

An offprint from

**poetics
today**

Duke University Press
6697 College Station
Durham, NC 27708

Literary Interference between German and Jewish-Hebrew Children's Literature during the Enlightenment: The Case of Campe

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The decisive role played by German culture in the development of modern Jewish thought and culture is by now a commonplace—almost a banal one, at that. Standard research and numerous recent studies have focused extensively on the various phases of contact, interaction, and exchange between the Jewish-Hebrew and the German cultures, especially from the eighteenth century onward. (To mention just a few examples, see Breuer 1986; Eisenstein-Barzilay 1955; Eliav 1960; Katz 1935, 1973; Kober 1947, 1954; Levin 1975; Liberles 1986a, 1986b; Ozer 1947; Rapel 1986; Reinhartz and Schatzberg 1985; Simon 1953; Sorkin 1987; Stern-Taeubler 1940, 1950–51).

However, the question of the actual agents and channels whereby these relations were made possible and materialized has remained largely unaddressed, with the exception of a few recent studies (see, e.g., Bartal 1990; Feiner 1990; Sorkin 1990). This ostensible lack of interest in the concrete agents and channels involved in these cultural interrelations cannot be explained, as might be assumed, in terms of the marginal roles played by these factors in the process of cultural interference. Research proves in fact quite the opposite: Lack of interest in these agents stems, rather, from their marginal positions in the overall *cultural consciousness*. These agents, who functioned at a prac-

tical, down-to-earth level in the everyday life of German Jewry, were not of sufficiently high rank in the hierarchy of the cultural consciousness and subsequently failed to occupy a significant niche therein. Just as their existence was not even acknowledged, so have their historical roles been inappropriately gauged.

I contend that within the context of these cultural agents and mechanisms, texts for Jewish children and young people played a leading, if not *the* most decisive, role in the process of interference between the German and the Jewish-Hebrew cultures toward the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. Research on books for Jewish children in the German-speaking countries is currently in process; however, it will be many years before this process is completed.¹ In this paper I shall present several working hypotheses concerning the vast corpus of books for Jewish children, the existence of which has only been recently established and now calls for extensive investigation and debate. More specifically, I would like to launch a discussion of the role played by these texts in activating relations of interference between the German culture and the Jewish culture.

A basic blueprint of this episode in Jewish cultural history has already been outlined (see Shavit 1988). As argued there, modern Jewish-Hebrew books for children began to develop in Germany within the framework of the Haskalah movement in the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. To the best of our current knowledge, thousands of texts were involved, covering a broad and diverse range of publications: school books and readers, manuals and almanacs, fables and biblical stories, history and geography textbooks.

In this paper I shall center my focus on one of the more prominent writers directly responsible for introducing some of the textual models mentioned above into the Jewish-Hebrew system, one who played a major role in the early stages of the interference between German and Jewish cultures: I refer here specifically to Joachim Heinrich Campe. Campe's role in the development of Jewish-Hebrew literature should be examined from at least four different perspectives:

1. The connection between Haskalah views on education and those of Campe.
2. Translation of Campe's works into Hebrew.
3. Campe's status in the Haskalah movement in Russia.

1. A research project entitled "German-Jewish Cultural History and Intercultural Relationships: Jewish Books for Children in the German-Speaking Countries from the Beginning to 1945. A Basic Research" is now being jointly carried out by the Institute for Research into Children's Literature, Frankfurt University, and The Porter Institute, Tel Aviv University.

4. Texts by Campe as a means of determining models for original Hebrew texts.

In the following discussion I shall focus on the first two points.

The Educational Views of the Jewish Enlightenment Movement

Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818) is considered by some to have been both the foremost and most systematic Philanthropist writer. He is also sometimes described as the first German writer who wrote books specifically for children (Stach 1970: 73, 1978: 469). Even if one is reluctant to accept such an overrating of Campe, there is no doubt that he was a highly significant theoretician and practitioner in the field of modern pedagogy, as manifested in both his numerous books for children and his pedagogic writings. Some of these texts were published, together with articles written by his colleagues from the Philantropin School of Education, in the *Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul-und-Erziehungswesens*, a journal devoted to educational issues, in sixteen volumes between 1785 and 1791. This journal also published translations of works by Locke and Rousseau, as well as interpretations of their work, and articles in which their pedagogic views were described (on Campe's pedagogic method, see Klüpfel 1934; Liebs 1977; Fertig 1977).

The extent to which this journal was read by the Jewish Maskilim is not quite clear. What is clear, however, is that members of the Haskalah movement were preoccupied with pedagogical issues, and their primary "maskilic" objectives were in the field of education. The Haskalah people, who firmly believed in the importance of rational education, regularly and extensively aired their views on pedagogical matters in various journals (such as *Ha-measef* and *Shulamit*), often citing Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, Campe, and, to a lesser extent, Pestalozzi (Tsamriyon 1988: 175–83). There is no need here to go into the well-documented history of the interference between the German and the Jewish philosophies of education, which has been described in detail elsewhere. It is also a well-known fact that ties between the German Enlightenment and Jewish Haskalah movements in Germany were particularly strong: Mendelssohn and Basedow corresponded, and it was Mendelssohn who recommended that the Jews support Basedow in his *Elementarwerk*. The Jews responded favorably to Mendelssohn's request by donating the large sum of 518 taler to Philantropin in Dessau (Schmidt 1898: 110–12).

The Jewish Haskalah in Germany adopted the overall German Enlightenment philosophy of education, and that of the Philantropin in particular, which further attests to the bond between the two movements. The Philantropin method of language instruction, its approach

to the instruction of the sciences, and especially its partiality to a universal religion made the overall Philantropin worldview highly appropriate for the Jewish Maskilim. The emphasis placed on science aptly met Jewish needs and appears to have paved the way toward social and economic progress.

Of course, embracing the new Philantropin philosophy of education called for a change in the school curriculum, and this was realized by a new network of schools established throughout Germany by the Haskalah movement, positing an alternative to the traditional Jewish system of education. As a rule, these schools closely followed the Philanthropist model (Eliav 1960; Simon 1953), although the Jewish Maskilim also wished to impart a Jewish flavor to the Philantropin method. This was accomplished by replacing original Philantropin counterparts with Jewish counterparts; for instance, the Philantropin proposal to do away with traditional elements in the curriculum was embraced, but with the result that omitting the traditional instruction of Greek was paralleled in the Jewish program by giving up the traditional teaching of the Talmud. Replacing Greek with Latin led to the instruction of Hebrew, another classical language, in what amounted to a Jewish variation on the Philantropin method.

The newly established need for daily textbooks was regarded by the Haskalah as the prime means of attaining its educational, social, and cultural objectives. This practical function of books for children is not really surprising, as it features centrally in all European children's literatures whose constituent stages were characterized by rigid adherence to the ideology of the educational system. However, unlike other cases of European children's literature, the circumstances in which Hebrew-Jewish children's literature emerged did not allow for a breaking away from the "maskilic" ideology, which thus continued for some time to be the sole determining factor of options open to Jewish-Hebrew books for children. Thus, the Haskalah ideology created a cultural opening for books for children, while imposing severe restrictions on its development at the same time.

The new and hitherto unknown educational method created an urgent demand for new and alternative types of books. The new schools sought appropriate texts, which could not be located in the former traditional repertoire of Jewish texts. A new system had come into being that needed a supply of new and accessible elements. The few existing Jewish texts for children were unequipped to meet Haskalah demands, so the Haskalah was forced to look elsewhere for a source from which alternative models could be borrowed.

The close relations between the Jewish Haskalah and German Enlightenment movements made German children's literature during the Enlightenment an ideal, if not *the* most desirable, model for imi-

tation. Ideologically speaking, the best guarantee of securing a supply of those newly required books for children was through an ongoing process of interference with the German system, as a result of which hundreds of books in Hebrew, German, and a bilingual format were written and published, all modeled on the German repertoire of books for children.

One must bear in mind, however, that adopting the German repertoire was neither a direct nor a straightforward process. The concrete way in which the German system served as a model for imitation was conditioned by the Haskalah's assessment of the evolution of German Enlightenment children's literature and its specific inventory of books. This process involved the translation of concepts and ideas that did not always accord with the state of affairs as perceived by the German children's-literature system. Furthermore, once the Jewish-Hebrew children's-literature system had created a certain image of German children's literature, this image was sustained for a long time without really taking heed of the changes and developments taking place within German literature itself.

The lack of compatibility between the two systems is also otherwise reflected: Jewish-Hebrew children's literature began to evolve in Germany toward the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. At that time German children's literature was itself involved in a process of emancipation from the hegemony of the Enlightenment's didactic notion of children's literature. This did not mean that didactic books oriented toward Philanthropist theories were no longer being written; it simply meant that new books of a different nature were also being produced and were beginning to gain recognition within the system. In other words, the German children's-literature system was becoming more stratified and generically more heterogeneous.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Jewish-Hebrew children's literature had not yet, as might have been expected, adjusted to current developments in German children's literature, with the result that it had to look to the past for a model for its development, namely, to the early decades of the eighteenth century. The nature of the texts in the Jewish-Hebrew children's-literature system, as well as the process of their insertion into the system, developed along the lines of the equivalent process which took place in the German system at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Why was it necessary to turn to the past, and why did the eighteenth century still feature so centrally in Jewish-Hebrew children's literature during the nineteenth century? Singling out the first few decades of the eighteenth century as a model for imitation was understandable in view of the similarity between the overall prevailing cultural en-

vironments and circumstances in both eras. These comprised similar cultural forces and institutions which were engaged in the production of books for children during the respective developmental stages of both the German and the Jewish-Hebrew systems. In fact, if the Jewish-Hebrew system was expected to come up with an alternative repertoire of texts and to rise to its newly legitimized status, it had no choice but to turn back to this previous stage of development. The absence of factors normally held responsible for the dynamics of literary systems, namely, normal market conditions, was a prime force in the formation of a somewhat rigid repertoire of translated German texts and, subsequently, in the creation of a fixed and highly static image of German children's literature.

It was almost as though at a given point in time, certain models, texts, and processes of development in the evolution of German children's literature were joined to form a circle, which later became the sole frame of reference for Jewish-Hebrew children's literature spanning almost an entire century. This frame of reference consisted mainly in the translation of German Enlightenment texts, or the production of a small number of original Hebrew texts based on German texts. In the system of Jewish-Hebrew children's literature, translated texts were in fact privileged to the extent that, to the best of our knowledge, all books for children published by the Haskalah in Germany were either official translations, pseudo-translations, or original texts based on existing German models.

The eligibility of texts for translation was ideologically motivated: the extent to which those texts reflected the ideological shifts of various Haskalah writers was a deciding factor for or against their translation into Hebrew. A text had to "prove" its unequivocal adherence to Haskalah ideology before it would be selected for translation; only those texts seen through the *filter* of the Haskalah as affiliated to the German Enlightenment and/or the Jewish tradition were eligible for translation. Consequently, German texts were translated if and when they were recognizably "Jewish," if they had been written by German writers recognized by the Jews as German Enlightenment writers, or if they explicitly conveyed Enlightenment values.

These principles of selection resulted, on the one hand, in an abundance of moralistic poems and fables, history and geography books and, on the other hand, in the total exclusion of fictional narratives, such as short stories and novels, until the mid-nineteenth century. The process of translation was predominantly determined by the generic principle, so much so that, in cases where a text was selected for translation on the basis of other criteria (e.g., theme or author), the original text was then modified and transformed into an acceptable genre, that is, one which did not violate the so-called boycott on fictional models.

Within the context of these major ideological decisions, two additional criteria were involved in the selection of books for translation: theme and author. Theme was highly significant in Jewish issues, especially in the case of biblical stories. Historical themes were not yet acceptable, becoming popular only toward the mid-nineteenth century (see Ben Ari [in progress]).

I might add that the rather arbitrary choice of themes occasionally seems somewhat erratic. For instance, David Samostz² (Zamoshch), a provincial writer in Breslau who eventually became a prominent Jewish author of children's books, translated two biblical stories: *Die Hirtinnen von Midien* (1843 [Hebrew title: *Ro'ot midyan o yaldut Moshe*]) by Stéphanie-Félicité Genlis (1812 [German translation of *Les Bergères de Madian ou la Jeunesse de Moïse, poème en prose en 6 chants*]), which describes the childhood of Moses, and Johann Hübner's *Biblische Historien* (1837 [1714] [Hebrew title: *Nehar maadan*]), which was published in bilingual format. In each case, the reason for the text's translation was the biblical theme. Theme became a matter of such cardinal importance that, in the case of Hübner, Samostz was even prepared to overlook the fact that Hübner was *the* most popular Christian writer of children's books during the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth too.

Hübner's *Zweymahl zwey und funffzig Auserlesene biblische Historien aus dem alten und neuen Testamente* was first published in 1714, that is, over a hundred years before it was translated into Hebrew by Samostz in 1837. In its original German, the book was considered the most influential biblical text pertaining to the instruction of children in the Lutheran persuasion (see Reents 1986). Christian dogma, conspicuous throughout the book, dominates the entire second part of it, which concerns the New Testament, but is also apparent in the first part, which concerns the Old Testament. Thus, for instance, in the first part the story of Adam and Eve focuses on original sin, Jacob's struggle with the angel becomes a struggle with Christ, and the "angel" who informs Abraham that Sarah is carrying his son is none other than Christ, the son of God.

Samostz tried to resolve the obvious theological difficulties in translating Hübner's work by omitting substantial parts of the original text: in his translation he left out the fifty-two stories from the New Testament, and the stories from the Apocrypha. He was careful to include stories which appeared to be theologically "safe," such as those of the Creation, the Tower of Babel, and the Exodus of the Israelites. On the other hand, he inserted an additional tale—the history of the Jews during the time of the Second Temple. Samostz also tried to bowdler-

2. The author's own spelling of his name has been adopted throughout this article.

ize the text by expurgating all Christian elements from it. For example, the third tale of the Creation ends, in the German version, with the following sentence: "Was ist dann nun zu thun? Ich werde mich bemühen / Ins andre Paradies, wo *Christus* wohnt, zu ziehen," which was changed to *wo mein Gott wohnt*.

Samostz's perception of the need to omit Christian traces from the text is particularly clear in the German section of the book (written in Hebrew characters). In certain parts of this section Samostz replaced Luther's translation with one by Mendelssohn and his followers. However, I might add that the use of Mendelssohn's translation is not systematic, and no recurring pattern can be discerned to explain why Mendelssohn's translation replaces Luther's. What is clear is that Samostz was far more cautious in translating tales of theological bearing, such as the Creation or the Ten Commandments. Nevertheless, some tales still comply with Lutheran tenets, most probably because Samostz was unaware of their Christian orientation. For instance, the description of the Flood Generation is taken directly from Matthew (24:38), probably without Samostz being aware of this source. Further, Adam and Eve are presented by Hübner as married, a typical Christian detail which, in Samostz's version, is left out of the tale itself but appears intact in the moral at the end. Samostz's choice of Hübner as a writer to be translated can be accounted for only on the basis of an alleged thematic adjustment. However, as has already been mentioned, the criterion of theme was less significant than that of the writer. Once a writer had been singled out as an Enlightenment author, his work became a potential object for translation and retranslation into Hebrew.

The most prolifically translated writer at the time was Joachim Heinrich Campe, who was regarded by Jewish writers as *the* German Enlightenment author for children.

Joachim Heinrich Campe

Why Campe?

The acclaimed friendship between Mendelssohn and Campe was partly due to the correspondence between them, and to the much-cited letter written by Mendelssohn to Campe in March 1777, analyzing the living conditions of the Jews in Germany (Badt-Strauss 1929: 199–201; Altman 1976: letter no. 443, 85). Over and above this correspondence, during which Mendelssohn is known to have addressed Campe as "Mein wertester Freund," Campe also paid one or two visits to Mendelssohn's Berlin home, after which he reported enthusiastically, if somewhat patronizingly, the following:

Es war an einem Freitag Nachmittage, als wir, meine Frau und ich, mit Berliner Gelehrten bei Mendelssohn zum Besuche waren und mit Kaffee bewir-

thet 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 meine Sabbat zu empfangen und bin dann gleich wieder in Ihrer Mitte.; unterdess wird meine Frau Ihre Gegenwart um so mehr geniessen. (Kaysersling 1888: 422–23)

Characteristic of this relationship was the stereotyped manner in which Mendelssohn and Campe perceived one another. Mendelssohn regarded Campe as a representative member of the German philo-Semitic circles and thus held him morally responsible for the attitude of German society toward the Jews. This was, for instance, the case in the letter mentioned above, in which Mendelssohn replied to Campe implying that the Fürst von Dessau might have been annoyed at the meager Jewish response to an invitation to join the Philantropin in Dessau. Mendelssohn further argued that there was nothing new about letting Jewish children into German schools, indirectly, and quite bitterly, referring to Friedrich the Great, who in 1771 vetoed Mendelssohn's appointment to the Royal Academy in Berlin. Although Campe regarded Mendelssohn as a representative of enlightened Jewish society, it is worth noting that their acquaintance played a far less important role for him than for Mendelssohn. Campe scholars have found little or no mention of Mendelssohn in their studies of Campe's works, whereas throughout studies of Mendelssohn's works references to his acquaintance with Campe can be found.

However, asymmetrical though the relationship was, Mendelssohn's acquaintance with Campe undoubtedly played a crucial role in Campe's introduction into the Jewish-Hebrew system. Mendelssohn was a prime force at that time in the process of interference occurring between the Jewish and German cultures, as has been astutely noted by Akiva Ernst Simon. Simon observes that it was Mendelssohn who "served both as a bridge as well as a dam" for the Haskalah (Simon 1953: 179 [my translation]). That is, concepts and values underwritten by Mendelssohn were transmitted to Jewish cultural centers in both Western and Eastern Europe, while tenets and beliefs he disregarded or rejected had little chance of reaching the cultural consciousness of the average "maskilic" Jew, at least until the middle of the nineteenth century.

Campe's position in the Hebrew-Jewish system cannot, however, be accounted for solely on the basis of a series of biographical incidents, significant as they may be. Of no less importance was his status within the European educational and literary systems of the time, where he assumed the task of popularizing the new philosophy of education. Moreover, Campe was responsible for the fact that several of Rousseau's ideas on education, as well as the Robinsonnade, were intro-

duced not only into the English, but into the Dutch, Italian, Danish, and French literary systems as well, to mention but a few. The latter introduction took place despite the high status of French culture in comparison with the German (on the question of Campe's role as an agent of Robinson Crusoe and the Robinsonnade, see Stambur [1990]; on translations of Campe's writings into various European systems, see Ullrich [1898]). Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* and *Theophron* played principal roles in the change taking place at that time in the governing models of European children's literatures. The combination of Campe's philo-Semitic leanings and his dominant position in the European scene as a Philantropin representative made him the ideal leading agent in the process of interference between the German and Jewish-Hebrew cultures during the Haskalah.

As far as Jewish-Hebrew culture was concerned, Campe was the representative of German children's literature. His books were translated into Yiddish as well as Hebrew. The first book by Campe to be translated into Yiddish was *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* (1781/1782). Translated by Haikel Hurwitz as early as 1817 and entitled *Zafnat paaneax*, it was followed between 1823 and 1824 by a second translation, *Di entdekung fun Amerika*. The first translation, *Zafnat paaneax*, was an overwhelming success, especially among women readers. According to Israel Zinberg, who cites A. B. Gottlober, this translation eventually replaced such books of religious teachings (Erbauungsliteratur) as *Tsene-rene* and *Bove mayse* (Zinberg 1976: 225–26). Zinberg claims that the most recently published Hebrew translation known to Mordechai Günzburg was one based on Hurwitz's translation. Moreover, Günzburg himself produced his own Yiddish translation in order to compensate for the financial loss incurred by the Hebrew translation (on Günzburg's translation, see Meisel 1919: 187; Bartal 1990: 137). *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779/1780) was retranslated into Yiddish yet again as recently as 1910 (Rayzn 1933).

Campe maintained his position as the most privileged German writer in the Jewish-Hebrew system for a long time, up until the second half of the nineteenth century. Even when harshly criticized by German writers who wrote alternative versions of *Robinson der Jüngere* (Stach 1978: 474–75) and even when he was no longer a living literary figure in Europe in general or Germany in particular, Campe's books still provided a model for the production of original texts in Hebrew. I might add that Campe's works continued to be translated into Hebrew and to function as a model for original Hebrew texts long after the cultural center had been transferred from Germany to Eastern Europe. Several moralizing children's books modeled on Campe's *Theophron* (1783) were written in Hebrew, including Herz Homberg's 1808 work, *Imre shefer*, several chapters of Samostz's *Esh dat*, of 1834, and even the

didactic children's journal published in Bavaria in 1817, *Keren tushiya*. As recently as the early stages of the modern Israeli period, Campe was still a viable figure in Hebrew letters. One of the books in the series *Bet ha-sefer li-bne Yisrael*, published in Jerusalem from 1891 to 1892 by Yehuda Grazovski and Chayim Tzifrin, entitled *Ha-madrikkh* (The Instructor) and dedicated to moral instruction, was based on Campe's *Theophron*.

One might even propose, as a working hypothesis, that the initial stages of Jewish children's literature were in one way or another based on the translation of Campe's works. Because he was regarded as the dominant writer of German children's literature, translations of Campe's works in fact provided a blueprint for the scope of children's literature in Hebrew. Moreover, historically, these works mark the establishment of a system of children's literature in the Jewish-Hebrew culture, and are regarded as reliable and accessible sources for the reproduction of both texts and models.

In addition to writing on pedagogical, philosophical, and educational issues, Campe wrote over two dozen books for children, among which the most frequently translated were *Robinson der Jüngere*, *Theophron, oder der erfahrene Rathgeber für die unerfahrene Jugend*, and *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* (Fertig 1977: 265–69).

Robinson der Jüngere was by far Campe's most popular book (on *Robinson der Jüngere* as a source for the Robinsonnade and as a manifestation of the Philantropin method, see, e.g., Fertig 1977; Liebs 1977; Stach 1978). Campe's book, first published in Hamburg between 1779 and 1780, had already been translated into French as early as 1779 (!) and then finally published in 1781 or 1782, at the latest. Probably Campe himself translated the first edition of *Robinson der Jüngere* into French (Mann 1916: 186). This translation was followed by new editions in German and new translations in French (the first translation to be published in France appeared in 1789 [see Stach 1970: 260–61]). *Robinson der Jüngere* was also translated into Hebrew, as were the two other popular books mentioned above and two additional texts: *Merkwürdige Reisebeschreibungen* (1805/1807) and *Sittenbücher für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen* (1796), all of which underwent more than one translation (see the Appendix). It seems safe enough to assume that these five titles were chosen for translation due to their popularity in the German or other European literary systems. However, their inherent generic orientation was undoubtedly another important factor.

Die Entdeckung von Amerika, comprising, among other things, the characteristics of a history and geography textbook, was the first of Campe's books to be translated into Hebrew, by Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt in 1807. The translation, entitled *Metziat Ha-arets Ha-xadasha*, redefined the book strictly as a geography and history text.

A review published in *Ha-measef* disclosed the book's new generic affiliation (*Ha-measef* 5570 [1810]: 97–101)³ and paid tribute to Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's linguistic achievements, particularly with regard to the geographical terms he used; the reviewer also suggested modifying certain terms, but concluded that "on the whole it is a fine, handsome book, which will prove useful to all those interested in the history of the past" (*ibid.*: 101).

Before publishing his Hebrew translation, the translator corresponded with Campe. Although I have been unable to trace this exchange of letters, it is possible to reconstruct Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's impression of Campe's response, as he sums it up in his introduction to the book by describing Campe's great pleasure upon learning of the forthcoming translation into Hebrew. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, who was probably greatly encouraged by Campe's enthusiastic response, published the first part of the book and hoped to publish the remaining two parts if the first part sold well. However, as far as I know, the other two parts were never published. The review in *Ha-measef* indeed mentioned the book's poor sales and recommended that the Jews purchase it to enable the translator to publish the remaining parts; this recommendation, however, bore no fruit.

This first translation of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* was in keeping with the norms of translation at the time. I shall not elaborate on this point right now except to mention that the act of translating was regarded as a relatively free and unrestricted transformation or revision of the original text. The translator was held responsible for what he regarded as the "main idea" of the book, which he was fully expected to transmit by way of translation; at the same time, however, any component perceived as irrelevant to this "idea" could be omitted, adapted, revised, or replaced.

As has been argued by some scholars, the act of translating enjoyed a status similar to that of original writing, as it was considered a creative act in its own right. This is indicated by the front matter of Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's translation: Campe's name appears neither on the cover nor on the book's title page, which reads: "Composed, gathered and compiled in the Hebrew language from people's books, in clear and simple language, in order to teach the young people of Israel the beauty of this language, and inform them of God's work and the wonders he performs everywhere" (my translation). The absence of the writer's name did not indicate any lack of respect for the original author; as is clearly noted in his introduction, Mendelssohn-Frankfurt had great respect for Campe, whom he describes as "the

3. Due to the incompatibility between Hebrew and Gregorian calendars, approximate Gregorian dates are cited in brackets.

clever, enlightened and sincere Campe.” This absence was a direct result of the norms governing translation at that time, whereby the text was clearly not expected to resemble the original in the same way we would expect it to today.

I would like to elaborate a little more on two other aspects of the translation process at that time: the generic transformation of the text, and misgivings concerning the addressee. The boundaries of the emerging Jewish-Hebrew system were still somewhat obscure; the status of books for children, which had just begun to gain recognition, was also unclear. Although writing for children was being encouraged by the system, writers of that period had misgivings about committing themselves exclusively to a specific addressee, preferring to address a larger audience than one comprised solely of children. With respect to the case of Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, Campe's text, which in the original German (i.e., the source system) addressed children specifically, became in the Jewish-Hebrew system (i.e., the target system) a book for both adolescents and adults.

Another indication of the text's multifariousness with respect to its audience may be found in the review (mentioned above) published in *Ha-measef*, which recommended that Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's *Metziat Ha-aretz Ha-xadasha* be read by any “lover of the Hebrew language and book” and especially “the dear people of Poland who do not read books written for gentiles” (*Ha-measef* 5570 [1810]: 101).

The incompatibility between the affiliations of texts in the source and target systems can be explained by a variety of reasons, some of which are even contradictory: The simultaneous emergence of several new systems in the Jewish culture, the rudimentary nature of these systems, and their exceedingly limited audience as well as their shared common interests led to the blurring of boundaries between the different systems. As a result, the same texts were published more often than not for adults *as well as* for children (see Toury 1988). On the other hand, the children's system, as part of the educational system, was by definition required to introduce new practices of educating the Jewish child. Moreover, the children's system, due to its peripheral position in the culture, generally stands less chance of being heavily scrutinized and is therefore often a convenient vehicle for the introduction of new cultural models. In this particular case, it became an even more desirable channel in light of its sound and stable relationship with the educational system.

The need for generic adaptation was rooted in the existing repertoire of the Jewish-Hebrew system. The emerging Hebrew system was not yet in a position to endorse fictional narratives for children or adults. A translated text was therefore expected to conform to the standards of acceptable genres, which did *not* include fictional prose.

Even in the case of a writer of Campe's caliber, whose translated works were legitimized by his rank and stature in Haskalah circles, only a limited number of books were eligible for translation, namely, those which contributed to the acquisition of human knowledge and wisdom, as understood by the Haskalah. This systemic demand with respect to acceptable genres determined pretranslational decision-making about text selection as well as choices concerning the actual process of translation itself.

As noted above, translating Campe under these particular circumstances amounted to replacing the original narrative of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* with an historical-geographical one. The original text was restructured as a frame-story, a narrative technique favored by the Philanthropists, who regarded the dialogue constructed by the frame-story as the most suitable form for instructing children. In the frame-story of the source text, the father promises his children to tell them a fascinating tale during the coming week; subsequently, the frame-story determines the segmentation of the source text according to the days of the week. In this way the dialogue with the children plays an important role in structuring the narrative sequence of the text. Recourse to dialogue enables the narrator to focus on the children, making them, rather than Columbus, the main protagonists. Focusing on the children also allows the narrator to teach them several things by means of a series of questions and answers. The dialogue also makes it quite clear that through narration the text is meant to impart specific values to the children, among which knowledge is highly significant, but not exclusively so.

This narrative structure, which, *above all*, manifests *Philanthropist ideas*, is not represented in the Hebrew translation, from which the frame-story has been left out, as its fictional nature was not in keeping with the translation norms of the Jewish-Hebrew system. Instead it has been replaced by a narrator who relates an historical narrative. In this way Hebrew translators, despite their desire to impart Campe's ideas and Philanthropist values to the Jewish-Hebrew system, finally produced a text which was to some extent removed from the Philanthropist model.

Additional Translations of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*

Die Entdeckung von Amerika became a most popular text among Haskalah writers. Even outside Germany, Jewish "maskilic" writers often chose to begin their careers by translating this very book, regardless of other existing editions. Its second Hebrew translation, entitled *Giluy Amerika*, was done by Hirsch Baer Hurwitz, also known as Hermann Bernard. Hurwitz, who belonged to the first generation of Maskilim in Russia, translated Campe's book into Hebrew as early as 1810, twelve

years before establishing a school in Uman together with Metz Landau. It is not quite clear why it seemed necessary to produce a new translation only three years after Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's book had been published. There may indeed have been several reasons, including the possibility that Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's translation might have been unknown or unavailable in Russia. However, we must bear in mind that one of the first objectives to be accomplished by the Jewish Maskilim in Russia was to translate one of Campe's books into Hebrew.

This was also the case for the third translation of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*: Mordechai Aharon Günzburg's *Sefer galot ha-arets ha-xadasha*, of 1823. Günzburg's translation is of special interest as it was the first full translation and also because it points to Campe's significance in the eyes of Jewish Russian Haskalah. By translating Campe into Hebrew, Günzburg, who saw the knowledge of German culture as vital to the development of Jewish-Hebrew culture in Russia, wished to introduce into Jewish Russian Haskalah a bridge to the German culture. Günzburg was active in various Haskalah enterprises, but his most important contribution lay in his many literary endeavors. His original works strongly suggest that he was well acquainted with other books by Campe and, accordingly, that he based his own writings on them. For instance, "Letters Concerning the Commercial Estate," describing a father's advice to his son on matters of business ethics, was most likely based on the fatherly advice found in Campe's *Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesüdeten Ständen* of 1777. Even the son, Yedidah (in German, Gottlieb), was named after the wise old man who is featured in this text (this was also the name of one of the sons in *Robinson der Jüngere*).

Günzburg, who often journeyed to Lithuania and Courland, crossing the cultural barrier between the Jews of Eastern Europe and the German culture, thus became a major conduit in the cultural flux through which German culture and the Haskalah filtered into Jewish East-European society (Magid 1897; Bartal 1990). He regarded German as a primary tool for the acquisition of knowledge and for economic advancement, as well as a factor of political significance (Bartal 1990: 136, 140), and he chose to translate into Hebrew those texts which could best serve his "maskilic" goal: transmitting European knowledge and trends of thought to the Jewish culture (ibid.: 141). In his quest for an exemplary representative of German culture, Günzburg found Campe to be the most likely nominee. His *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* served Günzburg's goals perfectly, given its potential as a text for teaching geography and history. Furthermore, an inoffensive text such as Campe's would be less likely to provoke the Russian censor (ibid.: 142), thus allowing Günzburg to introduce "maskilic" values into the Jewish culture without incurring the wrath of the Russian au-

thorities, who in any event viewed the Jewish Russian Maskilim with suspicion. According to Günzburg, the book was an overwhelming success. By 1846, Günzburg's edition had sold out, with not a single copy remaining (Magid 1897: 23). The book was reprinted in Warsaw as late as 1884 and even then was considered popular reading material.

The question of interference between East-European Haskalah and the German culture, and the latter's function in the development of Jewish-Hebrew culture in Eastern Europe, calls for a separate study. Here I simply wish to point out the value of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* in the eyes of the Haskalah. A text which was regarded as a historical narrative could be used to establish a historical awareness (see Feiner 1990, esp. ch. 2), while the events unfolded in it could serve the purpose of presenting a new world and new options of living. Thus, the history of the discovery of America was regarded by the Maskilim both as a sign of modern history and as an event which instituted a new period in history, providing an example of universal history and human capability (ibid.: 64).

Once accepted as a history book, later translations of Campe's *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* (and of similar texts, such as *Merkwürdige Reisebeschreibungen*) tended to ignore completely the underlying model of the original text, referring to it as "purely" a history book. This was the case with Mendel Lefin's *Mas'ot ha-yam* of 1818 and Avraham Mohr's *Qolumbus, Hu sefer metziat eretz Amerika* of 1846. The two Galician Maskilim regarded the act of translating as part of their struggle against the Galician Hassidim, whereby a major task was assigned to the creation of historical awareness. Thus, translating Campe was not perceived in terms of writing fictional narratives, nor in terms of mere "adventure stories" about the discovery of America or any other such "wonderful journeys," but in terms of creating a repertoire of historical awareness.

The first translation to render the original Philanthropist structure was Samostz's 1824 translation of *Robinson der Jüngere*. Samostz also translated *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* in 1824, entitling it *Metziat Amerika*, but, unfortunately, I have failed to trace a copy of this book. Samostz's translation of *Robinson der Jüngere* was something of an exception, not only because it adhered to the frame-story format, but also because Samostz tried as far as possible to produce an adequate translation. In his case the gap between the original text and the translation is much narrower than in most translations of Campe's works, which were characteristically more like adaptations of the original texts.

As was mentioned above, Campe maintained his prestigious position throughout the nineteenth century, even after interference between the Jewish-Hebrew and German cultures had become less controlled. Campe belonged to the group of German writers who bore the stamp

of the Haskalah in Germany, using it to furnish the repertoire of the emerging Jewish-Hebrew system. The definitive preference for translating Campe at that time shows how translations paved the way for Haskalah goals and helped to achieve at least two: (1) translations made it possible to borrow components of a system considered ideal for imitation, thus laying the groundwork for gradual consent to and acceptance of the new system; (2) they also made possible the use of texts which had already acquired legitimization, were unquestionably representative of Enlightenment ideology, and hence could be readily legitimized by the Jewish-Hebrew system.

Jewish-Hebrew children's literature followed the German model of development in two ways: historically, by following its stages of development; and by borrowing its textual models. This occurred not only because of similar processes of legitimization attributed to both systems during their respective formative stages, but also as a result of the ideological dependence which made German Enlightenment children's literature a natural frame of reference. Reliance on the German system implied that each process and procedure in the development of the Hebrew system was conditioned by the German one. It was the German system or, more precisely, the interpretation thereof by the Jewish Maskilim which determined the nature and limits of the Jewish-Hebrew system, its repertoire and its structure.

In order to follow the development of Jewish-Hebrew children's literature, interference with the German system is not only methodologically important, but it is an indispensable parameter in its own right, without which the bulk of the evolutionary process cannot really be understood.

Appendix

This is the most up-to-date list of Hebrew translations of Campe's works currently available. More translations may well be found as the research project (see note 1) proceeds.

Robinson der Jüngere

Samostz, David

1824 [5585] *Robinson der jingere*. Ein Lesebuch für Kinder von Joachim Heinrich Campe. Ins Hebräisch übertragen von David Samostz (Breslau: Sulzbach).

Bloch, Eliezer, and Shimon Ha-Kohen

1849 *Maase Robinson* (Warsaw: Bomberg).

Edelmann, Simcha

1872 [5672] *Sipur Robinson* (Przemysl: Amkraut and Freund).

Erter, Yitzxaq

n.d. *Robinson ha-ivri* (lost).

Die Entdeckung von Amerika

Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, Moshe

1807 [5567] *Metziat ha-aretz ha-xadasha*. Kolel kol ha gvurot ve ha-maasim asher

- naasu leet metzo ha-aretz ha-zot, le khol agapeha u mevinoteha, u mishpateha, va anasheha, lileshonotam u mishpaxotam (Altona: Bonn Brüder Könliche).
 Bernard, Hermann [Hirsch Baer Hurwitz]
 1810 *Gilyu Amerika* (cannot be traced).
 Günzburg, Mordechai Aharon
 1823 [5583] *Sefer galot ha-aretz ha-xadasha al yede Kristof Qolumbus*. Xubar meet xakham gadol me xakhme ashkenaz adon Qampe ve neetaq lilshon ha-qodesh tzax ve naqi u be lashon qetzara le toe'let yalde bne amenu le lamdam le maher daber tzaxot (Vilna: Drukowac' C. Golan'ski).
 Samostz, David
 1824 [5584] *Metziat Amerika* (Breslau [cannot be traced]).
 Mohr, Avraham Mendel
 1846 *Qolumbus, Hu sefer metziat eretz Amerika ze ke arba meot shana* (Lemberg: Xava Grossman Druckerei).

Merkwürdige Reisebeschreibungen

- Lefin, Mendel
 1825 [1818] {5585 [5578]} *Mas'ot ha-yam, hema maase Yah ve nifleotav asher rau yorde yamim bo-oniyot Hollandia u-Britaniya*. Neetqu mi-sifre mas'ot he-xakham Qampe li-sfat ever be-lashon tzax ve qal le-ma'an yarutz kol qore bo (Lemberg: Druck von D. H. Schrenzel).
 N. N. [identity unknown, possibly Lefin; see item above]
 1825 *Oniya soara* (Vilna [bound with Lefin 1825]).
 Grazovski, Y.
 1912 [5672] *Yam ha-qerax* (Yafo: La-am)

Theophron

- Anapolski, Zvi Hirsch
 1863 *Aviezer o mokhi'ax xakham*. Ve hu ha'ataqa xofshit mi-leshon ashkenaz mi-sefer ha Theofron, me ha-mexaber ha-nikhbad Qampe (Odessa: Nietsche and Zederbaum).
 1863 *Si'ax erev*. Introduction to *Aviezer o mokhi'ax xakham* (Odessa: Nietsche and Zederbaum).

Sittenbücher für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen

- Samostz, David
 1819 *Tokhexot musar*. Divre xakham be-lashon ivri he'etaqi / mi-lashon ashkenazi mishle Qampe he'etaqi / le-toelet talmiday lintoa be-libam / melitza, xokhma u musar be odam be ibam (Breslau: Sulzbach).
 Schoenfeld, Baruch
 1831 *Musar haskel* (Prague: Landau Verlag).
 1859 *Musar haskel: A Primer of Ethics for Israelites*. 2d ed., by special order of D. Sassoon (Berlin: A. Asher).
 Anschelwitz, Ascher
 1866 *Musar la-nearim* (Odessa: Belinsohn).
 Neidveidel, Elijahu
 1882 *Av le banim* (Warsaw: Kelter).

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