Adapted literature for adults

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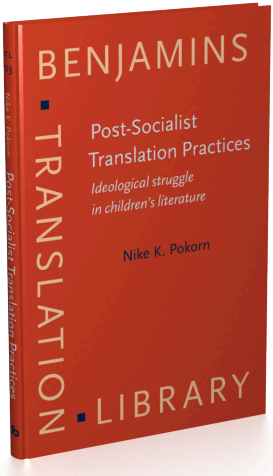

Pages 113–128 of
Post-Socialist Translation Practices: Ideological struggle in children's literature
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Adapted literature for adults

The last group of works in our catalogue are works that were originally written for adults, but have often been adapted for or read by juvenile readers, i.e. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe, and *Michael Strogoff* by Jules Verne. Some of these works were published in editions for children and others for an adult readership, and the translation strategy varied according to the target audience.

Uncle Tom's Cabin or Life among the Lowly

Uncle Tom's Cabin by Harriet Elizabeth Beecher Stowe (1811–1896), which contributed considerably to the antislavery feeling in the USA and perhaps even to the beginning of the American Civil War (cf. Gossett 1985: 164–211), was often translated into different Yugoslav languages, but never in an unabridged form.

Harriet Beecher Stowe, the daughter and the wife of a clergyman, published *Uncle Tom's Cabin* first in serialised form, and then in book form in 1852 (Foster 1954). Immediately after publication, the novel created quite a stir: it was either supported fervently, by abolitionists, or vehemently attacked, in particular in the Southern USA. In the book, which is permeated with Christian elements, we follow the story of Uncle Tom, a slave who has been living quietly with his family on the Shelby plantation, but is now sold to a slave trader because of his owner's debts. Tom is first bought by the St. Clares in gratitude for rescuing their daughter Eva from drowning, but after the death of the father of the family, he is resold to a vicious Louisiana plantation owner named Simon Legree, who not only drives Tom very hard, but also tries to destroy Tom's Christian faith. Although Legree fails to crush his faith in God, he nevertheless manages to kill Tom by ordering his overseers to beat him to death. His death, however, touches his executioners: the two overseers are so moved by the piousness of the dying Tom that they become ardent Christians. At that moment, the son of Tom's first owner, George Shelby, arrives with the intention of buying Tom's freedom, but he realises that he has come too late. He therefore returns to his plantation and frees all his slaves, reminding them of Tom's sacrifice and his deep and sincere Christian faith.

Because of its open antislavery sentiment, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was widely translated all over the world, including into the languages spoken in the area we are focussing on. The first two translations appeared in Slovene, for example, only a year after its publication, as early as 1853. In fact, there were 4 different Slovene translations of this book published in Slovenia before the Second World War (1853a, 1853b (reprinted in 1888), 1918 (reprinted in 1932), 1934), and they all targeted an adult readership. After the war there appeared an additional translation in the Socialist period in 1954. However, none of the Slovene translations convey the original in full: they all severely abridge the original text and adapt it to the intended readership.

The translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* into Slovene have been analysed in detail by Darja Mazi-Leskovar (1998: 115–121; 2003: 250–265; 2011). Her analysis shows that both 19th century translations were heavily domesticated (e.g. 2003: 254–255), shortening and summarising many chapters of the book, especially those containing less action (2003: 257). The 1934 and 1954 translations contained only selected chapters, with the 1934 version summarising the untranslated parts in smaller print at the beginning of each chapter. Mazi-Leskovar concludes that the comparison of the version from 1934 with that of 1954 showed that all references to Christianity were deleted (e.g. 2003: 259).

In order to show the ideological shifts and compare the texts, as much as the adaptations allow, I focused on the first and the penultimate chapter. In the first chapter we are introduced to the Shelby family. We learn that the farmer and slave owner Arthur Shelby is in debt and is thus forced to sell two of his slaves: Uncle Tom and a boy called Harry. Arthur's wife, Mrs. Emily Shelby, ignores her husband's plans. This introductory paragraph sets the tone of the novel and represents the so-called "radical conservatism" of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, reflected in the praise of Christian virtues associated with women (Sundquist 1986: 6). And the penultimate Chapter 44 shows how Harriet Beecher Stowe managed to interweave her belief in the radical power of Christianity with the issue of slavery: in this chapter George Shelby liberates the slaves and decides to keep Uncle Tom's cabin as a memorial to Uncle Tom and his way of life as an exemplary Christian.

Let us first look at the first chapter of the novel, where Mrs. Emily Shelby is described as a deeply religious woman:

> Mrs. Shelby was a woman of high class, both intellectually and morally. To that natural magnanimity and generosity of mind which one often marks as characteristic of the women of Kentucky, she added high moral and *religious sensibility and principle*, carried out with great energy and ability into practical results. Her husband, who made no professions to any particular religious character, nevertheless *reverenced and respected the consistency of hers*, and stood, perhaps, a little

> in awe of her opinion. Certain it was that he gave her unlimited scope in all her benevolent efforts for the comfort, instruction, and improvement of her servants, though he never took any decided part in them himself. *In fact, if not exactly a believer in the doctrine of the efficiency of the extra good works of saints, he really seemed somehow or other to fancy that his wife had piety and benevolence enough for two – to indulge a shadowy expectation of getting into heaven through her superabundance of qualities to which he made no particular pretension.*
>
> (Beecher Stowe 2006; emphasis added)

The first two Slovene versions from 1853 by the priest Janez Božič (Beecher Stowe 1853a) and by Fran Malavašič (Beecher Stowe 1853b), and the third by Silvester Košutnik (Beecher Stowe 1918) were translations from German. All three are heavily adapted and have, for example, no translation of the above paragraph. The fourth Slovene translation appeared in 1934 and was the first from the English original (Beecher Stowe 1934). The translator Olga Grahor, an editor of a magazine for women and a translator (Novak Popov 2004: 184), added notes to the text, in which she explained the meaning of some culturally specific terms (e.g. "plantation", "Methodism", "Quakers" etc.); it includes her own introduction and the translated introduction written by Harriet Beecher Stowe for the first European edition in 1852, in which the author emphasizes that the "institution of slavery is the worst form of blasphemy" (Beecher Stowe 1934: 25). But, again, this translation is an adaptation, severely shortening the original text: for example, like the previous ones, it does not include the description of Mrs. Shelby.

After the war, in 1954, there appeared a new, revised translation of the novel that was signed by Olga Grahor and Kristina Brenk (Beecher Stowe 1954). This new version targeted a juvenile audience: it was produced by a publishing house specializing in children's literature in a series for children, and the introduction by the translator and the editor of the series, Kristina Brenk, admitted that the text had been severely abridged and adapted (Brenk 1954: 6).

Although the 1954 Socialist translation was longer than the previous one by Grahor in 1934, it was still incomplete: out of 45 original chapters there remained only 31. This version, however, does include a shortened description of Mrs. Shelby. But while there are 172 words used in the original to describe Mrs. Shelby as a religious person, the Slovene translation from 1954 reduces this passage to only one sentence where she is portrayed as an "educated and profoundly ethical person", and religion is not mentioned at all (Beecher Stowe 1954: 12). Moreover, the purification of the religious elements was systematic throughout the text: all passages with a clear Christian overtone – for example, where the original insists that sincere Christianity and slavery cannot co-exist – have been omitted from the translation (see Mazi-Leskovar 1998, 2003: 256).

The difference between the pre-war and the post-war version becomes more obvious when we look at Chapter 44. The pre-war translation by Olga Grahor from 1934 does retain religious elements and concludes the chapter, closely following the original wording:

> Mislite na svojo svobodo vsakokrat, ko vidite *kočo strica Toma*, in naj bo opomin vsem, da sledite njegovim stopinjam in da bodite tako pošteni, zvesti in krščanski, kakor je bil on. (Beecher Stowe 1934: 114)
>
> (Think of your freedom, every time you see *Uncle Tom's cabin*; and let it be a memorial to put you all in mind to follow in his steps, and be honest and faithful and Christian as he was.) (Beecher Stowe 2006)

However, the post-war version by Grahor and Brenk from 1954 ideologically purges the final sentence and omits the emphasis that Uncle Tom was an exemplary Christian:

> Pomislite na svojo svobodo vsakokrat, kadar vidite *kočo strica Toma*, ki naj ostane na našem posestvu za spomin na najbolj poštenega in zvestega človeka, kar sem jih poznal. (Beecher Stowe 1954: 114)
>
> (Think of your freedom, every time you see *Uncle Tom's cabin*; and let it be a memorial on our plantation to the most honest and faithful man I have ever met.)

The post-war translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* became quite popular, since it was reprinted 6 times, the last reprint appearing after the political change in 1993 (Beecher Stowe 1959, 1965, 1968, 1972, 1973, 1993), while the pre-war translation by Grahor from 1934 was not reprinted.

After the Second World War there appeared a further two Slovene translations of the work in picture book form: in the first, published in 1967 by an unknown translator, the ending is changed and religious elements are omitted (Beecher Stowe 1967: 13); in the second, published in 1973 by a small publishing house in the east of Slovenia, Mrs. Shelby is described as "deeply pious" (Beecher Stowe 1973: 12), but the ending is changed and the slaves are encouraged to be "honest and faithful and good people" (ibid.: 63).

In Croatia the first translation appeared in 1920, by Artur Schneider (Beecher Stowe 1920), and the second in 1957 by Zorislav Dukat. The latter's post-war translation proved very popular since it was reprinted 9 times, even after the political change (in 1963, 1967, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1994, 2004). The target text is religiously attenuated: for example, Mrs. Shelby is described as a person endowed with outstanding intellectual and moral features, but she is also said to have been religious (Beecher Stowe 1957: 14). The ending, however, is purged of religious presence – the liberated slaves are only reminded to think of freedom whenever they look at his cabin:

> Pomislite na vašu slobodu svaki puta, kad vidite ČIČA TOMINU KOLIBU, i neka vam ona bude spomenik. (Beecher Stowe 1957: 431)
>
> (Think of your freedom, every time you see UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; and let it be a memorial to you.)

The first translation into Serbian was created in 1853 by Milan D. Rašić (reprinted in 1854) and the second in 1883 (reprinted in 1914, 1926, 2005) by Andria M. Matić. Let us look at Matić's translation, since it was reprinted in 2005. Like the 19th century Slovene versions, this Serbian translation was done from German and was an adaptation: there is no description of Mrs. Shelby, and the ending is completely changed and bears no similarity to the original text (Beecher Stowe 1914). Then in 1930, there appeared a third Serbian version, by Jovan Bogičević, which was, however, also an adaptation translated from German. This 1930 translation retained all the religious elements: e.g. Mrs. Shelby is described as religious (Beecher Stowe 1930: 16), and the liberated slaves are reminded to remain good Christians, as Tom was:

> Vratite mu to dobrotom prema njegovoj ženi in djeci, i budite isto tako valjani i verni, i *isto tako dobri hrišćani* kao što je on bio. (Beecher Stowe 1930: 174)
>
> (Pay it back to him in kindness to his wife and children, be good and faithful, and *good Christians* as he was.) (emphasis added)

In 1937 another adaptation appeared in Belgrade, by an anonymous translator. This version leaves out all the religious elements (Mrs Shelby is noble, and slaves are only asked to remember that they owe their freedom to Uncle Tom (Beecher Stowe 1937: 12, 160)).

After the war the most popular Serbian translation became the remodelled pre-war version by Jovan Bogičević. His translation was thus published in 1952, 1953, 1954, 1956, 1962, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1976, 1978, 1990 and 2008, while the book even became a part of the obligatory home reading for 12-year-olds. Some editions were published in Bosnia and Herzegovina, some in Belgrade, some in Cyrillic, others in Roman script. The target text, however, was further changed in the post-war publications: Mrs. Shelby is described as "a noble lady, endowed with a good heart and profound feelings" (Beecher Stowe 1953: 12) and no piousness is mentioned.

As far as the last chapter is concerned, the translation varied according to the time of publication. The versions from 1953 and 1956 published in Sarajevo retained some religious elements in the final chapter:

> »Vratite mu to dobrotom prema njegovoj ženi in djeci, i budite isto tako valjani i vjerni, kao što je on bio!«

> Jedan sijedi crnački propovjednik, koji je na tom imanju ostario i oslijepio, ustade sada, diže svoju drhtavu ruku i reče: »Zahvalimo gospodu!« Sli padoše na koljena i nikoja pjesma zahvalnosti ne bi se mogla čovjeka više dirnuti od molitve toga starca. (Beecher Stowe 1953: 126–127)
>
> ("Pay it back to him in kindness to his wife and children, be good and faithful as he was."
> A grey Negro preacher, who had grown old and blind on the estate, now rose, and, lifting his trembling hand said: "Let us give thanks unto the Lord!" All servants kneeled and no hymn could touch anyone more than the prayer of this old man.)

However, the versions published in 1964, 1966, 1971 and 1972 omit the final paragraph and purge the text entirely of any religious presence. The novel thus ends only with the plea addressed to the liberated slaves that they remain "good and faithful" as Uncle Tom was (Beecher Stowe 1964: 147; 1966: 147; 1971: 147; 1972: 148). Surprisingly, the versions by Jovan Bogičević published after the political change are also ideologically censored and do not contain any religious elements (Beecher Stowe 2008).

In 1990 a Bosnian translation of the novel by Budislava Šćetkić appeared that was again completely without any religious elements (Beecher Stowe 1990).

There is only one Macedonian translation of the novel, by Gligor Krsteski, which was first published in 1965 (reprinted in 1967, 1970, 1973 and 1985). The book, which was used for obligatory home reading in primary schools, is severely abridged to only 15 chapters and closely follows the censored Serbian translation by Jovan Bogičević. Thus at the end Christian elements are omitted and the liberated slaves are asked to become good people as Uncle Tom was (Beecher Stowe 1967: 80).

Again, the predominant strategy used in translations created in the Socialist period was the attenuation or complete elimination of religious elements from the target texts. There appeared 8 new translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* after the war and none of them kept all the religious elements of the original: 5 of them (from Slovenia, Serbia, Macedonia and Bosnia) purged the text completely of all religious references, while the other three attenuated the religious presence. Particularly interesting is the Serbian version by Bogičević: all Serbian Socialist editions were adapted versions of his pre-war translation from 1930 and contained some religious elements in the Fifties, but these disappeared completely from the translations in the Sixties and Seventies.

Robinson Crusoe

Robinson Crusoe by Daniel Defoe, although originally written for adults, was introduced to the different linguistic communities of Yugoslavia as a classic for children. This first person narrative which tells a story of a sailor, Robinson Crusoe, marooned on a desert island for many years, who manages to adapt very successfully first to life on his own, and then to life with another, subservient man, shared the same fate as numerous other translations of this work elsewhere in Europe.

Soon after its publication *Robinson Crusoe* (1719–1722) proved to be an immediate success at home and on the Continent, maybe also because it expresses some basic optimism in human nature. For example, the plot of the novel is based on the true story of the sailor Alexander Selkirk – but while he was found in a semi-savage state when he was rescued, Robinson Crusoe manages to build a small civilisation around him and survives his experience very well. The work shows the influence of the traditions of Puritan spiritual autobiography (cf. Damrosch 1997: 155) and expresses the belief that hard work is the answer to all social and moral problems. Intertwined with "the puzzles of the daily moral choice" (Bloom 1987: 1), the work also gives a delicate insight into the nature of ability to invent. No wonder then that this skilful combination of an adventure story and "an individual story of religious salvation" (O'Sullivan 2006: 161) soon became in the abridged form a classic adventure story for children (cf. Shavit 2006: 29). This transformation began not long after its original publication in 1726: first, in the 18th century, the novel was published in various chapbook editions, i.e. as a cheaply produced pamphlet, usually illustrated by woodcuts and sold by itinerant traders; then, in the early 19th century, abridged versions of the novel appeared for children and young readers (Shavit 2006).

Following the recommendation of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the German educationalist Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818) adapted the text for children and titled his German adaptation *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779–80). His translation then served as the source text for further translations throughout Europe (cf. Shavit 2006: 29; O'Sullivan 2006: 161). And indeed, an unabridged Slovene translation of *Robinson Crusoe* has never been published for children, but always in an adapted form. Because of this, the comparison with the original was difficult and focussed on Chapters 14 and 15. In the penultimate paragraph of Chapter 14 Robinson Crusoe wonders why God did not reveal the good news to creatures that seemed to be made for an exemplary Christian life:

> This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that however it had pleased God in His providence, and in the government of the works of His hands, to take from so great a part of the world of His creatures the best uses to

> which their faculties and the powers of their souls are adapted, yet that He has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good and receiving good that He has given to us; and that when He pleases to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the right uses for which they were bestowed than we are. This made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean a use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlightened by the great lamp of instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of His word added to our understanding; and why it has pleased God to hide the like saving knowledge from so many millions of souls, who, if I might judge by this poor savage, would make a much better use of it than we did. (Defoe 1996)

The second passage I focussed on was taken from Chapter 15, where Robinson describes the education of Friday and how he taught him the basic tenets of Christianity and how Robinson learned about the religion of Friday's people. Robinson finds their religious practice primitive and compares their "blinded, ignorant" priests to those of the Roman Catholic Church:

> From these things, I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God; I told him that the great Maker of all things lived up there, pointing up towards heaven; that He governed the world by the same power and providence by which He made it; that He was omnipotent, and could do everything for us, give everything to us, take everything from us; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes. He listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us; and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and His being able to hear us, even in heaven. He told me one day, that if our God could hear us, up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt to speak to them. I asked him if ever he went thither to speak to him. He said, "No; they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men," whom he called their Oowokakee; that is, as I made him explain to me, their religious, or clergy; and that they went to say O (so he called saying prayers), and then came back and told them what Benamuckee said. By this I observed, that there is priestcraft even among the most blinded, ignorant pagans in the world; and the policy of making a secret of religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, not only to be found in the Roman, but, perhaps, among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages. (Defoe 1996)

In the lands inhabited by the Slovenes there appeared six translations of *Robinson Crusoe* before the war: in 1876, 1915, 1924, 1925, 1936, and 1945. The first translation by the Catholic priest Janez Parapat (1876, reprinted in 1904, 1921) was

a revised and shortened version of the text, which included the passage on the religious education of Friday, but omitted passages that were critical of the Roman Catholic Church (Defoe 1921: 89–90). The second adaptation from 1915 (reprinted in 1923) by Silvester Košutnik, one of the Slovene translators of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, was already defined in the subtitle as "A story for young people." His version shortens and adapts the original text: the religious education of Friday is still mentioned, but there is no criticism of the Church (Defoe 1923: 61). The same applies to the translation by Vladimir Levstik from 1925: this shortened version insists on the fact that Robinson conveyed to Friday the basic tenets of the Christian religion, but omits the explicit criticism of the Church (Defoe 1925: 111–112). The same strategy is found in the 1936 version by Nande Vrbnjakov – no criticism of Catholicism is present in the Slovene text (Defoe 1936: 84). There also appeared two radically shortened versions: the first was published in 1924 and had only 63 pages – again, this version mentioned that Robinson had provided religious education for Friday (Fitzgerald 1924: 42), but the criticism of the Church was omitted. And finally, in 1945 there appeared a *Robinson* in the form of a cartoon with no religious elements at all.

Only a year after the war, despite the great problems with the supply of paper, a new translation of Robinson was published, but this time the original was a Russian adaptation by Kornei Ivanovich Chukovsky (1982–1969), a famous Russian author and translator for children (Leighton 1972). This Russian adaptation then served as the original for 11 subsequent Slovene translations. The first two (1946a, reprinted in 1952) were by the poet and Slavicist Vinko Gaberski or Vinko Gaberc (1886–1966), but all the subsequent ones were by Cvetko Zagorski (1965, reprinted in 1969, 1971, 1972, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1982, 1988, 1995). Zagorski (1916–2006) was a member of the Anti-Fascist Liberation Front and a Partisan during the war, but became politically suspect soon after the war and was imprisoned in the camp for political prisoners on the island of Goli otok between 1949 and 1951. Upon his return, he worked as a journalist at various Slovene newspapers. Despite the fact that Zagorski was described as problematic by the ideological committee of the Communist Party of Slovenia in 1954 (Gabrič 1995: 56), he was nevertheless entrusted with the translation of the Russian adaptation of *Robinson Crusoe*. The reasons for the change of translators, however, do not seem to be politically motivated: in his introduction to the first edition, Zagorski explains that his translation follows the adapted and the latest version by Chukovsky from 1961 (Zagorski 1965: 236). Neither translation, by Gaberski or by Zagorski, contains any religious passages.

In addition to Zagorski's translation, that remained the most popular Socialist Slovene one, there appeared others in the form of picture books: e.g. the translation by Vlado Rape in 1954, those by Vital Klabus in 1967 and by Jože Zupančič in

1968 that were both translated from Serbo-Croat, and a translation by Blaž Telban and Marjeta Smole from 1988 (reprinted in 1989). All of those severely shortened versions omitted all religious elements.

The only two translations that went against this monolithic translation strategy were those by Olga Šiftar-Raposa in 1973 and Mira Mihelič in 1974. The translation from 1973 by Šiftar-Raposa was published in Murska Sobota, on the eastern brink of Slovenia, next to the Hungarian frontier, away from the centre where political and ideological pressure was the strongest. This translation is full of colourful illustrations and provides a radically shortened text that, however, includes some religious elements: Robinson is said to have read the Bible and prayed to God, which gave him great comfort (Defoe 1973: 30). And then, in 1974, there appeared the first, and the only, unabridged translation of the original *Robinson Crusoe* by the renowned writer Mira Mihelič (reprinted in 1988) that targeted adult readers. This translation was also ideologically unchanged and was published in the most prestigious collection of the time "One Hundred Novels" which included only works that had acquired the status of a "canon" and were considered as part of the world literary heritage. Mihelič's translation thus included a faithful rendering of Robinson's admiration of Friday's spiritual qualities (Defoe 1974: 267–268), as well as the criticism of the Roman Catholic Church (ibid.: 274–275).

After the political change, there appeared another two translations of *Robinson Crusoe*: in 1994 and in 1995 (in 1998 there appeared a picture book *Robinson Crusoe* by an anonymous translator with almost no text). The first translation was done by Nevenka Žagar in 1994 (reprints in 1998 and 2006), and again it is abridged and adapted. Although some religious elements are included, the passage from Chapter 14 quoted above is not included, and criticism of the Church is absent (Defoe 1994: 106; 1998: 112). Similarly, the translation by Jani Virk from 1995 includes some religious elements but omits criticism of Catholicism (Defoe 1995: 166).

All in all, if we exclude translations in picture-book format and cartoons (Defoe 1945, 1954, 1967, 1968, 1988, 1998), *Robinson Crusoe* was translated into Slovene 11 times: five times before the Second World War, four times in Socialist times and twice after the change of regime. All the pre- and post-Socialist translations include religious elements, but omit criticism of the Roman Catholic Church. The most popular Socialist translations (i.e. those that were reprinted) purged the text completely of any religious presence and were done from Russian adaptations. One translation for children (Defoe 1973) that was published on the margins of Slovene territory included some religious elements, while the Socialist translation for an adult readership (Defoe 1974) provided a faithful rendering of the text without any ideological interventions.

The first translation of *Robinson Crusoe* into Croatian dates from 1796 (reprinted in 1825). It is a translation of the German adaptation of the English original by Joachim Heinrich Campe. Before the Second World War there appeared an additional book with this title in Croatian: a picture book of only 8 pages in 1926.

Soon after the war, in 1947, a translation of the Russian adaptation of the novel by Kornei Chukovsky was translated into Croatian by Borka Brkić (Defoe 1947), and, as in the Slovene versions, all the religious passages are omitted. The most popular Croatian translation of Daniel Defoe's work, however, has become the translation by Berislav Grgić that was published for the first time in 1954 and then reprinted 15 times in the Socialist and post-Socialist periods (1958, 1962, 1963, 1968, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1984, 1985, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2004). The post-script claims that the reason for the new translation lay in the fact that the publishers wanted to offer young Croatian readers a Robinson Crusoe that was "translated from the original text by Defoe" (Defoe 1972: 245). And indeed, the translation follows the original distribution of the text in chapters, although all the religious elements in Chapters 14 and 15 are left out. In 1986 there appeared a new adaptation by Milan Crnković. His translation was then reprinted after the political change, in 1993, 1996 and 2002. The second edition from 1993 claimed that it was an amended edition and that it contained again "the dimension of the text that used to be omitted up to now – Robinson's thoughts about God and the meaning of human life – without which *Robinson* remains an incomplete work of art" (Defoe 1993: 8). Despite this announcement, however, the adapted text remains without the above mentioned passages in Chapters 14 and 15.

After the political change, there appeared a further two translations of *Robinson Crusoe* in Croatian in 2006 and 2008, with the 2006 translation by Ivana Belčić claiming for the first time to be an integral version of the original text.

The first two Serbian translations of *Robinson* from the 18th and 19th centuries were translations from German (Defoe 1799, 1845). In the early twentieth century there appeared an additional four translations: the first by G. Menš in 1920 (reprinted in 1922), the second in 1921 by an unknown translator, the third in 1922 by Ljubomir M. Protić, and the fourth in 1934 by an unknown translator in the famous "Golden Book" series for children. The 1934 text was an adaptation that attenuated the religious presence in the text: for example, this version provides no criticism of the Roman Catholic Church and does not dwell on Robinson's religious teachings (Defoe 1934).

After the Second World War the popularity of *Robinson Crusoe* did not abate: in 1946, there appeared a translation in Zagreb that was published by the Serbian cultural and educational society Prosvjeta. It was published in the Cyrillic script, the translator was not named and the adaptation contained no religious elements (Defoe 1946b). In 1966, there appeared another translation following the Russian

adaptation by Kornei Chukovsky. This translation by Vojislava Bogojević, purged of all religious elements, was reprinted in 1968, 1970, 1986, 1989 and 1990, and formed part of obligatory home-reading for 12 year-olds. In 1968 there also appeared a shortened and ideologically purged version of *Robinson Crusoe* in picture-book format by Slobodan Lazić (Defoe 1968). However, there was also a translation of Defoe's work for an adult public that was first published in 1962 (reprinted in 1963, 1969) by Vladeta Popović that follows the original text closely and includes all the passages of a religious nature, including the paragraph where Robinson in critical of the religious practices of the Roman Catholic Church (Defoe 1969: 196). Popović's translation was then further used for various adaptations for children: from 1963 to 2010 there appeared 28 reprints of adapted versions for children by various adaptors.

After the political change in Serbia, Robinson still continues to be translated anew: there have been 9 new translations in the last 20 years (Defoe 1997a, 1997b, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2007, 2008); the most popular seems to be now the translation by Predrag Đorđević from 2004 (reprinted in 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2011). Surprisingly, however, some publishing houses from across Serbia (Beograd, Čačak, Novi Sad) still decide to publish the adaptation of Kornei Chukovsky (Defoe 2001, 2005, 2008) that has been changed according to the Socialist ideological imperative.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina the translation from the Russian by Vojislava Bogojević was published in 1965, a year before the Serbian edition, and as in all other cases, it is without any religious elements. This translation of Chukovsky's adaptation was then reprinted during Socialist times (in 1966, 1972, 1986, 1990), and post-Socialist times (1999, 2009), sometimes even with the translator's name misspelled as Blagojević (Defoe 1986, 1989, 1990). However, the most popular translation during the Socialist period was one by Živojin Vukadinović which also appeared in 1965 (reprinted in 1967, 1971, 1976, 1981, 1984, 1990, 1999). Like all the others, Vukadinović's translation is a shortened adaptation of the original novel: for example, none of the paragraphs we focussed on are included, there is no description of Robinson thinking about Providence, but also no criticism of the the Church (Defoe 1965: 94; 1967: 97). After the political change and the war, there appeared another translation of *Robinson* in Bosnia and Herzegovina by Regina Konforte (Defoe 2008, 2010).

The first Macedonian translation of *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1954: this adapted version by Mane Manevski in picture-book format, shortened to only 24 pages, contained no religious elements (Defoe 1954). Fourteen years later there appeared another shortened version, this time translated from the Serbian adaptation by Slobodan Lazić, which again purged the text of any religious presence (Defoe 1968). The most popular Macedonian translation, however, was created

in 1973 by Gligor Krstevski. His translation was reprinted eight times, before and after the political change (in 1974, 1976, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2001, 2004, 2010), and was used as a part of obligatory home reading for the fifth grade of primary school (12-year-olds). Krstevski's version follows the Russian adaptation by Chukovsky and omits all the religious elements of the text. In the post-Socialist period there appeared two further translations: in 2001 a shortened version by Vilma Trajkovska was published, and in 2011 a new translation by Toni Naunovski became the new translation suggested for obligatory home reading.

The results of our survey show that *Robinson Crusoe* was one of the most popular translated works for children in the period before and after the Second World War in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia. There were 12 translations even before the Second World War, but the earliest Serbian, Croatian and Slovene versions from the 18th and 19th centuries followed the German adaptation by Campe. These translations also adapted the original text and left out, in particular, the criticism of the religious practices of the Roman Catholic Church. After the Second World War, during the Socialist period, there appeared 15 different translations of *Robinson Crusoe* in Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, and 12 of them (80%) ideologically changed the text, eliminating all the religious elements, one translation attenuated the religious presence, and 2 translations retained the religious elements. This corpus of *Robinson Crusoe* translations showed another interesting feature: all the translations for children were more or less radical adaptations, and as many as 6 different translations in Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia took as their original Kornei Chukovsky's Russian adaptation, which seemed to be ideologically closest to the Socialist Yugoslav environment. Surprisingly, though, these adaptations continue to be published in the post-Socialist period. However, when *Robinson Crusoe* was translated for an adult readership (in 1962 in Serbia and in 1975 in Slovenia) another translation strategy was used, which did not adapt, shorten or ideologically change the text.

Michel Strogoff

And finally, the novel *Michel Strogoff: Moscou – Irkutsk* (1876; in English *Michael Strogoff or The Courier of the Czar*) by Jules Verne (1828–1905). This entertaining and educational novel (Delabroy 1983: 149) is not a science-fiction work, but it does revolve around a curious incident. Michel is a courier for Tsar Alexander II of Russia on a secret mission, travelling across Siberia and meeting others on his way, among them the beautiful Nadia Fedor, daughter of an exiled political prisoner. Michel, Nadia and Michel's mother are captured by the Tartars, who decide

to subject Michel to the traditional punishment for spies: he is to be blinded with a hot blade. Although readers are led to believe that Michel was indeed blinded, it is later revealed that his eyes were saved by his tears. At the end, Michel completes his mission successfully and marries Nadia.

This classic romantic adventure story, like other works by Verne describing fantastic events and imaginary scientific wonders, was not only a popular read for young adults, but was also often classified as popular literature since it appealed to mass tastes. The fact that the work is not always considered as children's literature is also reflected in the way it was translated.

The novel includes very few instances that might prove problematic to the Communist ideology. I had a look at the last chapter (Chapter 15), where Michel asks Nadia to marry him, saying that God must have intentionally put them together:

> – Alors, Nadia, dit Michael Strogoff, je ne crois pas que Dieu, en nous mettant en présence, en nous faisant traverser ensemble de si rudes épreuves, ait voulu nous réunir autrement que pour jamais.
> – Ah! fit Nadia, en tombant dans les bras de Michael Strogoff. Et se tournant vers Wassili Fédor: "Mon père!" dit-elle toute rougissante. (Verne 2005)

> ("Then, Nadia," said Michael, "I think that God, in allowing us to meet, and to go through so many severe trials together, must have meant us to be united forever." "Ah!" said Nadia, falling into Michael's arms. Then turning towards Wassili Fedor, "My father," said she, blushing.) (Verne 2008)

In Slovenia the first translation appeared in 1923 by a certain Dr. A. R., and was published with the permission of the diocese of Krško by the publishing house Družba sv. Mohorja, which was founded by the Roman Catholic Church. No wonder then that all the religious elements of the text were retained. In 1955, however, there appeared a reprint of this translation, now adapted by France Borko (1904–1956), a Slavicist and a secondary-school teacher, who was exiled by the Germans to Serbia during the Second World War. After the war, he worked as a teacher in Maribor and translated literary works, mainly from Russian and German (Moder 1985: 32). His adaptation instructs the reader how to read the novel and also ideologically justifies the new adaptation through notes, emphasizing that the real hero of the novel is "the common Russian people":

> The sharp eye of a contemporary reader shall not find a true description of the tsarist Russia and its internal conflicts in this romantic story from 1876. Most probably he shall focus his attention to *the legendary heroics of the common Russian people* who are the main characters of the story written in the style of the last century. (Verne 1955: 5; emphasis added)

The adaptation corrects punctuation, bringing it in line with the contemporary rules of proper usage, and changes the few instances of religious presence. Let us have a look at two of these, the first from Chapter 11:

> "Ah! s'écria-t-il, Dieu lui-même est donc contre nous!" (Verne 2005)
>
> »Ah! Tudi Bog sam je zoper naju!« (Verne 1923: 99)
> ("Ah! Then God himself is against us!")
>
> »Oh, vse se je zarotilo zoper naju!« (Verne 1955: 238)
> ("Oh, everything is against us!")

And the second one from Chapter 15:

> »Potem pa mislim, Nadja,« je dejal Mihael Strogov, »da naju Bog ni združil samo zato, da skupno premagava težave, ki sva jih srečala na potu, ampak, da naju je hotel združiti za vedno!« (Verne 1923: 126)
>
> ("Then I think, Nadia," said Mihael Strogov, "that God did not unite us only to overcome together the troubles on our journey, but that he must have meant us to be united forever.")
>
> »Potem pa mislim,« Nadja, je dejal Mihael Strogov, »da se nisva združila samo zato, da skupno premagava težave, ki sva jih srečala na potu, ampak da sva se združila za vedno!« (Verne 1955: 266)
>
> ("Then I think, Nadia," said Mihael Strogov, "that we were not united only to overcome together the troubles on our journey, but that he have been united forever.")

The examples show that the only change the adaptor France Borko made to the pre-war translation was the elimination of religious presence from the translation in line with the new ideological imperative.

In 1970 there appeared a new translation of the novel by Janko Moder, where all the religious elements were re-introduced (Verne 1970: 337, 377).

In Croatia, the novel *Michael Strogoff* was first translated in 1925 by Julije Adamović and it included the religious elements in the above-indicated passages (Verne 1925: 169). After the war, in 1962 (reprinted in 1976) there appeared a new translation by Darinka Marodić and Ružica Dimitrijević, which also contained all the religious elements of the original text (Verne 1976: 279). *Michael Strogoff* was then translated again in 2004 (Verne 2004).

In Serbia and Macedonia there were no pre-war translations. The first Serbian translation, which appeared in 1952 (reprinted 1964, 1985), by Miodrag Đorđević, included all the religious elements (Verne 1985: 301–302), and similarly the Macedonian translation by Taško Širilov from 1980 did not censor the religious presence in the novel (Verne 1980: 120, 153).

To conclude, Jules Verne's novels were translated differently in different parts of Socialist Yugoslavia: while there appeared an ideologically purged translation in Slovenia in 1955, *Michael Strogoff* remained uncensored in other parts of Yugoslavia and also in Slovene translations that were created 15 years later.

All in all, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe, *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis Stevenson, and *Michael Strogoff* by Jules Verne, i.e. works that were originally written for adults, but were then often adapted for children, in Yugoslav translations show that the translation strategy itself could help us distinguish between literature for adults and children's literature. Socialist translators tended to ideologically modify their translations if the intended readership was children and left the religious elements untampered with if the translation was intended for an adult readership.