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Reception of British literature in the Balkans
(„Receptarea literaturii britanice în Balkani”)

SUMMARY

This thesis is a personal contribution to the reception of English literature in some of the Balkan countries: Romania, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia and Greece. More or less, in each of these countries English literature managed to find its proper place. Each country faced with greater or lesser difficulties in the process of literary reception in all the above-mentioned countries. If we take into account that each of these countries was under harsh Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian dominance, it is not so difficult to understand that the process of literary reception of the British Literature in all these countries was not that simple and varied from one country to another.

My country, Macedonia, managed to resist against difficult challenges during the decades and centuries, as a country that was a part of the great Ottoman Empire, a part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenians and then a part of SFR Yugoslavia, regaining its independence in 1991. Under all these extremely difficult social, cultural and political circumstances, Macedonia and its intellectual elite managed to translate different foreign literary works, including British literature. During the Ottoman occupation, this country and its people did not have enough time for translations and intensive orienting activities because of the harsh struggle against the Ottomans. The common Macedonian people were preoccupied with the daily difficulties in order to survive the Ottoman merciless repressions. In such situation, the main task for cultural emancipation of the Macedonian people was directed towards the Macedonian intellectual elite, which was settled in the Balkans as well as in other parts of Europe, mostly in Russia.

Moreover, there are other important details concerning the communist period, among which the beginnings of the printing activity in the vernacular. It is a period when Macedonia, as a part of Tito's Yugoslavia, was finally able to print its own magazines, newspapers and literature in order to develop its own culture as a part of the Yugoslav society. In these magazines and newspapers, the common reader could find the first translations, sometimes partial but still important, of British and other foreign literary works. Maybe these translations were not perfect from the linguistic point of view, but they definitely opened the gates for the British literature and its reception in communist Macedonia. Very often, all these translations were not correct and had numerous mistakes. However, it is a process that took place not only in communist Macedonia but also in the other countries in the Balkans. The single difference was the time when it happened. While in Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and in other parts in the Balkans these activities took place in the 19th or early 20 century, in Macedonia they happened in the communist period. The main reasons about this delay may be found in the historical processes, as Macedonia was the last Balkan country under Ottoman domination.

Communist Macedonia had really much more favorable conditions for a rich cultural life. It is true that in communist Macedonia, as well as communist Yugoslavia, the communist party and Marshal Tito had under control every segment of the Yugoslav daily life. However, it is quite normal for each system, no matter its name, to control its society. Despite the socialist character of the country, Yugoslavia had the best socialist system that has ever existed. The communist party, the Yugoslav authorities Marshal Tito did their best to ensure the development of the main policy of brotherhood and unity. Thanks to this policy, all six republics, as well as the minorities, had their own schools, language and churches. Thanks to these great rights and freedoms,

Macedonian intellectual elite at that time really had that opportunity to translate not only British, but also many other literary works, which belong to other worldwide literatures.

In 1991 Yugoslavia was living its last days, the civil war was just one step away. The first military victims from Yugoslavia and its people's army were from Macedonia. In order to avoid a military conflict with great bloodshed like in Croatia or Bosnia, Macedonia decided to surrender its complete military equipment to the Yugoslav people's army. It is true that somehow Macedonia managed to avoid a bloody conflict like in Croatia and Bosnia, but was faced with other difficulties: the embargo, tanks near its borders, negation of everything Macedonian, change of its name for international use, change of its own flag and many other difficulties that Macedonia had to face in order to survive the last decade of the 20th century.

Under these most unfavourable and hardly bearable circumstances, Macedonia and its people did not have much time to think about translations of English and other foreign literary works. One common thing about the British translations done in communista and then independent Macedonia is that Shakespeare and his *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet* and his other works managed to find their place in the literary landscape of the country.

Bulgaria was a part of the Ottoman Empire, too, and just like any other country and nation not only from in the Balkans, wanted freedom and independence. This goal had to be achieved at any cost. For this reason any potential help was welcomed. British and any other literatures, whose ideas were related to the human freedom, were an extremely important tool for the emancipation of the Bulgarian people and its fight for a unified, free and independent Bulgaria. Notable British intellectuals and writers were more than welcome among the Bulgarian intellectual elite at that

time. Thanks to its own elite, Bulgaria was able to introduce to its own people selected works by British writers which had a positive influence on the development of the national consciousness.

Romania is a country whose territory was controlled not only by the Ottomans but also by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Divided between the two great Empires, Romania was facing the difficult task of introducing British literature to the people. As in the other countries, a number of intellectuals, among them writers, literary critics, and translators did everything in their power to ensure that the number of translated foreign works will be greater and greater. Many of them had personal contacts with foreign officials. It seems that their desire for teaching as well as emancipating their own people, accompanied with the desire for unification and freedom, was stronger than any great Empire. Thanks to all of them, Romania and the Romanians were able to meet British literature through great British writers like Shakespeare, Byron and many others.

Serbia is another country that makes a part of this presentation. Parts of the country were under Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian control for centuries. It seems that all the problems caused by the Ottomans or the Austro-Hungarians were not powerful enough for the Serbian elite in the Ottoman as well as the Austro-Hungarian Empire. These two Empires could not stop the Serbian academic elite, so the intellectuals introduced not only in Serbia, but also in the whole Yugoslav space important works of British literature.

Last but not least, Greece is the only country that had the Western support in the fight against the Turks. As it is located on the shore of the Mediterranean Sea, Greece was an important country for the western world as an important industrial and commercial center. That is why Byron and other British writers visited Greece for so many times or at least crossed this country. Therefore,

it should not be surprising why in Byron's or other British writer's works this country was shown in a positive light.

This research theme is a new approach of the subject in the Republic of Macedonia. For the first time, a particular study shows an interesting process that demonstrates how English literature had impact on various nationalities in the Balkans. Our intention during this research was to achieve three major objectives: (1) to demonstrate how different ethnic groups, whose languages belong to different linguistic classes, managed to translate various English writers, playwrights and poets; (2) to demonstrate how Macedonians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Serbians and Greeks as well, understood writers like Shakespeare, Byron, Yeats, G.B. Shaw, Francis Bacon, John Milton, John Bunyan, Thomas Malory, Daniel Defoe, Darwin, Henry Thomas Buckle, Thomas Carlyle and other representatives of English literature; (3) to show that here, in the Balkans, despite all difficulties imposed by history, there have always been people ready to give their concrete contribution to the world literary treasure and its constant enrichment with new elements.

Taking into account the intricacy of the topic, and the main corresponding methodologies, the cultural, linguistic and political direction, this work is limited by certain boundaries that must be applied: (1) First, we could not cover the whole range and density of the theme, so the study was limited to the main structures and certain key-writers of the time, in order to enlarge the connection and stress the position of some important English writers in the literature of the Balkan countries. (2) Second, it has not been my intention to cover the whole list of English authors, selecting a limited number of works that I considered to be most suitable for my purpose.

(3) We have limited our research to only four of the countries situated south of the Danube, but added Romania as the country whose history cannot be separated from that of the countries in the Balkans, whose literary development was closely influenced by the cultural and political movements in Europe, and which maintained close relations with the other Balkan nations. (4) In addition, my research activity has been limited by the fact that this theme is somehow not new – a responsibility that I willingly assumed from the beginning – so my purpose was to add a different approach while analyzing the contexts and projections of each author in the Balkan culture and society.

This dissertation is structured in Foreword, Introduction, and two distinguished sections, each comprising selected Balkan countries: Section I: Romania, Macedonia, and Greece (Chapters I-III) and Section II: Bulgaria and Serbia (Chapters IV-VIII). These are followed by a chapter of Conclusions and Bibliography.

The *Foreword* offers clarifications in order to explain that the complex and complicated geopolitical and historical circumstances through the centuries, especially through the nineteenth and twentieth century, played a decisive role and had a great impact on the process of the English literary reception in the Balkans. However, despite all the obstacles and thanks to the strong and huge technological changes and industrial revolution in Europe from the end of the 18th century, especially during the 19th century and the domestic printing activity, a few intellectuals from the Balkans managed to make the first translations from English literary works, an activity which – despite inherent difficulties peculiar to each country – successfully continued in the 20th and 21st centuries.

The GENERAL INTRODUCTION introduces the theoretical background necessary for a more suitable approach to the main topic. Thus we have considered the positions taken by a number of scholars on adaptation and translation, such as Linda Hutcheon who, along with Julie Sanders, considers adaptation a creative as well as a receptive process, whereby readers identify and enjoy adaptations much more through a constant shifting back and forth between their experience of a new story and their memory of its progenitors. On the other hand, if adaptation involves translation, then the central problem to any approach to translating Shakespeare, Byron, or Galsworthy, for example, into any other language such as Romanian, Macedonian, or Greek, is the extent to which an entirely different cultural context modifies the original text. Regarding the theories of translation, we have started from the assumption that, on a more theoretical level, exact target language equivalence is hardly achievable and remains relative at all levels due to syntactic and cultural differences between the source language and the target language; a large number of scholars have devoted their time and abilities to translation studies. We have mentioned the work of prestigious specialists in the field, such as Mona Baker, Susan Bassnett, Peter Newmark, J. C. Catford, James Holmes, and Edgar Schein, finally concluding that translation is an intercultural endeavour since it handles two linguistic systems associated with two different cultures depicting two varied integrated patterns of viewing the world, which depend upon the capacity for symbolic thought and social learning.

Regarding the contacts between the Balkans and British culture, we consider that any discussion of the Western image of the Balkans cannot isolate the region from the traditional Western views on Eastern Europe – a combination of confusions and ambivalences, ever-changing standpoints and different opinions, with a stress on the glorification and abuse of the barbarians who were not only uncivilized but who also belonged to a different branch of Christianity. The discovery of

the Balkans by British travellers and writers preceded the process of reception, translation and adaptation of British literature in this different cultural space. The legendary figure of Byron, his selfless efforts on behalf of the Greek cause, and his death at Missolonghi in 1824 remained symbolic of ethically inspired, western interference in the Balkans. The landscapes of Greece, Macedonia and Albania reminded him of the Scottish Highlands, and the fierce clans that used to inhabit the region. Another interesting example is *The Prisoner of Zenda* (1894) by Anthony Hope. It was a novel about a British aristocrat who closely resembled the king of an obscure Balkan country named “Ruritania”. Their close resemblance to one another enabled this Byronic hero to save the fictitious monarch, and his imaginary kingdom, from a national crisis. Other interesting examples are Rebecca West and Edith Durham, with their reputations as authoritative authors on matters Balkanic.

SECTION ONE: *Romania, Macedonia and Greece – the irregular triangle of reception* covers two of the Balkan countries south of the Danube, and Romania, all connected by their differences (restless histories, diverse influences, different cultures, different languages, and different political development) and their similarities (Ottoman occupation, eastern Orthodoxy as the dominant religion, the 19th-century beginnings of the painful process of translating and publishing English literature to the benefit of the people.).

CHAPTER I: *British Literature in Romania* is devoted to the reception of British literature in Romania, with a special stress on two defining periods in the development of Romanian literature: the 19th century, dominated by the personalities of Eminescu and Caragiale, the interest in Byron’s poetry, and the cultural revival of Romanian culture in the first decades of the 20th century.

In surveying the nineteenth-century translations of Shakespeare in Romania, it becomes visible how various translators interpreted the allusions extant in the Shakespeare text. The underlying inference is that the early Romanian translators addressed the complex philosophical issues in the tragedies in a particularly orthodox mode. Despite the popularity of the Roman plays with the theatrical audiences in the three provinces, and later in the unified Romania, the four tragedies, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*, provided material that could satisfy the public's need for interiority. In addition, the cultural authority of the Shakespeare figure was perceived as a means of facilitating the country's exit from the status of a marginalized Balkan elsewhere. By promoting mostly the translations of Shakespeare's plays that they perceived to raise the universal issues of humanity, Romanian intellectuals during the 1848 revolutionary period and later hoped to advance the people's cultural interests and integrate them in the European family of nations.

The Shakespearean repertoire found its foremost position among the first theatrical representations; it is the reason why its translation into Romanian started at the same time with the founding of the first Romanian theatres. During a few decades only, the taste of the audience, refined by the Shakespearean productions, came to sanction plagiarism and the cheap localization and to firmly encourage the original plays. This aspect of the stimulation of original creativity is by far the most important of all, as it is difficult to find a Romanian playwright who was not influenced by the Shakespearean model.

Our focus is on the appropriation, assimilation, and transformation of Shakespeare's language through translations in the nineteenth century. Early nineteenth-century Romanian poets saw in Shakespeare a good vehicle for promoting their revolutionary ideals, one of the insertion points

of cultural strategies within the political setting of the 1848 revolution. Moreover, the multiple questionings and the ethical issues raised in the plays, explored mainly in the tragedies, were good ways of raising the people's awareness and developing a sense of national identity. We devoted a special sub-chapter to the Communist and post-Communist three different editions of Shakespeare's *Complete Works*, and another sub-chapter to the reception of British literature as it was reflected by the Romanian literary periodicals between the two World Wars.

CHAPTER II: *British Literature in Ottoman, post-Ottoman, Communist and post-Communist Macedonia* offers important information regarding the reception of British literature in Macedonia, since the Ottoman occupation until the present times. This process may be considered to present a completely different story from those of all the other countries in the Balkans because of the peculiar historical conditions.

Today's Macedonia, as an independent country, exists since the collapse of ex-Yugoslavia and was a part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. Before the first Yugoslavia and before the beginning of the Balkan wars, the Macedonian territory was larger than that of today's Macedonia. Unfortunately Macedonia had no external support in its fight for freedom, unity and independence, as Serbia and Bulgaria traditionally had the support of Russia, and Greece was supported by the UK. It seems that the vastness of the Macedonian territory and its favorable geographical position did not suit the great powers and their desire to obtrude their own influence through the Balkans. And the situation has not changed much.

During the Ottoman domination Macedonia was overwhelmed by foreign propaganda claiming the Macedonian false existence and the necessity for division of the country. VMRO – “The Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization” (Внатрешна Македонска Револуционерна

Организација) – lead the fight against all foreign propaganda and the Ottoman Empire, but the activity of the spies and other domestic betrayers led to the exclusion of Macedonia was from any international support. In these conditions VMRO had to fight against the domestic betrayers, the foreign propaganda and the Turks; a mission almost impossible.

It explains why, during Ottoman Macedonia, Shakespeare was absolutely unknown for the simple Macedonian reader. The young and educated Macedonians in Sofia, Belgrade, Moscow, and St. Petersburg didn't have any time to spare for literature; their entire activity was directed to raising an awareness of the Macedonian national consciousness and fighting against the Turkish yoke. Literature may serve as an important tool for this thing, the major interest of the young Macedonian elite, especially from the 18th, 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, was directed to the Macedonian folklore, folk tales, and old, traditional Macedonian songs. The Macedonian intellectuals believed that through the Macedonian people's folklore, tradition and customs, the national Macedonian consciousness will be awakened. Those who could read foreign literature and introduce it to the simple Macedonian readers were mostly oriented to the Russian Empire and its literature, finding in Russia a Slavic brotherly country. It explains why during five centuries of slavery, Shakespeare simply couldn't find his deserved place in Turkish Macedonia.

We have devoted ample space to the impact of the prodigious activity of translation, reviewing and literary criticism carried out by a number of prestigious Macedonian literary magazines and journals – such as: “Нов Ден - New Day”, “Современеност - Contemporaneity”, “Разгледи - Views”, “Стремеж - Striving”, “Развиток - Development”, “Културен Живот - Cultured Life” and “Беседи Orations”. Irrespective of the sometimes not very correct translations, these literary

publications gave to all Macedonian translators and literary workers the necessary boldness and courage to write and translate; to enrich our literature with domestic and British works, as a part of the world literary treasure; without them, the breakthrough of the British literary works in Macedonia would have been impossible.

Chapter III: *Shakespeare, Byron and Shelly in Greece* deals with the close relationship between Byron and Greece. Byron, an outstanding figure of the European Romanticism, combined in a unique way his pessimistic, unconventional and egocentric work with his excessive, extravagant and eccentric life. But for nineteenth-century Greece he was a national hero. Lord Byron's romantic poetry, mainly *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and some of his plays, were admired by Greek literates mainly in the nineteenth century, in the romantic period 1830–1880 of the “Athens School” of poetry.

Shelley's statement – in the notes to his lyrical drama *Hellas* (1821) – that “we are all Greeks” – and his pronouncement of classical Greece as a transcendent ideal for contemporary republicanism are often taken to exemplify his “strong philhellenism”. The French occupation of Italy meant that the traditional “beaten track” of the Grand Tour was off limits to Britons, but travel in the Levant (for those who could afford it) was facilitated after 1799 by Britain's political alliance with Ottoman Turkey in the wake of the French invasion of Egypt – hence the justice of Byron's claim that “the difficulties of travelling in Turkey have been much exaggerated, or rather have considerably diminished, in recent years. For the elite of British and French travelers, the pursuit of classical topography and removable antiquities also normally went hand in hand with diplomacy and de facto intelligence-gathering in a period of European war.

The first Greek Shakespearian performances in the nineteenth century definitely reveal a complex process which was the main cause for the formation of the first Greek audiences and its aspiring bourgeoisie, present in the new formed Greek state. In comparison with the exclusionist European vision which was based on the theater sustained by Athens and its ruling elite, the low class traveling actors, together with the inexperienced Greek audiences, started to impose an alternative popularizing aesthetics.

The formation of the Greek state as a new free state had its positive consequences to the reception of Shakespeare, whose works are now being translated. In the 1870s it became very clear that the middle-class audience was more interested in the musical comedies and Italian and French melodramatic versions of novelistic dramas. However, these changes were more characteristic for the upper classes and their artistic tastes. Besides its role as an important tool for enhancing the patriotic feelings of the common Greek people, the theater was a place where the audience could have moments of relaxation and enjoyment watching Shakespeare's plays performed by Greek actors. It was the signature of the new bourgeois identity of the insecure, socially unaccommodated though aspiring masses of the new urban citizens of Greece, as Hatzipantazis succinctly argues. The performances imposed by the foreign companies, caused reinforcement among the simple Greeks that they actually were a part of the advanced European bourgeois culture.

Shelley had a very practical political objective as well as ostensibly loftier aims in mind when he wrote *Hellas*. His last dramatic poem is in part designed to elicit English support for the efforts of Mavrocordatos to free his country from Turkish domination. The Dedication and the prose Preface to the poem makes this much clearer. Moreover, the Preface is as complex and

ambivalent as the verses that follow it, implicating not only the political credo the work purports to espouse, but also Shelley's view of his poetic craft. The title page of *Hellas* indicates ambition and confidence as well as humility. The epigraph from Sophocles reinforces the sense that Shelley has chosen to work within the noblest poetic traditions, attracted in particular by the prophetic vocation of the dramatist: “*Mantis eim' esthlon agonon*” (I prophecy of struggles which will turn out well), 6 words which pay tribute to Shelley's literary culture as well as to their own durability.

SECTION II: Responses to British fiction south of the Danube: Bulgaria and Serbia groups together Bulgaria and Serbia (as part of the former Yugoslavia) because of the great interest in both countries for British literature and the large number of translations, monographs, and critical studies published over the years. As in the case of the other three countries analyzed, our stress lies heavily upon the translation activity which brought the literature of the United Kingdom closer to the common readers of Bulgaria, Serbia, and the other countries in former Yugoslavia.

CHAPTER IV: The Glory Of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment: Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Defoe, Swift and the Bulgarian Reaction to Genius deals with the discovery and reception of Shakespeare, Francis Bacon, John Milton, John Bunyan, Thomas Malory, Daniel Defoe, and Jonathan Swift, and their impact on the Bulgarian readership.

Despite all complicated geopolitical circumstances and the Ottoman domination, thanks to many important Bulgarian intellectuals and patriots, Shakespeare was successfully introduced in the cultural climate of this country. Shakespeare's name is first mentioned in the Bulgarian magazines “Български книжици - Blgarski Knizici” in 1858, in an article “Метеорологически

явления - Meterologiceski Yavleniya [Weather Phenomena]”. Despite the enormous problems and the fierce fight for freedom, national liberation and unification, these early translations indicate the high level of cultural and social consciousness of the Bulgarian people. The first translation of a Shakespeare play is *Cymbeline*, translated from Russian by Кр. Н. Златоустова - Kr. N. Zlatoustova in 1881. Most of the translations appear in the collection “Всемирна Литература - Vsemirna Literatura - World Literature”, edited by Александър Паскалев - Alexander Paskalev, another important Bulgarian publisher.

The first mention of Francis Bacon’s name in Bulgaria belongs to Dr. Иван. А. Богоров - Ivan A. Bogorov, who used French sources and published “Различни познания за ученици. Листак първий – Different knowledge for students. First foliage” in 1865. The first translations from the original English texts will be done a few decades later, in the first half of the 20th century, thanks to brothers Данчови - Dancovi who edited “Българска енциклопедия – Bulgarian Encyclopedia”, in 1934.

The first translation of Milton’s *Paradise Lost* was done from Russian by Димитър Райчев - Dimitar Raycev. Due to the strong historical connections between Bulgaria and Russia it was absolutely normal for that time. The second translation – also from Russian – was published in 1861. Both translations were done in prose. The second was the work of Димитър Бълсков - Dimitar Blskov, at that time a student in tsarist Russia, in Odessa. According to contemporary Bulgarian criticism, Blskov’s very accurate translation strongly influenced the Bulgarian literary language.

Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* was mentioned first in a letter written by Захари Зограф – Zahri Zograf for Неофит Рилски – Neofit Rilski. In his letter, Zograf writes his personal

statement that the translation of *Robinson Crusoe* has to be done from original English language. Despite his appeal for the first time, Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* in Bulgaria appears in different versions. The first Bulgarian translator of *Robinson Crusoe* is Райно Попович – Rayno Popovic. His translation was done from the Greek version translated by Йоаким Кампе – Joachim Kamp, who translated it from German to Greek language. Popovic's version was published for the first time in 1857 thanks to Н. Рилски – N. Rilski and Гаврил Кръстевич – Gavril Krstevic. Actually, Popovic's version was completed as early as 1841 but it was published in 1857.

In contrast with all the mentioned English writers and their reception in Bulgaria, Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) differs significantly. As it can be observed, all literary works described in the text from above entered in the Bulgarian literature mostly through partial not complete translations or mostly were translated from Russian, German or French. Swift's literature is, represents something quite different. Swift enters in the Bulgarian literature with complete articles and texts. Thanks to Scott and Goldsmith, Swift quite quickly becomes very famous in Bulgaria. Again the Russian language played decisive role in Swift's literary reception in Bulgaria.

CHAPTER V: *Byronism, socialism, and the awakening of the Bulgarian national consciousness*

takes the analysis a step further. Thus, Lord Byron was an English poet and a leading figure in the Romantic Movement. Lord Byron is one of the most translated writers in the Bulgarian literature. It seems that like all great writers Lord Byron gains his glory in the Bulgarian Literature after his death. For the first time Byron's name in the Bulgarian literature was mentioned in 1871, a time when Bulgaria and its people are still under strong Ottoman domination.

Darwinism and socialism went hand in hand and found echoes in Bulgaria, too. In 1905 appears “Развитие на работнишките синдикати в Англия – Development of the workers’ unions in England”, a historical chronological review from 1799 to 1904. It was followed by William Morris’s socialist utopias “Един сън на Джон Бол - A dream of John Ball”, (1888) and “Новини от никъде – News from nowhere” (1891). Nineteenth-century socialists – more or less-known to the Bulgarian readers – were translated in the following decades, among them Mark Hopkins, Thomas Huxley, Charles Young, Robert Quick, Will Munroe, Granville Hall and others.

It is interesting to follow the trail followed by the works of certain British writers in Bulgaria. For example, Henry Thomas Buckle was translated neither from Russian or French, but from Serbian, thanks to Алимпий Василевич – Alimpiy Vasilevic, a Serbian famous professor from Belgrade and author of “Исторја народног образовања код Срба – History of the people’s education among the Serbs” (1867). Buckle represents the first case where a particular Slavic language from a neighboring Slavic country was the main source for translation and reception of an English writer. Karavelov underlines the importance of a new educational system which has to be established among the Bulgarians. For Karavelov, Buckle’s views and ideas related to the human mind and the moral principles represent important details which have to be introduced in the new Bulgarian educational system.

Thomas Carlyle was first published in the Bulgarian magazine “Български глас – Bulgarian Voice” in 1876. The first major translation of Carlyle’ *Past and Present*, by Racho Stoyanov was published in 1907, and *Sartor Resartus* will appear only once, in 1925, in the Bulgarian magazine “Епоха - Epoch”, thanks to Geo Milev. John Ruskin’s writings were published in different Bulgarian periodicals, such as “Век – Vek – Century”, “Домашен Приятел – Home’s

friend” and “Българска сбирка – Bulgarian collection”. Stuart Mill’s first book “Система на Логиката – System of logic”, appears in 1843, and “Принципи на политическата икономия - Principles of Political Economy”, “За свободата – For Freedom” in 1848. His works proved extremely popular and were repeatedly translated from Russian, Serbian, or French. Finally, S. Herbert Spencer was widely translated, and Sofia and Plovdiv become the centers where Spencer’s works will be translated and published by Dimitar Rizov, Stoyanov, K. Stoilov, A. Vazov, Velichkov and others are only a part of the numerous Bulgarians who translated Spencer’s works during the 19th and a part of the 20th century

CHAPTER VI: From Victorianism to modernity: the role of translation in the development of Bulgarian self-awareness starts from the assumption that the reception of any foreign literature in a particular country has its own specificity. In the case of Bulgaria, for example, the reception was influenced by the geographical distance between the two countries, and when it started, it was at the same time with the Bulgarian revival which coincides with the Victorian period in English history. The first pre-Victorian mentions of British literature in Bulgaria, generally, had predominantly a Christian rather than a national character as was the case with particular works and writers. Since its beginnings this initial activity was strictly connected with the Christian values found in these works, and was an important stage of the process. A great positive contribution about this not so easy procedure had a British protestant library which was able to find its place among the Bulgarian intellectual elite at that time. The main activity of this British institution was its collaboration with the British missionaries to help the Bulgarian intellectual elite to translate a greater number of English texts, including articles or columns written by British missionaries.

On the other hand, the spiritual necessities of the Bulgarian people and its desire to build a country according to the standards of the European developed countries will facilitate the Bulgarian cultural synchronization with the English culture, which was a positive development for Bulgaria and its people. The desire for emancipation as well as education based on the English model will awake among all Bulgarians the necessity of developing their own language. Finally the Bulgarians understood that neither Greek, nor any other language should be the tool which will translate English and any other foreign literary works in Bulgarian. The best example is the personality of Fotinov and his contribution to the formation of a Bulgarian school of literary translators.

CHAPTER VII: *British literature in tsarist and communist Serbia, and Yugoslavia* is based on the assumption that the translation, interpretation and performance of Shakespeare in the South Slav lands have passed through two phases and are now in the third. The first began in the forties of last century and lasted until the First World War, a period when only a minority of the South Slavs had an independent State, the majority being under Austria-Hungary or Turkey. The second phase covers the period between the two World Wars, after the South Slav peoples had attained political independence, and were united in the sovereign state of Yugoslavia. The third phase begins after the Second World War, in the new, socialist Yugoslavia (a federation of the republics of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro). The quality of translation, acting and staging has improved in the course of time; in the second phase they reached a fairly high level, and have touched a still higher one in the third.

Before 1914 twenty-one of Shakespeare's plays had been performed in Croatia, in translation from the German, except in the case of two which were possibly from the English and of one

from the French. Of the printed translations of nine of Shakespeare's plays, only one was from the English original.¹ In the Serbian lands, six of Shakespeare's plays were acted in translations from the English and five from the German, while altogether thirteen translations were printed, ten of which were from the original English. The principal translators of Shakespeare during this period were: in Croatia, the novelist A. Šenoa and the poets A. Harambašić, H. Badalic and V. Nazor; in the Serbian lands, the poets L. Kostic and S. Stefanović; in Slovenia, the shortstory writer I. Cankar and the poets A. Funtek and O. Župančič.

The CONCLUSIONS round up the discussion and resume the similarities and differences that inform the general picture of the reception of British literature in five countries in the Balkans – Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Serbia, and Romania – all connected by their common history and aspirations for the future.