Yiddish Adaptations of Children's Stories from World Literature

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Did the girl called Little Red Riding-Hood also have a real name?

In the original German prose version in the famous collection by the Brothers Grimm, no name other than Red Riding-Hood is mentioned.[1] But in the rhymed Yiddish version, entitled "Royt mentele" ("Little Red Coat"), the girl is given a name to rhyme with the title: Yentele. In this version of the tale, the story takes place on Purim. Yentele is on her way to bring grandma the traditional basket of Purim treats: a *homentash,* a strudel, a Purim-cake and a fruit layer cake. There is no hunter as there is in the original; instead, the hero who saves Yentele and grandma is Yehiel, the water carrier.

This adaptation of the story for Jewish children was published in Warsaw in 1921 when the creation of Yiddish literature for children was at its height. It was part of an early childhood series called "For Small Children," produced by the *Kultur lige* (Culture League). Among ten items from this series that I have been able to obtain, six are self-declared adaptations from non-Jewish stories. Moreover, we may assume that the other stories in the series were based on similar sources even when no details are given. Nowhere does the booklet about "Royt mentele" mention the Brothers Grimm.[2]

This testifies first of all to the sorely felt dearth of original children's literature in Yiddish. The lack of suitable Yiddish stories became a pressing issue in the modern Jewish kindergartens established in Poland during the First World War. The efforts of Y. L. Perets to establish such a kindergarten in Warsaw in March 1915 are well known. He planned a collection of songs and stories for children—a plan that was never implemented.[3]

The demand for something to fill the gap grew more pronounced during the final years of the First World War and in the first postwar years in Soviet Russia and independent Poland, where school systems were established with Yiddish as the language of instruction. That is why the first three decades of the twentieth century might be regarded as the heyday of Yiddish children's literature. Unfortunately, this is a body of literature that has not yet been properly studied even though it surely merits serious examination in view of its high level of qualitative and quantitative achievement. This literature was aesthetically produced, with work by some first-

rate Jewish artists and illustrators. Their contribution has not received adequate attention either.[4]

It was only natural that the choice of suitable material should fall to those works that were considered classics at that time: the stories of Hans Christian Andersen and the Brothers Grimm, for example. It should perhaps be pointed out, too, that these stories were rarely adapted directly from their original versions, but often reached Yiddish by way of Russian and Polish translations.[5]

The first Yiddish adaptations of children's stories from world literature were done about ten years before the First World War. From the very first, we can detect two opposing tendencies: (1) the attempt to convey in Yiddish stories that were as true as possible to the original and that did not tamper with the stories beyond what was necessary for "adequate" translation; (2) an approach that involved the reworking of the story, at times quite radically, so as to fit not just the language of the target audience, but also its cultural ambience. In the latter instance, the child's ability to identify details of the stories with everyday experience took precedence over the textual integrity of the original tale.

The version of Red Riding-Hood that I have mentioned is obviously an example of the second type of translation, one that sought to supply familiar details even where the original provided no details at all. But there was another Yiddish version of Red Riding-Hood, this one called "Royt haybele," published in Berlin in 1922 by Yashar as part of a series of translations from *Grimms' Fairy Tales.*[6] This furnishes us with a case of the other type of translation. Thus, the same story was likely to be available in Yiddish in various versions, each reflecting a different mode of cross-cultural literary transmission.

The adaptation of the story in "Royt mentele" was based, as I have noted, on the rather daring attempt to transplant the story into a Jewish setting in order to make it more accessible to the young listener or reader. No inherent objection to the story as it was presented in the original was involved. Yet, in many cases, the motive for reworking a story may be said to have stemmed from more complex difficulties arising out of the original version. We may illustrate this phenomenon with some examples from Yiddish translations of Hans Christian Andersen.

The first Andersen story that we know was translated into Yiddish was called "Big Fayvl and Little Fayvl." It was published as a supplement to an issue of the Saint Petersburg daily *Der Fraynd* shortly before Purim in 1904. It was, as the cover announced, a kind of Purim present from the newspaper to Jewish children. The adaptation was done by the Russian-Jewish writer, Chaim-Mordechai Rabinovich, whose pen name was Ben-Ami. On the cover Ben-Ami wrote, "A story by Andersen retold for Jewish children."[7] The same tale, translated by Der Nister in 1919, was called "Big Klaus and Little Klaus," as in the Danish original.[8]

Der Nister's faithfulness to the original—as mediated by a Russian translation—becomes evident at the beginning of the story in a passage describing a typical Danish Sunday, "The bells summoned people to morning worship, everyone was dressed in their Sunday best and clasping their prayer books as they made their way to church to hear the preacher's sermon" (p. 3).

In the Ben-Ami version, there is no trace of bells or of a church for that matter.

Gone are the churchgoers along with the preacher. Instead, the story opens on a Friday and involves only Jewish characters: "The two Fayvls, though they lived in a village, were not shopkeepers, but used instead to plow and to sow the fields, for this was a village of Jewish farmers."

Although Ben-Ami would reintroduce the theme of the Jewish farmer later in the story—modern writers favored farming as a preeminently productive pursuit for the Jew and liked to hold it up as a model for emulation—the rest of his depiction of a typical village Friday could have been modeled on any East European Jewish shtetl:

> The housewives of the village had already put the *cholent* in the ovens and were scrubbing the children. The very pious ones already had their minds on lighting the candles in time for the Sabbath. The menfolk were on their way back from the baths. Young lads were rushing hither and thither with bottles to bring home wine or brandy for the Sabbath benediction. The old beadle had already placed candles in the chandelier of the synagogue and was about to go on his rounds to summon the village to prayers (p. 4).

In this way, Andersen's Danish setting was completely transformed and his characters became bona fide Jews. All Christian references were excised. For example, the treacherous church sexton who appears in the Der Nister translation was turned into "Jonah the Stoolie" in Ben-Ami's version. An omitted passing reference to the church was the occasion to mention a Jewish tavern.

One may conclude, then, that Ben-Ami's Judaizing version was based on a desire to strip from the story, as Jewish children would hear it, any Christian content. Indeed, similar motives prompted the same sort of intervention in stories that seem at first to be only straightforward translations, without any particular attempt to reset the plot in a Jewish context.

A translated collection of Andersen stories was published in Warsaw in 1910 by L. Bromberg. The five stories selected include "The Little Match Girl." In the original, one of the scenes that the little girl imagines as she shivers in the freezing darkness of New Year's Eve is that of a brilliantly illuminated wealthy home with a decorated Christmas tree. Bromberg, who apparently worked from a Polish translation, faithfully noted that the story took place on New Year's Eve, but omitted the Christmas tree.[9] The details missing in Bromberg's translation do appear, of course, in the version by Der Nister.[10] Nevertheless, it is clear that Bromberg did not Judaize the story. He merely removed the overt symbols of Christmas, which he considered to be inappropriate for his target audience.

As a result, this version of the story became religiously neutral, unconnected to any denomination. Sometimes, however, the same underlying reticence with regard to Christian references produced more active interventions in folk tales. We may cite, for instance, the Hebrew version of "The Little Match Girl" by David Frishman, written in 1896.[11] Bromberg was apparently unfamiliar with it. That the Hebrew "Little Match Girl" is a Judaized version is immediately apparent from the subtitle, which calls the story a Hanukkah tale. As we might expect, the Christmas tree is replaced by a menorah.[12] Such a change, which may seem like a minor departure from the original, in fact alters the story's character considerably. By introducing an item as specifically Jewish as a menorah, Frishman evokes a Jewish setting for the story.

It is not always easy to establish a firm definition of what indicates Judaization in literary texts and what constitutes a less substantive emendation. We have, for example, two different translations of the Grimm brothers' "Hans im Glueck."[13] One was prepared by Falk Halperin before the First World War; it is called "Lucky Hans."[14] The second, part of an anthology published in Berlin in 1922, is called "Hans the Lucky."[15] These are two completely independent versions, both of which strive to remain faithful to the German original. But both depart from the original in the passage involving the goose that is brought to the christening. In both cases, the baptismal feast is replaced by a circumcision celebration—an event strictly identified with a Jewish milieu. Halperin wrote, "He brings the goose as a gift for the circumcision"; and in the second translation, once again, we find, "He takes the goose to a circumcision party." Nevertheless, we would not be warranted in regarding either translation as a Judaization of the tale. This one single alteration, which affects neither the characters nor the plot, does not indicate substantial reworking of the original to create a Jewish story.

It may be assumed that omitting references to Christian ceremonies and their simple replacement by Jewish equivalents, without other significant additions, was quite common in the retelling of non-Jewish stories; but this proposition deserves detailed study.

The 1914 Yiddish version of Andersen's story "Olye-Lok-Oye"[16] once again draws our attention to the nature of Judaization and its indicators in a story, either taken as a whole or as affecting its component parts. Andersen's tale involves a boy called Hjalmar,[17] who reappears in Yiddish as Chaiml, a Jewish schoolboy who, naturally enough, is occupied with studying Torah. In the original, the seven chapters of the story–corresponding to the days of the week—begin with Monday. In Yiddish, the story begins on Friday night. Right from the start we get a description of the kind of home you would expect with a boy named Chaiml: "The next day was Friday, and Olye-Lok-Oye came for dinner. The Sabbath candles had burned down, the table was still covered with its white cloth, father and mother had gone to look in on a neighbor, and Chaiml lay in bed" (p. 8). Similar references are scattered throughout the story, leaving no doubt that the action takes place in a Jewish home. This, despite the strange figure with that strange name, Olye-Lok-Oye, which has no connection at all to Jewish life.

Children's books are commonly illustrated, and Yiddish translations or adaptations from foreign-language material were no exception. Often we find a note concerning the source of the illustrations. Thus, the Yiddish selection from *Grimms' Fairy Tales* published in Berlin in 1922 not only bears the name of the translator, but also the information that the illustrations are those of Ludwig Richter. Richter was a nineteenth-century German artist and illustrator whose illustrations for the Grimm stories were reproduced in the 1922 Yiddish edition without alteration. Indeed, this version had little cause to alter the illustrations since it attempted to remain faithful to the original text—apart from a few isolated instances involving Christian symbols or motifs, which hardly affected the stories or the characters.

We may suppose, then, that unchanged renditions were routinely accompanied by illustrations from foreign-language sources–in general, without stating their provenance. The same is true of stories that were only slightly altered, without signifi-

cantly changing their original characters, and where no incongruity resulted between illustrations and the Yiddish text.

As an example, we may take the Yiddish translation of *Max and Moritz*, the story by Wilhelm Busch, produced by J. Krasnianski in 1921.[18] Despite the fact that explicitly Jewish expressions found their way into the otherwise "adequate" translation, these departures did not actually alter the original story in any substantive way, certainly not with regard to the characters or the setting.[19] The changes, which may be defined as stylistic or linguistic, did not require any alterations in Busch's original illustrations, which were faithfully reproduced.[20]

But what of Judaized stories? How were they illustrated? As we shall see, the publishers had only a few options:

1. From a professional point of view, a new set of illustrations ought to have been commissioned to fit the new version with its Jewish setting and characters. But I have not found any examples before the early 1920s in which this course was taken.
2. It was possible to omit illustrations that clearly no longer fit the text. Thus, both the "Big Fayvl and Little Fayvl" version of Andersen's story and "Royt mentele" were published without any illustrations.
3. One might use illustrations from the original and simply disregard the fact that the Yiddish version had considerably changed the story.[21] This was done for the Judaized Yiddish version of "Olye-Lok-Oye" published in Warsaw in 1914. It included two illustrations from foreign-language editions, despite the fact that the character depicted clearly did not represent little Chaiml.
4. It was also possible, it seems, to alter the existing illustrations slightly in accordance with the new text. This method was chosen for two Wilhelm Busch stories that were adapted and Judaized. Between 1920 and 1923, the popular Jewish humorist, Joseph Tunkel—famous as Der Tunkeler—published five stories by Busch.[22] He considered them as adaptations; indeed, he stated that they were "freely adapted into Yiddish"[23] or "Yiddishized"[24]—a term that embraces both the linguistic and the Jewish cultural aspects.

Der Tunkeler permitted himself a great deal of poetic license with the Busch material and transposed all five stories into Jewish settings. The most obvious indicators of this are the typically Jewish names assigned to the characters. The notorious Max and Moritz became Motl and Notl; as such they also appear in the story "The Robin's Nest," although in the German original we read only of "two lads." Heinrich becomes Kopl, in "Kopl and the Geese"; Fritz, Franz and Konrad are renamed Leybl, Yosl and Moyshe in "The Paper Snake." And Busch's prose story, "Little Pepi and His New Trousers" is entirely transformed into rhymed verse, with the title "Naughty Moyshl."

The Jewish characters had to be provided with a Jewish story, of course, and Der Tunkeler improvised freely from the original texts. Yet the stories remained reasonably close to the Busch version, except for those aspects with explicitly Christian overtones. Thus, *Motl and Notl* is missing the fourth chapter of the German original, the one in which Max and Moritz play a cruel prank on their teacher while he is in church practicing on the organ. It is difficult to determine whether the chapter was

omitted due to the streak of cruelty and the unedifying treatment of the teacher, whose pipe was filled with gunpowder, or to the fact that a church figures in the story. Undoubtedly, both factors played a role here. It is interesting, in this regard, that the church organ is not mentioned in all four Hebrew renditions of *Max und Moritz*, even in those that do include the chapter about the teacher.[25]

Beyond the matter of names, Der Tunkeler's Judaization of elements in the stories was obviously guided by the original text itself, insofar as it presented problematic aspects. Max and Moritz's first prank involved their hanging the widow Bolte's hens, as a result of which the hens die. The widow Bolte removes the dead chickens—"die Verstorbenen"—and proceeds without compunction to roast them for dinner. Max and Moritz themselves enjoy the feast.

Now, in the Hebrew versions of the story nothing is changed. The "victims" or the "corpses" in the rather accurate translation by Hava Carmi go directly from the gallows to the frying pan or the oven. Uri Sela, who allows Max and Moritz to retain their German names, nevertheless, does provide some of the characters with Hebrew names. The widow Bolte becomes Aunt Sima. But Aunt Sima when she finds the dead fowl proceeds just as did the widow in the German story:

> No use now in bitter crying,
> she fetched her knife, sadly sighing.
> What's dead is dead.
> And so, instead,
> she'll roast the hens as well as she's able
> and set them upon her dinner table.[26]

Joseph Tunkel, however, chose to handle this matter of the unkosher feast differently. How, after all, could a good Jewish widow called Chaye-Soreh prepare a meal from such an abomination—a meal, moreover, destined to be shared by Motl and Notl, the Jewish pranksters? Der Tunkeler's Judaized adaptation provides a fitting solution to this problem. Coming upon the hanged chickens, the widow Chaye-Soreh:

> Quickly grabs her knife,
> cuts the string, *saves their life*.
> The birds gasp and shudder,
> try to stir, but barely flutter.

And here is what a good Jewish woman does in such a situation:

> "But enough tears shed, I must decide
> what else to do before they've died.
> The only solution left, I feel,
> is to make them into a Sabbath meal.
> Off to the *shoychet*'s stall!" she cries.
> She grabs them up and off she flies.
> Soon hens and rooster are no more.
> She quickly returns through her kitchen door,
> to pluck, salt and soak them as she ought,
> and drain them well as she was taught.

Tunkel, as we see, did not miss a single step in the process of turning this into the proper kosher meal that potential readers of the Motl and Notl adventures would expect.

Apart from providing such solutions to issues of Jewish propriety, Der Tunkeler also managed to convey stylistically a sense of his stories' Jewish setting by using a vocabulary with specifically Jewish referents. His flowing, rhythmic style also deserves notice, but that is another matter.

Tunkel had developed an early talent for drawing; his humoristic literary pieces and parodies were accompanied by his own caricatures.[27] It may be supposed that Wilhelm Busch's success as both a writer and an artist was what first drew Tunkel's interest and inspired him to combine writing and illustration. Certainly, Der Tunkeler was not the only one to have been captivated by Busch's effective integration of text and wonderfully expressive artwork. Every Busch story adapted and published by Der Tunkeler was accompanied by reproductions of the original illustrations. But in two cases, Tunkel decided to Judaize the illustrations in line with the new version of the story. Although it is not explicitly stated, it is more than likely that the alterations were executed by Tunkel himself. There is, in any event, no statement to the contrary.

I will mention several examples.

In *Max und Moritz,* one character is a tailor named Boeck. In Tunkel's version, his name is Aaron, Shloyme's son, and his picture is altered accordingly by giving the tailor a beard and a Jewish hat (fig. 1). This new pictorial image is used throughout the illustrations in this chapter (fig. 2).

In chapter 5 of *Max und Moritz,* we encounter Uncle Fritz. In the Yiddish version this is Uncle Khone-Beyrach, whose picture is, once again, altered to fit the new character. In place of the tufted *Zippelmuetze* originally sported by Fritz, the uncle now wears a yarmulke and he, too, is bearded (fig. 3).

Der Tunkeler also Judaized Busch's anonymous baker, calling him Tsale the Baker, and replaced the German lettering on the sign advertising his wares with the word *bekeray* in Yiddish (fig. 4).

The owner of the granary in the Yiddish version, Sholem, looks different from Bauer Mecke of the original German text (fig. 5). Likewise, Reb Yisroel the miller is depicted as a Jewish figure (fig. 6).

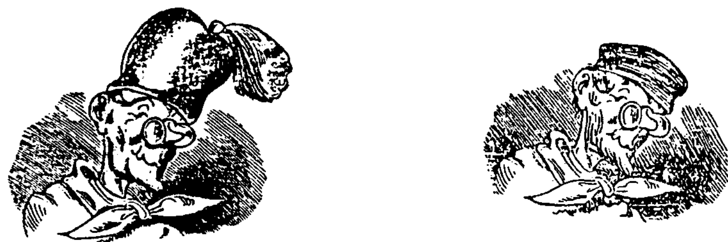
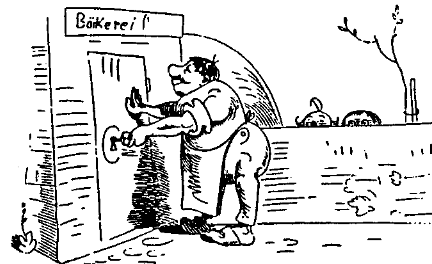


Fig. 1. A and B

Fig. 2. A and B

Fig. 3. A and B



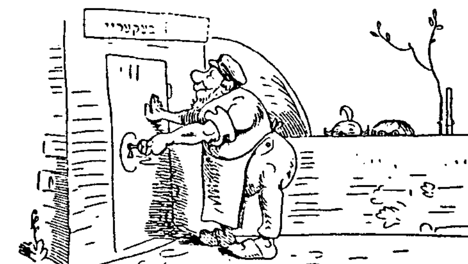


Fig. 4. A and B

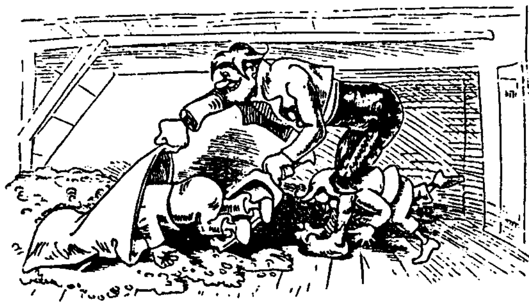


Fig. 5. A and B

Fig. 6. A and B

In three Hebrew translations of *Max und Moritz* published in Palestine/Israel, the original illustrations by Busch were retained. Anda Pinkerfeld's 1939 edition, however, included some of Joseph Tunkel's Judaized illustrations as well. For some reason, these were omitted from the 1950 edition in which the illustrations are once again those of Busch.[28]

Another story in which Tunkel matched the illustrations to his text was "Naughty Moyshl." Pepi, as the boy is known in Busch's original, receives a new pair of trousers from his godparent. This religious link is missing, of course, from the relationship between Moyshl and the Jewish tailor. In the Yiddish version, the tailor is simply another Jew and that is how he appears in the story's first illustration. The entire series of Busch drawings for the story appear here, with appropriate alterations. The story concludes with Moyshl receiving his just desserts: a whipping from his father. The Jewish ambience and details are represented in the illustrations, which serve to complete the Judaizing process (figs. 7, 8).

In this discussion, I have only dealt with the absorption and Judaization of children's literature from non-Jewish culture within a brief span of twenty years in the early part of this century. Of course, the phenomenon cannot really be examined in isolation. At least in outline form, I would like to sketch the broader framework for this kind of cross-cultural transference.

Fig. 7. A and B

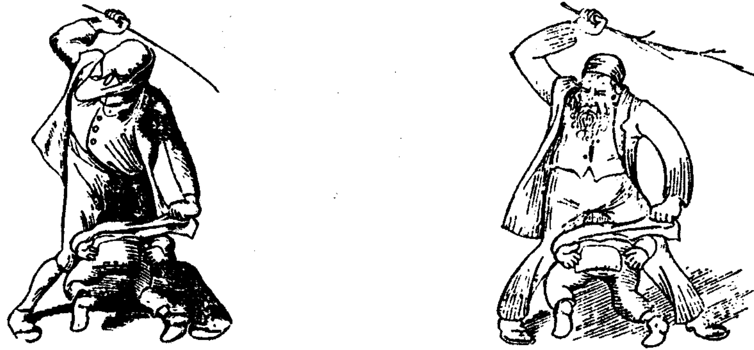


Fig. 8. A and B

In Yiddish literature, we can point to examples of the exact same process as far back as the fourteenth century. A copyist working on "Dukes Horant"—in a manuscript now in the Geniza Collection at Cambridge University—substituted for the Christian *Kirche*, the Yiddish derogatory *tifleh* in the text he was transcribing into Hebrew letters. He thereby underscored his reluctance to place a word with Christian content into a Jewish manuscript. Similar omissions and neutering of terms may be encountered in numerous texts copied from German into Hebrew characters right through the eighteenth century and beyond. This is well known.[29] In *Bove D'Antona*, adapted from the Italian by Eliyohu Bochur, we find not only neutralization of references to other religions, but also Judaization of elements that were particularly sensitive matters, so that Christian nuptials turn into Jewish weddings, baptisms into circumcisions, and so forth.[30]

In the nineteenth century, this became commonplace in Yiddish adaptations of drama[31] as well as in so-called *shund* (trashy) novels.[32] This would continue right through the 1930s.[33] Thus, the adaptations of children's literature discussed here fit right into an existing pattern.

It should be stressed that the phenomenon of reworking original materials for their reception within Jewish culture is not limited to Yiddish literature alone. It is also a well-known pattern in Hebrew translations of drama in the nineteenth century,[34] and, as we have seen, is a common element shared by Hebrew and Yiddish children's literature. Moreover, the problems of cross-cultural transference apply not just to texts, but to their illustrations as well.

The problem as a whole is not specifically or exclusively a Jewish one, either. Indeed, the adaptation of literature to fit a different cultural milieu is practiced in other languages and cultures, and it has been regarded in certain periods as a perfectly legitimate aspect of translation.[35] Understandably, this is particularly true of what we know as folktales and helps to explain their wide international appeal. Thus, it has been shown that "Little Red Riding-Hood" as we know it from *Grimms' Fairy Tales* is based on a French source, not a German one; nor were the two traditions identical.[36]

Nevertheless, the essential difference between such parallel phenomena and the one we have been discussing is the particular challenge that Christian references posed for Jewish translators. This was clearly the chief motivation behind most deviations from non-Jewish sources, at least within Christian Europe; this factor was not operative in other cultures.

To return to our point of departure, I would like to draw attention to a play for children, "The Purim Bear," which was written by Der Tunkeler and seems to have been first published in Warsaw in 1919.[37] This, too, may serve to illustrate our point about the absorption of non-Jewish children's literature. The play is an original and fascinating construction based on Jewish life in Eastern Europe that involves a rabbi, his wife, their small son, a bear and its gypsy owner. There are resonances here of the traditional Jewish dramatizations at Purimtime of the sale of Joseph, as well as distinct echoes of Red Riding-Hood. The action takes place on Purim, and the child encounters the bear while walking through the woods carrying a basket of Purim treats. This appears to be a direct antecedent of the Judaized "Royt mentele" with which we began. But in "The Purim Bear," the plot is more complex and develops on various levels. I would only add that a set of original illustrations accompanied the text of the play, and these leave no question as to the specifically Jewish setting of the story.

Notes

This essay appeared in Hebrew in *'Iyunim besifrut* (in honor of Dov Sadan on his eighty-fifth birthday), a special publication of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities (Jerusalem: 1988), 59–87. It was translated by Eli Lederhendler.

1. "Rotkäpchen," *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm (Darmstadt: 1985), 174–180.
2. *Far kleyne kinder: zibete maysele: "Royt mentele"* (Warsaw: 1921). On the verso of the title page there is a notation in Yiddish and in Polish, "Retold by Sh. Gitelis." Gitelis was a kindergarten teacher in the Soviet Union in the interwar years. See B. Cohen, *Leksikon fun yidish-shraybers* (New York: 1986), 156–157.
3. Sh. Niger, *Y. L. Perets* (Buenos Aires: 1952), 510–511. It should be noted that similar requirements in modern Hebrew education at the end of the nineteenth century prompted Sholem Aleichem to rewrite one of his stories for Hebrew translation; subsequently, following a visit to a primary girls' school, he wrote such stories in Yiddish. See Chone Shmeruk, "Sholem Aleichem un di onheybn fun der yidisher literatur far kinder," *Di goldene keyt* 112 (1984), 39–53, esp. 43–45.
4. Featured prominently at the exhibition mounted by The Israel Museum, Jerusalem, in 1987, "Tradition and Revolution—the Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art," was work done by E. Lissitzky, Y. Chaikov, Y. Ribak and M. Chagall for Yiddish children's books published in Kiev and Berlin. Children's books from that period formed an obvious, essential part of the exhibition, although the catalogue editors did not point out this connection.
5. See, for example, Y. Ravin, *Royt hitele—instsenizirte maysele in tsvey aktn, baarbayt fun poylish (nokh Or-Ot)* (Lodz: 1917); also see nn. 9, 16.
6. *Royt haybele. Brider Grimm, oysgeklibene mayselekh*, trans. Yashar, 2d booklet (Berlin: 1922), 20–23. The copy at the National and University Library in Jerusalem is bound together with booklets one through four. All share identical title pages; all were published in

1922. Each booklet contains forty to forty-eight pages. I have been unable to discover the identity of Yashar.

7. *Fayvl der groyser un Fayvl der kleyner, a mayse fun Andersenen ibergemakht far yidishe kinder*, Ben-Ami (Saint Petersburg: n.d.). The date of the censor's permit is 12 February 1904. The title page bears the Russian note, "Supplement to issue no. 39 of *Der Fraynd*." And in Yiddish, "Purim treat from *Der Fraynd* for Jewish children." The same adaptation appears in the fourth issue of the series, *Far unzere kinder* (Vilna: 1913; 2nd ed., 1914). Another edition appeared in New York as part of the *Rozhinkes mit mandlen* series in 1918. See Y. Steinbaum, "Di yidishe kinder-literatur in amerike," *Shriftn* (Fall 1919), 14 (last pagination).

8. Der Nister's translation is cited from the series entitled *Andersens mayselekh. Yiddish: Der Nister*, booklets 1–12 (Warsaw: 1921). The Warsaw edition was reproduced from single booklets that appeared earlier in Kiev between 1918 and 1920 in a somewhat different numerical order. For full bibliographical details on the Kiev edition, see Z. Ratner and Y. Kvitny, "Dos yidishe bukh in f.s.s.r. far di yorn 1917–1921," *Bibliologisher zamlbukh* 1 (1930), 371–486 (see index). The Warsaw edition, *Der groyser Kloys un der kleyner Kloys*, was booklet no. 10.

9. *H. Ts. [sic] Andersen, geshikhten un legenden*, booklet 1, trans. L. Bromberg (Warsaw: 1910), published by *Der Shtrahl*. *Der Shtrahl* was a Yiddish literary journal that appeared in Warsaw from 1910 to 1911. A second edition of the collection was published in Warsaw in 1914, with the translator's name omitted. The "Ts." as Hans Christian Andersen's middle initial proves that the translation was not done from the Russian and was most likely from a Polish version. This is implied by the use of the word "Sylvester" for the Christian New Year's Eve, which is usual for Catholic countries.

10. See the Warsaw edition cited in n. 8, booklet 2, 20–21.

11. *H. Andersen, hagadot vesipurim*, trans. D. Frishman (Warsaw: 1896), 81–85.

12. E. Ofek, "Agadot Andersen bilevushan ha'ivri," *Sifrut yeladim vano'ar* 2, no. 1 (1976), 21; M. Regev, "'Al shtei yeẓirot meyuḥadot," *Sifrut yeladim vano'ar* 11, no. 2–3 (1985), 43–46.

13. Edition cited in n. 1, 419–427.

14. The Brothers Grimm, *Der gliklekher Hans*, trans. F. Halperin (Vilna: n.d.). According to the details given in Russian, the story most likely appeared in 1915. It was translated from German in *Kinderbibliotek* no. 6.

15. See edition cited in n. 6, booklet 4, 29–33.

16. G. *[sic]* Andersen, *Olye-Lok-Oye (oder di zibn teg fun der vokh)* (Warsaw: 1914). Judging by the initial "G" in Andersen's name, the Yiddish translator worked from a Russian version.

17. Cf. Der Nister's adequate translation (n. 8), 4.

18. W. Busch, *Max und Moritz*, trans. J. Krasnianski (Odessa: 1921). Three thousand copies of the booklet were published. I would like to thank Professor Shlomo Avineri for his efforts to acquire a photocopy of this rare edition from the Lenin Library in Moscow. See his account of the matter, "Max u-Morits Beyadeinu," *Maariv*, 4 September 1987.

19. A few outstanding examples of Jewish expressions: the chickens are referred to as "those who look at *bnei odom*" [people] (p. 6), "*kapores*" [a Yom Kippur eve ritual] (p. 8), "unkosher necks" (p. 11). *Osterzeit* is altered to Passover eve (p. 25). See also n. 25.

20. The Yiddish translator did not use all of Busch's illustrations. Quite a few that were not essential for fleshing out the story were omitted, probably to economize on paper that was then at a premium.

21. On examples of borrowing illustrations from non-Jewish sources for Yiddish books in earlier periods, see Chone Shmeruk, *Haiyurim lesifrei yidish bameiot ha-XVI-XVII* (Jerusalem: 1986). As in our case, some of these earlier illustrated works were intended for children.

22. Texts and illustrations by Busch are cited from Wilhelm Busch, *Sämtliche Werke und eine Auswahl der Skizzen und Gemälde in zwei Bänden* 1: *Und die Moral von der Geschichte* (Munich: 1959). The booklets by Joseph Tunkel are: *Notl un Motl, zeks shtifer-mayselekh* (1920) = *Max und Moritz*, 18–69; *Der roben-nest* (1921) = *Das Rabennest*, 174–178; *Kopl un di genz* (1921) = *Der hinterlistige Heinrich*, 261–265; *Di papirene shlang* (1921) = *Die Drachen*, 434–497; *Der shtifer Moyshl* (1923) = *Der kleine Pepi mit der neuen Hose*, 132–137. All the stories were published in Warsaw by the Levin-Epstein Bros. In 1928 new editions of all the stories appeared in modern Yiddish orthography but without alteration in text or illustrations. See also, Wilhelm Busch, *Max und Moritz, eine Bubengeschichte in sieben Streichen in deutschen Dialekten, Mittelhochdeutsch Jiddisch*, ed. and introduced, with bibliographical notes, by Manfred Gorlach (Hamburg: 1982)—*Motl un Notl* appears in transliteration on pp. 147–153.

23. Thus, "freely adapted into Yiddish" on the title pages of *Notl un Motl*, *Der roben-nest*, *Kopl un di genz* and *Di papirene shlang*.

24. Thus, "Yiddishized" on all covers for *Der shtifer Moyshl*.

25. In chronological order of publication, these editions were:

1. A. Leibutshitsky, *Shimon ve-Levi—ma'asiyah* (Warsaw: 1913), which includes a note (p. 3) citing the original author and German title. The story appeared in *Biblioteka leyeladim* 5, no. 100. The teacher is named Tamiel (see pp. 15–18).
2. *Gad ve-Dan—shishah ta'alulim shel shnei shovavim, be'ikvot Maks u-Morits meet Wilhelm Busch*. Retold by Anda Pinkerfeld (Tel-Aviv: 1939), which omits the entire chapter (see n. 28).
3. *Maks u-Morits—zomemei hamezimot, meet Wilhelm Busch*, trans. Hava Carmi (Tel-Aviv: 1939), in which the organ is transformed into a piano in the house (p. 26).
4. *Maks u-Morits, meet Wilhelm Busch*. Original illustrations, trans. Uri Sela (Tel-Aviv: 1971). The teacher's name is Yohanan, the organ and church are missing (pp. 32–38) as well as the original picture of the teacher seated at the organ. That picture appears in the Carmi translation (p. 3), with the piano!

On these four versions and their character, against the background of the history of translations for children from German to Hebrew, see G. Toury, *German Children's Literature in Hebrew Translation—The Case of* Max und Moritz. *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel-Aviv: 1980), 140–151, esp. the discussion on Judaized names (150–151).

In the Krasnianski translation, the story opens with a thoroughly Jewish couplet, "Yes, the 'merchandise' of Torah is peerless / those who study it are fearless" (p. 17). Despite this opening, the words are attributed to a Christian teacher and the story takes place, as in the original, in church. The teacher plays a Psalm (*Shir hama'alot*, of all things) on the organ. Krasnianski, apparently, felt free to insert overtly Jewish references but hesitated to introduce any real changes in the story. Was Joseph Tunkel familiar with Krasnianski's translation? There is no solid evidence of that; but we may define Tunkel's work in Judaizing the story as the logical extension of Krasnianski's rendition of it in a free Jewish idiom.

26. Cf. the version by Leibushitsky, (pp. 7–8) as well as the one by Pinkerfeld, (pp. 8–9).

27. Cf. Der Tunkeler, "Dos kapitl vilne in mayn lebn," in *Lite*, vol. 1 (New York: 1951), 1279–1290; Y. Sheintukh, "An araynfir tsu der sugye-humor in der yidisher literatur un Der Tunkeler," *Shnaton hasefer hayehudi* 44 (1987–1988), 94–105.

28. Tunkel's illustrations appeared again in a 1941 edition. Tunkel's version adheres closely to Anda Pinkerfeld's text. She, too, for example, omitted the chapter that had been left out of *Motl un Notl* (see n. 25).

29. Ch. Shmeruk, *Sifrut yidish—perakim letoledotehah* (Tel-Aviv: 1978), 24–39.

30. *Ibid.*, 89–100.

31. Dalia Kaufman, *Tirgumei maḥazot le'ivrit uleyidish (1798–1883)—meḥkar hashvaati* (Jerusalem: 1983), 134–244; *idem*, "Ha'ibud habimati hemeyuḥad leyidish shel 'revisor' le-Gogol," *Bamah* 100 (1985), 19–29.

32. Ch. Shmeruk, "Letoledot sifrut hashund beyidish," *Tarbiẓ* 52 (1982–1983), 325–354.

33. *Ibid.*, 338–340; Ch. Shmeruk, "Te'udah nedirah letoledotehah shel hasifrut halo-kanonit beyidish," *Hasifrut* 32 (1983), 13.

34. Kaufman, *Tirgumei mahazot; idem,* "'Naval hazadik o hamithased,'—ha'ibud ha'ivri hamaskili shel 'Tartuffe' le-Molière," *Bamah* 105–106 (1986), 38–49.

35. Kaufman, *Tirgumei mahazot,* 11ff.

36. R. Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: 1985), 9–27.

37. *Der purim-ber—a teater-shtik far kinder in dray aktn, fun Tunkeler,* illus. Z. Nekhamkin (Warsaw: n.d.). Z. Reyzen, in his *Leksikon fun der yidisher literatur presse un filologye,* vol. 1 (Vilna: 1928), 1170, notes a "2nd edition, 1919." He also noted the connection with Red Riding-Hood.

Forging Judaica: The Case of the Italian Majolica Seder Plates

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The attempt of the art historian to understand a given work reverses, to an exten
the creative process of the artist and seeks the sources of forms, iconography an
compositions. Only by discerning what was common currency in the period whe
the work was created can the scholar perceive its uniqueness and only by reversin
the creative process can the modern observer fully understand the import of a wor
for the artist's contemporaries.[1] In the case of an undated or unsigned work, th
search for sources becomes even more important. Iconographic, compositional an
formal models establish a historical context that indicates the approximate date of
work's creation. Occasionally, an investigation of sources may lead the art historia
to conclude that a work, even a dated or signed one, is not what it appears to b
since one or more of its constituent elements is out of context, inappropriate to i
alleged age and provenance. If this is the case, then social historians may ask
further question: Were there any specific circumstances, beyond the obvious mot
vation of financial gain, that led to the fabrication of a false work?

Since the spread of printing technology in the second half of the fifteenth centur
among the sources considered by art historians are prints and printed books.[2] I
1931 Rachel Wischnitzer-Bernstein published a pioneering study on the use o
printed sources by artists creating Judaica.[3] She traced many of the engraved scen
accompanying the text of the Amsterdam Haggadah of 1695 back to their sources
the publications of Matthaeus Merian, particularly his *Icones Biblicae,* which fir
appeared in 1625. By making slight alterations in some of the plates to accomm
date Jewish sensibilities concerning graven images, the engraver Abraham Be
Jacob, a convert, was able to adapt complete scenes that had originally been create
for Christian purposes. He also adapted individual motifs from various Meri
publications to Jewish iconographic needs.[4]

The Amsterdam Haggadah of 1695, in turn, had a significant impact on work
created after its publication. It not only set the pattern and standards of man
subsequent printed editions of the Haggadah,[5] but also served as a model for work
in other media. Numerous illuminated manuscript Haggadot produced by ar
ists/scribes from Germany, Moravia and Austria during the eighteenth century i
clude title pages stating that they were made "with the letters of Amsterdam"[6] an