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# REPRESENTATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SLOVENIAN TRANSLATIONS OF KARL MAY'S ORIENTZYKLUS

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### **ABSTRACT**

The present article addresses how the Middle East was portrayed in two Slovenian translations of Karl May's Orientzyklus. This series of novels was translated during the interwar period, when the Slovenian ethnic territory was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the re-translations were published during Slovenia's socialist era. By means of a textual comparison, the extent of the ideological interventions that occurred in the portrayal of the Middle East in the translations is established. Furthermore, the article discusses how the different contemporary socio-political circumstances in Slovenia may have influenced how the region in question was represented.

Keywords: Karl May, Middle East, Orientzyklus, German literature, translation, ideology, xenophobia

## RAFFIGURAZIONE DEL MEDIO ORIENTE NELLE TRADUZIONI SLOVENE DELL'ORIENTZYKLUS DI KARL MAY

### SINTESI

Il presente articolo affronta il modo in cui viene descritto il Medio Oriente in due traduzioni dell'Orientzykus di Karl May. Questa serie di romanzi fu tradotta nel periodo interbellico, quando il territorio sloveno etnico faceva parte del regno di Jugoslavia, e le nuove traduzioni furono pubblicate durante l'epoca socialista slovena. Il confronto di testi ha permesso di determinare la portata degli interventi ideologici operati nella rappresentazione del Medio Oriente nelle traduzioni. L'articolo affronta inoltre il modo in cui le diverse circostanze sociopolitiche contemporanee della Slovenia abbiano potuto influenzare il modo di rappresentare la regione in questione.

Parole chiave: Karl May, Medio Oriente, Orientzyklus, letteratura tedesca, traduzione, ideologia, xenofobia

### **INTRODUCTION**

Karl May (1842-1912), one of the best-selling German writers of all time, published the hexalogy titled Orientzyklus (Orient Cycle) in 1892. The first three novels of the series, i.e. Durch die Wüste (Through the Desert), Durchs wilde Kurdistan (Through Wild Kurdistan) and Von Bagdad nach Stambul (From Baghdad to Istanbul), are predominantly set in the region which - from a Eurocentric perspective - is nowadays usually referred to as the Middle East.1 The material for these three novels was originally serialized from 1881 to 1884, i.e., in the decade after the formation of the German Empire (1871); during that time, the state was on the brink of becoming a colonial power – the German Colonial Empire was ultimately established in 1884. As Friedhelm Pedde (2015, 21) notes, these developments awakened the nation's interest in far-away lands. Germany had no colonies in the Middle East, and very few Germans living at that time had any direct contact with people from that region; therefore, their perception of the "Orient" was primarily shaped by reading (Bach, 2010, 3).2 Although May has now long been most famous for his novels taking place in the American Old West, his stories set in the "Orient" were immensely popular during his lifetime (dpa [Deutsche Presse-Agentur], 2022), which is also evidenced by the fact that the Orientzyklus was published as the first six volumes of his collected works in 1913. Because of the popularity of his literary works, May has influenced several generations of readers' perception of the Orient and the religion of Islam (Pflitsch, 2004; Bach, 2010, 62, 65; Pedde, 2015, 23; dpa, 2022).

It was during the time when most of the territory which today constitutes the Republic of Slovenia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia that the Catholic publishing house Tiskarna sv. Cirila commissioned a translation of the *Orientzyklus*: the series was published in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The first and third novel were translated anonymously, while the translation of *Durchs wilde Kurdistan* is credited to Catholic priest and theologian Anton Jehart (1881–1948).<sup>3</sup> The re-translations of the novels were done by writer and translator Ludvik Mrzel (1904–1971) and were published in

the early 1970s by the largest Slovenian publishing house Mladinska knjiga; during that time, Slovenia was one of the republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Slovenian nation had little direct contact with most nations from the Middle East for much of its history - except with the Ottoman Turks; while the Slovenian territory was never part of the Ottoman Empire, it suffered from frequent Turkish incursions in the 15th and 16th centuries, which influenced the traditional Slovenian perception of the "Turk" as an "Other". However, by the first decades of the 20th century, the majority of Slovenians had no direct dealings with the Turkish people, and mostly formed an opinion about this nation from what they heard or read about it. Since Karl May was a popular writer in Slovenia until almost the end of the 20th century (Trupej, 2017a, 124), it can be presumed that one of the sources that influenced many readers' opinions about the Middle East was the Orientzyklus.

A certain literary work is more likely to be translated and published in a particular target culture if it affirms that culture's norms and values (Venuti, 1998, 127-140). In accordance with the currently dominant ideology, a cultural policy is established that promotes the translation of politically desirable literature (Bajt, 1997, 43). Especially in societies with authoritarian or totalitarian political systems, frequent interventions in texts occur during the translation process in order to ensure compliance with dominant ideologies – André Lefevere (1992) termed this activity rewriting. Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart (1989) demonstrated that constant shifts4 on the microstructural level (the phrase, clause and sentence level) of a translated text can cause shifts on the macrostructural level (events, characterization, relationships between characters, etc.), and she developed an elaborate categorization of shifts (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989, 1990). However, for the analysis at hand, only mutations - as the most radical of shifts (Onič, 2004) - will be relevant; these include deletion, addition and radical change of meaning (van Lueven-Zwart, 1990, 86).

The present article will analyse whether and to what extent shifts occurred in the portrayal of the Middle East in two Slovenian translations of the

<sup>1</sup> According to the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, the term "Middle East" is "usually considered to include the countries extending from Libya on the west to Afghanistan on the east". In English, this term replaced "Near East" as the most commonly used term for the region; however, the latter term is still used in German (i.e. Naher Osten) and Slovenian (i.e. Bližnji vzhod). Since this article is written in English, the term Middle East will be used.

<sup>2</sup> In May's time, there were different perceptions of what territories the term "Orient" encompassed, but what is nowadays considered the Middle Eastern region was generally included (Berman, 1996, 16–18).

<sup>3</sup> Jehart may also have translated the other two works in question, since he is credited as the translator of *In den Schluchten des Balkan* and *Der Schut* (the fourth and sixth novels of the *Orientzyklus*, respectively), but this could not be confirmed.

<sup>4</sup> A way to define shifts is "changes which occur or may occur in the process of translating" (Bakker et al., 2009, 269) or "[a]ll that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected" (Popovič, 1970, qtd. in Bakker et al., 2009, 271).

Orientzyklus, and afterwards discuss how the different contemporary socio-political circumstances in the same ethnic territory may have influenced how the region in question was represented.<sup>5</sup> In order to have a frame of reference, an overview of May's portrayal of the Middle East in the original novels will be discussed before commencing the analysis.

### KARL MAY'S PORTRAYAL OF THE "ORIENTAL" OTHER

In recent decades, there has been lively discussion about May's portrayal of the Other, including in the *Orientzyklus*. Stefan Börnchen (2022, 60) claims that this series "is a striking example of an orientalist narrative as described by Edward W. Said." In his influential work *Orientalism*, Said (2003 [1978], 1) referred to the Orient as "almost a European invention"; similarly, Tom Reiss (2013, 29) – in an article about May's "Orient" stories – claims that "the orientalist travelogues describe the Orient by creating it", while Olcay Akyıldız (2009, 128) remarks that May created the "Orient" in his imagination.<sup>7</sup>

Although May awakened readers' interest in the Middle Eastern region, the nations living there and their religion(s), he also perpetuated stereotypes about them and portrayed Western culture as superior (Pflitsch, 2004; dpa, 2022). A symbolic representation of this is the German protagonist of May's stories, his literary alter ego serving as the first-person re-teller, who uses the nom de guerre Kara Ben Nemsi while travelling through the "Orient": he is characterized as almost all-knowing and all-powerful, as numerous scholars point out (Berman, 1996, 85-95; Pflitsch, 2004; Akyıldız, 2009, 128, 130–131, 133–134; Bach, 2010, 38–39; Roussel, 2013, 72; Börnchen, 2022, 49). Nina Berman (1998, 60-63) notes that in the Orientzyklus, the protagonist frequently displays a condescending attitude towards "Oriental" interlocutors; she further claims that Kara Ben Nemsi "teaches the reader how to think and act like a colonizer, a Eurocentrist, and a racist" (Berman 1998, 56; cf. Berman, 1996, 37), as well as that he "is a selfappointed master and judge, who derives his legitimacy from belonging to Western culture" (Berman, 1998, 62; cf. Berman, 1996, 50).

Kara Ben Nemsi often has a patronizing attitude even towards his trusted "sidekick" Hadschi Halef Omar (Reiss, 2013, 31); Börnchen (2022, 49–50; cf. Berman,

1996, 75–76) states that the latter is characterized as effeminate, while Berman (1996, 81–82; 1998, 59) remarks that May portrays him as physically unimpressive as well as slightly ignorant, and she furthermore claims the dynamic between him and his master can be understood as a symbolic representation of the relationship between the Middle East and Europe.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Akyıldız, (2009, 131) states that Kara ben Nemsi seems to represent European (particularly German) and Christian virtues in general and their advantages over those of the "Orient", which "begs the question, whether the purpose was to tell of the 'Other' or maybe not rather to confirm one's own superiority by means of strangers".

Despite the criticism that May's works have been subjected to, Lorenza Rega (1996, 55) gives him credit for propagating tolerance among people regardless of their religion or ethnicity. Similarly, Martin Lowsky (1987, 59) claims, that - despite his prejudices - May generally upvalued foreign nations. Svenja Bach (2010, 24, 28–29, 47–48, 63) expresses the opinion that the portrayal of Islam in the Orientzyklus is not as negative as some scholars make it out to be, but that in several passages, May expressed respect for and a tolerant attitude towards this religion, although he made it clear that it was not on the same level as Christianity. Furthermore, this author asserts that May does not give the religion of Islam as the reason for the negative characters being the way they are (Bach 2010, 34-35, 44, 63). Lowsky (1987, 86-87) reported that because of May's advocating for the Kurds, his novel Durchs wilde Kurdistan was banned in Turkey. Despite all the derogatory statements about the Turkish people in the Orientzyklus (Berman, 1996, 133-135), Lowsky (1987, 87) also stated that May portrayed them not as inherently bad but rather as victims of European imperialism and of the conditions in the deteriorating Ottoman Empire.

### ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST TRANSLATIONS

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, most of the Middle Eastern territories in which the *Orientzyklus* is set were still part of the Ottoman Empire, and references to the Turkish people and Turkish rule are thus ever-present in the narrative. A comparison of the originals and the first Slovenian translations showed that not only were virtually all disdainful remarks about the "Turks" translated with no interventions to soften the sentiment, but that negative attitudes

The translation of the *Orientzyklus* that was serialized in the Slovenian American newspaper *Glas naroda* from 1908 to 1910 under the title *V padišahovej senci* [In the Padishah's Shadow] will not be included in this comparison because it was published in a different cultural sphere, i.e. in the United States.

<sup>6</sup> All quoted passages not originally in English were translated by the author of this article.

<sup>7</sup> May used travelogues written by Claudius James Rich (1787–1821), Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894), Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890) and others to provide a setting for his travel novels (Lowsky, 1987, 47, 58; Pedde, 2015, 21–22).

<sup>8</sup> Bach (2010, 37–38) notes that, as an "Oriental", Halef cannot quite reach the level of Kara Ben Nemsi – despite the positive influence the latter has on him. Berman (1996, 129, 145–151) goes so far as to liken Halef to the collaborationist Arabs who helped the colonial powers against the Ottoman Empire.

were sometimes intensified or even added where there were none in the original.

Such additions are present from the beginning of the story, even before the protagonist reaches the Middle Eastern region; when travelling through Ottoman Tunisia, Kara Ben Nemsi and his two companions arrive in the town of Kbilli (i.e. Kebili), where they are ill-received by the wekil (governor): he eventually gives orders to have them all bastinadoed and Kara Ben Nemsi's belongings confiscated. The narrator comments that he was not afraid of this Turkish official and his soldiers (May, 1892a, 60), while the translator prefaces this statement with the following added sentence: "Na srečo pa sem razmere v tedanji trhli Turčiji prav dobro poznal in posebej še tudi ljudi njegove vrste"9 (May, 1928–1930, 61).10 A similarly dismissive short statement was added to a passage about the protagonist's travelling party stopping at a canal in the vicinity of Baghdad (May, 1892c, 248). In the translation, the passage is somewhat rewritten and the irrigation system that the ancient Babylonians had built utilizing the Tigris River is referred to; the translator added the following remark by the narrator: "Malomarni Turki so namakanje opustili, kanali so usahnili in deloma razpadli" (May, 1930-1931, 208).11 The same translator later made another textual intervention to point out the supposed laziness of the Turkish people; in the original, the narrator makes the following comment in the context of the conditions in Baghdad that cause frequent outbreaks of the plague: "Der Moslem zeigt auch solchen Fällen gegenüber seine unheilbringende Indolenz" (May, 1892c, 302-303).12 In the translated version, the narrator does not refer to Muslims but specifically to Turkish people instead, and the latter part of the sentence is also somewhat changed: "Do vsega tega pa kaže Turek svojo po vsem svetu znano indolenco in malomarnost" (May, 1930-1931, 271).13

In the translation of *Von Bagdad nach Stambul*, some passages on the history of Baghdad and the wider region are expanded to express even more scathing condemnation of Turkish rule; the first such example – an added passage from the beginning of the novel (May, 1892c, 1) – will be quoted *in extenso*:

In potem je minilo skoraj tisoč let in novi narodi so se od jugozapada priselili v mezopotamsko ravnino, Arabci, ki so na konici meča nosili vero svojega preroka Mohameda. Kalifi so zagospodarili nad Mezopotamijo, vstal je sijajni Bagdad, mesto kalifov, mesto »Tisoč in ene noči«, dolga stoletja središče moči in bogastva, vede in umetnosti. [/] 14 In spet je pridivjalo, topot od severovzhoda, novo ljudstvo v Mezopotamijo. Osmanski Turki so prevzeli politično dedščino (sic) kalifov, stambulski sultani so zavladali nad Mezopotamijo. Po njihovi malomarnosti je dežela propadla, slavni Bagdad je izgubil svoj sijaj, ljudstvo je obubožalo pod nasiljem in izžemanjem turških pašev in njihovih namestnikov, nekdaj rodovitna dežela se je spremenila v pustinjo in puščavo. 15 (May, 1930–1931, 5-6)

A later passage in which the narrator discusses the history of Baghdad (May, 1892c, 302) is also rewritten and vastly expanded in the translation; it represents a severe condemnation of what – according to the translator – happened after the Ottoman Turks captured this important city in 1638. The following sentences are among those added:

Od tistega časa je Bagdad in vsa Mezopotamija del osmanskoturške države, sultanov mutasarrif, namestnik, je gospodar Bagdada. Od tistega

<sup>9</sup> Fortunately, I was quite familiar with the situation in the rotten Turkey of that time, and especially with his kind of people.

<sup>10</sup> Lowsky (1987, 4) notes that several volumes of May's collected works were heavily edited but does not mention the *Orientzyklus* among them, whereas Berman (1996, 61) reports that this series was edited, but does not elaborate on the type of editing that was done. While the first book editions (1892) of the novels – which are freely available online – will be cited in this article, in an attempt to make sure a particular added or radically changed element was not present in one of the other versions of a certain text, the following editions were also checked: the serialized stories that were published in the magazine *Deutscher Hausschatz in Wort und Bild* (1881–1884), the last book editions published during May's lifetime and overseen by him (1909), and the book editions from May's collected works (1913). The differences between the editions with regard to the compared passages are limited to orthography, while no changes regarding the representation of the Middle East were found.

<sup>11</sup> The careless Turks abandoned irrigation, the canals dried up and partly fell apart.

<sup>12</sup> The Muslim shows his disastrous indolence in such cases too.

<sup>13</sup> To all of this, the Turk shows indolence and carelessness, for which he is known all across the world.

<sup>14</sup> The slash sign [/] represents the end of a paragraph.

<sup>15</sup> And then almost a thousand years passed and new peoples immigrated to the Mesopotamian plain from the southwest – the Arabs, who carried the creed of their Prophet Muhammad at the point of the sword. Caliphs began to rule over Mesopotamia, there rose the brilliant Baghdad, the city of the caliphs, the city of the "One Thousand and One Nights", which for many centuries was the centre of power and wealth, science and art. [/] And again, a new people came rushing to Mesopotamia, stamping from the northeast. The Ottoman Turks took over the political legacy of the caliphs, the sultans from Istanbul began to rule over Mesopotamia. Owing to their negligence, the land fell into ruin, the famed Baghdad lost its splendour, people became impoverished under the violence and extortion of the Turkish pashas and their deputies, the once fertile land turned into a wasteland and desert.

časa vlada v Bagdadu mir – pa tudi nevzdržno propadanje. [/] Vlada Abbasidov pomeni za Bagdad višek slave in sijaja. Kruti orientalski despoti so bili, pa svoj dvor so znali obdajati s sijajem vede, umetnosti in pesništva. 16 (May, 1930–1931, 271)

In the original, the narrator also acknowledges that the period during which Baghdad and much of the Middle East was part of the Abbasid Caliphate represented the height of glory for the region, but he points out the deficiencies of the former rulers as well. For instance, Harun al-Rashid – the Abbasid caliph who spent part of his reign in Baghdad and is widely regarded as the first ruler during the Islamic Golden Age – is described by the narrator as "ein hinterlistiger Tyrann" [a deceitful tyrant] (May, 1892c, 301). This description is expanded into a full sentence in the translation: "Krvoločen okrutnež je bil, zvijačen in zahrbten, tiran, kakor vsi njegovi predniki" (May, 1930–1931, 269).

However, most of the negative sentiment expressed during the travels by May's fictional counterpart through Mesopotamia is not directed at its former overlords but instead at the contemporary ones. For instance, when Kara Ben Nemsi is among an Arab tribe named the Haddedihn (i.e. Hadidiyin or Hadi) near the Tigris River, the passage in which the narrator describes the history of the region (May, 1892a, 459-460) is rewritten in the translation - it ends with a statement lamenting the fact that the lands are part of the Ottoman Empire: "Carigrajski sultan vlada zgrda in zlepa po pustih planotah Tigrisa. [/] Pa še vedno čaka pustinja, da jo kdo zdrami iz peska in prahu k nekdanji plodnosti —. [/] Kdo jo bo zbudil k življenju —?"18 (May, 1928–1930, 132). The last sentence, which may be interpreted as hope that some other conqueror would supplant the Ottoman Turks in the territory, is not surprising, considering the sentiment expressed in an earlier passage of the translation from the time when the protagonist is travelling through the region that is now northern Iraq. In the original, the Turkish people are not explicitly blamed for the poor state of affairs described by the narrator (May, 1892a,

544–545), while in the translation, the passage is rewritten – the following sentence is among those not present in the original: "Nad deželo pa vlada Turek, izmozgava in izsesava ljudstvo do zadnje kaplje krvi, preganja vse, kar ni mohamedansko, pleni, ropa, požiga in preliva potoke krvi" (May, 1928–1930, 51).

Neither is the city of Istanbul described in favourable manner. The narrator alleges that some time ago an English nobleman chose to look at Istanbul only from afar, i.e. from aboard his yacht, and decided not to enter it because he did not want to spoil his overall impression of the city with "garstigen Einzelnheiten" (sic) [ugly details] (May, 1892c, 463). In the translation, the adjectives "nesnažne" [filthy] and "odurne" [repulsive] (May, 1930–1931, 446) are used instead of one negative adjective.

The Chaldean followers of the Nestorian creed are also not portrayed in a much more favourable light than the Turkish people – this is sometimes even more true in Slovenian translation. For instance, at one point, the protagonist and his travelling companion Sir David Lindsay are ambushed and captured by members of this Christian sect, but they soon manage to escape with little resistance from their captors, regarding which the narrator offers the following commentary in the original: "Das Abenteuer hatte seit dem Augenblick unserer Gefangennehmung einen beinahe komischen Verlauf genommen; es bildete einen sehr überzeugenden Beleg dazu, daß die Tyrannei im stande (sic) ist, ein Volk zu entnerven"20 (May, 1892b, 471). In the translation, this dismissive statement is considerably expanded: "Ves doživljaj je bil skorajda smešen. Prepričevalno pa je dokazoval, da suženjstvo posamezniku in celemu narodu spremeni značaj, mu vzame vso možatost in odločnost in ga naredi za hlapca in sužnja"<sup>21</sup> (May, 1930, 389). Later in the narrative, when the protagonist is in another Nestorian village, he laments the prospects of a young girl named Ingdscha - who had been kind to him and his servant Halef – with the following words: "Dabei strahlte ihr Angesicht so lieb und gut, daß mich ein aufrichtiges und warmes Bedauern überkam, indem ich an das einförmige, freudenlose Leben dachte,

<sup>16</sup> Since then, Baghdad and all of Mesopotamia have been part of the Ottoman-Turkish state, and the sultan's mutasarrif, i.e. deputy, is the master of Baghdad. Since then, there has been peace in Baghdad – along with unbearable decay. [/] The reign of the Abbasids represented the height of glory and splendour for Baghdad. They were cruel Oriental despots, but they knew how to surround their court with the splendour of science, art and poetry.

<sup>17</sup> He was a bloodthirsty brute, cunning and treacherous, a tyrant like all his ancestors.

<sup>18</sup> The sultan of Istanbul reigns over the desolate plateaus of the Tigris by fair means or foul. [/] But the desert is still waiting for someone to awaken it from the sand and dust to its former fruitfulness. [/] Who will bring it back to life?

<sup>19</sup> And the Turks rule over the land, wearing out the people and bleeding them completely dry, persecuting everyone who is not Mohammedan, pillaging, robbing, burning and shedding streams of blood.

<sup>20</sup> The adventure had taken an almost comic course from the moment of our capture; it provided very convincing evidence that tyranny is capable of enervating a people.

<sup>21</sup> The whole experience was almost ridiculous. However, it convincingly proved that slavery changes the character of an individual and a whole nation, takes away all of its manliness and resoluteness, and turns it into a menial and a slave.

welches ihrer in diesem Lande wartete"<sup>22</sup> (May, 1892b, 585). This statement is also expanded in the translation, making it significantly more derogatory: "Res škoda je bilo dobrega, lepega dekleta, sem si mislil. Enolično življenje brez veselja jo je čakalo v samotni kurdijski (*sic*) vasi, v deželi, kjer je ženska brezpravno in prezirano bitje, vkljub temu da so Nestorijanci kristjani, kjer mora delati in garati od zore do mraka, mož pa lenari ali pa hodi na poboje —"<sup>23</sup> (May, 1930, 495–496).

While the Nestorians were a minor sect in the region, the protagonist encounters Islam at every step of his journey through the Middle East, and sometimes makes negative statements related to this religion. For instance, when describing Damascus, the narrator makes the following remark: "Kein Moslem, selbst der Mekkaner nicht, ist so fanatisch wie der Damaskese"<sup>24</sup> (May, 1892c, 350). In the translation, several extremely disparaging sentences about the Damascenes are added:

Niti Mekkanec ni tako fanatičen kakor damaščanski musliman. Razkričani so tudi po svoji sirovosti in nevljudnosti. Poleg svojega fanatizma pa je damaščanski musliman še tudi neveden. Že od nekdaj je veljal Damask za najimenitnejše mesto vsega sveta, kulturni stiki z Evropo pa so tudi Damaščanu prinesli prepričanje, da ga kultura zapada nadkriljuje. Toda mesto da bi se od zapada učil, vztraja trdovratno pri svoji starokopitnosti, sovraži zapad in posebno še kristjane in jim da ob vsaki priliki okusiti svoje fanatično sovraštvo.<sup>25</sup> (May, 1930–1931, 326)

Other characters also express derogatory opinions about Islam sometimes. For instance, during a discussion with Kara Ben Nemsi, Persian nobleman Hassan Ardschir Mirza admits that the West is superior to the "Orient" – and blames the Prophet

Muhammad for the state of affairs in the region. The following is one of his remarks: "Ich weiß, daß in deinem Lande ein Knabe kenntnisreicher ist, als bei uns ein Mann; daß ihr in Gütern schwelgt, deren Namen wir nicht einmal kennen"<sup>26</sup> (May, 1892c, 204). In the translation, this statement is somewhat expanded: "Vem, da vaši otroci več vejo ko (*sic*) pri nas ljudje, ki se imenujejo učene. Vem, da imate pri vas šole, da uživate dobrote iznajdb, ki vam lajšajo in lepšajo življenje"<sup>27</sup> (May, 1930–1931, 149).

On the other hand, the non-Muslim Yezidi people are generally described in a more positive manner. For instance, when Ifra, a Turkish quartermaster in Kara Ben Nemsi's travelling party, is allowed to sit at table with Yezidi leader Ali Bey, the first-person narrator makes the following observation: "Daß er, der Untergebene, mit dem Bey zu Tische sitzen durfte, zeigte mir von neuem, wie patriarchalisch die Dschesidi untereinander leben"28 (May, 1892a, 588). In the translation, the remark is changed in a way that paints a more favourable picture of the Yezidis (and at the same time slights the Turkish people): "Da je on, navaden vojak in še Turek povrh, smel z bejem pri eni mizi sedeti, to mi je bil nov dokaz za izredno gostoljubnost in za svobodoljubno, prav demokratično mišljenje Jezidov"<sup>29</sup> (May, 1928–1930, 84).

Sometimes no connection is made between religion and cultural difference. For instance, the first-person re-teller makes the following observation about something as mundane as the consumption of salt: "Welch ein kostbarer Artikel das Salz ist, lernt man erst dann erkennen, wenn man es monatelang entbehren muß. Die meisten Beduinen und auch viele Kurden sind nicht an seinen Genuß gewöhnt" (May, 1892c, 72). While in the original statement, there are no explicitly negative remarks about the Middle East, this is not the case in the

<sup>22</sup> In doing so, her face beamed so sweetly and kindly that I was overcome with a sincere and warm regret as I thought of the monotonous, joyless life that awaited her in this land.

<sup>23</sup> I thought what a real pity it was for this kind, beautiful girl. A monotonous, joyless life in a lonely Kurdish (sic) village awaited her, in a land where – despite Nestorians being Christians – a woman is a disfranchised and despised being, and has to work and toil from dawn to dusk, while her husband lies idle or goes off to kill.

<sup>24</sup> No Muslim, not even the Meccan is as fanatical as the Damascene.

<sup>25</sup> Even the Meccans are not as fanatical as the Damascene Muslims. They are also notorious for their crudeness and rudeness. In addition to their fanaticism, the Damascene Muslims are ignorant. Since time immemorial, Damascus has been considered the most exquisite city in the world; however, cultural contacts with Europe convinced even the Damascenes that Western culture is superior. But instead of learning from the West, Damascenes stubbornly insist on their old-fashionedness, hate the West and especially Christians, and give them a taste of their fanatical hatred at every opportunity

<sup>26</sup> I know that in your land a boy is more knowledgeable than a man in ours; that you revel in commodities whose names we do not even know.

<sup>27</sup> I know that your children know more than our people who are called learned. I know you have schools, that you enjoy the goodness of inventions to make your life easier and more beautiful.

<sup>28</sup> The fact that he, the subordinate, was allowed to sit at table with the Bey showed me once again how patriarchally the Yezidis lived amongst each other.

<sup>29</sup> The fact that he, an ordinary soldier and a Turk on top of that, was allowed to sit at table with the bey, was new proof to me of the extraordinary hospitality and of the freedom-loving, very democratic thinking of the Yezidis.

<sup>30</sup> One only realizes what a valuable article salt is when one has to go without it for months. Most Bedouins and also many Kurds are not accustomed to consuming it.

first of the two sentences in the translation, where the distinction between cultured people and semisavages is made: "Kaka dragocenost da je sol, tega se zave kulturni človek šele na potovanju med poldivjimi narodi, kjer mora včasi po cele mesece živeti brez soli. Večina beduinskih rodov in tudi nekateri kurdijski rodovi namreč niso vajeni soli"<sup>31</sup> (May, 1930–1931, 25–26).

May occasionally also makes generally positive remarks about the "Orient" – which in the Slovenian versions of the texts tend to become less positive. For instance, when Kara Ben Nemsi is contemplating a visit to Mecca (which, being a Christian, he is forbidden to enter), he makes a rather appreciative observation about the "Orient":

Dem Christen, welcher sich nach Mekka oder Medina wagt, droht der Tod; so steht es in den Büchern zu lesen. [...] Ich hatte überhaupt den Orient in vielen, vielen Beziehungen ganz anders, und zwar nüchterner gefunden, als man sich ihn gewöhnlich vorzustellen pflegt, und konnte gar nicht recht glauben, daß ein kurzer, vielleicht nur stundenlanger Besuch in Mekka wirklich so furchtbar gefährlich sei.<sup>32</sup> (May, 1892a, 184)

In the translation, textual interventions were made: "Kristjanu je prepovedano, stopiti v Mekko in Medino. Če ga spoznajo, ga kratkomalo obsodijo na smrt, ako ga razjarjeni, fanatični muslimani že prej ne ubijejo. Tako stoji v knjigah. [...] Nisem verjel da bi bil kratek čas, par ur trajajoč obisk v »sveti« Mekki res tako smrtno nevaren —"33 (May, 1928–1930, 15). The part about the Orient being more "sober" than Westerners usually imagine it to be is deleted from the translation; instead, the Meccans are characterized as enraged and fanatical people, who would simply lynch an "infidel" if they discovered one among them. Furthermore, the designation "holy" is added in front of "Mecca", but since it is in quotation marks, it actually disparages the holiest city in the Islamic world.

In the translations, there are numerous other instances where various adjectives and/ or nouns are added on the phrase or sentence level to shed an unfavourable light upon different ethnic groups in the Middle East or "Orientals" in general, describing them as: semi-savage or savage (May, 1892a/May, 1928-1930, 555/559; May, 1892c/May, 1930-1931, 68/19; 147/97, 150/100, 289/255, 339/310), fanatical (May, 1892b/May, 1928-1930, 2/117; May, 1892c/May, 1930-1931, 188/133, 305/274), robbers (May, 1892c/May, 1930-1931, 94/46, 287/254, 288/254), thieves (May, 1892b/May, 1930, 374/304; May, 1892c/May, 1930-1931, 94/46), ignorant (May, 1892a/May, 1928-1930, 85/84; May, 1892c/May, 1930-1931, 369/352), cowardly (May, 1892a/May, 1928-1930, 388/72), heartless (May, 1892a/May, 1928-1930, 456/129), not used to cleanliness (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 212/36), exploiters (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 504/13), unreliable (May, 1892c/May, 1930-1931, 457/441), acquisitive (May, 1892a/ May, 1928-1930, 90/89), braggadocious (May, 1892a/May, 1928-1930, 85/84), etc.

Furthermore, in several footnotes, the anonymous translator of *Von Bagdad nach Stambul* expressed a favourable opinion about the developments in Syria and Iraq once–in the aftermath of World War I – they came under a French and British mandate, respectively (May, 1930–1931, 6, 211, 255, 272, 328–329, 367, 396). The former rulers in the region are even directly slighted in one of the footnotes: "Po dolgih stoletjih propada pod turškim jarmom se je po vojni Damask spet dvignil"<sup>34</sup> (May, 1930–1931, 329).

### ANALYSIS OF THE RE-TRANSLATIONS

Unlike in the first translations of the novels, in Ludvik Mrzel's re-translations there are numerous instances where negative sentiments about the "Orient" are softened or omitted altogether – this first and foremost holds true for discourse about the Turkish people, who bear the brunt of derogatory remarks in the original texts.

In the part of the narrative where the protagonist's travelling party arrives in a town called Amadijah (i.e. Amadiya or Amedi), the narrator makes a disparaging observation which supposedly holds true for Turkish towns in general: "Daß ich mich in einer türkischen Stadt befand, sah ich hier sehr genau; denn es lungerten wohl an die zwanzig

<sup>31</sup> A person of culture only realizes what a valuable thing salt is when travelling among semi-savage nations and sometimes having to go without salt for months at a time. Most Bedouin clans, as well as some Kurdish clans, are not used to salt.

<sup>32</sup> A Christian who dares to visit Mecca or Medina faces death; so, it is written in books. [...] I had found the Orient to be altogether quite different in many, many respects, more sober than one usually imagines it to be, and I could not quite believe that a short visit to Mecca, perhaps only a few hours long, would really be so terribly dangerous.

<sup>33</sup> A Christian is forbidden to set foot in Mecca or Medina. If he is recognized, he is simply sentenced to death, if the enraged, fanatical Muslims do not kill him beforehand. This is written in books. [...] I could not quite believe that a short visit to the "holy" Mecca, perhaps only a few hours long, would really be so deadly dangerous.

<sup>34</sup> After many centuries of decline under the Turkish yoke, Damascus rose again after the war.

herrenlose Hunde auf diesem Meidan jüdschelikün herum, unter denen mehrere räudig waren"35 (May, 1892b, 160). In the translation, the description of the town itself remains intact, but the first part of the sentence is deleted - no reference to this being typical of Turkish towns is made (May, 1970b, 126). The mutesselim [lieutenant-governor], who is also the commander of the prison in Amadijah, invites the protagonist and Sir David Lindsay to dinner, and at the same time asks to borrow money from them; Kara Ben Nemsi explains to the English nobleman that the sultan does not pay his officials regularly; therefore they exploit the local population, and he later adds that this is also the reason why the mutesselim asked them for money: "Aus diesem Grunde hat er jedenfalls das bekannte System aller türkischen Beamten angewandt und die hiesige Bewohnerschaft so ziemlich ausgesaugt. [...] Das ist nun allerdings ganz türkisch gehandelt, und auf das Zurückerstatten darf man nicht rechnen"<sup>36</sup> (May, 1892b, 178). The translation is modified, making no reference to the generally exploitative practices of Turkish officials and going so far as to state that the request to borrow money was a highly uncommon one: "To je razlog, zakaj je tukajšnje prebivalstvo tako izsesal. [...] To je seveda hudo nenavadno in na kakšno vračilo ne moremo računati"37 (May, 1970b, 141).38 When Kara Ben Nemsi and Sir David Lindsay arrive at the mutesselim's residence, the former gives baksheesh to two mülazım [lieutenants], which is accompanied by the following remark by the narrator: "Der türkische subalterne Offizier ist, besonders in entlegenen Garnisonen, selbst heute noch der Diener seines nächst höheren Vorgesetzten und stets gewohnt, sich als solchen betrachten zu lassen"39 (May, 1892b, 180). Mrzel completely omitted this sentence in the translation (May, 1970b, 143).

During the protagonist's visit to the mutesselim, a Kurdish messenger enters the room. When the mutesselim asks him what message his master sent him to deliver, the Kurd replies with the following words: "Mein Herr? Ein freier Kurde hat nie einen Herrn. Er ist mein Bey, mein Anführer im Kampfe, nicht aber mein Gebieter. Dieses Wort kennen nur die Türken und Perser"40 (May, 1892b, 193). In the translation, the last sentence is shortened to "Te besede ne poznam"41 (May, 1970b, 152) – the Turkish and Persian people are thus not slighted. The same Kurdish man later tells the protagonist several unfavourable things about the mutesselim, including that he sold the gunpowder for the canons with which the prison is supposed to be defended - regarding this, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war also eine echt türkische Wirtschaft!"42 (May, 1892b, 200). In the translation, the term "türkisch" [Turkish] is changed to "klavrno" [miserable] (May, 1970b, 158), thus expressing no contempt for the Turkish people. The protagonist later has some first-hand experience with the aforementioned kind of "economy", when the mutesselim and the former makredsch [chief justice] of Mosul attempt to blackmail him. After they ask him how much he would be willing to pay for his freedom, Kara Ben Nemsi counters by questioning how high a value the makredsch places on his own life. After the latter replies, the protagonist mocks him by stating the following: "Wie kommt es, daß ein Türke so sehr tief im Preise steht?"43 (May, 1892b, 282); this sentence is deleted from the translation (May, 1970b, 222). In the continuation of the conversation, Kara Ben Nemsi rebukes the blackmailers, among other things making the following declaration: "Die Osmanly aber haben kein anderes Gesetz als ihren Geldbeutel, und darum schachern sie mit der Gerechtigkeit"44 (May, 1892b, 283). In the translation, the sentence is radically changed to "Vidva pa tule barantata s pravico"45 (May, 1970b, 223), which makes no negative pronouncement about the Turkish people in general. After the mutesselim opts not to search for an important prisoner who has escaped, and admits that instead he intends to report

<sup>35</sup> I saw quite clearly that I was in a Turkish town, because there were probably about twenty stray dogs lingering around on this Meidan jüdschelikün, several of which were mangy.

<sup>36</sup> At any rate, this is the reason why he applied the well-known system of all Turkish officials and sucked the local population more or less dry. [...] This is, of course, a totally Turkish way of acting, and one should not count on being repaid.

<sup>37</sup> This is the reason why he sucked the local population so dry. [...] This is, of course, very unusual and one should not count on being recompensed.

<sup>38</sup> This is one of the rare occasions where a negative remark about an "Oriental" was not preserved in one of the first translations – the passage was somewhat shortened in the translation and the first cited sentence was one of the elements omitted (May, 1892b, 178/May, 1930, 116).

<sup>39</sup> The Turkish subordinate officer, especially in remote garrisons, is even today still the servant of his next higher superior and is always accustomed to being regarded as such.

<sup>40</sup> My master? A free Kurd has no master. He is my bey, my leader in battle, but not my master. Only the Turks and Persians know this word.

<sup>41</sup> I don't know that word.

<sup>42</sup> So, this was a truly Turkish economy!

<sup>43</sup> How is it that a Turk is priced so very low?

<sup>44</sup> But the Ottomans have no other law than their money-bag, and so they haggle with justice.

<sup>45</sup> And here the two of you haggle with justice.

that the prisoner has died, the protagonist remarks the following: "Das war eine echt türkische Weise, sich aus der Not zu helfen;" (May, 1892b, 353). In the translation, the statement is changed in a way that makes no reference to a Turkish way of acting: "To je bil tudi eden izmed načinov, da si pomaga iz stiske" (May, 1970b, 281).

In the Kurdish town of Gumri, the protagonist and his fellow travellers get invited to the house of the bey, where those present stand up to greet them - and remain standing; the protagonist then states the following: "Aber, Bey, befiell vorher deinen Leuten, daß sie sich setzen! Sie sind nicht Türken und Perser, sondern freie Kurden, die nur zum Gruße sich zu erheben brauchen"48 (May, 1892b, 427). In the translation, the respectful conduct towards the Kurds is preserved, while the Turkish and Persian people are not disrespected in the second sentence: "Svobodni Kurdi so, ki naj vstanejo samo za pozdrav in nič več"49 (May, 1970b, 338). At a later point in the narrative, when one of the officials whom the protagonist's travelling party encounters does not act first and foremost in his own interest, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war denn einmal ein ehrlicher Beamter, eine Seltenheit im Reiche des Großherrn"50 (May, 1892c, 420). In the translation, the ending of the sentence is transformed: "v takratni Turčiji" [in the Turkey of that time] (May, 1971, 322); this implies that the state of affairs in Turkey was once as described but may have changed since then.

Mrzel sometimes also made textual interventions in passages pertaining to the Kurds. One such example can be found in the part of the narrative where Kara Ben Nemsi and his companions are travelling through Kurdistan and stop in a small village, where the locals try to steal their horses. One of these men is caught in the act and admits to the deed; the narrator then remarks the following: "Dieses Geständnis war gar nicht genug beschämend (sic) für ihn, denn bei den Kurden gilt der

Pferdediebstahl ebenso wie der offene räuberische Ueberfall für eine ritterliche That"51 (May, 1892b, 401). In the translation, "bei den Kurden" [among the Kurds] is changed into "v teh krajih" [in these parts] (May, 1970b, 318); the sentence does thus not explicitly refer to the Kurdish people. When the same Kurdish man threatens Kara Ben Nemsi by saying "Chodih, wir werden Euch die Pferde und alles Andere nehmen, aber wir werden Euch als wackere und gute Männer ehren!"52, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war so naiv, wie nur ein Kurde sein kann"53 (May, 1892b, 403). In the translation, the latter sentence is radically changed into a statement expressing sympathy with the Kurdish people: "Kaj takega mi je v tem položaju lahko rekel samo pripadnik tega preganjanega in v svojem odporu divjega ljudstva"<sup>54</sup> (May, 1970b, 320). Furthermore, the term "halbwild" [semi-savage] is twice omitted in the translation when referring to the Kurds (May, 1892b, 271, 426; May, 1970b, 214, 338).

At a certain point when the protagonist is among the Yezidis, he makes the following observation with regard to several peoples in the "Orient":

Natürlich besaßen die gewöhnlichen Leute nicht die Klarheit der religiösen Ansicht wie Pir Kamek, aber dem falschen Griechen, dem schachernden, sittenlosen Armenier, dem rachsüchtigen Araber, dem trägen Türken, dem heuchlerischen Perser und dem raubsüchtigen Kurden gegenüber mußte ich den fälschlicherweise so übel beleumundeten »Teufelsanbeter« achten lernen.55 (May, 1892a, 571)

In the translation, the specific negative characteristics of particular nations are omitted: "Preprosti ljudje kajpada niso imeli tako jasnih verskih nazorov kakor pir Kamek, a spričo vseh zloglasnih lastnosti, ki govori o njih narodni sloves Grkov, Armencev, Arabcev, Turkov, Perzijcev in Kurdov, sem moral toliko klevetane "oboževalce hudiča"

<sup>46</sup> That was a genuinely Turkish way of getting out of a scrape;.

<sup>47</sup> This was also one of the ways to get out of a scrape.

<sup>48</sup> But bey, first command your people to sit down! They are not Turks and Persians, but free Kurds who only need to get up for a greeting.

<sup>49</sup> They are free Kurds who should only get up for a greeting and nothing more.

<sup>50</sup> This, for once, was an honest official, a rarity in the empire of the sultan.

<sup>51</sup> This confession was not shameful enough (sic) for him, since among the Kurds stealing a horse – and also open robbery – is regarded as a knightly deed.

<sup>52</sup> Chodih, we will take your horses and everything else, but we will honour you as brave and good men!

<sup>53</sup> That was as naive as only a Kurd can be.

<sup>54</sup> Only a member of this oppressed people, who are ferocious in their resistance, could have said something like this to me in this situation.

<sup>55</sup> Of course, the ordinary people did not have such clear religious notions as Pir Kamek, but compared to the insincere Greeks, the chaffering, immoral Armenians, the vengeful Arabs, the lazy Turks, the hypocritical Persians and the thieving Kurds, I had to learn to respect these wrongly so much slandered "devil-worshippers".

spoštovati"<sup>56</sup> (May, 1970a, 458). A while later, the narrator favourably compares the behaviour of Mir Scheik Khan, the religious leader of the Yezidis, with that of Muslim religious leaders: "Auch dies war eine Bescheidenheit, welche bei den mohammedanischen Imams niemals zu finden ist"<sup>57</sup> (May, 1892b, 3). The reference to imams is deleted in the translation: "To je bila skromnost, kakršne ne bomo vselej našli"<sup>58</sup> (May, 1970b, 6).

Perhaps the most elaborate textual intervention in one of Mrzel's translations can be found in part of the description of Damascus, which reads as follows in the original:

Damaskus gewährt im Innern keineswegs den Anblick, welchen man von außen erwartet. Zwar fehlt es der Stadt nicht an ehrwürdigen Bauten, aber die Straßen selbst sind entsetzlich gepflastert, krumm und eng, und die meist fensterlosen, äußeren Lehmwände der Häuser sehen häßlich aus. Auch hier wird die Straßen- und Wohlfahrtspolizei, wie in den meisten orientalischen Städten, von Aasgeiern und räudigen, verkommenen Hunden besorgt. Die Wasserfülle der Stadtumgebung begünstigt die Entstehung schädlicher Miasmen, welche die Stadt der Ommijaden in einen bösen Ruf gebracht haben. 59 (May, 1892c, 361)

In the translation, this passage was rewritten to paint a totally different picture of Damascus:

Skozi mesto teče samo Barada, od katere se cepijo številni prekopi in struge. Množica ljudi se gnete po znamenitih bazarjih ali po kavarnicah, ki jih hladi bambusova senca, in pijejo poživljajočo pijačo. Obilica vode v okolici mesta omogoča, da uspevajo veliki sadni gaji. Arabcu, ki si je v svoji domišljiji uredil raj kot sadni vrt, se zato zdi Damask kot odsev nebeških gajev. 60 (May, 1971, 275)

## DIRECT COMPARISON OF THE TRANSLATIONS

In the passages discussed below, different translation strategies were used in the first translation and the re-translation of a particular text, which will vividly illuminate the differences in the approaches between the two eras.

In the part of the narrative where Kara Ben Nemsi is in Egypt sailing down the Nile on a ship manned by Muslim sailors, he - in the role of narrator - makes the following observation about the moment they began to pray before running the rapids: "Ich muß gestehen, daß dieses Gebet auch mich ergriff, aber nicht aus Furcht vor der Gefahr, sondern aus Ehrfurcht vor der tief im Herzen wurzelnden Religiosität dieser halbwilden Menschen, welche nichts thun und beginnen, ohne sich dessen zu erinnern, der in dem Schwachen mächtig ist"61 (May, 1892a, 152-153). The first translation reads as follows: "Marsikateri katoličan bi se lahko zgledoval na globokovernih mohamedanih, poldivjih in neizobraženih, ki se ob vsaki priliki spomnijo svojega Allaha, v sreči in v nesreči! Kako radi pa mi pozabimo na svojega - pravega! - Boga!"62 (May, 1928-1930, 140). There are two additions in this translation: while in the original, the sailors are only characterized as "halbwild" [semi-savage], in the translation they are also described as "neizobraženi" [uneducated]; furthermore, in the last sentence in the translation, the narrator asserts that the Christian God is the true one, thereby indirectly slighting Islam. In the re-translation, the opposite is the case: the term "semi-savage" was deleted (May, 1970a, 123).

When present at one of the holy sites of the Yezidi people, the narrator contrasts their tolerant behaviour and that of their religious leader with that

<sup>56</sup> Of course, the ordinary people did not have such clear religious notions as Pir Kamek, but because of all the notorious characteristics of the national reputation of the Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Turks, Persians and Kurds, I had to respect these so much slandered "devil-worshippers".

<sup>57</sup> This too was a modesty never to be found among the Mohammedan imams.

<sup>58</sup> This was a modesty one does not always encounter.

<sup>59</sup> Inside, Damascus by no means offers the view that one expects from the outside. The city does not lack venerable buildings, but the streets themselves are paved terribly, they are crooked and narrow, and the mostly windowless, outer cob walls of the houses look ugly. Here too, as in most Oriental cities, the street and welfare police is provided by vultures and mangy, abandoned dogs. The abundance of water around the city is conducive to the emergence of harmful miasmata, which have given the city of the Umayyads a bad reputation.

<sup>60</sup> Only the Barada flows through the city, from which many canals and riverbeds branch off. Crowds of people consuming invigorating drinks throng the famous bazaars or cafés cooled by the shade of bamboo trees. The abundance of water around the city allows large orchards to flourish. To the Arab, who in his imagination arranged Paradise as an orchard, Damascus therefore seems like a reflection of the heavenly groves.

<sup>61</sup> I must admit that I was also moved by this prayer, not out of fear of the danger, but rather out of reverence for the deep-rooted religiosity of these semi-savage people, who do nothing and begin nothing without remembering the one who is mighty in the weak.

<sup>62</sup> Many a Catholic could follow the example of the deeply devout Mohammedans, semi-savage and uneducated, who remember their Allah at every opportunity, in fortune and misfortune! But how quick we are to forget our—true—God!

of Muslims by saying the following: "Wie sehr stach ein solches Verhalten gegen dasjenige ab, welches man bei den Mohammedanern zu beobachten hat!" (May, 1892b, 2). In the first translation, the sentiment towards Islam is more explicitly negative: "Kolika razlika med temi obrekovanimi Jezidi, pa med fanatičnimi mohamedanskimi imami!" (May, 1928–1930, 117). In the re-translation, the sentence is radically changed into a statement making no reference to religion whatsoever: "To je bilo razveseljivo znamenje velikodušnosti in strpnosti" (May, 1970b, 6).

In the part of the narrative taking place in Damascus, Kara Ben Nemsi explains to a young Turkish woman that in his homeland, women are allowed to sing songs, to which she replies that it must be much nicer there, since women are free, unlike in her homeland, where religious authorities go so far as to claim that women have no souls.66 The narrator then makes the following pronouncement: "Ja, der Orient schmachtet nach Erlösung aus schweren, tausendjährigen Banden"67 (May, 1892c, 387). In the first translation, there are additions that blame Islam for conditions in the "Orient": "Mohamedanski Orient ječi pod verigami islama in hrepeni po odrešenju iz stoletnega suženjstva"68 (May, 1930-1931, 371). In the re-translation, the sentence from the original cited above is translated with no interventions; however, the woman's condemnation of religious authorities is omitted (May, 1971, 295).

After an officer of the Ottoman Army decides to simply burn down the building in a seedy part of Istanbul where he had been captured by a criminal gang and held for ransom, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war eine echt muselmännische Art und Weise, mit einer nicht sehr ehrenvollen Erinnerung fertig zu werden" (May, 1892c, 511). In the first translation, "muselmännische Art und Weise" [Moslem way] is replaced with "po turško" [Turkish way] (May, 1930–1931, 495), thus making the statement derogatory towards Turkish people. In the re-translation, the part of the text in question

was also radically changed, but in this case so as not to disparage any Middle Eastern nation or their religion, i.e. into "najpreprostejši način" [simplest way] (May, 1971, 396).

When the protagonist encounters a man who pierced numerous parts of his body to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husayn ibn Ali, who was the grandson of Prophet Muhammad, the narrator remarks the following:

Ich hatte in Indien Büßer gesehen, welche sich auf die fabelhaftesten Weisen Schmerzen verursachten, und mit ihnen immer Mitleid gefühlt; diesem fanatisch dummen Menschen aber hätte ich wahrhaftig lieber eine Ohrfeige als ein Almosen gegeben, denn neben dem Grauen, welches sein ekelhafter Anblick erweckte, konnte ich auch den Unverstand nicht ertragen, welcher so scheußliche Martern ersinnt, um den Todestag eines doch nur sündhaften Menschen zu begehen. <sup>70</sup> (May, 1892c, 305)

The latter part of the original is transformed in the first translation: "Le brezmejna, fanatična neumnost si more izmisliti take muke in z njimi še častiti smrt človeka, ki ni bil druga ko (*sic*) navaden Zemljan in ki ni imel drugih zaslug, ko da je bil 'v svaščini' s 'prerokom'"<sup>71</sup> (May, 1930–1931, 274). In addition to the reference to fanaticism being added, the term "prerok" [prophet] is in quotation marks, thereby implying that Muhammad was not a real prophet. In the re-translation, the adjectives describing the penitent as "dumm" [stupid] and the martyr as "sündhaft" [sinful] are deleted (May, 1971, 230).

After the protagonist patronizes the level of knowledge of a local doctor in Amadijah in comparison to those in the West, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war rücksichtslos und wohl auch ein wenig mutig gesprochen; aber es konnte diesen Leuten gar nicht schaden, wenn einmal einer kam, der es wagte, an ihrer Selbstherrlichkeit zu rütteln" (May, 1892b, 222). Instead of "Selbstherrlichkeit" [self-aggrandisement], the terms "nevednost" [ig-

<sup>63</sup> In what stark contrast such behaviour was to that observed among the Mohammedans!

<sup>64</sup> What a difference between these slandered Yezidis and the fanatical Mohammedans imams!

<sup>65</sup> This was an agreeable sign of generosity and tolerance.

<sup>66</sup> This is one of the instances when May was misinformed about Islam and disseminated this incorrect information (Bach, 2010, 25).

<sup>67</sup> Yes, the Orient is yearning for deliverance from a thousand years of being in heavy chains.

<sup>68</sup> The Mohammedan Orient is groaning under the chains of Islam and longs for deliverance from centuries of slavery.

<sup>69</sup> This was a genuinely Moslem way of dealing with a memory that was not very honourable for him.

<sup>70</sup> I had seen penitents in India inflicting pain upon themselves in the most fabulous ways, and always felt pity for them; but I would really rather have given this fanatically stupid person a slap in the face instead of alms, because in addition to the horror that his disgusting sight aroused, I could not stand the ignorance that devises such horrible tortures to mark the anniversary of the death of someone who was simply a sinful person.

<sup>71</sup> Only boundless, fanatical stupidity can invent such torments and even use them to honour the death of a person who was nothing more than an ordinary Earthling and had no other merits than being "related" to the "prophet".

<sup>72</sup> That was a ruthless and probably also a slightly bold statement; but it could do no harm to these people if someone came along who dared to rattle their self-aggrandisement.

norance] and "praznovernost" [superstitiousness] are used in the first translation (May, 1930, 156), while this sentence is deleted altogether in the retranslation (May, 1970b, 173).

At a certain point in the narrative, the protagonist has a falling out with two of his travelling companions, Haddedihn sheik Mohammed Emin and his son Amad el Ghandur, who do not agree with the leniency that he frequently displays towards their enemies. Subsequently, Kara Ben Nemsi returns the horse he had received from the sheik and - in his role as narrator - remarks the following: "Aber trotzdem mir der Verlust des Hengstes mehr als genug zu Herzen ging, fiel es mir gar nicht ein, meine milden Anschauungen den rachsüchtigen Gewohnheiten dieser Nomaden zu opfern"73 (May, 1892c, 147). While the term "poldivji" [half-savage] is added to "nomadi" [nomads] in the first translation (May, 1930-1931, 97), this sentence is completely omitted in the re-translation (May, 1971, 109).

After Kara Ben Nemsi and Halef arrive in Egypt, the narrator makes the following observation about the transformation of his servant's character: "Er war jetzt außerordentlich stolz, unendlich grob und heillos außechneiderisch geworden, und das will im Oriente viel sagen" (May, 1892a, 84–85). While in the first translation the term "širokoustni" [boastful] is added to precede "Orient" (May, 1928–1930, 84), in the re-translation, Mrzel changed "Orient" into "v teh krajih" [in these parts] (May, 1970a, 70), which can be interpreted as a more local reference and not necessarily signifying that people in the "Orient" are boastful in general.

In the part of the narrative taking place in Kurdistan, the protagonist – in his role as narrator – makes a pronouncement on the state of affairs in those lands after observing how some local Kurdish men were looking at his horse: "Ich sah, wie sie bei dem Anblick meines Pferdes einander die Köpfe zukehrten, und so stolz mich diese Bewunderung machte, so bedenklich mußte sie mir auch sein. Ein gutes Pferd, schöne Waffen und Geld: - wer eines von diesen drei Dingen besitzt, der ist bei diesen räuberischen Völkerschaften nie sicher, es zu verlieren und das Leben dazu" (May, 1892b, 374). In the first translation, the latter part of the first sentence of the original is expanded into a full sentence emphasizing the "thieving" nature of the Kurds:

"Ponosen bi bil lahko na to občudovanje, pa med kurdijskimi konjskimi tatovi je tako občudovanje vse prej ko prijetno"<sup>76</sup> (May, 1930, 304). In the re-translation, "bei diesen räuberischen Völkerschaften" [among these rapacious peoples] from the original is changed to "na tem koncu sveta" [in this part of the world] (May, 1970b, 297) – a shift similar to that in the previously cited example can be observed.

### CONCLUSION

The analysis of the Slovenian translations and re-translations of the first three novels of Karl May's *Orientzyklus* showed substantial differences in the strategies used for translating representations of the Middle East. The translation strategies were presumably influenced by both the norms (Toury, 2012 [1995], 61–92) prevalent in society at a certain point in time and the habitus (Simeoni, 1998) of a particular translator.

The first translations of the novels can be considered examples par excellence of rewriting. Negative discourse was not only consistently preserved but also added on numerous occasions; this was not limited to additions on the sentence level - full passages were rewritten or added to paint a picture more substantially unfavourable towards the Middle East as a whole, or various nations living there than was the case in May's original novels. While for centuries, colonial powers used such derogatory discourse as a pretext to expand their empires (while officially carrying out a "civilizing mission"), nothing of the sort could apply in case of similarly xenophobic discourse in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.<sup>77</sup> Instead, the intensified negative representation of the "Orient" can perhaps be interpreted as a case of building oneself up by tearing others down (Birk, 2014, 317-322); at the time that the translations were published, Yugoslavia "was one of the poorest countries in Europe, a semicolony economically not even halfway between the Asian colonies and metropolitan countries of Europe" (Suvin, 2016, 23). The especially intensified disdainful characterization of the Turkish people, who were the subject of most of the interventions in the translations, indicates that the traditionally hostile attitude towards the Ottoman Turks still held

<sup>73</sup> Although I was deeply affected by the loss of the stallion, I never even considered sacrificing my mild views to the vengeful habits of these nomads

<sup>74</sup> He was now extraordinarily proud, infinitely rude and hopelessly boastful, which is saying a lot in the Orient.

<sup>75</sup> I saw them turn their heads to one another at the sight of my horse, and as proud as this admiration made me, it had to also make me apprehensive. A good horse, fine weapons and money: whoever owns one of these three things must always fear losing it along with his life when among these rapacious peoples.

<sup>76</sup> I could have been proud of this admiration, but among Kurdish horse thieves, such admiration is anything but pleasant.

<sup>77</sup> In the first part of the 20th century, expressing racist/xenophobic views still common in Slovenian serial publications (Zajc & Polajnar, 2012, 74–84; Trupej, 2017b, 324–325).

sway, despite Slovenians not having many direct dealings with Turkish people in the interwar period anymore. The religion of Islam as a whole was also frequently denigrated more severely than in the original; the same is true for the followers of the Christian sect Nestorianism, whereas no significant shifts regarding the Yezidi people were found. Since the translations were published by a Catholic publishing house and presumably done by translators who had a favourable opinion about Christianity (the one credited translator, who may have been responsible for the two uncredited translations also, was a priest), ideological interventions that glorify Christianity while portraying Islam and a non-Catholic denomination in a more negative manner are not surprising.

While there was less rewriting in the re-translations of the *Orientzyklus*, ideological interventions were also frequent, although this time around their purpose was to achieve an effect opposite to that in the previous translations: numerous examples of derogatory discourse about the Middle East were either softened or completely omitted by radically changing the meaning of the original or by deleting full sentences, especially with regard to the Turkish and Kurdish people; the same is true for pejorative statements about Islam. However, part of the negative sentiment was preserved; it cannot therefore be said that the often unfavourable portrayal of the Middle East was completely "sanitized" in the re-translations. The translation strategy was undoubtedly influenced by the contemporary socio-political situation in the country: when the re-translations were published,

Yugoslavia had close ties with several Middle Eastern countries in the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, which had been co-founded by Yugoslavia in 1961, and the country also had quite good relations with NATO member Turkey—although not quite as good as during most of the 1950s, when Yugoslavia was one of the signatories of the Balkan Pact (1953), together with Turkey and Greece (Tahirovic, 2014, 63-65). Furthermore, Serbo-Croatian speaking Muslims were recognized as one of the ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, and on account of that, the softening of the disdainful attitudes towards Islam in the translations is also plausible. The translator of all three novels, Ludvik Mrzel, was a former political prisoner (Dolgan et al., 2014, 146–147; cf. Birk, 2014, 315) and as such, was probably wary of displeasing the powers that be; therefore, his interventions in the texts were likely a case of self-censorship.

It can thus be concluded that ideology had a profound influence on the Slovenian translations of the *Orientzyklus* in both eras in question and that the numerous shifts affected the overall portrayal of the Middle East in the Slovenian versions of the novels. Since especially in the interwar translations, ideological interventions were far more frequent than was the case for the portrayal of black people in some of May's other novels translated during the same period (Trupej, 2017a), it would be interesting to analyse the representations of other regions/ peoples in the Slovenian translations of May's works and thus to contribute to translation scholarship from a post-colonial perspective.

### PRIKAZ BLIŽNJEGA VZHODA V SLOVENSKIH PREVODIH SERIJE *ORIENTZYKLUS* KARLA MAYA

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### **POVZETEK**

Analiza slovenskih prevodov prvih treh romanov iz serije Orientzyklus [orientalski cikel] je pokazala, da so se prevajalske strategije v zvezi s podobo Bližnjega vzhoda v različnih obdobjih precej razlikovale. V prevodih, ki so izšli med letoma 1928 in 1931, negativen diskurz o Bližnjem vzhodu ni zgolj konstantno ohranjen, marveč je pogosto celo intenziviran, posledično pa je ta regija prikazana v občutno bolj negativni luči kot v izvirniku. To velja predvsem za podobo osmanskih Turkov, ki so bili med slovenskim prebivalstvom več stoletij tradicionalno dojemani kot »Drugi«. Prevodi so vrh tega izšli pri katoliški založbi, zato ne čudijo niti posegi v besedilo, s katerimi je bil islam prikazan v bolj negativni luči kot v izvirnikih. V ponovnih prevodih romanov, ko so izšli v letih 1970 in 1971, pa je bila prevajalska strategija ravno obratna: številni negativni elementi so bili izpuščeni oz. omiljeni, tako da je podoba Bližnjega vzhoda v teh slovenskih različicah manj negativna kakor v izvirnih romanih. Ti prevodi so izšli v obdobju, ko je bila Slovenija del Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije, v kateri so bili Muslimani priznani kot narod, in posledično je bil negativen diskurz o islamu do neke mere omiljen. Poleg tega je imela Jugoslavija v okviru Gibanja neuvrščenih tesne vezi z več bližnjevzhodnimi državami, v razmeroma dobrih odnosih pa je bila tudi z Republiko Turčijo, kar se je prav tako odražalo v prevodih. Mogoče je torej zaključiti, da so različne družbenopolitične okoliščine v določenem obdobju slovenske zgodovine bistveno vplivale na prikaz Bližnjega vzhoda v obravnavanih prevodih.

Ključne besede: Karl May, Bližnji vzhod, Orientzyklus, nemška književnost, prevajanje, ideologija, ksenofobija

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