Children's best-sellers

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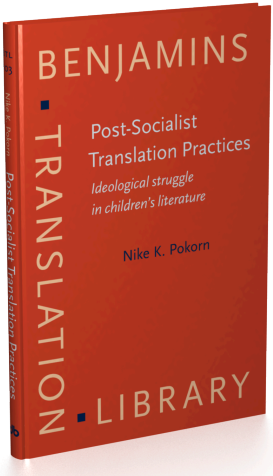

Pages 75–112 of
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Children's best-sellers

The ideology and values of the target society are also reflected in the translations of the works that used to be a part of the cultural capital (as defined by André Lefevere 1992; for Bourdieu's definition of the term see Wolf 2006) of Slovene children from the 1950s to the 1980s. Felix Salten's *Bambi*, Karl May's *Winnetou* and Johanna Spyri's *Heidi* represented in the post-war period the books that were most often reprinted and most read by Yugoslav children – in fact, you were likely to be picked on interminably if you had never heard of Bambi's tragic youth, of Heidi's nobleness of character, or of the exciting exploits of Winnetou and Old Shatterhand.

Bambi

Bambi, a novel that was particularly popular in Slovenia, was written by the Austrian writer Felix Salten (1869–1945), who was born to a Jewish family as Siegmund Salzmann in Budapest, and moved as an infant with his parents to Vienna. Despite having little formal education, he became a member of the *Jung Wien* movement and wrote letters, poems, essays, and short stories that were published in newspapers and periodicals in both Vienna and Berlin. In the late Twenties his reputation grew, so that from 1925 to 1934 he even became the president of the Austrian writers' association. Two years after Germany annexed Austria, Salten managed to escape to Zürich, Switzerland, where he lived until his death in 1945 (Rupp and Lang 1991).

Salten wrote his best-known novel *Bambi: A Life in the Woods* (*Bambi: Eine Lebensgeschichte aus dem Walde*) in 1923. Only five years after its creation, in 1929, the book was translated into English by Whittaker Chambers (1901–1961), a prominent American journalist and later a Communist spy, who at that time needed to supplement his income while working at a Communist newspaper (WhittakerChambers Org). His translation immediately became a Book-of-the-Month Club hit. Moreover, soon after, Thomas Mann brought *Bambi* to the attention of Walt Disney, and in 1933 Salten sold the film rights to the Disney studios, which spent five years refashioning it into an immensely successful animated film that premiered in Britain and the United States in August 1942.

The idea of writing *Bambi* came to Salten while he was on vacation in the Alps and being charmed by the wildlife there, so it is no wonder that readers from Alpine Slovenia found it so appealing. Bambi (the name is based on the Italian word *bambino*) is the name of the main character, a male roe deer beginning life as a fawn, then an adolescent spike, and finally a buck. It is a classic coming-of-age novel, following a deer from birth to adulthood, realistically, sometimes even melodramatically, depicting the dangers and harshness of nature. For example, the following excerpt describes the everyday suffering of animals during winter:

> Ein anderes Mal lief das Eichhörnchen mit einer großen Wunde an der Kehle herum, die ihm der Marder gebissen hatte. Wie durch einen Zauber war ihm das Eichhörnchen entwischt. Es konnte nicht sprechen vor Schmerz, aber es rannte durch alle Zweige. Jede konnte es sehen. Es rannte wie toll. Von Zeit zu Zeit hielt es inne, setzte sich, hob verzweifelt die Vorderpfoten, griff sich an den Kopf in seinem Schreck und in seinem Kummer und dabei stürzte ihm das rote Blut über die weiße Brust. Eine Stunde lief es so umher, dann brach es plötzlich zusammen, schlug plump gegen die Äste und fiel sterbend in den Schnee. Sogleich kamen ein paar Elstern herbei, um ihren Schmaus zu beginnen.
>
> (Salten [1923] 1930: 113–114)

> (Another time the squirrel raced about with a great wound in his neck where the ferret had caught him. By a miracle the squirrel had escaped. He could not talk because of the pain, but he ran up and down the branches. Everyone could see him. He ran like mad. From time to time he stopped, sat down, raised his forepaws desperately and clutched his head in terror and agony while the red blood oozed on his white chest. He ran about for an hour, then suddenly crumpled up, fell across a branch, and dropped dead in the snow. A couple of magpies flew down at once to begin their meal.) (Salten [1928] 2002: 85–86)

Bambi also experiences the cruelty of human hunters. The following excerpt is taken from a longer description of a hunt in the forest where the game is driven into the open:

> „Hier herum," rief jemand mit gebrochener Stimme. Bambi folgte unwillkürlich und kam sogleich an eine gangbare Stelle. Aber vor ihm richtete sich jemand mühsam auf. Es war die Frau des Freund Hasen. Sie hatte gerufen. „Könnten Sie mir nicht ein wenig behilflich sein?" sagte sie. Bambi sah sie an und war erschüttert. Ihre Hinterbeine schleiften lebenlos im Schnee, der vom heiß hervortropfenden Blut rot gefärbt, zerschmolz. Noch einmal sagte sie: „Könnten Sie mir nicht ein wenig behilflich sein?" Sie sprach, als ob sie gesund wäre, gelassen und fast heiter. „Ich weiß nicht, was mir passiert sein kann," fuhr sie fort, „es ist gewiß nicht von Bedeutung … nur gerade jetzt … ich kann jetzt nicht gehen…" Aber mitten im Sprechen sank sie zur Seite und war tot. Bambi wurde aufs neue von Entsetzen ergriffen und rannte. (Salten [1923] 1930: 127–128)

> ("This way!" called someone with a gasping voice. Bambi obeyed involuntarily and found an opening at once. Someone moved feebly in front of him. It was Friend Hare's wife who had called.
> "Can you help me a little?" she said. Bambi looked at her and shuddered. Her hind leg dangled lifelessly in the snow, dyeing it red and melting it with warm, oozing blood. "Can you help me a little?" she repeated. She spoke as if she were well and whole, almost as if she were happy. "I don't know what can have happened to me," she went on. "There's really no sense to it, but I can't seem to walk…"
> In the middle of her words she rolled over on her side and died. Bambi was seized with horror again and ran.) (Salten [1928] 2002: 97–98)

The young Bambi thus discovers the beauties and atrocities of nature, and observes the cruelty of human beings, who represent a constant threat to all the inhabitants of the woods. The hunters also kill his mother and take his old friend Gobo away. He is forced to survive on his own, and finally manages to win a fight and to earn the friendship and partnership of Gobo's sister, Felina (Faline in the English translation). Throughout his life he is watched over by the greatest roe deer in the woods, his father, a solitary stag, called the Old Prince, "der alte Fürst". The old stag is his mentor in many ways: he teaches him how to avoid and mislead hunters, and, above all, he introduces his young disciple to the awareness of the importance of solitude and leads him towards the "final enlightenment", which is revealed in the closing pages of the book. This final truth is connected with the false status of man in nature. All the animals consider human beings to be godlike creatures. For example, this is how a dog describes them:

> Der Hund sah sich im Kreise um. „Ihr!" rief er. „Was wollt ihr? Was wißt ihr? Was redet ihr? Alle gehört Ihm, wie ich Ihm gehöre! Aber ich … ich liebe Ihn, ich bete Ihn an! Ich diene Ihm! Ihr wollt euch auflehnen… Ihr Armseligen, gegen Ihn? Er ist allmächtig! Er ist über uns! Alles, was ihr habt, ist von Ihm! Alles, was da wächst und lebt, von Ihm!" Der Hund bebte vor Begeisterung.
>
> (Salten [1923] 1930: 238)

> (The dog stared around him. "Who are you?" he yelped. "What do you want? What do you know about it? What are you talking about? Everything belongs to Him, just as I do. But I, I love Him. I worship Him. I serve Him. Do you think you can oppose Him, poor creatures like him? He is all-powerful. He's above all of you. Everything we have comes from Him! Everything that lives or grows comes from Him!" The dog was quivering with exaltation.)
>
> (Salten [1928] 2002: 180–181)

However, in the closing pages of the novel, the Old Prince leads the grown-up Bambi to a human corpse, a dead poacher, and reveals to him the ultimate wisdom that the belief in the superiority of human beings is false:

"Bambi," fuhr der Alte fort, "erinnerst du dich an das, was Gobo gesagt hat, an das, was der Hund gesagt hat, an das, was sie alle glauben . . . erinnerst du dich?"
Bambi vermochte nicht zu antworten.
"Siehst du wohl, Bambi," sprach der Alte weiter, "siehst du nun, daß Er daliegt, wie einer von uns? Höre, Bambi, Er ist nicht allmächtig, wie sie sagen. Er ist es nicht, von dem alles kommt, was da wächst und lebt, Er ist nicht über uns! Neben uns ist Er und ist wie wir selber, und Er kennt wie wir die Angst, die Not und das Leid. Er kann überwältigt werden gleich uns, und dann liegt Er hilflos am Boden, so wie wir anderen, so wie du Ihn jetzt vor dir siehst."
Eine Stille war.
"Verstehst du mich, Bambi?" fragte der Alte.
Bambi erwiderte flüsternd: "Ich glaube . . ."
Der Alte gebot: "So sprich!"
Bambi erglühte und sprach bebend: "Ein anderer ist über uns allen … über uns und über Ihm."
"Dann kann ich gehen," sagte der Alte. (Salten [1923] 1930: 246–247)

("Bambi," the old stag said, "do you remember what Gobo said and what the dog said, what they all think, do you remember?"
Bambi could not answer.
"Do you see, Bambi," the old stag went on, "do you see how He's lying there dead, like one of us? Listen, Bambi, He isn't all-powerful as they say. Everything that lives and grows doesn't come from Him. He isn't above us. He's just the same as we are. He has the same fears, the same needs and suffers in the same way. He can be killed like us, and then He lies helpless here on the ground like all the rest of us, as you see Him now."
There was silence.
"Do you understand me, Bambi?" asked the old stag.
"I think so," Bambi said in a whisper.
"Then speak," the old stag commanded.
Bambi was inspired, and said trembling, "There is Another who is over us all, over us and over Him."
"Now I can go," said the old stag.) (Salten [1928] 2002: 187–188)

As already mentioned, the book was particularly popular in Slovenia, most probably because of its Alpine settings. The first Slovene translation appeared 15 years after its publication, in 1938. The translator Vinko Lavrič was a priest, who devoted himself to the education of the young. He was also an editor of the journal for young children *Vrtec* and of the journal for Catholic youth sports organisations *Kres* (1930–1941) (cf. Omladič 2006), which published articles by various right-wing politicians of the time. His translation of *Bambi*, which was published by a Catholic publishing house, closely follows the original and with a specific typography even emphasises the religious elements of the text. As in the original,

all pronouns that refer to man are not only capitalised but spelled entirely with capital letters:

> Bambek se razvname, se strese in pravi: »Nekdo drugi je nad nami vsemi… Nad nami in nad NJIM.«
> »Potem lahko grem,« pravi Klatež. (Salten 1938: 170)
>
> (Bambi gets excited, shivers and says: "There is Another who is above us all… Above us and above HIM."
> "Then I can go," says the Vagabond.)

The second translation appeared after the Second World War, in 1953. It was published in the series "Knjižica Sinjega Galeba" and then reprinted in 1970 in the influential book series "Biseri", published in an edition of 6,000 copies by the state-owned publishing house, Mladinska knjiga, in Ljubljana. The translator of both editions, Kristina Brenk, was born in 1911 in Horjul, not far from Ljubljana, and educated in a convent where, during her seven-year stay, she learned German, French, Esperanto and stenography. When she was 17 she left the convent for good, only 48 hours before she was due to be consecrated. She enrolled at the teachers' training college in Ljubljana and received a degree in education in 1938 at the age of 27. During the Second World War she joined the Slovene resistance movement (but not the Communist Party), and was consequently imprisoned in 1943. After the war, in 1949, married and with children, she started working as an editor for children's literature at the newly established publishing house Mladinska knjiga, where she remained until her retirement in 1973 (Jamar Legat 1973; Zupan 1996; Hostnik 2007). Kristina Brenk not only edited books for young readers, but also wrote books for children, promoted Slovene illustrators, helped many intellectuals that were ostracized by the society of the time by offering them work as translators, and, last but not least, translated many works herself. She died in Ljubljana in 2009.

Both Slovene editions of *Bambi* had a foreword by John Galsworthy and Kristina Brenk. The edition from 1970 does not change the translated text; the only difference between the two editions is that the second was published with illustrations by the Slovene illustrator Ančka Gošnik-Godec. Brenk's introduction typically (see Lathey 2006) provides an insight into a particular image of the child reader and emphasizes the didactic aspect of the work:

> Salten's books will be a pleasure to everyone who is seriously and sincerely concerned about the growth and formation of the young generation, in particular to teachers and parents when they look for presents for their children or pupils, wanting to offer a book that would encourage them in life with the right kind of thought. (Brenk 1970: 150)

The Slovene translation, which is otherwise very source-oriented and does not omit any of the instances of cruelty by animals or human beings, changes only the final, but significant passage:

> "Bambi," nadaljuje Starec, "ali se spominjaš, kaj je dejal Gobo, ali se spominjaš, kaj je dejal pes in kar vi vsi verjamete? Ali se spominjaš?"
> Bambi ne more odgovoriti.
> "Poglej, Bambi," nadaljuje Starec, "poglej, da leži Človek prav tako na tleh kakor kdo izmed naših. Poslušaj, Bambi! Človek ni vsemogočen, kakor pravijo. Iz Človeka ne izhaja vse, kar raste in živi. Človek ni nad nami. Človek je poleg nas in je tak, kakršni smo mi, kajti Človek pozna prav tako kakor mi, strah, stisko in trpljenje. Človek je lahko premagan kakor mi in tedaj leži, prav tako kakor mi, nebogljen na tleh, leži tako, kakor ga zdajle vidiš pred seboj."
> Dolgo molčita.
> "Ali me razumeš?" povpraša Starec.
> Šepetaje odgovori Bambi: "Razumem . . ."
> Starec ukaže: "Tedaj govôri!"
> Bambi se razvname in strastno odgovori: "Človek ni nad nami… Človek ni vsemogočen …"
> "Potem lahko odidem," reče Starec. (Salten [1953] 1970: 145–146)

> ("Bambi," the old one says, "do you remember what Gobo said and what the dog said, what you all think? Do you remember?"
> Bambi cannot answer.
> "Do you see, Bambi," the old stag goes on, "do you see how Man is lying there, like one of us? Listen, Bambi! Man isn't all-powerful as they say. Everything that lives and grows doesn't come from Man. Man isn't above us. Man is next to us and he's just the same as we are; Man has the same fears, the same needs and suffers in the same way. Man can be conquered like us, and then He lies helpless here on the ground like all the rest of us, as you see Him now."
> There was a long silence.
> "Do you understand me?" asks the Old Stag.
> Bambi replies, whispering, "I understand . . ."
> The Old One commands: "Then speak!"
> Bambi passionately replies: "Man is not above us . . . Man is not almighty . . ."
> "Then I can go," says the Old One.)

Not only the fact that the Slovene translation attenuates the religious overtones present in the original by replacing the personal pronoun with the noun "človek" ('man'), but the change of this final paragraph is particularly significant because it changes the teachings of the Old Stag. In the original and in the English translation, the Old Stag's final wisdom is that nature with all the animals and human beings is subordinate to a supreme being that transcends them all ("Ein anderer

ist über uns allen … über uns und über Ihm." (Salten [1923] 1930: 247); "There is Another who is over us all, over us and over Him." (Bambi [1928] 2002: 187–188)), whereas in the Slovene version the final wisdom is only that human beings are similar to other beings and are not superior, but equal to them.

Similar changes occurred in other Yugoslav translations. The first Socialist translation in Yugoslavia was the Serbian one by Milorad Marčetić in 1951. His translation of *Bambi* became part of the compulsory reading list for fourth year primary pupils (i.e. 10-year olds), and was reprinted in 1963, 1964, 2003 and 2006. In his translation, there is a similar strategy to the Slovene translation; in fact, it is possible that the Serbian translation was used as a model for all subsequent translations in Yugoslavia:

> »Razumeš li me, Bambi?« – zapita Stari.
> Bambi odgovori šapatom: »Razumem…«
> Stari zapovedi: »Onda govori!«
> Bambi ožive i poče da govori strasno: »On nije iznad nas… On nije svemoćan…«
> »Onda ja mogu ići,« reče Stari. (Salten 1951: 145)

> ("Do you understand me, Bambi?" asks the Old One.
> Bambi replies, whispering, "I understand . . ."
> The Old One commands: "Then speak!"
> Bambi awakens and starts passionately replying: "He is not above us … He is not almighty …"
> "Then I can go," says the Old One.)

Here, too, the Serbian translation omits the sentence where Bambi expresses his belief in a transcendental being. The Croatian translation by Dragutin Perković, which first appeared in 1962 (Salten 1962), was even more explicit in the strategy. This translation, which was reprinted 15 times in the Socialist and post-Socialist periods (1963, 1969, 1971, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1981, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1989, 1990, 2001, 2005), adds an additional sentence in line with the basic principles of dialectical materialism, asserting that it is not God but the laws of nature that are above all created beings:

> Stari zapovjedi: – Ta govori!
> Bambi se zažari i reči drščući: – Nešto je drugo nad nama svima … nad svima nama i nad Njim. **To su zakoni prirode**.
> – Onda mogo ići – reče Stari. (Salten [1962] 1990: 158)

> (The Old One commands: – Then speak!
> Bambi glows and says with a shiver: "There is something else that is above us all… above us all and above Him. **These are the laws of nature**.
> – Then I can go – says the Old One.) (Emphasis added)

And finally, in 1987 a Macedonian translation was created by Slavko Zdravkovski (reprinted in 1990 and 2000), which translates the text without any omissions or additions (Salten 1987: 128). Thus the only pre-war translation from the Yugoslav area offered a target text that stressed the religious connotations of the text, but the post-war Serbian (1951), Slovene (1953) and Croatian (1962) translations of *Bambi* changed the text according to the dominant materialist ideology, while the Macedonian translation, which was created 25 to 36 years later than the others, once again translated the text without changing the ideological framework of the original.

Winnetou

If Bambi appealed more to young people in an Alpine environment, Karl May's popularity knew no geographical bounds. Karl May (1842–1912) was a German author of over 80 travel and adventure stories (known as *Reiseerzählungen*), dealing with desert Arabs and American Indians in the Wild West. His career as an elementary school teacher ended abruptly when he was arrested for petty theft (he was charged with stealing his roommate's watch), and spent six weeks in prison. He was later twice arrested for fraud (e.g. pretending to be a medical doctor, a notary's assistant etc.), and spent more than seven years in prison, where he is said to have read voraciously. After his release in 1874 May became an editor of a couple of weekly journals in Dresden and wrote short stories that were serialized in various periodicals (many of his tales appeared in a Catholic family magazine, *Deutscher Hausschatz*). His popularity soared upon the appearance of his short-story collections and novels in the early 1890s (see Koblick 1999).

Although literary critics largely dismiss his work as second-rate, he has been widely read in Europe (he is still virtually unknown in the Anglo-Saxon world) and was praised among others by Hitler, Albert Einstein and Hermann Hesse. Karl May is also the best-selling German author of all time, i.e. the publishing house Karl May Verlag in Bamberg claims over 100 million copies sold worldwide, and there is hardly an adult German (or Slovene) male alive today who did not read Karl May's books as a youngster (cf. Schmiedt 1987).

The "original" work is hard to define: the adventure novel *Winnetou*, which depicts the adventures of a noble Apache chieftain by the name Winnetou and his blood brother Old Shatterhand – a young German adventurer whose fist can pack a devastating punch – was revised many times even by Karl May himself and his publisher. Moreover, when he published a new edition of *Winnetou* in 1892–1893, May wrote an entirely new version of Volume I and new chapters for Volumes 2 and 3, tying together elements from earlier serialized versions of his stories to

create the "Winnetou Trilogy" (*Winnetou IV* is considered a later, separate work). For later editions in 1904 and 1909, May made even more revisions. After his death in 1912, Karl-May-Verlag continued to further alter May's texts. All these changes made the definition of the exact original for various translations difficult. The historically critical edition of *Winnetou* published in 1992 by Parkland was therefore used to select those passages for analysis that showed no change in the subsequent editions.

Despite the fact that May's books were never recommended to children in Slovene libraries and also never figured on the official reading lists in schools, his works were undisputed best-sellers of juvenile fiction (the first translation of Karl May into Slovene appeared in as early as 1898): for example, after the Second World War more than 100 000 copies of *Winnetou* were published in Slovene, which is for a population of less than 2 million people a clear mark of success. Today, Karl May's books are in decline, they can still be found in all public libraries, although it is obvious that in the last decade they were ousted from the throne of popularity by Harry Potter and vampire adventures.

There are four different Slovene translations of the *Winnetou* trilogy; the first one was done before the Second World War in 1931. The text, which was introduced as an authorised translation, was published in 20 volumes by a Catholic publishing house in Maribor. Although the translator is not named, it is nevertheless known that the work was translated by the theologian Prof. Anton Jehart (1881–1948). Jehart, a specialist in the Old Testament and a teacher at the Maribor theological faculty, also translated some other German, French, English and Spanish literary works into Slovene (see Smolik 1995: 7).

The first post-war translation appeared in 1952–1953 and was done by Oskar Hudales (1905–1968). Hudales was a teacher by profession and a pre-war Communist who helped set up the radio station in Maribor, and became the director of one of the main publishing houses in Slovenia, Založba Obzorja. He was also an author of juvenile fiction: he wrote 3 historical novels, 15 stories for children, and numerous textbooks. In this translation of *Winnetou,* Hudales is not mentioned as the translator and adaptor of the work.

The third and most widely read translation was produced by Ludvik Mrzel (1904–1974) in 1962 (reprints in 1967, 1968, 1975, 1978, 1982). Mrzel started his career as a newspaper journalist, and during the war was interned in Dachau. In 1949 he was wrongly accused of collaborating with the Gestapo and foreign intelligence services and was sentenced at the so-called Dachau trials, the Stalinist show trials in Ljubljana. After serving his seven-year sentence at the concentration camp on the island Goli otok, he worked as a journalist, translated from German, Russian and Serbo-Croat into Slovene, and wrote short stories and theatre reviews (Moder 1985: 211; Brenk 1996a: 92–94). In his translation of

Winnetou it is admitted for the first time that the book is "translated and adapted", however, the name of the translator and adaptor is not given, the pseudonym P. S. being used instead.

The fourth and the last translation was published in 6 volumes; it was completed in 1983 by Jože Dolenc (1912–1997), who graduated in theology in 1938 as a layman, and started working in public radio and editing the journal *Radio Ljubljana*. During the Second World War he was an active member of the left-wing Liberation Front, and was, like Mrzel, interned in Dachau. After the war, he worked at the main Slovene newspaper and as the editor at the publishing house Mohorjeva družba (1952–75), the only publishing house that was not subject to direct political monitoring. He translated more than 30 novels and short stories, mainly from German (Moder 1985: 59). However, *Winnetou* was his greatest success: 10 000 copies of this translation alone were published, which proves how highly popular Karl May still was in Slovenia in the Eighties.

Comparison of the translations with the original showed that the disturbing elements in the text varied according to when the translation was done. In the first pre-war translation the theologian Jehart rarely departed from the German text, with only one distinctive shift: May's chapter divisions are not maintained. The text is divided into chapters anew, some maps are added, and the plot of the previous chapters is sometimes summarised at the beginning of a new volume; new titles are also given to chapters. The second distinction is that in this translation religious undertones were over-emphasized, which is not surprising since its translator was a professor of theology. On the one hand, some of the new chapter headings stress the Christian elements in the novel; e.g. one of the chapters is entitled simply "Ave Maria" (referring to the angelic salutation to the Virgin Mary and a principal prayer in the Roman Catholic Church); on the other, passages of open criticism of the Christian religion are omitted. For example, in *Winnetou II* the main hero, Winnetou, complains that white people force Indians to accept their faith. He says that at first when the pious friars came, the Indians appreciated what they taught them, but now when those friars have been chased away by new and quarrelsome preachers who just want to prepare the ground for new settlers, the Indians no longer want to listen to them. Most probably this criticism of Christian missionaries seemed too strong to Jehart, so he omitted the passage completely. (Curiously enough, the translation from 1952–53 also omits this passage, while translations from 1962 and 1983 translate it in full.)

The first post-war Slovene translation of *Winnetou* from 1952–53 by Oskar Hudales denationalizes Karl May's work. The original *Winnetou* is a first-person narrative in which the narrator, the intelligent and educated young German Karl or Charlie (later known as Old Shatterhand because he can fell a man with one

blow from his extremely powerful fist), starts his career in America as a tutor to a well-to-do German immigrant family in St. Louis. His friends, however, soon recognize Karl's amazing potential as a "Westmann" (i.e. westerner, frontiersman) and find him a position with a surveying crew on a westward-expanding railroad. There he is educated by a comic relief figure, Sam Hawkens, also of German ancestry, who has some experience as a frontiersman. The first post-war Slovene translation never mentions that the central hero is of German origin. The reader only learns that the narrator came from Europe and that he works in a family that are his compatriots. Also everywhere else in the book, the translator skilfully avoids mentioning the nationality of Old Shatterhand. For example, when he meets the naturalised Apache Kleki-petra, who turns out to be a German, they both celebrate the fact that they belong to German nation:

> »Ich bin kein Amerikaner.«
> »Was denn, wenn Euch die Frage nicht belästigt?«
> »Gar nicht. Ich habe keine Ursache, mein Vaterland, welches ich sehr liebe, zu verheimlichen. Ich bin ein Deutscher.«
> »Ein Deutscher?« fuhr er mit dem Kopfe schnell empor. »Dann heiße ich Sie willkommen, Landsmann! Das war es wohl, was mich gleich zu Ihnen zog. Wir Deutschen sind eigentümliche Menschen. Unsere Herzen erkennen einander als verwandt, noch ehe wir es uns sagen, daß wir Angehörige eines Volkes sind wenn es doch nun endlich einmal ein einiges Volk werden wollte! Ein Deutscher, der ein vollständiger Apache geworden ist! Kommt Ihnen das nicht außerordentlich vor?«
> (May 1992a: 114)
>
> ("I am not an American."
> "What are you then, if I may ask?"
> "Of course, you may. I do not have any reason to hide my beloved fatherland. I am a German."
> "A German?" he looked up quickly. "Be welcome then, my countryman. That was what drew me to you. We, Germans, are specific. Our hearts recognize our kinship even before we learn that we belong to the same people – if only we wanted to become one people one day! A German that has become a full-fledged Apache! Don't you find that strange?")

In Slovene translation from 1952, all references to the German nation are left out:

> »Kaj pa ste, če smem vprašati?«
> Ko sem mu povedal, je kar poskočil od veselja.
> »Torej sva rojaka, sinova istega naroda!« je dejal. »Dobrodošli! Zdaj vem, zakaj ste mi bili všeč že na prvi pogled. Zdi se mi, da se rojaki v tujini drug drugega zaslutijo še preden si povedo, da imajo skupno domovino. Vendar pa – ali se nič ne čudite, da sem Apač, čeprav sva iz istih krajev doma? Ali ni to nekaj nenavadnega?«
> (May 1952: 106)

> ("What are you, if I may ask?"
> When I told him, he jumped with joy.
> "Then we are countrymen, sons of the same nation!" he said. "Welcome! Now I know why I liked you at first sight. It seems to me that countrymen sense each other when abroad, even before they reveal to each other that they come from the same country. But – don't you find it strange that I am an Apache although we come from the same place? Don't you find that strange?")

Thus, whenever Old Shatterhand meets a German in the original, in this translation he meets his countryman, when he speaks German in the original, in the translation he speaks his mother tongue etc. It seems that the early Fifties in Slovenia were still too close to the war and that therefore Germans were not allowed to occupy the role of heroes.

Similar to the strategy observed in other Socialist translations, in all post-war Slovene translations of *Winnetou* religious elements were displaced in more or less radical ways. Instances of religious occurrences in the original German are so numerous that a thorough analysis would bore the reader to death (just the corpus of parallel examples in 36 pages long). With this self-limitation in mind, let us mention just two of the most prominent instances: the first one is the story and the death of Kleki-petra, the German teacher of Winnetou, the second the death of Winnetou himself.

The Story and the Death of Kleki-petra

When Old Shatterhand meets Winnetou for the first time, he is taken aside by Winnetou's hunchback companion Kleki-petra, who turns out to be of German origin. Kleki-petra tells Old Shatterhand his life story, recounting that he was forced to leave Germany because he used to be a revolutionary, persecuted by the state. Kleki-petra is full of remorse; he is ashamed of his former political beliefs and feels responsible for the death of those he persuaded to join the revolution:

> Ich danke Ihnen herzlich! Und doch irren Sie sich. Ich war ein Dieb, denn ich habe viel, ach so viel gestohlen! Und das waren kostbare Güter! Und ich war ein Mörder. Wie viele, viele Seelen habe ich gemordet! Ich war Lehrer an einer höheren Schule; wo, das zu sagen, ist nicht nötig. Mein größter Stolz bestand darin, Freigeist zu sein, Gott abgesetzt zu haben, bis auf das Tüpfel nachweisen zu können, daß der Glaube an Gott ein Unsinn ist. Ich war ein guter Redner und riß meine Hörer hin. Das Unkraut, welches ich mit vollen Händen ausstreute, ging fröhlich auf, kein Körnchen ging verloren. Da war ich der Massendieb, der Massenräuber, der den Glauben an und das Vertrauen zu Gott in ihnen tötete.

> Dann kam die Zeit der Revolution. Wer keinen Gott anerkennt, dem ist auch kein König, keine Obrigkeit heilig. Ich trat öffentlich als Führer der Unzufriedenen auf; sie tranken mir die Worte förmlich von den Lippen, das berauschende Gift, welches ich freilich für heilsame Arznei hielt; sie stürmten in Scharen zusammen und griffen zu den Waffen. Wie viele, viele fielen im Kampfe! Ich war ihr Mörder, und nicht etwa der Mörder dieser allein. Andere starben später hinter Kerkermauern. (May 1992: 115)

> (I laughed as I spoke, but he said gravely: "Thank you, but you are mistaken. I was a thief, for I stole much that was priceless. And I was a murderer, the worst of murderers, for I slew souls. I was a teacher in an advanced school, it does not matter where. I was born a Catholic, but lost any faith, and my greatest pride lay in being free and having dethroned God, and all my influence and skill went to robbing others of their faith. I had great power over men, and numberless were the hearers whom my lectures led into infidelity. Then came the revolution. He who acknowledges no God recognises no king or authority as sacred. I placed myself at the head of a lawless band of malcontents, who acclaimed me as their leader, and we rose in mad rebellion against constituted authority. How many fell in that struggle! I was a murderer, and the murderer not only of these, but of others that perished later behind prison walls.)
>
> (May 1898; the text is abridged and edited by the translator, it does, however, provide the basic gist of the source text)

Kleki-petra tells Old Shatterhand that he found solace in the Christian faith, but that he would find his final peace only if he could sacrifice his life for someone else, for example Winnetou, whom he loves deeply. Only a few minutes later, his wish is granted, he jumps in front of Winnetou and takes the bullet intended for the young Apache chieftain. When dying he utters the following words:

> »(…) ich sterbe wie wie ich es gewünscht. Herrgott, vergieb vergieb! Gnade Gnade! Ich komme komme Gnade«. (May 1992: 122)

> (I die … as … as … I wished. God, forgive … forgive. Mercy … mercy! I am coming … coming … mercy.)

Of course, the entire passage proved to be problematic for the post-war socialist Slovene translations. The first one from 1952 thus changes the passage completely. Kleki-petra is still a revolutionary, but does not renounce his revolutionary activity – on the contrary, he remains proud of it:

> Dolgo sem okleval, slednjič pa sem se odločil, da stopim v vrste tistih, ki so se borili proti krivici in zatiranju. Postal sem navdušen revolucionar in eden najvplivnejših borcev proti krivici in izkoriščevanju. To sem kljub vsemu ostal tudi danes. (May 1952: 107)

> (I was reluctant at first, but then I decided to join the ranks of those who were fighting against injustice and oppression. I became an ardent revolutionary and one of the most influential fighters against injustice and exploitation. And against all odds, I have remained one.)

The Slovene Kleki-petra is thus forced into exile, but he never regrets his involvement in the revolution. He is proud of Winnetou because he is sure that the young Apache will continue his fight for justice, and says he is willing to sacrifice his life for him if needs be. When dying, he says only that he dies the way he has always wanted (May 1952: 106–112).

Sascha Schneider, "Winnetou III", 1904, en.wikipedia.org

In the second post-war Slovene translation from 1962 Kleki-petra admits killing a person. He says that he did not do it on purpose or alone, but that the victim had been very dear to him and that this death has been haunting him ever since. No revolutionary activity is mentioned:

> Obupan in zavržen sem bil, ko sem zvedel, da sem zakrivil smrt človeka, ki mi je bil blizu. Konec sem hotel napraviti s seboj, a v nočeh brez spanja sem sprevidel, da tisti, ki roko polaga nase, ničesar ne popravi na svojem življenju. In tako sem se odločil, da se s svojim življenjem in delom odkupim za tisto, kar sem grešil. Samo bežati sem moral s kraja zločina. (May [1962] 1978: 93)
>
> (I was devastated and felt rejected when I heard that I had caused the death of someone close to me. I wanted to kill myself, but I realised during many sleepless nights that whoever raises his hand against himself does not change anything in his life. Thus I decided to redeem myself with my life for the deed I have done. But I had to flee the crime scene.)

In this version, too, Kleki-petra expresses his deep affection for Winnetou and says that he would gladly take a bullet for him and with this act wash away his sin and guilt. The dying Kleki-petra whispers that this is what he wants – religious elements are omitted:

> Zdaj pada moj list … odlomljen … ne rahlo … to je … moja zadnja … odkupnina … kakor sem želel … (May [1962] 1978: 95)
>
> (My leaf is now falling … torn away… not lightly … this is … my last … ransom … as I wished …)

In the last Slovene translation from 1983 Kleki-petra enigmatically claims that "he tried to change the world according to the imperatives of reason" and that he had killed a person. The narrator complains that Kleki-petra did not want to give him any details concerning that crime. Again, no revolution is mentioned. The end of the passage is almost identical to that of the earlier 1962 translation; here, Kleki-petra also believes that offering his life for Winnetou's sake might bring him the final reconciliation with himself. The dying words of Kleki-petra are identical to those used in the 1962 version (May 1983b: 96–97).

Ave Maria

The account of Winnetou's death is also interesting. On one occasion Winnetou visits a village of German settlers with Old Shatterhand, where he is deeply impressed by the settlers' singing of "Ave Maria", curiously enough, written by Old Shatterhand himself. The song goes as follows:

> Es will das Licht des Tages scheiden;
> Nun bricht die stille Nacht herein.
> Ach, könnte doch des Herzens Leiden
> So wie der Tag vergangen sein!
> Ich leg mein Flehen dir zu Füßen;
> O trag's empor zu Gottes Thron,
> Und laß, Madonna, laß dich grüßen
> Mit des Gebetes frommem Ton:
> Ave, ave, Maria! (May 1992: 368)
>
> (The light of day is taking leave/The silent night is coming./Oh, if only the heartbreak could go away/As this day!/I lay my entreaties at your feet/Oh, take them high to the throne of God/And let, Madonna, let us hail you/with the merry tune of the prayer:/Ave, ave, Maria!)

Winnetou later asks his friend Old Shatterhand to explain the meaning of the lyrics to him. Particularly pleased, because he is himself a devout Christian himself, Old Shatterhand explains to his Indian blood brother the basic tenets of Christianity. Some critics even compare Old Shatterhand to "a celibate, holy knight in search of the Grail" (Cracroft 1999: xvi), and indeed, Old Shatterhand shuns killing, tries to shoot only to maim, prays and keeps the Sabbath. Winnetou seems to be impressed by his account, but does not react at the time. However, when mortally wounded while freeing those very same German villagers from the cruel Kiowa tribe, Winnetou asks the villagers to sing "Ave Maria" to him again. Listening to them, Winnetou whispers his final words in his friend's ear, expressing his conversion to Christianity, and dies:

> Schar-Iih, ich glaube an den Heiland. Winnetou ist ein Christ. Lebe wohl!
> (May 1992c: 419)
>
> (Charlie, I believe in the Saviour. Winnetou is Christian. Farewell!)

In the pre-war version from 1931, all the Christian elements are included. The translator even emphasized these passages by creating a new chapter and entitling it simply "Ave Maria". On the other hand, all the post-war translations had problems with this passage. The translation from 1953 radically changed all the religious connotations. When Winnetou visits the settlers (here, too, there is no mention that they are Germans), he listens to them singing about the vastness of the prairie and the fate of a lonely Indian who dies a heroic death.

> Pesem je pela o širni preriji, čez katero pihlja veter. Kakor morje valovi trava pod njim. Samoten jezdec hiti proti zahodu, kjer tone sonce za daljne obzorje. Jezdec je Indijanec, ki se je ves predal srečnemu občutku svobode, ki diha iz širne prerije. Toda nekje v najbolj skritem kotičku srca ga vznemirja trpka misel, da njegov rod ne bo več dolgo užival te svobode. Zatonila bo, kakor zatone sonce. Sonce

> sicer spet vstane, le sonce Indijančeve svobode se ne vrne nikoli več. Zato se Indijanec razžalosti. Vroče si zaželi junaškega boja, v katerem naj ga sreča smrt, da ne bo videl, kako je prerijske svobode za vselej konec. (May 1953: 374)
>
> (The song was about the vastness of the prairie that is caressed by a soft wind. The grass moves like the sea's waves. A lonely rider hurries towards the west where the sun is sinking below the horizon. The rider is an Indian who has abandoned himself to the happy feeling of freedom spread over the vast prairie. But somewhere, in the deepest corner of his heart, he is burdened by a bitter thought that his race is not going to enjoy that freedom any longer. This freedom shall set, like the sun. The sun shall rise again, but the sun of that Indian's freedom shall not return any more. That is why the Indian grows sad. He wishes to engage in a heroic fight in which he would meet death, not to see how this prairie freedom is going to end forever.)

It is this song he wants to hear again when dying, and his last words are just "Farewell, Charlie, farewell…" (Winnetou 1953: 418). In the second translation by Mrzel the religious references are again completely omitted, the explanation given, however, is much less elaborate. Here Winnetou listens to the "Evening song" composed by Old Shatterhand.

> Ugaša dneva že sinjina
> in noč se spušča na ravan.
> O, da bi srca bolečina
> lahko prešla ko beli dan! (May [1962] 1978: 292)
>
> (The light of day is dying
> and night is settling on the plain.
> Oh, if only the pang of the heart
> Could pass away as the light of day!)

When asked to explain the lyrics, Old Shatterhand says that he has described the beauty of life and love. And Winnetou's dying words are then devoid of any Christian elements; he just says "Sarli,[6] Good luck go with you!" and dies. (May [1962] 1978: 330). In the latest translation, however, from 1983, "Ave Maria" re-emerges – after 52 years Winnetou is again allowed to come into contact with Christianity, although in an attenuated way. Thus Old Shatterhand does explain the religion of white men to Winnetou, but he does not go into details and the passage is much shorter than the original one. Curiously enough, the paragraph where the narrator explicitly talks to Winnetou about the Saviour and Virgin Mary is also not translated and the wordings of the previous 1962 translation are

6. "Sarli" is a Slovene transliteration of "Schar-lih", i.e. Winnetou's pronunciation of "Charlie", the name of Old Shatterhand.

used, saying that the song talked about the beauty of life and love. Moreover, the translation of the original "Ave Maria" is not given, the whole poem is shortened into four verses that are identical to those used in 1962 version. The last words of the Apache chieftain are, however, altered. In this version he says: "Sarli, I believe in your good Spirit. Farewell!" (May 1983b: 89).

Thus the Slovene translations of *Winnetou* show the changing attitude of Slovene society to the Christian religion. The pre-war translation from 1931 emphasizes Christian elements and censors the passages that are critical of Christian missionaries. The translation from 1952–53 omits the German presence in the novel and completely purges the text of any religious elements. Ten years later, in 1962, the translation admits the German origins of the main hero, but still displaces the Christian elements of the novel. In the last translation of 1983, i.e. after an additional 20 years, Christian elements are again present but in an attenuated way.

There are no Macedonian translations of *Winnetou*, but there are numerous Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian translations. In Croatia, the pre-war translation of *Winnetou* from 1927 follows the original closely and does not change any of the passages mentioned above (May 1927). The first Croatian translation after the war was created by Miro Rajković (Book 1) and Irena Vrkljan (Book 3) in 1962 (May 1962); the second translation was a revised edition by Irena Vrkljan and Zvonimir Golob and was published three years later (May 1965a); the third translation appeared in the same year, by J. Filičić (May 1965b: reprinted in 1983a, 1986); and finally in 1984 the last Socialist Croatian translation of *Winnetou* by Zvonimir Golob appeared (May 1984). However, all the post-war Croatian translations, regardless of the translator, made changes similar to the shifts observed above:

a. Old Shatterhand is not described as a German, but is said to come from Europe (May 1962: 69; 1965a: 69; 1965b: 72; 1984: 75; 1986: 72);
b. the whole "revolutionary" background of Kleki-petra is omitted (May 1962: 71; 1965a: 71; 1965b: 73–74; 1984: 76; 1986: 73–74);
c. "Ave Maria" is not mentioned; the episode about the German settlers singing in front of their church is left out (May 1962: 194–195; 1965a: 194–195; 1965b: 241–243; 1984: 242; 1986: 241–242);
d. When Winnetou is dying, the passage where he asks the German settlers to sing "Ave Maria" to him is left out, and his final words are only: "Zbogom." ("Farewell.") (May 1962: 217; 1965a: 217; 1965b: 271; 1984: 281; 1986: 271).

Two years before his death, Zvonimir Golob (1927–1997) published a new translation of *Winnetou* (May 1995) in which all the previously censored elements are re-introduced: Old Shatterhand remains German (May 1995a: 69) and Kleki-Petra openly declares he is Christian, revealing and regretting his revolutionary past (ibid.: 69–70). The German settlers are allowed to sing "Ave Maria" again

(May 1995b: 327–328), and Winnetou declares himself a Christian before dying (May 1995b: 356–360).

In Serbia it seems that the first translation was created in the 1940s (the date is not defined) by Svetozar Rančić – but since the book is not available in the National Library of Serbia, no comparison with the later editions was possible. However, Svetozar Rančić was also the translator of the edition published in 1952 in Belgrade. Eight years later, in 1960 (reprinted 1965, 1967), there appeared an additional revised version by Svetomir Ristić and Svetozar Rančič. Both post-war versions provided the same translations of the following passages:

a. Old Shatterhand is not defined as a German (May 1952: 115; 1960: 96), although there are instances where the main characters are said to address each other in German (May 1952: 120; 1960: 100);
b. Kleki-petra's revolutionary past is not mentioned, but he says that he has lost faith in God (May 1952: 116; 1960: 97). In his dying moments he prays to God (May 1952: 121; 1960: 101);
c. the German settlers pray in front of their church and sing "Ave Maria". There is even a footnote added: "in the Catholic Church the Latin beginning of the prayer 'Hail Mary', translator's note." (May 1952: 372);
d. the dying Winnetou asks the German settlers to sing "Ave Maria" to him. However, just before dying, he wants to say something, but he cannot, he just stutters and dies (May 1952: 419–420).

In 1990 there appeared a new Serbian translation of *Winnetou*, Books 1 and 2 (Book 3 was not published) by Andra Žeželj. This translation closely follows the original as far as religious elements are concerned: Old Shatterhand is defined as German (May 1990: 54), Kleki-petra pleads for mercy when dying (May 1990: 58), but his remorse regarding his revolutionary past is still omitted (May 1990: 55).

The first Bosnian translation was published for both Croatian and Bosnian markets in 1965 by J. Filičić. As above, all the religious elements and the critique of revolutionary activity are left out (May 1965b). In 1972 there appeared a new, severely abridged version of the novel by Nika Miličević (May 1972) in which Old Shatterhand is not defined as a German (May 1972: 35), Kleki-petra's past is not mentioned (ibid.), there is also no mention of the German settlers singing "Ave Maria". However, when dying, Winnetou wants to listen to "Ave Maria" and his final words are:

> Šarli, i ja vjerujem u Spasitelja! I Vinetu je bio hrišćanin, znaj! Zbogom!
> (May 1972: 270)
> (Sharli, I believe in Saviour! Winnetou is also a Christian, you should know that! Farewell!)

Thus both remaining Yugoslav pre-war translations of *Winnetou* did not hide the fact that Old Shatterhand was German and included the critique of revolutionary activity and the religious elements of the text. There were 11 post-war translations analysed: only three reveal openly that the main hero, Old Shatterhand, is German by origin (May 1962, 1983, 1990); all of them eliminate the critique of revolutionary activity; two translations, both of them Serbian, mention "Ave Maria" and (May 1952, 1960), and in only one Bosnian translation does Winnetou declare himself to be a Christian before dying (May 1972). It seems that the revisionist activity in Socialist translation was primarily directed against any criticism of revolution (100% of cases), and then against Christian elements of the text (in 10 translations, i.e. 91% of cases). The data also show that elimination of a religious presence was much more thorough in Slovenia and Croatia than in Serbia. The only Croatian post-Socialist translation, however, reintroduces all the censored elements to the translated text (May 1995).

Heidi

This novel is an exception in our catalogue: *Heidi* was not translated before the war, the first Slovene translation appearing only in 1954. It was chosen, however, because, as *Winnetou* belonged to the cultural capital of Slovene adolescent boys, Johanna Spyri's *Heidi* had the same status for girls. This 19th-century didactic work for children was first translated into Slovene in 1954 and reprinted in 1959, 1962, 1964, 1967, 1971, 1974, 1978, and revised (but only stylistically) in 1982, which means that there appeared 9 editions in 18 years (Kocijančič Pokorn 2005). The popularity of this work is particularly surprising because religion is one of the crucial elements of the novel in the original.

Heidi (1879–81) is the most famous work of the Swiss author Johanna Spyri (1827–1901) (cf. Rutschman 2004). The book, which has been translated into more than 50 languages, is said to have been the most popular work of Swiss literature ever written[7]. The novel tells us the story of the young orphan girl Heidi who, after the death of her parents, goes to live with her grandfather in a cottage in the Swiss Alps. But since her grandfather leads a completely isolated life and refuses to send the child to school or to church, Heidi is taken away by her aunt to Frankfurt where she is supposed to live as a companion to a paralyzed girl, Klara, who is confined to a wheelchair because of a trauma she experienced in her early childhood. Heidi feels miserable in Frankfurt and is constantly homesick. The

7. See http://heidi-children-story-books.all-about-switzerland.info/index.html (accessed 26 March 2011).

only person she gets attached to is Klara's grandmother, who encourages Heidi to read and pray. Since her homesickness worsens, Heidi is allowed to return to her grandfather in the Alps. There, she soon converts her grandfather, so that they both return to the village congregation. Her newly acquired skill, i.e. the fact that she has learned how to read in Frankfurt, also enables her to read religious hymns to the blind grandmother of her lazy and illiterate friend Peter. At the end of the novel, Heidi is visited by Klara, who finds new energy in the inspiring environment and, consequently, starts walking again. The novel ends with everyone being overwhelmingly happy, praising the Lord for the happiness He has bestowed on all good people.

It is not hard to find faults in *Heidi*: the novel describes a black-and-white world, the principal characters in the novel are either angelically good or corrupt through and through, which leads to a simplistic distinction between good and evil; the novel concludes with an unrealistically happy end; and the main character of Heidi seems too good for this world, too pious, too ideal. But despite these features (or maybe because of them) the novel became an instant success and remained among the most popular works for children for more than a century. *Heidi* was not only popular in Western European countries, it was also a hit in the Socialist world, e.g. *Heidi* is still the most widespread children's book in China (O'Sullivan 2006: 157). Its popularity was also strengthened by numerous film adaptations of the novel, e.g. the first American version from 1937 with Shirley Temple in the leading role (director Allan Dwan), the second from 1952 by the director Luigi Comencini, the third from 1968 by the director Delbert Mann, and last but not least, the film adaptation by Paul Marcus from 2005, filmed in Slovenia, provides an additional insight into why the descriptions of an idyllic Alpine environment found so many young admirers in Slovenia.

The analysis covered only those Slovene versions of *Heidi* which were openly stated to be translations, and excluded all other picture books and adaptations. If these numerous adaptations are not taken into account, then we are left with only two Slovene translations of the novel. The first one was published in 1954 and was created by Meta Sever (1911–1997), a graduate in South-Slavonic literatures at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, who taught at various secondary schools and was an editor of a women's magazine *Naša žena* (Moder 1985: 269). Her translation has undoubtedly been the most popular so far: it was reprinted in 1959, 1962, 1964, 1967, 1971, 1974 in 1978. In 1982, a new, stylistically revised version was published by the same translator: some words were replaced, the punctuation was changed and the present tense was changed into the past tense throughout, but no changes of meaning or any other ideological changes were made. The second translation by Ivan Žigon appeared after the change of political system in 1994 (reprints in 1997, 2001, 2010). Žigon (1928–2002), a

construction engineer by profession, was born in Slovenia but spent most of his working life in Switzerland, Ethiopia and Australia. In the 1990s he moved back to Slovenia, where he later died.

Heidi is an educational novel, emphasizing that it is of the utmost importance for children to learn to read and write, to undergo religious education and to be good to others. Since the second emphasis on the importance of religious education for children was not in line with the Socialist educational policy, at first sight the popularity of *Heidi* in a Socialist environment seems extremely surprising. A closer look at the Slovene translation, however, reveals that the text was consistently purged of any religious presence. The strategies to eliminate the Christian religion from the text are manifold: sometimes the translator uses omission, sometimes replacement. For example, in the original we learn that after the death of Heidi's parents, her grandfather lost his faith in God and could not find any common ground with other villagers, and so moved to the cottage on the mountainside:

> Auf einmal hieß es, der Öhi sei auf die Alm hinaufgezogen und komme gar nicht mehr herunter, und seither ist er dort und lebt mit Gott und Menschen im Unfrieden. (Spyri [1881] 2003a: 7)

> (All at once we heard that he had gone to live up the Alm and did not intend ever to come down again, and since then he has led his solitary life on the mountainside at enmity with God and man.) (Spyri 1998)

In the Slovene version, there is no mention of the enmity towards God, only enmity towards man remains:

> Nekega dne so potem povedali, da je odšel na planino, s katere se sploh več ne gane, in od tedaj živi na njej brez stikov z ljudmi. (Spryri 1954: 10; 1982: 10)[8]

> (One day they told us that he had gone to live up on the mountain side, and that he did not intend to come back, but intended to live there without any contact with other people.)

In other instances, the translator rewrote the original and added new elements of the story. For example, let us look at the passage in which Klara's grandmother notices Heidi's homesickness in Frankfurt and advises her to pray:

> "Du betest doch jeden Abend zum lieben Gott im Himmel und dankst ihm für alles Gute und bittest ihn, dass er dich vor allem Bösen behüte?"
> "O nein, das tu ich nie", antwortete das Kind.
> "Hast du denn gar nie gebetet, Heidi, weißt du nicht, was das ist?"

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8. All quotations are taken from the first translation, published in 1954. The page numbers for the revised edition are given in brackets.

"Nur mit der ersten Großmutter habe ich gebetet, aber es ist schon lang, und jetzt habe ich es vergessen."
"Siehst du, Heidi, darum musst du so traurig sein, weil du jetzt gar niemanden kennst, der dir helfen kann. Denk einmal nach, wie wohl das tun muss, wenn einen im Herzen etwas immerfort drückt und quält und man kann so jeden Augenblick zum lieben Gott hingehen und ihm alles sagen und ihn bitten, dass er helfe, wo uns sonst gar niemand helfen kann! Und er kann überall helfen und uns geben, was uns wieder froh macht."
Durch Heidis Augen fuhr ein Freudenstrahl: "Darf man ihm alles, alles sagen?"
"Alles, Heidi, alles."
Das Kind zog seine Hand aus den Händen der Großmama und sagte eilig:
"Kann ich gehen?"
"Gewiss! Gewiss!", gab diese zur Antwort, und Heidi lief davon und hinüber in sein Zimmer, und hier setzte es sich auf seinen Schemel nieder und faltete seine Hände und sagte dem lieben Gott alles, was in seinem Herzen war und es so traurig machte, und bat ihn dringend und herzlich, dass er ihm helfe und es wieder heimkommen lasse zum Großvater. (Spyri [1881] 2003a: 83–84)

(You say your prayers every evening to the dear God in Heaven, and thank Him for all He has done for you, and pray Him to keep you from all evil, do you not?"
"No, I never say any prayers," answered Heidi.
"Have you never been taught to pray, Heidi; do you not know even what it means?"
"I used to say prayers with the first grandmother, but that is a long time ago, and I have forgotten them."
"That is the reason, Heidi, that you are so unhappy, because you know no one who can help you. Think what a comfort it is when the heart is heavy with grief to be able at any moment to go and tell everything to God, and pray Him for the help that no one else can give us. And He can help us and give us everything that will make us happy again."
A sudden gleam of joy came into Heidi's eyes. "May I tell Him everything, everything?"
"Yes, everything, Heidi, everything."
Heidi drew her hand away, which the grandmother was holding affectionately between her own, and said quickly, "May I go?"
"Yes, of course," was the answer, and Heidi ran out of the room into her own, and sitting herself on a stool, folded her hands together and told God about everything that was making her so sad and unhappy, and begged Him earnestly to help her and to let her go home to her grandfather.) (Spyri 1998)

In Slovene translations all references to God and prayer are omitted or replaced:

»Kaj nisi nikoli nikomur ničesar povedala, kadar te je kaj težilo?«
»O že, včasih teti Deti, ali tega ji ne morem povedati. Ne bi mi pomagala, ali pa bi mi obljubila in potem svoje obljube ne bi izpolnila. Če bi ji povedala, kaj me

boli, bi mi rekla, da sem nehvaležen, grd otrok. Jezila bi se name in to bi me še bolj bolelo.«
»Poslušaj, moja mala,« reče babica in jo pobože po glavi.»Meni lahko vselej vse potožiš. Hočeš, da si postaneva dobri prijateljici? Ni se me treba bati. Jaz te ne bom nikoli izdala. Vselej, kadar ti bom kaj obljubila, bom svojo obljubo tudi izpolnila. Ne bom taka, kot je Deta. Mi verjameš? Kadar ti bo hudo, pridi kar k meni. Hočeš?«
Heidi od veselja zažare oči.
»Vam res lahko vselej vse povem, prav vse?«
»Seveda, Heidi, prav vse.«
Heidi izpusti babičino roko in naglo pravi:
»Ali zdaj lahko grem?«
»Seveda, seveda!« ji odgovori babica, in že steče Heidi v svojo sobo, sede na pručko in razmišlja o tem, kako bi babici povedala, da bi šla rada domov, ne da bi jo s tem žalila. Kljub temu je vesela, ker ima zdaj nekoga, ki mu lahko pove vse, prav vse. (Spyri 1954: 107–108; cf. 1982: 99–100)

("Haven't you ever told anyone what burdens your heart?"
"Oh, I have, sometimes aunt Deta, but I cannot tell her this. She would not help me, and if she promised to help me, then she would not keep her promise. She would be angry with me and this would hurt me even more."
"Listen to me, my child," the grandmother says and caresses her head. "You can always tell me what burdens you. Do you want us to become good friends? You do not need to fear me. I shall never betray you. Whenever I give you a promise, I shall keep it. I shall not be like Deta. Do you believe me? When you are feeling sad, just come to me. Shall you?"
A sudden gleam of joy comes into Heidi's eyes. "May I tell you everything, everything?"
"Yes, everything, Heidi, everything."
Heidi draws her hand away and says quickly, "May I go?"
"Yes, of course," comes the answer, and Heidi runs to her room and, sitting herself on a stool, starts thinking how she shall tell her grandmother that she would like to go home, without offending her. She is pleased that now she has someone to whom she can tell everything, absolutely everything.)

In the Slovene version, Klara's grandmother does not instruct Heidi to say her prayers to God, but to trust other people, in particular her. Heidi admits that she used to trust her aunt, who took care of her after the death of her parents, but that she no longer trusts her – all this is an invention of the translator. So, at the end of Slovene passage Heidi goes to her room not to pray, but to think how to reveal to her grandmother that she would like to go back to her grandfather, without offending her newly acquired friend. The solace she found in prayers in the original is replaced in the translation by the happy realization that she has found a friend to whom she can confide everything.

The original *Heidi* is also full of the religious hymns that Heidi likes reading to the blind grandmother of her friend Peter. It seems that the final goal of the new skill she acquired in Frankfurt is that she can now read religious texts and thus enable direct contact with God for herself and others. Let us look at a longer passage taken from the original text in which Heidi reads to Peter's grandmother:

> Heidi blätterte und las leise hier und da eine Linie: „jetzt kommt etwas von der Sonne, das will ich dir lesen, Großmutter." Und Heidi begann und wurde selbst immer eifriger und immer wärmer, während es las:
>
> „Die güldne Sonne Voll
> Freud und Wonne
> Bringt unsern Grenzen
> Mit ihrem Glänzen
> Ein herzerquickendes, liebliches Licht.
>
> Mein Haupt und Glieder
> Die lagen darnieder;
> Aber nun steh ich,
> Bin munter und fröhlich,
> Schaue den Himmel mit meinem Gesicht.
>
> Mein Auge schauet,
> Was Gott gebauet
> Zu seinen Ehren,
> Und uns zu lehren,
> Wie sein Vermögen sei mächtig und groß.
>
> Und wo die Frommen
> Dann sollen hinkommen,
> Wenn sie mit Frieden
> Von hinnen geschieden
> Aus dieser Erde vergänglichem Schoß.
>
> Alles vergehet,
> Gott aber stehet
> Ohn alles Wanken,
> Seine Gedanken,
> Sein Wort und Wille hat ewigen Grund.
>
> Sein Heil und Gnaden
> Die nehmen nicht Schaden,
> Heilen im Herzen,
> Die tödlichen Schmerzen,
> Halten uns zeitlich und ewig gesund.

Kreuz und Elende –
Das nimmt ein Ende,
Nach Meeresbrausen
Und Windessausen
Leuchtet der Sonne erwünschtes Gesicht.

Freude die Fülle
Und selige Stille
Darf ich erwarten
Im himmlischen Garten,
Dahin sind meine Gedanken gericht'."

Die Großmutter saß still da mit gefalteten Händen, und ein Ausdruck unbeschreiblicher Freude, so wie ihn Heidi nie an ihr gesehen hatte, lag auf ihrem Gesicht, obschon ihr die Tränen die Wangen herabliefen. Als Heidi schwieg, bat sie mit Verlangen: „Oh, noch einmal, Heidi, lass es mich noch einmal hören:
‚Kreuz und Elende
Das nimmt ein Ende' – "

Und das Kind fing noch einmal an und las in eigener Freude und Verlangen:

„Kreuz und Elende –
Das nimmt ein Ende,
Nach Meeresbrausen
Und Windessausen
Leuchtet der Sonne erwünschtes Gesicht.

Freude die Fülle
Und selige Stille
Darf ich erwarten
Im himmlischen Garten,
Dahin sind meine Gedanken gericht'."

„O Heidi, das macht hell! Das macht so hell im Herzen! Oh, wie hast du mir wohl gemacht, Heidi!"
Ein Mal ums andere sagte die Großmutter die Worte der Freude, und Heidi strahlte vor Glück und musste sie nur immer ansehen, denn so hatte es die Großmutter nie gesehen. Sie hatte gar nicht mehr das alte trübselige Gesicht, sondern schaute so freudig und dankend auf, als sähe sie schon mit neuen, hellen Augen in den schönen himmlischen Garten hinein.

(Spyri [1881] 2003a: 114–115)

(Heidi turned over the leaves and read a line out softly to herself here and there. At last she said, "Here is one about the sun, grandmother, I will read you that." And Heidi began, reading with more and more warmth of expression as she went on, –

The morning breaks,
And warm and bright
The earth lies still
In the golden light –
For Dawn has scattered the clouds of night.

God's handiwork
Is seen around,
Things great and small
To His praise abound –
Where are the signs of His love not found?

All things must pass,
But God shall still
With steadfast power
His will fulfil –
Sure and unshaken is His will.

His saving grace
Will never fail,
Though grief and fear
The heart assail –
O'er life's wild seas He will prevail.

Joy shall be ours
In that garden blest,
Where after storm
We find our rest –
I wait in peace – God's time is best.

The grandmother sat with folded hands and a look of indescribable joy on her face, such as Heidi had never seen there before, although at the same time the tears were running down her cheeks. As Heidi finished, she implored her, saying, "Read it once again, child, just once again."
And the child began again, with as much pleasure in the verses as the grandmother, –

Joy shall be ours
In that garden blest,
Where after storm
We find our rest –
I wait in peace – God's time is best.

"Ah, Heidi, that brings light to the heart! What comfort you have brought me!"
And the old woman kept on repeating the glad words, while Heidi beamed with happiness, and she could not take her eyes away from the grandmother's face,

> which had never looked like that before. It had no longer the old troubled expression, but was alight with peace and joy as if she were already looking with clear new eyes into the garden or Paradise.) (Spyri 1998)

Once again, the Slovene text omits and replaces all the religious passages:

> Heidi nekaj časa prelistava knjigo in tu in tam prebere kakšno vrstico.
> »Tu nekaj piše o soncu. To ti bom prebrala, babica.«
> In Heidi prične brati in čim dlje bere, tem topleje ji je pri srcu. Babica sedi tiho, s prekrižanimi rokami, in njen obraz žari v tako veliki sreči, kakršne Heidi še nikoli ni videla na njem. Ko prebere Heidi pesem do kraja, jo babica prosi:
> »Heidi, preberi še enkrat konec pesmi, preberi ga še enkrat.«
> In Heidi bere.
> »Ko bi le vedela, Heidi, kako svetlo mi je postalo pri srcu! Kako lepo si brala, Heidi!«
> Babica ji neprestano zatrjuje, kako zelo da jo je razveselila pesem, in Heidi žari od sreče in nepremično gleda babico, saj take ni videla še nikoli. Babičin obraz ni kar nič več star in zaskrbljen, videti je vesel, kakor bi znova spregledala.
> (Spyri 1954: 145–147; cf. 1982: 134–135)
>
> (Heidi turns over the pages, here and there reading a line out to herself. "Here is one about the sun, grandmother, I will read you that." And Heidi begins reading, and the more she reads the warmer her heart feels. The grandmother sits quietly, with folded hands and a look of indescribable joy on her face, such as Heidi has never seen there before. When Heidi finishes, she implores her, "Read the end of the poem once again, child, just once again."
> And Heidi reads.
> "Ah, Heidi, if you knew what light that brings to my heart! How nicely you read, Heidi!"
> And the old woman keeps on repeating the glad words, while Heidi beams with happiness, and cannot take her eyes from her grandmother's face, which has never looked like that before. It no longer old and troubled, but shines with joy as if she has regained her eyesight.)

Other hymns in the original are given the same treatment (e.g. Spyri [1881] 2003b: 17–19; 1954: 172–173; 1982: 159; Spyri [1881] 2003b: 44; 1954: 203; 1982: 186) and are omitted from the Slovene translation.

Let us look at another instance of skilful replacement of the Christian presence in the target text. One of the important characters in the novel is the village pastor, who in the Slovene translation is consistently replaced by the village teacher. So, for example, while in the original Heidi manages to convert her God-forsaken grandfather so that he is eventually reconciled with God and the villagers, in the translation grandfather only becomes reconciled with the villagers and the village teacher. While in the original Heidi says her prayers before

she falls asleep, in the translation she merely sleeps innocently. While in the original grandfather takes the child to mass on Sunday, where he is greeted by the congregation and the pastor (Spyri [1881] 2003a: 116–118), in the translation grandfather only comes to the village, makes his peace with the villagers and shakes hands with the village teacher (Spyri 1954: 148; 1982: 136). This replacement of the village pastor is consistent throughout the text and occurs early in the novel:

> Der Alm-Öhi gab dem Herrn Pfarrer die Hand und sagte fest und bestimmt: "Der Herr Pfarrer meint es recht mit mir; aber was er erwartet, das tu ich nicht, ich sag es sicher und ohne Wandel: Das Kind schick ich nicht, und herunter komm ich nicht."
> "So helf Euch Gott!", sagte der Herr Pfarrer und ging traurig zur Tür hinaus und den Berg hinunter. (Spyri [1881] 2003a: 41)

> (Alm-Uncle gave the pastor his hand and answered him calmly and firmly, "You mean well by me I know, but as to that which you wish me to do, I say now what I shall continue to say, that I will not send the child to school nor come and live among you."
> "Then God help you!" said the pastor, and he turned sadly away and left the hut and went down the mountain.) (Spyri 1998)

In the Slovene translation "pastor" is replaced by "teacher":

> Ded s Planine stisne učitelju roko in reče s trdnim, odločnim glasom: »Gospod učitelj misli dobro, ali tega, kar pričakuje od mene, ne bom storil. Brez slepomišenja vam povem naravnost: otroka ne bom poslal, pa tudi sam ne pridem.«
> »Potem pa srečno!« reče učitelj in žalosten odide skozi vrata in po hribu navzdol. (Spyri 1954: 54; cf. 1982: 50)

> (Alm-Uncle gives the teacher his hand and answers him calmly and firmly, "Sir, you mean well by me I know, but as to that which you wish me to do, I shall not do it. I tell you directly and openly: I will not send the child or come and live among you myself."
> "Then good luck!" says the teacher, and he leaves the hut sadly and goes down the mountain.)

And finally, the closing sentence of the novel: in the original Peter's blind grandmother asks Heidi to read the hymn again to her, and exclaims that she feels she can do nothing for the rest of her days but thank God for all his goodness:

> »Heidi, lies mir ein Lob- und Danklied! Es ist mir, als könne ich nur noch loben und preisen und unserem Gott im Himmel Dank sagen für alles, was er an uns getan hat.« (Spyri [1881] 2003b: 88)

> (Then at last the grandmother spoke, "Heidi, read me one of the hymns! I can feel I can do nothing for the remainder of my life but thank the Father in Heaven for all the mercies he has shown us!") (Spyri 1998)

In Slovene translations from 1954 and 1982 this final supplication is omitted completely. The novel ends with the statement that everyone involved was extremely happy that things have turned out so well (Spyri 1954: 253; 1982: 233):

> In težko je reči, kdo od vseh treh je najbolj vesel novega svidenja in srečnega zaključka vseh teh čudovitih doživetij. (Spyri 1954: 253; cf. 1982: 223)

> (It is hard to say who among the three is happier about the fact that they have met again and that all these wonderful adventures have ended so well.)

The first (and the most popular) Slovene translations of *Heidi* from 1954 and 1982 were thus consistent and radical in displacing the religious elements in the novel. But such censorship did not end with the change of political system. Analysis of the most recent Slovene translation of *Heidi* by Ivan Žigon published in 1994 (reprinted in 1997, 2001, 2010) shows that also this translation was not immune to the former translation strategy. Žigon's translation was published in the post-Socialist climate and therefore includes many more religious elements in it – but not all, since it again offers an attenuated version of the original religious fervour. Most of the passages that contain religious elements are shortened or omitted: for example many of hymns (including the one we quoted above) are just left out (e.g. Spyri 1997: 86–87; 1997: 89). The translation also leaves out some explicitly didactic passages on the importance of reading (Spyri 1997: 140–142) which were still included in the first translation from 1954. And as in Meta Sever's version, the religious ending of the last paragraph is omitted:

> In če bi jih opazovali, bi težko rekli, kdo izmed treh je najbolj vesel srečnega zaključka teh čudovitih doživetij na njihovi Planini. (Spyri 1994: 179)

> (And if you observed them, it would be hard to say who among the three was happiest about the fact that all these wonderful adventures on their mountain have ended so well.)

The Slovene translation of *Heidi* in the Socialist period thus consistently eliminated and replaced Christian elements of the original text; a Christian didactic novel was thus turned into a novel with no trace of religion. Moreover, the translation from 1994, which was created after the political change, still attenuates the religious presence in the text and tends to follow some of the solutions of the Socialist translation.

Heidi was also very popular in other Yugoslav republics. The first post-war translation of this work appeared in Serbia in 1951, translated by Živojin

Vukadinović (1902–1949), a writer, translator, theatre critic, journalist and editor of one of the most important series for children, *Zlatna knjiga*. His translation proved immensely popular: there are 25 reprints published in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, in both Cyrillic and Roman script. For example, from 1957 to 1978 there appeared 10 editions of his translation of *Heidi* in Croatia, adapted for the local readership (Spyri 1957a). Several editions in Cyrillic script were also published in Croatia, obviously targeting the Serbian market (Spyri 1972). And finally, in Serbia his translation is still being published: the last edition appeared in 2010 (Spyri 2008 [2010]).

A closer look at this version reveals that it has most probably served as a model for all subsequent Socialist translations of *Heidi*. All the changes we have observed in the Slovene version from 1954 (Spyri 1954) can be found in this earlier Serbian version:

a. the pastor is replaced by the village teacher (Spyri 1951: 71); the grandfather does not go to church, but instead visits the village teacher (Spyri 1951: 205);
b. Klara's grandmother does not instruct Heidi to pray, but offers herself as her confidante; the same story about her aunt Deta is added as in the Slovene version (Spyri 1951: 148);
c. the hymn that Heidi reads to the blind grandmother is left out and instead Heidi reads to her a poem about the sun (Spyri 1951: 200);
d. the ending is the same as in the Slovene version: instead of praise of the Lord, the novel ends with a statement that everyone was happy that things had turned out so well (Spyri 1951: 351).

In 1981 there appeared another Serbian translation of *Heidi* by Paula Župan-Jazbec. This is an abridged adaptation with numerous colour illustrations; nevertheless, it follows the first Yugoslav translation by Vukadinović. Moreover, despite the fact that some of the illustrations clearly indicate that the grandfather is talking to a clergyman, the translation still insists that he is talking to the village teacher (Spyri 1981: 15, see the illustration).

Surprisingly, even those translations that were created after the political change retained the Socialist changes of the target text. For example, the translation by Mihailo Mišić (2004, reprinted in 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008 and 2010) also replaces the pastor with the teacher (Spyri 2006: 46, 128–129); Klara's grandmother does not teach Heidi the importance of prayer, but offers her friendship instead (ibid.: 95); the hymn is omitted and the ending is shortened, so that the novel ends with a description of how everyone was very happy that everything had turned out so well (ibid.: 210).

The only Macedonian translation also very closely follows Vukadinović's translation: the pastor becomes the teacher (Spyri 1957: 60–63, 170–171);

(Spyri 1981: 15)

the ending is changed, using the same words as the Serbian translation (Spyri 1957: 289); the hymns are omitted (Spyri 1957: 165); the passage on the importance of prayer is remodelled; and aunt Deta is introduced as the person whom Heidi can no longer trust (Spyri 1957: 123–124).

In Bosnia, the first translation of *Heidi* was Vukadinović's, published in Sarajevo in 1967 (Spyri 1967). Although the next Bosnian translation from 1973 by Teodora Rebba does not follow literally the one by Vukadinović, the solutions it offers are similar: the pastor becomes the teacher (Spyri 1973: 49–51); the ending is changed (Spyri 1973: 227); a new poem about nature replaces the religious hymn in the original (Spyri 1973: 129); and the passage on the importance of prayer is remodelled, although aunt Deta is no longer mentioned (Spyri 1973: 97).

In Croatia, however, the situation was somewhat more complex: perhaps also because there was an existing Croatian translation of *Heidi* from 1943, i.e. from before the end of the Second World War. This translation follows the original closely: the pastor remains a clergyman (Spyri 1943: 52–55); the ending is not

changed (ibid.: 266); Klara's grandmother instructs Heidi to pray (ibid.: 106); and the religious hymns are translated (ibid.: 145–146). In their afterword the translators Mirko Jurkić and Olga Prelog emphasise the importance of Johanna Spyri's piousness, and openly pledge themselves to loyally translate all the elements of the original novel (Spyri 1943: 272).

The first post-war Croatian translation was an adapted Serbian version by Vukadinović that was to be reprinted ten times in Zagreb. This translation was only linguistically adapted, but the ideological changes remained the same as in the original Serbian edition (Spyri 1957a, reprinted in 1961, 1964, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1978). In 1980 a new translation from English by Ljerka Šefarov-Linić was published (Spyri 1980, reprinted in 1983, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1997, 2000). This translation takes a kind of middle way: some of the religious elements are retained, others are omitted. For example: the pastor is not replaced by the village teacher, but becomes a "župnik" or Catholic priest (Spyri 1980: 25); when Heidi's grandfather finds his faith once again, he does not go to church (as in the original), but knocks on the priest's door (Spyri 1980: 67) (in Vukadinović's version he knocks on the teacher's door); however, the last two sentences of the novel, where everyone is invited to praise the Lord, are left out (Spyri 1980: 154); moreover, Klara's grandmother does not instruct Heidi to pray, but (as in Vukadinović's version) she offers her friendship to Heidi (Spyri 1980: 48–49), and the hymns are omitted (e.g. Spyri 1980: 64–65). That is why in 1983 the publishing house Kršćanska sadašnjost (Christian Present) published a new translation (reprinted in 1994, 2000) and indicated in the preface that the new translation aimed to reintroduce all the "warm religious parts" (Spyri 1983), and indeed, all the Christian elements were reintroduced. In 1999 (reprinted in 2004, 2009) there appeared another translation of *Heidi* from German by Sanja Lovrenčić: again, this includes all the religious elements of the original, i.e. with the pastor (Spyri 1999: 49–50), the original ending (ibid.: 236), the importance of prayer (ibid.: 97) and all the hymns (ibid.: 131–132).

The Socialist translations of *Heidi* in Yugoslavia thus reveal a new strategy: most of the translations created in different republics follow the solutions offered by the first post-war and religiously censored translation by Vukadinović (1951), either almost literally (e.g. the Slovene translation from 1954 and the Macedonian translation from 1957) or more loosely (e.g. the Bosnian translation from 1967 and the second Serbian translation from 1981). The Croatian translations do not fit the pattern: the first Croatian translation from 1980 attenuates, but does not completely eliminate the religious tone of the original, and in 1983 a Christian publishing house published a new translation which retained all the religious elements. However, the most frequently reprinted translation in Croatia in the Socialist period remained the linguistically adapted

and censored Serbian version. All in all, 71% of the translations of *Heidi* in the Socialist period completely censor all the religious elements of the original text and an additional 14% attenuate them. Surprisingly, some post-Socialist translations, such as the Serbian one by Mišić (Spyri 2004), still make use of the Socialist shifts, but not all of them: the new post-Socialist Croatian translations (Spyri 1999) return to source-oriented rendering of the text, reintroducing all the religious elements to the target text.

Treasure Island

There was quite a different approach in the different Yugoslav republics to *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–1894). The novel, which was first serialised in the weekly children's literary magazine *Young Folks* in 1881 (Stern 1952: 15), is an adventure story told by the main protagonist, the thirteen-year old Jim Hawkins. Jim, a cabin boy on a vessel sailing to the Treasure Island where the fabled treasure of the pirate Captain Flint is believed to be hidden, describes the journey and the tumultuous events in which he became involved: first a mutiny on the ship, then an encounter with the only human inhabitant of Treasure Island, a marooned sailor, Ben Gunn, a fight with the mutineers, and finally the retrieving of the treasure. The novel ends with the bulk of the crew safely returning to Bristol with the treasure on board.

In order to see whether any ideological changes have been made in translations, the following description of the desolate state of Ben Gunn was focused on. In it Ben insists on the fact that he received a religious education and that his mother was religious:

> "Jim, Jim," says he, quite pleased apparently. "Well, now, Jim, I've lived that rough as you'd be ashamed to hear of. Now, for instance, you wouldn't think I had had a pious mother – to look at me?" he asked.
> "Why, no, not in particular," I answered.
> "Ah, well," said he, "but I had – remarkable pious. And I was a civil, pious boy, and could rattle off my catechism that fast, as you couldn't tell one word from another. And here's what it come to, Jim, and it begun with chuck-farthen on the blessed grave-stones! That's what it begun with, but it went further'n that; and so my mother told me, and predicked the whole, she did, the pious woman! But it were Providence that put me here. I've thought it all out in this here lonely island, and I'm back on piety. (Stevenson 1995: 120)

The next passage that was focussed on in more detail was where Ben Gunn laments that he had to pray next to the cemetery:

> "Ah! and there's the cetemery" – cemetery he must have meant. "You see the mounds? I come here and prayed, nows and thens, when I thought maybe a Sunday would be about doo. It weren't quite a chapel, but it seemed more solemn like; and then, says you, Ben Gunn was short-handed – no chapling, nor so much as a Bible and a flag, you says." So he kept talking as I ran, neither expecting nor receiving any answer. (Stevenson 1995: 124–125)

And finally, the following passage from one of the closing paragraphs of the novel was checked in the translations:

> As for Ben Gunn, he got a thousand pounds, which he spent or lost in three weeks, or, to be more exact, in nineteen days, for he was back begging on the twentieth. Then he was given a lodge to keep, exactly as he had feared upon the island; and he still lives, a great favourite, though something of a butt, with the country boys, and a notable singer in church on Sundays and saints' days.
> (Stevenson 1995: 277)

Treasure Island was first translated into Slovene in 1920 by Janko Mulaček. During the post-war Socialist period there appeared three translations: the first, in 1950, by Pavel Holeček (reprinted in 1956, 1966, 1975, 1980, 1983, 1997), the second in 1971 by Olga Šiftar, and the third in 1988 by Blaž Telban and Marjeta Smole. The translation by Olga Šiftar from 1971 was abridged and adapted, and did not contain the passages mentioned above. The 1988 translation was an adaptation into a picture book, shortened to only 15 pages, so that no textual comparison was possible and it was therefore excluded from the study. After the political change there appeared a severely adapted version by Saša Pečelin in 1997, which did not allow textual comparison, and a translation of Stevenson's text by Igor Majaron in 1994. Thus, there are three unabridged Slovene translations of *Treasure Island*: from 1920, 1950 and 1994. The one from 1920 by Ivan Mulaček (1874–1951), the pre-war translator of *Tom Sawyer* and *The Jungle Book*, and the post-Socialist translation from 1994 by Igor Majaron have both of these passages translated in full: Ben Gunn's mother is still described as pious and also all the other religious elements are retained (Stevenson 1920: 74, 77; 1994: 108, 112).

However, in the translation from 1950 (reprinted in 1956, 1966, 1975, 1980, 1983 and 1997) by Pavel Holeček, those passages were omitted or changed: Ben Gunn's mother becomes a "good, honest" and "morally staunch" person and Ben Gunn himself only "a very good person". "Providence", that put him on the island, was changed into "fate":

> "Jim, Jim," je govoril in je bil očitno zadovoljen. "No, Jim, živel sem grdo, tako pregrešno, da bi te bilo že sram, ko bi me moral samo poslušati. Ali bi mi, na primer, mogel zdajle verjeti, da sem imel dobro, pošteno mater, ko me tule vidiš, kakšen sem?"

> "Ne, res skorajda ne bi mogel," sem odgovoril.
> "Vidiš," je rekel, "pa je bila zelo zelo krepostna žena. In jaz sem bil dober dečko in sem znal zdrdrati svoj katekizem tako hitro, da bi bil komaj ločil besedo od besede. In glej, začel sem igrati, najprej za frnikole in potem za denar. Tako sem začel, ali šlo je vedno dalje in dalje in mati, dobra, poštena duša, me je svarila in mi prerokovala, kakšen bo konec. Ali usoda me je privedla semkaj na ta samotni otok. Tu sem vse premislil in sem postal spet dober in pošten."
>
> (Stevenson 1950b: 96)

> ("Jim, Jim," said he, quite pleased apparently. "Well, now, Jim, I've lived that rough as you'd be ashamed to hear of. Now, for instance, you wouldn't think I had had a good, honest mother – to look at me?" he asked.
> "Why, no, not in particular," I answered.
> "Ah, well," said he, "but she was very very virtuous. And I was a good boy, and could rattle off my catechism that fast, as you couldn't tell one word from another. And here's what it come to: I began to gamble, first for marbles, then for money. That's what it begun with, but it went further than that; and so my mother told me, and predicted the whole, she did, the good, honest soul! But it was fate that put me here on this lonely island. I've thought it all out here, and I became good and honest again.)

Similarly, in the translation from 1950 the religious elements are also omitted in the second passage: in this version, no mention is made to the fact that Ben Gunn used the cemetery as a church, in fact in this Slovene translation Ben Gunn comes to this spot when he was "just too bored":

> "Ah, in tu je popokališče," – mislil je seveda pokopališče – "ali vidiš gomile? Semle sem včasih prišel, kadar mi je bilo preveč dolgčas – bil sem pač velik siromak."
>
> (Stevenson 1950b: 100; 1956: 119; 1983: 92)

> ("Ah! and there's the cetemery" – cemetery he must have meant – "do you see the mounds? I come here nows and thens, when I was too bored – I was a very poor man, indeed.")

Also the final paragraph was changed in accordance with the changes observed above: Ben Gunn is no longer praised for his active participation at Church services, but is only described as a village oddball who is often picked on by the village youth:

> Še vedno je živ in zdrav in razen tega malo čudaški; zato ga ima vaška mladina silno rada, ker mu lahko kdaj pa kdaj malo ponagaja. (Stevenson 1950: 213)

> (He is still alive and in good health, though a bit strange; but the village boys like him because of that, because they can tease him a little now and then.)

In Slovenia all the pre- and post-Socialist translations offered Stevenson's *Treasure Island* with its few religious elements retained. However, the Socialist translation from 1950 systematically omits and replaces them. The fact that this translation was reprinted well after the political change in 1997 shows that the publishers and the public are not aware of these changes.

The situation in other Yugoslav republics was different. As with Slovenia, I examined only those translations that provided at least two-thirds of the original in the target text, and omitted severely abridged versions. The first Croatian translation of the novel that appeared in 1905, by an unknown translator, was never reprinted. The translation does not eliminate any religious elements: Ben Gunn's mother is pious, and he ends up going to church every Sunday and on church holidays (Stevenson 1905: 256). The translation by Leo Držić, which was created in 1953, was often reprinted in Socialist times (1963, 1964, 1965, 1973) and post-Socialist ones (Stevenson 1996, 2004). Držić's translation did not eliminate any of the religious elements. Similarly in Serbia, where there were two translations of the novel before the Second World War: in 1923 there appeared a translation by Mihailo Đorđević, and in 1939 a translation by an unknown translator in the collection "The Golden Book". Both translations retained all the religious references. After the Second World War, the most frequently reprinted translation remained the one by Mihailo Đorđević (reprinted in 1950, 1952, 1959, 1966, 2004), which did not, however, censor the religious elements: Ben Gunn's mother is allowed to be religious (Stevenson 1950a: 104), Ben laments the fact that he has been left without a Bible (ibid.: 108), and at the end of the novel he is reported to sing in a church choir (ibid.: 232).

Other post-war translations, for example those by Snežana Mišković (1955, reprinted in 1963, 1966, 1984, 1998), Božidar Marković (1964, reprinted in 1967) and Živojin Vukadinović (1987, reprinted in 2009, 2010) retained all the religious elements. The same in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the translation by Slavica Foht (1957, reprinted in 1990) did not omit any of the religious references mentioned above. In Macedonia there were no pre-Socialist or Socialist translations of the novel, the first translations of *Treasure Island* appeared during the last 12 years: the first one 1998 by Dimitar Baševski, the second in 2010 by Mirjana Velkoska and the third in 2011 by Sandra Gogeska.

To sum up, the post-1945 translations from Croatia (Stevenson 1953 by Leo Držić), Serbia (1963 by Snežana Mišković, 1967 by Božidar Marković) and Bosnia (1957 by Slavica Foht) did not ideologically change the translation of *Treasure Island*. Thus, in the case of this literary work, the only translation that eliminated the religious presence was the one produced in Slovenia: all the other translations from other Yugoslav republics retained all the religious elements of the original text.

To conclude, the analysis of Socialist translations of children's best sellers revealed a specific trend: in general, the most popular and therefore most often reprinted translations in all the official languages of the Socialist Yugoslavia, i.e. Slovene, Serbo-Croat and Macedonian, tended to follow the censored translations that were first created in Serbia: e.g. the translations of *Bambi* and those of *Heidi* followed the solution offered by the Serbian translations produced in 1951. There were, however, exceptions to this trend: the case of *Treasure Island* shows that ideological censorship was applied only in Slovenia, while in other Yugoslav republics the text was translated without ideological interventions. Most probably, Chesterton was right when he wrote that although *Treasure Island* was written as a boy's book, "it is not always read as a boy's book" (Chesterton 1929: 107), and that this fact is reflected in the observed translations strategies. This distinction between the Socialist translation strategies in view of the intended readership is even more visible in the case of literature originally written for adults, but later adapted for a children's audience.