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Cromwell in the Shtetl: Translations of Non-Jewish Literature in Early Hebrew Periodicals for Children*

Abstract: This article presents preliminary research on literature translated into Hebrew and published in the early Hebrew press for children. The periodicals under study are *Olam Katon* (Jerusalem, 1893), *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (Lyck, 1899–1900) and *Olam Katan* (Vienna/Cracow, 1901–1904). The article discusses not only what was translated in these periodicals, but also how and why certain pieces were translated. As the majority of the translated children's literature was written by non-Jewish authors, the author is especially interested in the translators' strategies of dealing with the sometimes obviously Christian content and how they negotiated the extent of "otherness" to which they exposed Jewish children. In addition to identifying some general tendencies, the author offers a close reading of three translations of stories by Mark Twain, Agnes Giberne and Edmondo de Amicis which serve as illustrations of the discussed problems.

Keywords: translation, children's literature, children's press, Hebrew revival, Mark Twain, Agnes Giberne, Edmondo de Amicis.

Słowa kluczowe: przekłady, literatura dziecięca, prasa dziecięca, odrodzenie języka hebrajskiego, Mark Twain, Agnes Giberne, Edmondo de Amicis.

Introduction

Olam Katon, edited by the icon of the Hebrew revival, Eliezer Ben Yehudah, and his colleagues, can be considered the first Hebrew children's periodical.[1] Yet its first issue, published in Jerusalem in 1893, opens with a translation of a poem *Ha-shemesh ve-ha-yareaḥ* [The Sun and the Moon] instead of an original piece of Hebrew writing.[2] The decision to begin this periodical with a translated piece may seem puzzling—after all, this was a (proto)Zionist periodical for children who were expected to build a new, authentic Erets-Israeli culture—but it actually is a fitting illustration of the general condition of Hebrew literature for children, the role of translated literature in the Hebrew literary polysystem, and translation strategies at the eve of the Hebrew revival.

In this article I analyze the role and character of the non-Jewish literature translated into Hebrew and published in the early Hebrew press for children. The periodicals I study are the following: *Olam Katon* [Small World] (Jerusalem, 1893), edited by Eliezer Ben-Yehudah and his associates; *Gan Sha'ashu'im* [Playground] (Lyck, 1899–1900), edited by Avraham Mordechai Piurko; and *Olam Katan* [Small World] (Vienna/Cracow, 1901–1904), edited by Avraham Leib Shalkovich (aka Ben-Avigdor) and Shmuel Leib Gordon.[3] The bulk of the texts published in these periodicals were originally written in Hebrew for young Jewish readers, or adapted for them from other Hebrew writings. But there was also a body of translations or adaptations from non-Jewish literatures which merit closer scholarly attention. This article presents some preliminary research on this subject.

All three of these periodicals were part of the much bigger project of the Hebrew revival. The aim of the revival was to re-vernacularize Hebrew language, bringing it back to contemporary Jewish life and making it a part of the national identity of modern Jews. The Haskalah, which started in the late eighteenth century, enhanced the status and use of Hebrew, but it was the rise of Zionism at the end of the nineteenth century that gave Hebrew new life. From the very beginning, the crucial element of the

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[1] On earlier attempts to create Hebrew periodical publications for children, see: Uriel Ofek, *Sifrut ha-yeladim ha-ivrit ha-ḥadashah – ha-hatḥalah* (Tel Aviv, 1979), 344–345.

[2] Neither the author of the original poem nor its translator are identified. *Olam Katon* (1893), 1:1–3.

[3] For more about each of these periodicals, see: Ofek, *Sifrut ha-yeladim*, 345–363. Although *Olam Katan* was printed first in Vienna and then in Cracow, its publishing house, Ben-Avigdor's Tushiyah, was located in Warsaw.

plan to re-vernacularize this language was the children whose fluency in Hebrew as a modern, everyday language was a *sine qua non* condition of the revival. Various Zionist intellectuals, educators and writers took upon themselves the task of creating young Hebrew readers, and eventually also Hebrew speakers.[4] Children's literature and periodicals in Hebrew were instrumental to the realization of this goal.[5]

Although the three above-mentioned periodicals advocated the idea of Jewish linguistic/national revival, they used translated materials to educate and/or entertain their young readers when original children's literature in Hebrew was scarce. This article discusses not only what was translated in these periodicals but also how and why it was translated. In my analysis, I refer to the wide framework of previous research in the theory and history of translated literature, especially to studies by Zohar Shavit, Gideon Toury and Itamar Even-Zohar. As a decisive majority of the translated children's literature was written by non-Jewish authors, I am especially interested in the translators' strategies to deal with the sometimes obviously Christian content of this literature and how they negotiated the extent of "otherness" to which they exposed Jewish children. In addition to identifying some general tendencies, I also offer a close reading of three translations of stories by Mark Twain (1835–1910), Agnes Giberne (1845–1939) and Edmondo de Amicis (1846–1908) which serve as illustrations of the discussed problems.

Before proceeding to the analysis, it is necessary to explain why translated literature for both younger and older readers was so important for emerging modern Hebrew literature. First, as Gideon Toury noted, already in the Haskalah period translating was "an obvious way of producing texts

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[4] For one such initiative, see Agnieszka Jagodzińska, "How to Create a Hebrew Reader? *Olam Katan* (1901–1904) and the Young Hebrew Reading Public," *Children's Literature in Education* (2022), https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s10583-022-09520-w.pdf [retrieved: 22 Dec. 2022].

[5] The scholarship on the Hebrew revival is rich. For a concise introduction to this problem, see: Yael Reshef, "The Re-emergence of Hebrew as a National Language," in Stefan Weninger et al. (eds.), *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook* (Berlin–Boston, 2011), 546–554 (esp. bibliography). For more on the role of children in the process of the Hebrew revival, see: Basmat Even-Zohar, "Shituf ha-yeladim ba-yozmah ha-ʿivrit ba-shanim 1880–1905," in *Yeladim be-rosh ha-maḥaneh: yaldut u-neʿurim be-ʿitot mashber u-temurah* (= *Dor le-dor* 36) (2010), 39–69, and Yael Reshef, "The Role of Children in the Revival of Hebrew," in Anat Helman (ed.), *No Small Matter: Features of Jewish Childhood* (New York, 2021), 20–38.

quickly and in quantity,"[6] which was important in the field of modern secular literature generally and children's literature particularly.[7] Both were in dire need of further development, and translated literature compensated for what was scarce in the original Hebrew. Itamar Even-Zohar explained such the role of translated literature in the literary polysystem in the following way:

> translated literature simply fulfills the need of a younger literature to put into use its newly founded (or renovated) tongue for as many literary types as possible in order to make it serviceable as a literary language and useful for its emerging public. Since a young literature cannot immediately create texts in all types known to its producers, it benefits from the experience of other literatures, and translated literature becomes in this way one of its most important systems.[8]

Zohar Shavit noted the centrality of translated literature to the Hebrew literary system at the early stage of development of the literary center in Palestine.[9] To use her own words: "The emphasis lay at this time not only, or not primarily, on Hebrew literature but on literature *in Hebrew*."[10] In the case of Hebrew *children's* literature, this was true for both Erets Israel and the diaspora. Before a subsystem of Hebrew writings for children fully developed, the genre had to heavily depend on translations and look to the foreign literature as a model.[11]

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[6] Gideon Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation: A Skeletal History for the Uninitiated," in Robert Singerman (ed.), *Jewish Translation History: A Bibliography of Bibliographies and Studies* (Amsterdam–Philadelphia, 2002), XX.

[7] On Jewish children's literature in this period, including translated literature, see: Zohar Shavit, "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe: The Beginning of Hebrew Children's Literature in Germany," *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 33 (1988), 1:402–410; id., "Deutsche Einflüsse auf jüdische Kinderliteratur," *Ariel* 97 (1994), 87–96.

[8] Itamar Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory," in id., *Polysystem Studies* [= *Poetics Today* 11 (1990), 1], 47.

[9] Zohar Shavit, "The Status of Translated Literature in the Creation of Hebrew Literature in Pre-State Israel (the *Yishuv* Period)," *Meta* 43 (1998), 1:7, https://www.erudit.org/fr/revues/meta/1998-v43-n1-meta172/004128ar.pdf [retrieved: 25 July 2022]. On translated literature versus the original literature in Hebrew, see: Zohar and Yaacov Shavit, "Lemale et Ha-arets sefarim. Sifrut mekorit leumat sifrut meturgemet be-tahalikh yetsirato shel ha-merkaz ha-sifruti be-Erets Yisra'el," *Ha-sifrut* 25 (Oct. 1977), 45–68.

[10] Shavit, "The Status of Translated Literature," 2. To be precise, Shavit speaks about a slightly later period (1908–1920), but in my reading this observation is also correct for the early years of the twentieth century.

[11] See: Zohar Shavit, "Hebrew and Israeli Children's Literature," in Peter Hunt (ed.), *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature* (London, 1996), 784.

Translations, adaptations, imitations

The contemporary Hebrew word for 'translation,' *tirgum*, was also used—interchangeably with *ha'atakah*—in the studied period.[12] However, 'translated' works in the Hebrew children's press included adaptations, reworkings or imitations of works for children written in other languages, not just the translations associated with this term today.[13] These para-translations were often qualified *be-ikvot* ('in the style of'), *al pi* ('according to'), *ḥikui* ('imitation') or *me-ein tirgum* ('a sort of translation').[14] However, as Toury pointed out, translated texts often were not identified as translations, and it remains unclear if the readers were able to identify them as such. He also observed that "many compositions which did *not* draw on foreign texts in a one-to-one fashion were still collations of parts of existing texts in another language, or the realization of imported sets of 'formation rules' such as generic models."[15] At times it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify the original authors whose works served as "inspiration" for such adaptations, if no specific information about the source was provided. Neither knowledge of comparative literature nor tools of digital humanities (like stylometric analysis) are especially helpful here, as sometimes there are serious differences in style, alterations to the original plot, and modifications to the names of the characters and/or the geography; whether the translation was full or only partial depended on the translator's whim.

A considerable number of such para-translations appeared in *Gan Sha'ashu'im*, a second Hebrew children's periodical but the first one published in Europe.[16] The name of the translator and qualifications (like "in the style of") were usually added to the titles of para-translations in this periodical, but there is no certainty that these titles are identical to the original, and the source of the translation is often missing. In some cases,

[12] See, e.g., "Ets okhel adam (ha'atakah)" [A Man-Eating Tree (Translation)], trans. Aharon Leib Bisko, *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1899), 26:6–7. In Modern Hebrew *ha'atakah* means 'copying' but earlier the term also had been used as a synonym for *tirgum* ('translation'). I thank Leszek Kwiatkowski for this information.

[13] On changing concepts and standards in Jewish translation history, see: Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation."

[14] For example, "Arba tekufot ha-shanah (ḥikui)" [The Four Seasons of the Year (Imitation)], trans. Pesach Kaplan, *Olam Katan* (1903), 28:[595–596]. The examples of other qualifications mentioned above appear further in the text.

[15] Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation," XXII.

[16] Although *Gan Sha'ashu'im* published all kinds of loose translations and adaptations, its editor, Piurko, was strict when it came to "stealing" a text and condemned such practices, see Ofek, *Sifrut ha-yeladim*, 357.

the original author is identified (e.g., *be-ikvot Warhaftig*).[17] Sometimes the source is vaguely referred to as *be-ikvot meshorer tsarfati* ('in the style of a French poet')[18] which in this specific case presumably refers to Jean de La Fontaine. But it would be wrong to assume that when "a French poet" is mentioned, it automatically means that the text was translated or adapted from the original French—second-hand translations (which will be discussed further) were still very popular at the time. So, the information about the original language of the source of the (para)translation is yet another element that is often missing. There are also cases where no information—neither about the original author or title, nor even about the person who rendered the text into Hebrew—is provided, as in the case of a poem entitled *Ha-meshorer* which is only qualified as "a sort of translation."[19]

All of these types of adaptations point to the popularity of para-translations in children's literature at the turn of the nineteenth century. As Shavit explained, the peripheral position of this literature in the literary polysystem allowed the translator to take greater liberties in working with this kind of material.[20] It is also evident that *Gan Sha'ashu'im* still continued the legacy of Haskalah both in the language (often quite elaborate, *melitsah*-style Hebrew) and in the way it approached the translation.[21] In the later children's periodical, *Olam Katan*, published in Vienna/Cracow, the editors opted for simpler Hebrew but even in this periodical we find adaptations, para-translations, or translations that do not acknowledge their sources.

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[17] "Ha-yam ve-ha-adam (be-ikvot Warhaftig)" [The Sea and the Man (in the Style of Warhaftig)], *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1899), 28:3.

[18] "Ha-na'ar ve-ha-yona (be-ikvot meshorer tsarfati)" [The Boy and the Dove (in the Style of a French Poet)], trans. Moshe Alba [?], *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1899), 17:5.

[19] "Ha-meshorer (me-ein tirgum)" [The Poet (a Sort of Translation)], *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1899), 27:3. See also n. 22.

[20] Zohar Shavit, "Translation of Children's Literature as a Function of Its Position in the Literary Polysystem," in Itamar Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury (eds.), *Translation and Intercultural Relations* [= *Poetics Today* 2 (1981), 4], 171.

[21] On the character of translations/adaptations of children's literature to Hebrew during the Haskalah period, see: Shavit, "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe," 402–410.

Who was translated?

In the surviving seven issues of the first Hebrew children's periodical, the Jerusalemite *Olam Katon*, four works officially qualified as "translations"[22] but only one of them named the original author.[23] Although the two later periodicals did not always acknowledge the original source of translation, it became more common to identify the original authors. The names of these authors reveal whom the editors of these periodicals considered to be educative or entertaining for their young readers. However, the body of translated literature found in these periodicals cannot be treated as a canonical selection, nor an adequate representation of non-Jewish children's literature in general. Shavit, discussing Hebrew translations from German children's literature in the Haskalah period, noticed that the selection of what was or was not translated was an ideological choice and that the content of the translated text was additionally often adapted to suit the agenda of the *maskilim*.[24] Apart from the ideology that might have influenced the representativeness of what was printed, in the case of the children's press there is yet another factor that needs to be taken into consideration—and it is the randomness of this selection. Some of the choices were definitely well thought-out and planned, as sometimes the editors were translators themselves (see the case of Shmuel Leib Gordon below), and it stands to reason that they commissioned some other translations, too. But we also know for sure—for example from Piurko's replies to the readers' letters sent to *Gan Sha'ashu'im*—that they also received uncommissioned texts. All this results in a diverse body of texts in which the classics of the world's children literature are printed alongside lesser-known authors. And of course, apart from children's authors, there are

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[22] The number of (para)translations published in this periodical is higher if we include reworkings which were not identified as translations or adaptations in any way. For example, the poem "Ha-meshorer" (*Olam Katon* (1893), 6:[57]–59) was supposedly penned by Avraham Mordechai Piurko. But we already know that Piurko published this poem a few years later in his own periodical, only then adding the qualification "me-ein tirgum" ('a sort of translation'), see n. 19.

[23] It was "Peraḥ avizon" [Daisy], translated by David Yudlovich from Hans Christian Andersen's original story, which was published in *Olam Katon* in 1893 in nos. 6 and 7. The remaining three works were: the already mentioned "Ha-shemesh ve-ha-yareaḥ (tirgum)"—in no. 1, "Ha-korem" [Vine-Grower], trans. Rachel (Rachel Bluwstein)—in no. 2, and "Ha-melekh ve-ha-oved, o peti ya'amin le-khol davar" [The King and the Slave, or the Naïve Will Believe Everything], trans. Nehamah Gisin—in no. 3.

[24] Shavit, "Deutsche Einflüsse," 91.

also writers whose texts were not originally intended for young readers but nevertheless were adapted for children's sake.

So who got translated? One group is classic writers from the Enlightenment period like Jean de La Fontaine and Daniel Defoe.[25] As Ryszard Waksmund wrote, "The Enlightenment is the antiquity of the children's literature. [It is] both its archaic beginnings and the classical period."[26] At the turn of the nineteenth century, the Hebrew children's press considered these classic authors still to be in fashion.[27] La Fontaine's poetic fables were very popular, especially in European *Olam Katan*, and sometimes they were accompanied by illustrations.[28] Their translator was Shmuel Leib Gordon, a writer and educator and the co-editor of *Olam Katan*. Gordon published his translation in the periodical first, but a couple of years later he also had them printed in a separate booklet. As the booklet is prefaced by his introduction, we have a rare opportunity to see what motivated the co-editor of *Olam Katan* to undertake this particular translation. Gordon praises La Fontaine's fables "as wonderful in their honesty and in their pleasant morals." After writing with some exaggeration that they have been translated to "every language," he stressed

[25] Defoe's classic story about the adventures of Robinson Crusoe was adapted by Ben-Tsvi to a short play entitled "Robinzon al ha-i ha-shomem (maḥazeh li-yeladim be-maarachah aḥat)" [Robinson on the Desert Island (a Play for Children in One Act)] and published in *Olam Katan* (1903), 37, 38. In 1904, subscribers who bought a full-year subscription to this periodical were promised to a new, illustrated edition of the story, this time adapted by Yehudah Gur-Grazowski (*Olam Katan* (1904), 25–26:[569–570]). In the table of contents of several issues of *Olam Katan* in 1904, this translation is listed as if it appeared inside the periodical issue, however, it is not printed in the copies I consulted (*Olam Katan* (1904), 43–44 from the collection of the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem and nos. 45–46, 47–48 from the collection of the Jagiellonian Library). It can be found, however, in the two subsequent double issues (nos. 49–50 and 51–52, copies belonging to the collection of the Jagiellonian Library) with a separate page numbering, which suggests that this story was meant to be torn out for collecting purposes. For more on Jewish adaptations of Defoe's story see: Leah Garrett, "The Jewish Robinson Crusoe," *Comparative Literature* 54 (2002), 3:215–228.

[26] Ryszard Waksmund, *Nie tylko Robinson, czyli o oświeceniowej literaturze dla dzieci i młodzieży* (Warszawa, 1987), 5.

[27] Gideon Toury demonstrated the popularity of translated fables in Hebrew literature at the time when they were already outdated in their original literary context. See Gideon Toury, "An Enlightened Use of Fable: Christian Fürchtegott Geliert in Hebrew Literature," in Dirk de Geest et al. (eds.), *Under Construction: Links for the Site of Literary Theory—Essays in Honour of Hendrik Van Gorp* (Leuven, 2000), 197–209. I thank Tal Kogman for drawing my attention to this article.

[28] See, e.g.: [Jean de La Fontaine], "Mishlei La-Fontaine" [La Fontaine's Fables], mashal 4 [Fable 4]: "Ha-tsfardea ha-mekanah" [The Jealous Frog], trans. Shmuel Leib Gordon, *Olam Katan* (1901), 27:[17–18].

that now Hebrew readers would have a translation "edited in easy and accurate style."[29] The booklet was published by the Tushiyah publishing house, whose founder and owner was Ben-Avigdor, the second co-editor of *Olam Katan* and also Gordon's brother-in-law. But it would be wrong to assume that the translation was only published thanks to this family connection. Apparently, it was a wider strategy of Ben-Avigdor's: some of the texts that first appeared in the periodical were later re-published as separate books or booklets.[30]

Other authors published in translation in *Olam Katan* included: the Danish icon of children's literature, Hans Christian Andersen; French educator and activist Marie Pape-Carpentier; popular Italian writer Edmondo de Amicis; American authors like Louis Beauregard Pendleton, Mark Twain and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; British writers including Agnes Giberne and Charles Dickens; and the German Sophie Wörishöffer (aka Sophie Andresen) and Wolrad Eigenbrodt. The selection of translated literature presented young Jewish readers with a varied sample of European and American children's literary tradition. Although the German tradition was still a notable part of this translated literature—either through works of German authors, or through German as the mediative language in second-hand translations[31]—the scene was much more diversified than in the Haskalah period.

There were two other factors that added to this diversity. The first was the inclusion of Eastern European non-Jewish literary traditions[32] and the second was translations of Jewish authors whose works were written in Yiddish.[33] Both groups of texts can be found in *Gan Sha'ashu'im* and *Olam Katan*. This is unsurprising, if we remember that the core readership

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[29] [Jean de La Fontaine], *Mishlei La-Fontaine. Meshalim niṿḥarim* [La Fontaine's Fables. Selected Fables], trans. Shmuel Leib Gordon, (Kraka [Cracow], 1907), 5 (all the quotations), https://www.nli.org.il/he/books/NNL_ALEPH001983639/NLI [retrieved: 26 Sept. 2022]. The text of the introduction first appeared in *Olam Katan* (1901), 19:825–828.

[30] Uriel Ofek claims that it was Ben-Avigdor's way to cope with the financial loss that the publication and distribution of the periodical generated. See Ofek, *Sifrut ha-yeladim*, 361.

[31] On the role of the German model in Hebrew literature, see Zohar Shavit's research. For example: Shavit, "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe," or id., "Deutsche Einflüsse."

[32] On the role of the Russian system as a mediating system for Hebrew literature, see: Shavit, "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe," 415.

[33] On the role of Yiddish literature in the development of Hebrew children's literature, see: ibid., 412–415.

of these periodicals lived in the Pale of Settlement and partly in Poland,[34] and that these Slavic/Yiddish literary traditions were close to them.

From the Eastern European literary traditions we find, for example, a translation of a poem by Michail Lermontov, the prominent poet representing Russian Romanticism, prepared by no other than Zalman Shneour.[35] This future famous Hebrew and Yiddish poet and writer was still in his teens when he adapted Lermontov's piece. His rendering, entitled *Ba-midbar*, was based on the poem *Utes*, originally written in 1841, only a few months before Lermontov's tragic death.[36]

The Polish authors are represented by Bolesław Prus and Andrzej Niemojewski. The work of the first one, *Z legend dawnego Egiptu*,[37] inspired Tsvi Rubinovitch to publish his translation in *Gan Sha'ashu'im* in 1899.[38] This short story, detailing the tragic last hours of the life of young Horus, the successor to the throne of ancient Egypt, seems to be translated from Russian, however, and not from Polish. This is hinted at by the name of the main character, which is transcribed to Hebrew according to the Russian (Gorus) and not Polish (Horus) style. *Z legend dawnego Egiptu* had already been translated to Russian in 1899 and this, together with the fact that Rubinovitch, the translator, lived in Berdychov in the Pale of Settlement, makes this possibility more than probable.

From Andrzej Niemojewski's works, a translator who identified himself only as Y. G. chose a short story, *Matka i dziecko*,[39] which he published in *Olam Katan* in 1903.[40] The story may seem quite dramatic for a young

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[34] The problem of readers of *Olam Katan* will be discussed in another study.

[35] Z[alman] Shneour, "Ba-midbar (al pi Lermontov)" [On the Desert (According to Lermontov)], *Olam Katan* (1903), 31:667–668.

[36] Michail Lermontov, "Utes" [A Rock/Cliff], https://ru.wikisource.org/wiki/%D0% A3%D1%82%D0%B5%D1%81_(%D0%9B%D0%B5%D1%80%D0%BC%D0%BE% D0%BD%D1%82%D0%BE%D0%B2) [retrieved: 27 July 2022]. I thank Denis Nosnitsin for his help with identifying the original version of this poem.

[37] Bolesław Prus, „Z legend dawnego Egiptu" [From the Legends of Ancient Egypt], in id., *Cienie. Z legend dawnego Egiptu. W górach* [Shadows. From the Legends of Ancient Egypt. In the Mountains] (Warszawa, 1895), 8–17. The story was published originally in 1888.

[38] "Hagadat Mitsrayim atikah (tirgum al pi Bolesław Prus)" [The Legend of Ancient Egypt (Translation According to Bolesław Prus)], trans. Tsvi Rubinovitch, *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1899), 25:5–7 and 26:2–3. The Russian translation of Prus' story appeared as: "Iz legend drevnego Yegipta. Rasskaz," in *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy Boleslava Prusa*, trans. Vladimir I. Manotskiy (Kiyev, 1899), 2:113–116. I thank Ekaterina Norkina for this information.

[39] Andrzej Niemojewski, „Matka i dziecko" [Mother and Child], in id., *Prometeusz. Szalony bieg. Ludzie z zawiązanemi oczyma. Matka i dziecko* [Prometheus. Mad Race. Blindfolded People. Mother and Child] (Warszawa, 1900), 77–94.

[40] A[ndrzej] Niemojewski, "Ha-em ve-yaldah (fantasyah)" [The Mother and Her Child (a Fantasy)], trans. Y. G., *Olam Katan* (1903), 23:495–498; 24:523–526.

reader: celestial beings watch a mother first care for her dying baby and then mourn over her infant's death as they take the baby's soul away to heaven. It is important to remember, however, that what may seem unsuitable for children nowadays was standard for the children's literature of the period. From a contemporary perspective, the choice of these two authors also may seem puzzling, as they are associated with critical (Prus) or even hostile (Niemojewski) attitudes toward Jews, but these authors' ideological metamorphosis took place years later. It is especially evident in the case of Niemojewski, who still thought of himself as a philosemite until 1905.[41]

Yiddish writers appeared in both *Gan Sha'ashu'im* and in the European *Olam Katan*, which printed translations of their poetry, prose and folklore-inspired works. In both periodicals we find, for example, the poems of Shimon Frug, a poet who first wrote in Russian and then in Yiddish.[42] The great classic of Yiddish literature, Sholem Aleichem, appeared in *Gan Sha'ashu'im* in 1900.[43] In 1903, young Pesach Kaplan published his Hebrew translation of a popular Yiddish song, *Oyfn pripetshik* [On the Hearth], in *Olam Katan*.[44] It means that the first known Hebrew translation of this song actually appeared two years earlier than it was previously thought.[45] The periodicals also published original Hebrew works of other Yiddish writers, who—although famous for their literature in Yiddish—could and did write in Hebrew. The prominent Isaac Leib Peretz, whose story appeared in the first issue of *Olam Katan*, was one such author.[46]

Translated literature was essential in forming a Hebrew chrestomathy for Jewish children. It is interesting to see how translators balanced non-Jewish literary traditions and values presented in the source material

[41] Grzegorz Krzywiec, *Polska bez Żydów. Studia z dziejów idei, wyobrażeń i praktyk antysemickich na ziemiach polskich początku XX wieku (1905–1914)* (Warszawa, 2017), 212. On the evolution of Bolesław Prus and Andrzej Niemojewski's attitude toward Jews in this wider context, see: ibid., *passim*.

[42] "Al naharot Bavel (be-ikvot Sh. Frug)" [At the Rivers of Babylon (in the Style of Sh. Frug)], *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1900), 9:1–2; "Einei Ha-Shem. Mi-shirei Frug" [The Eyes of God. From Frug's Poems], trans. A. Rozenfeld, *Olam Katan* (1901), 29:101–102.

[43] "Lag ba-omer (meturgam al pi Sholem Aleichem)" [Lag ba-omer (Translated According to Sholem Aleichem)], trans. N. Beilin, *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1900), 15:4–7.

[44] "Ha-alef-bet (tirgum)" [The Alphabet (Translation)], trans. Pesach Kaplan, *Olam Katan* (1903), 44:961–962. The song was originally written in Yiddish by Mark Warszawski.

[45] David Assaf dates the first Hebrew translation of this song to 1905, see: David Assaf, "'Katan ve-ḥamim'? - Ha-shir 'Oyfn pripetshik' ve-ha-shinui be-dimuyav shel ha-ḥeder," in Immanuel Etkes, David Assaf (eds.), *Ha-ḥeder: meḥkarim, teudot, pirkei sifrut ve-zikhronot* (Ramat Aviv, 2010), 113–114.

[46] I[saac] L[eib] Peretz, "Ha-mishpat" [The Trial], *Olam Katan* (1901), 1:[39–40]. This text is not identified as a translation.

against the needs and sensitivities of their young Jewish readers. In the following sections of this article, I offer close readings of three selected pieces that shed light on the strategies of negotiating the Other in translation, the problem of second-hand translations and the specific character of translations published in instalments in periodicals. All three selected translations come from *Olam Katan* for two reasons: either the selection offered special insights into the strategies of translators/editors in regards to the aforementioned problems, or the problem represented in the selection never appeared in the two earlier periodicals (like the translations published in multiple instalments).

Mark Twain: the Other enters the shtetl

The first case is *Death Disc*, a story by famous American writer Mark Twain originally published in English in *Harper's Magazine* in 1901.[47] The story appeared in translation in the European *Olam Katan* just one year later.[48] The publication identified both the author (Mark Twain) and the translator (Ben-Moshe)—though it is quite probable that Ben-Moshe was just a penname. The story is set in England at the time of the English Civil War, and one of its protagonists is Oliver Cromwell himself. So, in 1902, within the pages of a Hebrew children's periodical, Cromwell entered Jewish shtetls in Eastern Europe. Either the translator or, more likely, the editors added a short footnote containing biographical information that was supposed to educate readers and help them to understand the plot. Footnoting was a common strategy in *Olam Katan*, used to explain words that might have been difficult for readers or to provide the context necessary to understand a given text. Interestingly, the explanation of difficult words appeared in footnotes mostly in Russian or in Yiddish,[49] which corroborates the geography of *Olam Katan*'s readership known from other sources.[50]

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[47] Barbara Schmidt, "Introduction," http://www.twainquotes.com/DeathDisk.html [retrieved: 11 May 2022].

[48] Mark Twain, "Ma'ase be-khadur odom [*sic*]. Sipur" [Tale of a Red Disc (a Story)], trans. Ben-Moshe, *Olam Katan* (1902), 7:137–142; 10:203–208.

[49] It is interesting to compare this case with the Jerusalemite *Olam Katon*, where difficult words were explained in French or in German.

[50] Letters sent to the periodical by children indicate that the core readership of *Olam Katan* was located in Eastern Europe, see also n. 34.

In case of *Death Disc*, it remains unknown why the editors chose this particular narrative about political and religious wars that took place 2,000 kilometers from where the majority of the periodical's readers lived (Pale of Settlement) and more than 250 years before their time. I speculate that it was because of the dramatic role a child (a little girl named Abigail in the original) plays in this narrative. It is only natural that a protagonist about the same age as the readers of the periodical could have helped them better relate to the story. Another reason might have been the author himself—the editors might have chosen a story by Mark Twain to demonstrate that their periodical brought the most recent world class literature to Jewish children.

The story shows how the Other was "domesticated" before they could enter Jewish shtetls but, at the same time, how they still remained the Other. The translator of this story, like many others whose works were printed in *Olam Katan*, had to negotiate what to preserve from the original story and what to change in order to make the text suitable for Jewish children. The most obvious element was to eliminate the Christian message or the Christian context. Such censorship is visible in the translation of one of the most important scenes in Twain's story. Twain gives the following justification for the decision his characters are about to make: "They said they were Christians, and the Bible forbade men to take their own lives." In the Hebrew version this sentence is rendered simply as:

וחלילה להם לעשות כדבר הזה וחטאו לנפשם ולאלוהים.

"It is forbidden for them to do such thing and sin against their souls and God."[51]

Apart from eliminating the Christian elements in the text, there were other strategies translators chose to "domesticate" the Other. Shavit, studying translated children's literature from the Yishuv and early State of Israel period, listed several of them: changing literary characters' foreign names to Hebrew ones, replacing the Christian calendar and holidays with Jewish ones, introducing Jewish holidays and customs to the text, replacing unkosher food or animals with kosher ones, changing the surrounding or the setting of the story, introducing references to Jewish literature instead of non-Jewish ones, and replacing foreign idioms with Hebrew ones.[52] These

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[51] Mark Twain, "Death Disc," http://www.twainquotes.com/DeathDisk.html [retrieved: 11 May 2022]; id., "Ma'ase be-khadur odom [*sic*]," 142.

[52] See Zohar Shavit, "'Hachi ba-bayit ba-olam.' Al 'biyut' be-sifrut ha-yeladim ha-me-turgemet le-ivrit," *Bikoret u-farshanut* 46 (2020), 35–75.

strategies were also eagerly deployed in earlier translations of children's literature.

However, in analyzing the Other in translated literature, it seems important to look equally at what was not changed as at what was. Although the translator of *Death Disc* censored an important scene in the story, he preserved the Otherness inherent to the very fiber of the world described by Twain. The plot was not moved, for example, to Erets Israel, and Cromwell was not replaced with some powerful biblical figure. Was the Cromwellian context perceived as something interesting and worth discovering for Jewish children, or was it a necessary evil, tolerated only to an extent? Perhaps it was both.

This translation can serve as a good example of the strategies used by the editors of *Olam Katan* to create intriguing but still "kosher" Hebrew content for Jewish children. Ben-Avigdor and Gordon were quite open in their selection of content for the periodical and did not hesitate to let the periodical's young readers discover the non-Jewish world around them, past and present. In introducing the Other, the editors did not limit themselves to European and American literature but also reached to much more distant traditions like Arabic and Japanese folklore.[53] The extent of "domestication" of the Other depended, of course, on the character of the text and the choice of the individual translator.

Edmondo de Amicis: translation in instalments

As Toury pointed out, in the initial period of the Haskalah the texts that got translated were either short works or selected parts of longer ones. The limited length not only made it easier for the translator to handle the material but also to publish it in periodicals and collections.[54] This tendency was followed to some extent in the early Hebrew children's press. In the Jerusalemite *Olam Katon* we find short translations published in one or two instalments.[55] In *Gan Sha'ashu'im* the translated literature is either poetry or prose which was not published in multiple instalments

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[53] See respectively: "Ha-na'ar ha-dayag Urashima. Agadah yapanit" [Urashima, the Young Fisherman. A Japanese Tale], trans. Ben-Moshe, *Olam Katan* (1904), 30:687–692, and "Ben-ha-melech ve-ha-ḥayat (agadah aravit)" [The Son of the King and the Tailor (an Arabic Tale)], trans. Israel Lipski, *Olam Katan* (1904), 1:23–28; 2:61–66.

[54] Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation," XXIII.

[55] See n. 23.

either.[56] At one point, its editor announced his intention to publish *Masot Guliver*—which was supposed to be the translation of *Gulliver's Travels*, originally written by Jonathan Swift—in several parts.[57] The promise was repeated in subsequent issues[58] but never actually fulfilled. European *Olam Katan* was the first of the early Hebrew children's periodicals to translate longer texts to Hebrew and publish them in multiple instalments; of the three early periodicals, it has the greatest variety of shorter and longer translated pieces.[59] Several appeared in just the first year of its publication (1901–1902), including works by Giberne, Carpentier and de Amicis that were each published in 8 instalments, a work by Pendleton published in 12, and a 20 instalment translation by Wörishöffer.

None of these works was published continuously, and often there were gaps between the subsequent instalments, sometimes for several issues. There may be two possible explanations for these gaps, depending if we interpret them as coincidental or not. The intervals between the instalments may suggest that translations were done similarly to serial novels, where the author did not complete the whole text before publication began but instead wrote simultaneously, sometimes leaving editors to wait for the next part to be written. Or perhaps the intervals were not a coincidence at all, but a calculated strategy: anticipation for the next instalment could have induced readers to keep buying the subsequent issues. It is interesting that *Olam Katan* did not print only one serial publication at time, but would publish several serialized stories interchangeably, perhaps trying to get readers attached to (and willing to pay for) the periodical. Patrycja Kaleta observed that serial novels published in a newspaper could increase its sale by whetting the readers' appetite, which made them continue reading in anticipation of every next instalment.[60]

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[56] See, e.g., the already mentioned "Hagadat Mitsrayim atikah," translation of *Z legend dawnego Egiptu* by Bolesław Prus, which was published in only two parts. There were two longer texts in *Gan Sha'ashu'im* which were published in multiple instalments, but they were original Hebrew works, not translations—for more about them, see Ofek, *Sifrut ha-yeladim*, 354.

[57] *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1899), 44:1.

[58] See, e.g., *Gan Sha'ashu'im* (1900), 1:1 or 6:1.

[59] The publication of literature in instalments was not only typical of the Hebrew children's press—it was a much broader phenomenon in magazines for various audiences in various languages.

[60] Patrycja Kaleta, „Ciąg dalszy nastąpi. Kilka uwag na temat powieści gazetowych w odcinkach," in Ewa Bartos, Marta Tomczok (eds.), *Literatura popularna*, 1: *Dyskursy wielorakie* (Katowice, 2013), 274.

One of novels whose partial translation was published in *Olam Katan* over several instalments between 1901 and 1904[61] was *Cuore* [Heart],[62] by a popular Italian writer, Edmondo de Amicis, and translated by Israel Shaf. After the first instalment appeared, the editors published a short text introducing the life and work of the writer. As in the case of Gordon's introduction to La Fontaine's fable, mentioned above, the text emphasized that *Cuore* had already been translated into many languages and now Jewish readers also had a chance to read and enjoy this story in Hebrew, thanks to the translation published in the pages of *Olam Katan*.[63]

Cuore is another example of a story set in a Christian country, this time in Catholic Italy. This automatically suggests a need for adaptation, and indeed we find differences between the original and translated versions. Shaf alters parts referring to Christianity or skips them altogether. He also experiments with the calendar. At the beginning, he converts dates given in the Georgian calendar system in the original story into the Hebrew calendar. This leads, however, to some peculiar situations. At one point in the story he refers to *moed ve-ḥag* ('feast days') on the second day of Kislev,[64] which must have been puzzling for Jewish readers as no holidays fall on this day in the Jewish calendar.[65] This starts to make sense after looking at the Italian original, which mentions the Christian holidays of All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day at this part of the story.[66] In any case, Shaf seems to be uncertain about his decision to use the Hebrew calendar: after a few issues his calendar format slips back into the Gregorian system. In a later instalment, the translator drops the dates altogether.

This uncertainty about which calendar system to choose suggests that translated literature published in instalments might have shared certain traits with the original serial novels published in the press. The translation or adaptation of a text that was a work in progress is marked by imperfections—such as the inconsistency of the calendar style—which could have

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[61] The majority of the translation was published under the title "Ha-lev. Sipur ha-zikhronot le-aḥad ha-talmidim" [The Heart. Memoirs for One of the Pupils] (*Olam Katan* (1901–1902), 7, 15, 23, 28, 34, 52, 60) but some instalments appeared bearing titles of individual chapters (*Olam Katan* (1903), 50, 52; (1904), 14, 24, 25–26, 34, 35).

[62] It was originally published in 1886. I have consulted this edition: Edmondo de Amicis, *Cuore*. Libro per i ragazzi (Milano, 1889), https://archive.org/details/cuorelibroperira00deamuoft/page/n7/mode/2up [retrieved: 13 Mar. 2023].

[63] "Edmondo de Amicis," *Olam Katan* (1901), 8:345–348.

[64] de Amicis, "Ha-lev," *Olam Katan* (1901), 28:[55].

[65] The second day of Kislev falls in the period after the end of Sukkot but before the beginning of Hanukah.

[66] In the Italian original, *d'Ognissanti e dei morti*: de Amicis, *Cuore*, 20.

been easily eliminated if the text was prepared as a complete book and carefully edited before the publication. Unfortunately, to the best of my knowledge, Shaf never completed the translation of the whole volume of *Cuore*, so we do not get a chance to see what style he finally chose for the calendar. Only few translated episodes of de Amicis' writings printed in *Olam Katan* were later re-published by Ben-Avigdor's Tushiyah publishing house, in the form of separate booklets in his series for children, *Peraḥim* [Flowers].[67] One of these booklets confirms that Shaf did indeed use re-publication of his translation to correct a mistake first made in *Olam Katan*. In 1903 he published a translation of another de Amicis' text—the short story *Ha-na'arah ha-giborah (sipur)*—in two instalments in this periodical.[68] In both these instalments, de Amicis' surname appeared with an incorrect first name: Fernando, instead of Edmondo.[69] In the 1907 booklet containing the same story, the first name of the author was corrected to Edmondo.

In the case of translations of de Amicis' works, as in the earlier case of Le Fontaine's, we can again observe a relationship between what was published in the periodical and what later appeared in separate booklets. As Janusz Dunin noted, there existed a form of symbiosis between periodicals and books, especially when the same entrepreneur was engaged in printing both. The symbiosis could function in both directions: either a periodical project supported publishing books, or books were published to support the periodical.[70] Ben-Avigdor made the most of this symbiosis—once produced, he made sure a given piece of literature (translated or not) was properly recycled through other channel.

Agnieszka Zielińska, in her research on the relation between the author and the reader of nineteenth-century serial novels published in the periodical press, suggested readers might have exerted influence on the text of

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[67] These were: "Kadur sheleg (sipur)" [Snowball (a Story)], "Ha-ben ve-'aviv' ḥoleh (sipur)" [The Son and His Sick 'Father' (a Story)], "Ha-na'arah ha-giborah (sipur)" [The Hero Girl (a Story)], "Na'ar shovav (sipur)" [Naughty Boy (a Story)], "Ha-ben ha-tov (sipur)" [The Good Son (a Story)]. They all appeared in Cracow in 1907. Apart from "Ha-na'arah ha-giborah," all the remaining titles are part of de Amicis' *Cuore*. I thank Katarzyna Biernacka-Licznar for her consultion on works of de Amicis.

[68] Fernando [Edmondo] de Amicis, "Ha-na'arah ha-giborah (sipur)," trans. Israel Shaf, *Olam Katan* (1903), 15–16:329–332; 18:387–390. I was unable to identify the source of this translation.

[69] De Amicis used the following first names: Edmondo Mario Alberto. I could not find any source confirming the name "Fernando."

[70] Janusz Dunin, *Rozwój cech wydawniczych polskiej książki literackiej XIX–XX wieku*, intro. and ed. Jacek Ladorucki (Łódź, 2018), 235–236.

novels that were a continuous work in progress, published in instalments.[71] Her research prompts a question whether such influence was possible only in the case of original literature published in instalments, or was it possible in the case of translations, too. On one hand, "proper translations" may leave little room for any deviation from the original, but on the other hand, some foreign literature appeared in Hebrew children's press as adaptations or simply as "inspiration" for Hebrew reworkings. Researching this problem exceeds the scope of this preliminary study, so I leave this question as a possible avenue for future research.

Agnes Giberne: second-hand translations

Other texts *Olam Katan* printed also altered or skipped references to Christian religion, customs and holidays. Agnes Giberne is one such author whose original English text differs from the translated version published in the periodical, but not all the deviations in the Hebrew version were introduced by the translator. The Giberne case is also methodologically significant: it demonstrates the necessity of wider comparative analysis as a tool for studying translation.

Agnes Giberne was a highly prolific English writer, a person with manifold scientific interests, and the author of over one hundred books. She is remembered for popularizing science (especially astronomy and geology) among children and young people. However, Giberne was also an Evangelical Christian and she made sure to instil Christian messages in her books, including her publications about science.[72] Her most famous books on astronomy were *Sun, Moon, and Stars: Astronomy for Beginners* (1880) and its sequel *Among the Stars, or Wonderful Things in the Sky* (1885), which was addressed to younger children.[73]

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[71] Agnieszka Zielińska, „Wina pozytywizmu – powieść odcinkowa i kolaboracja autorsko-czytelnicza, jako pierwociny fan fiction w Polsce," *Artes Humanae* 3 (2018), 63.

[72] Belinda Copson, "Agnes Giberne," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (8 Apr. 2021), https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/58972 [retrieved: 12 June 2022]. As Gillian Daw points out, Agnes Giberne's career as a pioneer of easy to understand, popular books on astronomy developed at a time when astronomy was a field dominated by male scholars; her career was affected by obstacles that other Victorian women writing scientific books also had to face. Giberne "negotiated these obstacles and made a huge contribution to Victorian astronomy through popular print, whilst remaining within the bounds of Victorian ideal womanhood." Gillian Daw, "On the Wings of Imagination: Agnes Giberne and Women as the Storytellers of Victorian Astronomy," *The Victorian* 2 (2014), 1:3.

[73] Ibid., 2.

Parts of this last book appeared in the European *Olam Katan* between 1901 and 1902,[74] translated to Hebrew by Yehudah Gur-Grazowski, who used the penname Yigal Ha-Karmeli.[75] Despite its obvious references to Christianity, which were of course censored (either by the translator or by the editors), the text must have been considered attractive for Jewish children since it was printed in the periodical. While no sources which directly comment on the editor's decision to include Giberne's story in *Olam Katan*, a possible explanation for why Ben-Avigdor and Gordon found this text worthy of publication is that it aligned their general editorial strategy. One of the main goals of their periodical was to educate Jewish children through Hebrew-language texts, but it seems that certain topics were not satisfactorily covered in this language. According to Tal Kogman,

> The nineteenth century saw a marked increase in scientific writing in Hebrew. Traditional topics, such as astronomy and mathematics, were marginalized, and discourse on new branches of science, which had been highlighted in modern European culture, such as zoology, geography, and modern technology, received precedence. This phenomenon seems to also characterize scientific texts in Hebrew written for children.[76]

The lack of original Hebrew texts discussing the current state of knowledge in astronomy, especially texts which would be accessible to children, surely explains why the translation of Giberne's work was a valuable contribution to *Olam Katan*.

The original English version of *Among the Stars* presents astronomy through a fictional story about Ikon, a young boy interested in stars, planets and other celestial bodies. The child-protagonist makes it easier for a child-reader to relate to the story, and the dialogic style of the narrative makes the astronomical knowledge easy to comprehend. Ikon learns about astronomy from the characters he encounters: his German Professor (Herr Lehrer), Mr. Fritz, and another child-character, Stella.

As mentioned, Giberne's writings were influenced by the Evangelical Christianity. Yehudah Gur-Grazowski, who needed to adapt this story for Jewish readers, naturally removed these references to Christianity. For example, in the English original, in one of his conversations with Ikon,

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[74] See *Olam Katan* (1901–1902), 19, 23, 27, 31, 34, 38, 53, 60.

[75] Ofek, *Sifrut ha-yeladim*, 361.

[76] Tal Kogman, "The Emergence of Scientific Literature in Hebrew for Children and Youth in the Nineteenth Century: Preliminary Directions for Research," *Jewish Culture and History* 17 (2016), 3:258.

the German Professor explains a certain natural phenomenon by referring to the story of Paul the Apostle's shipwreck. When the boy admits that he does not recall the story, the Professor reproves him gently and encourages Ikon to read more of his Bible (in this context, meaning the New Testament). In the Hebrew translation this whole passage—both the reference to Paul and the encouragement to study the Bible—is omitted.[77]

But there are also other differences between the original text and the translation that cannot simply be explained by Jewish censorship of references to Christianity. For example, in the English version, Giberne describes the "Germaness" of Ikon's professor quite unfavorably: she refers to the German language as "German gibberish," and describes the Professor as having "a square-shaped German head."[78] In the Hebrew translation these fragments are omitted. While it makes sense that a Jewish translator refrained from translating parts of the text relating to Christianity, this second decision is harder to explain.

Equally puzzling may be the change in the story's geography. While in the original version there are references to certain natural phenomena as they are observed in England, in the Hebrew translation we find significant modifications. For example, in the already mentioned story referring to Paul, we read in English "Some stars never set to people living in England," whereas in Hebrew—

וככוכב הזה ישנם עוד כוכבים אחדים שאינם שוקעים לעולם לאלה היושבים למשל, בארץ
גרמניה.

—England is replaced with "be-erets Germanyah" ('in the land of Germany').[79] As there was no apparent need, from the perspective of a young Jewish reader, for such a switch, these two deviations from the Giberne's original suggest something else.

I argue that Gur-Grazowski did not translate the story from the original English version, but that he used the German translation instead. To verify my hypothesis, I compared versions of *Among the Stars* in its three languages: English, German and Hebrew. The analysis confirmed my thesis: it was the German translator, E. Kirchner, who first removed unfavorable references to German language and to the appearance of

[77] Agnes Giberne, *Among the Stars, or Wonderful Things in the Sky* (London, 1885), 37; ead., "Bein ha-kokhavim, o nifla'ot ba-shamayim (astronomyah la-yeladim)" [Among the Stars, or the Wonders in the Sky (Astronomy for Children)], trans. Yigal Ha-Karmeli [Yehudah Gur-Grazowski], *Olam Katan* (1902), 31:175–184.

[78] Giberne, *Among the Stars*, 9, 20.

[79] Ibid., 37; Giberne, "Bein ha-kokhavim," *Olam Katan* (1902), 31:182.

the Professor, and who modified the geography, replacing England with Germany.[80] Gur-Grazowski simply followed his lead in this respect, treating the German translation as his "original." Toury emphasized the role of German as the language mediating second-hand translations during the Haskalah period, especially from English and French,[81] but this case may point to its continuing importance in this later period. Toury noticed that the new Hebrew culture which emerged via second-hand translations mediated through German came into contact with the original cultures indirectly, and that this mediation already altered the original texts: "The intermediate culture quite naturally adapted the foreign texts to its own needs, so that the mediating texts could hardly purport to be adequate representations of the originals."[82]

So, from all the modifications discussed so far, the only one Yehudah Gur-Grazowski introduced was the omittance of the references to Christianity. But these were not the only changes he made in the process of adapting the story for *Olam Katan*'s readers. He applied some other strategies to domesticate the Other. Following a longstanding practice in translations to Hebrew,[83] he changed the names of the characters: the protagonist, who is called Ikon in the English version and Eduard in the German one, goes by Ḥashavyah in the Hebrew translation. Gur-Grazowski also further modified the geography from the German translation, as seen in this comparison of a passage in the English original to its Hebrew translation/adaptation:

> "The twinkling is merely in appearance," said Herr Lehrer. "It is caused by the layers of air through which the rays of light have to pass. In parts of the earth where the air is clearer, the twinkling is much lessened. In England, however, you may generally know a planet from a star, by the fact that stars do twinkle, and planets as a rule do not."[84]

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[80] I used the following German edition: Agnes Giberne, *Unter den Sternen, oder wunderbare Dinge am Himmel*, trans. E. Kirchner (Berlin, 1897).

[81] Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation," XXIII–XXIV.

[82] Ibid., XXXIII.

[83] On the problem of names of literary characters in Jewish/Israeli literature of the earlier and later period, see, respectively, Chone Schmeruk, "Ha-shem mashma'uti Mordechai-Marcus: gilgulo ha-sifruti shel ideal ḥevrati," *Tarbits* 29 (1960), 1:76–98, and Erga Heller, Vered Tohar, "Dan ve-Tamar holkhim le-bet ha-sefer: al masoret shemot talmidim u-morim be-sifrut ha-yeladim ve-ha-no'ar be-Yisra'el," *Moreshet Yisra'el* 8 (Apr. 2011), 120–138.

[84] Giberne, *Among the Stars*, 74.

הכוכבים נוצצים על ידי שכבות האויר, שקו האור עובר בהן; ויש ארצות, **כארץ ישראל**,
למשל, שהאויר שם יותר זך ושקוף ושם מעטים הם הכוכבים הנוצצים. ואולם **בארץ רוסיה, או
בגרמניה**, למשל, אפשר בכלל להבדיל בין הכוכבים למזלות בזה שהכוכבים נוצצים והמזלות
אינם נוצצים.
[emphasis added].[85]

As we can see, the translator decided the fragment "in parts of the earth where the air is clearer" should refer to Erets Israel.[86] Furthermore, Gur-Grazowski supplemented Germany, which Kirchner already substituted for England in his translation, with an additional reference to Russia. Through both these modifications, Gur-Grazowski showed his consideration for young Jewish readers of the pro-Zionist *Olam Katan*, the majority of whom lived in the Pale of Settlement, and for whom Erets Israel was the land of most vivid interest.

Conclusion

These three texts—about a girl and Cromwell, about adventures of children in Italy and about a boy interested in astronomy—presented readers of the Hebrew children's press with the diversity of children's lives in various lands and times. While their translators tried to broaden the horizons of Jewish children by introducing them to new cultures and customs, they were careful about the values they exhibited to Jewish children. All three analyzed cases share a similar translation approach: translators tended to skip parts that identified the characters as Christians or alter elements relating to Christian religion or customs in order to make Jewish readers better identify with the protagonists.

Even-Zohar pointed to two ways in which translations correlate—one is the way in which they adopt given norms, behaviors and policies, and the other is the way in which the target literature selects source texts for translation.[87] Although we have few sources that can shed light on how the editors of Jewish periodicals selected the translations that were later published in their periodicals, one thing is certain: their periodicals

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[85] Giberne, "Bein ha-kokhavim," *Olam Katan* (1902), 60:295.

[86] It may not be just a simple swap of geographical places, but also a more meaningful domestication strategy referring to Talmudic discussion of the properties of the air in Erets Israel. See Babylonian Talmud, Bava Batra 158b. I am grateful to Wojciech Tworek for sharing this suggestion with me.

[87] Even-Zohar, "Polysystem Theory," 46.

helped to shape an early body of children's literature in Hebrew. At the end of the nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries, children's Hebrew literature in both Palestine and Eastern Europe relied on translations. Toury wrote that in the Haskalah period, translation was "a privileged mode of generating texts, alongside the cumulative volume of translation production," and that it had a great impact on the development of Hebrew culture.[88] In the case of children's literature one hundred years later,[89] this observation remains true. Hebrew children's periodicals offer insight into what was selected for translation and into how these texts were adapted for Jewish children. Three different periodicals printed between 1893 and 1904 demonstrate the evolution of translation standards concerning acknowledgment of the original author and the translator. These periodicals also testify to diverse approaches that different translators had to original texts: alongside some "proper" translations, we find also various types of para-translations. The degree of "domestication" of the Other in the translation also varied. The medium of serial publication shows how some translators' endeavors were works in progress, and helps us to study the translators' strategies as well as their doubts and inconsistencies, as in Shaf's problem selecting a calendar style. Through studying these imperfections we come closer to understanding the challenges that translators of children's literature faced at the eve of the Hebrew revival.

This article presents some preliminary research on the subject and leaves room for further investigation. One direction for future studies is the question of the possible impact of the serial medium on the published translations and also of their impact on readers and periodicals' position in the market. The body of correspondence from readers, which was quite regularly printed in the European *Olam Katan*, may be promising material for researching this avenue. A postulate for future research also includes statistical analysis of translated literature in each of the periodicals versus the originals, or further comparative research to demonstrate if the translated literature in Hebrew children's periodicals is similar to what can be found in the children's press of other languages, such as Polish, Russian or German.

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[88] Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation," XXV.
[89] And not only children's literature, see: Zohar and Yaacov Shavit, "Lemale et Ha-arets sefarim."

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