

Fairy tales without unhealthy additions

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Post-Socialist Translation Practices: Ideological struggle in children's literature

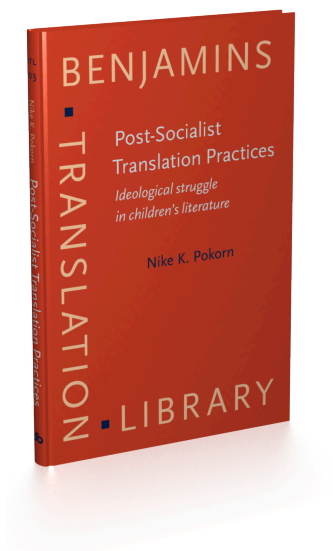
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Fairy tales without unhealthy additions

The selection shall attempt to include all the famous fairy tale masterpieces, in particular those with a healthy, realistic, real-life basis, and exclude all those that are either too artificial in structure or include unhealthy additions of intrusive, mawkish sanctimoniousness and the like. (Albrecht 1954:8)

The above quotation is taken from the introduction to the fairy tales of the Brothers Grimm by Fran Albrecht (1889–1963), who was also the most often re-printed Slovene translator of the Grimms' work after the Second World War. Are the Grimm's fairy tales really over-sentimentally pious or does Albrecht's introduction reflect only a personal view? Or perhaps there was something larger at stake?

In order to answer these questions, two out of 200 fairy tales in the collection *Household Stories by the Brothers Grimm* (*Kinder- und Haus-Märchen*, 1812–1822) were selected for more detailed textual analysis: the first post-war Slovene translation of any of the Grimm's fairy tales, *Aschenputtel* (*Cinderella*) (Grimm 1953); and the first translation after the war that was not the work of Fran Albrecht, *Schneeweißchen und Rosenroth* (*Snow-White and Rose-Red*) (Grimm 1954a).

Cinderella

In *Aschenputtel*, I focussed primarily on two passages: the beginning of the tale, where the mother is dying, and the end, where the two sisters are punished for their wickedness. These two passages were chosen because they seemed potentially problematic for the new politico-historical situation and the Communist ideology of childhood: in particular, their religious understanding of the world and clear references to the Christian religion, which were at odds with Communist attempts to eliminate religion as an illusory happiness, or their focus on retribution and vengeance expressed through the inflicting of pain on wicked characters as an educational principle, which went against the humanist principles of the new Socialist society.

The first passage is thus interesting because of its clear religious tone; in the original, the dying mother asks Cinderella to be pious:

Einem reichen Manne dem wurde seine Frau krank, und als sie fühlte daß ihr Ende heran kam, rief sie ihr einziges Töchterlein zu sich ans Bett und sprach „liebes Kind, bleib fromm und gut, so wird dir der liebe Gott immer beistehen, und ich will vom Himmel auf dich herabblicken, und will um dich sein.“ Darauf that sie die Augen zu und verschied. Das Mädchen gieng jeden Tag hinaus zu dem Grabe der Mutter und weinte, und blieb fromm und gut. (Grimm 1857: 119)

(The wife of a rich man fell sick, and as she felt that her end was drawing near, she called her only daughter to her bedside and said, “Dear child, be good and pious, and then the good God will always protect thee, and I will look down on thee from heaven and be near thee.” Thereupon she closed her eyes and departed. Every day the maiden went out to her mother’s grave, and wept, and she remained pious and good.) (Grimm 1884, transl.: Margaret Hunt)

Later on in the story it is stressed again that because of her piousness, Cinderella is constantly rewarded:

Aschenputtel gieng alle Tage dreimal darunter, weinte und betete, und allemal kam ein weißes Vöglein auf den Baum, und wenn es einen Wunsch aussprach, so warf ihm das Vöglein herab was es sich gewünscht hatte. (Grimm 1857: 120)

(Thrice a day Cinderella went and sat beneath it, and wept and prayed, and a little white bird always came on the tree, and if Cinderella expressed a wish, the bird threw down to her what she had wished for.) (Grimm 1884)

The third passage, however, is interesting because of its cruelty and vindictiveness. The final paragraph describes the punishment Cinderella’s wicked sisters have to endure because of their falsehood:

Als die Hochzeit mit dem Königssohn sollte gehalten werden, kamen die falschen Schwestern, wollten sich einschmeicheln und Theil an seinem Glück nehmen. Als die Brautleute nun zur Kirche giengen, war die älteste zur rechten, die jüngste zur linken Seite: da pickten die Tauben einer jeden das eine Auge aus. Hernach als sie heraus giengen, war die älteste zur linken und die jüngste zur rechten: da pickten die Tauben einer jeden das andere Auge aus. Und waren sie also für ihre Bosheit und Falschheit mit Blindheit auf ihr Lebtage gestraft. (Grimm 1857: 126)

(When the wedding with the King’s son had to be celebrated, the two false sisters came and wanted to get into favour with Cinderella and share her good fortune. When the betrothed couple went to church, the elder was at the right side and the younger at the left, and the pigeons pecked out one eye of each of them. Afterwards as they came back, the elder was at the left, and the younger at the right, and then the pigeons pecked out the other eye of each. And thus, for their wickedness and falsehood, they were punished with blindness as long as they lived.) (Grimm 1884)

In Slovenia before 1945, i.e. the end of the Second World War and the foundation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, there were 6 Slovene translations of Grimm's works (1880, 1887, ca. 1910, 1930 (reprinted in 1944b), 1932, 1944a), but only three of them included translations of *Cinderella* (around 1910 and in 1944 by an unknown translator, and in 1932 by Alojzij Bolhar (reprinted in 1944)). The translation by an anonymous translator (Grimm 1944a) was excluded from the analysis: the book is a colouring book with a radically adapted text (e.g. there is no description of the death of the mother, no planting of the tree etc.), so that no textual comparison with the original was possible.

The translation from 1910 is a picture book with a shortened and adapted text. However, the translation still emphasizes the pious nature of *Aschenputtel*, who prays every day at her mother's grave (Grimm 1910: 1), and does not attenuate the cruel ending: the pigeons peck out the eyes of the wicked sisters (ibid.: 6). The translation from 1932 (reprinted in 1944) was done by Alojzij Bolhar (1899–1984), a teacher by profession, whose biography does not seem to reveal anything that might have been problematic for the post-war society. Early in the war, in 1941, Bolhar was exiled to Serbia by the German occupying forces, and a year later sent to the Italian concentration camp on the island of Rab. After the war he studied Slavonic languages and literatures, and worked in the Slavonic library in Ljubljana. And indeed, one of his translations of the Grimm Brothers' fairy tales, *The Valiant Little Tailor* (*Das tapfere Schneiderlein*), did appear after the war in 1955, which shows that he did not fall into disgrace. However, no other fairy tale translated by him appeared after the war, despite the fact that Bolhar's translation was in a contemporary language that conveyed all the passages in the original without omissions or additions: *Cinderella's* mother still urges her to remain pious (Grimm 1932: 143), *Cinderella* prays every day at her grave (ibid.: 144), and also at the end the two sisters are punished by the pigeons who peck out their eyes (ibid.: 151). It seems that this source-orientation of the translation was a problem.

In the period between 1945 and 1955 there appeared a new translation of *Aschenputtel*, i.e. *Cinderella*, in 1953 by Fran Albreht. It was first published as an individual work, and then a year later, in 1954, it was included in a selection of the Grimm's stories that became the most re-printed version in the post-war period: until 2002, long after his death, the collection or individual stories translated by Albreht were reprinted 75 times. The biography of Fran Albreht (1889–1963) reveals that he was an important figure in the post-war Yugoslavia. A philosopher by profession, he was imprisoned by the occupying forces in 1942 and sent to Dachau two years later. After the war, he returned to Ljubljana and became the mayor of the city until his retirement in 1948. He founded the Association of Literary Translators of Slovenia and became its president – and later on also the president of the Yugoslav association. His translation of *Aschenputtel* is also source-oriented,

following the original wording closely, with only one consistent shift: all religious references are omitted. So, for example, the beginning of the fairy tale is changed: the mother only asks her child to remain diligent, good, and to remember her mother – and then, not God, but mother shall help her in her thoughts.

Ko ji je bilo huje in je čutila, da gre h koncu z njo, je poklicala svojo edino hčerko k postelji in ji takole govorila: «Ljuba hčerka, ostani pridna in dobra, ohrani zvest spomin name in na mojo ljubezen in jaz ti bom v mislih vedno pomagala.» Nato je zatisnila oči in umrla. (Grimm 1953)

(When she felt worse and that her end was drawing near, she called her only daughter to her bedside and said, “Dear child, be diligent and good, keep faithful memory of me and my love and I will always help you in your thoughts.” Thereupon she closed her eyes and died.)

Similarly, after her mother's death, Cinderella is rewarded for remembering her mother every day.

Pepelka je vsak dan po trikrat hodila na grob ter jokala in se v mislih pogovarjala z mamico. In vsakič je priletela bela ptička na drevo in če je imela Pepelka kakšno željo, je ptička spustila na tla to, kar si je želela. (Grimm 1953)

(Thrice a day Cinderella went to the grave, and wept and talked in her thoughts with her mummy. And every time a little white bird came on the tree, and if Cinderella expressed a wish, the bird dropped down to her what she had wished for.)

And finally, at the end of the tale, the couple does not go to church to be wed, but only to their wedding. The cruel ending is retained. There is one sentence added, however, creating a distancing or estranging effect and indicating to the readers that what they are reading is just a fairy tale and that it did not “really” happen:

Ko sta šla ženin in nevesta k poroki, je šla starejša sestra na desni, mlajša pa na levi. Goloba sta izkljuvala vsaki po eno oko. Nazaj grede pa je bila starejša na levi in mlajša na desni. Goloba sta izkljuvala vsaki še drugo oko. In tako sta bili za svoje hudobije in grdobije s slepoto kaznovani – če ne zares, pa bi bili vsaj zaslužili tako. (Grimm 1953)

(When the bridegroom and the bride went to their wedding, the elder was at the right side and the younger at the left. The pigeons pecked out one eye of each of them. Afterwards, as they came back, the elder was at the left, and the younger at the right. Then the pigeons pecked out the other eye of each. And thus, for their wickedness and falsehood, they were punished with blindness – if this did not really happen, they would at least have deserved it.)

From 1955 to 2010 an additional 7 translations into Slovene were published. Three of them were excluded from the analysis: the translations by Saša Janković (Grimm

1997b), Ksenija C. Cankar (Grimm 1997a) and Tina Vizjak (Grimm 2000) are so shortened and adapted that no textual comparison was possible. The remaining four, however, did follow the text of the Brothers Grimm closely enough to allow comparison. Two translations were published individually and the remaining two were included in a collection of fairy tales. The individual translations were by Jože Zupančič (Grimm 1966, reprinted in 1971, 1978, 1984, 1987) and Jože Šmit (Grimm 1984, reprinted in 1988). The remaining two translations appeared in collections published after the collapse of the Socialist regime: in 1993 the first complete Slovene translation of the entire *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* was created by Polonca Kovač, while in 1998 and 2004 two additional selections were made by Sonja Wakounig (the 2004 edition contained *Cinderella*). However, the most popular and most often reprinted translations of the fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm have become the translations by Polonca Kovač (the collection or the individual tales have been reprinted 22 times since the first publication), thus slowly replacing in popularity the translations by Fran Albreht.

The second post-war translation of *Aschenputtel* was done in 1966 by Jože Zupančič (1894–1969), another Dachau prisoner. Zupančič's life was marked by both wars: during the First World War he was sent to the Russian Front where he managed to change sides in 1916, joining the Serbian volunteer corpus. In 1920 he joined the Red Army and then went to the school of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He was imprisoned in the Soviet Union for 8 months, under false allegations, and consequently expelled from the Communist Party. In 1922 he returned to Ljubljana, where he worked as an editor. As a member of the Liberation Front he was imprisoned during the Second World War and was sent to Dachau in 1943. After the war he worked as a journalist and translator. His translation of *Aschenputtel* appeared as a picture book, and all three passages were adapted. Throughout the text, all religious elements are omitted, and the ending is changed by omitting the cruel punishment that befell the wicked sisters:

«Dragi otrok, najini poti se ločujeta. Bodi zmeraj skromna in dobra, kakor si bila doslej.» Potem je zatisnila oči in umrla. (Grimm 1966a: 1)

(“Dear child, out paths now separate. Remain modest and good, as you have always been.” Then she closed her eyes and died.)

Vsak dan je hodila Pepelka na materin grob in jokala na njem. (Grimm 1966a: 3)
(Every day Cinderella went to her mother's grave and cried there.)

Poroko sta praznovala razkošno in srečno sta živela kot mož in žena do konca svojih dni. (Grimm 1966a: 14)
(The wedding was luxurious and they lived as a husband and wife happily ever after.)

Aschenputtel then appeared in another picture book, this time translated by Jože Šmit (1984, 1988). During the Second World War, Šmit (1922–2004) was mobilized in the German army, but managed to join the Allied forces and then the Partisans in 1944. After the war he worked as a journalist, editor and Slovene stylistic editor at the central Slovene publishing house for children's literature, Mladinska knjiga. He translated from Latin, Romanian, Serbo-Croatian and German. His translation of *Cinderella* is, undoubtedly, by far the most innovative in our catalogue. The cruel ending is completely left out: the tale ends with the prince taking Cinderella into his carriage and the pigeons chanting that he has finally found his true bride (Grimm 1984: 19). All religious elements are omitted and God is replaced by a tree:

Dragi otrok, zapustiti te moram, vendar se ne boj: vedno bom skrbela zate. Na mojem grobu posadi drevesce. Če se znajdeš v kakršni koli težavi, ti bo drevo pomagalo, samo vedno ostani poštena in dobra. (Grimm 1984: 1)

(Dear child, I have to leave you now, but do not be afraid: I shall always take care of you. Plant a tree on my grave. If you ever find yourself in any kind of trouble, the tree will help you, and please, always remain honest and good.)

Over the last thirty years this story has been translated twice more in two collections of Grimm's fairy tales. The first one was in 1993 by Polonca Kovač (1937–), a renowned author of children books and translator, who has worked at a therapeutic centre for children, adolescents and parents, and as a teacher of foreign languages. Her translation of *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* was the first one of the entire Brothers Grimm collection. Since this translation is expressly source-oriented, her translation of *Cinderella* also closely adheres to the original wording (Grimm 1993b: 128–136). Although 11 years later there appeared an additional translation by Sonja Wakounig that was included in a new selection of stories by the Brothers Grimm, it did not replace the one by Polonca Kovač, which still remains the most popular. This is partly perhaps because the translation by Wakounig is again an adaptation; the religious elements are retained, but the cruel ending is omitted and replaced by a standard fairy tale ending:

Še isti dan sta se Pepelka in kraljevič poročila, in srečno sta živela do konca svojih dni. (Grimm 2004: 79)

(Cinderella and the prince married the same day, and lived happily ever after.)

To conclude, both Slovene pre-war translations of *Aschenputtel* by the Brothers Grimm closely followed the original and conveyed the religious elements and the vindictive ending of the fairy tale, but none of the pre-war translations have been reprinted since the war. All the post-war translations, covering the entire period

of Socialist rule between 1945 and 1992, omitted all the religious elements from the story, and more or less radically changed the cruel ending. The most often reprinted version during the Socialist period was Albrecht's, which involved the total omission of the religious elements and the retention of the brutal ending: between 1953 and 1988 it was reprinted 15 times. After 1993, i.e. after the collapse of the Socialist regime, the religious elements were again included in translations.

In order to see whether this particular translation strategy is specific to Slovenia, an additional 20 translations of this work by the Brothers Grimm into Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Macedonian were examined. While it was not hard to define translations into Slovene (always in the Roman alphabet) and Macedonian (always in Cyrillic) since they are both very distinct languages and differ considerably from what used to be called Serbo-Croatian, it was considerably more difficult to distinguish between Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian translations. Unless otherwise stated, this distinction was therefore made regarding the place of publication and not the language variant used: the category of Croatian translations included all translations published in Croatia (always in the Roman alphabet); Serbian translations those published in Serbia, regardless of whether they were printed in the Cyrillic or Roman alphabet; and Bosnian translations all translations in the Cyrillic or Roman alphabet published in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Let us first consider the Croatian translations. There are 2 pre-war and 8 post-war Croatian translations of *Aschenputtel* still available in libraries. The pre-war Croatian translation of *Cinderella* from 1924 by Zlatko Špoljar included and even stressed the Christian elements of the tale. For example, Špoljar stresses the pious nature of Cinderella and adds that Cinderella's mother is buried at the graveyard of the monastery.

Djevojka bi polazila svaki dan u samostansko groblje na grob majčin i plakala bi.
Ostala je dobra i pobožna. (Grimm 1924: 48)

(The girl went to the monastery graveyard every day to visit her mother's grave and to weep. She remained good and pious.)

The cruel elements of the story are also retained: the sisters chop off their toes and heels in order to fit the shoe, and at the end the pigeons peck out their eyes. The translation from 1940 (3rd edition) by Stjepan Širola also closely follows the original and conveys the religious content (Grimm 1940b: 44–50).

The post-war translations, however, do not show the same monolithic censorship as the Slovene ones. The most popular translation of Grimm's *Fairy Tales* in that period was the one by Viktor Kralj, which appeared a total of 15 times between 1958 and 1989. The vindictive ending remains the same as in the original (e.g. Grimm 1989a: 87–88), while the religious elements are partly, but not

entirely censored. Cinderella's mother goes to heaven, but God is not mentioned, and Cinderella is urged to be chaste and not pious, but, nevertheless, Cinderella prays at her mother's grave and is rewarded for her piousness:

Drago dijete, budi čedna i dobra pa će ti uvijek dobro biti, ja ću s neba gledati na tebe i bit ću uza te. – To rekavši, zaklopila mati oči i umrla.

(Grimm [1958b], 1968a, 1989a: 78)

(Dear child, be chaste and good, and then you shall always be well, and I will look down on you from heaven and be near you. – Thereupon she closed her eyes and died.)

Pepeljuga je svaku put triput išla na grob, plakala i molila, i svaki bi put sjela bijela ptičica na drvece, pa kad bi imala kakvu želju, dobacila bi joj ptičica baš ono što je Pepeljuga upravo željela.

(Grimm [1958b], 1968a, 1989a: 79)

(Thrice a day Cinderella went out to the grave, and wept and prayed, and a little white bird always came on the tree, and if Cinderella expressed a wish, the bird dropped down to her what she had wished for.)

The translations from the 1960s show an even more complex picture. In 1967 there appeared two translations of Cinderella: one by Mirko Jurkić and one by an unknown translator in an edition that was published all over Yugoslavia. The translation by Jurkić closely follows the original and conveys all the religious elements (Grimm 1967c: 15–18). The ending, however, is changed: the pigeons peck at the sisters' faces, but no pecking out of eyes is mentioned. The story ends with the white bird flying into the church and singing to the bride. The song "was a prayer sent by her mother to bless her child" (Grimm 1967c: 18). In the same year there also appeared a joint Yugoslav translation by an anonymous translator which provides a version that is completely purged of all religious content. In this Yugoslav edition mother urges Cinderella to remain "good and patient" and "to keep a faithful memory" of her, and promises her that she shall always help her in her thoughts (Grimm 1967f: 4). Consequently, Cinderella does not pray but only talks to her mother in her thoughts at her grave (ibid.). The ending is partly attenuated: the blinding of the two sisters is left out – the pigeons only "mutilate their faces" (Grimm 1967f: 16). In 1969 an additional joint edition of the translation of Cinderella appeared, this time the Serbian translation by Božidar Pejović was changed into Croatian. Here again the religious elements are completely left out: Cinderella is urged to "remain noble and good" and then everything shall be well; she only cries beneath the tree at her mother's grave; but the ending follows the original very closely – the picture book even contains an illustration of the wicked sisters with blood streaming from their eyes (Grimm 1969a). In 1977 there appeared a translation by Slobodan Lazić in

which the ending is changed (the wicked sisters move to the ninth kingdom to avoid witnessing Cinderella's happiness), but also all the religious elements are censored and a new worldview is introduced:

Drago dijete, mislim, da neću još dugo živjeti. Ti krećeš u život, a ja u zaborav. Zato bih ti na rastanku željela dati jedan savjet: ostani uvijek skromna i dobra kao što si bila! (Grimm 1977b: 1)

(Dear child, I think I shall not live much longer. You are starting your life, and I am approaching oblivion. That is why I would like to give you a piece of advice at our farewell: remain modest and good, as you have always been!)

In 1979 there appeared another translation by Truda Stamać which follows the text closely, conveys all the details of the vindictive ending and only slightly attenuates the religious undertones by not mentioning God in the text:

«Drago dijete, budi čedna i dobra, pa će ti nebo biti uvijek u pomoći, a ja ću te gledati s neba i biti uza te.» Potom sklopi oči i umre. (1979a, 1982, 1991b: 2)

(“Dear child, be chaste and good, and then heaven shall always help you, and I will look down on you from heaven and be near you.” Thereupon she closed her eyes and died.)

And just when you think that there shall be no more ideological interventions, again in the translation from 1988 by Nada Iveljić, all the religious elements are left out and the ending is changed completely – the prince takes Cinderella in his arms to his carriage. But in the same year, there also appeared a translation by Josip Tabak which follows closely the original text, conveys all the religious elements and does not attenuate the ending (Grimm 1988a: 59–70).

Thus the analysed pre-war translations of Cinderella into Croatian were either source-oriented and followed the original wording closely or stressed the religious elements in the fairy tale. In the translations from the Socialist period, however, the religious elements tended to be left out, most often in joint “Yugoslav” publications (e.g. in 1967c and 1969a). In fact, in four out of eight translations, the religious elements were censored (1967c, 1969a, 1977b, 1988b). Of the remaining four, two translations attenuate the religious content (1958b, 1979a) but, in contrast to the Slovene situation, two translations do not ideologically “correct” the text and convey all the religious elements (1967f, 1988a).

In the Bosnian translation from 1977 (the translator is not named), the religious elements are omitted – the mother urges her daughter to remain “chaste and good” (Grimm 1977a: 5); but also the ending is changed: out of the goodness of her heart Cinderella forgives her stepsisters (ibid.: 13). In the translation from 1996 (again the translator is not mentioned), the ending is also changed – the

wicked sisters again run away to the ninth kingdom, but surprisingly, the religious elements are again left out:

Neće ti biti lahko bez mene živjeti. Kad ostaneš sama, budi dobra i pametna. Tako ćeš lakše podnijeti život bez majke. (Grimm 1996: 59)

(Your life will not be easy without me. When you are left alone, be good and smart. Thus you shall endure your life without your mother more easily.)

There are 6 pre-war Serbian translations of Grimm's fairy tales (Grimm 1902, 193?, 1930b, 1931, 1940a, 1942), but only 5 of them are still available in libraries (Grimm 1902, 193?, 1930b, 1940a, 1942). However, *Cinderella* occurs in only one collection: in the translation from the 1930s by Zorka Karadžić. Here, all the religious elements are retained and also the cruel ending is not attenuated (Grimm 193?: 64–72).

After the war, *Cinderella* was translated again by Božidar Pejović in 1967 (Grimm 1967d). Unlike the Croatian edition by the same translator, a few religious elements are left in the fairy tale: *Cinderella* is still urged to “remain noble and good”, but at her mother's grave she is allowed to pray. In the translation from 1969 by the same translator, the beginning is also the same, while the passage at the grave is purged of “praying”, so that no religious element survives. The ending in both editions, however, is completely changed: the wicked sisters ask *Cinderella* for forgiveness which is granted to them, while the evil stepmother is put in jail:

Kad to čuše, obe maćehine kćeri pritrčase Pepeljugi i klekoše pred njom, moleći je za opraštraj, a ona im velikodušno sve oprosti. Potom vezaše i zatvorise zlu maćehu, kako bi iskusila zasluženu kaznu. A Pepeljuga, sva srećna i zadovoljna, otrča na grob svoje majke da se s njom oprosti, pa potom odjaha s carevićem u dvor, gde se proslavi svadba.⁵ (Grimm 1969c: 16)

(Upon hearing that, both the daughters of her stepmother come running to *Cinderella* and kneel before her, asking her for forgiveness, and she forgives them for everything. Then they put in chains and imprison the wicked stepmother, so that she receives her well-deserved punishment. But *Cinderella*, filled with joy and happiness, runs to her mother's grave to bid her farewell and then rides with her prince to the castle where the wedding is held.)

In 1967 the translation by Jurkić was adapted by an unknown M. J. L. for Serbian children. This version closely follows the original and conveys all the religious elements (Grimm 1967b: 15–18) with the exception of the passage where *Cinderella* visits her mother's grave and just “sits under the tree” (Grimm 1967b: 15). Eleven years later, in 1978, there appears another translation where the translator is not

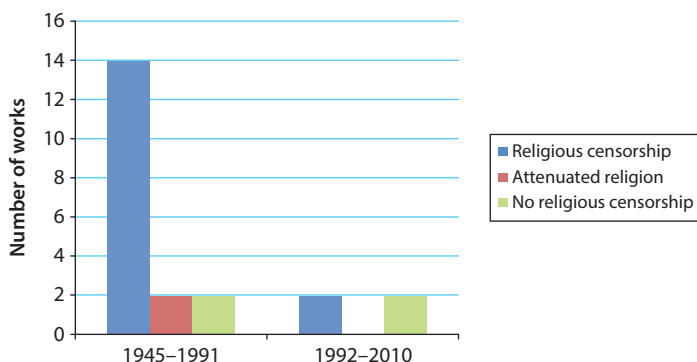
5. The Cyrillic alphabet in all relevant cases is transcribed into Roman alphabet.

indicated, but most probably it is Božidar Pejović. All the religious elements are omitted; the ending is the same as in all other translations by Pejović (Grimm 1978: 16). However, a year later, in 1979, a scholarly translation was done by Božidar Zec and Milan Tabaković (it was reprinted in 1990) in a collection whose ambition was to provide “original, complete and possibly critical editions of the greatest authors of fairy tales” (Grimm 1979c: vii). Accordingly, the translation of *Cinderella* closely follows the original and the text is not changed. This translation seems to be targeting adult readers. It is surprising that after the change of the political system, in 1996 (reprinted in 1999), a new translation by an anonymous author was made, which, in fact, reproduces the Bosnian translation from 1996 and omits all religious elements and attenuates the ending.

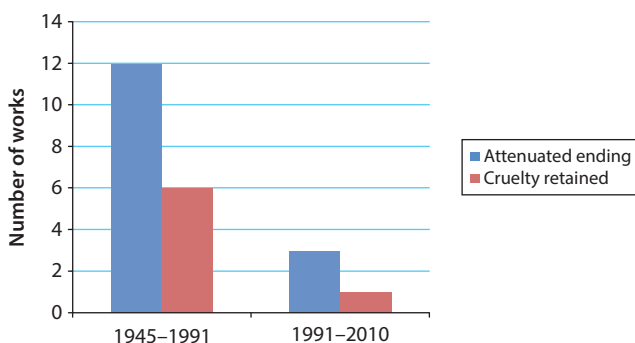
To sum up, after the war 6 different Serbian translations of this fairy tale were published. The most popular post-war translations again censor the religious elements (Grimm 1967d, 1969c, 1978) and eliminate elements of cruelty. There is, however, a translation from 1967 (Grimm 1967b) that only slightly attenuates the religious presence in the text, and in 1979 (reprinted in 1990) an integral translation of the work by Brothers Grimm was made that closely follows the source text. And finally, in 1996 there appeared another adapted translation which censored the religious elements and changed the ending of the tale.

The first Macedonian translation was created in 1966 (reprinted in 1967, 1969); the translator Jovan Boškovski eliminates all the religious elements (Grimm 1966: 16–27). *Cinderella* again just speaks with her mother in her thoughts (Grimm 1966b: 18). The ending, however, is like that in the Slovene version by Fran Albrecht, providing a faithful translation of the cruel elements in the final passage, but ending with the sentence: “if this did not really happen, they would at least have deserved it” (Grimm 1966b: 27). In 1979 a new translation was published (the translator is not named): again the religious elements are eliminated, but also the cruel ending is attenuated. This time it seems that this version is a translation from the Serbian version by Božidar Pejović: the wicked sisters ask *Cinderella* for forgiveness, which is granted to them, while the evil stepmother is put in jail (Grimm 1979: 16). And in 1989 there appeared a new translation by Ilija Korubinovski. This time it seems to follow the 1977 translation by Slobodan Lazić: the religious elements are censored, the mother is “approaching oblivion”, and also the ending is changed, so that the wicked sisters move to the ninth kingdom so as not to witness the happiness of *Cinderella* (Grimm 1989b: 14).

To conclude, before the formation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia all the translations of the fairy tale *Aschenputtel* into Slovene, Croatian or Serbian did not eliminate or attenuate religious elements in the story or change its cruel ending. The situation after the war is much more complex:



78 % of the translations of *Aschenputtel* that appeared in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia censored the religious elements of the fairy tale, and an additional 11% attenuated the religious presence in the story. This censorship occurred in all the linguistic environments, i.e. in Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Macedonian. Surprisingly, similar changes occurred even after the collapse of the Socialist regime.



If we compare these results with the number of cases when the cruel elements were omitted from translations, we see that in only 50% of all translations was the ending changed and the elements of cruelty omitted. During the Socialist period it was religion, and not cruelty, that was considered the most disturbing element.

Snow-White and Rose-Red

In order to see whether this strategy was used for one fairy tale only, an additional one by the Brothers Grimm was chosen for analysis. *Snow-White and Rose-Red* was chosen because in 1954 there appeared two Slovene translations by two different translators. This tale is about two sisters, Snow-White and Rose-Red, who live with

their mother in a cottage in the woods. One winter night they are visited by a bear who asks to be allowed to lie down in front of the fire. The mother allows him to stay and since he is so nice, he keeps coming every night. Both girls play with the bear, roll him around and whip him with hazel switches – he is especially fond of a light beating – and in one of those frolics, the bear reveals that he is going to become their lover (“Laßt mich am Leben, ihr Kinder. / Schneeweißchen, Rosenrot, / schlägst dir den Freier tot.” (Grimm 1857: 298) “Leave me alive, children, / “Snowy-white, Rosy-red, / Will you beat your lover dead?” (Grimm 1884)). And, indeed, at the end (after killing an ungrateful dwarf) the bear turns into a prince and marries (only one) of the girls, the other is given to his brother.

Despite this somewhat bizarre narrative framework with quite visible sexual undertones, Snow-White and Rose-Red are both described as very good little girls who are, therefore, protected by angels:

Kein Unfall traf sie: wenn sie sich im Walde verspätet hatten und die Nacht sie überfiel, so legten sie sich nebeneinander auf das Moos und schliefen bis der Morgen kam, und die Mutter wußte das und hatte ihrentwegen keine Sorge. Einmal, als sie im Walde übernachtet hatten und das Morgenroth sie aufweckte, da sahen sie ein schönes Kind in einem weißen glänzenden Kleidchen neben ihrem Lager sitzen. Es stand auf und blickte sie ganz freundlich an, sprach aber nichts und gieng in den Wald hinein. Und als sie sich umsahen, so hatten sie ganz nahe bei einem Abgrunde geschlafen, und wären gewis hinein gefallen, wenn sie in der Dunkelheit noch ein paar Schritte weiter gegangen wären. Die Mutter aber sagte ihnen das müßte der Engel gewesen sein, der gute Kinder bewache.

(Grimm 1857: 296–297)

(No mishap overtook them; if they had stayed too late in the forest, and night came on, they laid themselves down near one another upon the moss, and slept until morning came, and their mother knew this and had no distress on their account. Once when they had spent the night in the wood and the dawn had roused them, they saw a beautiful child in a shining white dress sitting near their bed. He got up and looked quite kindly at them, but said nothing and went away into the forest. And when they looked round they found that they had been sleeping quite close to a precipice, and would certainly have fallen into it in the darkness if they had gone only a few paces further. And their mother told them that it must have been the angel who watches over good children.)

(Grimm 1884)

Let us look at the translations. There is only one pre-war translation of this story in Slovene: it was first published in 1932 and reprinted in 1944. After the war, there appeared 5 translations (Grimm 1954a, 1954b, 1971b, 1993a, 2004). That from 1971 was a radically shortened version and published in a form of a picture book by Janko Moder: the text of the entire story was transformed into 8 stanzas. Because of that radical adaptation no textual comparison was possible and it was

therefore excluded from the study. The analysis therefore covered 5 Slovene translations: one pre-war translation (from 1932 by Bolhar), two Socialist translations (both from 1954, by Hudales and by Albreht), and two post-Socialist translations (from 1993 by Kovač and from 2004 by Wakounig). All the translations closely followed the original. Let me explain what I mean by that: a detailed stylistic and semantic analysis of the translations from 1932, 1954 and 1993 by Klasinc (2007) showed that these translations, whether pre-Socialist, Socialist or post-Socialist, rarely contained unmotivated and inexplicable shifts (see Malmkjaer 2004). In fact, only one instance was found: both Socialist translators translated the noun “Sommervögel” with “poletni ptički” (‘summer birds’) instead of with “metuljčki” (‘butterflies’) (Klasinc 2007: 40), while the pre-Socialist and post-Socialist translators translated this word in accordance with the context:

Rosenroth sprang lieber in den Wiesen und Feldern umher, suchte Blumen und fieng **Sommervögel**: Schneeweißchen aber saß daheim bei der Mutter, half ihr im Hauswesen, oder las ihr vor, wenn nichts zu thun war.

(Grimm 1857; emphasis added)

(Rose-Red liked better to run about in the meadows and fields seeking flowers and catching **butterflies**; but Snow-white sat at home with her mother, and helped her with her house-work, or read to her when there was nothing to do.)

(Grimm 1884; emphasis added)

The analysis also showed that in the pre-Socialist and Socialist translations the tendency was to use archaic expressions and turns of phrase, while the post-Socialist translation used contemporary language, and that all the translations split longer paragraphs into shorter ones (Klasinc 63–65). I revisited all those translations, paying particular attention to omissions.

The pre-war translation of *Snow-White and Rose-Red* by Alojzij Bolhar, which was published in 1932 (reprinted in 1944) and was included in the collection of stories by the Brothers Grimm, similarly to Bolhar's translation of *Cinderella*, is source-oriented and closely follows the original wording. The original division into paragraphs is not retained, but no errors or manipulations were found (see Malmkjaer 2004; Klasinc 2007). The translation omits only the following part of the sentence:

Es trug sich zu, daß bald hernach die Mutter die beiden Mädchen nach der Stadt schickte, **Zwirn Nadeln Schnüre und Bänder** einzukaufen.

(Grimm 1857; emphasis added)

(It happened that soon afterwards the mother sent the two children to the town to buy **needles and thread, and laces and ribbons**.)

(Grimm 1884; emphasis added)

With the exception of this unmotivated omission, the translation does not omit from or add to the original text, except an illustration of a young angel (Grimm 1932: 178–184).



(Grimm 1932: 179)

The first post-war translation appeared in 1954 and was created by Oskar Hudales (1905–1968), a teacher by profession, who after the war worked as a school inspector, but also wrote numerous juvenile stories, travel and historical novels, memoirs and fairy tales. His translation, as already noted, contains only one instance of error; however, it completely omits the episode with the angel:

Če sta se v gozdu zakasnila in ju je presenetila noč, sta se stisnili druga k drugi na mah in spali, dokler ni prišlo jutro. Mati je to vedela in se ni bala zanj.

(Grimm 1954: 22)

(If they had stayed too late in the forest, and night came on, they laid themselves down close together upon the moss, and slept until morning came. Their mother knew this and felt no concern on their account.)

The translation by Fran Albrecht that appeared in the same year used the same strategy of omission:

Nikdar ju ni zadela kakšna nesreča. Če sta zamudila v gozdu in ju je zalotila noč, sta druga poleg druge legli na mah in prespali do jutra. In mati si ni delala skrbi zaradi tega.

(Grimm 1958a: 105)

(No mishap ever overtook them. If they had stayed too late in the forest, and night came on, they laid themselves down close together upon the moss, and slept until morning came. And their mother felt no concern on their account.)

Once again, Albrecht's translation became the most popular one in the following years: it has been reprinted five times, while Hudales's translation has not reappeared.

After the collapse of Yugoslavia, the translation by Polonca Kovač from 1993 again reintroduced the passage with the angel into the story (Grimm 1993a: 275–276); however, the passage vanishes again from the translation by Sonia Wakounig (Grimm 2004: 18–24).

Slovene translations of *Schneeweißchen und Rosenroth* thus reveal a similar fate to those of *Aschenputtel*. The pre-war translation closely followed the original wording, but has never been reprinted, and the Socialist translations deleted the religious part. Finally, the translations from the last two decades again follow the pattern we have seen with *Cinderella*: they are either source-oriented and complete, or change and omit religious passages.

The Croatian translations of *Snow-White and Rose-Red* are not consistent in their strategy. The pre-war translation from 1924 follows the original closely and does not leave out any element of the original (Grimm 1924: 21–25). The translation from 1967 by Mirko Jurkić leaves out the episode with the angel (Grimm 1967: 22–24), but the translation from 1988 by Viktor Kralj (1988c: 19–26) and that by Josip Tabak (Grimm 1988a; reprinted in Sarajevo 1990b: 51–69) reintroduce the episode and the latter even includes an illustration of an angel (Grimm 1988a: 79–90).

The first Serbian translation of this fairy tale appears in 1950. Aleksandar D. Đurić translated it from Russian and consequently the episode with an angel is left out (Grimm 1950: 56); the same happens with the next Serbian translation, this time from German, by Mirko Jurkić from 1967 (Grimm 1967b). In the scholarly edition by Božidar Zec and Milan Tabaković from 1979 the angel is reintroduced and the text is translated without any omissions, additions or rewritings (Grimm 1979: 796). There are no Macedonian translations of this fairy tale.

All in all, the pre-war translations of the fairy tale *Snow-White and Rose-Red* retained the religious elements in the text. In the Socialist period, however 5 out of 8 translations censor these elements, regardless of the target language (i.e. Slovene, Croatian and Serbian). By contrast, in the post-Socialist period the translation strategy varies: one translation retains all the religious elements, the other omits them.

To conclude, all pre-war translations of the fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm in Slovene, Croatian or Serbian conveyed the religious elements of the tales and did not attenuate the cruelty and vindictiveness. During the Socialist period, i.e. from 1945 to 1991, our survey covered 26 translations (re-prints excluded) of two fairy tales, of *Cinderella* and *Snow-White and Rose-Red*, into Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian and Macedonian: in 19 of them religious elements

were completely censored, in an additional 2 translations these elements were attenuated, and in only 5 of them were religious elements conveyed in the target text. That means that 81% of the analysed translations either eliminated all the religious elements or attenuated the religious presence in the target texts. There occur slight differences between the linguistic communities: while the Slovene and Macedonian environments seem to be more radical in the elimination of the religious presence (all Slovene and Macedonian versions in this period censored all the religious elements of the fairy tales), the Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian translations in a few cases offered target texts without religious censorship – but even in those contexts the most reprinted versions remained those where religious elements were eliminated. The Socialist attitude towards those elements of the text that express vindictiveness and cruelty, however, were not so uniform, since only half of the texts that appeared in that period omitted those elements. After 1991 there appeared 6 new translations of the two fairy tales, but 50% of these new translations still censor the religious elements in the target texts, while two-thirds do not retain cruel and vindictive passages. Although, according to Thomson-Wohlgemuth (2009:27), in East Germany Grimm's fairy tales were primarily attacked as one of the main cultural assets of the Third Reich, it seems that the Socialist Yugoslav society was not so much disturbed by the vindictiveness and cruelty often found in them: much more alarming were the religious elements which were completely eliminated or attenuated in 81% of cases.

Andersen's Little Match Girl

In order to see whether this translation strategy was reserved for the Grimm's works only and only for younger schoolchildren (5 to 9 years old), the translations of Hans Christian Andersen, whose work is usually read by older children (9 to 12 years old), was also analysed. Malmkjaer (2003:37–58) and Hjørnager Pedersen (2008:308–318) observe that even in Victorian translations of Hans Christian Andersen not only references to sex and violence were problematic, but also those to religion. These were frequently toned down or omitted (Hjørnager Pedersen 2008:314). Similarly, Silvana Orel Kos in her analysis of different Slovene translations of Andersen's *The Wild Swans* (Orel Kos 2001:289–309), observes that religious elements and infernal scenes involving necro-cannibalism, as a particularly deviant and non-acceptable behaviour, represented a particular problem in post-war translations of this fairy tale. In order to see whether the same applies to other fairy tales as well, I focused on different translations of Andersen's *Little Match Girl* (*Den lille pige*

med svovlstikkerne). This short story describes the last day of a little girl, who on New Year's Eve freezes to death selling matches. In the textual comparison the following two passages were focused on: the first one is when the little girl remembers the words of her grandmother:

"Nu dør der én!" sagde den lille, for gamle mormor, som var den eneste, der havde været god mod hende, men nu var død, havde sagt: Når en stjerne falder, går der en sjæl op til Gud. (Andersen 2010a)

("Someone is just dead!" said the little girl; for her old grandmother, the only person who had loved her, and who was now no more, had told her, that when a star falls, a soul ascends to God.) (Andersen 2010b)

And the second passage was the passage in which the little girl has a near-death vision of her grandmother who takes her to God:

"Mormor!" råbte den lille, "Oh tag mig med! jeg ved, du er borte, når svovlstikken går ud; borte ligesom den varme kakkellovn, den dejlige gæstesteg og det store velsignede juletræ!" – og hun strøg i hast den hele rest svovlstikker, der var i bundtet, hun ville ret holde på mormor; og svovlstikkerne lyste med en sådan glans, at det var klarere end ved den lyse dag. Mormor havde aldrig før været så smuk, så stor; hun løftede den lille pige op på sin arm, og de fløj i glans og glæde, så højt, så højt; og der var ingen kulde, ingen hunger, ingen angst, – de var hos Gud! (ibid.)

("Grandmother!" cried the little one. "Oh, take me with you! You go away when the match burns out; you vanish like the warm stove, like the delicious roast goose, and like the magnificent Christmas tree!" And she rubbed the whole bundle of matches quickly against the wall, for she wanted to be quite sure of keeping her grandmother near her. And the matches gave such a brilliant light that it was brighter than at noon-day: never formerly had the grandmother been so beautiful and so tall. She took the little maiden, on her arm, and both flew in brightness and in joy so high, so very high, and then above was neither cold, nor hunger, nor anxiety – they were with God.) (ibid.)

22 translations into Slovene, Croatian, Serbian and Bosnian were analysed, but no Macedonian works were covered: although there are several translations of Andersen into Macedonian (1949, 1955, 1967, 1973, 1990), unfortunately, none of them includes *The Little Match Girl*.

Before the end of the Second World War there appeared five different translations of Andersen's fairy tales into Slovene (1863, 1896, 1923, 1940, 1944), but only three of those collections contained *The Little Match Girl* (1896, 1940, 1944). All three follow the original closely and convey also the religious elements in the target text, but none of these translations was reprinted after the war. In 1950 there

appeared a new translation by Rudolf Kresal (1905–1975), who worked as a journalist before the war, and from 1949 as a free-lance writer and translator. Today, he is mainly remembered as the translator of Andersen's fairy tales into Slovene. His translation of Andersen proved very popular in Slovenia, so much so that his translation of *The Little Match Girl* has been reprinted 8 times (1967, 1975, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, 1984, 1987, 2002). In his translation the second passage, mentioned above, is completely censored, all the religious elements are replaced and God is replaced by a New Year's Tree:

Tako lepa, tako velika ni bila babica še nikoli. Vzela je drobno dekletce v naročje in splavali sta proti nebu v sijaju in veselju. Deklica ni čutila več ne mraza ne lakote ne strahu – z babico je bila med sijočimi zvezdami novoletne jelke.

(Andersen 1950b: 224)

(The grandmother had never before been so beautiful, so tall. She took the little maiden into her arms and they both flew towards the sky in brightness and in joy. The little girl no longer felt any cold or hunger or fear – she was with her grandmother among the shining stars of the New Year's Tree.)

Despite this radical change, the element of religious worldview, however, is retained in the first passage. It seems that if religion is associated with old people, if it is depicted as something obsolete, then it is allowed to remain. Thus Kresal's translation does mention a soul, but replaces God with heaven:

Zakaj stara babica, ki je edina bila dobra z njo in je že dolgo v grobu, je zmerom dejala: »Kadar se utrne zvezda, tedaj se neka duša dviga v nebo!«

(Andersen 1950b: 224)

(Because her grandmother, the only person who had ever been good to her and who lies in her grave for a long time, always said: "When a star falls, some soul ascends to heaven!")

This tactic can be observed in other Socialist translations: for example, in the 1961 translation of *The Wind in the Willows*, the mythological creature Pan is retained, while the Christmas carol is omitted (Grahame 1961: 93–94; see Pokorn 2008). It seems that some translators replaced the expressions that could have been directly associated with Christian religion with those that were less Christian and could have been linked to many different religions or mythologies.

After the change of political system, there appeared two new translations of *The Little Match Girl*. The translation from 1992 by Ileana Kopčevlarl is a very slightly amended reprint of the translation by Kresal – the little match girl again vanishes with her grandmother among "the shining stars of the New Year's Tree" (1992: 22). And finally, in 2007 there appeared a new, source-oriented

translation of the fairy tales from Danish by a TS scholar and university teacher Silvana Orel Kos, which included again all the religious elements (Andersen 2007: 276–279).

A similar change in translation strategy happened in Croatia. Three pre-war Croatian collections of Andersen's fairy tales were analysed (1890, 1924, 1927). Two of them contained *The Little Match Girl* (1890, 1924) and both conveyed the religious elements faithfully. After the war, there appeared a translation by Maja Spiz and Josip Tabak in 1950. The strategy used is similar to that of Kresal in the Slovene Socialist translation: although the grandmother is allowed to talk about a soul and heaven (Andersen 1950c: 283), the little match girl is not permitted to ascend to God:

Nikad još bakica nije bila tako lijepa i tako veličajna; podiže djevojčicu u naručje i poletje s njome visoko, visoko, sred sjaja i radosti. Nesta i hladnoće, i gladi, i straha...

(Andersen 1950c: 283)

(The grandmother has never before been so beautiful, so magnificent; she takes the little girl into her arms and they both fly high, high, to brightness and joy. There were no longer any cold or hunger or fear...)

In 1956 another Croatian translation by an anonymous translator was published, where the translation strategy used is the same as in the 1950 translation: God is not mentioned, but instead the little girl floats with her grandmother into "eternity" (Andersen 1956: 22). Three years later in 1959 there appeared another translation by Josip Tabak, which is the same as the translation from 1950.

After the political change in 1997 a new translation and adaptation was produced by Blanka Pagašić. The strategy, however, did not change, in fact it became even more radical: the whole passage about the shooting stars is omitted and also the religious elements are displaced:

Čvrsto zagrljene, lete one u nebo, visoko, visoko, tamo gdje nema zime, gdje nema gladi, tamo gdje nema besćutnih ljudi, tamo gdje su svi zauvijek sretni.

(Andersen 1997: 73)

(Holding each other closely in their arms, they fly into the sky, high, high, where there is no cold, where there is no hunger, where there are no unfeeling people, where everyone is forever happy.)

In a Serbian pre-war translation from 1930, religious elements are retained and God is mentioned in both passages. In a translation from 1947 (although it was published in Zagreb, the translation uses the Cyrillic alphabet and the Serbian language) by Ksenija Križanovski, God is replaced by heaven in the first paragraph, while in the second all the religious elements are omitted:

Mala devojčica više nije osećala ni studen, ni glad, ni strah, jer joj je duša bila na nebu. Puna nežnosti i topline! (Andersen 1947a: 88)

(The little girl felt no longer any cold, or hunger or fear, because her soul was in heaven. Full of tenderness and warmth!)

The same year there appeared another version of the same fairy tale, this time by Stanislav Vinaver who translated it from German. Here the passage describing the death of the little match girl is again purged of all religious elements. But in the first passage, where grandmother talks about shooting stars, God is retained:

»Sad umire neko«, reče mala, jer njena pokojna stara baka, jedina koja je nju volela, kazala je jedanred: »Kad zvezda padne, neka se duša penje bogu!«

(Andersen 1947b: 46)

(“Someone has just died!” said the little girl, because her dead grandmother, the only person who had ever loved her, once said: “When a star falls, some soul ascends to God!”)

Three years later, Vinaver’s translation was published again: in this “corrected” translation, however, the above-quoted passage is left out, so that the entire translation is purged of all religious elements (Andersen 1950a: 121–124).

In 1956 (reprinted in 1957, 1964) there appeared a translation from Danish by Vera Jugović – but this also omits all references to the Christian religion – even the grandmother is not allowed to talk about the soul and heaven (Andersen 1956: 165). In 1980, however, a scholarly translation of Andersen’s work by Petar Vujičić (reprinted 1990) was produced where the original text is again followed closely and all the religious elements faithfully conveyed into Serbian. There are still, however, some censored translations around: in 1990 a translation by Slobodan Lazić was published where once again God is not mentioned.

The first Bosnian translation from 1955 (reprinted in 1960, 1964 (although attributed to Ružica Breberina)) by Mihajlo Stojanović retains God in the passage about the shooting star, but replaces God with “the sky” in the passage where the little girl dies (Andersen 1955: 184). Since this version most probably was not “in line” enough, in 1965 there appeared another translation from French by Mak Dizdar where in the passage describing the death of the little girl, God is replaced by “eternal sleep” (Andersen 1965: 77). After the collapse of Yugoslavia a new translation by Nihada Kordić was published in 1996 (reprinted in 1999): this translation again does not mention God in any of the two passages focussed on.

To conclude, analysis of 22 translations of Andersen’s *The Little Match Girl* shows almost a monolithic picture: all Slovene, Croatian and Serbian translations that appeared before the end of the Second World War retained all

references to Christian religion and God. By contrast, in the Socialist period 92% of all translations, i.e. 11 out of 12 (whether Slovene, Croatian, Bosnian or Serbian), censored the religious elements of the story. The situation after the political change did not influence the translation strategy: 3 out of 4 translations that have appeared in Slovenia, Croatia or Bosnia still eliminate direct references to the Christian God.

As in the case of the fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm where the Slovene translator Fran Albreht explains in his introduction to the first edition of translation from 1954 that his selection shall include only those fairy tales “with a healthy, realistic, real-life basis” and exclude all those that are unhealthily pious and “sanctimonious” (Albreht 1954b: 8), the early Socialist translators of Andersen’s work did not conceal their strategy. The Slovene translator, Rudolf Kresal, in his introduction to the first edition of his translations (Kresal 1950b: 5–24), lays open his interpretation of Andersen. He emphasizes that Andersen was not apolitical, on the contrary, according to Kresal, Andersen was a fierce critic of the political and social situation of his own time, a “kulturno-političen borec” (a cultural-political fighter) who saw and felt all the feudal and bourgeois nausea (1950b: 6). Kresal stresses the proletarian origin of Andersen and the subordinate position he held in the bourgeois society of his time (1950b: 19). And finally, he attacks his religious faith:

Of course, as a child of his age, he paid his debt to his own time, to false romanticism; he succumbed from time to time to religious mysticism and made concessions to it; however, it is interesting that his work is weakest in those points, forced, “not reserved in the use of means, not healthy and without natural freshness” as he himself admitted, that is why he then focussed on nature as the purest source. His sharp, penetrating spirit, always just to everyone, did not ignore the milieu from which he came and developed. His works reveal that he saw and deeply felt the backwardness of his people, their misery, the growing reactionary character of his own age: of different aristocrats, of the new bourgeois capitalists, of bishops and saints, whom he attacks in *The Galoshes of Fortune* – a fairy tale that shows his progressive mind. How marvellously he dismisses the inquisition bishop in *The Wild Swans*: this story that manifests horrible superstition serves him as a backdrop against which he pertinently reveals wickedness and injustice. (Kresal 1950b: 22)

And indeed, the Slovene translator also emphasized this understanding of Andersen’s work in his translation. For example, in his version of *The Wild Swans* Kresal changed the target text, so that when in the original the brothers sing a hymn to God thanking him for their salvation, in the Slovene translation the brothers joyfully sing a hymn to their homeland (Orel Kos 2001).

Analysis of the translations in the Socialist Yugoslavia of fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm and by Hans Christian Andersen thus reveals clear tendencies. From 1945 to 1991, 98% of translations of Andersen were censored and all direct references to the Christian God were eliminated; and in 81% of the translations of the fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm religious elements were eliminated or attenuated. The editions that remained uncensored were predominantly “scholarly” editions that were published for an adult audience, while the most widely reprinted editions for children were purged of Christian elements. However, not only young children, but also adolescents were targeted, as we shall see in the next chapter.

