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From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the
Jewish Campe
The Beginning of Hebrew Children's
Literature in Germany

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INTRODUCTION

Hebrew children's literature began to develop in Germany in the framework of the Jewish Enlightenment movement (*Haskalah*) in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and the first decades of the nineteenth and was the outcome of complex societal and cultural factors. This is why its pattern of development and the structure of its inventory should be examined in the light of a complex net of relationships: its relations with German children's literature, its function in the Jewish Enlightenment movement and in particular in modern Jewish education, its need to overcome children's reading of Yiddish and later its need to combat the preference for German culture in general and German children's books in particular.

The study of this forgotten chapter in the history of Hebrew culture is still in its initiative steps, and it will take years to accomplish. The study faces many difficulties because of its need to reconstruct an inventory the remnants of which had been destroyed during the Holocaust, but even long before that had ceased to exist as a living inventory. Moreover, except for the books themselves (of which a great part is lost for ever), very little evidence with regard to the circumstances of their creation is available. Many of the questions concerning the scope and dimensions of this fine chapter of Hebrew culture seem to be left open.*

Another difficulty results from the complicated, even paradoxical, course of

development: It seems to me, at this stage of my research,[1] that in less than two generations, Hebrew children's literature had totally changed its direction; from being an exclusive product of the Enlightenment movement, it was more and more written and absorbed by its opponents, namely the religious circles of the New Orthodoxy. At first it was aimed at the offspring of the Enlightenment circles who composed an economic and cultural élite. However, since most of those children were enrolled in German schools and became culturally assimilated, they could not fulfil for Hebrew books the function of a readership. As far as the newly written Hebrew books for children were concerned this had an immediate impact. The books could not reach their intended audience, who preferred to read books in German, a language that became either their mother tongue or their second language. On the other hand, the new network of schools of the Enlightenment movement was often populated by children of other strata than the élite: those whose parents sent them to study in these schools not because they identified with the ideology of the Enlightenment movement, but because the schools were free. These children never became a real reader potential for the new books in Hebrew.

Since Hebrew children's literature in Germany had based the demand for its books for children on ideological premises, this situation created an unbearable state of affairs for its existence. The lack of a real source of readers could have meant its destruction before it even began to develop. This would most likely have been the case, had it not been for a new audience that began to emerge. While Hebrew children's literature was losing its intended audience in less than two generations, a new audience grew out of an unexpected source: the circles of the New Orthodoxy.

The Enlightenment movement did not leave the Orthodox circles indifferent to the new developments in the field of education. They reacted to the upheaval in Jewish history by establishing their own schools where subjects other than Talmud were taught. For the children of these religious circles new books were required. They created once more a demand for books for children which had a religious teaching but nevertheless would be written according to a different model from that of traditional religious books for children.

Hence, a paradoxical process took place: after the Hebrew language had been neglected by the second generation of the Enlightenment movement, it was taken over by Orthodox Jews who were opposed to the Enlightenment but continued the course of development initiated by it. This resulted in a demand for Hebrew books for children and preserved writing in Hebrew for them even after the centre of Hebrew culture had been transferred to Eastern Europe.

A full survey of the development of Hebrew children's literature in Germany cannot ignore these two contradictory trends of development. However, my current discussion will be limited to the description of the development of

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Hebrew children's literature within the Enlightenment movement. That is to say, until the transfer of the cultural centre to Eastern Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century.

While the inquiry into the history of Hebrew children's literature is still in its early stages and many of the hypotheses to be advanced here are only working hypotheses, the background for this study, namely the history of Jewish education in Germany, and to a larger extent, the history of the Jewish Enlightenment movement, has been thoroughly researched. The excellent studies by Katz,[2] Liberles,[3] Eliav and Elboim,[4] Kober,[5] Levin,[6] Stern-Taeubler,[7] Reinharz and Schatzberg,[8] serve as a reliable foundation for this study which otherwise stands on such shaky soil. This article will be based on the above-mentioned works and will focus mainly on the motivations and legitimisations of Hebrew children's literature at its inception. It will present here its main characteristics and patterns of development and then describe some specific cases in more detail.

CIRCUMSTANCES OF EMERGENCE

The history of Hebrew children's literature is a history of delayed development, regressions and "ab-normal" processes, as shown in the works of Even-Zohar[9] and Ofek.[10] Hebrew children's literature took its first steps when European children's literature was in a rather advanced stage and was rapidly approaching its so-called "Golden Age". At that time (the end of the eighteenth century, the beginning of the nineteenth) European children's literature in general, and German children's literature in particular, had already been recognised as a cultural institution with a hundred years of history; the systems of various

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[1] At the current stage of research I deal only with the children's books of the Enlightenment movement. Even this study is still in its initial phase. Hence many of the hypotheses, and especially those concerning the relations with the Yiddish system, are, as is indicated later on, for the time being only working hypotheses.

[2] Jacob Katz, *Die Entstehung der Judenassimilation in Deutschland und deren Ideologie*, Inaugural-Dissertation, Frankfurt a. Main 1935; idem, *Out of the Ghetto. The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation 1770–1870*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973 (enlarged Hebrew version: Tel-Aviv 1986).

[3] Robert Liberles, 'Was There a Jewish Movement for Emancipation in Germany?', and 'Emancipation and the Structure of the Jewish Community in the Nineteenth Century', both in *LBI Year Book XXXI* (1986), pp. 35–67.

[4] Mordechai Eliav, *Jewish Education in Germany in the Period of Enlightenment and Emancipation*, Jerusalem 1960 (in Hebrew); Rachel Elboim-Dror, *Hebrew Education in Eretz Israel*, vol. I: 1854–1914, Jerusalem 1986 (in Hebrew).

[5] Adolf Kober, 'Emancipation's Impact on the Education and Vocational Training of German Jewry', *Jewish Social Studies*, vol. 16 (1954), pp. 3–33.

[6] Mordechai Levin, *Social and Economic Values. The Idea of Professional Modernisation in the Ideology of the Haskalah Movement*, Jerusalem 1975 (in Hebrew).

[7] Selma Stern-Taeubler, 'The Jew in the Transition from Ghetto to Emancipation', *Historia Judaica*, vol. 2;2 (1940) pp. 102–119; idem, 'Der literarische Kampf um die Emanzipation in den Jahren 1816–1820 und seine ideologischen und soziologischen Voraussetzungen', *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. xxiii, Part ii (1950–1951), pp. 171–196.

[8] Jehuda Reinharz, Walter Schatzberg (eds.), *The Jewish Response to German Culture. From the Enlightenment to the Second World War*, Hanover–London 1985.

[9] Itamar Even-Zohar, *Papers on Historical Poetics*, Tel-Aviv 1978, especially: 'Interference in Dependent Literary Polysystems', pp. 54–62; 'Israeli Hebrew Literature. A Historical Model', pp. 75–94.

[10] Uriel Ofek, *Hebrew Children's Literature. The Beginnings*, Tel-Aviv 1979 (in Hebrew).

European children's literatures became both heterogeneous and stratified. (For the history of German children's literature, one has to consult especially Brüggemann,[11] Grenz,[12] Ewers,[13] Hurrelmann,[14] Baumgärtner,[15] Dyrenfurth,[16] Wegehaupt,[17] Scheunemann[18] and Schmidt[19]).

Hebrew children's literature, on the other hand, began to develop only from that point. This delay was rooted in the peculiar circumstances of the development of Hebrew literature which involved the special status of Hebrew language as the language of high culture and the multi-territorial existence of Hebrew literature; a situation which came to an end only when the centre of Hebrew literature was transferred to Palestine in the late twenties of the twentieth century.

Furthermore, the Hebrew texts were written for children whose mother tongue was not Hebrew. The intended audience for those books were children who came to study in the new network of schools the Enlightenment movement had established in Germany between the years 1780–1850 (several schools continued to exist even later, some remained active until the Second World War). The number of Jewish pupils in those years never exceeded, during the entire period, a couple of thousand. According to Eliav,[20] the average number of pupils in the Berlin school between the years 1800–1813 did not go beyond 55. The school in Breslau, which was opened in 1791, had in its first year 120 pupils, but their number declined to 90 in the second year and never went up again. The entire number of pupils in Jewish schools in 1807 (including girls) was around 440, and in 1812 about 900 children studied in the schools of the Enlightenment movement. My purpose in mentioning all these data is only to point to the incredible discrepancy between the number of books and the number of their readers. This ratio is more than puzzling. In spite of the fact that a reconstruction of an entire inventory seems to be an impossible task, one can still trace a couple of hundred books. The ratio implies that there were almost as many books as children who could read them. It makes it quite clear why it is impossible to account for the development of Hebrew children's literature in terms of a real demand under normal market conditions (which was partially the case with

[11]Theodor Brüggemann, in Zusammenarbeit mit Hans-Heino Ewers, *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Von 1750 bis 1800*, Stuttgart 1982.

[12]Dagmar Grenz, *Mädchenliteratur. Von den moralisch-belehrenden Schriften im 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Herausbildung der Backfischliteratur im 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1981.

[13]Hans-Heino Ewers (Hrsg.), *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung*, Stuttgart 1980.

[14]Bettina Hurrelmann, *Jugendliteratur und Bürgerlichkeit*, Paderborn 1974.

[15]Alfred Clemens Baumgärtner, *Das nützliche Vergnügen. Goethe, Campe und die Anfänge der Kinderliteratur in Deutschland*, Würzburg 1977.

[16]Irene Dyrenfurth, *Geschichte des deutschen Jugendbuches*, Zürich–Freiburg [3]1976.

[17]Heinz Wegehaupt, *Vorstufen und Vorläufer der deutschen Kinder- und Jugendliteratur bis zur Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1977.

[18]Beate Scheunemann, *Erziehungsmittel Kinderbuch. Zur Geschichte der Ideologievermittlung in der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*, Berlin 1978.

[19]Egon Schmidt, *Die deutsche Kinder- und Jugendliteratur von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin (East), 1974.

[20]Eliav, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

European children's literature, as I have shown elsewhere[21]). On the other hand, it only puts more weight on the role of ideology in this development.

IDEOLOGY AS A SOLE BASIS

The basis for the development of Hebrew children's literature in Germany was the ideology of the Enlightenment movement which created a demand for books for children. As is well known, the Enlightenment movement firmly believed in the importance of "secular" culture and philosophy, whose acquisition could be achieved by rational education. Hence the adherents of the movement turned to a change in the curriculum, regarded as the main means for shaping a new mode of Jewish life. This change was put into practice in the new network of schools, where a demand for new and different books was created.

This demand was a totally new phenomenon in the history of the Jews in Germany and later on in Eastern Europe (though it is true that similar developments took place among Sephardi communities in Amsterdam, Bordeaux and Hamburg even earlier (as has been demonstrated by Machmann-Melkmann[22]). Until then children were taught Hebrew in order to enable them to read the holy books and the Talmud. The deliberate production of Hebrew texts for a non-religious use as children's reading was an entirely new idea and consequently a totally new cultural institution. Furthermore, this was an artificial creation because it was not based on the usual premise of demand and supply, and fulfilled the demand of writing much more than the demand of reading.

It was, then, ideology that served as the main motivating force in the creation of Hebrew children's literature over more than a century and determined its distinguishing features, including of course the selection of certain texts as well as the prohibition of others.

The choice of Hebrew as the language of the books was also a result of ideological decision. This decision was neither automatic nor self-evident. It is true that Moses Mendelssohn had considered the Hebrew language a national treasure, but already in his time his devoted pupil and adherent, David Friedländer, had a different view and regarded German as the preferable language. Hence, it was from the very beginning that the production of books for Jewish children involved two opposing trends: the "Hebrew" and the "German". The latter was unequivocally demonstrated in the very first Jewish book for children, David Friedländer's *Lesebuch für jüdische Kinder*.[23] This book was written in German, and except for a copper plate engraving which presented the Hebrew

[21]Zohar Shavit, *Poetics of Children's Literature*, Athens–London 1986. Especially chapter six: 'The Model of Development of Canonized Children's System', pp. 133–157.

[22]Yoseph Machmann-Melkmann, 'First Fruit of Education', *Leshonenu La-Am*, vol. 18 (1967), pp. 84–88 (in Hebrew).

[23]David Friedländer, *Ein Lesebuch für jüdische Kinder*, Berlin 1779. For a description of this book see: Moritz Stern, *Lesebuch für jüdische Kinder, mit Einleitung*, Berlin 1927; Zohar Shavit, *The Last Search for the Jewish-German Enlightenment Jew: David Friedländer's Lesebuch für jüdische Kinder* (in preparation).

letters, Hebrew was not used. Friedländer's attempt was characterised by its effort to find Jewish equivalents for German elements, in other words, to choose from the available Jewish heritage only those elements that could carry functions which were carried by similar elements in German children's literature.

During the first period Friedländer's attempt was an exception rather than the rule. It was defeated by the other tendency, namely that of "Hebrew". The Hebrew tendency, which prevailed during the first generation of writers for children, endeavoured either to translate German texts into Hebrew, or to follow German models in the writing of Hebrew texts. However, in spite of the fact that the Hebrew tendency succeeded at first, it declined when the entire Hebrew centre declined, and gave way to the German tendency some decades later. It is true that school books in Hebrew continued to be written for those children who studied in the Jewish schools, but they were no longer part of an effort to create Hebrew culture in Germany. Once the Enlightenment movement declined, Hebrew children's literature as well as the Hebrew literature itself, did not any longer have a cultural justification in Germany. It continued to develop first at the periphery of Germany and later on in Eastern Europe, where the Hebrew cultural centre had been transferred.

In Germany, the process of abandoning Hebrew in favour of German already began with the second generation of writers and dominated the third and the fourth generations of the Jewish Enlightenment movement. Jewish writers in Germany gave up Hebrew and began to write books in German for Jewish children. This process reached its peak when Jewish writers, who regarded themselves as Germans, wrote books for children in the German language, without differentiating between Jewish and non-Jewish children.

However, at first the ideological trend which promoted the "Hebrew" tendency did prevail and was responsible for the production of books for children. Its decline later on was not a result of market constraints, but simply the victory of another trend of ideology. Ideology was then the governing factor in the development of Hebrew children's literature and its sole basis. As a matter of fact, Hebrew children's literature managed to liberate itself from the exclusive hegemony of ideology only very late, in Palestine, where the commercial factor began to play a role in publishing for children.

Before that time, publishing for children was rarely profitable and was motivated by the wish to use the books as a vehicle for expressing certain values. This hegemony of ideology resulted in the Hebrew children's literature system being for a long time a "defective" system lacking some components which existed in other European children's literature at the time (as has been shown by Even-Zohar[24]). What strikes one in particular is the lack of popular texts whose existence as literature for amusement was inconceivable in terms of Hebrew literature.

The prevailing notion of literature at the time of the Enlightenment resulted in a kind of taboo on certain texts. This was accompanied by a desperate effort to combat Yiddish reading. On the other hand this notion evolved a demand for

[24]Itamar Even-Zohar, 'Polysystem Theory', *Poetics Today*, vol. 1 (1979), pp. 287–310.

didactic texts for children. I would not argue that ideological considerations implied only "destructive" or "negative" consequences for the development of Hebrew children's literature. Quite the contrary, those were factors that actually enabled the very beginning of Hebrew children's literature and supported it for a long time.

The complete reliance of Hebrew children's literature on ideology was responsible for two decisive phenomena in its development:

(a) The prevalence of a concept of children's literature as a main vehicle for distributing ideas (first of the Enlightenment movement, later on of the Renaissance movement).

(b) Hebrew interference with the German texts.

(c) A fight against Yiddish.

Being one of the main products of the Enlightenment movement, it is not surprising that Hebrew children's literature was, in its German period, entirely dependent on German children's literature and had developed in a continuous mode of interference with the German originals. On the other hand, the function of Yiddish literature in this development is indeed surprising. In spite of its enormous hostility towards Yiddish culture and Yiddish literature, the Enlightenment movement could not afford to ignore it, because it had to face children's preference for the reading of popular Yiddish texts over Hebrew texts. These texts attracted children firstly because they were written (at least in some cases) in the children's mother tongue. And secondly, as was the case of the European chapbooks, because they were textually much more attractive. For a rather long time the reading of Yiddish predominated over the reading of Hebrew among children, though this was at no time officially recognised. Afterwards, when children mastered German, the German children's literature predominated over the Hebrew.

However, unlike the case of Yiddish, this move to German literature was officially approved, but it also meant the end of Hebrew children's literature in Germany. It is interesting though to note that even when the cultural centre was transferred to the East, Hebrew children's literature continued to be dependent on German children's literature for quite a long time.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT MOVEMENT AND WRITERS FOR CHILDREN

While the history of European children's literature teaches us that not before the emergence and crystallisation of the concept of childhood could books which were deliberately orientated towards children be written,[25] Hebrew children's literature was in need of something different before it could begin to develop. It had to wait for a considerable change in the concepts of Jewish society, especially those

[25]Cf. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, London 1962; John Rowe Townsend, *Written for Children*, London 1977.

concerning education and the attitude towards the outside world, in order to permit a system of children's books to begin to develop. Only when such a change took place was there room for Hebrew books for children. This is the reason for the relatively late development of Hebrew children's literature. It ensued when European books designed for children had already been in existence for a whole century as an institutionalised phenomenon. It began to develop when German children's literature was on the eve of the Romantic period, leaving behind it the Enlightenment period, which nonetheless, despite this, became godfather to Hebrew children's literature.

Thus, the creation of Hebrew children's literature became possible due to internal societal developments. The Jewish Enlightenment movement was active mainly in the cultural field, and in particular in that of education. The first Hebrew books for children developed out of these activities, and were meant to serve their goals. Due to the strong link between the Jewish and the German Enlightenment movements, German children's books of the German Enlightenment movement had a far-reaching function in the development of the Hebrew genre.

The relations between the two movements have been described and analysed in well-documented and exhaustive studies. It is not our intention here to add anything to this topic, but only to refer to the well-known fact that the connections between the two Enlightenments were especially strong in the field of education. For example: Moses Mendelssohn and Johann Bernhard Basedow used to correspond, and it was Mendelssohn who recommended that the Jews support Basedow in his *Elementarwerk*.[26] Furthermore, the protagonists of the Enlightenment were greatly influenced by ideas of philanthropism in their educational views.[27] Adopting the German Enlightenment movement's attitude towards it, education was regarded as the most important means for speeding up assimilation processes. For the purveyors of the Enlightenment, the *Maskilim*, education was the best venue for achieving the desired synthesis between the Jewish culture and that of the surrounding world.

The protagonists of the Jewish Enlightenment movement occupied themselves continuously with pedagogic issues. *Hame'asef* and *Shulamit* regularly published articles concerning problems of pedagogy, which often cited Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, Campe and to a lesser extent Pestalozzi. Quite a few schools which

were established as an alternative to the traditional system of education, endeavoured to follow in practice the philanthropist model. The schools were established in the cities of the biggest Jewish communities in Germany: Berlin, Frankfurt a. Main, Breslau and Hamburg, but also in small communities such as Wolfenbüttel and Seesen where they were established mainly for children from outside and were initially built as an *Internat*.

Under the influence of the *Philanthropin* they started to preach in favour of returning to nature, to proclaim human happiness as an educational ideal and to emphasise the concepts of beauty, love and physical labour. Special attention was given to the natural sciences, justifying it by religious, moral and aesthetic claims. The influence of the *Philanthropin* system was so strong, that Eliav[28] goes even so far as to claim that the Jews were the first to apply the ideas of the *Philanthropin* to the letter in their schools, even before they were applied in the German schools.

However, as already mentioned, the Enlightenment movement faced many difficulties in attracting pupils to the new network of schools. This fact had a far-reaching effect on the character of the books and determined to a large extent the options for the development of Hebrew children's literature in Germany: more limitations were on the books, and less and less themes and writers were accepted. This is one of the explanations for the rather monolithic character of the books for children and the very limited number of titles chosen for translation. It also explains why the same titles were repeated over and over again. Hebrew writers adopted from the very beginning a limited number of texts and hardly deviated from this fixed repertoire during the entire period. In this sense Hebrew children's literature was very different in its course of development from European children's literature, where a process of intensive stratification took place.

Hebrew writers for children could not afford, for ideological reasons, to adopt later developments in German children's literature and had to remain within the boundaries of the German Enlightenment books for children. Those first writers for children were adherents of the Jewish Enlightenment movement (for instance, Yehuda Ben-Sew, Aharon Wolfsohn, Schalom Ha-Cohen, Yizhak Satanow, Marcus Boss, Baruch Schönfeld, Yehuda Yeiteles, Moritz Stein-schneider, Schmuel Fin, Naphtali Wessely and Herz Homberg. They had been active in every field of Hebrew culture and most of them had published their works in the various organs of the Enlightenment movement, such as *Hame'asef* (1784–1797, 1809–1811) and *Bikure Ha-Itim* (1820–1831).[29] As stated already, they hardly ever gained any financial benefit from their writing and more often than not they had to defray the publishing costs. The lack of any financial compensation in writing for children did not prevent them, however, from continuing to produce children's literature which was used to express their ideas and disseminate them by means of these texts. If one looks at the question from the writer's point of view, writers must have been labouring under the strong

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[26]As is well known Basedow and Mendelssohn had been corresponding on philosophical issues. Mendelssohn had sent Basedow his essay, 'Das Daseyn Gottes a priori erwiesen' (Alexander Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn. A Biographical Study*, London 1973, p. 323) and rejected Basedow's notion of a "duty to believe". Their relations stretched also beyond intellectual exchange. Basedow asked Mendelssohn to help him to obtain financial support for his *Philanthropin* in Dessau (and indeed the Jews of Berlin donated 518 Talers to his school). Karl Adolf Schmid (Hrsg.), *Geschichte der Erziehung vom Anfang bis auf unsere Zeit*, Stuttgart 1898. Vierter Bd.: 2, pp. 110–112. In his *Elementarwerk* Basedow devoted almost an entire *Tafel* (80) to Jewish matters. Of the four pictures one is a portrait of Mendelssohn by Chodowiecki (the only portrait to be included in the book), and two pictures that depict the persecution of Jews.

[27]See the excellent article by Ernst Simon on the connections in the field of education, 'Philanthropism and Jewish Education', *Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Book*, New York 1953, pp. 149–187 (in Hebrew).

[28]Eliav, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[29]Cf. Menucha Gilboa, *Hebrew Periodicals in the 19th Century*, Tel-Aviv University, 1986.

influence of ideology and one is tempted to describe them as zealots, as they continued to write books for children in such conditions.

Their views were implicitly expressed in the books themselves, but they were also given explicit expression in the introductions to the books. Here writers' motivations for translating or writing a book were presented. The types of motivation repeat themselves in various books, and are characterised by three formulas. The first two refer to the book's possible contribution to the child's knowledge, while the third one speaks about the writer's experience with the book, which he now wishes to offer to all the Jewish children:

1. As the study of both Hebrew and German was one of the main goals of the Enlightenment education, writers set about emphasising the text's contribution to the learning of the language. Even when a book was written in a different genre from that of a reader (and many of them were indeed meant as readers), a writer would call attention to the linguistic contribution of the book. For instance, in his introduction to *Robinson der Yingere*,[30] Samostz says:

> ". . . and when my dearest boy is grown, I shall order him to find the time to learn this book by heart in both Hebrew and Ashkenaz [German]. And I shall hope that after he has done so, never again will he be ignorant. The book will help him in learning good manners and other Jewish children will see and follow it also."[31]

2. Mastering good manners and learning good morals was another prime aim of the Enlightenment movement, and writers used to stress the likely contribution of the book in this direction as well. Thus for instance, Schalom Ha-Cohen promises in his introduction to *Mishle Agur*,[32] that the book will teach children morals and good manners:

> "And in my love for eloquence and lucidity, and in my care for the children of Israel, in order that they hear morality and learning in an easy and eloquent style, and will learn good manners, I have composed this book and have given it the name *Mishle Agur*. And for those who do not read Hebrew, I have translated it into Ashkenaz, so that they might also read it."[33]

3. The writer has read the book in his youth. The book had greatly impressed him. He wants to translate it into Hebrew, so that those of his readers who are not proficient in German will be able to enjoy it. Thus for instance David Samostz says in his introduction to the translation of *Robinson der Yingere*:

> "As in my youth I have read this book and learned so much of worth from it . . . I have decided to translate it into Hebrew, so that our people in other countries who cannot read Ashkenaz will see that it is indeed not good to prevent their children from reading in this language".[34]

THE READERSHIP

In their *ars poetica* all writers, without exception, speak on behalf of their readers. It was always the welfare of the child which served as their strongest motivation

[30] Breslau 1824.
[31] Introduction to *Robinson der Yingere* (Yiddish title), unpaginated, my translation.
[32] Berlin 1799.
[33] Introduction to *Mishle Agur*, unpaginated, my translation.
[34] Introduction to *Robinson der Yingere*, unpaginated, my translation.

in producing the book. But what was indeed the impact of these children's books on their readership? How did they manage to reach a Jewish child during the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century? In what ways did they really shape his character and determine his future functioning in society and culture? What sort of relations developed between the writers and their intended readers?

The range and the character of the actual readership of the Hebrew books for children is unknown to us and will probably always remain so. Unfortunately I was unable to trace any references to the reading of these books in memoirs or autobiographies. What is left as testimony are some histories of the Jewish schools.[35] According to these sources it is possible to characterise the nature of the readership as follows:

1. The books addressed children whose native language was not Hebrew. This of course greatly reduced their potential appeal. If we add to the linguistic difficulty the nature of the books, their strong moralistic tenor and their tendency to serve solely educational goals, we can assume that these books were hardly ever read voluntarily outside school.

2. The books addressed primarily children who studied in the schools of the Enlightenment movement. As already mentioned, their numbers were relatively small. According to Eliav,[36] less than 20% of Jewish children attended these schools.

3. When analysed from a class point of view, it can be maintained that Hebrew books of the Enlightenment were actually read by children of the lower strata. The Enlightenment ideology which aimed at democratisation of education, and the attempt to increase the appeal of the schools by making them accessible without fees, resulted, ironically, in populating the schools with pupils who came from the lower classes. This state of affairs implied that books, though often written by the élite, did not create an élite group of readers. It meant not only an immediate decrease in the number of potential readers of Hebrew books, but also, and of more importance, the loss of a second generation which is always *sine qua non* for any developing literature. On the other hand, the actual composition of the readership imposed an even stronger need to fight the reading of Yiddish and the predilection for Yiddish chapbooks, which were so very popular among the lower strata.

The wide social gap between writers and their actual readership, between what the authors expected from the readers and its realisation, and above all, the

[35] For instance: Moses Büdinger, *Die israelitische Schule*, Kassel 1831; Karl Ochsenmann, 'Chronik. Schulgeschichte der letzten 25 Jahre', in *Festschrift zum 75jährigen Bestehen der Realschule mit Lyzeum der isr. Religionsgesellschaft Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt a. Main 1928, pp. 1–33; Salomon Adler, 'Die Entwicklung des Schulwesens der Juden zu Frankfurt am Main bis zur Emanzipation' (Schluss), in *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 19 (1928), Frankfurt a. Main, pp. 237–260; Moritz Stern, 'Jugendunterricht in der Berliner jüdischen Gemeinde während des 18. Jahrhunderts', in *Jahrbuch der jüdisch-literarischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 19 (1928), pp. 39–68; Joseph Gutmann (Hrsg.), *Festschrift zur Feier des Hundertjährigen Bestehens der Knabenschule der jüdischen Gemeinde in Berlin*, Berlin 1926; Beruh Wechsler, *Über jüdische Schul- und Lehrerverhältnisse*, Oldenburg 1846.
[36] Eliav, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

inability to create succeeding generations of readers, determined more than anything else the artificial character of Hebrew children's literature in Germany.

This brief survey of the circumstances of the development of this literature suggests that conditions were very unfavourable to the prevailing "rules of the game". This raises, of course, the question of how it was eventually possible for a Hebrew children's literature to develop in Germany notwithstanding all the obstacles. What patterns of development were chosen that enabled Hebrew children's literature in Germany to grow in size in spite of all, and to produce a relatively large number of books?

PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

The need to institute the children's system from the very beginning, the lack of "normal" market conditions and the close relations between the Hebrew and the German Enlightenment movement, made German children's literature an ideal model for imitation. The fact that Hebrew children's literature began to develop in Germany made German a most natural frame of reference. German children's literature had enjoyed such a high status that Hebrew children's literature endeavoured to follow in its footsteps in every possible way. Yet, it should be emphasised immediately that the wish to imitate the German case was conditioned by the Enlightenment's interpretation and understanding of German children's literature and its development. This process, which involved a translation of concepts and ideas, did not always accord with the "real" situation in German children's literature. Furthermore, once Hebrew children's literature created a certain image of the German genre, it adhered to this image for a long time, without paying attention to changes and developments in the German literature itself.

It is probably due to the need for Hebrew children's literature to repeat its first stages of development several times on the one hand, and the lack of factors that are normally responsible for the dynamics of literary systems on the other, that a fixed and almost static image of German children's literature continued to function for the Hebrew literature as a model for imitation. It was as if a certain circle was drawn at a specific point of time around various texts and various processes of development of German children's literature; this circle later became the signal frame of reference of Hebrew children's literature for almost a century.

The dominant patterns of historical processes, which resulted from this image, can be schematically described as the following:

1. The historical development of German children's literature during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment served as a model for the development of Hebrew children's literature. This was the case even when Romanticism prevailed in German children's literature.

2. Most texts for children were either translations of German Enlightenment texts or adaptions based on the German originals.

3. The German children's literature of the Enlightenment served as an intermediary between the Hebrew and other systems. Texts translated from other systems, like the French or the English, were usually translated via the German.

4. The few original texts were based in most cases on German textual models, whether informative texts, poems and fables, or plays. The dominance of German model over Hebrew original texts is made clear by the fact that it is frequently hard to distinguish between original and translated texts.

MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT

At the beginning of the nineteenth century German children's literature was in a process of liberating itself from the hegemony of the Enlightenment didactic notion of children's literature. This did not mean that didactic books orientated towards philanthropist theories were no longer written. It means only that new books of a different nature were then produced and started to gain recognition in the system. In other words: the German system became more stratified and generically more heterogeneous.[37]

However, Hebrew children's literature, which began to evolve towards the end of the eighteenth century, did not adjust itself to later developments of German children's literature, as might have been expected. Rather, it went back to the first decades of the eighteenth century and thence drew its model of development; The nature of the texts, the process of their insertion into the system, as well as its pace, followed the German pattern. Like German books of the beginning of the eighteenth century, the first Hebrew texts for children at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, were alphabet books and readers, which were succeeded by moral tales, fables and some plays.

Why was it necessary to go back several decades? Why did the eighteenth century continue to be of such importance for the Hebrew children's literature of the nineteenth century? The reason was the similarity between cultural conditions and cultural components and institutions which were involved in the creation of books for children. From the functional point of view, Hebrew children's literature had no choice but to return to this earlier state in order to respond to expectations desired from it and to legitimisations given to it. Both expectations and legitimisations concerned the welfare of the child in regard to his education. The governing assumption concerning children's books was the didactic task attributed to them. Consequently it became totally impossible to think of producing books for other than didactic reasons, as for example, books for amusement and entertainment. It was also impossible to change this assumption later, as was the case with European children's literature when other educational views as well as commercial factors entered on the scene.

As a result of this state of affairs, Hebrew children's literature in Germany

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[37] For a similar process in English children's literature cf. Shavit, *Poetics*, op. cit., 'Stratification of a System', pp. 158–176.

never went beyond what might be described as the "didactic age" of children's literature. Rather was it forced, as we have said, to adhere to models which were rooted in certain educational views, mainly of the *Philanthropin*. This becomes clear when the first Hebrew books for children, namely, readers, are analysed. Hebrew readers used as their source for imitation various German readers, which were based on philanthropist views. They imitated them in their pedagogic aspirations as well as in their structure and the character of the texts. Hebrew writers were probably well acquainted with the following German readers: Felix Christian Weisse's *Neues ABC-Buch*,[38] Joachim Campe's *Neue Methode, Kinder auf eine leichte und angenehme Weise Lesen zu lehren*, as well as *Abece-und Lesebuch*,[39] Basedow's *Kleines Buch für Kinder aller Stände*,[40] and Rochow's *Der Kinderfreund*.[41] However, it seems to me that of greatest importance was Sulzer's *Vorübung zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens*.[42] This was probably the case because Sulzer's reader served as the main source for Friedländer's *Lesebuch*.[43] It is also referred to directly by another member of the *Me'asfim* circle. Ben Sew, whose own reader became very popular. Entitled *Bet Ha-Sefer* (Ben Sew, 1802–1806), it was not only published in more than ten editions, but was also translated into Italian, German and Russian.[44] In any case, it should be emphasised that Hebrew readers were usually based on more than one German text and by way of manipulating several German texts they actually created a new model, probably without intending to do so. Furthermore, there was not one case that I know of where a German reader was translated into Hebrew in its entirety; rather, German readers provided the pattern for the Hebrew readers.

Let us take a look at a typical example: Ben Sew's *Bet Ha-Sefer*. An exhaustive study of this reader would call for a separate article. I would like only to make some remarks in regard to it, in order to point to some of its characteristics and their link with the German. The most striking fact about this reader is its reliance

on Weisse and especially on Sulzer. In spite of the fact that Ben Sew's reader was written more than twenty years after Friedländer's *Lesebuch*, and regardless of the many new texts and even models of German readers, Ben Sew uses the models which were already transplanted into the Jewish world of the Enlightenment. Like Sulzer's or Weisse's readers, the book opens with the teaching of the alphabet, starting with simple constructions of consonants and vowels and moving gradually to more difficult ones. Compare for instance these lines of Ben Sew with those of Weisse:

> "Mo-de Ani Lefane-cha Me-lech Chai Veka-yama Sh-he-che-zarta Vi Et Nish-ma-ti Bechem-la Ra-ba Emu-na-te-cha" (Ben Sew[45]).
>
> "Thu-e nichts Bö-ses, so wi-der-fährt dir nichts Bö-ses" (Weisse[46]).

In passing it is interesting to note that Ben Sew borrowed from Weisse the principle of the teaching of reading (to which he paid great importance, as shown in his introduction[47]). Unlike Weisse who uses reading exercises for teaching short moral lessons, Ben Sew uses these exercises for introducing several Jewish prayers such as *Mode Ani* and *Shma Israel*. In his insertion of Jewish prayers and his moderate and even favourable attitude towards Jewish religion and the Talmud, one can find an explanation for Ben Sew's success.

This however did not imply that Ben Sew gave up the teaching of Enlightenment values. Rather the contrary: the reader does systematically purvey Enlightenment values in every possible way. It follows the above mentioned German readers in that it contains morals, poems and fables as well as various texts about nature, geography and man and society. It endeavoured to fulfil two goals at the same time: To teach the child knowledge about the world; and to inculcate into him the values of the Enlightenment movement. For instance, the following paragraph, which describes the structure of society, draws an ideal picture of society as seen in the eyes of the Enlightenment:

> "And the other people in the state of the kingdom: officers, noblemen, aristocrats, wise men, writers, teachers and priests . . . Sages write books of science and knowledge. Teachers teach the sciences to their students in the academies. Priests preach the Torah and morality and guide the people in religion and divine service in the house of prayer . . . Happy is the boy who in his youth industriously studies a science or craft and when he grows up this ensures that he will not be hungry or suffer any lack. But the lazy boy who in his youth does not study anything, will grow up with nothing with which to earn a living and will remain poor and wretched for the rest of his life." (Ben Sew[48].)

Such texts were either explicitly subjected to Enlightenment ideas or were chosen because they could be accommodated to them. The selection of texts was always guided by the question of their adjustment to the Enlightenment values. For instance, the entire chapter of the second part of Ben Sew's reader, entitled 'Moral Lessons', is composed of aphorisms (more than fifty). They all deal with

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[38]Felix Christian Weisse, *Neues ABC-Buch*, Frankfurt–Leipzig 1773.

[39]Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Neue Methode, Kinder auf eine leichte und angenehme Weise Lesen zu lehren*, Altona 1778; idem, *Abece- und Lesebuch*.

[40]Johann Bernhard Basedow, *Kleines Buch für Kinder aller Stände. Zur elementarischen Bibliothek gehörig*, Stück 1. Mit drei Kupfertafeln, Leipzig 1771.

[41]Friedrich Eberhard Rochow, *Der Kinderfreund. Ein Lesebuch*, Brandenburg–Leipzig 1776.

[42]Johann Georg Sulzer, *Vorübung zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens* (Neubearb. von Heinrich Ludwig Meierotto), Berlin [1771], 1780–1782.

[43]In Friedländer's *Lesebuch, op. cit.*, the last part of the seventh chapter 'Beispiele von Tugenden und Lastern, guten und schlechten Gesinnungen' is taken from Sulzer's *Vorübungen zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens, op. cit.* It is the only part of the book which was taken directly from a German reader. This was done primarily in order to enable Friedländer to present texts which originate from different cultural sources, but nevertheless convey similar ideas, and grow out of the same humanistic tradition. Another reason for the choice of Sulzer's reader was probably the acquaintance between Mendelssohn and Sulzer. It was Sulzer, who in the year 1771 had moved the resolution of the Royal Academy in Berlin that the vacant place of a "membre ordinaire de la classe de philosophie spéculative" be filled by the appointment of "le juif Moses", a resolution vetoed by Frederick the Great (Altmann, *Moses Mendelssohn, op. cit.*, p. 264).

[44]In Vienna itself the book had been published in several editions: 1802, 1806, 1816, 1820, 1837, 1842, 1849. There were numerous adaptations of the book. Italian version: L. Romani, Wien 1825; German version: J. Kneipelmacher, Wien 1866; Russian version: A. J. Papirna, Warschau 1871, ²1873.

[45]Yehuda Leyb Ben Sew, *Bet Ha-Sefer*. i: *Mesilat Limud*; ii: *Limude Ha-Mesharim*, Wien [1802], ⁶1820, p. 24.

[46]Weisse, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[47]Ben Sew speaks in his introduction to *Bet Ha-Sefer* of the importance of gradual studies for children, *op. cit.*, 'Introduction', unpaginated.

[48]*Ibid.*, p. 57.

the question of Wisdom, which, as is well known, occupied primary status in Enlightenment thought. Moreover, in order to express these ideas unequivocally, Ben Sew was even willing to change traditional and well-known texts so that they adjusted better to Enlightenment views. This is illustrated for instance by Ben Sew's handling of proverbs and aphorisms in the second part of his reader (*Limude Ha-Mesharim*).

Like Sulzer and Weisse, Ben Sew dedicated one chapter of his reader to 'Divre Chachamim' ('Words of the Learned'). In this chapter Ben Sew, who was most probably following Sulzer, introduced Greek proverbs. However, unlike Sulzer, he included some talmudic sayings as well. The inclusion of talmudic sayings in the reader served several goals, apart from Ben Sew's distinct tendency to produce a rather "moderate" reader (that is from the Enlightenment point of view), and hence to increase its possible attraction to Orthodox Jews. By placing talmudic sayings with Greek proverbs under the category of the sayings of "Wise Men", Ben Sew presented them as part of a general humanistic heritage, hence promoting the idea of a merging with Western culture. Yet, by granting Greek sayings thirty pages, whereas only a page and a half is allotted to talmudic sayings he expressed implicitly what was in his view the adequate proportion between Jewish heritage and European heritage. In such a way he succeeded in presenting the idea of a merging with German culture (where Greek culture was also accorded more and more appreciation). This tendency found, of course, more explicit expression in the texts themselves, as is evident from the following example:

> "So said the sages: A man should always be in empathy with his friends, should not laugh among the weeping, nor weep among the merry, nor be awake among the sleeping nor sleep among the wakers, nor stand among the seated nor sit among the standing, nor change his friends' manners." (Ben Sew[49].)

Of course Ben Sew included in his reader only those sayings which suited the societal ideas of the Enlightenment and as has already been mentioned, he was even willing to change traditional and well-known texts so that they served better. In at least one case Ben Sew altered a well-known saying of the Talmud in order to express the ideal of merging with one's environment. The famous saying of "In three ways a man is distinguished: his pocket, his cellar and his anger" was altered to: "In four ways the sages are distinguished: their pocket, their cellar, their anger and their dress." (Ben Sew[50].)

There is one chapter in Ben Sew's reader where the link to German readers is most obvious. This is the case of Bible teaching. Here too, in spite of a long and rich Jewish tradition, both legitimisations and practice were taken from the German models without any consideration for the Jewish ones. The positive attitude of the Jewish Enlightenment movement towards the Bible was not just the natural outcome of Mendelssohn's translation and the newly created opposition which ensued between Bible and Talmud. It can be traced to the

great deference and respect displayed towards the Bible and its language by the German Gentile scholars.

While the teaching of the Bible was not part of Jewish education, where children learned only some parts of the Pentateuch and immediately afterwards began to study the Talmud, the men of the Enlightenment adopted the German model and made it a subject of study at their schools where books other than the Pentateuch were taught. Furthermore, the translation of biblical paragraphs was regarded as a means of teaching both German and Hebrew. In any case, quite soon, the teaching of the Bible was abandoned altogether in favour of teaching *biblische Geschichte*, the common way of teaching not the Bible itself but the history of the Bible. Ben Sew also includes in his reader a 'Short History from the Creation of the World to the Destruction of the Second Temple'. This chapter replaced a previous chapter which was dedicated to the principles of religion that Ben Sew preferred to include later in his moral book, *Yesode Ha-Dat* (1811). In these texts an attempt to imitate the biblical style was made, as well as an effort to relate the text to the Chronicles. It is interesting to note that the text covers not only the biblical period but the period of the Second Temple and its aftermath as well.

The preference for the German model in the case of Bible teaching even by such a moderate writer as Ben Sew shows the extent to which Hebrew children's literature became deliberately enslaved to the German model. In spite of the attraction that Bible teaching in the traditional way must have held for Jewish parents, Ben Sew, who was moderate enough to use Jewish prayers as well as Jewish teaching, preferred to follow the German example in cases where the German model varied from the traditional Jewish model.

Or perhaps the explanation for the preference of the German model in the case of the Bible teaching is different. It may have been necessary precisely because it was important for the Enlightenment movement to distinguish between traditional methods of teaching the Bible and the method favoured by the Enlightenment movement. This suggested a possibility of being an enlightened Jew in Germany merging into German culture without giving up one's Jewish heritage.

The desire to stress the link to German culture is evident also in a simpler and technical aspect – the format of some books. The question of the format was not just a technical matter but it was employed to stress the writer's intention to his addressee and his implicit attitude towards German culture. The Jewish children who studied at the schools of the Enlightenment movement were supposed to learn both German and Hebrew. In order to achieve this most of the first texts were written in both Hebrew and German (or at least a German translation was given to several texts or words). There were three formats for printing Hebrew and German: Hebrew opposite German in Latin letters, Hebrew opposite German in Hebrew letters and Hebrew with German in Hebrew letters below. The first format was to emphasise the strong connection to German. The last one was written in the traditional Yiddish-Hebrew form with, possibly, the intention of misleading Orthodox Jews who were used to reading texts written in Hebrew and Yiddish in this form.

To sum up: Hebrew children's literature followed the German model of

[49]*Ibid.*, p. 219.
[50]*Ibid.*, p. 219.

development in two ways: in its stages of development and its textual models. This was the case because of the similar legitimisation given to both at their respective formative stages and because of the great dependence on ideology which made the German children's literature of the Enlightenment the natural frame of reference. The reliance on the German literature signified certain stages of development, a certain selection of texts, and determined the nature of the texts themselves, whether original works or translations.

TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS

Translations dominated Hebrew children's literature of the Enlightenment movement and enjoyed the same status as or even higher than the original texts. The production of translations was regarded as creative textual work, which was somehow linked to the source text; hence the source text was very rarely referred to.[51] This status of translated texts had of course textual implications concerning the norms of translation.[52] A discussion of the translational norms of the Enlightenment period calls for a separate study. Here I limit myself to the examination of some principles of translation at the time of the Enlightenment.

As far as children's books were concerned, the governing principles directing the selection process of the books were similar. They were strongly rooted in ideological claims; it was their adjustment to ideology that decided for or against their translation into Hebrew. Such a need can, for instance, be discerned when the question of generic selection is reviewed. Texts were chosen for translation primarily on the basis of their generic affiliation. Only those genres which were understood to be approved by the German Enlightenment (through the filter of the Jewish Enlightenment movement) would have been translated.

These principles of selection resulted in an abundance of moralistic poems and fables, and the total neglect of fictional narratives such as short stories and novels, even in the middle of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, translated texts had to be definite products of the German Enlightenment movement: either they were written by Enlightenment writers, as was the case with all poets translated by Ben Sew, or they expressed unequivocally Enlightenment values, as was for instance the case with a poem by Schiller, which was included in Samostz's Reader, *Esh-Dat*.[53] Thus, Schiller's poem was chosen for translation because of the importance it attaches to learning and to wisdom:

Das Glück und die Weisheit

> "Entzweit mit einem Favoriten
> Flog einst Fortun' der Weisheit zu:
> 'Ich will dir meine Schätze bieten,
> Sei meine Freundin du!

Mit meinen reichsten, schönsten Gaben
Beschenkt ich ihn so mütterlich,
Und sieh, er will noch immer haben
Und nennt noch geizig mich.

Komm, Schwester, lass uns Freundschaft schliessen,
Du marterst dich an deinem Pflug;
In deinen Schoss will ich sie giessen,
Hier ist für dich und mich genug.'

Sophia lächelt diesen Worten
Und wischt den Schweiss vom Angesicht!
'Dort eilt dein Freund, sich zu ermorden,
Versöhnet euch! – Ich brauch dich nicht.' "[54]

Success and Wisdom (translation of the Hebrew version)

> "Successful man Success deserted,
> She gave her hand to Wisdom of her own free will
> To you I'll give all that I possess
> From now on, be my love!

The honour of my wealth and treasure I gave to him.
None is as great as he in the wide world,
But his all-devouring thirst I have not yet quenched
I was called mean and miserly.

Come my sister we will make an eternal covenant
During the season of ploughing there will be no strewing of fennel
In your bosom I'll set the glory of my greatness,
My fertile lands will bear enough for both.

Wisdom laughed to hear her words
And wiped the sweat from off her face.
'Your lover's gone to take his life,
Forgive his crimes. I can live quietly without you.' "[55]

The high status of translation as an activity becomes more clear when the question of fables is examined. In spite of the relative abundance of Hebrew fables, and their availability in Hebrew, translation predominated even in the case of fables. Here again the wish to use German literature as the preferable source for translations is evident. The German system functioned as a source system for original German texts or as a mediating system (especially for the translation of Aesop). This tendency is particularly notable because original fables did exist in the Hebrew inventory and could easily have been used. David Friedländer, for instance, included Hebrew fables in German translation in his *Lesebuch*.[56] This option was hardly ever used by Hebrew writers.

Of the 38 fables and poems which Ben Sew included in the second part of his

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[51] Ben Sew's reader is in this sense an exception because he does supply a full list of his sources.
[52] Gideon Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, Tel-Aviv 1980, especially chapters 2, 3, & 8.
[53] David Samostz, *Esh Dat*, Breslau 1834.

[54] Friedrich Schiller [1812–1815], *Sämtliche Werke*, 1924, vol. 19, p. 79.
[55] Samostz, *Esh Dat, op. cit.*, p. 30.
[56] In spite of the good relations with Lessing, Friedländer did not include any of Lessing's fables in the *Lesebuch*, as could have been expected. Instead he was looking for a possible Hebrew text which could serve as an equivalent for the German fables. He found it in Mendelssohn's translation to *Berachia Hanakdan*. This enabled Friedländer to kill two birds with one stone: To include in his *Lesebuch* a text which agreed with modern concepts of education and to introduce a clear instance of a Jewish equivalent to German elements. The fables which were included in the *Lesebuch* were first translated by Moses Mendelssohn from the Hebrew edition of 1756 (Berlin edition) and published in the *Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend* of 1759.

reader, 26 pieces were translations of German Enlightenment texts. The texts were either translations of German writers such as Magnus Gottfried Lichtwer, Christian Gellert, Albrecht von Haller and Friedrich von Hagedorn, or of ancient writers like Aesop who, since his rediscovery by the German Enlightenment, enjoyed immense popularity. Aesop's fables were published in many miscellanies of fables, among them Lessing's *Fabeln*;[57] later, Lessing's fables were included by Sulzer and Meierotto[58] and Campe[59] in their books, and most probably came to be translated into Hebrew via these works.

Only thirteen fables in Ben Sew's reader were original Hebrew fables, some of which had already been published for adults in *Hame'asef*, the periodical of the Jewish Enlightenment movement. This preference for translated fables is to be discerned in almost any reader or miscellany for children. Most popular of all were several fables by Aesop. Since they were included in the first Hebrew reader for children, *Avtalion*,[60] and the first Hebrew book of fables for children, *Mishle Agur*,[61] they were consequently included by other writers. The fables 'Von einem Löwen und einer Maus', 'Von dem Löwen und Fuchsen', 'Von dem mit einer Löwenhaut bedeckten Esel', which were very popular also in German miscellanies,[62] were furthermore included in many Hebrew books for children, even in a miscellany which was prepared by Moritz Steinschneider for "Jewish Youth in the Eastern Countries".[63] They preserved their popularity also after the cultural centre had been transferred to Eastern Europe. Here they were continuously included in books for children, which were either reprints of books published first in German-speaking countries (for instance, *Ktav Yosher*[64]) or in new books.

Translations of German texts dominated not only in the case of readers and miscellanies, but also, and perhaps mainly, in the case of translations of entire books. I do not know of any book for children, published at the time of the Jewish Enlightenment in Germany, which was not a translation or a pseudo-translation. (The question of pseudo-translation will be discussed later on.) There were two criteria for selection of books for translation: that of theme and that of author.

The criterion of theme was not a very common one and was mainly effective in cases where the theme related to Jewish matters. Hence, for instance, two books by Samostz, one of the most prominent Jewish writers for children, were selected for translation because they were biblical stories. *Rohot Midyan o Yaldut Moshe*,[65]

[57]Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Fabeln*, Berlin 1759.
[58]Meierotto went back to Lessing's recommendations concerning the use of fables for child education. See Sulzer, *Vorübungen zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 29, 46.
[59]Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Kleine Kinderbibliothek*, Hamburg 1785, vol. 12, pp. 127, 132, 156–158.
[60]Aharon Wolfsohn, *Avtalion*. Wien [1790] 1814.
[61]Shalom Ha-Cohen, b.r.y.k. from Mezrich, *Sefer Mishle Agur*, Berlin 1799.
[62]For instance it was included in one of the most popular German fable books for children: *Esopi Leben und auserlesene Fabeln mit deutlichen Erklärungen und nützlichen Tugend-Lehren*, Nürnberg [1723] 1760.
[63]Moritz Steinschneider, *Mashal U-Melitsa* (A collection of fables and parables for the use of Jewish youth in the Eastern countries), Berlin 1860.
[64]Shalom Ha-Cohen, *Ketav Yosher Chadash*, Warschau [1820] 1869. This fable book retained its popularity and was published in several editions until the end of the nineteenth century. Its 14th edition was published in Wilna in 1896.
[65]David Samostz, *Rohot Midyan o Yaldut Moshe. Die Hirtinnen von Midjan oder Moses Jugend*, von Frau von Genlis. Ins Hebräische übersetzt, Breslau 1843.

David Friedländer's 'Lesebuch'. Title-page of the first Jewish modern reader for children

The Hebrew copperplate of Friedländer's 'Lesebuch'

מציאת הארץ החדשה

כולל כל העבורות והמעשים אשר
נעשו לעת מצוא הארץ הזאת, לכל
אופניה ובחינותיה, ומשפטיה, ואנשיה,
ללשונתם ומשפחתם.

נאסף ונעתק ונכלל בספר העמים ללשון עברי,
בשפה ברורה וקלה, ללמד נער מבני ישראל יוסף
הלשון הזה, ולהודיעם גבורות ה' ונפלאותיו אשר
יעשה בכל הארץ.

מאת הצעיר לימים
משה בן אא' ועורי החזרני ורדבי
הנעתרים מהורר נעטל פפ.

ספר ראשון
כהוצאת המחבר

נדפס באלטנא תקפז

מבוא

טרם אחלהו לספר את כל אשר קרה להתמכים
אנשי שם, אחלה פני הקורא יה, הן בא עת
לי, ואאודיעך מאת אשר קראו: אורך ורוחב
התבל, למען תרע תרוך אשר עבר בה.
שים נא עינך וראה את אשר תקפק על לוח
צד אחרת מכדור הארץ, כאשר השכילו ופת
האחרונים כטוב טעם ודעת אין להשכך.

אש דת
צום
אונטערריכט אים לעזען
אונער
אנסאננסנרינדט דער רעליגיאן

ברעסלויא
נדרוקקט ביים לינצל צולונצט אונר וסאן
נשנת בית יעקב לפ״ק

by Stéphanie-Félicité Genlis, which describes the childhood of Moses, was translated from the French most probably via the German.[66] Also Hübner's *Biblische Historien*[67] was translated for the same reason. Samostz was indeed careful to omit the last chapters of the first part of Hübner's work, which related stories from the Apocrypha (Judith and Tobias), though they were translated into Hebrew by Ben Sew in 1819. Samostz was also careful to omit the entire second part of the book which related stories from the New Testament, as well as illustrations and Latin rhymes (some German editions did not include the Latin rhymes either).

In spite of that, Samostz's choice of Hübner is, to say the very least, suprising, especially if we take into account Hübner's status as the most popular Christian writer for children in the eighteenth century, a popularity which continued in the nineteenth century.[68] It is true that Samostz included in *Nahar Mahadan* only biblical stories such as the creation of the world, the story of Babel, Exodus etc., but he still presented them according to the Lutheran tradition and did not hesitate to include passages of the "pose a question, point a moral" type whose function was to instruct the child in Christian religious teachings. His choice of Hübner can be accounted for only on the basis of allegedly thematic adjustment. Indeed, in his introduction to the book Samostz explains his motivation for translating the stories of the Bible for Jewish children. Here he claims that Jewish children were otherwise deprived of biblical stories:

> "Da der grösste Theil der israelitischen Jugend mit dem Studium der schönen Wissenschaften beschäftigt ist und leider die Bibel aus dem Urtexte zu studieren vernachlässigt, so dass viele die wichtigsten Ereignisse nicht einmal dem Namen nach kennen, so habe ich für zweckmässig gefunden, dieses allgemein beliebte Werk, nämlich die Hauptbegebenheiten aus dem alten Testament ins Hebräische zu übertragen."[69]

The criterion of theme, which became later very decisive in the sphere of translation,[70] did not however play such a major role in the production of books for children at the time of the Enlightenment. Much more important was the author's name. Once certain writers were marked as writers of the Enlightenment, they became an object for translation into Hebrew. The writer most

[66] Stéphanie-Félicité Genlis, *Kleine Romane und Erzählungen*, übers. von Th. Hell., in 16 vols., vol. 14: *Die Hirtinnen von Midien*, Leipzig 1807.

[67] Johann Hübner, *Zweymahl zwey und fünffzig auserlesene biblische Historien aus dem Alten und Neuen Testamente*, Leipzig 1731, David Samostz, *Nahar Mahadan, oder Biblische Geschichte nach Hübner*, Breslau 1831.

[68] Hübner's book was one of the most popular Christian books of Bible stories for children in the eighteenth century. Since it first appeared in 1713 it was pubished in numerous editions (though Samostz had probably used the Leipzig edition of 1731 (Auflage letzter Hand). On Hübner's function in German children's literature, see Christine Reents, 'Johann Hübners biblische Historien nach ihrem erziehungs- und theologiegeschichtlichen Hintergrund, ihrem Autor und ihren theologischen Grundlinien', in Johann Hübner, *Zweymahl zwey und fünffzig auserlesene biblische Historien* [1713], Hildesheim 1986, pp. 1–22. Hübner's popularity in Germany can be seen from the fact that in 1859 the 107th (!) German edition appeared. Cf. Theodor Brüggemann, *Kinder- und Jugendliteratur, 1498–1950. Kommentierter Katalog*, Osnabrück 1986, p. 119; Adalbert Brauer, 'Schulbücher im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *Blickpunkt Schulbuch*, Heft 2 (Oktober 1967), pp. 13–15.

[69] Samostz, *Nahar Mahadan*, op. cit., 'Introduction' [German in Hebrew letters], unpaginated.

[70] Toury, *In Search*, op. cit., especially chapters 3, 4, 7.
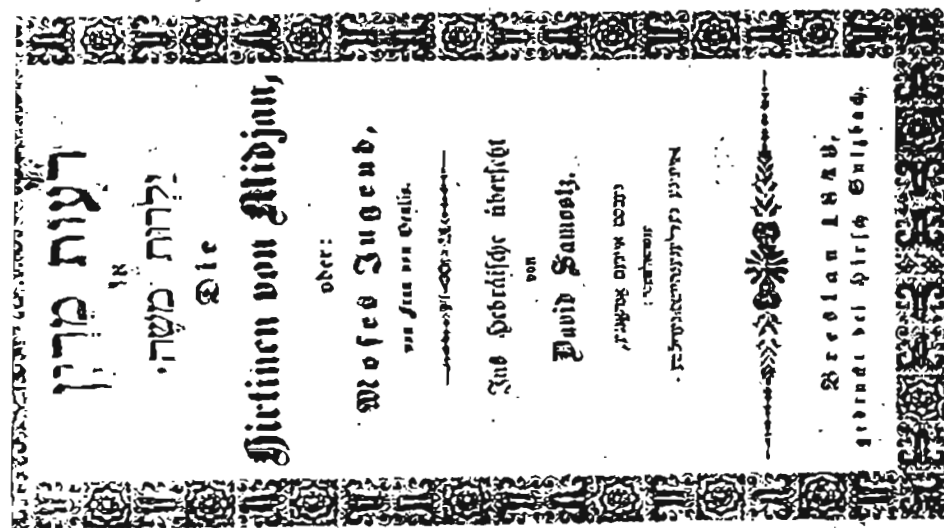
Title-page of 'Die Hirtinnen von Midjan' translated by David Samostz
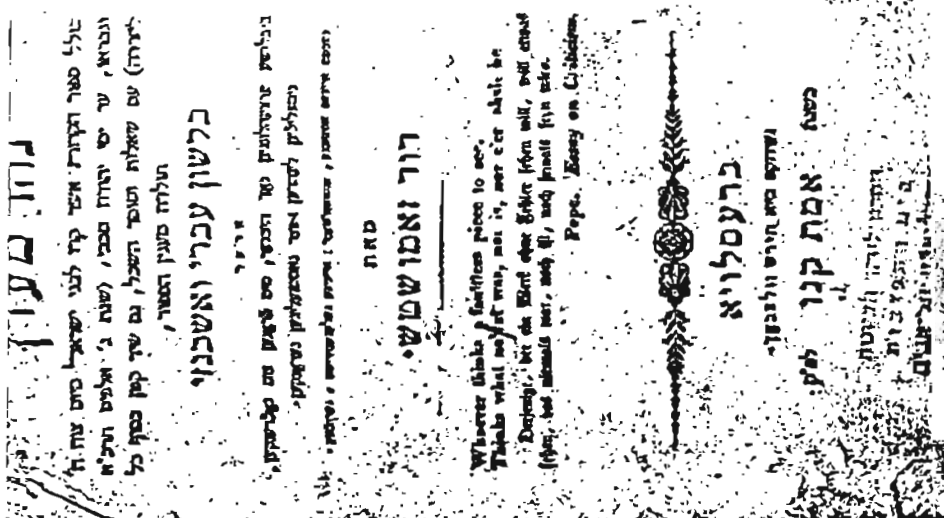
Hübner's 'Biblische Geschichte' in Hebrew translation

translated into Hebrew at the time was Heinrich Joachim Campe, who was regarded by Jewish writers as the most important German writer for children of the Enlightenment.

As far as Hebrew was concerned, Campe was the paramount representative of German children's literature. Not only were his books translated into Hebrew, but late into the nineteenth century they served as a model for the imitation for quite a few original texts. Campe continued to be translated into Hebrew and to serve too as a model for original texts even after the cultural centre had moved East and even in the late nineteenth century in Palestine. For instance, one of the books of the series *Bet-Ha-Sefer* composed by Yehuda Garzovski with Zifrin and Yudileviz,[71] was dedicated to moral teaching and was based on *Theophron*.

The popularity of Campe and his great importance for Hebrew children's literature was first and foremost connected with Mendelssohn's acquaintance with him. As formulated so aptly by Simon, it was Mendelssohn who "served both as a bridge as well as a dam. In other words: values which he adopted for himself, he then transferred to Eastern Europe as well. Values that he had put aside and never touched hardly ever entered the consciousness of the typical enlightened East European Jew, at any rate not until the middle of the nineteenth century."[72]

Mendelssohn had formed a very close relationship with Campe, which became known through their correspondence and Mendelssohn's letter to Campe, where he had analysed the status of the Jews in Germany.[73] An indication of the closeness between Campe and Mendelssohn is also to be found in Campe's report on a Sabbath eve which he spent in Mendelssohn's house:

> "Es war an einem Freitag Nachmittage, als wir, meine Frau und ich, mit Berliner Gelehrten bei Mendelssohn zum Besuche waren und mit Kaffee bewirthet wurden. Mendelssohn, immer der freundlichste Gesellschafter, stand etwa eine Stunde vor Sonnenuntergang von seinem Sitze auf, trat auf uns zu mit den Worten: 'Meine Damen und Herren! Ich gehe nur in das Nebenzimmer, um meinen Sabbat zu empfangen und bin dann gleich wieder in Ihrer Mitte; unterdess wird meine Frau Ihre Gegenwart um so mehr geniessen'."[74]

Campe's function in the development of Hebrew literature stretched far beyond his acquaintance with Mendelssohn and other members of his circle, and even far beyond mere translation. His function can be analysed from at least four perspectives:

1. Campe's status among the adherents of the Enlightenment movement (especially among those who were interested in educational problems).

2. The preservation of his status in the Jewish Enlightenment movement in Russia.

3. Campe's books which served as a model for original Hebrew texts.

4. Mass translation of Campe's books into Hebrew.

[71]Jerusalem 1891–1892.

[72]Simon, *loc. cit.*, p. 179, my translation.

[73]Moses Mendelssohn, *Gesammelte Schriften. Jubiläumsausgabe, Briefwechsel*, ii,2. Bearbeitet von Alexander Altmann, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1976, p. 443.

[74]Moritz Meier Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn. Sein Leben und Wirken*, Leipzig ²1888, pp. 422–423.

Here I shall limit myself almost entirely to the last aspect and I will only touch briefly on the third one.

Of the numerous books Campe wrote (more than two dozen) only five books were translated into Hebrew (the reason for this selection will be dealt with below). However, those books that had been rendered into Hebrew were all translated more than once. The following titles of Campe were translated: 1. *Robinson der Jüngere*. 2. *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. 3. *Theophron, oder der erfahrne Rathgeber für die unerfahrne Jugend*. 4. *Merkwürdige Reisebeschreibungen*. 5. *Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen*.

The first of Campe's books to be translated into Hebrew was *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. The translator, Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, published it in 1807,[75] after corresponding with Campe. I have not been able to trace this exchange of letters, but Mendelssohn-Frankfurt himself sums it up in his introduction to the book. According to him, Campe emphasised in his letter his great pleasure in hearing about the future translation of his book into Hebrew. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt also mentions Campe's expression of sympathy for the fate of the Jewish people.[76] Encouraged by Campe, Mendelssohn-Frankfurt published the first part of the book and hoped to be able to publish the two other parts once the first one sold. This was probably not the case, because, as far as can be ascertained, the two other parts were never published.

The translational process of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* was guided by several principles, which were also typical of later translations of Campe. They can be described as follows:

1. As was always the case during the Enlightenment period, the translation was to be understood as an independent transformation of the original text; the translator was responsible for what he regarded as the main idea of the book, and it was only this idea that had to be transformed by the translation. An indication of this attitude towards the original text can be found already on the front page of the book: Campe's name appears neither on the cover nor on the front page. The original title is not mentioned either. The Hebrew title reads instead: *Meziat Eretz Chadasha* (The Discovery of New Land), and hints at the transformation of the book into a geography book. This neglect in mentioning either the writer's name or the original title was in no way due to lack of respect for the original author. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt had a great respect for Campe, as is evident from the introduction to the book. The omission was simply a result of the governing translational norms at that time.

2. Due to the uncertain status of Hebrew books for children, whose existence had just begun to gain recognition, writers preferred to address themselves to a larger audience than that of children. In the case of Mendelssohn-Frankfurt he chose to address the book to adolescents. Indeed the book was received as a book for adults and children. This is evident also from a review published in

[75]Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, *Meziat Ha-Aretz Ha-Chadasha*, Altona 1807.

[76]In his introduction to the book Mendelssohn-Frankfurt quotes Campe's letter to him, in which the author declared himself extremely happy to learn about the coming translation of his book into Hebrew. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, *Meziat Ha-Aretz, op. cit.*, 'Introduction', unpaginated.

Hame'asef,[77] which presented it as a book which would appeal to anyone interested in history and geography. The possibility of presenting the book in terms of non-fiction was of decisive importance for its first translation into Hebrew. The entire Hebrew system was not yet ready to accept fictional narratives, either for children or for adults. The pre-condition for a translation of a text was its value as a non-fictional text, or its potential for becoming such a text.

Even in a case of a writer like Campe, where translations where legitimised by his status among the Enlightenment circles, his books were selected for translation in accordance with their potential contribution to the acquisition of human knowledge and wisdom. The implications of this systemic demand were manifested not only in decisions concerning selection of texts, but also in those determining how texts were to be handled.

3. The handling of a translated text meant in most cases an endeavour to transform the original text into a text of history and geography. Translations replaced the fictional narrative of the source text by historical narrative. While the source text was built on the philanthropist model of a *Rahmenerzählung* (frame-story), the translation totally omitted the *Rahmenerzählung*. In the source text the father promises his children to tell them a fascinating story during the coming week. The frame-story determines the segmentation of the source text which is divided according to the days of the tale. The main character of the source text is actually not Columbus but the children themselves. They are supposed to acquire certain values from the text in the course of its narration, knowledge of the world is only one among them. The narrative situation is used by the narrator to teach the children several matters by means of question and answer.[78] All this is left out in the Hebrew translation: the narrative situation of a *Rahmenerzählung* is replaced by a narrator who relates historical narrative. Hebrew translators, in spite of their wish to transfer both Campe and philanthropist values into Hebrew, have eventually extracted the text from its philanthropist message. In this sense the gap between the explicit intentions of the translation and their realisation became very large. One of the results of this deviation from the source text was that popular understanding of philanthropist ideas, which was communicated via such translations, differed greatly from the original meaning.

The first translation which did preserve the philanthropist narrative structure was Samostz's translation of *Robinson der Jüngere*.[79] However, this is rather an exception, not only because Samostz adhered to the frame-story, but also because he tried, as far as possible, to render a complete translation. In his case an effort to convey ideas of the Jewish Enlightenment movement is much clearer and the gap between his intentions and their realisation is much smaller. Values of productivisation, the importance of studying and understanding the world and love towards mankind govern the text and are presented to the child in the form of a dialogue,

4. It was important for a translated text not only to convey Enlightenment values, but also not to contradict Jewish religion. In this sense, Campe, who was in favour of a universal religion, supplied a safe way for accomplishing certain goals of the Jewish Enlightenment movement. The selection of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* for translation made it even safer because of the informative nature of the text. This enabled the translator to give up relatively easily the fictional dimension of the source text.

5. Translators (and Mendelssohn-Frankfurt was no exception), faced many difficulties because of the linguistic situation of the Hebrew language at that time. This was the case not only because Hebrew lacked many expressions, but mainly because of the lack of linguistic registers, formulas and patterns, that had to be invented, very often as *ad hoc* solutions. Like later translators of Campe, Mendelssohn-Frankfurt had to find equivalents for textual patterns that did not exist in Hebrew. This was true for any textual components, from vocabulary to the structure of paragraphs. However, unlike some later translators (for instance, Samostz), who endeavoured to find a solution for almost every problem, Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, perhaps due to his being the first translator of Campe, had used a different strategy: when a solution was hard to find, the translator simply cut those paragraphs.

Die Entdeckung von Amerika became very popular among writers of the Enlightenment. It was probably due to its potential for becoming a book of history and geography, that Jewish Enlightenment writers outside Germany were impelled to start their career as writers by translating this book, although other editions were already on the market.

This attitude towards Campe, and towards his *Entdeckung* in particular, explains why only three years after the Altona edition had been published, Hermann Bernard (Hirsch Beer Hurwitz), one of the first members of the Enlightenment movement in Russia, published his translation of Campe. His translation was then followed by two other translations: that of Samostz,[80] and a translation made by Günzburg,[81] which was the first complete translation of all three.

Günzburg's translation is of special interest because it explores Campe's importance in the eyes of the Jewish Russian Enlightenment. The entire question of the function of German children's literature in the development of the Hebrew literature in Eastern Europe calls for separate and thorough research. Here I wish only to point to the fact that by translating Campe into Hebrew, Günzburg was hoping to provide a bridge to German culture for the Jewish Russian Enlightenment. This was the case because Günzburg regarded the interplay of relations between Hebrew and German culture as decisive for the development of Hebrew culture in Russia. The German language was regarded by Günzburg as the most important language for the *Maskilim*, even more than Hebrew; by means of translation he hoped to make the German more readily available.

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[77]'Review of New Books', *Hame'asef*, fifth year, Altona 1831, pp. 97–101 (in Hebrew).
[78]It is interesting to note that the philanthropist system adapted the traditional system of catechism as its most distinguished narrative structure.
[79]David Samostz, *Robinson der Yingere*, Breslau 1824.

[80]David Samostz, *Meziat Amerika*, Breslau 1824. (Unfortunately I was unable to trace a copy of this book).
[81]Mordechai Aharon Günzburg, *Sefer Galot Eretz Chadasha*, Wilna 1823. In three parts.

For our current discussion of Campe, it is again interesting to note that when a representative of German culture was sought, Campe was most likely to be chosen. He was also among the first German authors, who had a canonised status, to be translated into Yiddish. Campe's *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* was one of the first books to be translated into Yiddish which was not popular literature.[82] According to Meisel it had enjoyed unknown success amongst women readers and replaced books of religious teaching (*Erbauungsliteratur*).[83]

Since Campe became for Hebrew children's literature a symbol of the Enlightenment, he preserved his status throughout the nineteenth century, even after the adaptation of the German texts ceased. Campe continued to function as a model for Hebrew texts late into the nineteenth century, as was the case with *Theophron*.

Campe's *Theophron* served as a model for quite a few children's books which were written as moral texts, for instance, Herz Homberg's *Imre Shefer*,[84] some chapters in Samostz's *Esh Dat*[85] and even the moral *Zeitschrift* for children published in Bavaria in 1817, *Keren Tushia*. It might very well be that moral books for adults such as Mendel Lepin's popular book *Heshbon Nefesh*[86] were also based on *Theophron*.

The persistent reliance on Campe explores some principles of selection of books for translation in the time of the Jewish Enlightenment in Germany. Translations were preferred primarily because it was easier to achieve certain goals of the Enlightenment through them. By translating from the German, translators accomplished at least two goals: (1) They were able to use texts which had already acquired legitimisation and were unquestionably representative of the ideology of the Enlightenment. Hence they could be easily legitimised by the Hebrew system. (2) They managed to adopt the main components of a system considered as ideal for imitation and thus laid the groundwork for the acceptance of a new system.

Just how strong this need to follow the German model was can be discerned in the case of original Hebrew texts.

ORIGINAL TEXTS BASED ON GERMAN MODELS

At the outset, original Hebrew texts for children were few and the distinction between original and translated texts was blurred. Translated texts were so common, that very often the translators did not even cite the name of the original author. This practice makes it, of course, even more difficult to distinguish between original and translation. In the case of poems and fables this distinction becomes impossible, since many translated texts were regarded as original

[82]The book was translated either by Haikel Hurwitz, or by Günzburg himself, as Meisel claims. Josef Meisel, *Haskalah. Geschichte der Aufklärungsbewegung unter den Juden in Russland*, Berlin 1919, p. 187.
[83]*Ibid.*
[84]Naphtali Herz Homberg, *Imre Shefer*, Wien 1808.
[85]David Samostz, *Esh Dat, op. cit.*
[86]Mendel Lepin, *Heshbon-Nefesh*, Lwov 1808.

works, in spite of the fact that they were written "after" [*nach*] certain German poems or fables. Ben Sew's exceptional mentioning of the source text, I have already referred to. He gives a kind of legitimisation for this practice by saying that the ignorance of source texts and writers was already common among German writers and hence it could be justified: "Even the learned Sulzer in his work (*Vorübungen*), a scholarly work, gathered and collected fables of various writers without mentioning their names. Still in order to avoid defamation, I have made this list" [list of original authors].[87]

The dominance of German translated texts over original Hebrew texts, is best demonstrated by the existence of pseudo-translations. I believe that this phenomenon, in spite of being peripheral, i ·· ·ry instructive. I refer here to the writers' tendencies to present an original text as a pseudo-translation (as shown by Toury[88] and Yahalom[89]). As original writing was rare and translations an accepted activity, writers were sometimes reluctant to acknowledge themselves as original authors. Instead, they preferred to present the text either as a translation of contemporary texts or as an adaptation of ancient texts. The last practice became prevalent due to the growing popularity of ancient Greek texts at the time.

Let us take a brief look at the case of Isaak Satanow. In 1789 Satanow published the first part of *Mishle Asaf*.[90] Although the fables were originally written by himself, he preferred to attribute them to Asaph Ben Berachiah (a psalmist mentioned in Chronicles[91]). Satanow was toying with the question of the identity of the original writer. In *Haskamat Geonim*, the Rabbinical Approval, to the book, which was commonly found in many Hebrew children's books of the time, the question of the identity of the writer is discussed. In this Approval, allegedly written by several *Rabbanim*, but actually written by Satanow himself, Satanow hinted at the real authorship of the book:

> "It is not clear to us who had really composed this text. Perhaps this distinguished man himself composed it. This was his way also in his work *Chibore Bina*. For we know this man and his ways."[92]

On a different occasion Satanow responded to the accusations raised against him. His attempt to attribute the text to an ancient Hebrew writer was described as plagiarism. Satanow defended himself by claiming that writers commonly lifted from other writers and never bothered to give credit to true authorship, while he was accused of stealing from himself and attributing it to someone else.[93] The motivation for his reluctance to admit authorship was given in the

[87]Ben Sew, *Mesilat Yesharim, op. cit.* The list is given in the last page of the book, book unpaginated, my translation.
[88]Gideon Toury, 'Translation, Literary Translation and Pseudotranslation', in E. S. Shaffer (ed.), *Comparative Criticism*, vol. 6, Cambridge 1984, pp. 73–85.
[89]Shelly Yahalom, *Relations entre les littératures françaises et anglaise au 18e siècle* (Hebrew, with extensive French summary). M.A. thesis, Tel-Aviv University, 1978.
[90]Isaak Satanow, *Mishle Asaf* (in three parts), Berlin 1789–1793.
[91]Chronicles I; 15, 17.
[92]Satanow, *Mishle Asaf, op. cit.*, first part, 'Haskamat Geonim', unpaginated, my translation.
[93]Isaak Satanow, 'Haskamat Geonim', unpaginated, in *Kuntras Mi-Sefer Ha-Zohar*, Berlin 1783.

Haskamat Geonim to *Kuntras Mi-Sefer Ha-Zohar*[94] written most likely by Satanow himself. Here he claimed that he had no other choice but to present his original work as ancient or translated if he wished to be taken seriously by his contemporaries, who had no respect for original contemporary works.

It is interesting to note that Satanow's fables were close to the model of German fables for children in the eighteenth century, probably because translations of ancient fables became very popular literature for children in the German system. In their adaptations of these fables or in the writing of new ones, the Germans deliberately imitated the ancient formulas. In such a way, as far as reliance on German models is concerned, Satanow's original writing of fables yielded eventually similar textual formulas for Hebrew translation of German fables.

THE FUNCTION OF YIDDISH LITERATURE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HEBREW CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

The most striking similarity between German and Hebrew children's literature is revealed not in the historical model which the Hebrew literature tried consciously to imitate, but surprisingly, the greatest similarity exists in the historical processes which Hebrew literature consciously ignored and rejected, but which nevertheless played an important role in its development. I refer here to the function of chapbooks in the development of Hebrew children's literature.

As is well known, chapbooks, the core of seventeenth-century popular literature, not only served as reading material for children, but had been an important catalyst in the development of children's books.[95] Their historical function can be described by the following:

The new educational system in Western Europe, which was the result of a new concept of childhood, meant an enormous expansion in the size of literate circles and a considerable change in their character. A new, previously unknown public – children – came into being and gradually created a demand for children's books. This demand could not yet be supplied. The lack of sufficient official reading material for children meant that they adopted for their own use whatever already existed: chapbooks. These books, until then read mainly by the poor, were now read by both the poor and by children. At the same time, the literary as well as the religious and educational establishment gradually became aware of the nature of children's reading. Their reactions were identical: each felt an urgent need to compete with and supersede chapbooks by other literature. This competition was a strong motivating force for all the establishments which became involved in the production of books for children, albeit each from a

different point of view: For some the commercial motive dominated, for others the ideological-educational one.

Hence, the non-canonised literature of the eighteenth century had had a decisive function in the development of Western children's literature. In fact, each stage of the development of canonised children's literature can be accounted for not only on the basis of its relation with adult literature and/or the educational system, as is usually the case,[96] but also on the basis of its need to compete with children's reading of chapbooks. The entire process of stratification of the children's system as a distinct system in culture was strongly linked with its emergence from the non-canonised system and consequently the creation of a new systemic antagonism between the adult and the children's systems.

In the case of Hebrew children's literature a similar pattern can be discerned. Yet, due to the special status of Hebrew at the time, the function of the non-canonised system was carried out by Yiddish texts, in the same way that the Yiddish system functioned as the non-canonised system for the entire Hebrew literature.[97] What the German *Volksbücher* were for German children's literature, the Yiddish chapbooks were for Hebrew children's literature.

The ways in which chapbooks functioned in the development of Hebrew children's literature has unfortunately not yet been studied. However, it is impossible to ignore their function totally in a discussion of the development of Hebrew children's literature. Here again I am presenting just some working hypotheses:

(1) As is evident from the description of the inventory of the first official Hebrew books for children, these texts did not have much appeal for Jewish children. This was not only because they were not written in the children's mother tongue, but also because of their didactic and moralistic nature. The Yiddish chapbooks, which were composed of romances, fables, biblical stories, travel tales and sensational stories,[98] were no doubt much more attractive. There is indeed much evidence that they were largely read by children.

(2) Children were used to reading these texts before the emergence of the Enlightenment movement, and continued to do so later.[99] However, before the time of the Enlightenment not much attention was paid to children's reading material. This was the case because in terms of cultural concepts the idea of children reading for their own amusement simply did not exist. Nobody troubled about peripheral texts addressed to women, which were not part of the official reading material for children.[100]

[94]Satanow, *ibid.*

[95]Zohar Shavit, 'The Function of Yiddish Children's Literature in the Development of Hebrew Children's Literature', *Ha-Sifrut*, vol. 35–36 (1986), pp. 148–153 (in Hebrew); Victor E. Neuberg, *The Penny Histories*, London 1968; idem, *Chapbooks: A Guide to Reference Material*, London 1972.

[96]Cf. Townsend, *op. cit.*; Mary F. Thwaite, *From Primer to Pleasure*, London 1972; Harvey Darton, *Children's Books in England*, Cambridge 1958.

[97]Itamar Even-Zohar, 'Aspects of Hebrew-Yiddish Polysystem', *Ha-Sifrut*, vol. 35–36 (1986), pp. 46–54; Chone Schmeruk, *Yiddish Literature: Aspects of its History*, Tel-Aviv 1978.

[98]Arnold Paucker, *The Yiddish Versions of the German Volksbuch*, Diss., Nottingham 1959; idem, 'Yiddish Versions of Early German Prose Novels', *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vol. 10 (1959), pp. 151–167; Sara Zfatmann, 'Maasse-bukh. On the Character of the Genre in Old Yiddish Literature', *Ha-Sifrut*, vol. 28 (1979), pp. 126–152 (in Hebrew).

[99]Chone Schmeruk, *The Illustrations in Yiddish Books of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Jerusalem 1986.

[100]For a similar phenomenon in American children's literature cf. J. S. Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children's Fiction*, New York 1981.

(3) Only when Hebrew children's literature started to develop, was there, in social consciousness, a place for the concept of children's reading. People began to be aware of what children read, and "suddenly" realised that their reading material was "wrong" and "harmful" to children from their point of view. As a result they tried to compete with the reading of Yiddish and offer an alternative. The competition was two-fold. The reading of Yiddish texts was prohibited, though it was clear that the effectiveness of the prohibition depended on the ability to offer children alternative reading material. To this end a variety of measures was taken, among them the following:

(a) As was the case with European children's literature some decades earlier, Hebrew children's literature had used elements of the existing inventory of Yiddish chapbooks in order to replenish the Hebrew system. This was done in the following manner: components of Yiddish chapbooks were transferred into Hebrew. Here they either carried new functions or were attributed new legitimisations. Thus, for instance, biblical stories, common in Yiddish chapbooks, were legitimised by Hebrew literature on account of their existence in official German texts. Their transfer into Hebrew involved, of course, a different representation of biblical stories than in Yiddish chapbooks, but at the same time it enabled the Hebrew system to offer replacement for biblical stories in Yiddish.

(b) Yiddish books were translated into Hebrew, but their translation involved a change in their systemic attribution. From being books which officially addressed women and children, they became books for children only.

(c) As already mentioned, the Hebrew books for children were published at first in bi-lingual format: Hebrew and German. This format had served the aims of the Enlightenment movement in regard to the study of both Hebrew and German. However, at least in some cases this format could have created the impression that a non-Hebrew text was Yiddish and not German. I refer here to cases where the German appeared underneath the Hebrew text and was written in Rashi letters and not in the usual Hebrew letters.[101] It seems to me that this format had a real meaning and was not a random measure, because the other option, that of writing texts in parallel columns did exist, as did the option to write German in Latin letters. These two options were technically simpler. The preference for the first format can be explained in terms of an attempt to admit the new Hebrew texts under a disguise of a format that was time-honoured and already familiar.

The scheme of function of Yiddish chapbooks in the development of Hebrew literature manifests the degree of dependence of Hebrew children's literature in Germany on the model of development of German children's literature. Once a certain model was adopted, various elements of it were involved in historical processes, even if ideologically there was no room for them. Although Hebrew writers were ideologically not prepared to recognise the existence of popular Yiddish literature, they were forced to compete with it in order to regain their readers. Yet, their success was marginal. Lacking any genuine readership and

[101]See for instance David Samostz, *Tochechot Musar*, Breslau 1819. (Translation of J. H. Campe's *Sittenbüchlein*.)

facing later a stronger tendency towards a merger with German culture, Hebrew children's literature began to decline in Germany. As a matter of fact it totally faded away as a cultural phenomenon and ceased to exist not only in literary life but in historical memory as well.

Whenever the inventory of Hebrew children's literature in Europe is referred to, books published in Germany during the time of the Enlightenment are rarely mentioned. This attitude can perhaps be understood from the normative point of view, because most of the first texts for children did not have later any value as "living texts" for the reading public. However, when dealing with the historical development of Hebrew children's literature and with its main processes, one cannot ignore the German period, not only because it was the formative period of Hebrew children's literature, but also because the historical processes and procedures of the German period determined to a large extent the character of succeeding periods and their historical options. This is most evident in the function German literature continued to carry even after the centre of Hebrew had ceased to exist in Germany and was transferred to the East. In contradistinction to the adult system, where the Russian system began to dominate, German children's literature continued to function for Hebrew children's literature both as a mediating system and as the main source for translations and adaptations. From Campe and the Brothers Grimm to Franz Hoffmann and Wilhelm Hauff, German books were translated into Hebrew. Only later, in Palestine, was the German gradually replaced by the Russian as a mediating system.

Thus it was that the periphery of the literary polysystem preserved contact with the German system long after the adult system had divorced itself from the latter. Hebrew and German children's literatures have known an additional honeymoon at the beginning of the twentieth century, when an attempt was made to rebuild the cultural centre in Germany. This attempt failed, but the children's books published during that period in Germany later became the classics of Hebrew children's literature.