ the more ‘literalistich (let us say ‘literal,’ for in the theory of translation this term has a somewhat different meaning) the translation.” See M. Гаспаров, Брюнов и библиотеки. По идейному материалу к переводу "Энеида", "Мастерство перевода, 1973." Сборник посвящённый (Москва: Советский писатель, 1971), 101 ff.)