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Herausgegeben von Hans-Heino Ewers,
Ute Dettmar und Gabriele von Glasenapp

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Zohar Shavit (Tel Aviv/Israel)

Cultural Translation: Ideological and Model Adjustments in Translation of Children's Literature

One of the most intriguing questions in the study of culture in general and the study of child and youth culture in particular concerns cultural relations: how cultures relate to each other, refer to each other, learn from each other or reject each other. Most of the dialogue within and between cultures takes place by means of cultural translation, in the larger sense of the term.

Since the late 1980s, Hans-Heino Ewers and I worked together on various joint research projects – all of which dealt in one way or another with cultural translation. We were interested mainly in the systemic constraints which determine to a large extent the prevailing translational processes and norms in the field of children's literature, as well as in the systemic needs to which they respond. Hans-Heino Ewers was always interested in other cultures and other media and never confined himself solely to the study of his own culture. A first-class master of the German Enlightenment and Romanticism, he continually sought to challenge the common borders that characterize the study of children's literature and culture. From the outset, he endeavoured to enlarge the borders of the field to both other media and the entire cultural scene, including its relations with other cultures. Since the Jewish and Hebrew-Jewish cultures developed in modern times out of tight links with the German one, he became a wonderful partner in several joint research projects, in which he strove to discover new territories and took part in imaginary voyages.

The point of departure of our joint research projects was an understanding of the term translation as cultural translation, that is, a much larger sense than the simple act of transmitting a text written in one language into that of another language. Elaborating the theoretical notions developed by Even-Zohar (1981; 1997; 2003) and Toury (1984; 1998), we understood cultural translation as a semiotic concept, as part of a process by means of which textual and cultural models, not just texts, of the source system, are transferred to the target system. This process always involves a certain degree of adaptation and adjustment of texts and models of the source system to the needs and requirements of the target system, as well as to its systemic constraints. The final product of an act of cultural translation is the result of the relationship between a source system and a target system, which in itself is determined by a certain hierarchy of semiotic constraints.

In this article, written to honour my friend and colleague Hans-Heino Ewers, I will focus on two historical test cases and a modern one. They all testify to the

linkage between norms of translation of children's books and the systemic constraints that govern them, be they translation from one children's literature to another or from children's literature to adult. They are all determined by the position of children's literature within the entire cultural system, and more specifically, by its subordinate and peripheral position in it.

Test cases

My analysis concerns texts which claim some sort of relationship between themselves and the source text, including what is often described as adaptations and abridgments. It is based mainly on research into translations of children's books into Hebrew, although the patterns described are typical not only of Hebrew children's literature but of other cases of children's literatures, primarily of small and dependent national literatures which tend to translate much more than large and independent ones (Even-Zohar 1978a).

I have chosen to deal with three cases that were marked by the need to adjust the translation to certain models of the target system, as well as certain ideological requirements. The analysis of the first two cases – translations into Hebrew of Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746-1818) and Madame de Genlis (1746-1860) focus on the role played by ideology in determining the nature of translations of books for children during the 19th century. The third test case, translations of *Gulliver's Travels* in the 20th century, deals with transmission of texts from adult literature into children's literature, involving the need to adjust the translation to the models of the target system.

Systemic constraints: ideological adjustment

The need to adjust the translated texts to conform with ideological considerations dominated the translation of children's books into Hebrew throughout the nineteenth century.

As part of the educational project of the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment) movement dozens of books for Jewish children were written and published in the German-speaking countries, most of them translations from the German or via the German. The German Enlightenment movement (Aufklärung) and its books for children almost always served as the source system, because it was regarded by the Haskalah as the most desirable, virtually ideal, model for imitation. Most members of the Haskalah movement were involved in translational activity and chose to translate texts that were recognizably maskilic (enlightened) from the ideological point of view, even if they had to be adjusted to the existing models of the Haskalah. As a result, the source texts were often modified and transformed to fit already established models. Two additional criteria played a role in the selection of texts for translation: theme and author. Books by authors recognized as ‚Enlightenment writers' were potential candidates for joining the rather exclusive club of books chosen for translation into Hebrew by members of the Haskalah movement. ‚Jewish themes' such as biblical tales, were favoured as well.

The most frequently translated writer in the first decades of the nineteenth century was Joachim Heinrich Campe, regarded by Jewish writers as the most important German Enlightenment writer for children.

Test case 1: Joachim Heinrich Campe

As is well known, Joachim Heinrich Campe was one of the most influential writers of the German Enlightenment, especially in the fields of education and pedagogy. He enjoyed unprecedented success in various European literatures and his literary and educational writings were translated into many European languages (Ullrich 1898). His book *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779-1780) was published in French in Hamburg [Hambourg] in the same year it was published in German. The translation was signed by Campe: „traduit de l'allemand de Mr. Campe" (Stambur 1990, 22-23), although it is not certain whether it was Campe himself who translated his own book into French (Mann 1916, 186). By publishing a French translation, Campe was trying to ensure the status of his book, since French was considered at that time the language of high culture and enjoyed a supreme status among European cultures. This translation was followed in 1784 by another one, also published in Hamburg. The first French edition in France appeared in 1787 and was followed by another translation, which included no fewer than 30 woodcut illustrations (Stambur 1990, 22-23) – further indication of its significance. *Robinson der Jüngere* was subsequently translated into English, Italian, Latin, Spanish, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, Polish, and Lithuanian (Krenicky 2002).

Campe's acclaimed friendship with Moses Mendelssohn helped accord him special status within Jewish culture. Campe paid one or two visits to Mendelssohn's Berlin home, Mendelssohn addressed Campe as „Mein wertester Freund" (my worthiest friend; cited by Badt-Strauss 1929, 199-201). Their friendship found expression in their correspondence, especially in Mendelssohn's much-cited letter to Campe of March 1777, analyzing the living conditions of the Jews in Germany (Altman 1973, 265; Badt-Strauss 1929, 199-201).

Campe's success in Europe in general and in German-speaking countries in particular also contributed to the status he enjoyed in the emerging Jewish-Hebrew system, and several of his books were translated into Hebrew (see bibliography).

What is perhaps even more interesting from the point of view of Jewish culture is that Campe was translated into Yiddish, and more than once, as part of an effort to construct modern Yiddish literature. The first of Campe's books to be rendered into Yiddish was *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, translated by Haikel

Hurwitz in 1817 under the title Zafnat paaneax (Berdichev 1817), and was followed seven years later by a second translation – *Di Entdeckung fun Amerika* (Vilna 1823-4). The first translation won overwhelming success, especially among women readers. According to Zinberg, who cites A.B. Gottlober, this book eventually replaced volumes of religious teaching (Erbauungsliteratur) such as Tsene-rene and Bove mayse (Zinberg 1976, 225-226). Zinberg also claimed that the most recently known published Hebrew translation, by Mordecai Aaron Günzburg, a Jewish maskil from Russia, was based on Hurwitz's translation. Moreover, Günzburg himself produced his own translation into Yiddish in order to compensate for the financial loss incurred by his translation of the book into Hebrew (on Günzburg's translation, see Bartal 1990, 137; Meisel 1919, 187). Books by Campe continued to be translated into Yiddish even in the beginning of the twentieth century and *Robinson der Jüngere* was translated into Yiddish yet again in 1910 (Rayzn 1933, 5; 30-40).

The first of Campe's works to be translated into Hebrew was *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*. The translation appeared in 1807, twenty-six years after the book's first publication in German (1781-82). In his introduction, the translator, Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt (1782-1861), speaks of his correspondence with Campe and refers to the latter's joyful reaction upon learning of the future translation of his book into Hebrew:

> *Herr Campe gave me joy as well in his letters and urged me to publish this book. Here is a summary of what he wrote back to me: How happy your words made me, sir! And how glad was my heart to hear this good news, that a person of the children of Israel will take upon himself to improve his brethren and disseminate among them the little of what I have written.* (Translator's description of his correspondence with Campe, describing the Hebrew translation of *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, 8-9 of the introduction [my pagination, my translation, Z.S.]).

Interestingly, Mendelssohn-Frankfurt cited Campe in regard to the educational project of the Haskalah movement: „to improve his brethren", thus pointing to the main objectives of such translational projects. However, despite Campe's high status and the respect and adoration accorded him, this translator, as well as others, subordinated his work to the governing translational norms of that period and adjusted the translated text to his own objectives, as is evident from Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt's own description:

> *I didn't reproduce the book letter by letter, because that is not useful but rather too lengthy, and I didn't retain the [original] words either, but rather the subject matter and the actions themselves; here I made it shorter, there I made it longer, and for anything that could not be done in the Hebrew language I have proposed an adequate reproduction adapted to our language and its own figures of speech. In several small matters I have made it longer, and the reader should not blame me for that, for I have seen that from out of a small matter a large one emerges and that is how the world is made.* (Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, introduction to the translation of Campe's *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* (1807), 4 of the introduction, [my pagination, my translation, Z.S.]).

What did Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt mean by saying that he „didn't reproduce the book letter by letter"?

A comparison between the original text and the translation into Hebrew reveals that the translator indeed retained only what he regarded as the „the subject matter and the actions", deleted much of the original text and drastically changed its structure. Campe's source text had a frame-story consisting of a dialogue. This narrative technique was favored by Philanthropin and was regarded as the most suitable form for instructing children because it pointed to a partnership between adults and children. The translation dispensed with the dialogue and replaced it with a straight historical narrative, transforming the work into a geography and history textbook without employing any pedagogic devices.

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 source text is divided into 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 the central characters, rather than Columbus. Centering on the children and posing a series of questions and answers also allows the narrator to impart to the children knowledge about the world, making them partners in an educational dialogue. This dialogue embodied the Philanthropin notion of partnership. It was nevertheless replaced with a narrative typical of geography and history accounts that already existed in the Haskalah literature. It might also have derived from the translator's fear that an educational dialogue might make the text appear like a traditional text of religious teaching. In any event, the translated text was consequently far removed from the original, not only in terms of its design but more importantly, of its educational and ideological message.

The need for this radical change was rooted in the attempts of the writers of the newly emerging system of children's books to adjust the text to the existing repertoire of the Hebrew-Jewish system. The Hebrew-Jewish system for both children and adults of the time did not endorse fictional narratives for children and was reluctant to admit new models. Even a writer of Campe's rank was not exempt. Indeed, although Campe's status within German literature as an unquestionable representative of Enlightenment ideology made it possible to introduce his texts into Hebrew children's literature without opposition, significant changes were mandatory so that his books could be included in the emerging Hebrew-Jewish system. Campe's texts could be incorporated into Hebrew-Jewish literature only on the basis of their adjustment to existing

models and would most probably have been rejected if they had maintained the original model which had not yet been endorsed by the Haskalah literature.

It was thus the ideology of the Haskalah movement that made it possible to borrow texts (but not necessarily models) from the German system, esteemed by the Haskalah movement as an ideal for imitation. Such an ideological translation, which involved drastic changes in the original text, characterised much of the translational initiatives of the Haskalah. Nevertheless, it was part of an effort to lay the ground for the introduction of the Enlightenment worldview into Jewish society.

Test case 2: Madame de Genlis

As mentioned, most of the books published for Jewish children by the writers of the Haskalah movement were based on original German texts. Sometimes, however, Jewish writers used intermediary translation, that is, translation of the source text into German. Such was the case with the translation of Madame de Genlis' *Les bergères de Madian; ou, La jeunesse de Moïse, poème en prose en six chants*. It was translated into Hebrew by David Samostz (1789-1864), a writer who belonged to Haskalah circles in Breslau, a provincial city in Prussia (Wroclaw in Poland today). Samostz's translation into Hebrew was published in Breslau in 1843, as *Ro'ot [Shepherds] Midian o jaldut Moshe*, accompanied by a German title: *Die Hirtinnen von Midjan oder Moses Jugend*. The front page mentioned "Frau von Genlis" as the author of the text, probably indicating that the translator read the book in German and perhaps did not even know that it was originally written in French. Madame de Genlis' book had been published in Paris in 1812 and was translated into German two years later, in 1814.

Why did an Enlightened Jew in Breslau choose to tell Jewish children („Hebrew children", as he called them) a story based on French and then German adaptations and interpretations of the life of Moses? Why did he not want to tell the story of Moses according to the Jewish midrashic literature? And why, of all Genlis' works, did he choose to translate this marginal, almost forgotten work, which barely aroused any interest in Germany, rather than one of her bestsellers?

To begin with, David Samostz probably chose Madame de Genlis' *Les bergères de Madian* due to its theme – the Life of Moses. His decision was also motivated by her favoured status in the German Enlightenment. Madame de Genlis enjoyed a high position, especially amongst prominent figures in the field of education of the German Enlightenment, with whom several of the maskilim were acquainted. At the beginning of the 19th century Madame de Genlis rose to prominence as a writer in France, partly because of her association with the leaders of the French Enlightenment movement, mainly Rousseau and Diderot,

and partly due to her success as a writer who became popular not only in France, but also in Germany and England.

An indication of the appreciation bestowed on Madame de Genlis within literary circles in Germany can be found in one of Goethe's conversations with Eckerman, in which the former contrasted Voltaire's *Frechheiten* with the constructive moral of Genlis:

> *Die Frau von Genlis hat daher vollkommen Recht, wenn sie sich gegen die Freyheiten und Frechheiten von Voltaire auflegte. Denn im Grunde, so geistreich alles seyn mag, ist der Welt doch nichts damit gedient; es läßt sich nichts darauf gründen. Ja es kann sogar von der größten Schädlichkeit seyn, indem es die Menschen verwirrt und ihnen den nöthigen Halt nimmt* (Eckermann 1913 [1836-1848], 146).

Several of de Genlis' works were translated into German soon after their publication in French and enjoyed much success. Her book *Théâtre à l'usage des jeunes personnes*, published in France in 1799, appeared in German a year later (1780-1782), under the title *Erziehungstheater für junge Frauenzimmer* (on the book, see Plagnol-Dieval 1997). Its translator was the prominent German Enlightenment author and pedagogue Christian Felix Weiße (1726-1804), who, as is well known, established one of the most important journals for children – *Der Kinderfreund*. One anecdote about his life concerns J.J. Rousseau and Moses Mendelssohn. The story goes that when, in 1760, Weiße visited J.J. Rousseau, who at the time was staying in Montmorency, he brought him two of Mendelssohn's works: *Phaedon* and Mendelssohn's translation into German of Rousseau's *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Ungleichheit unter den Menschen*. Rousseau exhibited some interest in the two volumes because, so the story goes on, their writer was Jewish (Waterstone 1922, 114-155).

A year later Joachim Heinrich Campe wrote the preface and notes for *Adelheid und Theodor; oder, Briefe über die Erziehung* (1783-1784), the translation of Genlis' *Adèle et Théodore; ou, Lettres sur l'education*, which was published in Germany only a year after it had appeared in France in 1782.

From a comparison of the three texts – *Les bergères de Madian*, *Die Hirtinnen von Midian oder Moseh's Jugend* and *Ro'ot [Shepherds] Midian o jaldut Moshe* it can be concluded that the German one served as a mediating system, because most of the changes in the Hebrew text had already appeared in the German. In the German translation several passages of the French original were omitted, including the opening chapters of the source text, which were typical of the French pastoral novel. In addition, names of people and places were changed and various concepts rooted in French courtly culture excluded, such as *la préciosité*.[1] However, the Hebrew translation, just 31 pages long, had further omissions – the most glaring of which was the removal of some 30 pages

[1] A French literary movement of the seventeenth century based on the desire to maintain purity of language, elegance of dress, and the manners and dignity of an idealized love.

of „scientific" explanatory comments that accompanied the source text and drew on Père Calmet's *Dictionnaire historique de la Bible* (1722), as well as on Hellenistic literature and the Church fathers.

In fact, very little remained in the Hebrew translation of the original text, mainly a summary of the story of Moses' stay in Midian, including de Genlis' very free use of the biblical material, and the changes she made in various details of the original biblical story. For example, according to de Genlis, Moses, like David, played a lyre for his flock. De Genlis also added to the biblical story several motifs that appeared in later chapters in *Exodus* and in other books of the Hebrew Bible, such as the stories of Balaam, Samson and the lion, and David and Goliath.

On the other hand, the translation into Hebrew of *Les bergères de Madian*, or more accurately of *Die Hirtinnen von Midian oder Moseh's Jugend,* did follow the original in that it included elements that do not appear in the Hebrew Bible, such as the tale about the rod that Moses had brought from Egypt, which, in de Genlis' story, Abraham had cut from a tree in Alonei Mamre and which had been passed down in the tribe of Levi from generation to generation. Perhaps the Jewish translator included it because of similar tales in the aggaddic midrashic literature, where it is told that Moses found the rod in Jethro's garden.

A full and detailed analysis of the translation into Hebrew of de Genlis' *Les bergères de Madian* demands a separate discussion. As I am interested in the ideological considerations behind the translational activities of the Haskalah, I will confine myself to those that were behind David Samostz's translation. These have to do with the three criteria that allowed for the admission of translated texts into Hebrew literature for children: The book dealt with themes considered Jewish by the people of the Haskalah movement; de Genlis had a high standing in both the French and the German Enlightenment movements; German Enlightenment authors who were highly esteemed by the maskilim, were involved in the translation of Genlis' works into German.

Furthermore, the Jewish translator, David Samostz, most probably saw in de Genlis' moralistic story about the hospitality Moses enjoyed in Midian evidence supporting the utopian Haskalah vision of harmonious life among the Gentiles. It was convenient for him to adopt de Genlis' view of idyllic relations between Moses and the Midianites and between Moses and Pharaoh's court and extrapolate from them to portray idyllic relations between Jews and their neighbours. The fact that such a utopia was found in a Gentile text about the life of Moses added extra strength to this maskilic message.

In addition, it may well be that the Jewish translator used de Genlis' book as a means to reintroduce the Hebrew Bible into Jewish education not through traditional learning. In this, his book *Ro'ot Midian* contributed to the developing tradition in Hebrew literature of a modern reading and retelling of the Bible in order to convey a contemporary ideological message (Shavit 2007).

Test case 3: Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* – the model adjustment

The last test case takes us to the twentieth century, where the norm of adjusting the translated text to existing models in the target system was even stronger than that of adjusting the text to a certain ideology. When the model of a source text does not exist in the target system, translators tend to change the text by deleting or adding elements that will make it more fitting to the model of the target system. Such a case can be found in several 20th century translations of *Gulliver's Travels* into Hebrew, which were intended to adapt the translation of a text to models that dominated Hebrew literature for children.

A short reminder of the history of Gulliver's Travels

Less than a year after its publication in 1726, *Gulliver's Travels* by Johnathan Swift was already published as a chapbook, in an unauthorized abridged version, which contained only two of the four books of the original text – Lilliput and Brobdingnag.

Like other chapbooks, which became during the 18th century popular material for children who knew how to read (Shavit 1995), *Gulliver's Travels* was received enthusiastically by them. This was primarily due to the lack of books written specifically for children, especially novels for entertainment. Interestingly, one of the results of this linkage between chapbooks and books for children contributed to reinforcement of the association of children's literature with popular literature and hence to its peripheral position.

Abridged versions of *Gulliver's Travels* continued to appear at the beginning of the 20th century, but by then they were issued mainly for children and young adults. Since that time *Gulliver's Travels* has continued to occupy a prominent place in the children's system. Nevertheless, it did not lose its position in the adult system. On the contrary, here the text was recognized as part of the literary heritage; that is, the text was read by adults on the basis of its historical significance, and became ‚must' reading on the curriculum of university departments of English literature. In children's literature, however, it was and still is read as a ‚living' text, and a large number of versions are still issued and can be found even today in Western bookstores in printed form, as well as in other media like computer games, board games, films and TV series. This is the case mainly because the text has continuously been revised and adapted according to the needs and requirements of the children's system at different times.

Which translational decisions were involved in the adjustment of the text to models of the children's system?

The first decision concerned the very selection of the text. Translations of *Gulliver's Travels* (often described as „adaptations") contain only the first two books. Not a single translation for children that I know of includes all four

books; most translations comprise the first book only; a few include the second book as well. The decision concerning the first two books was connected primarily to whether the text was to be transformed from a satire into a fantasy or into an adventure story, the latter a very popular genre in chapbooks. Later, the decision resulted from the continuing popularity of fantasy and the emerging popularity of adventure stories in children's literature, and the relative ease with which the text could be adjusted to either of them. Thus, for instance, the people of Lilliput could more readily be transformed into the dwarfs of a fantasy story than the people of the Country of Houyhnhnms, for whom it was almost impossible to find an equivalent in the existing models of children's literature. Also, Gulliver's travels to unknown countries, as well as his battles and wars, could easily serve as the basis for an adventure story.

Those two models, contradictory by nature – fantasy tending toward generalization, and adventure stories tending toward concretization – dictated the handling of the text, for instance, the transformation of the Lilliputian people into the dwarfs of the fantasy story. The decision to change the model of the text entailed major adjustments in the translation, which resulted in a completely different text.

In the original text, similarities between the people of Lilliput and the people of Gulliver's country are emphasized; they differ in size but otherwise they resemble each other. The difference is only of scale, not of any other aspect. This resemblance is at the heart of the satire because it makes it possible to draw an analogy between human beings and the people of Lilliput or Brobdingnag, and on this basis to satirize their manners while drawing on a comparison between them and human beings. Notwithstanding, translations into children's literature deliberately make every effort to blur the similarities and create a conflict between human beings and the people of Lilliput or Brobdingnag, an opposition between two worlds – that of Gulliver and that of the dwarfs or the giants. Such opposition not only does not exist in the original text, it actually undermines its very nature as a satire. The Lilliputians of the translations are presented not as miniature human beings but as creatures different from human beings, as non-human dwarfs. Their characterization as dwarfs (or giants) is further elaborated by the addition of epithets that do not exist in the source text referring to their inhuman size, and also by the omission of any reference in the original text to resemblance between the dwarfs or the giants to human beings.

The translations underpin the descriptions of the tiny size of the Lilliputians' world in the source text. For instance, in the source text the arrows of the Lilliputians are compared to needles: „I felt above a hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which prickled me like so many needles" (Swift 1960 [1726], 18). In order to reinforce the description of the tiny size of the Lilliputians, the translations add the adjectives „tiny and minute" to the description of the arrows (Niv 1961, 12). Similarly, translations add „tiny as a fly" to the food Gulliver

eats (Niv 1961, 14), which is described in the original text as: „shoulders, legs and loins shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark" (Swift 1960 [1726], 19).

The following table presents a series of examples, in various translations, all aimed at dehumanization of the Lilliputians or an amplification of their fantastic features:

Swift (Swift 1960 [1726])	**Various translations into Hebrew**
„creatures" (17)	„dwarfs inhabiting the country" (Yakubobic 1976, 9)
„the inhabitants" (18)	„strange creatures" (Yakubobic 1976, 9)
„four of the inhabitants" (18)	„four men of the native dwarfs" (Yakubobic 1976, 10)
„I felt above a hundred arrows discharged on my left hand, which prickled me like so many needles" (18)	„tiny and minute" (Niv 1961, 12)
„shoulders, legs and loins shaped like those of mutton, and very well dressed, but smaller than the wings of a lark" (19)	„tiny as a fly" (Niv 1961, 14)
„He is taller, by almost the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic" (24)	„All his subjects dreaded his height" (Yakubobic 1976, 19)
„I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it between the Asiatic and the European" (24)	„In his hand the King held his drawn sword whose handle was decorated with sparkling diamonds" (Skulski 1960, 16)
„but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword	„He held in his hand a sceptre bigger than a match. Its handle and edges were decorated with jewels"

drawn in his hand, to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose" (24)	(Niv 1961, 22)
„it was almost three inches long, enriched with diamonds" (24)	„In his hand the Emperor held his drawn sword, a little shorter than a knitting needle. Its golden handle and scabbard sparkled with diamonds" (Izraelie 1970, 21)
„plain and simple" [dress] (24) „a person of quality" (18)	„magnificent and very special" (Kahana 1946, 23) „a man wearing a long and expensive cloak and a little boy holding it behind" (Ginzburg 1950, 4, my pagination, Z.S)

The difference between the descriptions of Gulliver's world and that of the Lilliputians is further emphasized in the translations by an adjustment of both the emperor and his people to the fantasy model. The world of the dwarfs in the translations has all the attributes typical of this model, especially in terms of events and physical descriptions of the dwarfs. The dwarfs are part of an enchanted and strange world, full of glory and magnificence. They are innocent little creatures forced to protect themselves against a negative force that has appeared in their world – a common theme of fantastic fairy tales. Thus, the creatures of the source text become „strange creatures" (Yakubobic 1976, 9, my italics, Z.S.), the inhabitants become „dwarfs inhabiting the country" (Yakubobic 1976, 9, my italics Z.S.), and „four of the inhabitants" become „four men of the native dwarfs" (Yakubobic 1976, 9, my italics Z.S.). On the other hand, situations presenting the difference as dissimilarity in size and hinting at actual sameness are omitted. Among the excisions are scenes creating a sense of proportion, such as the children playing in Gulliver's hair.

This transfer of the Lilliputians into dwarfs also led to a change in the way they are judged by the text. They are no longer objects of criticism and satire but rather of compassion and pity. Unlike the source text, where complicated and multi-layered portrayals of both Gulliver and the Lilliputians are presented, translations tend to offer unequivocal portrayals of both Gulliver and the Lilliputians, and hence maintain the familiar opposition between „good" and „bad" that is characteristic of both the fantasy and the adventure models. In the source text the „good" features of Lilliputians are only part of their characterization and are accompanied by harsh criticism, whereas the translations include only the „good" features and leave out any reference to „bad" ones. For instance, criticism of the strange relations between parents and children and the

bizarre burial traditions, as well as the absurd mode by which the emperor chooses his ministers (he has them dance on a tightrope) in the source text are completely omitted in translations, while good manners and high morality are retained.

In order to strengthen the model of the fantasy story, translators tend to adjust the physical description of the Lilliputians to patterns common in the fantasy model which tend, as already mentioned, to generalizations; for example, the description of the emperor. In the source text the physical description of the emperor is based on reference to his height, colour, voice, body and gestures:

> *He is taller, by almost the breadth of my nail than any of his court, which alone is enough to strike an awe into the beholders. His features are strong and masculine, with an Austrian lip and arched nose, his complexion olive, his countenance erect, his body and limbs well proportioned, all his motions graceful, and his deportment majestic* (Swift 1960 [1726], 24).

Translations do include the source text's references to the emperor's height and impressive appearance, using them as a metonym for his power – the power of a sovereign ruler is always an important component in the fantasy model, but they omit all other allusions. The entire paragraph mentioned above is translated into no more than a short phrase: „All his subjects dreaded his height" (Yakubobic 1976, 19). The portrayal of the emperor is thus given in a rather general manner which is, as already mentioned, characteristic of the tendency of fairy tales to broader depictions of kings and rulers.

A similar phenomenon can be discerned in descriptions of the emperor's dress and sword. In the source text, the emperor's attire is portrayed, as follows:

> *I have had him since many times in my hand, and therefore cannot be deceived in the description. His dress was very plain and simple, and the fashion of it between the Asiatic and the European; but he had on his head a light helmet of gold, adorned with jewels, and a plume on the crest. He held his sword drawn in his hand, to defend himself, if I should happen to break loose; it was almost three inches long, the hilt and scabbard were gold enriched with diamonds* (Swift 1960 [1726], 24).

This detailed description is omitted from most of the translations, and only those elements representing glory and wealth are left in the text, making the sword a symbol of the emperor's power: „In his hand the King held his drawn sword whose handle was decorated with sparkling diamonds" (Skulski 1960, 16); „He held in his hand a sceptre bigger than a match. Its handle and edges were decorated with jewels" (Niv 1961, 26); and „In his hand the Emperor held his drawn sword, a little shorter than a knitting needle. Its golden handle and scabbard sparkled with diamonds" (Izraeli 1970, 21).

Deletions are typical of all translations of children's literature. However, often the excision of certain elements in order to meet the governing norms negates the necessity of retaining those very elements because they serve other

needs. For instance, translators encounter scenes that are indispensable for the development of the plot, but are incompatible with moral norms. In such a case they will alter them, even at the cost of creating inner contradictions. A characteristic example is the scene in which Gulliver saves the palace from a fire by urinating on it. In the source text, the fire-extinguishing scene is used to advance the plot as well as to satirize the hypocrisy and lack of manners of the Lilliputians. The Lilliputians reveal their ingratitude and do not thank Gulliver for saving the palace. Moreover, they blame him for breaking the law of the kingdom and later use this breach as an excuse for expelling him. The entire scene is used to satirize the arbitrariness of the laws and the ingratitude of the people. However, most translators could not deal with Gulliver's extinguishing the fire by urinating on it or with the satire on the kingdom and its laws. On the other hand, some translators, especially those who drew on the adventure model, did not wish to leave out such a dramatic episode. In these versions, Gulliver extinguishes the fire either by throwing water on it (Avnon 1966) or by blowing it out (Izraeli 1970).

This episode is left in the text, even though it contradicts the entire characterization of Lilliputians as good and grateful people. Thus, in order to maintain the integrity of the plot, translators were ready to leave elements that conflicted with other patterns of the text, such as characterization. Translators, however, who did not transform the text into an adventure story, preferred to delete the entire scene, primarily because it constituted a violation of the taboo in children's literature on excretions, as well as characterization of dwarfs as victims.

By the same token, all translators of *Gulliver's* Travels omitted the scene in which Gulliver is suspected of having a love affair with the queen, since it would violate the taboo on sex in children's literature. In the adult version, this event plays an important role in building the satire, because the two characters' vastly different dimensions make it impossible for them to have had a love affair. Understanding the scene as both satiric and immoral, the translators decided to leave it out of all versions.

It should, however, be noted that the process of adjusting the text to a certain model often involves not only omissions, but additions as well. Actually, one of the most interesting manifestations of the adjustment of the translated text to existing models is to be found in elements which do not exist in the source text and are inserted into the translation because translators found them essential to the model of the target system. Adding elements to an already much shortened text is not only an indication of the great liberties translators take, but of the force of the model's requirements. The additions reveal even more than deletions do the need of the translators to adhere to the model's requirements, because they indicate which elements are considered obligatory in the target model. Thus, for instance, the „plain and simple" dress of the source text was

not sufficient for the fantasy model and became in the translation „magnificent and very special" (Kahana 1946, 23). In another case, the source text describes the man who speaks with Gulliver as „a person of quality." Instead of presenting him simply as a „person", the translator felt it necessary to add: „a man wearing a long and expensive cloak and a little boy holding it behind" (Ginzburg 1950), making him a typical character of a fantasy and constructing a classic scene of this model for describing the life of the noble.

It was the need for a model's adjustment that determined the elements that would be included or added to the translation and those that would be omitted from it. It also determined which ones would remain in the translation, while their functions change. This is most clearly the case with the satirical elements, which have either vanished entirely from some translations for children or, if they have remained, have lost their original function and usually acquired a new one, and in this way participated in the construction of the model to which the translated text was adjusted. Thus, by leaving out some elements, and by adding or changing the functions of others, translators have managed to adjust the text to the dominant models of the children's system.

Conclusion

How can we account for the great liberties taken by translators in rendering classical works for children? How can we account for the subordination of children's literature to ideological constraints and its adherence to the need for model adjustment?

During the nineteenth century the act of translation of literary texts of both adult and children's literature generally involved what we would describe today as taking great liberties with the source text. Long after these norms had ceased to exist in adult literature, they were, and to some extent still are, accepted in the children's system. That is, the translator is permitted to change, enlarge, or abridge the text by deleting and even adding to it.

These liberties result from the peripheral position of children's literature in culture, its view as a major agent of educational values, and the need to adjust the text and make it appropriate and useful to the child, in accordance with the social norms and with what society regards – at a certain point in time – as educationally ‚good', as well as ‚proper' for the child. The prevailing norms dictate decisions concerning the selection procedure – which texts will be chosen for translation and which will be rejected – as well as permissible handling of the texts. In order to be accepted and considered a legitimate part of the children's system, the final translated product must adhere to the guiding principles of the children's system, or at least not violate them.

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