

WHO ARE THE REAL GUARDIANS OF TRANSLATED TEXTS? TRANSLATORS, EDITORS AND OTHERS

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Abstract

The article builds on an earlier study of socialist-period translation practice, focusing on the role of editors in the afterlife of the translated text and on the reasons that keep some socialist translations in circulation also in post-socialist times. Its aim is therefore twofold. The first aim is to provide new data regarding the decisive role of editors in the production of the target text in the socialist and post-socialist environment. The second aim is to shed light on the reasons why some ideologically edited socialist translations still circulate in the market and why authors of textbooks still include passages from these translations in the primers and mother-tongue textbooks for primary school. The article is based on empirical results gathered from an interview with the chief editor for children's literature at Mladinska Knjiga, a leading Slovene publisher, and an online questionnaire sent in 2014 to all authors of textbooks on Slovene literature approved for primary schools in Slovenia.

1. Introduction

In an earlier study (Pokorn 2012a and 2012b), I explored how Communism and Socialism influenced translation practice, and whether socialist translation in different cultural and linguistic environments had eliminated from the translated text the same or similar elements. In this research, which aligns with other translational studies focusing on the influence of the socialist political system and Communist ideology on translation practice (e.g. Thomson-Wohlgemuth's 2009, Ionescu 2010, Popa 2010, Baer 2011, Witt 2011, Inggs 2011, Terian 2012, Antochi 2012, Sherry 2015, Looby 2015, Schippel and Zwischenberger 2017), I

attempted to identify the textual elements disturbing to the socialist political system and outline the typical and defining features of translatorial behaviour by re-reading translations of children's literature¹ and juvenile fiction published in the socialist Yugoslavia (1945-1991)². By applying the multiple causation method (see e.g. Brownlie 2003: 112), which allows a combination of different analytical approaches, the research combined differential analyses of the source and target texts, biographical research focusing on the life of the main agents in the field of translated children's literature in the socialist Yugoslavia (e.g. that of translators, editors, editors in chief, directors of publishing houses, members of various committees monitoring publishing activity established at the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and at the Socialist Alliance of the Working People), interviews with these agents and investigation of the archives of various committees that were established within the framework of the Central Committee of Communist Party and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People.

Children's literature was chosen because this body of literature is most susceptible to the 'protect and control' translation strategy, i.e. the strategy that allows quite radical changes of the target text in line with the educational standards of the day. The fact that the reading public accepts considerable modifications of this body of literature through translation most probably stems from the conviction that children's literature should not be harmful to the development of children into ideal citizens or individuals (see e.g. Stephens 1992, Knowles and Malmkjaer 1996, Malmkjaer 2003, 2004, Desmidt 2006, Oittinen 2006). And, since the concept of an ideal adult is not a stable term, translations of children's literature are often very clear reflections of the ideology of a particular target-language culture at a particular time. Socialist Yugoslavia was focused on because of its four official languages (Croatian, Macedonian,

¹The term children's literature in this article refers to literary works originally written for children and for young adults, as well as to works that were originally written for adults but then became part of the children's literary canon.

²The country changed its official name during this period: it was first called Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1963), and then Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1963-1991.

Serbian and Slovene) and the different historical and cultural settings of its six constituent republics.³

The corpus of translations was determined by first creating a catalogue of all retranslated children's works from any language into Slovene from 1945 to 1955 (n=14). This decade was chosen because Yugoslavia in that period adopted the Soviet model of cultural control and had introduced mechanisms of direct monitoring of publishing activity by the Communist Party (cf. Gabrič 1995). The retranslations were focused on because this period was also marked by shortages of printing ink and paper (see e.g. the 1952 report of the Print Committee at SAWPS, AS 531, a.u. 139⁴). The assumption was made that socialist retranslations were created because the new ruling class found the pre-war translations problematic and therefore commissioned new translations despite the raw material shortages. Then, a comparative analysis of the texts was carried out: first, the Slovene retranslations of children's literature that were published between 1945 and 1955 were compared to their originals and to the Slovene pre-war translations of the same work. The results showed that 9 out of 14 texts were ideologically changed. Second, all possible subsequent translations into Slovene of these 9 texts between 1955 and 2010 were analysed, and third, all possible Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian pre-war and post-war translations of these works were looked at. All in all, 96 translations of nine children's books into Slovene, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian that were produced in the socialist Yugoslavia were analysed.⁵ The results showed that 80% of these

³ While the northern republics were historically part of Austria-Hungary and predominantly Catholic, the southern republics were Orthodox or Muslim and for centuries belonged to the Ottoman Empire.

⁴ All the records were studied at the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (the National Archives). The citations in brackets include:
a) the name of institution: Archives of the Republic of Slovenia (AS)
b) the serial number of the fund or the collection (AS 537)
c) the document reference, i.e. a number of the archival unit which contains the archival records (AS 537, a.u. 139)

⁵ In total, 217 different translations (reprints are not included in this count) into Slovene, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian were analysed; 71 translations were created in the pre-Socialist period (i.e. before 1945), 96 under Socialism (1945-1991), and 50 in the post-Socialist period.

translations were ideologically censored: in particular, passages referring to Christian religion were either eliminated or attenuated. In addition to the differential analysis of source and target texts, the interviews with the editors and translators of the period were made and the systematic research of the archival material was carried out. The results have revealed that the fact that so many translators of children's literature omitted or replaced religious elements was not due to the existence of some formal censorial office, but was mainly the result of self-censorship on the part of the translators who, consciously or subconsciously, internalized the Communist attitude towards religion.

In this article, I will present some new findings that supplement the earlier study, focusing on the afterlife of socialist translations and on different agents that were responsible for the repeatedly changing wording of target texts. The aim of this article is twofold. First, it will describe the decisive role of editors in the production of the target text in the socialist and post-socialist environment. Second, it will shed light on the reasons why some ideologically edited socialist translations of children's literature still circulate in the market of a post-socialist state and why authors of textbooks still include passages from these translations in the primers and mother-tongue textbooks for primary schools in the Republic of Slovenia.

The term 'afterlife' in this article finds its inspiration in Walter Benjamin's seminal essay "Task of the Translator" (1923), where he uses it in connection to the life of the original.⁶ According to Benjamin, translations mark the continued life [*Fortleben*] of the original and appear in its afterlife [*Überleben*], i.e. in the time when the original reaches the age of its fame (Benjamin 1923/2002: 254-255). If the mystification of

⁶"Just as the manifestations of life are intimately connected with the phenomenon of life without being of importance to it, a translation issues from the original – not so much from its life as from its afterlife [*Überleben*]. For a translation comes later than the original, and since the important works of world literature never find their chosen translators at the time of their origin, their translation marks their stage of continued life [*Fortleben*]. [...] Translations that are more than transmissions of subject matter come into being when a work, in the course of its survival [*Fortleben*], has reached the age of its fame." (Benjamin [1923] 2002: 254-255, transl. by Harry Zohn; original expressions in the square brackets added by the author of the article).

the original did not allow Benjamin to grant translation the essential substance of “the unfathomable, the mysterious, the ‘poetic’” (1923/2002: 253), which he saw in literary work, postmodern conceptualisations, however, bestow upon translations a different role and status. A translation is no longer considered to be something intrinsically secondary in nature, but becomes independent, a child which has gained “the power to speak on its own” (Derrida 1985: 213). And indeed, if we take a closer look at the history of certain translations, we can see that some of them, similarly to original works, reached “the age of their fame”, and also experienced their afterlife through the reprints and amended and adapted versions of the target texts. This continued life of a translation is often marked by various retouches of different agents in the translational field that are guided by different imperatives.

I will attempt to reveal these agents in the first section of this article through the description of the continued life of the first Serbian and Slovene translations of *Heidi*. In the second section the results of an online questionnaire sent to all authors of the approved textbooks and primers for the course of Slovene literature in primary schools will be presented and before the conclusion in section 4, section 3 will provide data collected in an interview with the chief editor for children’s literature at Mladinska Knjiga, the largest and most important publisher in Slovenia at the moment, regarding the attitude towards socialist translations and editorial policies in the post-socialist times.

2. The afterlife of the first Serbian and Slovene translation of *Heidi*

Johanna Spyri’s *Heidi* (1879-81) was first translated into Serbian and Croatian during the Second World War. While it is not clear what the motives for these translations in this particularly tumultuous time were, the aim of the original novel is much more transparent: the goal of this didactic novel set in Switzerland and Germany is to show how important it is to learn how to read, since reading enables you to access God’s word in the Christian Scriptures – the activity that lies at the centre of Protestant



Christianity. It is not surprising then that the novel is imbued with Christian undertones: for example, Heidi's grandfather is presented as someone who has lost his faith in God and therefore lives in isolation, not participating in the congregational life. Since he deprives the orphaned Heidi of that communal life as well, Heidi is taken to Frankfurt to keep company to Klara, a handicapped girl. There she learns how to read and pray. When she returns to her grandfather, she converts him, so that they both return to the village congregation. She also puts her newly acquired ability to read to good use and starts reading religious hymns to the blind grandmother of her friend Peter. At the end of the novel, Heidi is visited by Klara, who is so inspired by the environment of the Swiss Alps that she starts walking again, so that the novel ends with everyone praising the Lord for the happiness He has bestowed on all good people.

The first translation of *Heidi* in any of the languages spoken in former Yugoslavia was the Serbian translation that appeared in Belgrade in 1942 and was done by Živojin Bata Vukadinović (1902-1949), a journalist of the main Serbian newspaper *Politika*, an editor of the collection of children's literature "Zlatna knjiga" ("Golden Book"), and an amateur actor.⁷ His translation closely follows the original and does not change the ideological positioning of the text. In 1951, two years after his death, in the early post-war period that was marked by a particularly strict control of cultural life along Stalinist lines, his translation was published again. However, this translation differs radically from its first edition (for more detail see author 2012):

- a) One of the central characters in the novel, the village pastor, is replaced by a village teacher (Spyri 1951: 71). For example, where in the first edition of this translation Heidi's grandfather decides to join the congregation and takes Heidi to Sunday mass in the village church, in the 1951 translation the grandfather just decides to visit the village teacher instead (Spyri 1951: 205);

⁷<http://cacak-dis.rs/digital/digitalna-biblioteka/> and <http://www.makabijada.com/dopis/Fredi.pdf> (Accessed on 20 July 2017).

- b) Klara's grandmother does not instruct Heidi to pray, but offers herself as her confidante (Spyri 1951: 148);
- c) The hymn to God that Heidi reads to the blind grandmother is left out; it is only mentioned that Heidi reads to her a poem about the sun (Spyri 1951: 200);
- d) Instead of praising the Lord, the novel ends with a statement that everyone was happy that things turned out so well (Spyri 1951: 351).

A careful reading of the colophon reveals that the translation was revised by Desanka Milivojević.⁸ The name of this editor appears only in the 1951 edition and then disappears from all the subsequent reprints, transferring the overall responsibility for this adapted version to the dead translator.

A closer look at the two texts reveals the radical nature of the revisions made by Milivojević:

"So helf Euch Gott!", sagte der Herr Pfarrer und ging traurig zur Tür hinaus und den Berg hinunter. (Spyri [1881] 2003, 41).

("Then God help you!" said the pastor, and went sadly out the door and down the mountain.)⁹

"Нека вам Бог буде у помоћи!" казао је свештеник, изишао тужно и сишао низ планину. (Spyri 1942: 76)

["God help you!" said the clergyman, left the hut sadly and went down the mountain.]

"Онда збогом," рече учитељ, изађе тужно на врата и оде низ планину. (Spyri 1951: 71)

["Then adieu," said the teacher, exited sadly through the door and went down the mountain.]

⁸I could not find any data revealing who Desanka Milivojević was. Her name does not appear in the most exhaustive online Serbian bibliographic source, the VLS catalogue.

⁹If not indicated otherwise, all translations into English are by the author of the article.

In this sentence only, the revised socialist translation left only three of the 15 words from the 1942 version intact, thus thoroughly rewriting the inter-war translation. The re-introduction of the "door" in the revised translation seems to indicate that the editor of the revised translation most probably consulted the original when re-writing the translation from 1942. The change of "pastor" into "teacher", however, indicates that the editor also rewrote the translation in line with the Communists' negative attitude towards religion.¹⁰ But despite these transformations of content and style, the translation was still attributed to Vukadinović and became the most popular translation of *Heidi* in the socialist Yugoslavia that continued to be present also after the change of the political system: by 2010, 25 reprints of this translation had been published in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo, in both Cyrillic and Roman script. Although in Croatia the first translation of *Heidi*, which appeared in 1943, closely followed the original, the first post-war Croatian translation from 1957 was the Serbian version of *Heidi* from 1951, attributed to Vukadinović, which was linguistically adapted for the Croatian readers. This translation, and not the one from 1943, was then reprinted ten times in Zagreb (Spyri 1961, 1964, 1967, 1969, 1971, 1973, 1974, 1976, 1978).

A similarly decisive role of editors affecting the afterlife of a translation can be seen in the continued life of the first Slovene translation of *Heidi*. *Heidi* was first translated into Slovene in 1954 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 worked as an editor for *Naša Žena* ("Our Woman"), a women's magazine (Moder 1985:

¹⁰The expression of Yugoslav Communist repudiation of religious sentiment can be found in the archival material which reveals that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, similarly to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (see The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union in 1959, where the church was defined as the "ideological weapon of imperialism"), considered religion to be an aberration and prejudice that lingers in "specific historical conditions of the material and spiritual backwardness of the people" (16 October 1967 (AS10 1589, a.u. 215)). Following Marx's criticism of religion expressed in his *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1843), Yugoslav Communists also believed that religion is an "illusory sun", a man-made social phenomenon that does not allow man to embrace his true happiness (1969 (AS 1589/62, a.u. 193-194). The reasons why Yugoslav Communists were hostile towards religion were also historical and originated in the alliances made during the Second World War (for more details see e.g. Gabrič 2005: 852-854).

269). The Slovene translation must have been modelled on the adapted Serbian version from 1951. For example, one of the central characters in the novel, the village pastor, is replaced by the village teacher; Heidi never learns to pray; the hymns are left out and the novel ends in the same way as the Serbian one from 1951. If we have a look at the same passage again in this Slovene translation, we can see a clear influence of the adapted Serbian version:

“So helf Euch Gott!”, sagte der Herr Pfarrer und ging traurig zur Tür hinaus und den Berg hinunter. (Spyri [1881] 2003, 41).

»Potem pa srečno!« reče učitelj in žalosten odide skozi vrata in po hribu navzdol (Spyri 1954: 54; cf. 1982: 50, transl. Sever).

[“Then good luck!” says the teacher, leaves the hut sadly and goes down the mountain.]

Meta Sever’s translation proved to be, similarly to the adapted version of Vukadinović’s translation, a very popular one: it was reprinted in 1959, 1962, 1964, 1967, 1971, 1974, 1978, 1982¹¹, and again in 1997 during the post-socialist era by the same publishing house, Mladinska Knjiga. This last, post-socialist reprint from 1997 deserves special attention. It was published in the year when Meta Sever died aged 86, and she was not involved in the publication of this last edition of her translation (which was confirmed also by the editor at Mladinska Knjiga, Mr Ilc, see Section 3 below). The translation was published within the series “Ilustrirani Klasiki” (Illustrated Classics). The series, originally called “Collection Chefs-d’œuvre Universels”, was created by Editions Gallimard in 1995 (this is also the year when Gallimard first published *Heidi*), and provides numerous additional information about the text and the setting of the story mainly through illustrations that run parallel to the text¹² (see Figure 1). The illustrations in Slovene translation from 1997 were taken

¹¹ 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 when compared to the first Slovene translation from 1954.

¹² <http://www.gallimard.fr/Catalogue/GALLIMARD-JEUNESSE/Chefs-d-oeuvre-Universels> (Accessed 11 September 2018)

from the French original, the additional text on the margins was translated by Mateja Seliškar Kenda from French, while Meta Sever's translation of the novel was used for the main text which runs in the centre.



Fig. 1 – An illustration from Croatian translation of *Heidi* in *Illustrated Classics*

Surprisingly, however, Meta Sever's translation is again adapted: in this version, religion is introduced again, Heidi's grandfather is presented as someone who has lost faith in God, Heidi learns how to pray in Frankfurt, and religious hymns (praising, for example, the holy cross and Virgin Mary) are partially translated (for example, of the eight original stanzas only three remain). This partially ideologically reversed version also reintroduces the village pastor. In 1954 Meta Sever translated the above quoted passage as follows:

»Potem pa srečno!« reče učitelj in žalosten odide skozi vrata in po hribu navzdol (Spyri 1954: 54; cf. 1982: 50, transl. Sever).

[“Then good luck!” says the teacher, leaves the hut sadly and goes down the mountain.]

The version from 1997 which was adapted by the editor reintroduced the religious elements:

“Bog vam pomagaj!” je rekel župnik in žalosten odšel skozi vrata in po hribu navzdol v dolino. (Spyri 1997: 74, transl. Sever)

[“God help you!” said the priest, and he sadly walked through the door and went down the mountain into the valley.]

In an interview conducted in November 2014, the Editor-in-Chief for children’s literature at Mladinska Knjiga, Mr Andrej Ilc, revealed that his predecessor, Mr Vasja Cerar, had introduced these changes when the publishing house decided to publish *Heidi* as part of the Illustrated Classics series.



Fig. 2 – An illustration in Slovene translation of *Heidi* in Illustrated Classics

Since the illustrations often depict the clergyman (see Figure 2), the editor simply decided to change the text accordingly. However, the translation was still attributed to the translator Meta Sever and the fact that the editor changed the translation so radically is not made visible in the colophon or anywhere else in the book.

The afterlife of a particular translation can thus be marked by radical changes of the target text. The example of the afterlife of the first Serbian translation of *Heidi* shows how ideological changes were introduced in line with the Marxist dialectical materialism in the socialist period, and the

example of the first Slovene translation of *Heidi* reveals that the ideological changes to the original inserted in the target text were alleviated in the post-socialist period. In both cases, the translators were not responsible for the changes since both of them were dead at the moment of the publication of the reprint; the ideological changes were introduced by the editors who remained hidden and invisible to the reading public.

3. The tenacity of socialist translations in textbooks and primers

The previous study has shown that numerous translations that were ideologically changed in the socialist period were still reprinted or appeared in primary school primers and textbooks of the post-socialist Slovenia in 2011 (author 2012: 129-138). In order to see if this situation has changed in view of the fact that the findings of the 2012 study were publicized also locally, I checked again all textbooks and readers on Slovene literature for primary school that were accredited for the school year 2014/2015 by the National Education Institute of the Republic of Slovenia. This is an independent agency that approves a list of accredited textbooks for the use in primary education. I then compared the two sets of data, as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1 – a comparison of primary school textbooks on Slovene literature

2010/2011 school year	2014/2015 school year
35 textbooks and readers	44 textbook and readers
67% contain ideologically changed translations	48% contain ideologically changed translations
44% contain passages taken from ideologically changed translations, although the ideologically unaltered versions were also available on the market.	43% contain passages taken from ideologically changed translations, although the ideologically unaltered versions were also available on the market.

The Institute accredited 36 textbooks for the study of literature for the school year 2010/2011: fragments from translations and more than half of these textbooks rely on translations that were censored during the socialist period. Moreover, almost half of the textbooks for the school year 2010/2011, i.e. 16 of them (44%), also contained passages taken from ideologically changed translations, despite the fact that other, post-

socialist and ideologically unaltered versions were also available on the market. The results of the second study show no great improvement: in the school year 2014/2015, out of the total of 44 accredited textbooks, 48% still contained censored translations from the socialist period and 43% of them contained passages taken from ideologically changed translations, despite the fact that ideologically unaltered versions of the same original texts were also available on the market.

This absence of radical change is mainly due to the fact that new textbooks and primers do not replace the old ones, but are simply added to the approved list of textbooks every year. It seems that the reason for that is purely external and economic: school children in Slovenia, in general, do not buy textbooks and readers for primary education, but rather borrow them from the so-called school textbook pools instead. Consequently, each primary school has a large number of accredited textbooks and primers that they lend their children for a year. The removal of some of the old accredited textbooks and their replacement with the revised versions on the approved list would prove in these times of austerity for some of the schools financially impossible, and the financial burden of buying new textbooks would then have to be borne by the parents. In order to avoid that, in 2011 the Ministry of Education decided not to replace or remove any of the formerly accredited textbooks from the list of accredited textbooks and primers (Mlakar and Hren 2015). One of the reasons why the Communist attitude towards religion is still so widely propagated through translation in a post-socialist society is, therefore, due to the austerity measures curtailing government spending on public services that have struck particularly hard the education system.

However, a closer analysis of the eight textbooks and primers on the approved list for 2014/2015 that were first published in 2011 or later (that is, during the period when the first articles and public presentations criticizing the use of ideologically changed translations in textbooks and readers appeared in Slovenia¹³) shows that half of them contain passages

¹³Reports on the fact that the translations of fairy tales were manipulated during the Socialist period were published in literary journals (Pokorn 2010), in newspapers (Mamič

from socialist censored translations and the other half only translations that were not ideologically changed during the socialist times.

3.1 Questionnaire and methodology

In view of that situation, the following questions arose: Why do authors of contemporary Slovene primary school primers and readers still include the censored passages from the socialist period? Are they aware of the ideological changes in these translations, or do they believe that translations are always faithful transfers or justifiable translator's interpretations of the source text, and that no comparison with the source text or with other translations is needed?

In order to find out the answers to these questions an online questionnaire was sent to all authors (n=15)¹⁴ of the textbooks and primers that appeared on the approved list for the school year 2014/2015. After collecting the standard demographics, the participants of the survey were asked two dichotomous questions (they were prompted to provide justification for their answers), one multiple-choice question and one open-ended question. The first two questions focused on the procedure of selecting particular translated passages for a textbook or primer, the third question inquired about their preference for a source- or a target-language oriented translation and the last one asked about their criteria for the selection of a particular target text.

I received back ten filled in questionnaires. Although this number appears low, the authors who replied to the questionnaire participated in the creation of 89% of all accredited textbooks (39 textbooks) and they represented 77% of all first authors (covering 34 accredited textbooks). All respondents were born before 1966, the majority in the 1950s (45%), which means that they were all brought up and educated during the socialist period.

2011), reports were made on television (Omerović 2013), presentations were made at conferences (Pokorn 2005, 2008, 2012).

¹⁴80% of all textbooks are written by more than one author.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Awareness of the existence of several translations of the same source text

The authors of the textbooks were asked the following question: Have you checked whether there are more than one Slovene translations of a particular work before selecting a passage to be included in the textbook (e.g. when selecting works by H. C. Andersen, the Brothers Grimm, D. Defoe or H. Beecher Stowe)?

Seven of them replied "yes", one said "no", one author replied that she was not responsible for translations, one wrote that the editors at the publishing house had done the selection for them, and one said that they focused only on the most contemporary versions of the target texts. All in all, the authors claim to be aware of the fact that source texts may be translated more than once and that several versions are available on the market.

3.2.2 Awareness of the possible radical difference of different target texts

The authors were then asked whether they had checked all existing Slovene translations before selecting a particular passage to be included in the textbook. Half of them said that they had checked all available translations, three of them admitted that they do that only occasionally and two of them skipped the question. Three of them added that they looked mainly at more contemporary translations and did not check the older versions.

3.2.3 Preference for source- or target-oriented translation

When asked whether they preferred source- to target-oriented translations, six respondents indicated that they preferred fluent translations that focus on the conventions of style in the target language, two respondents were of an opinion that the translation should also transfer the original form as faithfully as possible in the target language,

one respondent thought that the translation strategy depended on the text type and one on the language pair.

3.2.4 Choice criteria for selecting a particular translation

When asked to describe the reasons behind the choice of a particular translation (they were prompted to think of the style, the wording of the translation, the most widely available translation, memories of their childhood etc.), the answers showed the predominance of the following reasons (more than one answer was possible):

- a) contemporary use of language, a style that reflects up-to-date language use (70% of the respondents);
- b) the quality of the style used (even if it is not the latest translation on the market) (30%)
- c) ideological changes can be the cause not to use the translation (30%)
- d) availability of translations in the libraries (20%)
- e) illustrations suitable for children (20%)
- f) direct translations are preferred to indirect ones (20%)
- g) complete translations are preferred to adaptations and shortened versions (10%)

One author, who published her textbook with the state-owned publishing house Državna Založba Slovenije, wrote that the editors made a pre-selection of "acceptable" translations and she then made a final selection from the pre-selected suggestions¹⁵.

3.3 Discussion

The results thus show that the vast majority of the authors followed the criterion of fluent and contemporary style in the target language when

¹⁵She did not specify which translations were considered more acceptable than others.

selecting the translations to be included in their textbooks. This answer mirrors their preference for target-language oriented translations.

The answers also showed that the majority of the authors do not seem to be aware of the ideological changes that marked the socialist period in the translation. However, those three who are aware of the socialist translation practice are the authors of a considerable number of textbooks (19 altogether) and their comments show that they have also followed the discussion about the ideological changes in translation in Slovenia. But despite being aware of this fact, one author of 11 textbooks (25% of all approved textbook), nevertheless, continues to use the ideologically changed translations in the revised textbooks.¹⁶ The author provided the justification for that choice: "the new, post-socialist translation is too source-oriented and stylistically inferior to the previous, socialist version". The criterion of fluent style in the target language thus seems to be the decisive criterion for the selection of a particular translation for educational purposes.

The survey also showed that when choosing the target text, the authors of textbooks also take into account economic reasons by checking the availability of a particular text on the market and in the libraries; since the libraries still stock large numbers of translations that were created in the socialist period, some authors inadvertently opt for the socialist-period translations.

4. Reasons for the reprints of socialist translations

In view of the fact that some ideologically changed translations have been reprinted in the post-socialist era (for example, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1993, *Robinson Crusoe* in 1995, *Treasure Island* in 1997, and Grimms' fairy tales in 2013 – all by the publishing house Mladinska Knjiga), the questions arise why post-socialist publishing houses continue to reprint

¹⁶ It must be added, however, that the passage from the Socialist translation of an Andersen's fairy tale chosen for the textbook is not directly textually manipulated. However, while the passage is accompanied with a bibliographical reference that implicitly encourages the reader to read the entire text, no indication is given that the translation is ideologically changed.

censored translations and what principle guides the publishing world of the post-socialist Slovenia today. I assumed that while the Yugoslav socialist editors of children's literature systematically manifested loyalty mainly to the ideology of the ruling party, the editors from the post-socialist era have now replaced the former ideological imperative with an economic one: post-socialist editors prefer reprinting old translations in order not to spend additional money on a new translation.

In order to check this hypothesis, on 6 November 2014, I conducted an email interview with Mr Andrej Ilc, the editor of children's literature at Mladinska Knjiga, the publishing house that occasionally reprinted socialist translations after the change of the political system. Mladinska Knjiga is the largest and most important publishing house in Slovenia and the only large publishing house that has survived the transition from the socialist to the post-socialist period, with a network of about 50 bookshops round the country. I asked Mr Ilc three questions: first, whether there was a policy aimed at replacing ideologically altered socialist translations; second, why the publishing house still reprinted certain socialist translations; and third, whether the reasons for the reprints were economic (assuming that reprints incur less additional costs to the publisher).

According to Mr Ilc, in the early 1990s editors were not aware of the ideological changes in the translations and just "mechanically reprinted" older, socialist ones. The first post-socialist retranslations that reintroduced Christian elements in the fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm were part of a retranslation project of the entire works by the Brothers Grimm in 1993. The retranslations were commissioned by Mr Niko Grafenauer, the editor of children's literature at Mladinska Knjiga from 1973 until 1995, not because he was aware of the ideological changes in the socialist versions, but because he wanted to publish the translation of the entire work, i.e. of all fairy tales by the Brothers Grimm (the socialist translation covered only one third of them). Since the socialist translator, Fran Albreht (1889-1963), had been dead for decades, he decided not just to add new translations to the old ones, but to ask someone else to

do the whole work from scratch. The new translator, a renowned author of children's literature, Ms Polonca Kovač, reintroduced Christian elements in the new version. The next editor of children's literature at Mladinska Knjiga, Mr Vasja Cerar (working in that capacity between 1995 and 2006), checked the translations before reprinting them. If he spotted the difference, he had the passages that were left out or changed retranslated (e.g. *Heidi*); if he did not spot any differences, he reprinted the socialist translation (e.g. such was the case of *The Treasure Island*). Mr Ilc became the editor of children's literature after the death of Mr Cerar in 2006. He commissioned a new translation of Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tales in 2007. The motive again was not to replace the socialist translation but to publish the first Slovene translation from the Danish original (all previous versions had been done from the German translations); the ideological changes became apparent later on when the new translator¹⁷ wrote an article on it.

Asked whether editors nowadays followed the economic imperative when deciding to reprint old translations, Mr Ilc argued that, in his opinion, financial reasons were not central, since the publishing house did not have rights on the existing translations. He added that the fact that almost no reprints of the socialist translations were made today was not the result of the awareness of the ideologically changed translations but of the fact that there is almost no interest in classical literature for children any more.

5. Conclusions

To conclude, not only translators but also other agents in the field of translation may be responsible for the translated text, especially if the translation is reprinted. The afterlife of the first Serbian and the first Slovene translations of Johanna Spyri's *Heidi* reveals the decisive role of the editors, who directly influenced the textual aspects of the target text. The editors were able to insert ideological changes into the translation and

¹⁷Mr Ilc was here referring to Orel-Kos 2001.

remove ideological manipulations from the translated text without the knowledge of the translators and the reading public. In the same way as the censoring of translations of children's literature was hidden from the public eye in the socialist times, so is the un-censoring of these translations again unknown to the reading public today.

The article has also attempted to define the imperatives leading a contemporary Slovene publishing house to publish ideologically altered socialist translations. In order to get an insight into the contemporary publishing policy, the chief editor for children's literature at the largest publishing house and the only one that survived the transition from the socialist to the post-socialist era was interviewed. The interview revealed that there was no explicit policy aimed at replacing socialist translations, and that the reasons for new translations or reprints of the older translations are haphazard. Instead of following a clearly defined policy to systematically change the ideologically changed translations, new, ideologically unburdened translations are more the side effect of pursuing other norms: the norm of creating direct and non-abridged, complete translations.

Finally, the article aimed to find out whether Slovene primary school primers and textbooks still contain censored passages from the socialist times. It has been established that the percentage of accredited textbooks which included passages taken from ideologically changed translations, despite the availability of the ideologically unaltered versions on the market, remained almost the same in the school year 2014/2015 compared to that of 2010/2011. The reason for that partially lies in the fact that austerity measures imposed on the state did not allow the Ministry of Education to replace or remove any of the formerly accredited textbooks from the list of accredited textbooks and primers. However, the analysis of the textbooks also revealed that half of the most recently published textbooks still contained passages from translations censored in the socialist times.

In order to find out why the authors of these textbooks still include censored passages in their textbooks an online questionnaire was

designed and sent to all authors of 44 accredited primers and textbooks for the study of literature in Slovene primary schools for the school year 2014/2015. The response rate was very high: at least one author of 89% of all accredited textbooks responded to the survey (77% of them were the first authors). The responses of the online questionnaire have shown that the reasons for the inclusion of the passages taken from the ideologically censored socialist translations in textbooks and primers in a post-socialist society are varied: when they choose a particular translated passage for their textbook, the authors mainly focus on the stylistic aspects of the translation, preferring contemporary language, but also select those translations that are available in the public libraries that mainly stock translations from the socialist period.

The influence of TS studies revealing the ideological shifts in socialist translations in Slovenia nevertheless had some impact: half of the textbooks and primers published in the last decade (when the articles on the ideological changes introduced into translations of children literature in socialist times started to appear) do not include passages taken from socialist censored translation, and the authors of the textbooks and primers seem to be increasingly aware of the specifics of socialist translations of children's literature, which could also be seen in a comment made in the questionnaire by one of the textbook authors:

"We will have to pay more attention when selecting older texts, in particular when adaptations were made following the ideological and educational imperatives, and replace them with more recent translations."

It seems that Translation Studies does matter after all.

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