

02 translation interpreting
and transfer

children's literature
in translation
texts and contexts

jan van coillie
and jack mcmartin (eds)

Children's Literature in Translation

Texts and Contexts

Translation, Interpreting and Transfer

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“Translation, Interpreting and Transfer” takes as its basis an inclusive view of translation and translation studies. It covers research and scholarly reflection, theoretical and methodological, on all aspects of the core activities of translation and interpreting, but also similar rewriting and recontextualization practices such as adaptation, localization, transcreation and transediting, keeping Roman Jakobson’s inclusive view on interlingual, intralingual and intersemiotic translation in mind. The title of the series, which includes the more encompassing concept of transfer, reflects this broad conceptualization of translation matters.

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Children's Literature in Translation

Texts and Contexts

Edited by
Jan Van Coillie & Jack McMartin

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Cultural translation and the recruitment of translated texts to induce social change

The case of the *Haskalah*¹

Zohar Shavit

Abstract

This chapter challenges the common usage of the notion of cultural translation. It argues that since every translation is the result of an ongoing dialogue between at least two cultural systems and of continuous tensions between the demands of the source and target systems, every translation is 'cultural,' making the general concept of cultural translation superfluous. The chapter proposes a narrower definition which reserves the term for cases where translations play an active role in the dynamics of a given society, for instance when translations function as agents of social change and serve as a vehicle for presenting and exhibiting a desired social change. As a test case, the chapter analyzes how translations functioned as agents of social change in Central European Jewish society at the turn of the nineteenth century. Members of the *Haskalah* – the Jewish Enlightenment movement – aspired to induce social change in Jewish society pertaining not only to the Jewish *Weltanschauung* but also, and perhaps more significantly, to Jewish daily practices. This involved the intentional use of translated texts for disseminating the modern *Maskehit* habitus and the values of *Bürgerlichkeit*, presenting these ideals as everyday practices and social models.

Introduction

This chapter discusses the function of translations in mobilizing sociocultural change. As a test case, it examines the emergence of a new system of books

¹ This contribution is dedicated to Jan Van Coillie. The research reported here was conducted in the framework of the DFG-funded research project "Innovation durch Tradition? Jüdische Bildungsmedien als Zugang zum Wandel kultureller Ordnungen während der 'Sattelzeit'" (with Prof. Dr. Simone Lässig, German Historical Institute, Washington).

that was one of the most significant endeavors of the *Haskalah* movement (the Jewish Enlightenment movement) (Feiner 2004). This new system, which developed towards the end of the eighteenth century in German-speaking Jewish communities in Europe, attempted to offer an alternative repertoire of books, most of them translations, that would differ drastically from those on the traditional rabbinical bookshelf. It voiced an unprecedented, revolutionary process of modernization in European Jewish society (see Katz 1973; Lässig 2004; Lowenstein 1993; Schochat 1956, 1960; Toury 1972). These books not only effected a radical transformation in the corpus of Jewish literature, but also performed a key role in the transition of Central European Jewry from its pre-modern, traditional stage to the modernity of the *Haskalah*.

As part of the attempt to challenge the monopoly of the Ashkenazi religious elite over culture, a new sub-system of books emerged as well – books that were written specifically for Jewish children. This was part of the efforts of the *Maskilim*, a group of young Jewish intellectuals belonging to the *Haskalah* movement, to reshape Jewish society by propelling it into a civilizing process. One of the central objectives of the *Haskalah* movement was the reformation of the Jewish educational system. To this end, the *Maskilim* established a network of schools (Eliav 1960) based on Philanthropinist ideas of education. The Philanthropinist movement (in German, *Philanthropinismus*) blossomed in the 1770s in northern Germany. It sought to implement educational reforms based on Enlightenment values and to correct the flaws of traditional education (Schmitt 2007). The Jewish *Maskilim* saw Philanthropinism as a source of inspiration for the revolutionary change they desired to bring to Jewish education. In its early stages, their connection to Philanthropinism stemmed from Moses Mendelssohn's personal relationships with central members of that movement, primarily with Joachim Heinrich Campe and Johann Bernhard Basedow, who founded the *Philanthropinum* school in Dessau.

These schools, in turn, created an urgent need for books for children and young adults that would articulate the change that the *Haskalah* movement endeavored to engender in Jewish society. A major *Maskilic* project thus emerged toward the end of the eighteenth century to publish books for Jewish children and young adults that would serve the *Maskilic* agenda.

Most of the books, if not all, were translations. Translations were chosen to serve as a platform for inducing social change in Jewish society because it was the easiest way to supply the needs of the new, emerging cultural field. Translations were also part of the desire to import 'goods' from the German culture. German culture, which was regarded as an ideal model to borrow from, served as a source system for most of the translations – direct or mediated.

The notion of cultural translation

Before turning to the case study, I would like to examine briefly the notion of 'cultural translation' and suggest a different understanding of it. As is commonly known, the act of translation involves a process by which the textual and cultural models of a source system – not just texts – are transferred to a target system, whether in the same macro-system or not. This transfer, as Gideon Toury (1984, 1995) and Itamar Even-Zohar (1990a, 1990b, 1990c, 1997; see also Weissbrod 2004) have argued, often involves an adaptation and adjustment of the source system's texts and models to the texts and models of the target system, while subordinating them to the systemic constraints of the latter in response to its needs and requirements.

In light of understanding the act of translation as such, we may well ask whether there is a translation that is not cultural. In fact, every translation *is* cultural in the sense that it is always the result of an ongoing dialogue between at least two cultural systems and of continuous tensions between the demands of the source and the target systems. As such, I contend, the concept of cultural translation becomes rather superfluous. This is why I propose to adopt a narrow definition of 'cultural translation' in which this notion will be reserved for cases where translations play an active role in the dynamics of a certain society; in my case study, they played a role as agents of social change in Jewish society during the *Haskalah* period.

In many cases of cultural translation, the source text is often regarded as no more than a starting point for the introduction of cultural and social models into the target system and is thus used as raw material, subject to considerable changes directed to meet the needs and demands of the target system. In passing, I would like to remark that the translators' treatment of source texts as no more than raw material to be molded for the translators' purposes often makes it difficult or even impossible to identify the source texts themselves.

The Maskilic adoption of the Philanthropinist educational program and their translational project

According to Akiva Simon (1953) and Tsemach Tsamriyon (1988), prominent scholars of the *Haskalah* and the history of education, the *Maskilim* adopted the Philanthropinist educational program and implemented it in the network of schools they established. In addition to adopting the pedagogical practices of Philanthropinism in schools, the movement's ideas were also incorporated

into the Jewish education system through a massive translation project that provided a huge influx of translated texts into the emerging body of *Haskalah* literature. In fact, there are scholars, like Gideon Toury (1998, 112), who maintain that every text produced by the *Maskilim* should be treated as a translation unless proven otherwise.

The new habitus

I contend that these translations functioned as agents of social change because they were the vehicle for presenting and exhibiting a desired social change. The social change that the *Maskilim* aspired to induce in Jewish society implied not only changing the Jewish *Weltanschauung* but also, and perhaps more significantly, Jewish daily practices.

Simple matters – such as what one should do after waking in the morning; whether one should bathe, and, if so, when; how one should behave at the table; and how one should dress, employ one's leisure time, or interact with other people, including non-Jews – were among the aspects of daily practice addressed by the translated *Maskilic* texts. It must be emphasized that, trifling as they may seem, practices such as these that organize a person's life are not spontaneous actions; rather, they are derived from social norms and cultural codes that comprise the habitus of individuals.

There is no need to delve in detail into the concept of habitus as developed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 1984), building on the work of Norbert Elias.² In brief, habitus refers to pre-existing dispositions that provide guidelines for the daily practices that organize a person's life, such as how one behaves, what one wears or eats or reads, which pre-existing formulas one uses in everyday and professional interactions, and what one's personal space looks like. This set of implicit behavioral codes, which determines individual conduct within a certain group, also plays a role in distinguishing a given individual or a given social group from other individuals and groups.

The members of the *Haskalah* movement realized that in order to make their project of modernizing Jewish society viable, they must change the models of the Jewish habitus. As written texts were the main media of the *Haskalah* movement and the new educational system was one of their main organs, they recruited translated texts to help them present new forms of habitus to the Jewish public. Moreover, translations were used to introduce the values of *Bürgertum* and *Bildung* underlying the new social models.

2 On Elias' influence on Bourdieu, see Sela-Sheffy (1997) and Algazi (2002).

What makes the *Maskilim*'s efforts to construct a new Jewish habitus so interesting is how explicit their guidelines were. Normally, the set of behavioral codes that determines a given habitus is a doxa – in other words, it is taken for granted and hence needs not explicitly be formulated. The case of the *Haskalah* is of particular interest because it involves the introduction of explicit instructions.

In order to understand how substantial the social change the *Maskilim* aspired to enact in Jewish society was, one need only compare typical depictions of Jewish peddlers or Jewish villagers (taking into account, of course, their stereotypical representations) (see for instance Rowlandson 1954) with portraits of members of the *Haskalah* movement and of the Jewish economic elite. When one looks at these portraits, it is impossible not to notice how the *Maskilim* posed for the artist in a manner expressing self-confidence and self-esteem. Several wear eighteenth-century wigs, and their dress and hairstyle are similar to that of the German bourgeoisie. Consider, for example, the portrait of Isaac Daniel Itzig,³ a wealthy Jewish entrepreneur. Nothing in his appearance discloses his ethnic identity as a Jew. We see that he has adopted practices common to the eighteenth-century German high bourgeoisie: his face is clean-shaven, and he sports a short wig with an arrangement of 'side curls,' fashionable among the German bourgeoisie of the time. His clothing, too – a blue velvet jacket – is the dress of the German upper middle class. His overall appearance reveals his wealth and his attachment to the higher bourgeoisie. This is also true of the portraits of several other *Maskilim*, such as Dr. Elieser Marcus Bloch⁴ and Dr. Marcus Herz, who each wear a plaited wig and a fashionable jacket over a shirt with ruffles, or of Hartwig Wessely⁵ [Naphtali Herz Weisel].

In 1833, a German writer, Michael Benedict Lessing (of whom we know little), published a description of (likely urban) Jewish society in the German-speaking sphere. In particular, he noted the "tremendous change" he observed:⁶

Let us take a hard look at some of these individuals; let us consider the tremendous change that has taken place in the language, dress, way of life, needs and leisure activities, customs and habits of the Jews! (...) Their appearance – how much it has changed. Who would not have noticed Jews immediately by their cumbersome Eastern dress, their large, dark caftan,

3 Joseph Friedrich August Darbes, *Portrait of Daniel Itzig*, https://www.preussenchronik.de/person_jsp/key=person_daniel_itzig.html.

4 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Marcus Elieser Bloch*, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marcus_Elieser_Bloch#/media/File:Marcus_Elieser_Bloch.jpg.

5 Unknown artist, *Portrait of Hartwig Wessely*, https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hartwig_Wessely#/media/File:Naphtali_Herz_Wessely.JPG.

6 Unless otherwise noted, translations of quotations of Hebrew and German citations are mine.

their fur hat weighing down the forehead, their slippers and their beard disfiguring the face? Who would not immediately have noticed a Jewish matron by her silver-embroidered cap, her stern-looking face, lacking any ornament? And how many Jews still look like that today, except for those remnants of the past or those coming from Poland? How carefully they once adhered to the pettiest customs, and who would have ventured even thirty years ago to open his shop on a Saturday, or engage in business, or write, or travel? (...) Would one have seen them thirty years ago in inns and restaurants sitting next to Christian guests, chatting with them freely, eating the same food, drinking the same drinks? (...) When comparing the records of Christian schools from the last thirty years of the previous century and the first third of ours, one cannot fail to notice that back then a Jewish boy among Christian students was as rare as a white raven, whereas nowadays Christian schools in every city accept almost all the children of the Jewish inhabitants, especially in the higher grades. (...) Only in a few households is the Jewish dialect still used, and only by the elderly, whereas children, above all children in the great cities, speak at home and outside their home the same language as their fellow Christian citizens (...) Hundreds of thousands of people can still testify to the once absolute absence of Jews from concerts, parties, balls, public festivities, (...) in coffee shops and in the offices of the exchange market; they can testify as to whether they ever used to show any interest in daily newspapers (...); whether they had ever then met Jews equal to their Christian peers in manners and knowledge, met a Jew in the theatre, music hall, or art exhibitions, (...) whether they had ever encountered Jews in scientific and other educated circles, or whether Christian scholars and statesmen would frequent the salons of a Jewish lady? (Lessing 1833, 129–132; cited partially in Hebrew translation by Toury 1972, 81)

The presentation of the new habitus in translated children's literature

Lessing's description points to the very aspects of daily life where a transformation began to take place in Jewish daily practices, such as personal hygiene, dress, language, leisure time, and interactions with one's surroundings (Lowenstein 2005). Notably, they were typical of the guidelines included in the *Maskilic* translated texts.⁷

7 'Translated' in the broad sense, where any kind of a linkage exists between two texts that are defined as a source and a translated text.

Remarkably, such guidelines could be found not only in a variety of books addressed to Jewish children, but also in one of the most important books of the *Haskalah* movement – the manifesto *Divrei Shalom ve-Emet* [Words of Peace and Truth] written by Naphtali Herz Weisel, a Jewish Hebraist and educator. In this manifesto, Weisel presented the universal nature of the Enlightenment and the place of the ‘Torah of the Jew’ within it. At the same time, he did not refrain from addressing more mundane matters, such as daily practices, and noted that his manifesto was aimed, inter alia, at teaching his readers proper table manners and dress and how to interact with other people, in both private and public spheres:

These lessons teach a person how to behave in the company of his friends, when he enters and when he leaves: He should speak calmly and not raise his voice, nor whisper. [They also teach him] table manners, comportment, and dress, how he should behave with his household, how he should negotiate, so that other people will enjoy his company and his business and will wish to do business with him, and so on. (Weisel 1886 [1782], 237)

Otherwise, the guidelines are to be found in passages of the most significant books officially addressed to children and young adults. These books were reissued time and again in many editions and continued to be published in Eastern Europe, some even until the end of the nineteenth century: *Avtalion*, by Aaron Wolfsohn-Halle (1790); *Mesilat ha-Limud*, the first part of *Bet ha-Sefer*, by Judah Leib Ben-Ze’ev (1836 [1802]); *Sefer Toldot Israel*, by Peter Beer (1796); and *Moda le-Yaldei Bnei Israel*, by Moses Hirsch Bock (1811). One could further add the epistolary *Igrot Meshulam ben Uriya ha-Eshtemoi* by Isaac Abraham Euchel (1789–1790), whose instructions were less explicit.

The texts mentioned above were based on a translation of passages from several popular books from that period. Among these popular works, Basedow’s *Elementarwerk*, published in 1774 (Basedow 1972 [1774]), and the German translation of Rousseau’s *Émile*, translated into German immediately after its publication in 1762, stand out.⁸ I will briefly discuss these two works in order to illustrate my case.

8 On Rousseau’s place in the Jewish *Haskalah* see Kuperty-Tzur (1999).

Basedow's *Elementarwerk*

The encyclopedic and voluminous *Elementarwerk* by Johann Bernhard Basedow, one of the founding fathers of the Philantropinism school, served as the source text for the translation of several passages that were included in the above-mentioned *Maskilic* books for children and young adults. The choice of Basedow's *Elementarwerk* was rooted in the close relationship between the Jewish and the Philantropin movements (Simon 1953, 175; see also Tsamriyon 1988, 181–182) and requires a separate and thorough examination.⁹

Here I will briefly discuss how the translation of passages from Basedow's *Elementarwerk* helped present Jewish children and young adults with guidelines for daily practices that, as already mentioned, were intended to lead eventually to the construction of a new habitus. In passing, it is interesting to note that the German title of one of the most popular *Maskilic* books for children even reads *Israelitische Kinderfreund. Ein Elementarwerk* (Bock 1811).

The various translations of passages of the *Elementarwerk* did not adopt all the topics discussed by Basedow; they borrowed only those that best suited the *Maskilic* agenda – topics such as personal hygiene and cleanliness of clothing, table manners, social integration, leisure culture, and interactions with others.

Let us look at one citation from the *Elementarwerk* and then examine several translated passages.¹⁰

Kinder, die schon etwas älter sind, und die man nicht mehr an dem ganzen Leibe waschen kann, müssen täglich und zwar so oft, als sie sich besudelt haben, an Händen, Gesicht und Füßen gewaschen werden, im Gesicht und an den Händen aber insbesondere vor und nach jeder Mahlzeit. Hierzu ist bei dem Gesicht und Händen das reine und kalte Wasser das beste. Weil solches aber die Fettigkeiten nicht zulänglich wegnimmt, so kann man allemal, wenn es nötig ist, etwas Seife zur Hilfe nehmen. Bei dem Waschen des Gesichts müssen jedesmal die Augen, vorzüglich das, was sich in dem inneren Augenwinkel festzusetzen pflegt, ausgewaschen und die Ohren

9 Johann Bernhard Basedow and Moses Mendelssohn corresponded on philosophical issues (see Altmann 1973, 323); however, the relationship between them went beyond intellectual exchange. Basedow asked Mendelssohn to help him obtain financial support for his Philantropin Institute in Dessau, and indeed the Jews of Berlin donated 518 talers to the school (Simon 1953, 159). In his *Elementarwerk*, Basedow devoted an entire table [*Tafel*] (number 80) to Jewish matters, including Mendelssohn's profile.

10 As already mentioned in note 7, 'translated' is meant here in the broad sense, where any kind of a linkage exists between two texts that are defined as a source and a translated text.

sowohl inwendig als hinter denselben gereinigt werden. Die Füße müssen besonders bei Kindern, die schon angefangen viel herumzulaufen, alle Abende mit lauwarmen Wasser, wozu das Flußwasser mit etwas Kleie vermischt am besten ist, abgewaschen werden. (Basedow 1972 [1774], 189)

[The hands, face, and feet of children who are older and whose entire body cannot be washed [by an adult] must be washed daily once they have dirtied themselves, but especially before and after meals. To this end, the best means is clean and cold water. However, in case of a need to get rid of greasiness, one can use soap as well. In the washing of the face, the eyes must be washed each time, especially the inner corner of the eye, and the ears must be cleaned both internally and behind. The feet must be washed daily in the evenings with lukewarm water, for which the best is water mixed with a little bit of bran, especially by children who have started to walk around a lot.]

The text continues, in the same manner, to discuss other daily practices, including appropriate clothing, table manners, and interactions with others.

In order to briefly illustrate my case, the following discussion of several translated passages will focus on guidelines that deal with one dominant subject: personal hygiene.

In his reader *Mesilat ha-Limud*, one of the *Haskalah's* bestsellers, Judah Leib Ben-Ze'ev, a grammarian and lexicographer, meticulously prescribed the rules of personal hygiene, with specific instructions for rising from bed, washing, and maintaining the cleanliness of one's clothes:

You shall wake up and wash your face and hands, and brush and rinse your mouth with water and clean it and purify it of mucus and filth; and you should put on clean and splendid clothes and go over your hair with a comb so that you will not be called by shameful names. (Ben Ze'ev [1802] 1836, 114)

The need to keep one's clothing clean is mentioned repeatedly in almost all the guidelines. For example, Ben-Ze'ev states: "Your clothes should always be white and your dress clean of filth and spots, because a man is respected for the splendor of his clothing" (*ibid.*). Similarly, in *Moda le-Yaldei Bnei Israel*, Moses Hirsch Bock (a pedagogue and writer) offered general instructions on the use of soap: "Remove all filth from your body, wash it and clean it with soap, because cleanliness is very conducive to bodily health" (Bock, 1811, 189).

In his popular book *Sefer Toldot Israel*, Peter (Peretz) Beer, a radical *maskil* (an educationalist and writer) gives his readers concrete instructions

concerning personal hygiene. Beer emphasizes time and again the need to keep one's body clean:

Wash your hands and your face and also your neck with water / Do not forget to rinse [your] mouth and teeth, and keep your nails short / And [keep] your head combed every day and your hair in order. (Beer 1796, 285)

My child! Before you lie down in your bed, / Go and kiss your father's hands and do not forget to rinse your mouth and teeth / before you lie down to sleep, in clean water. So that in the morning your mouth will not smell bad, / and you will not disgust and repulse all who encounter you. (*ibid.*, 294)

When you eat and your hands become grubby and soiled, / wash them afterwards so that you do not dirty your clothes. (*ibid.*, 290)

These representative examples dealing with personal hygiene suffice, I believe, to illustrate my argument about the use of translated texts as agents of social change. Imparting these daily practices was part of the *Maskilic* attempt to advocate the notion of *Bildung*, whose adoption was a prerequisite for making Jews part of bourgeois civil society (Hettling 2015). In the view of the *Maskilim*, it was the only way to assure Jews' integration into non-Jewish bourgeois society.

I would like to stress that such detailed guidelines appeared in *Maskilic* books for children not only with respect to hygiene but also to the other daily practices I mentioned above, such as dress, language, leisure, and interaction with one's surroundings. Furthermore, one must remember that although the *Maskilic* books officially addressed children and young adults, they were often read by adults as well, especially by those who were looking for a path towards Enlightenment, and thus they actually reached a much larger audience.

Rousseau's Émile

Another source for guidelines was Rousseau's *Émile*. Elsewhere (Shavit 2014) I have extensively discussed the strategies employed by translators to introduce, in disguise, Rousseau's *Émile* into the Jewish cultural and educational system. Here I will refer briefly to one example, a translation of a passage in *Émile* that gives a detailed account of how and why children should be bathed in cold water:

Lavez souvent les enfants; leur malpropreté en montre le besoin. Quand on ne fait que les essuyer, on les déchire; mais, à mesure qu'ils se renforcent, diminuez par degré la tiédeur de l'eau, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin vous les laviez été et hiver à l'eau froide et même glacée. Comme, pour ne pas les exposer, il importe que cette diminution soit lente, successive et insensible, on peut se servir du thermomètre pour la mesurer exactement.

Cet usage du bain une fois établi ne doit plus être interrompu, et il importe de le garder toute sa vie. Je le considère non seulement du côté de la propreté et de la santé actuelle, mais aussi comme une précaution salutaire pour rendre plus flexible la texture des fibres, et les faire céder sans effort et sans risque aux divers degrés de chaleur et de froid. Pour cela je voudrais qu'en grandissant on s'accoutumât peu à peu à se baigner quelquefois dans des eaux chaudes à tous les degrés supportables, et souvent dans des eaux froides à tous les degrés possibles. Ainsi, après s'être habitué à supporter les diverses températures de l'eau, qui, étant un fluide plus dense, nous touche par plus de points et nous affecte davantage, on deviendrait presque insensible à celles de l'air. (Rousseau 1762, 50)

[Wash the children often; their dirtiness proves the need for it; when one only wipes them, one lacerates them. But to the extent that they regain strength, diminish by degrees the warmth of the water, until at the end you wash them summer and winter in cold and even chilly water. Since in order not to expose them it is important that this diminution be slow, successive, and imperceptible, a thermometer can be used to measure it exactly.

This practice of bathing, once established, ought never again be interrupted, and it is important to keep to it for the whole of life. I am considering it not only from the point of view of cleanliness and present health; but I also see it as a salutary precaution for making the texture of the fibers more flexible and able to adapt to various degrees of heat and cold without effort and without risk. For that purpose I would want him in growing up to become accustomed little by little to bathing sometimes in hot water at all bearable degrees and often in cold water at all possible degrees. Thus, after being habituated to bear the various temperatures of water which, being a denser fluid, touches us at more points and affects us more, one would become almost insensitive to the various temperatures of the air.] (Rousseau 1979, 59–60, trans. Bloom)

A concise translation of this passage was published posthumously in Hebrew in 1787¹¹ by *Ha-Me'asef*, the most important journal of the *Haskalah*:

They [parents and caregivers] will also make a habit of bathing children / at least twice a week in cold water / so they will be strong and healthy / because apart from this being in keeping with cleanliness and ritual purity / it is also good and conducive to bodily health. (Baraz 1787, 37)

The translator, Shimon Baraz, was a virtually anonymous writer who belonged to *Maskilic* circles in Königsberg. He was probably motivated by *Émile's* enormous success in Germany.¹² After *Émile* had been translated into German in 1762, it was then retranslated multiple times and became a frequently cited text. Shimon Baraz adapted into Hebrew several paragraphs of Rousseau's *Émile* and published them in an article titled "The Education of Boys: On the Necessity of Educating Boys Properly" [Chinukh Ne'arim: Al Devar Chinukh ha-Banim ka-Ra'uyi] (Baraz 1787, 33–43). We may assume that he had not read *Émile* in French but rather had read one of the many German translations. Furthermore, we may even assume that Baraz did not necessarily have access to the complete German translation, but only to one or more of the numerous summaries, reviews, and articles written by various intermediaries who introduced the ideas of *Émile* into the German cultural system.

Baraz himself does not mention Rousseau as his source but refers to the work of the "Sages," which a detailed comparison suggests was Rousseau. Baraz translated and adapted several paragraphs of *Émile* that deal with concrete issues of child-raising and provide detailed guidelines on different phases of everyday life: how to dress, bathe, and feed children, and even teach them how to swim. While not referring directly to Rousseau, the translator mentions Maimonides as his source and selects from *Émile* those passages that corresponded best with Maimonides' view of the need to maintain bodily health as a prerequisite for mental health. In so doing, Baraz tried to connect Rousseau's discussion of the body with Maimonides' ideas (Maimonides, n.d.). He also strove to associate his adaptation of Rousseau with rabbinical writings. For instance, to Rousseau's recommendation to teach a child how to swim, Baraz added a quotation from the tractate *Kiddushin*, which is the most significant source in rabbinical literature on the education of children. Baraz followed Rousseau faithfully even at the

11 Shimon Baraz died on October 4, 1787.

12 On Rousseau's place in the German Enlightenment, see Mounier (1979, 1980).

expense of contradicting Maimonides – for instance, advising that children be bathed in cold water, which contradicts Maimonides’ instruction to keep the body warm.

Baraz’s presentation of passages taken from *Émile* masquerading as those of Maimonides was part of the strategies employed by the *Maskilim* to minimize opposition and hostility to the translation of ‘foreign’ texts. Among the principal strategies of disguise was the method of composing a text based on ready-made phrases taken from canonical Jewish literature. This method was commonly used in traditional Jewish literature, in which the authors constructed the text as a puzzle whose phrases consist of, or allude to, various canonical Jewish texts. Baraz embedded ready-made phrases of the Hebrew Bible, rabbinical writings, and Maimonides (Shavit 2014) into the paragraphs taken from Rousseau, interweaving them to create a coherent puzzle. In this way, he made the translation seem familiar to his Jewish readers, making it appear as part of the Jewish tradition.

Staging bourgeois society

In addition to the presentation of new daily practices, translated texts were also used by the *Maskilim* to introduce the new social model they aspired to implement in Jewish society. This model was based on the values of the German bourgeoisie, particularly in terms of familial relations, *Bildung*, vocational training, and relations with non-Jews. The translation of Campe’s *Robinson der Jüngere* [The Young Robinson] by David Samostz (1824) was part of these *Maskilic* efforts to promote and disseminate *Bildung* values with the aim of becoming part of bourgeois civil society.¹³ This, in the spirit of Christian Wilhelm von Dohm’s (1972 [1781]) recommendation that Jews be granted equal civil rights, provided that they adopt the *Bildung* values and the behavioral codes of the civil society’s bourgeoisie. The *Maskilim* enthusiastically supported the adoption of such values, which could open new horizons for Jews’ integration into non-Jewish bourgeois society, where one was judged by one’s ability to achieve independent status through the acquisition of a profession, broad education, and financial and cultural capital.

13 Campe’s decision to adapt Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* for children was part of the new ‘Robinsonade’ genre that inundated Europe, especially Germany. Nevertheless, only Campe’s adaptation enjoyed such remarkable success, becoming one of the most-translated books of his day; it was translated into French, English, Italian, Latin, Greek, Croatian, Czech, Serbian, Romanian, Spanish, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Dutch, Yiddish, and Lithuanian, among others.

David Samostz's translation was designed to provide teachers and parents (primarily fathers) with a text that could be used to impart this new set of values to children.

A detailed analysis of Samostz's translation is beyond the scope of this chapter. Nonetheless, I would like to present here the conclusions that derive from this analysis.¹⁴

Following Joachim Heinrich Campe, Samostz presented in Hebrew a model of bourgeois life and 'staged' or dramatized various principles of Philanthropic pedagogy, such as a constant dialogue between parents and children and between teachers and children. Staging scenes of family life and intrafamilial dialogues furthermore provided a way to illustrate the ideal model of interaction between fathers and children and between teacher and students. As is well known, Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* evolves as a dialogue between a father and his children (Ewers 1996, 162–163), thus enabling the dramatization of various scenarios in a 'typical' bourgeois family and providing an almost visual illustration of the ideal model of bourgeois life in which children are educated according to the principles of Philanthropism. Campe received acclaim for his extensive use of dialogue and conversations (*Gesprächform*), primarily between an adult and children. Through his constant use of dialogues, Campe presented – in a concrete, rather than abstract, way – the normative rules for dialogue between adults and children, and the differences between such dialogue and conversation among children themselves (*ibid.*, 174).

The visualization of Philanthropist principles, as well as the story of Robinson Crusoe, were perfectly in line with the *Maskilim's* aspiration to broaden Jews' horizons beyond their narrow and provincial world. In his translation of *Robinson der Jüngere*, Samostz depicts a society open to the world and characterized by social mobility, rationality, and a universalist outlook – a society of people who attained a profession, were knowledgeable about the world, and lived off their own hard work. In place of the isolated Jew remaining in the confines of his home, Samostz sought to portray a Jew who lives in an open, inclusive society enjoying fruitful relations with his surroundings. The 'new Jew' in this society adopts the daily practices of non-Jews, speaks the language of the society in which he lives, and is familiar with its culture. He makes his living in various professions and enriches his spiritual world not only through religious but also through secular studies.

Digressing slightly, I believe it is important to note the difficulties translators faced due to the need to translate the dialogues into Hebrew. Hebrew at

14 For a comprehensive analysis, see Shavit (in press).

the time was not yet a spoken, colloquial language; Samostz thus had to devise *ad hoc* solutions for translating the dialogues and had to invent patterns for conversations taking place in the family, in a language that did not yet offer a reserve of ready-made and formulaic exchanges for everyday situations.¹⁵ In this way, translations of texts for children played a role in the renaissance of the Hebrew language – especially in the depiction of spoken language in written texts – and offered models for dialogue and conversation, just as the letter-writing manuals that were common at the time provided templates for written correspondence (Kogman 2016).

The effectiveness of the translated texts

Can we maintain that the Jewish public indeed adopted a new habitus? And if so, can we point to a link between the new habitus and the educational projects of the *Haskalah* movement at the turn of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century? In other words, can we point to the extent to which the guidelines were effective?

Based on the small number of pupils in *Maskilic* schools and on their socioeconomic profile, it is difficult to imagine that the dramatic change described by Michael Lessing could have resulted exclusively from such *Maskilic* projects. We do not have at our disposal much evidence concerning the extent to which these guidelines were indeed followed. Nevertheless, we can point to the gradual growing awareness of those daily practices, especially in Jewish schools. Thus, for instance, the Wilhelm School in Breslau received an order from the authorities concerning personal hygiene “[to] pay more attention to cleanliness of the body, clothing, and books, which is generally neglected in education in Jewish homes” (quoted in Eliav 1960, 86). Furthermore, awareness of modern hygiene changed as indicated in the memoir of Shmuel Meyer Ehrenberg, where he writes about the time he spent as a student at the Samson School in Wolfenbüttel stating, “[at first] there was no bathtub, and toothbrushes were introduced only three years later” (*ibid.*, 103, note 5).

We know that several of the graduates of the *Maskilic* schools became leading figures in Jewish communities and helped disseminate *Maskilic* values and ways of life. Thus, for instance, graduates of the Dessau school became teachers in large and small Jewish communities (*ibid.*, 91). Five of the pupils at Chinukh Ne’arim in Berlin went on to study at the prestigious

15 On the development of dialogue in literary texts, see Shavit (2012).

Joachimsthalsches Gymnasium, “some to study medicine [*chochmat ha-refu’a*] and others to study religion,” (Anonymous 1862 [1783]). Other pupils in the *Maskilic* schools later became teachers at those schools. Several would become prominent figures of the *Wissenschaft des Judentums* [*Chochmat Israel*] movement.

Of course, graduates of these schools were not the only agents to disseminate the *Maskilic* agenda. However, those graduates were more likely to serve as role models because of their status and position. In addition, one must remember that, as already mentioned, though the texts themselves officially addressed young readers, they were nevertheless read by adults as well, and, at times, primarily so.

Thus, the efforts to reform Jewish society involved the intentional use of translated texts as agents to disseminate the modern *Maskilic* habitus and the values of *Bürgertum*. These translated texts were written both as propaganda and for practical purposes. In fact, they laid bare the ideals of the *Haskalah* movement since they were not simply ‘translated texts,’ but rather they translated, so to speak, these ideals into everyday practices and social models. It appears, then, that in addition to the personal example set by the *Maskilim* themselves, it was the translated texts that presented the new habitus and social models and values to the Jewish public in German-speaking areas – even those who did not read the books directly or attend the *Haskalah* movement’s schools. These *Maskilic* projects played a major role in the efforts to generate social and cultural reform in Jewish society, a change that gradually characterized growing circles of Jews in the German-speaking sphere, and a change that in many ways opened the door to the creation of a modern Jewish society whose source of authority would be based less and less on religious values and that would maintain a continuous cultural dialogue with the non-Jewish world.

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