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Ivan Vazov and the Western Literary Tradition: Modes of Communication

Abstract

The present article attempts to study the personality of Ivan Vazov as a perceiver of Western European literature. Vazov's works are representative of the tendencies which started during the Bulgarian National Revival period, tendencies toward overcoming cultural backwardness and inclusion of Bulgarian literature in the European tradition. He devoted a great part of his literary and public activity to this cultural cause. In his body of work, Vazov accumulated the ideas of cultural catching up, distilled the best of the European experience, summarised it, and integrated it.

The inclusion of Vazov's works in the European literary tradition can be traced in the various modes of his communication with the national literatures of Western Europe – as a reader, translator, compiler, critic, editor, and author. Emphasising the Western influence in his work, he pointed out his models, constantly comparing himself to them, borrowing themes and motifs, genres and means of expression. Vazov managed to develop as an author of his own time – relevant to the native ideological and cultural context, but integrating the European literary achievements in his work.

Keywords: Ivan Vazov; Western literary tradition; literary models; borrowings; similarities

Резюме

Иван Вазов и западната литературна традиция: модуси на общуването

Настоящата статия прави опит да осветли личността на Иван Вазов като възприемател на западноевропейските литератури. Вазовото творчество е представително за започналите още през Възраждането тежнения към преодоляване на културната изостаналост и вписването на българската литература в европейската традиция. На тази културна мисия той посвещава голяма част от своята литературна и обществена дейност. В творчеството си акумулира идеите за културно наваксване, концентрира най-доброто от европейския опит, обобщава го и го интегрира.

Вазовото вписване на собственото творчество в европейската литературна традиция може да се проследи чрез различните модуси на общуването му с литературите на Западна Европа — като читател, преводач, съставител, критик, редактор, творец. Акцентирал върху западното влияние в творчеството си, той посочва своите авторитети, като непрекъснато се оглежда в тях, заимства теми и мотиви, жанрове и изразни средства. Вазов изгражда себе си като един своевременен автор — актуален за родния идеен и културен контекст, но интегрирал в творчеството си европейските литературни достижения.

Ключови думи: Иван Вазов; западна литературна традиция; литературни образци; заимствани; сходства

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The present article makes an attempt to study the personality of Ivan Vazov from a slightly unusual research perspective – as a perceiver of Western European literature. In the reconstruction of this communication there are several symptomatic texts (literary and documentary), which are hugely important in identifying his literary preferences, the development and contradictions in his literary taste, and the literary influences and reminiscences in his work. The earliest of them is the cycle *Poet* $[\Pi oem]^2$ from the poetry collection *Sounds* [3eykoee] (1882), in which Vazov defined the authors who had impressed him emotionally and had broadened his own literary horizon. Seven years later, in 1889, he revealed his literary preferences in a letter to Dr. Krastev. In 1895, Vazov published a short story, journalistic in tone, called In My Own Interest (Scribbles and Patterns) [За моята си черга, сб. Драски и шарки], in which he responded to the accusations of plagiarism levelled at him and outlined his literary influences for the first time. The following year, in the survey in Prof. Shishmanov's family album, he nominated his favourite authors. In 1901, Vazov wrote his memoirs entitled *The Teachers* [Даскалите], in which he revealed his earliest literary favourites. The two subsequent records, initiated again by the professor, presented retrospective accounts aimed at immortalising the classical author in the manner of Johann Eckermann's recorded interviews with Goethe and those of Edouard Toulouse with Zola. In 1915, the poet provided him with a detailed narrative of his life (The Poet's Life as He Himself Presented It to Me), in which he presented an overview of the literary works he had read and admired. The next year (1916), he documented the history of writing his works (Vazov about His Works) [Basos sa coume moopou], gladly mentioning his literary reminiscences. The notes kept by Shishmanov during his meetings with Vazov (Our Meetings 1915-1920) [Hauume cpeuu 1915-1920]³ are no less informative. Fragments of information about the national poet's contact with European cultures can be found in many other sources, as he willingly disclosed them "any time he could".4

The two texts – Vazov's autobiography and the history of writing his works, presented an innovative endeavour in Bulgarian culture and the first attempt at a self-reflective affirmation after the European model. Shishmanov observed the poet's long procrastination and hesitation in documenting

² Вазов, Иван. Поет. В: *Събрани съчинения в 22 тома. Т. III. Лирика 1886-1912*. Ред. П. Динеков и др. София, Български писател, 1975, с. 43-52. [Vazov, Ivan. Poet. V: *Sabrani sachineniya v 22 toma. T. III. Lirika 1886-1912*. Red. P. Dinekov i dr. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1975.] All Vazov's works, unless otherwise noted, are cited from this edition.

³ Шишманов, Иван. Нашите срещи 1915-1920. В: Шишманов, Ив. *Иван Вазов. Спомени и документи*. София, Български писател, 1976. [Shishmanov, Ivan. Nashite sreshti 1915-1920. V: Shishmanov, Iv. *Ivan Vazov. Spomeni i dokumenti*. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1976.]

⁴ Тиханов, Галин. *Тълкувания. Текстове върху българската литература след Възраждането*. София, УИ "Св. Кл. Охридски", 1994, с. 93. [Tihanov, Galin. *Talkuvaniya. Tekstove varhu balgarskata literatura sled Vazrazhdaneto*. Sofia, UI "Sv. Kl. Ohridski", 1994, s. 93.]

the requested information about his life and work, not quite convinced of deserving such an honour: "Is this possible after Voltaire and Renan?" ⁵ Meanwhile, Vazov started preparing for this in his own way – by reading Eckermann's interview with Goethe, provided to him in Russian translation by Dr. Krastev, and he also wished to get acquainted with Rousseau's *The Confessions*. ⁶ He suspected Goethe of playacting and noted that "no doubt he was posing". The can be reasonably assumed that Vazov hardly felt ready to write his autobiography, knowing how high the expectations were, high like the pedestal on which he himself had been placed. That is why he needed an example, a model for selfaffirmation and recognition of his own significance, which would add greatness to his halo of being the most authoritative poet of his time. The creation of the history of writing his works, full of examples and revealing various influences, was not deprived of strategy either. Some of them seem greatly exaggerated, but their publicity expresses the strong desire for associating the author's own oeuvre with some major literary figures in the European tradition. Vazov himself might not have been aware of the excessiveness of some of his suggestions, which can explain the cautious allusions felt in expressions like "after reading", "I had read", etc. 8 The other effects of these revelations should not be overlooked either – on the one hand, they demonstrated a wide range of intellectual potential and a high literary standard, on the other hand, however, their aim was to disarm future accusers of plagiarism and dispel the doubts that periodically cast a shadow on his reputation as a national poet.⁹

Vazov's works are representative of the tendencies started during the Bulgarian National Revival, tendencies towards overcoming cultural backwardness and including Bulgarian literature in the European tradition. He devoted a great part of his literary and public activity to this cultural cause, just like his ideological ally Konstantin Velichkov. ¹⁰ In his oeuvre, Vazov accumulated the ideas of cultural catching up, distilled the best of the European experience, summarised it, and integrated it. His writings can be seen as a synthesis of the accelerated development of Bulgarian literature and as an appeal for its integration in the European tradition. It intertwines European literary trends, themes and genres, refracted through the prism of the national ideological needs and reception possibilities.

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⁵ Арнаудов, Михаил. Предговор към първото издание. В: Ив. Шишманов, *Иван Вазов. Спомени и документи*. София, Български писател, 1976, с. 42. [Arnaudov, Mihail. Predgovor kam parvoto izdanie. V: Iv. Shishmanov. *Ivan Vazov. Spomeni i dokumenti*. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1976, p. 42]

⁶ Арнаудов, Михаил. *Предговор...* Цит. съч., с. 21. [Arnaudov, Mihail. *Predgovor...* Op. cit., s. 21.]

⁷ Ibidem, c. 18.

⁸ Шишманов, Иван. Иван Вазов... Цит. съч., с. 242–244. [Shishmanov, Ivan. Ivan Vazov... Op. cit., s. 242-244.]

⁹ Such attacks were levelled at Vazov by Pencho Slaveykov, Ivan Milarov, Dr. Vasil Baldzhev and Dimitar Polyanov.

¹⁰ For more on Velichkov's contribution to the Europeanization of the Bulgarian culture, see: Илиева, Бойка. Културната мисия на Константин Величков за приобщаване към европейската традиция. − Дзяло, 2020, кн. 16. [Ilieva, Boyka. Kulturnata misia na Konstantin Velichkov za priobshtavane kam evropeyskata traditsia. − *Dzyalo*, 2020, no 16.] Available at: http://www.abcdar.com/magazine/XVI/07 Bojka%20Ilieva.pdf

The inclusion of Vazov's works (and through it the inclusion of Bulgarian literature in general) in the European literary tradition can be traced in the various modes of his communication with the national literatures of Western Europe – as a reader, translator, compiler, critic, editor, and author.

Vazov as a reader: the development of his literary-aesthetic taste. In his autobiographical short story, *The Poet's Life as He Himself Presented It to Me* [Животът на поета, както ми го разказа сам той], Vazov accounted for his earliest contact with Western European literary works. It was established through the reception perspective of his mother Saba [Съба] – a literate woman particularly fond of literature. The readings aloud that she organised at home introduced the young poet to exemplary works of Italian literature such as *Pamela maritata (Pamela Married)* by Carlo Goldoni and Giulio Cesare Croce's *Le sottilissime astutie di Bertoldo (Bertoldo)*, as well as French ones like *Les aventures de Télémaque (The Adventures of Telemachus)* by François Fénelon. Although I have referred to those narratives as "exemplary works", they are by no means representative of the respective national literatures, despite being popular in the culture of the Bulgarian Revival. They corresponded to the local readership's horizon of literary expectations, which had not formed fully its aesthetic taste yet, and was basically indifferent to the classics, but welcomed enthusiastically light readings of sentimental and entertaining nature.

Vazov clearly remembered the works studied at the school in Sopot - the short story *The Lady in Black* [Черноносящая госпожа], attributed to Christoph von Schmid, Shakespeare's dramas, and the novel *Le Juif errant* (*The Wandering Jew*) by Eugène Sue. ¹¹ Vazov continued adding to his literary knowledge while he was a teacher in Kalofer, where he discovered Voltaire's works and a French encyclopedia in the impressive school library. The poet regretted that he could not take advantage of this opportunity because he knew "little" French. However, he read voraciously Russian books, which as he confessed, shaped his literary taste during this period of his life. ¹² In Kalofer, with the mediation of the student Dragoy Shopov, he established his first contact with the poetry of Béranger, who became his favourite. In Plovdiv, with the teacher Bogdan Goranov, the future poet continued to study Béranger and got acquainted with the works of Lamartine. The French reader, used by teacher Zafirov, introduced him to the works of Hugo (the drama *Hernani*) and Charles Hubert Millevoye.

In 1868, while working in his father's little shop, Vazov had already been fluent in French and read the French editions of Racine's *Phèdre*, Schiller's *Die Räuber* (*The Robbers*), Diderot's *Le neveu de Rameau* (*Rameau's Nephew*), and Molière's comedies¹³. Later, as a clerk in Svishtov, he was

¹¹ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов...* Цит. съч., с. 75. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov...* Op. cit., s. 75.]

¹² Ibidem, c. 78.

¹³ Ibidem, c. 84.

inspired by Parny's poetry, which is evident from the imitations in his collection of poems *May Posy* [*Μαŭcκα κυμπκα*] written at that time. There followed a period of fascination with popular and less valuable literature while he was working in Galaţi for the Croatian merchant Čučuković. During his spare time, Vazov read "novels of dubious quality" by Ponson du Terrail, Alexandre Dumas, Paul de Kock, etc.¹⁴

As an interpreter for a French engineer in Pernik, the young poet had the opportunity of practising his French. There, in his communication with the Germans in the German boarding house, he learned a little of their language. The acquisition of foreign languages, despite being informal and unsystematic enabled him to get in touch with the literary works of different nationalities. Years later, he told Shishmanov that he had read Russian, French, Italian, and Romanian poetry in their original language, and that he understood Serbian and Croatian with ease.¹⁵

A turning point in Vazov's literary development was the reading of the collection of poems *Les Châtiments (Castigations)*, which Konstantin Velichkov lent him in Svishtov. At that moment, Hugo became the prime example to his work.¹⁶

Vazov was a voracious and discerning reader – with the mediation of different languages he sought not only to educate himself, but also to expand his worldview, to find inspiring examples that would provide starting points in his own work. In the above-mentioned letter to Dr. Krastev, he admitted that his knowledge of the exemplary literary works from different epochs was chaotic and unsystematic.¹⁷ In his conversations with Shishmanov, Vazov mentioned some other authors he knew – the Swedish poet Runeberg¹⁸ and the German poet Klopstock *Der Messias* (*The Messiah*), whom he read in Russian translation, as well as the French fable writer Lebrun, read by Vazov still in Sopot. His literary interests were diverse and had varying duration. His attitude towards some authors remained enthusiastic over the years (Dante, Shakespeare, Heine, Byron), towards others it changed (Hugo, Schiller), still others he could not understand (Verlaine, Shaw), and there were also authors he considered contradictory (Goethe, Zola, Lagerlöf). Arnaudov has concluded that his literary taste favours "everything sublime and pure" in the world and in nature.¹⁹

 $^{^{14}}$ Арнаудов, Михаил. *Какво е за нас Иван Вазов*, Пловдив, Христо Г. Данов, 1970, с. 23. [Arnaudov, Mihail. *Kakvo e za nas Ivan Vazov*. Plovdiv, Hristo G. Danov, 1970, s. 23.]

¹⁵ Шишманов, Иван. Иван Вазов... Цит. съч., с. 243. [Shishmanov, Ivan. Ivan Vazov... Op. cit., s. 243.]

¹⁶ Ibidem, c. 99-100.

¹⁷ Вазов, Иван. Писмо до К. Кръстев. В: *Събрани съчинения в 22 тома. Т. XXI. Писма 1872-1908*. Ред. П. Динеков и др. София, Български писател, 1979, с. 108. [Vazov, Ivan. Pismo do K. Krastev. V: *Sabrani sachineniya v 22 toma. T. XXI. Pisma 1872-1908*. Red. P. Dinekov i dr. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1979, s. 108.]

¹⁸ Despite writing in his native Swedish, Runeberg is considered a Finnish poet.

¹⁹ Арнаудов, Михаил. *Предговор...* Цит. съч., с. 46-47. [Arnaudov, Mihail. *Predgovor...* Op. cit., s. 46-47.]

One can get an idea of the authors who impressed Vazov and touched his soul in the collection of poems *Sounds*, which contains poetic dedications to them. He insisted on explaining that his original intention was not just to name his favourite poets, but to express his "impressions and the personal inspiration" he drew from the works of Goethe, Hugo, Byron, Schiller, Musset, Heine, and Leopardi. Such a revelation expresses his desire to share similar emotional states, to experience the same feelings, in other words – to match the achievements of the great names in European literature.

A similar attempt at self-affirmation can be observed in Vazov's usage of mottoes, carefully selected from the works of distinguished names in world literature. On the one hand, thus he demonstrated his considerable knowledge of the classical and contemporary literary figures, on the other hand, he declared himself as a supporter and follower of their literary inspiration, and their aesthetic ideas and principles. Another important aspect is the role of the motto as a cultural bridge and a means of emancipating his own work by linking it to some significant foreign author. Vazov often used as a motto some verse he had memorised, which explains the inaccuracies, including the linguistic ones, in his quotations of the original. What is important in this case, however, is not the content of the verse, but the connection with the eminent author that such a citation evokes.

Vazov's canon. If one needs to outline the Western European literary works that would belong to 'Vazov's Canon', i.e. the most influential ones according to the horizon of his literary reception, one could trace them in the *Bulgarian Anthology* he compiled together with Konstantin Velichkov (1884), as well as in Vazov's collection of poetry translations *From the Great Poets* (1911).

In their efforts to Europeanise school literature, Vazov and Velichkov included in the first Bulgarian reader 59 works by 41 Western European authors, hitherto inaccessible and unknown to the local reading audience. However, it must be noted that this is the number of affirmed literary examples. The secret presence of other Western European authors among the anonymous literary works in the textbook is quite possible. The popularisation of Western European authors is identified at several different levels – through their works – literary and documentary texts (travel notes, epistolary writings, historical works and reflections) and at the metatextual level (short overviews in footnotes, biographical accounts). The representatives of French literature dominate the edition – 17 authors with 24 works. They are followed in number by the German (11 authors, 19 works) and English (5 authors, 8 works) ones. The Italian (3 authors, 3 works) and Scottish (2 authors, 2 works) representatives come next. Spanish, Portuguese and Danish literature are presented by 1 work each. The strongly preferred French writers are Hugo (4 works), Molière (3), and La Bruyère (3). Most of the German literary works

²⁰ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов...* Цит. съч., с. 243. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov...* Op. cit., s. 243.]

in the edition are those of Schiller (5), Goethe (2), Lessing (2), and Bürger (2). The selection of English authors reveals a preference for Shakespeare, Byron, and Shelley, each one represented by 2 works. While most authors are presented to the readers in footnotes, there are eight specifically emphasised authors about whom individual biographical sketches are provided – five of them are French (Hugo, Voltaire, La Bruyère, Lesage, and Fénelon), one English (Charles Dickens), one Scottish (Walter Scott), and one Spanish (Cervantes).

In his collection, *From the Great Poets* Vazov compiled his translations of exemplary literary works that had captured his attention over the years. Among them, one can find 17 works by 12 authors – French, German, English, and Italian – translated either from the original or through some mediating language. The obvious preference is for Schiller, Heine, Hugo and Shelley, of whom Vazov had translated more than one work. A characteristic feature of Vazov's translations is his tendency to preserve the poetic form of the source text, regardless of whether he was translating the original or a mediating text.²¹

Among the most outstanding examples in Vazov's literary ideas was Dante Alighieri, whose works he knew in their Russian translations. Along with Dante, he valued Petrarch and Tasso, calling the three of them "eternal poets". ²² The list of his favourite Italian authors can be completed with the names of the Romantic poet Giacomo Leopardi and his contemporary Giosuè Carducci, who was also considered a national poet in his homeland. Mikhail Madzharov has also acknowledged Vazov's interest in Carducci's poetry, and Vazov himself told Shishmanov that he had read the collection of poems *Odi barbare* (*The Barbarian Odes*) in the original. ²³ In 1882, Vazov wrote the poem *Leopardi*, in which he tried to compare the worldly grief and emotional discomfort, which is characteristic of the Italian romantic's poetry with his own troubles and disappointments.

Vazov was convinced that writing should not be just for fun, but the poet should fulfill the social mission of teaching his readers. Despite the fact that he was not an ardent admirer of Goethe, he was guided by his view of the relevance of literature and the "requirement of the day". ²⁴ This also explains his preference for authors with an active civic position, regarding current events, like Hugo, Béranger, and Carducci.

²¹ Милетич-Букурещлиева, Мария. Поетическите преводи на Вазова. В: *Иван Вазов. Живот и творчество*. София, П. Глушков, 1921, с. 179. [Miletich-Bukureshtlieva, Maria. Poeticheskite prevodi na Vazova. V: *Ivan Vazov. Zhivot i tvorchestvo*. Red. St. Romanski. Sofia, P. Glushkov, 1921, p. 179.]

²² Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов...* Цит. съч., с. 241. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov...* Op. cit., s. 241.]

²³ Маджаров, Михаил. *Спомени*. София, Български писател, 1968, с. 746. [Madzharov, Mihail. *Spomeni*. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1968, s. 746.]; Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов*... Цит. съч., с. 242. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov*... Op. cit., s. 242.]

²⁴ Арнаудов, Михаил. *Предговор...* Цит. съч., с. 44. [Arnaudov, Mihail. *Predgovor...* Op. cit., s. 44.]

Literary influences. In 1895, in the short story *In My Own Interest* [3a моята си черга] Vazov declared his literary influences. The impetus was external – accusations of plagiarism in the novelette *Mitrofan and Dormidolsky* (1881). However, this text revealed a more interesting detail – Vazov outlined the geography of his literary influences, which defined the Western influence as dominant. He identified as his models the three magi of Western European romanticism – Hugo, Byron, and Heine, who had had a "beneficial impact" on him.²⁵

About twenty years later, in Shishmanov's family survey, Vazov put Hugo in the first place among his favourite writers again.²⁶ The works of the French romantic served as a source of ideas about a great many of Vazov's works, including the masterpieces *Under the Yoke* and *Epic of the Forgotten*.²⁷ The author himself mentioned some reminiscences of Hugo in his collections of poems *The Sorrows of Bulgaria*, *Deliverance*, *Gusle*, and *Dissonances* [*Тъгите на България*, *Избавление*, *Гусла*, Дисонанси].²⁸ The borrowings from and influences of the French author have been traced in detail by a number of researchers.²⁹ Vazov liked to rely on Hugo's authority and often quoted him in his works – as a motto, a mentioning, or a reference to his works and characters. According to some statistics, almost one third of his poems with a motto from a foreign author contain a verse by Hugo.³⁰

However, the attitude of the Bulgarian poet towards the French one was not rigid. Regarding the history of writing the poem *Victor Hugo*, Vazov distinguished himself from his prestigious role model for the first time. He demarcated the main dividing line between them with regard to the theme of love, "blaming" the French poet for "having written little about love" and relying more on the effect of impressive phrases.³¹ This provokes the reasonable question of whether Vazov might not have been acquainted with his idol's love lyric, or it was just his desire to differentiate himself from him and emancipate his creative principles that had motivated such a statement.

In Bulgarian literary studies, not few attempts have been made to interpret the two authors in parallel. The common denominator between them has been seen in the long creative development, their work in all literary genres, the common themes of nationalism, adoration of the great figures in

²⁵ Вазов, Иван. За моята си черга. В: *Събрани съчинения в 22 тома. Т. VIII. Драски и шарки. Видено и чуто.* Ред. П. Динеков и др. София, Български писател, 1976, с. 223. [Vazov, Ivan. Za moyata si cherga. V: *Sabrani sachineniya v 22 toma. T. VIII. Draski i sharki. Videno i chuto.* Red. P. Dinekov i dr. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1976, s. 223.]

²⁶ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов*... Цит. съч., с. 372. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov*... Op. cit., s. 372.]

²⁷ Ibidem, c. 232.

²⁸ Ibidem, c. 226-227, 231, 248.

²⁹ Митов, Д. Б. Иван Вазов и Виктор Юго. В: Годишник на Висшия институт за театрално изкуство. Т. VI. София, ДИ "Наука и изкуство", 1960, с. 1-23. [Mitov, D. B. Ivan Vazov i Viktor Yugo. V: Godishnik na Visshiya institut za teatralno izkustvo. T. VI. Sofia, DI "Nauka i izkustvo", 1960, s. 1-23.]; Бояджиев, Пирин. Вазов и Юго. Силистра, 1999, 132 с. [Boyadzhiev, Pirin. Vazov i Yugo. Silistra, 1999, 132 s.]

³⁰ Бояджиев, Пирин. Вазов и Юго... Цит. съч., с. 78. [Boyadzhiev, Pirin. Vazov i Yugo... Op. cit., s. 78.]

³¹ Шишманов, Иван. Иван Вазов... Цит. съч., с. 243. [Shishmanov, Ivan. Ivan Vazov... Op. cit., s. 243.]

the national history, love of nature, the attitude of endless optimism³², their status as national poets, their understanding of the constant course of progress³³, the presence of common images (the crucifixion, the mountain), and the living of nature. ³⁴

Vazov connected the influence of Byron with his Plovdiv period. He mentioned the presence of Byronism in his works and shared that his poem *Zihra* was written after reading *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*.³⁵ The oriental elements in Vazov's poem create the exotic atmosphere so cherished by the romantics, and the longing and sadness for the bygone days bring dissatisfaction comparable to some extent to the melancholy and worldly grief of the Romantics. Milena Tsaneva has noted that the poet does not seem convincing "in the role of a grief-stricken Byronic hero" and remains far from "the dark Byronic romance". Apart from some general romantic requisites, one can hardly speak of any real resemblance between the two poems. Vitana Kostadinova has noticed a certain similarity in terms of plot between Vazov's work and the poem *The Giaour* with difference in the narrative techniques. She has paid attention to the dialogue of the two poems dedicated to Byron with his original works as an act of self-affirmation through an association with some world-renowned authors.³⁷

Despite the fact that when it comes to literary preferences and influences, Vazov's name is most often related to that of Hugo, in fact the writer who remained his undisputed favourite for life was Heine. His early acquaintance with the work of the German romantic is evidenced by the fact that the considered first printed poem by Vazov (*Pine*) [*Bop*] was an imitation of Heine's work. Vazov claimed that he knew Heine from Russian translations and appreciated his wit, easiness, and sophistication. He revealed that it had been under the influence of *Vitzli-Putzli* that he had written his poem *My Neighbor Gmitra* [*Moята съседка Гмитра*]. Regardless of the plot discrepancy and the ideological irrelevance, a certain closeness can be observed between the comic poem and Heine's work in the "poetic sophistication of its irony". 39

A better basis for comparison are the poems *In the Kingdom of the Fairies* [В царството на самодивите] and Heine's poetic epic *Deutschland*. Ein Wintermärchen (Germany, a Winter's Tale) united by the common motif of the romantic escape in the past. Vazov himself acknowledged the

 $^{^{32}}$ Митов, Д. Б. Вазов и Юго. – *Развигор*, 1921, бр. 36, с. 4. [Mitov, D. B. Vazov i Yugo. – *Razvigor*, 1921, no 36, p. 4.]

³³ Митов, Д. Б. *Вазов и Юго...* Цит. съч., с. 4. [Mitov, D. B. Vazov i Yugo... Op. cit, s. 4.]; Бобчев, Илия. Иван Вазов и Виктор Юго. – В: *Мир*, 1935, бр. 10469, с. 3. [Bobchev, Iliya. Ivan Vazov i Viktor Yugo. – *Mir*, 1935, no 10469, s. 3.]

³⁴ Бояджиев, Пирин. Вазов и Юго... Цит. съч., с. 123-131. [Boyadzhiev, Pirin. Vazov i Yugo... Op. cit., s. 123-131.]

³⁵ Шишманов, Иван. Иван Вазов... Цит. съч., с. 244. [Shishmanov, Ivan. Ivan Vazov... Op. cit., s. 244.]

 $^{^{36}}$ Цанева, Милена. Поемите на Иван Вазов. — *Литературна мисъл*, 1965, кн. 3, с. 90. [Tsaneva, Milena. Poemite na Ivan Vazov. — *Literaturna misal*, 1965, no 3, s. 90.]

³⁷ Костадинова, Витана. *Байрон в български контекст: Следи по пясъка на времето*. Пловдив, Пигмалион, 2009, с. 232. [Kostadinova, V. *Bayron v balgarski kontekst: Sledi po pyasaka na vremeto*. Plovdiv, Pigmalion, 2009, s. 232.]

³⁸ Шишманов, Иван. Иван Вазов... Цит. съч., с. 244. [Shishmanov, Ivan. Ivan Vazov... Op. cit., s. 244.]

³⁹ Цанева, Милена. *Поемите...* Цит. съч., с. 88. [Tsaneva, Milena. *Poemite...* Op. cit., s. 88.]

existence of some parallels between the two works, after noting that his poem was influenced by Heine's. ⁴⁰ The similarities are evident even at the genre level, in the motif of the road, and in the identical episodes featuring mythological characters from the past – Frederick I Barbarossa and Krali Marko. ⁴¹ Tsaneva has explained that one can speak of "creative reminiscences", rather than imitation. She has observed the common in both works use of satire as a romantic technique, and the main difference – in the attitude to the national historical past. ⁴² The strong folklore presence in Vazov's poem, as well as the existence of fairy-tale-fantastic elements, associate it with the poetics of romanticism.

The motif of the romantic escape from reality to the heart of nature can be identified in the travelogue *In the Bowels of the Rhodopes* [*B neðpama na Podonume*], comparable to Heine's travelogue *Die Harzreise* (*The Harz Journey*). Vazov's work reveals some typically romantic conflicts – between civilisation and natural state. The similarities between the two works are noticeable on the thematic and the semantic level, as well as in the appropriation of two of the basic principles of romantic poetics – images and plots from the national folklore, an immersion in the *couleur locale*. One of the fundamental differences is on the border between the present and the past, the real and the fantastic – that is what is missing in Heine, who seems to prefer to immerse himself in the world of his poetic visions, while Vazov remains distant, rational, and analytical. Insofar as he lacked comprehension and perception of authentic romantic philosophy and poetics, the romantic elements in his work can be defined as a kind of "social interpretation of romanticism". ⁴³ Pencho Slaveykov also criticized Vazov for his lack of organic connection with Heine's ideas in his article *Heine in Bulgaria*. ⁴⁴ Dr. Krastev emphasised the fundamental difference in the perception of nature in Vazov's writings

⁴⁰ Вазов, Иван. *Писмо*... Цит. съч., с. 108. [Vazov, Ivan. Pismo... Op. cit., s. 108.]

⁴¹ Stajčeva, E. Ivan Vazovs Heine – Rezeption, dargestellt am Poem "Im Reich der Feen". B: Българо-немски литературни и културни взаимоотношения през XVIII и XIX век. София, Издателство на БАН, 1985, с. 289-303. [Stajčeva, Emilija. Ivan Vazovs Heine – Rezeption, dargestellt am Poem "Im Reich der Feen". V: Balgaro-nemski literaturni i kulturni vzaimootnosheniya prez XVIII i XIX vek. Sofia, Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1985, s. 289-303.]

⁴² Цанева, Милена. Поемите на Иван Вазов. – *Литературна мисъл*, 1965, кн. 4, с. 97. [Tsaneva, Milena. Poemite na Ivan Vazov. – *Literaturna misal*, 1965, no 4, s. 97.]

⁴³ Гюрова, Светла. "Пътуване по Харц" на Хайнрих Хайне и "В недрата на Родопите" от Иван Вазов. В: *Българо- немски литературни и културни взаимоотношения през XVIII и XIX век*. София, Издателство на БАН, 1985, с. 286287. [Gyurova, Svetla. "Patuvane po Harts" na Haynrih Hayne i "V nedrata na Rodopite" ot Ivan Vazov. V: *Balgaro- nemski literaturni i kulturni vzaimootnosheniya prez XVIII i XIX vek*. Sofia, Izdatelstvo na BAN, 1985, s. 286-287.]

⁴⁴ Славейков, Пенчо. *Събрани съчинения в 8 тома. Т. V. Критика и обществени въпроси. Очерци. Пътеписи.* Ред. Б. Делчев. София, Български писател, 1959, с. 263. [Slaveykov, Pencho. *Sabrani sachineniya v 8 toma. T. V . Kritika i obshtestveni vaprosi. Ochertsi. Patepisi.* Red. B. Delchev. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1959, s. 263.]; Цанева, Милена. Иван Вазов и Хайнрих Хайне. В: *Немско-български културни отношения 1878–1918.* София, УИ "Св. Кл. Охридски", 1988, с. 57. [Tsaneva, Milena. Ivan Vazov i Haynrih Hayne. V: *Nemsko-balgarski kulturni otnosheniya 1878–1918.* Sofia, UI "Sv. Kl. Ohridski", 1988, s. 57.]

and the European romantics, underscoring the lack of a "universal cosmic feeling" in the Bulgarian poet's work. 45

Svetlozar Igov has pointed out two main Western influences on Vazov's fiction – Eugène Sue's sensational plotting and Victor Hugo's romantic plot-building and pathos. ⁴⁶ Vazov himself frequently underscored the lasting impression that Sue's novels had left in his mind, especially *The Wandering Jew*, the impact of which he considered most significant in his works. ⁴⁷ Despite these revelations, critics have underestimated Sue's influence and prefer comparisons with more prestigious authors. ⁴⁸

Vazov shared many of the ideological attitudes of the Enlightenment intellectuals, especially those of Voltaire, whom he openly sympathised with.⁴⁹ The belief in the constant movement of progress and the triumph of justice, the view of history, the opposition to tyranny, the political corruption, and superstition give grounds for speaking of a Voltairean spirit in Vazov's work.⁵⁰

A certain controversy, and perhaps evolution, can be observed in Vazov's attitude to Goethe over the years. He assured Dr. Krastev that he shared his enthusiasm for the German writer, but he felt a greater fondness for *Hermann und Dorothea*, in which he discovered "elevated and unattainably sweet poetry". He explained his reserved attitude towards *Faust* with the observation that "philosophy suffocates poetry". Twenty-seven years later, Vazov expressed his admiration for the "depth and tenderness" of Goethe's lyric. At this time, he spoke with enthusiasm about Goethe's tragedy and even claimed that he had memorised by heart the episode about Faust's first meeting with Gretchen, which he considered full of beauty. ⁵²

In 1916, Vazov claimed that still in Sopot he had gotten acquainted with the French translation of Schiller's drama *The Robbers*, which greatly fascinated him. He shared that he knew all of Schiller's most significant works. His "spiritual purity" and "sublimity of feelings" were the reason why Vazov preferred him to Goethe.⁵³ Three years later, when he and Shishmanov attended a Bulgarian version of the theatrical play, he found that it had lost its former charm for him.⁵⁴

⁴⁵ Кръстев, Кръстьо. *Етноди. Критика. Рецензии*. София, Български писател, 1978, с. 127. [Krastev, Krastyo. *Etyudi. Kritika. Retsenzii*. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1978, s. 127.]

⁴⁶ Игов, Светлозар. *История на българската литература*. София, Сиела, 2001, с. 302. [Igov, Svetlozar. *Istoriya na balgarskata literatura*. Sofia, Siela, 2001, s. 302.]

⁴⁷ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов*... Цит. съч., с. 76. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov*... Op. cit., s. 76.]

⁴⁸ Аретов, Николай. Какво стои зад (желанието за) сравнение. В: Голямото вписване или какво сравнява сравнителното литературознание. Съст. Р. Станчева. София, УИ "Св. Климент Охридски", 2009, с. 43. [Aretov, Nikolay. Kakvo stoi zad (zhelanieto za) sravnenie, V: Golyamoto vpisvane ili kakvo sravnyava sravnitelnoto literaturoznanie. Sast. R. Stancheva. Sofia, UI "Sv. Kliment Ohridski", 2009, s. 43.]

⁴⁹ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов.*.. Цит. съч., с. 184. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov...* Op. cit., s. 184.]

⁵⁰ Бояджиев, Пирин. Вазов и Юго... Цит. съч., с. 54-55. [Boyadzhiev, Pirin. Vazov i Yugo... Op. cit., s. 54-55.]

⁵¹ Вазов, Иван. *Писмо*... Цит. съч., с. 108. [Vazov, Ivan. Pismo... Op. cit., s. 108.]

⁵² Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов...* Цит. съч., с. 243. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov...* Op. cit., s. 243.]

⁵³ Ibidem, c. 244.

⁵⁴ Ibidem, c. 183.

The change of Vazov's literary taste in some cases demonstrated his hesitation of certain former influences (Hugo, Schiller), and in other cases it was oriented to acceptance and admiration for works to which he had been reserved before (Goethe). The basic contradiction here is that Vazov got "cooler" towards Schiller and loved Goethe, despite his earlier claim that he had always preferred Schiller.⁵⁵

Critical reception. Vazov expressed his critical attitude towards some European authors and works in various texts – articles, reviews, and announcements – about some newly published book by a famous author, the Bulgarian translation of a European classical work, and news about the anniversary or death of some writer. They appeared in publications such as *A Ray, Venus, People's Voice, Dawn*, and *Science* [Лъча, Денница, Народний глас, Зора, Наука]. As a publicist, Vazov demonstrated a wide horizon of literary interests. He wrote about French (Lesage, Hugo, Dumas, Alphonse Karr), German (Goethe, Schiller), English, Spanish, and Portuguese authors. The published materials reveal that he followed the European cultural scene with a keen interest and tried to post upto-date information about personalities and events. Some publications are more general, such as *Theatrical Censorship in France* and *The History of "La Marseillaise"*, while others are secular chronicles – about Hugo's health habits, the marriage of Hugo's granddaughter to Alphonse Daudet's son, etc. Along with his interest in the European cultural centres' literary life, Vazov was also excited about the Europeanisation of his own national culture. He paid special attention to the translation reception of foreign literatures, promptly informed about any forthcoming or newly published translation pointing out its advantages and disadvantages.

It is those journalistic texts that reveal Vazov's dual attitude towards Émile Zola – on the one hand, he appreciated his talent and acknowledged his great popularity, but on the other hand, he did not approve of the liberated depiction of morals in his works. Vazov explained the novelist's success with the specific tastes of the French society, which craved "scandalous moral unrest". At the same time, he shared his admiration for the other eminent representative of French naturalism, Maupassant, whom he called a "master". 57

Vazov's acclaim of the great importance of the social and moral role of the author has already been mentioned. That is why he considered the motto "l'art pour l'art" unacceptable and strange.⁵⁸ When one day in 1919 he refused to attend the play *Candida*, he admitted that he did not like or

⁵⁵ Ibidem, c. 244.

⁵⁶ Вазов, Иван. Новий роман на Емил Зола. В: *Събрани съчинения в 22 тома. Т. XIX. Критика и публицистика 1877-1885*. Ред. П. Динеков и др. София, Български писател, 1979, с. 515-516. [Vazov, Ivan. Noviy roman na Emil Zola. V: *Sabrani sachineniya v 22 toma. T. XIX. Kritika i publitsistika 1877-1885*. Red. P. Dinekov i dr. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1979, s. 515-516.]

⁵⁷ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов...* Цит. съч., с. 193. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov...* Op. cit., s. 193.]

⁵⁸ Ibidem, c. 208.

understand Shaw because he hated "everything dark and paradoxical". ⁵⁹ Even distinguished authors, whose ideological messages were alien to him, were met with his distancing and even disapproval. Vazov's intolerance to Verlaine and the Symbolists was, in fact, intolerance to all authors "in whose works he perceived something abnormal and vulgar oriented". 60 For the same reason, a number of modern dramas staged in Sofia were met with his disapproval – Erde (Earth) by Karl Schönherr, Adam, Eva und die Schlange (Adam, Eve and the Snake) by Paul Eger, Dödsdansen (Dance of Death) by Strindberg. Vazov was sceptical of the perceptive abilities of the Bulgarian audience, which was accustomed to romantic dramas, in the fashion of Ibsen's plays. 61 He demonstrated a similar attitude to the other famous representative of the modern Scandinavian drama – Strindberg. Vazov's scathing critique of the staging of his play was the result of the great cultural discrepancy between the two authors, although chronologically they were contemporaries.⁶² Despite his reserved attitude towards the two Scandinavian playwrights, Shishmanov declared Vazov's interest in contemporary Scandinavian literature, and more precisely in the work of Selma Lagerlöf. However, in his attitude to the Swedish writer, one can again observe a certain contradiction, given the not-so-flattering opinion about her novel Jerusalem he had expressed months earlier, pointing out numerous boring descriptions.⁶³

Vazov's reticence regarding modern literature was an expression of his distancing from modern art in general. He did not like or understand modern music (Wagner) and preferred the classics such as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Bizet, especially Haydn.⁶⁴ It is not difficult to assume that he treated Nietzsche in a similar manner – with misunderstanding, which is why he considered it enough just to "browse" through the Bulgarian translation of *Also sprach Zarathustra* (*Thus Spoke Zarathustra*).⁶⁵

Vazov also expressed his communication with the literatures of Western Europe in an indirect way, through his characters. Depending on their reading horizon, they speak the author's literary impressions directly or like a caricature. The act of reading and experiencing the literary work is depicted in the short story *The Flood* [*Hasoднението*] (in the collection *Drawings and Patterns*) [Драски и шарки], in which the sensitive Miss Militsa Arsenieva is finishing reading "the most

⁵⁹ Ibidem, c. 172.

⁶⁰ Арнаудов, Михаил. *Предговор...* Цит. съч., с. 47. [Arnaudov, Mihail. *Predgovor...* Op. cit., s. 47.]

⁶¹ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов...* Цит. съч., с. 383. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov...* Op. cit., s. 383.]

⁶² Цанева, Милена. *Иван Вазов. Изследвания и прочити*. София, УИ "Св. Кл. Охридски", 2012, с. 533. [Tsaneva, Milena. *Ivan Vazov. Izsledvaniya i prochiti*. Sofia, UI "Sv. Kl. Ohridski", 2012, s. 533.]

⁶³ Шишманов, Иван. *Иван Вазов*... Цит. съч., с. 150. [Shishmanov, Ivan. *Ivan Vazov*... Op. cit., s. 150.]

⁶⁴ Ibidem, c. 168, 195.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, c. 193.

entertaining and captivating" chapter of Dumas' novel *La Dame de Monsoreau*. ⁶⁶ Vazov created a whole world of reading characters, and the content of their libraries (e.g. Kandov's and Mr. Fratu's) is symptomatic of the author's own ideological suggestions. ⁶⁷ Another interesting phenomenon is the quoting character, who "observes the world through the eyes of literature". ⁶⁸ Many of Vazov's works are inhabited by such characters – *Under the Yoke, Uncles, Hadji Achilles, New Land, Unloved and Unwanted*, and *Mitrofan and Dormidolsky* [Под игото, Чичовци, Хаджи Ахил, Нова земя, Немилинедраги, Митрофан и Дормидолски]. They wholeheartedly cite or mention Voltaire, Heine, Byron, Sue, Hugo, Shakespeare, Goethe, etc.

The present text has presented the main modes in Vazov's communication with Western European literatures. Emphasising the Western influence in his work, he pointed out his models, constantly comparing himself to them, borrowing themes and motifs, genres and means of expression. Vazov managed to develop as a contemporary author – relevant to the native ideological and cultural context, but integrating the European literary achievements in his work. He lived in the Bulgarian present, but at the same time he tried to be "in sync with" the European literary time.

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⁶⁶ Вазов, Иван. Наводнението. В: Събрани съчинения в 22 тома. Т. VIII. Драски и шарки. Видено и чуто. Ред. П. Динеков и др. София, Български писател, 1976, с. 144. [Vazov, Ivan. Sabrani sachineniya v 22 toma. T. VIII. Draski i sharki. Videno i chuto. Red. P. Dinekov i dr. Sofia, Balgarski pisatel, 1976, s. 144.]

⁶⁷Антов, Пламен. Библиотеката на Кандов или за литературното несъзнавано на "Под игото" като националноепопеен роман. В: Дългият осемнадесети век. Т. III. Книгите като събития в Европа и Османската империя (XVII–XIX век). Ред. Н. Александрова, Р. Заимова, А. Алексиева. София, 2020, с. 228-246. [Antov, Plamen. Bibliotekata na Kandov ili za literaturnoto nesaznavano na "Pod igoto" kato natsionalnoepopeen roman. V: Dalgiyat osemnadeseti vek. Т. III. Knigite kato sabitiya v Evropa i Osmanskata imperiya (XVII–XIX vek). Red. N. Aleksandrova, R. Zaimova, A. Aleksieva. Sofia, 2020, s. 228-246.]; Ракьовски, Цветан. Вазов. Разделението на езиците. В. Търново, Фабер, 2021, 118 с. [Rakyovski, Tsvetan. Vazov. Razdelenieto na ezitsite. V. Tarnovo, Faber, 2021, 118 s.]

⁶⁸ Георгиев, Никола. *Пропасти и мостове на междутекстовостта*. Пловдив, УИ "Паисий Хилендарски", 1999, с. 107. [Georgiev, Nikola. *Propasti i mostove na mezhdutekstovostta*. Plovdiv, UI "Paisiy Hilendarski", 1999, s. 107.]

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