Yale Companion
to Jewish Writing
and Thought in
German Culture
1096–1996
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1781</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1792-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Index to Authors** xiii

**Preface** xv

**Introduction** Jewish Writing in German Through the Ages / xvii

SANDER L. GILMAN AND JACK ZIPES

May-June 1096 Crusading assaults are launched against the Jewish communities of Worms, Mainz, and Cologne, the three great centers of late-eleventh-century life in northern Europe / 1

ROBERT CHAZAN

1150 The emergence of distinct intellectual schools changes the character of Jewish theology, esotericism, and mysticism / 8

JOSEPH DAN

ca. 1200 Sefer Hasidim (The book of the Pious) is written by a group of rabbinic authors who come to be known as Hasidei Ashkenaz, the Pietists of Germany / 15

IVAN G. MARCUS

1250 During the latter part of the thirteenth century "Sulkind, the Jew of Trimberg" is among the growing number of nonaristocratic Spruchdichter—poets writing on a wide range of social, religious, or political themes / 21

BRIAN MURDOCH

1286 R. Meir ben Barukh (Maharam) of Rothenburg, the leading rabbinic figure of his day, is arrested in Lombardy and delivered to Rudolph of Habsburg / 27

EPHRAIM KARAFOGEL

1300 Near the end of the thirteenth century, a body of literature emerges to help acquinted children with the texts and traditions of Judaism / 35

SIMHA GOLDMAN

1382 An anonymous scribe completes the translation into Hebrew of a Germanic epic poem with the Yiddish title "Dukus Horant" / 42

ARTHUR TIGL ALT

vii
1804 Madame de Staël pays a visit to the Berlin salons of the lucky Jewish dilettantes / 116
DEBORAH HERTZ

1812 The German romance with Bildung begins, with the publication of Rahel Levin's correspondence about Goethe / 124
MARION KAPLAN

1818 Ludwig Börne begins his professional career as a freelance German journalist and editor of Die Wage / 129
MARK M. ANDERSON

1833 Rahel Varnhagen, salonnière and epistolary writer, publishes Rahel: Ein Buch des Andenkens für ihre Freunde, a collection of letters and diary entries / 136
HEIDI THOMANN TEWARSON

1834 The Jewish historical novel helps to reshape the historical consciousness of German Jews / 143
NITZA BEN-ARI

1840 Heinrich Heine's ‘ghetto tale’ ‘The Rabbi of Bacharach’ is published / 152
JOST HERMANN

1843 Berthold Auerbach’s first collection of Dorfgeschichten appears / 158
HANS OTTO HÖRCH

1843 Fanny Lewald’s novel Jenny treats the issue of discrimination against the Jews in nineteenth-century Germany / 164
BRIGITTA VAN RHEINBERG

1843 Heinrich Heine and Karl Marx meet for the first time in Paris / 171
ANITA BUNYAN

1844 After a self-imposed exile in Paris, Heinrich Heine writes Deutschland: Ein Wintermärchen / 178
SUSANNE ZANTOP

January 31, 1850 Conversion to Judaism is protected under the constitution of the North German Confederation / 186
KATHARINA GERSTENBERGER

1857 Abraham Geiger’s epoch-making book Übersetzung und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judentums disseminates the Jewish version of the origins of Christianity / 193
SUSANNAH HESCHEL

1872 Leopold Zunz declines an invitation to the inauguration of the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums / 199
CELÉNE TRAUFTMANN-WALLER

1873 Samuel Raphael Hirsch oversees the secession of Jewish Orthodoxy in nineteenth-century Germany / 205
MORDECHAI BREUER

1893 Hugo von Hofmannsthal worries about his Jewish mixed ancestry / 212
PETER C. PFEIFFER

1895 The author, feuilletonist, and renowned foreign correspondent Theodor Herzl turns toward Zionism and writes the manifesto The Jewish State / 219
GISELA BRUDE-FIRNAN

February 1896 Publication of Theodor Herzl’s Der Judenstaat begins a diverse tradition in Central Europe of Zionist writing in German / 227
MICHAEL BERKOWITZ

1897 Herzl draws international attention to Zionism, and the Young Vienna circle flourishes / 232
HARRY ZOHN

1898 Sigmund Freud’s Passover dream responds to Theodor Herzl’s Zionist dream / 240
KEN FRIEDEN

1901 Nineteen-year-old Stefan Zweig publishes his first volume of poetry / 249
KLAUS ZELEWITZ

1903 Gustav Mahler launches a new production of Tristan und Isolde, Otto Weininger commits suicide shortly after his Geschlecht und Charakter is published, and Max Nordau advocates the development of a “muscle Jewry” / 255
MARC A. WEINER

1904 Bertha Pappenheim establishes the Jewish Women’s Federation in Germany / 262
AMY COLIN

1905 Karl Emil Franzos’s masterpiece Der Pajan is published posthumously / 268
KENNETH H. OBER

1906 The discipline of Sexualwissenschaft emerges in Germany, creating divergent notions of the sexuality of European Jewry / 273
DAVID BIALE
1908 Prussian universities allow women to matriculate for the first time / 280
HARRIET FREIDENREICH

1910 Ernst Bloch and Georg Lukács meet in Heidelberg / 237
MICHAEL LOWY

1911 Julius Press publishes Biblioth-talmudische Medizin. Felix Theilhaber publishes Der Untergang der deutschen Juden, and the International Hygiene Exhibition takes place in Dresden / 293
JOHN M. EFRON

1912 The publication of Moritz Goldstein's "The German-Jewish Parnassus" sparks a debate over assimilation: German culture, and the "Jewish spirit" / 299
STEVEN E. ASCHHEIM

1913 After two hundred years in which virtually no work by a Jewish woman writer has appeared in Prague, Babette Fried writes two collections of ghetto stories / 306
WILMA A. IGGERS

1914 Karl Kraus writes "He's a Jew After All," one of the few texts in which he directly confronts his Jewish identity and suggests how it has affected his satirical writing / 313
LEO A. LENSING

1914 Franz Rosenzweig writes the essay "Atheistic Theology," which critiques the theology of his day / 322
PAUL MENDES-LOHR

1914 Kurt Tucholsky withdraws from the Jewish community / 327
THOMAS FREEMAN

1915 In Deutschland und Judentum Hermann Cohen applies neo-Kantian philosophy to the German Jewish Question / 336
MICHAEL BREM

1916 The first issue of Martin Buber's German-Jewish journal Der Jude appears / 343
MARK H. GELBER

1916 The German army orders a census of Jewish soldiers, and Jews defend German culture / 348
MICHAEL BRENNER

1918 This year of the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire marks a crucial historical and symbolic change for Joseph Roth / 355
RITCHIE ROBERTSON

1918 German-speaking Jewish writers visit the Soviet Union and encounter and report on Eastern Jewry in light of Lenin's decree abolishing anti-Semitism / 363
KATHARINA L. OCHSE

1919 The Bavarian Soviet is proclaimed, in a Socialist attempt to fuse cultural and political liberation / 368
STEPHEN ERIC BRONNER

1919 German-Jewish writers begin to give literary expression to memories of the Munich Revolution of 1918-19 / 377
STERLING FISHMAN

October 29, 1920 Paul Wegener's Der Golem: Wie er in die Welt kam debuts in Berlin / 384
NOAH W. ISENBERG

November 16, 1920 Czech nationalists occupy the German Landestheater / Ständelheater in Prague / 390
DIETER O. HOFFMANN

1920 The Free Jewish School is founded in Frankfurt am Main under the leadership of Franz Rosenzweig / 395
MARTIN JAY

1921 Walter Benjamin writes the essays "Critique of Violence" and "The Task of the Translator," treating the subject of messianism he discussed with Gershom Scholem during the war / 401
MICHAEL P. STEINBERG

1921 The staging of Arthur Schnitzler's play Reigen in Vienna creates a public uproar that draws involvement by the press, the police, the Viennese city administration, and the Austrian parliament / 412
EGON SCHWARZ

1922 Milgroom, a Yiddish magazine of arts and letters, is founded in Berlin by Mark Wischnitzer / 420
DELPHINE BECHTEL

1923 Kafka goes to camp / 427
SANDER L. GILMAN

1925 Jud Süss by Lion Feuchtwanger is published / 434
DAVID BATHRICK

1925 Hugo Bettauer's assassination by Otto Rothstock in Vienna marks the first political murder by the Nazis in Austria / 440
BETH SIMONE NOVECK
1926  Georg Hermann writes a pamphlet attacking the special issue of Martin Buber’s Der Jude devoted to the topic of anti-Semitism and Jewish national characteristics / 448
LAUREEN NUSSBAUM

February 18, 1926  Playwrights and theater critics in the Weimar Republic assume the role of advocates for justice / 455
HANS-PETER BAYERDÖRFER

July 15, 1927  The Vienna Palace of Justice is burned in a mass uprising of Viennese workers, a central experience in the life and work of Elias Canetti / 464
KRISTIE A. FOELL

1928  Jakob Wassermann’s novel Der Fall Mauricius presents the final expression of his views on the relationship of Germans and Jews / 471
MARCUS BULLOCK

1928  Erich Fromm joins the Institute for Social Research and begins a ten-year affiliation with the Frankfurt school / 479
DOUGLAS KELNER

1928  The first issue of the Jewish Children’s Calendar, edited by Emil Berhard Cohn, is published in cooperation with the Commission on Literary Works for Youth of the Grand Lodge of Germany of the Independent Order of B’nai Brith / 485
ANNEGRET VÖLPEL

1932  Gertrud Kolmar completes her poetry cycle Weibliches Bildnis and thus reshapes her identity as a Jewish woman poet / 492
JOHN BORMANIS

February 28, 1933  Karl Wolfskehl, member of the George Circle, carrying several books he loves too much to sell, boards a train for Basel and leaves Germany forever / 499
ALEXIS P. RUBIN

1933  The Cultural League is formed to concentrate all “Jewish” cultural life in one central organization under Nazi supervision / 506
EIRE C. GEISEL

September 15, 1935  Passage of the Reich Citizenship Act and the Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor in Nazi Germany forces the children’s book author Mira Lobe to emigrate to Palestine / 512
KARL MÜLLER

1935  At the International Writers Congress in Paris, the exiled German authors lay down the foundation of their opposition to the Nazis: the defense of the “ideals of 1789” / 520
ALBRECHT BEITZ

1936  Abraham Joshua Heschel’s first major scholarly work, Die Prophetha, is published in Cracow, Poland, and distributed by Erich Reiss Verlag in Berlin / 526
EDWARD K. KAPLAN

1936  Philo Press publications mark a turning point in the Centralverein’s practice and ideology, from ambivalence about Jewish “reemancipation” to an endorsement of the settling of Palestine / 532
RIMA SHICHMANTER

1937  Hermann Broch writes a narrative entitled The Return of Virgil, thus beginning an eight-year project that culminates in the novel The Death of Virgil / 537
PAUL MICHAEL LÜTZELER

March 11, 1938  After German troops march into Austria, many Austrian- and German-Jewish writers flee / 544
GUY STERN

1938  During the Austrian Anschluß to the Third Reich, Friedrich Torberg escapes from Prague, first to Zurich and then to Paris / 551
RUTH BECKERMANN

1938  Sigmund Freud’s departure from Vienna for exile in England marks a symbolic end to the wave of emigration of German-speaking Jewish psychotherapists and psychoanalysts in Germany and Austria / 558
UWE HENRIK PETERS

1939  Else Lasker-Schüler becomes permanently exiled in Jerusalem when Swiss immigration authorities deny her reentry to Switzerland / 563
DAGMAR C. G. LORENZ

1939  Max Horkheimer’s “Die Juden und Europa” appears / 571
JACK JACOBS

1940  In the year of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Walter Benjamin dictates his Theses on the Philosophy of History and, attempting to escape from Nazi-occupied France, kills himself at the Franco-Spanish border / 577
IRVING WOHLFARTH

1941  A four-year debate on child psychoanalysis begins between Anna Freud and Melanie Klein within the British Psychoanalytical Society / 591
MEIRA LIKIERMAN
February 8, 1942  H. G. Adler is deported to Theresienstadt and begins his life’s work of writing a scholarly testimony to his experience  / 599
JEREMY ADLER

1944  Hannah Arendt writes “The Jew as Pariah: A Hidden Tradition,” in which she describes the forgotten tradition of Jewish “conscious pariahs”  / 606
ANSON RABINBAU

1944  Jewish writing in German continues in Theresienstadt and beyond  / 614
RUTH SCHWERTFEGAR

1945  World War II ends, and eight-year-old Jurek Becker is freed from a concentration camp and begins to learn German  / 621
FRANK D. HIRSCHBACH

1945  An official Soviet stamp permits the exportation of cultural documents, including a draft version of Die Buche, a never-published anthology of German-language Jewish poetry from the Bulowina found in the estate of Alfred Margul Sperber  / 627
MIARRANNE HIRSCH

November 9, 1945  Alfred Döblin, one of the first German-Jewish writers to return to Germany, arrives in the French occupation zone  / 634
FRANK STERN

1946  Edgar Hiленrath and Jakov Lind meet at the employment office in Netanya, Palestine, discuss literature, and contemplate their recent past  / 642
PETER STENBERG

1946  Jewish playwrights in the postwar German theater begin to break the taboos associated with German-Jewish relations and the Holocaust / 648
ANAT FEINBERG

1946  Hans-Joachim Schoeps settles in Germany after eight years of exile in Sweden  / 655
GARY LEASE

1947  Anna Seghers returns to Germany from exile and makes her home in East Berlin  / 662
BARBARA EINHORN

1947  Arnold Zweig begins to work on Freundschaft mit Fried  / 671
DETELY CLAUSSEN

1948  Hannah Arendt appeals for Arab-Jewish reconciliation as the most plausible reaction to the German-Jewish catastrophe  / 677
DAGMAR BARNOUW

1949  The Frankfurt school returns to Germany  / 683
PETER UWE MOHENDAHL

1951  In his essay “Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft,” Theodor W. Adorno states that it is barbaric to write poetry after Auschwitz  / 691
LEONARD OLSCHNER

1952  Manes Sperber pursues the Jewish Question in Wolfsen  / 697
JACK ZIPE

1957  Hermann Levin Goldschmidt receives the first Leo Baeck Prize for Das Vermächtnis des deutschen Judentums  / 704
WILLI GOETSCHEL

1959  Hilde Domin publishes Nur eine Rose als Stütze and Nelly Sachs publishes Flucht und Verwandlung, both of which deal with flight and exile  / 710
EHRRARD BAHR

1960  Paul Celan wins the Georg Büchner Prize  / 716
STÉPHANE MOSES

1964  On March 13, in the middle of rehearsals for the premiere of Marat / Sade, Peter Weiss attends the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial  / 722
ROBERT COHEN

1965  The premiere of Peter Weiss’s The Investigation: Oratorio in Eleven Songs, a drama written from the documentation of the Frankfurt Auschwitz trial, is staged  / 729
ROBERT HOLUB

1967  Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich’s Die Unfähigkeit zu trauen is published  / 736
ERIC L. SANINER

1968  The translation of Isaac Bashevis Singer’s Gimpel der Narr appears in the Federal Republic of Germany  / 742
LESLEY MORRIS

1971  Ein Sommer in der Woche der Tote K. by American-born author Jeannette Lander is published  / 749
LESLEY A. ADLOSON

1973  Stefan Heym’s Der König David Bericht, which fictionalizes the biblical account of David’s reign to comment on the contemporary situation in the German Democratic Republic, is published  / 759
NANCY A. LAUCKNER
November 17, 1976  Stephan Hermlin and Günter Kunert protest the expulsion of Wolf Biermann from the German Democratic Republic  / 766
KARL-HEINZ J. SCHÖEPS

October 1978  Jean Améry takes his life  / 775
SUSAN NEIMAN

1979  The American television series Holocaust is shown in West Germany  / 783
ANTON KAES

1979  Peter Lilenthal makes David, the first "post-Shoah German-Jewish film"  / 790
ROBERT R. SHANDLEY

1980  The "Third Generation" of Jewish-German writers after the Shoah emerges in Germany and Austria  / 796
KAREN REMMLER

1985  Rainer Werner Fassbinder's play Garbage, the City and Death, produced in Frankfurt, marks a key year of remembrance in Germany  / 805
ANDREI S. MARKOVITS AND BETH SIMONE NOVECK

1986  The Historians' Debate (Historikerstreit) takes place over the status and representation of the Nazi period, and more specifically of the Holocaust, in Germany's past  / 812
DOMINICK LACAPRA

1990  Jenny Aloni's Das Brachland is published as volume 1 of her Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben  / 820
HARTMUT STEINECKE

1992  Robert Schindel's novel Geburtig continues the development of Jewish writing in Austria after the Shoah  / 827
INGRID SPÖRK

List of Contributors  833
Index  837
It is notoriously difficult to identify a precise cultural turning point. In history there are neither events nor moments of dramatic change. Events are shaped by myriad occurrences that precede them and combine with others to confect the future. Given that “turning point” is understood as a metaphor, however—as a historical crossroad from which new processes can be clearly discerned and clearly distinguished—the publication in 1779 of *Lesebuch für jüdische Kinder* can be regarded as a turning point. The *Lesebuch* was edited by David Friedländer (though Friedländer’s name does not appear on the title page), and it was partially translated and written by Moses Mendelssohn. Its importance was not its place in historical consciousness. Its publication was barely noticed during its day, and it neither reached a large reading public nor established a model for future Jewish children’s texts to emulate. Indeed, within a short time, the *Lesebuch* had been all but forgotten. Its importance was primarily symbolic: for the first time in European Jewish culture, a book for a modern, nonreligious Jewish school was published. It concretely promoted the objectives of the Jewish Haskalah in Berlin and constituted a device for the actual implementation of Haskalah ideals rather than a mere intellectual airing of them. It also divulged to current readers the Haskalah’s understanding of ideal relations between the German and Jewish cultures.

Although children were recognized as a discrete reading audience in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, this recognition did not become widespread until much later, at which point it prompted the large-scale production of books for children. Books that were written exclusively for Jewish children appeared even later. Only toward the end of the eighteenth century, almost a century after German culture began turning out such texts, did Jews do so themselves, and their production was episodic until the early nineteenth century. Since then, hundreds of books addressing Jewish children exclusively, written in Hebrew, German, and in a bilingual format, were published in German-speaking countries. This development played a major role in modernizing the Jewish community.

Clearly, children were used to reading nonreligious texts before the *Lesebuch*’s appearance in 1779. Nevertheless, books that served as popular reading material for children, such as Volksbücher, were not published exclusively for children (see Shmeruk 1986 and Shavit 1986), but rather for women, children, and laymen. Books addressed solely to Jewish children during the eighteenth century were mainly catechisms, primers on morality, and books of etiquette. They were not intended to constitute secular schooling; they were meant to teach children appropriate behavior and the basic principles of Judaism. Thus, the distinctive nature of the *Lesebuch* was twofold: it was the first secular book that officially addressed Jewish children, and it was the first book compiled to provide reading material for a modern Jewish education.

Friedländer’s *Lesebuch* was created in a new cultural context and acquired its
meaning from this context. These traits are reflected in its title. "For children" stemmed from the new awareness developing in western Europe since the seventeenth century of children as a separate reading public (Aries 1962). The term *Lesebuch* indicates the newest permutation of the nonreligious textual model to emerge in Germany in the 1770s. It also implied that the purpose of the book was to serve the educational goals of the Jewish Hasidah in the new net of modern schools it founded in Germany (Büdingen 1831; Eliav 1960; Elboim-Dror 1986; Stern 1928; Wechsler 1846).

It is true that many Jews had given their children nontraditional educations. But those were specific cases affecting only individuals whose parents had made private decisions. The Hasidah, by contrast, promoted modern education for all Jews. Despite its failures in various cultural endeavors, the Hasidah did manage to change the structure of Jewish education in Germany, even among the Orthodox. In 1778 David Friedländer, together with his father-in-law, Isaac Daniel Izig, founded in Berlin the *jüdische Freischule*, which was based on the philanthropist schooling philosophy (Eliav 1960, 73; Lowenstein 1994, 52; Simor 1953). The school opened officially in 1781. The founding of the school under the rubric of the Hasidah created a demand for specialized schoolbooks. The new books were expected to express the social and cultural ideals promulgated by David Friedländer and the Berlin circle (Sokin 1987). Because of the importance attributed to texts for children and adolescents in the process of education and socialization as a German Jew, books like the *Lesebuch* provide a unique perspective for the study of German-Jewish culture. Indeed, the *Lesebuch* reflects the complicated ideology of the Berlin Hasidah at the end of the eighteenth century. From this vantage point, I will analyze the *Lesebuch*, focusing on the following two issues:

1. Friedländer's mode for creating a Jewish *Lesebuch* based on the German model(s).
2. Criteria for selection of segments of the German culture on the basis of aspects with which the Hasidah was acquainted.

The *Lesebuch* did not arise in a vacuum. It had roots in the long tradition of contemporary German readers as well as in the Hebrew cultural heritage known to David Friedländer and Moses Mendelssohn, the mediators between the *Lesebuch* and both cultures. These scholars' perception of the desired relations between the German and the Jewish cultures determined which segments of the repertoire of both cultures would be included in the *Lesebuch*, and even more important, which would not. David Friedländer utilized various models of German readers, new and old, and thus created, perhaps unintentionally, a unique model of a reader. Unlike later Jewish authors, Friedländer endeavored to graft German culture onto the Jewish, thus Germanizing certain aspects of Jewish culture. This process of Germanization involved a reorganization of Jewish culture: substantial portions of it were given up, whereas some marginal components were revitalized. In addition, many parts were combined anew with the remaining components, which imparted them with new meanings and functions.

In implementing this program, Friedländer resuscitated forgotten elements. By loading them with functions borrowed from the German repertoire, he changed their original ones. For the most part, Friedländer identified in the traditional Jewish repertoire elements that resembled German components, stripped them of their original functions, and substituted new ones. Unlike later Hebrew readers, Friedländer's *Lesebuch* aimed to prove that one can find in the Jewish heritage the same elements that exist in the German. In this way, he drew parallels between the two and legitimized their interaction. To further this procedure, Friedländer appropriated non-German elements as well, drawing on Roman and Greek literature that was commonly included by the German readers. In his search for Jewish equivalents, Friedländer nearly exhausted those portions of the Jewish heritage that were ideologically amenable and with which he was acquainted.

The entire *Lesebuch* consists of only forty-six pages, but it still includes all the central components of German readers during this time. It is divided into eight units, the first of which contains a guide to the German alphabet, the vowels,
the Latin alphabet, numbers, a short reading exercise, the Hebrew alphabet, and the Shema Israel prayer rendered in German translation in Hebrew letters. The second unit introduces Maimonides’ thirteen principles of Judaism, followed by the Ten Commandments. The third unit consists of six fables by Berechiah Ben Natronai Ha-Nakdan; the fourth, of two moral tales from the Talmud; the fifth presents four contemporary German lyric poems; the sixth competes “a prayer exercise” (a text by Moses Mendelssohn on the nature of divinity) and a ”preparatory prayer” taken from Judah Halevi’s poetry (the first part of his poem “God Against You All My Passion”); and the seventh is made up of epigrams and proverbs from the Talmud, followed by Lichter’s poem “Die Laster und die Stafe.” Finally, the eighth unit offers a selection of moral tales and sayings appropriated from Sulzer’s reader (Vorübung zur Entwicklung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens, 1771).

The choice to open the Lehrbuch with the alphabet was standard for more traditional German readers. The Latin alphabet, however, was usually included only in German readers tailored to middle- and upper-class children, which tells us either that Friedländer had hoped to attract such a student body or that perhaps he simply was inclined toward a specific German model that included the Latin letters. This second possibility seems more likely, because his school was attended primarily by children from low socio-economic classes rather than by the offspring of the Berlin Haskalah circle. In addition, Moses Mendelssohn was particularly close to Basonow, whose reader (Kleines Buch für Kinder aller Stände, 1771) did list both the German and Latin alphabets.

Newer German readers like those of Campe (1778) and Rochow (1776) did not usually include even the German alphabet. When they did, the readers appended illustrations, short texts, and exercises. Friedländer’s Lehrbuch offers just one exercise in the alphabet section. This typifies the book’s entire tenor. Rules and generalizations abound, whereas exercises and examples are scarce.

What examples there are can be described as abstract and formal rather than concrete and colorful, with no detailed description or simple tales. Given this disparity between the Lehrbuch and the German readers it followed, one is tempted to conclude that the author of the Lehrbuch was perhaps more conscious of its status as a symbol for adults of the revolution in Jewish education than determined to create a practical tool for conducting the change. In addition, the book’s first unit keeps quite a sanitary distance from matters Jewish. In the first seven paragraphs of text, which present the various items to be learned, there is neither a Hebrew word nor any reference to Judaism or the Jewish people. Endeavoring to avoid any similarity to the traditional Jewish catechism, Friedländer did not use the opportunity to compose a text with Jewish meaning; he preferred instead to include some general instructions about good demeanor.

Between the seventh and eighth paragraphs, Friedländer inserts the Hebrew alphabet, the first and last time the children will encounter Hebrew letters in the reader. Not only does the Shema Israel prayer appear only in German translation; it also occupies precisely the spot reserved in German readers for the Vater Unser prayer, implying equivalence between the two. Other texts taken from the Jewish tradition likewise appear only in German translation, such as Maimonides’ thirteen principles in the reader’s second unit, translated by Mendelssohn, and the Ten Commandments.

Having followed the traditional model of German readers in the first two units—setting forth the alphabet and the fundamentals of religion—Friedländer employs fables in the third unit, which the advanced pedagogical circles of his day considered as the most appropriate means for teaching children. Fables appeared in popular advanced readers such as Sulzer’s Vorübung zur Entwicklung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens (1771) and Weisse’s Neues ABC-Buch (1773). However, rather than borrow fables from such German readers or from Lessing (see Toury 1993), Friedländer sought a Hebrew equivalent, which he found in Moses Mendelssohn’s translation of Berechiah Ben Natronai Ha-Nakdan, previously published in Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend...
The wish to strengthen the presence of the Jewish tradition was conditional upon the Jewish repertoire's capacity to supply equivalent components. When they were deemed absent, Friedländer refused to include Jewish elements. Thus, unit five consists of four German lyric poems rather than a translation of Hebrew poems. Both Friedländer and Mendelssohn apparently felt that the available medieval Jewish poetry, especially the piyyut and Shirat Kodesh, were too heavily burdened by religious baggage. Mendelssohn deigned to include in the Leibach only one Juda Halevi poem he had translated, which was incorporated into another section, and even there it was presented as a prayer and not as a poem.

The German poems that compose this section, "Auf einen Feldbrunn" by Johann Nicolas Görtz, "Der Vorwitz das künftige zu wissen" by Christian Felix Weisse, "Der Schäfer zu dem Bürger" by Johann Joachim Ewald, and "Die Grossmuth" (anonymous), were all lifted from a popular contemporary anthology, Blumenlose, which was edited by Ramler. Mendelssohn had printed a complimentary evaluation of Ramler's gifts as an editor (Mendelssohn 1759, 267–324), and Ramler composed an ode to Mendelssohn upon his passing (Zeitlin 1891–95, 399). It thus seems possible that collegial considerations and respect, in tandem with the aforementioned dismissal of Hebrew poetry, helped relegate the agenda of promoting Jewish culture in this unit.

In unit six, entitled "Andachtsübungen eines Weltweisen" (a prayer exercise), Mendelssohn proffered his vision of maskilic Judaism. Emphasizing the universal nature of divinity in Judaism, he went on to give it a secular legitimation by describing religion as the fountain of all branches of knowledge. Such a rendering of religion can be found in the German readers of Campe, Kochow, and Bastedow. Indeed, Mendelssohn does not even refer to the Jewish religion or people by name. As might well be expected, the major difference between the German readers and Friedländer's Leibach lies in their implied assumptions about the addressee. Seen from the point of view of German pedagogical thought of the time, the Germans' treatment of religion is more rudimentary and lucid, and suits the juvenile addressees—unlike...
Mendelssohn’s text, which addresses an adult audience.

The next unit adjoins concrete Judaic corroboration for Mendelssohn’s deracinated apologetics: a poem by Jada Halevi framed as a “preparatory prayer.” Originally, Mendelssohn translated some of Jada Halevi’s poems for the periodical Beschäftigungen des Geistes und des Herzens (1755–56). Of the poems, including “Zion dost thou not ask for the peace of thy captives?” Friedländer chose the one that could pass as a prayer belonging to any religion. It deals only with the general relations between the divine being and the individual, especially divine omniscience and human fallibility. The seventh unit most explicitly advances the Leidsbuch’s project of proving that Jewish culture meets German standards, in that it crops maxims and proverbs from the two traditions together as if they were seamlessly one. The Jewish snippets come from the Talmud, with each passage presenting a widely held humanistic value. These are woven around a fable from Lichtwet (whose fables were praised by Mendelssohn in Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften [Mendelssohn 1762, 2:57–73]).

The pedagogic goal of this unit, like the corresponding units in German readers, is to instruct about the proper relations among individuals, between subjects and state, and between man and God. The ideological goal of this unit, however—to evoke Jewish cultural affinity with Germans—generates a tone quite unlike that in the parallel German texts. In a typical saying borrowed from the Talmud toward this end, this part of the text seems to advocate “either companionship or death” (Babylon Talmud, Taanit, 23a). The difference between the Leidsbuch and the counterpart German readers lies in the arcane aspect of many of the Jewish citations. Once again, Friedländer seems more preoccupied with convincing other adults of the sincerity of the universality of Jewish sources than with imbuing children with it.

The eighth and last unit is the only one that appropriates directly from a German reader, Sulzer’s Vorübergänge zur Erweckung der Aufmerksamkeit und des Nachdenkens (1768, 1771, and in 1780–82 a revised edition in collaboration with Meierotto). The reasons for Friedländer’s appreciation of Sulzer’s reader are clear. Sulzer and his collaborator Meierotto were intent on creating the quintessential humanistic and universalist reader. Friedländer borrowed from it two chapters especially copiable for his own project, both of which strictly complied with John Locke’s pedagogic theory stressing “example” (Beispiel) and “virtue” (Tugend).

The extraction of passages from these sections served two purposes: Friedländer could indicate his concurrence with Locke’s methodology, which boosted his reader’s universalist credentials, and he could easily exploit Sulzer’s culling of passages from multifarious sources in Sulzer’s own effort to demonstrate a common ethical thread. In addition, Mendelssohn and Sulzer were professionally close, and Sulzer had nominated Mendelssohn to an appointment to the Royal Academy in Berlin in 1771 (voted by Frederick the Great on account of Mendelssohn’s religion), which implies that in this second unit of the Leidsbuch to exclude Jewish material collegial concerns again seem to have outweighed the agenda of showcasing the parity of Jewish texts with their counterparts in German Leidsbücher. Out of the copious passages in Sulzer, Friedländer had to limit himself to a select few, and naturally opted for those most congenial for his purposes. Out of sixty-one texts comprising the third chapter “Beispiele von Tugenden und Lastern,” Friedländer chose only six; out of sixty-one short tales of the fourth, “Verstand und Unverstand,” he chose just four. To further ecumenize his Leidsbuch, he preferred passages from the classical Greek tradition over German or French examples (with the exception of the tale of Ludwig XIV), and as usual preferred abstract passages to concrete ones. Thus, right to the end, Friedländer’s work reads more like a manifesto of the Berlin Haskalah written in Leidsbuch conventions than a practical Leidsbuch for actual classroom use. But it is precisely in the text’s awkward suspension between German and Jewish cultures—its ambivalent valorization of religious particularism, national integration, and universal aspirations—that Friedländer’s Leidsbuch marks a milestone in the evolution of German-Jewish identity.
As a working model, the text was a failure. Its reading public was not yet in existence, and could not be created at the time. Despite its historical significance and its revolutionary nature (or maybe due to it), the *Leitbuche* had a rather unfortunate history, in contrast to the popularity of the Hebrew readers that followed. Its anonymous publication, quite out of keeping with the practice of the Berlin Maskilim, adumbrates its swift relegation to oblivion. Historiographies of German readers started at a rather early stage that they could not get hold of the book (Bünger 1898; Fechner 1882; Gutmann 1926). Even Heinrich Ritter, David Friedländer’s biographer, related that he was unable to locate a copy of the book as early as 1861 (Ritter 1861, 46). On the other hand, the *Leitbuche* was already reprinted in Prague in 1781 by Johann Ferdinand von Schönfeld. Why a second edition was needed remains unclear.

Regardless of how it was received by contemporaries, its analysis provides us with a unique opportunity to reconstruct a cultural puzzle comprising the various parts of the Jewish maskilic world in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. Despite its fragmentary character, this puzzle furnishes us with a unique picture of an attempt to tailor Jewish culture to the German by filtering it through the strainer of German culture. It discloses the actual agents and channels whereby the relations between the German and the Jewish cultures were made possible and materialized. It tells us about the nature of the Jewish acquaintance with the German: partial, filtered via several agents, eclectic, and to a certain degree also anachronistic.

The *Leitbuche*, like other texts for Jewish children and young people, played a leading role in the interaction between German and Jewish-Hebrew culture at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Friedländer and Mendelssohn contrived in the *Leitbuche* the various cultural options that were later engaged more systematically. Friedländer’s attempt to draw from the two cultures simultaneously and his refusal to decide in favor of one of them might account for the text’s failure to be a practical document impinging directly on the cultural life of German Jews. With all of its conflicting tendencies, the *Leitbuche* could never have served as the paradigm for a specific stream of Haskalah. As a collection of cultural prototypes, its significance as an agent of cultural change cannot be overstated.

**Bibliography**