

# **Cultural Agents and Cultural Interference: The Function of J.H. Campe in an Emerging Jewish Culture\***

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*Abstract: This paper deals with the major role played by translated literature in the emergence of a new system of books for Jewish children in the German-speaking countries at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th. This role was due to the remarkable status of German culture in the eyes of the Haskala (Jewish Enlightenment movement), and to the absence of appropriate original texts which could serve the needs of the new system. As a result, translated texts were privileged in the system of Jewish children's literature, to the extent that, to the best of our knowledge, all books for children published by the Haskala in Germany were either official translations, pseudotranslations, or original texts based on existing German models.*

*Résumé: Le présent article examine comment, au tournant du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la littérature traduite a servi l'avènement d'un nouveau système de livres pour enfants juifs dans les pays germanophones. La culture allemande jouissait alors d'un grand prestige au sein du mouvement Haskala (Lumières juives). En même temps, ce dernier ne pouvait de manière satisfaisante s'approvisionner en textes originaux. D'où le recours privilégié à des traductions destinées à pourvoir la littérature juive pour la jeunesse. L'inclination aux traductions prenait une telle ampleur, que tous les livres pour enfants publiés en Allemagne par le mouvement Haskala étaient soit des traductions, soit des pseudo-traductions, soit enfin des textes originaux basés sur des modèles allemands.*

## 1

The fact that in the German-speaking countries, books for Jewish children were written and published regularly over hundreds of years has been almost unknown. Until recently research has not dealt systematically with these texts, failing, in fact, to acknowledge their very existence. Thanks to a research project carried out by the Institut für Jugendbuchforschung at Universität Frankfurt and the School of Cultural Studies at Tel Aviv University, in the years 1990-1995, we have been able to recover a large portion of the corpus of books for Jewish children and youth in the German-speaking countries, and to get hold of more than one third of the texts themselves.

When the project was launched, we proposed to work in a field which had never existed, whether in Judaic or German Studies. Despite the involvement of almost every Jewish community, from its very inception, in the production of texts for children, the texts were assigned no significant cultural value and therefore were not regarded as worthy of preservation. Consequently, many of the books failed to survive their own era, nor were they ever systematically searched for and collected, either at the time of publication or later on, by any of the Judaica collections.

This meant that we had to explore a *terra incognita*, and by so doing define the very existence of the field along with its boundaries. To a certain extent, we felt like archaeologists embarking on a series of excavations. First we had to determine which parts of the field should be excavated, which elements belonged to which period and which field, and which were totally irrelevant. We had to expose unknown cultural strata and unearth countless fragments of a lost picture, whose origin and date were often hard to confirm. The body of texts which began to take shape before our very eyes provided appropriate compensation for the frustrating search for the books themselves, of which not more than one third seem to have survived.

At an early stage of our research, it became clear that books intended specifically for Jewish children and adolescents had not been produced systematically until the period of *Haskala* (Jewish Enlightenment). It was however possible to demonstrate the much earlier use of certain texts for educating the youth. In fact, as early as the 14th and 15th centuries, attempts to adopt or assign certain adult texts to children can be discerned, and in the 16th and 17th centuries there were growing efforts to write books expressly designed for children (Rapel 1986; Goldin in press). Towards the end of the 18th century,

with the inception of the *Haskala*, literature intended specifically for Jewish children and youth began to be written systematically in both Hebrew and German. Between that time and 1938, Jewish publishers continued to publish hundreds of books of this kind. The books were first written mostly in Hebrew, which was later superseded by German as the dominating language.

The dimensions of the inventory which we were able to reconstruct were utterly unexpected. At the outset of our project, we did not expect such a vast field. We estimated that the total number of titles would amount to a few hundred. Now it is clear that we are dealing with some 800 Hebrew or bilingual titles as well as about 1,600 German titles. Their description is given in the Handbuch *Deutsch-jüdische Kinder- und Jugendliteratur* (Shavit and Ewers 1996), which documents the thousands of books published in the German-speaking countries between the *Haskala* period and 1945. It also describes and documents the writers and institutions involved in their publication. This is the first comprehensive study of a rather unknown and forgotten area of Jewish culture, whose exploration throws new light on the emergence of modern Jewish culture in Germany.

The reason why we never expected to find so many titles had to do with the fact that the standard bibliographies of Germania-Judaica — of which there is quite a number — listed no more than a few hundred books throughout the centuries. The dimensions became especially puzzling when the data concerning the number of Jewish pupils were compared with the number of books published; there were periods during which the number of published books was almost as high as the number of children who attended Jewish schools. In other words, there were almost as many books as official addressees.

During the *Haskala* period, the official addressees of the books in question were children who came to study in the new schooling network which the *Haskala* Movement had established in Germany in the years 1780-1850 (Eliav 1960). Several schools continued to exist later, some remaining active until the Second World War. However, the number of Jewish pupils never exceeded a few thousand during the entire period. For instance, according to Eliav, who studied Jewish education in Germany in the period of Enlightenment and Emancipation, the average number of pupils in the Berlin school between 1800-1813 did not exceed 55. The school in Breslau, which was opened in 1791, had 120 pupils in its first year, but the number dropped to 90 in the second year and never went up again. The overall number of pupils —

boys and girls — in Jewish schools in 1807 was around 440, and in 1812 no more than 900 children attended the schools of the *Haskala* movement.

How can we account for the large volume of books? This question is even more puzzling when we consider that at certain periods, it is not at all clear whether there were enough children whose knowledge of either Hebrew or German sufficed to make the texts intelligible. It should be recalled that, until the *Haskala* period, it was Yiddish — not German or Hebrew, the two languages of the books — which was the mother tongue of the intended readership.

Of course, books for adolescents were read by adults as well, and it may well be that there were more adult than child readers. In fact, more often than not, the very same texts were published for adults as well as for children. For instance, literary material first included in Jewish periodicals was later recycled in “Readers” (called “Primers” in the Anglo-Saxon world) for children, and we have good reasons to assume that these “Readers” frequently served as reading material for adults too, especially for those who had had no systematic schooling and were seeking to train themselves as readers in either German or Hebrew.

Whoever the “real” readership was, I contend that the number of books, especially those published until the middle of the 19th century, should not be taken as an indication of the real scope of readership, but rather as a mark of the status of the texts themselves within the various Jewish ideological movements, which regarded children’s books as a vehicle for the achievement of social goals.

Furthermore, the dimensions of the corpus make it clear that the reconstruction of the inventory of texts involves much more than the mere discovery of a forgotten chapter of German-Jewish history. Such a reconstruction sheds new light on texts which fulfilled a major function in Jewish cultural life in Germany; it bears on processes of interference between the German and Jewish cultures; and it has important implications for the creation of cultural images within Jewish culture (i.e. as to what a writer is, what constitutes a book, what amounts to *belles lettres*, what history is, etc.). Thus, it pertains directly to the nature of the interference between the Jewish and German cultures, that is, the role the German system, or particular sectors thereof, played in the emerging Jewish system as a result of their prolonged contacts. I contend that during the *Haskala* period, texts for Jewish children and young people played a leading, if not **the** most decisive, role in the process of

interference between the two cultures, mainly through translation of German texts and models into Hebrew (See Shavit 1986; Toury 1995: 131-135). Within the ideology of Jewish *Haskala*, contacts with the German culture were not disguised but rather were considered to be a scheme, a kind of a blueprint which should be adopted in actual practice. With the *Haskala*, the question of links with German culture ceased to be a matter of either permission or proscription. The involvement with German culture as such became a *fait accompli*, so that the issue at stake became the nature and character of this involvement.

## 2

Two factors were crucial in determining the actual channels through which the contacts between the German and Jewish-Hebrew cultures were made possible and took their actual shape: the available Jewish culture and the available German culture. In principle, the strategic options within the two cultures, as well as the options regulating their contacts, were unlimited. In practice, however, they always testified to the real needs of the Jewish system at a certain period of time (Even-Zohar 1990), its readiness to acknowledge its bonds with German culture, and most important of all — the mode and scope of its acquaintance with the German culture and the image it had of this culture.

As is well known, education was one of the main projects of the *Haskala*. The leaders of the movement, who firmly believed in the importance of rational education, regularly and extensively aired in various journals, such as *Ha-me'asef* and *Shulamit*, their views on pedagogical matters. They often cited Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, Campe, and to a lesser extent, Pestalozzi (Tsamriyon 1988: 175-183), although the Jewish *maskilim* (men-of-letters of the Enlightenment) adjusted the ideas to suit their own needs. Thus, for instance, the Philanthropism proposal to do away with traditional elements in the curriculum was embraced, 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 was paralleled by the introduction of instruction in Hebrew, another classical language, in what amounted to a Jewish variation on the Philanthropism method.

There is no need here to go into the well-documented history of interfer-

ence between the German and Jewish philosophy of education, which has been described in great detail (for instance in Eliav 1960; Elboim-Dror 1986; Kober 1954; Simon 1953). What needs emphasis, however, is the crucial fact that the newly established schools created a new demand for books, which were regarded by the *Haskala* as a primary means for achieving its social, cultural and educational goals.

To be sure, the linking of texts for children to educational programs characterized the course of the development of all European children's literatures. However, those literatures became more stratified and generically more heterogeneous in the course of the 19th century (Shavit 1990), whereas Jewish children's literature continued to preserve its ties to the *Haskala* notions. In the latter, the nature of the repertoire was frozen for decades, even after the cultural center had already moved to Eastern Europe. In this sense, Jewish children's literature was very different in its course of development from any European children's literature.

The new and hitherto unknown demand for alternative books which would meet the requirements of the new educational system could not be filled by the traditional repertoire of Jewish texts. A new system had to be created which was in constant need of new and accessible items. The few books which had served as texts for Jewish children were unequipped to meet the new demands, and the proponents of the *Haskala* were literally forced to look elsewhere for a source of alternative models and texts. The close relations between Jewish *Haskala* and German Enlightenment made German children's literature an ideal, if not the most desirable, model for imitation. Ideologically speaking, the best guarantee of supplying the newly required books for children was an ongoing process of interference with the German system. The outcome of this process was the writing and publication of hundreds of books in Hebrew, German or both, all modeled on the German repertoire of books for children (Shavit 1988).

Adopting the German repertoire was neither a direct nor a straightforward process. The way in which the German system served as a model for imitation was conditioned by the *Haskala's* own perception of the evolution of German Enlightenment children's literature and its inventory. This process involved the translation of concepts and ideas, which did not always concur with the way they were perceived by German children's literature itself. Furthermore, once Jewish children's literature had created its image of German children's literature, that image was sustained for a long time without

really taking heed of the changes and developments which had been taking place within German literature itself. Thus, for instance, during the German Romantic period, the Jewish system continued to translate German writers associated with the Enlightenment (see Toury 1993 for a discussion of the role of Christian Fürchtegott Gellert in Hebrew literature). Of the following best known German writers for children of the Romantic period (see Ewers 1984), not a single one [!] was translated into Hebrew during the *Haskala* period in Germany: Moritz Arndt, Achim von Arnim, Ludwig Bechstein, Adelbert von Chamisso and Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm.

As a result, Jewish children's literature was delayed in its development compared with German children's literature, and borrowed from it only those stages which were deemed suitable for its needs. This meant turning back to previous phases in the development of the German system (see Toury 1995: 135), dating back to the beginning of the 18th century. 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 fused into a circle, which then became the sole frame of reference for Jewish children's literature for almost an entire century. This frame of reference mainly endorsed the translation of German texts of the Enlightenment, or the production of a small number of original Hebrew texts based on German ones. Within Jewish children's literature itself, translated texts were in fact privileged to the extent that, to the best of our knowledge, all books for children published by the *Haskala* in Germany were either official translations, pseudotranslations, or original texts based on existing German models.

The eligibility of texts for translation was ideologically motivated: the extent to which a text reflected the ideological inclinations of various *Haskala* writers was a definitive factor for or against its translation into Hebrew. In other words, a German text had to "prove" its unequivocal adherence to Hebrew *Haskala* ideology before it could even be selected for translation. Only texts seen through the filter of the *Haskala* norms as affiliated to the German Enlightenment and/or the Jewish tradition were thus candidates for translation. Consequently, German texts were translated if they had been written by German writers recognized by Jews as German Enlightenment writers, or else if they explicitly conveyed Enlightenment values. Within the context of these major decisions, individual texts were translated if they had managed to cross two fences: theme and author.

## 3

The most prolifically translated writer at the time was Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818), considered by some as the most systematic writer of Philanthropism (see also Ofek 1979, 1988). He was also described as the first German writer to write books specifically for children (Stach 1970: 73; 1978: 469). Even if one is reluctant to accept such an overrated account of Campe, there is no doubt that he was a highly significant theoretician and practitioner in modern pedagogy, as manifested in both his numerous books for children and his pedagogic writings. Some of this material was published, together with articles written by his colleagues from the Philanthropism School of Education, in the *Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*, a journal devoted to educational issues, which appeared in 16 volumes between 1785-1791. This journal also published German translations of works by Locke and Rousseau. The extent to which this journal was read by the Jewish *maskilim* is not quite clear. What is clear however is that proponents of the *Haskala* knew Campe and were familiar with his work.

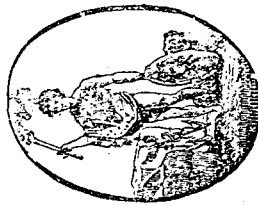
The relations between Moses Mendelssohn and Campe have become common knowledge, almost a myth, due to their friendship and to the much-cited letter written by Mendelssohn to Campe in March 1777, analyzing the living conditions of the Jews in Germany. Campe also paid one or two visits to Mendelssohn's Berlin home, reporting on this enthusiastically, if somewhat patronizingly (Mendelssohn 1976: 443). Trivial as it may sound, it is worth mentioning that their acquaintance played a far less important role for Campe than it did for Mendelssohn. Scholars of Campe have found little or no mention of Mendelssohn in Campe's works, whereas studies of Mendelssohn's abound with references to his acquaintance with Campe.

However asymmetrical, 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 the time in the process of interference which was taking place between Jewish culture and German culture, as has been astutely noted by Ernst Akiva Simon, who claims that Mendelssohn "served both as a bridge as well as a dam" for the *Haskala* (Simon 1953: 179; my translation; Z.S). Thus, concepts and values subscribed to by Mendelssohn were further 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



תוכחת מוסר

דברי חכם בלשון עברי המת קרי  
מלשון אשכנזי, משלי קאמפּע העתקתי,  
להועילת הלמודי לנטוע בלבם,  
מליצה, חכמה ומוסר, בעורם כאבם.



דוד זאמושטש

בעדהו כפר החרוץ והעצל, ופלוש בנבעה.

ברעסלאו

ביום השבתה ה"ה ל' לרב זולצבאך לית סטאלינעוויץ.

שנת עת נאלה נהוה לפק

Sittenbüchlein

für  
Kinder

zur allgemeinen Schul-encyklopädie gehörig.



von  
S. G. Campe.

Das Hebräische übersezt

von  
David Samoscz.

Breslau 1819.

Figure 1. Title Page of First Hebrew Translation of Campe's Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen by David Samoscz (Tochexot musar. Breslau, 1819)

*Haskala*-oriented Jew, at least until the mid-nineteenth century.

Campe's position vis-à-vis the Hebrew-Jewish system cannot, however, be accounted for solely on the basis of a series of biographical incidents, significant as these may be. Of no less importance was his position 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 Robinsonade (i.e. the model of the story of a person or a family that had drifted to an island and was being forced to build his/their life and culture from scratch. They do so successfully, despite the many adversities experienced), were introduced not only into English, but into the Dutch, Italian, Danish, and French literary systems as well, to mention but a few. Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779-80), *Theophron* (1782) and *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* (1780-82) played principal roles in the creation of the governing models of European children's literatures as well as in the Jewish system.

The combination of Campe's philosemitic leanings and his dominant position in the European arena as a representative of Philanthropism made him the ideal leading agent in the process of interference of the German culture in the Jewish-Hebrew culture during the *Haskala* period. In the eyes of Jewish-Hebrew culture, Campe came to be regarded as **the** representative of German children's literature, thus passing successfully the double criterion mentioned above. As a result, his books were translated into Yiddish as well as Hebrew for many decades, even when he was no longer a living literary figure in Europe in general or in Germany in particular, and even when he was harshly criticized by German writers who wrote alternative versions of *Robinson der Jüngere* (Stach 1978: 474-475).

Campe's works went on being translated into Hebrew and continued to function as a model for original Hebrew texts long after the Hebrew-Jewish cultural center had shifted from Germany to Eastern Europe. In fact, most of his Hebrew translations were published either in the periphery of Germany (e.g. Breslau), or in Eastern Europe. For instance, *Theophron*, one of Campe's most famous works: In Germany *Theophron* was never translated into Hebrew, though it did serve as a model for at least two texts published in the German-speaking area: *Keren tushiya*, a periodical for children published in Bavaria in 1817, and Herz Homberg's *Imre shefer* published in Vienna in 1808. Other books based on *Theophron*, or direct translations thereof, were published either in the periphery or in the East: David Samoszcz's *Esh dat*

5.

שוהת ערב הו'אישין

מחובות האדם על עצמו .

בְּנֵי ! שְׂמֵי רִצּוֹן מִיבֵּשׁ מִנְיַי לְהוֹדוּתוֹ ,  
אִדְר יִמְלִיתִי לְגֹרֶשׁ מִחוּךְ אֹהֲלִי ,  
יִגְזוּ וְאִתָּהּ , וְכֹל הַגּוֹהֵר , וְהַיִּדְעֵה אִךְ שִׁבַּח  
כִּלְיָמִי הִי , הַמְקַשֶּׁה גַם אֹתָם לְשִׁמּוֹעַ זֹאת  
כִּפְיָ? מִלֵּם נְמָה אוֹיְנֵנוּ לְשִׁמְעֵי , וַיִּאֲמֵר הַקּוֹן .  
לֹא אֹהֵי עוֹד יִשְׂמֵם רַבָּם עַל הָאָרֶץ בְּחוּךְ יוֹשְׁבֵי  
חֶלְדִּי , וְאוֹרוֹ לֹא אֲשׁוּב אֶהְלֹךְ , וְאָף אִם  
אִזְהָה עוֹד לֹא אֹהֵי תִמּוֹד קְרוֹב אֲלֵיכֶם ,  
פֶּן

ערשטעס אבענדגעשפרעך

פֶּן רַען מִלִּמְכַמֵּן גַּעְזֵן אִם וְעֵלְכֶם .  
נִיכְבָּר גִּיסוֹוִיל וְהוֹיִשׁ כִּפֵּן מִן צו וְהִכְסֵן ,  
וְהִי אִיכֶם אַנְטִימִאָנוּן הַאֲבֵן , דָּאס אִדְר כִּיין  
לִעֲזֵן הַיְחוּד מִן אִדְר דִּיעַ כְּמוֹעֵי , פֶּאכֶס אִיכְטֵר  
מִזְמִיִּם , וְהַנְטִיכְטִיכֵן אִיכְטֵר צוּמִידִיעַן כִּיט מִן אִדְר מִיִּיעֵם  
פִּיקִיאָדִיעַן גַּעְזֵן מִן . רַעכְטֵט אִדְר עֵמוֹל לִכְסֵן , דָּאס אִדְר  
פֶּן מִן אִדְר מִיעֵן? — אִדְר יֵא , לִיכְטֵר פֶּאכְטֵר אִדְר יֵא , רַען  
אִלְעֵי וְהִי כִיט אֲלֵיִעֵם מִזְמֵן , אִינְטֵרֵס יֵא פִּיקִיאָדִיעַן וְהִיכְסֵן .  
אִדְר דִּיעַ אֲלֵיִעַן מִזְמֵן פֶּאכֶס : אִדְר וְהַיְחוּד מִן וְהַיְחוּד כִּיט מִיִּיעֵם  
לִאֲנֵעַ לִעֲזֵן , אִדְר נִכְסֵן קִינִיעַ ; אִדְר וְהֵן אִדְר אִדְר וְהֵן  
לִאֲנֵעַ לִעֲזֵן , וְהַיְחוּד אִדְר דָּאס כִּיט אִיכְטֵרֵעַ כִּיט אִדְר וְהֵן ;  
רַען

פֶּן כְּשֵׁיִם אֹהֲדִים . בְּאִשֶׁר תִּגְדֹּל תִּשְׁכַּח בְּאִשֶׁר  
תִּשְׁכַּח , וְהַ כְּבִיד הוֹאֵת , וְהַ כְּאוֹרֵת , מִן יֵאֹמֵר  
לְכֵם מִזְמֵן תִּשְׁכַּח? כְּאוֹת נִפְשֵׁיכֶם יֵהִי מִפְעֻלֵיכֶם .  
אִם לֹא תִחַכְמוּ וְתַעֲשׂוּ דְמוּט וְהִישִׁי , מִדְרַחֲכֶם  
וְמִתְרוֹכְכֶם מִמְכֵם יֵצֵאוּ ; חֲלָאִים רַעִים , דְלוֹת  
וְעִנְיֹת נְמוּל יִרְכֵם , אוּ שְׁנוּאִים תְּהִי כְּשֵׁיִם כִּי  
אִדְם , וְדַע לְכֵם , וְמִה אוּ כֹל הַמְדִּית הַחֲלֵף הֵלֵךְ  
וְדַעֲתֶם כִּי אֹהֲבֵתִי אֹתְכֶם , אִם אֹרְאָה עַת . יֵבֵא  
קִיעַ , כִּי לֹא תִחַלְתִּי רַבְכֶם , לֹא אֲמַצֵּא מִחוּךְ /  
בְּעוֹן אִדְר שְׂאֵלָה , (סִלְיִים לֹא יִכְלוּ לְהַחֲמִיק בְּעוֹנֵם  
דְּבִיִּי הַקּוֹן , מִלְּנֵי דַמְנוּחַ יִדְרוּ עֵינֵיכֶם) , אֲבָל יִדְעֵתִי  
כִּי לֹא כִרְצוֹנְכֶם הַאֲבֵן , לְהַכְעִים אֶת אֲבִיכֶם הַקּוֹן ,  
אִךְ

רַען אִדְר וְהֵן וְהֵן וְהֵן כִּיט אִיכְטֵרֵעַ הִי כִּיטֵעֵן קִינִיעֵן .  
אִן אִינְיֵעֵן יֵאֲרַעֵן קֶאכֶס אִדְר פִּילִיִּיכֶם , רַען אִיִּעַ דִּהִין ,  
רַען אִדְרֵעַן דִּאֲטִיִּין . דָּא וְהַיְחוּד אִדְר אִדְר , רַען וְעֵלְכֶם  
אֲבִינְדִיאָכְטֵן וְהִי , אִדְר וְהַיְחוּד אִדְר דָּאס כִּיטֵן אִדְר קִינִיעַ  
מִלְּנֵי מִיִּיעֵן , אוּ וְהַיְחוּד אִדְר אִדְר גַּעְזֵן וְעֵלְכֶם אֲנִיִּיקִיד  
מִכְּמֵן ; כְּשִׁיכְטֵרֵעַ קִיאָט אִדְר אִדְם , אִדְרֵעַ כִּיט אִיִּעֵן וְעֵלְכֶם  
מִנְטֵעֵן מִדְרִיאָכְטֵן , אִדְר אִן . קִיעֵטֵם פֶּאכְטֵרֵעַ כִּיטֵעֵן וְהִי  
וְהַנְטִיכְטֵעַן דָּאס אִדְר אִלְעֵם אִדְרֵעַן וְהַיְחוּד ; אִדְרֵעֵטֵם , וְהִי לִכֵּן  
אִדְר אִדְר הַאֲבֵן . וְהַיְחוּד מִן כְּשִׁיכְטֵרֵעַ אִדְר וְהַיְחוּד מִכְּמֵן , דָּאס אִדְר  
אִיכְטֵרֵעַ אִדְר וְהֵן אֲנִיִּיקִיד מִכְּמֵן וְהַיְחוּד , לִכֵּן קִינִיעַ .  
אִדְר וְהַיְחוּד אִדְרֵעֵטֵם כְּשִׁיכְטֵרֵעַ מִן כִּיט מִיִּיעֵטֵם לִאֲסֵעֵן .  
(דָּא קִינִיעַ קִיאָטֵן כִּיט רַען וְהַיְחוּד וְהֵן דִּיעַ מִיִּיעֵטֵם כִּיט  
עִיבִיאָטֵעֵן) . דָּאס אִדְר וְהֵן אִדְר וְהַיְחוּד אִדְר מִיִּיעֵטֵם  
אִיִּעֵן אֲלֵכֶן פֶּאכְטֵר נִשֵּׁת אוּ כִיטֵעֵעֵן וְהַיְחוּד ;  
אֲבִינְ

Figure 2. "Erstes Abendgespräch" in Tohexot musar, David Samoscz's Translation of Campe's Sittenbüchlein....: Hebrew Version Next to German Original (in Hebrew Characters)

(1834 in Breslau) and Zvi Anopolsky's *Avi'ezer o mochi'ax xacham* (1863 in Odessa).

This is even more pertinent for other books of Campe's (see Appendix for a complete list): translations of *Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen* were published in Breslau (1819 by Samoscz), Prague (1831 by Baruch Schönfeld), Odessa (1866 by Ascher Anschelewitz), and Warsaw (1882 by Eliezer Neuwiedel); translations of *Robinson der Jüngere* were published in Breslau (1824 by Samoscz), Warsaw (1849 by Elias Bloch, and without reference to the translator's name in Biłgoraj [1910] and Przemysl [1912]).

#### 4

The first of Campe's books to be translated into Hebrew was *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. It was selected for translation because it was regarded as a historical narrative, which could be used to establish historical awareness (see Feiner 1995, esp. ch. 2). This is clearly indicated by a review published in *Ha-me'asef*, the first Hebrew periodical of the *Haskala*: "On the whole it is a fine, handsome book, which will prove useful to all those interested in the history of the past" (*Ha-me'asef* 5570 [1810]: 101; my translation, Z.S.).

The events unfolded in the text served the purpose of presenting a new world and new options for living. The discovery of America was therefore regarded by the *maskilim* 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 (Feiner 1995: 119-120). However, a drastic transformation of the original text was necessary before it could meet the requirements of a history and geography textbook. Indeed, Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's 1807 translation, entitled *Metzi'at ha-aretz ha-xadasha*, transformed the book into a strictly geographical and historical text, leaving out all elements of a novel for children.

Thus, the original text was built as a frame-story, a narrative technique favored by Philanthropism which regarded the dialogue constructed by the frame-story as the form most suitable 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 the children several things by way of a series of questions and answers. Finally, the dialogue makes it quite clear that in the course of narration the text is meant to impart specific values to the children, with knowledge being a highly significant, but not exclusive one.

The narrative structure, which above all else manifests Philanthropism ideas, was replaced with a historical-geographical narrative. Thus, the original narrative of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* disappeared from the Hebrew translation, because Hebrew literature of the time could not tolerate the presence of belletristic texts. Since the fictional nature of the frame-story was not in keeping with the norms of the Jewish-Hebrew system, it was left out and replaced by a narrator who relates a historical narrative. In this way Hebrew translators, despite their desire to import Campe's ideas and Philanthropist values into the Jewish-Hebrew system, finally produced a text which is to some extent removed from the Philanthropist model.

Such a drastic adaptation of the text was rooted in the options existing within the repertoire of the Jewish-Hebrew system. The emerging Hebrew system was not yet in a position to endorse fictional narratives for children (or adults, for that matter). A translated text was expected to conform to the standards of acceptable models, 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 status among *Haskala* circles, only a limited number of books were eligible for translation; namely, only those which contributed to the acquisition of human knowledge and wisdom, as understood by the *Haskala*. This systemic demand in respect of acceptable models determined pre-translational decisions concerning the selection of texts, as well as choices concerning the process of translation itself.

The translator, Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, is known to have corresponded with Campe before publishing his Hebrew translation. Although I have been unable to trace this exchange, it is possible to reconstruct Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's impression of Campe's response, as he sums it up in his introduction to the book, pointing out Campe's great pleasure upon learning about the future translation of his book into Hebrew. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, who was most probably greatly encouraged by Campe's

enthusiastic response, published only the first part of the book, which was later published in two more editions [!]. He hoped to be able to publish the remaining two parts upon the successful sales of the first. This never happened however. Despite the two reprints, the remaining two parts, which had most probably been translated by Mendelssohn-Frankfurt too, were never published. The review in *Ha-me'asef* indeed mentioned the book's poor sales, and recommended that Jews purchase it, so that the translator could publish the remaining parts, but to no avail.

Despite Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's apparent financial failure, *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* became a most popular text among *Haskala* writers. In fact, Jewish *maskilim* outside Germany repeatedly chose to begin their careers as writers by translating this very book, regardless of any existing versions.

The second translation of the book, entitled *Giluy Amerika*, was carried out in 1810 by Hirsch Beer Hurwitz (also known as Hermann Bernard) twelve years before he established a school in Uman together with Metz Landau. This translation, which was part of Hurwitz's program to introduce *Haskala* values into Jewish culture in Russia, has been lost (Meisel 1919: 73). According to the information I was able to gather, it is unclear whether the manuscript was ever published. However, for our purposes, it is interesting to note that Hurwitz, one of the first generation *maskilim* in Russia, translated Campe's book into Hebrew only three years after Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's translation had been published. It is not quite clear why it was deemed necessary to produce a new translation so soon. Perhaps Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's translation was unknown or unavailable in Russia, or perhaps Hurwitz wished to demonstrate his program and make it more explicit through a translation of Campe.

Thirteen years later the first full translation of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* was published in Eastern Europe. The translation entitled *Sefer galot ha-arets ha-xadasha* (Vilna, 1823), in three parts, was produced by Mordechai Aaron Günzburg (see Magid 1897). As Bartal (1990) has shown, Günzburg, who often journeyed to Lithuania and Courland, became a main conduit in the cultural flux through which German culture and the *Haskala* filtered into Jewish East European society. The book was reprinted in Warsaw as late as 1883, and was considered popular reading material even then.

At the periphery of the German-speaking area, Campe's *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, and similar texts such as *Merkwürdige Reisebeschreibungen*, continued to be translated. The translations ignored 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* published in Zolkiew in 1818, and Abraham Mohr’s *Kolumbus, hu sefer metzi’at eretz Amerika ze ke-arba me’ot shana* published in Lemberg in 1846. In both last cases, Campe’s text was used as a vehicle in an internal Jewish struggle, the one between the Galician *maskilim* and the Galician *Hassidim*. Thus, translating Campe was not perceived in terms of fictional narratives, nor mere “adventure stories” about the discovery of America or any such “wonderful journeys”, but in terms of creating a repertoire of historical awareness and tools for implementing a new and enlightened *Weltanschauung*.

*Die Entdeckung von Amerika* was also the first book by Campe to be translated into Yiddish (see Rayzn 1933). It was translated by Haikel Hurwitz in Berdichev as early as 1817. Entitled *Tzafnat pa’ane’ax* (a Hebrew title for a Yiddish translation) it was followed by a second translation, *Di Entdeckung fun Amerika*, published in Vilna in 1823-4. *Tzafnat pa’ane’ax* enjoyed overwhelming success, especially but not solely among women readers, as the following citation proves:

This Haikel Hurwitz wrote Jargon! He translated Campe’s book on the discovery of America from German and called it *Kolumbus* . . . At this time, the book had spread to such an extent that all the Jews had read it, needless to say the women, too. They shut the *Tzene-rene*, *Techinot*, and even the *Bove mayse* and read nothing but *Kolumbus*. Until then, only a few Jews even knew that America existed. . . .

*Kolumbus* was written so beautifully that it could be read and understood everywhere — in Russia, Poland, Galicia and Rumania, every place where Jews were to be found. (Gottlober 1976: 15-17; my translation, Z.S.)

Campe’s books became reading material for adults not only in Yiddish. It seems that they have even replaced books of religious teaching (*Erbauungsliteratur*) such as *Tzene-rene* and *Bove mayse* (Zinberg 1976: 225-226). The review of Mendelssohn-Frankfurt’s *Mezti’at ha-arets ha-xadasha*, published in *Ha-me’asef*, also saw it as a multifaceted text with respect to its audience. The review recommended that the Hebrew version 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-me’asef* 5570 [1810]: 101). Thus, Campe’s text, which — in its German original — addressed children, became in the Jewish system a book for both children and adults.

This was mainly the result of the status of the children’s system as an emerging one. In fact, the simultaneous emergence of several new systems in

Jewish culture, the rudimentary nature of these systems, their exceedingly limited audience, as well as their shared common interests, led to the blurring of boundaries between the adult and the children's systems. Campe's books were able to take advantage of those blurred boundaries and enabled writers who modelled themselves on his texts to address an audience comprising not only children. To some degree, this can account for the vast dimensions of the entire corpus, discussed in the first part of this article.

## 5

To sum up: Campe maintained his position as the most privileged German writer in the Jewish-Hebrew system well into the second half of the 19th century. His books were not only translated into Hebrew. They also provided a model for the production of Hebrew original texts as late as the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, Campe's role in the development of modern Jewish literature can be examined from at least four different perspectives:

1. The connection between the *Haskala* views on education and those of Campe;
2. The translation of Campe's works into Hebrew;
3. Campe's status in the *Haskala* movement in Eastern Europe;
4. Texts by Campe as a means of determining models for original Hebrew writing.

Campe fulfilled a constitutive function at every one of the initial stages in the creation of the system of books for Jewish children, in both Western and Eastern Europe and even in Eretz-Israel. One of the first accomplishments to be performed by a Jewish *maskil*, either in Germany or in Russia, especially in the provinces, was to translate at least one of Campe's books into Hebrew. One might even propose as a working hypothesis that all Jewish children's literature during the *Haskala* period was, in one respect 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 his works in fact provided a blueprint for the range of literature produced for Jewish children. Translating Campe suggested an effort to create texts for Jewish children in a totally new context. Campe thereby played a role not only in the creation of a new Jewish repertoire, but also in legitimizing it, and marking it as part and parcel of European culture.



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## Appendix

### Hebrew Translations of Campe's Works

#### *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*

Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, Moshe. [5567] 1807. *Metzi'at ha-aretz ha-xadasha*. Kolel kol ha-gyurot ve-ha-ma'asim asher na'asu le'et metzo ha-aretz ha-zot, le-chol agapeha u-mevinoteha, u-mishpateha, va-anasheha, li-leshonatam u-mishpexotam. Altona: Gebr. Samuel u. Juda Bonn  
[later editions: 1823, 1846]

Hermann Bernard [Hirsch Beer Hurwitz]. 1810?. *Giluy Amerika*. [Lemberg?]. (not traced)

Günzburg, M[ordechai] A[aron]. [5583] 1823. *Sefer galot ha-aretz ha-xadasha al yede Kristof Kolumbus*. Xubar me'et xacham gadol me-xachme Ashkenaz ha-adon Campe ve-ne'etak li-leshon ha-kodesh tzax ve-naki u-ve-lashon ktzara le-to'elet yalde bne amenu le-lamdah le-maher daber tzaxot. In three volumes. Vilna: Missionarrow.  
[later edition in abridged form: *Masa Kolumbus o galot ha-aretz ha-xadasha al yede Kristof Kolumbus*. Warschau-Byalikstock: N. Schriftgießer 1883]

Samoscz, David. [5584] 1824. *Metzi'at Amerika*. Breslau. (not traced)

Mohr, Mendel [Abraham Menaxem]. [5606] 1846. *Kolumbus, hu sefer metzi'at aretz Amerika ze ke-arba me'ot shana*. Lemberg: Chava Grossman.

#### *Merkwürdige Reisebeschreibungen*

Lefin, M[enaxem Mendel]. [5578] 1818. *Mas'ot ha-yam, hema ma'ase yah ve-nifle'otav asher ra'u yorde yamim bo-oniyot Holandi u-Britanya*. Ne'etku mi-sifre mas'ot he-xacham Campe li-sfat Ever be-lashon tzax ve-kal le-ma'an yarutz kol kore bo. Zolkiew.  
[later editions: 1859, Lemberg: Druck von D.H. Schrenzel; 1912]

[Lefin, Menaxem Mendel]. [5585] 1825. *Oniya so'ara*. Bne adam gam bne ish. Habitu ure'u ba-sipurim ha-nifla'im halalu: asher kara le-ovre oniya be-lev yamim. [until 1878 edition bound with Lefin's *Mas'ot*.] Vilna, Grodno.  
[First edition 1823, Vilna; later editions: Warsaw 1844, 1854, 1878]

Grazovski, Y[ehuda]. [5672] 1912. *Yam ha-kerax ha-tzfon*. Yafo: La'am.

#### *Robinson der Jüngere*

[N.N.]. [5544] 1784. *Historie oder seltsame und wunderbare Begebenheiten eines jungen Seefahrers [...]*. Prag. [German in Hebrew letters.]

Samoscz, David. [5585] 1824. *Robinson der Jüngere*. Ein Lesebuch für Kinder von Joachim Heinrich Campe. Ins Hebräische übertragen von David Samoschtz. Breslau: Sulzbach.  
[later editions: 1849, 1874, 1910, 1912]

Erter, Isaac. [183?]. *Robinson ha-ivri* [Warsaw?]. (not traced)

Bloch, Eliezer ben Shimon ha-Cohen [Lazar (Kohn) Bloch]. [5609] 1849. *Ma'ase Robinsohn*. Warsaw: Bomberg [Kinder-Bibliothek].

[later editions: 1874; same text without reference to the translator's name: *Sipur Robinsohn*. Biłgoraj: Natan Neta Kronenberg [5670] 1910; Przemysl: Amkraut & Freund 1912]

*Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen*

Samoscz, David. [5579] 1819. *Tochexot musar*. Divre xacham bi-leshon Ivri himtakti / mi-leshon Ashkenazi, mishle Campe he'takti / leto'elet talmiday linto'a be-libam / melitza, xochma u-musar, be-odam be-ibam. Breslau: Sulzbach.

[later editions: Dyrenfurth 1820; Breslau 1846]

Schönfeld, Baruch. [5591] 1831. *Musar haskel*. Ve-hu sefer torat ha-midot le-lamed lana'ar le-zakot orxo bi-shmirat xovotav le-lohav le-nafsho ve-la-axerim. Prag: Landau Verlag. (Bibliothek hebräischer Originalwerke und Übersetzungen zum Nutzen der israelitischen Jugend)

[later editions: 1859 ordered by D. Sassoon, "appropriated for the use of Eastern children", Berlin; 1882]

Anshelewitz, Ascher [Anschel]. [5626] 1866. *Musar li-ne'arim*. Odessa: Belinson.

Neuwiedel, Elias. 1882. *Av le-vanim*. Warsaw.

*Theophron*

Anopolsky, Zvi Hirsch Halevi. [5622] 1863. *Avi'ezer o mochi'ax xacham*. Ve-hu ha'taka xofshit mi-leshon Ashkenaz mi-sefer ha-Theophron, me-ha-mexaber ha-nichbad Campe. Odessa: Nitsche & Zederbaum.

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**Miscellaneous**

Stark, Jehuda Léon. [5577] 1817. *Agudat shoshanim kolel shirim u-melitzot michtamim ve-xidot*. Prag: Scholl. [partially translated from the German]