Between the Bridge and the Barricade

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BETWEEN THE BRIDGE AND THE BARRICADE

Jewish Translation in Early Modern Europe

Iris Idelson-Shein

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For Adam, Amalia, and Mark, with love

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Note on Translations

All translations into English are my own unless otherwise stated. Biblical verses and inlays use the King James Version. Terms that bear particular importance appear in transliteration in square brackets.

In referencing translations, I have generally preferred to use the formulae used by the translations themselves. This means that translations that do not acknowledge their sources appear under the name of the translator, whereas translations that present themselves as such appear under the name of the author of the source, with the translator's name appended where known.

Abbreviations

JEWTACT	Idelson-Shein, Iris, Ahuvia Goren, Magdaléna Jánošíková, Tamir Karkason, and Yakov Z. Mayer, eds. "Jewish Translation and Cultural Transfer in Early Modern Europe: A Bibliographic Database." https://aranne5.bgu.ac.il/jtact/index.php.
Paucker, TYV	Paucker, Arnold. "The Yiddish Versions of the German Volksbuch." MA Thesis, University of Nottingham, 1959.
Steinschneider, DhU	Steinschneider, Moritz. *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher.* Berlin, 1893.
Toury, DTS	Toury, Gideon. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. 1995. Rev. ed. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2012.
Zfatman, BIB	Zfatman, Sarah. *Ha-siporet be-Yiddish mi-reshitah ad shivḥey ha-BeSHT, 1504–1814: Bibliyografya mu'eret*. Jerusalem, 1985.
Zfatman, DISS	Zfatman, Sarah. "Ha-siporet be-Yiddish mi-reshitah ad shivḥey ha-BeSHT." PhD diss., Hebrew University, 1984. 2 vols.

Introduction

"Western Europe," Louis Kelly once wrote, "owes its civilization to translators."[1] And indeed, over the centuries, translation has served as a primary mechanism of cultural transfer, dissemination of knowledge, and historical change in Europe. In the early modern period translation assumed particular cultural and historical significance. The period between 1450 and 1800 witnessed rapid technological, intellectual, religious, political, and social developments—such as the rise of print, the vernacularization of literature, the spread of scientific knowledge, the fracturing of religious unity, and European colonial expansion. These changes are closely linked to a sharp increase in intercultural encounters and in the production and popularization of knowledge and ideas through translated texts, which circulated widely throughout the continent.

These historical shifts did not bypass European Jews. During the early modern period there developed a rich, multifaceted corpus of translations of non-Jewish works into Hebrew—the Jewish lingua franca of religion and learning—and the Jewish vernaculars: Yiddish (including German-in-Hebrew characters or *Jüdisch-Deutsch*) and, to a lesser extent, Ladino (Judeo-Spanish) and Judeo-Italian. These translations played a pivotal role in fashioning European Jewish culture, literature, and history from the sixteenth century into modern times. Since many, perhaps most, Jews in Europe were unable to read non-Jewish languages, their access to European cultural developments depended almost entirely on the mediation of precisely such translations.[2]

Contrary to modern sensibilities, early modern translators tended to view their work as deeply creative, a task combining elements of both imitation and originality.[3] This understanding seems to have been particularly prevalent among Jewish translators, who often made no note of their works being translations at all. The non-Jewish source text was viewed by these translators as a mere starting point, from which a new and often radically different work would spring. Some translators cloaked their non-Jewish sources in

Jewish garb by Judaizing names, places, motifs, and language to a greater or lesser extent; others replaced the Christian denominators and figures that appeared in their sources with derogatory, polemical, or religiously neutral terms. Still others deviated from their sources due to theological considerations, scientific or political concerns, linguistic difficulties, misunderstandings, or the need to abbreviate. Whatever their motives for departing from their respective sources, Jewish translators were never merely passive recipients of these works (are translators ever?), but rather very active translators, who adapted and domesticated their sources to better suit the needs of their target audience. They added, omitted, and mistranslated both deliberately and accidentally; bestowed new meanings on words, stories, and ideas; and harnessed their non-Jewish sources to their own unique agendas. Through the process of translation, a new library of works was created, one that was uniquely Jewish in character and yet closely corresponded with that of the surrounding majority cultures.

These liberal translational norms make translation an ideal entry point into the complex relationships between early modern Christians and Jews. At the same time, however, they also pose a significant challenge for modern-day scholars. In the centuries since their publication, dozens of Hebrew and Yiddish translations of works from Latin and the European vernaculars have been read by historians as "kosher" Jewish works, which have little or nothing to do with their non-Jewish environments. But for the careful reader who is willing to navigate the endless labyrinth of unacknowledged Jewish translations of non-Jewish sources, there awaits a glimpse of a terrain of surprising intercultural encounters taking place on the brink of the modern era between Jews and Christians, East and West, faith and science, tradition and innovation.

This book sets out to map this terra incognita of translations, offering the first comprehensive study of the phenomenon of Jewish translation in Europe from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. It uncovers the hitherto hidden non-Jewish corpus that, I contend, played a decisive role in shaping early modern Jewish culture, revealing that the translation of non-Jewish texts into Hebrew and Yiddish was a much more ubiquitous phenomenon than ever before imagined. Furthermore, it shows that such translational activity took place at all levels of Jewish society. Translation was where rabbinical thinkers met authors of the European Enlightenment, the producers of Old Yiddish works encountered learned physicians, Jewish preachers met Italian humanists, and the writers of Yiddish musar books

conversed with Pietist missionaries. Viewed through the prism of translation, this book offers an understanding of early modern Jewish culture as inherently dialogic and of the so-called "Jewish book" as a deeply collaborative project, a site of intense negotiation between different cultures, communities, religions, readers, genres, and languages.

This is not to be taken as an all-too-rosy depiction of Jewish-Christian relations in premodern Europe. Situating Jewish literature in its translational context not only allows us to follow the transfer of texts and ideas from Christian Europe to the Jewish realm but also reveals the limitations, pitfalls, and blunders of that transfer. As texts moved from European to Jewish languages, they changed their meanings and were manipulated, domesticated, or complemented by other texts and ideas. This complex process, of translation and adaptation, grants us privileged access to moments of silence, hesitation, embarrassment, resistance, or restraint. Indeed, translations reveal not only what Jewish writers chose to convey to their readers but also what they chose to leave *unsaid*. In this manner, these translations foreground the unique cultural, social, and religious repertoires of their authors, vividly demonstrating the prevalence, power, and limitations of intercultural exchange.

Translating the Ghetto

Reflecting in 1779 on his German translation of the Hebrew Bible, the famed German Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) explained that the work constituted "the first step to culture from which my nation is, unfortunately, held at such a distance that one [might] almost despair over the possibility for improvement."[4] Mendelssohn's portrayal of his Bible translation is characteristic of the celebratory view of translation as a means for promoting intercultural dialogue, the harmonious coming together of two distinct cultures. Proponents of this view tend to depict translation, and particularly interreligious translation, as intrinsically linked to cultural openness and tolerance. The scholarly treatment of Mendelssohn's own translation is a case in point. In *The Origins of the Modern Jew* (1967), for instance, the historian Michael Meyer framed the translation as a kind of bridge between tradition and modernity: "it was with no less an aim in mind than the bridging of this gulf that Mendelssohn carried through his . . . translation of the Pentateuch into pure German. For the orthodox it would open the door to

culture; for the assimilated it would make possible a return to the Torah."[5] More recently, Leonard J. Greenspoon wrote that Mendelssohn's translation was "a means of bringing his fellow Jews into closer contact with German society, its ideas and ideals."[6]

Over the past several decades, however, a different view has begun to emerge, and translation—an activity whose most stable characteristic is perhaps that of versatility—has begun to change its meaning. Where translation was once perceived as a distinctly dialogic enterprise, a way of building bridges between cultures, scholars of translation have of late wearied of those "corps of translators"[7] whose literary bridges, they argue, serve as conduits not (or not only) for tolerance but for the erasure of cultural difference, the silencing of minority voices, and the reinforcement of Western and/or Christian cultural hegemony.[8] If translation is a bridge, argues Sherry Simon (echoing Heidegger), it is one that "separates before it joins; . . . 'gathers' difference, [and] has an active role in creating and reinforcing borders, not only in unmaking them."[9] For Simon and other recent scholars of translation, the bridge formed by translation is a site not only of reconciliation but also of struggle. Read through the suspicious eyes of contemporary criticism, Mendelssohn's translation thus appears less "the first step *toward* culture" as much as a step *away* from one.

These opposing views have, over the past three decades, become the dominant modes of understanding the cultural impact and significance of translation.[10] This book offers a third way of approaching translation, one that is neither celebratory nor suspicious. Focusing on the vast translational enterprise taken up by early modern European Jews, the book aims to unveil the intense cultural creativity that translation often entails, as well as its unique value for historians in general and for scholars of the Jewish past in particular.[11] A highly scrutinized religious and ethnic minority in a rapidly changing Europe, early modern Jews faced immense pressures to convert and to assimilate to their Christian surroundings. Consequently, the question of the possibility or impossibility of intercultural dialogue confronted them as a real and pressing dilemma. Their response, as this study sets out to demonstrate, was neither to *resist* the temptation offered to them by non-Jewish culture nor to *succumb* to it unconditionally—but rather to *translate* it, and meet it on their own terms.

For European Jews, translation was a particularly appealing means of cultural transfer. Jewish authors acknowledged what they viewed as their own cultural inferiority. At the same time, they feared the potential hazards posed

by direct exposure to non-Jewish texts and ideas. The unadulterated consumption of foreign works was often frowned upon by Jewish religious thinkers, who employed the rhetoric of contamination or annihilation to describe the attendant risks of such indulgence. The eminent German rabbi Ya'akov Emden (1697–1776), for instance, warned his readers not to engage in the literature of the gentiles directly, "so that you do not approach the doors of their houses, and drink their evil waters, . . . and so that you are not taken captive in their fortresses."[12] Emden's contemporary, Rabbi Sha'ul ha-Levi (d. 1784), offered an equally dramatic description, cautioning: "if an Israelite should navigate among the nations to learn sciences from foreign books, waves of foreign knowledge will . . . divert him from the straight path."[13] In fact, even Mendelssohn himself voiced similar apprehensions in the Hebrew preface to his Bible translation, portraying the translation as a means to combat the consumption of foreign works by Jewish readers, as discussed in Chapter 2, below.

The concerns voiced by these early modern Jewish authors were not new. Indeed, the legitimacy of extra-Jewish knowledge—often referred to as "external books" (*sefarim ḥitsoniyim*) or "Greek science" (*ḥokhmah yevanit*)—had long been a contested issue among Jews.[14] But with the rise of print the question became more pressing. The wider reach of printed texts and the growing literary appetite resulted, as Robert Bonfil has argued, in "the necessity for redefining and restructuring [the] space . . . between inside and outside, between licit and illicit readings, [and] between securely checked knowledge and its opposite."[15]

These increasing concerns surrounding interreligious contact between Christians and Jews preoccupied not only early modern Jews, but also Christians. Indeed, just as Jewish authors were attempting to restructure the metaphorical space between the two groups, Christian authorities were undertaking to restructure the actual *physical* spaces between them. This goal was achieved by such means as ghettoization and discriminatory legislation, which were imposed by Christians with the aim of keeping Jews near enough to contribute to European society and economy but distant enough so as to limit fraternization between the two groups. As Bonfil argues: "Segregation in ghettos coexisting with the reintegration of the Jews into Christian society forced a change in gentile attitudes. The reception of Jews into Christian society was transformed by means of the ghetto from being exceptional and unnatural into being unexceptional and natural."[16] Ghettoization thus emerged in the early modern period, almost as a prerequisite for integration.

Here, again, Bonfil's poignant phrasing comes in handy: "Could anything be more paradoxical than closing in order to permit opening, segregation to mediate integration?"[17]

In a sense, the phenomenon of early modern Jewish translation mimicked the very same and seemingly paradoxical rationale of the early modern ghetto, allowing Jews to benefit from close interaction with Christian literature while at the same time maintaining sufficient distance to limit the hazardous effects of unmediated engagement with these works. In other words, in the same way as the ghetto allowed Christians to benefit from Jews at a safe distance, translation offered Jews the ideal solution to the predicament of Christian-Jewish interaction. It allowed for the heavily monitored introduction of extra-Jewish knowledge in an often deeply domesticated form: "So that"—as ha-Levi explained—"Israel shall not need another nation."[18] As a literary activity, translation was perfectly suited to the combination of attraction and anxiety with which many early modern Jews viewed the cultural developments of their day. By adapting non-Jewish works into Hebrew script, Jewish translators were able to carefully monitor the kinds of texts and ideas that made their way into the Jewish cultural sphere and to mold them to the needs of a Jewish target readership.

It is this special Jewish understanding of translation as ghettoization that is the focus of this book. The following chapters examine the ways in which early modern Jews used translation to engage in a complex conversation with their Christian neighbors while also using it for communication between different classes, genders, and communities within the Jewish world. Although fraught with mutual suspicion, misconception, and polemic, these conversations also elicited immense creativity, innovation, and imagination. The multifaceted complexion of this dialogue was made possible by the very nature of early modern translation and by its liberal understanding of authorship and originality. This unique view allowed translation to become a means both of separation and of reconciliation.

Jewish Translation Studies and the Early Modern Period

Recent decades have witnessed a growing recognition of the critical role played by translation in early modern Europe. Translation has been shown to have played a decisive role in the defining cultural movements of the pe-

riod, such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment, as well as in the dissemination and consolidation of scientific knowledge throughout and beyond Europe.[19] As noted above, a less celebratory view of translation has also emerged in recent decades, exposing translation's complicity in early modern colonialist enterprises, missionary efforts, and the promotion of prejudice more generally.

This awareness of the critical importance of translation during the early modern period has received only limited currency within the field of Jewish studies. Even though the centrality of translation in Jewish history has long been recognized—Jews have often been termed "Europe's translators" or "a translating people"[20]—studies of Jewish translation have tended, by and large, to overlook the early modern period. To date, no sustained attempt has been made to grapple with the corpus of early modern Jewish translations in its entirety, and its scope, geography, development, agents, and sources remain largely unknown. This scholarly oversight finds striking expression in the work of one of the great scholars of translation studies in general and of the history of Jewish translation in particular, Gideon Toury. Discussing the early modern period in a 2002 essay, Toury argued that "unlike the Middle Ages, Hebrew translation during this interim period seems to have lacked any distinct profile. To the extent that it was performed at all, it certainly lagged behind anything Jews did in Hebrew, which, with very few exceptions, was no longer up to European standards anyway."[21]

Many today would emphatically reject Toury's characterization of early modern Jewish culture. Still, the vast majority of studies of Jewish translation have focused on the medieval period, thanks, in part, to the enduring influence of Moritz Steinschneider's magisterial *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (The Hebrew translations of the Middle Ages and the Jews as transmitters, 1893).[22] Thus, the definitive bibliography of *Jewish Translation Studies*, published in 2002, includes a mere 24 pages on early modern translations into Hebrew, as compared to 126 pages on medieval Hebrew translations.[23] More recent studies devoted to Jewish translation have done little to amend this imbalance. In a recent overview of the "traditions of translation of Hebrew culture" for the *World Atlas of Translation*, Nitsa Ben-Ari and Shaul Levin echo Toury's observation almost verbatim, maintaining that: "The 16th–18th centuries saw the rise of a new center of multilingual Jewish culture . . . in Italy. However, translation activity in this period lacked a distinct profile and was hardly noticed as a distinct cultural activity. . . . But change was imminent with yet another territorial shift

of the cultural center . . . and a movement aimed at bringing Jewish culture closer to the achievements of the cultures surrounding it."[24] Ben-Ari and Levin are referring, of course, to the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment. And indeed, in contemporary studies the Haskalah is often imagined as the renaissance of Jewish translation. Maskilic translators are seen as having broken with the putative isolationism of earlier literary traditions, to import a new kind of literature from beyond the Jewish literary pale.[25]

The marginalization of the early modern period in the history of Jewish translation is related, in part, to the relatively late development of the field of early modern Jewish history more generally.[26] This late development is matched by the now widely contested but still prevalent image of early modern Jewry (particularly in Ashkenaz) as being steeped in a deep and grudging traditionalism and antipathetic to the cultural, scientific, technological, and other innovations that characterized the non-Jewish European culture of the day. The significant changes that occurred in Jewish translational practices and norms from the late Middle Ages onwards are another contributing factor. These changes were characterized, among other things, by the transition from a sustained project of translating philosophical and scientific works from Arabic, initiated by a narrow elite of Hebrew translators in southern Europe (Spain, Italy, and southern France), to the spontaneous activity by translators across the continent who translated works of various genres from Latin and the European vernaculars into Hebrew, Yiddish, and other Jewish languages.[27]

But perhaps the most important factor contributing to the scarcity of studies of early modern Jewish translation has to do not with contemporary historiographic trends but with early modern translational norms, which pose a significant methodological challenge for contemporary historians. As we shall see throughout the coming chapters, many Jewish translations produced during the early modern period did not declare themselves as translations at all, and even when they did, they did so only in passing and did not identify their sources. These translational norms make the phenomenon of Jewish translation incredibly easy to overlook.

This is not to say that scholars of early modern Jewry have entirely ignored translation. Several major studies, published over the past few years, have focused on translations *from* Hebrew and Yiddish *into* German, Latin, and other European languages.[28] Other studies have focused on individual translations—or, less often, on small clusters of translations—of non-Jewish works into Hebrew or Yiddish, primarily those produced by maskilim from

the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century.[29] These studies have done an admirable job of exposing the translational endeavors and norms of certain local Jewish elites, authors, or intellectuals. However, they have *not* situated their respective translations or corpora of translations within the wider context of an overarching early modern Jewish translational project that spanned a broad array of countries, authors, genres, languages, readerships, genders, and classes. Thus, while long recognized by scholars as a flourishing site of translation, Yiddish literature has been studied almost in isolation from Hebrew literature and other libraries of Jewish translation. Moreover, scholars of translation have tended to focus on the "usual suspects" of Jewish-Christian cultural exchange, such as authors of the Jewish-Italian Renaissance, or maskilic authors. And yet, as the following chapters will show, in the three centuries stretching from 1500 to 1800, cultural transfer was not limited to the enthusiastic importation of non-Jewish modes of thought by a small number of "secular" intellectuals but was also taken up by timid, almost inadvertent innovators, who devoted themselves to the careful translation, adaptation, and indeed, Judaization of non-Jewish culture.

Toward a Definition of Jewish Translation in Early Modern Europe

In a thoughtful reflection on the ambiguities of "Jewish translation," Naomi Seidman emphatically rejects "any model that views Jewish translation as an essential phenomenon." In fact, she argues, Jewish translation is "hard to categorize not only because it takes shape in a variety of contexts and periods, but also because translation is a term for doubleness and difference, the very site of undecidability and ambivalence."[30] This essential fluidity of translation as a cultural activity is also recognized by Toury, who argues that "any definition, especially if couched in essentialist terms, specifying what is allegedly 'inherently' translational, would involve the untenable pretense of fixing, once and for all, the boundaries of a kind of object that is characterized by its inherent variability."[31] Nevertheless, a working definition of translation would seem to be a prerequisite for any study of this phenomenon in its historical and cultural manifestations. In the absence of such a definition, we run the risk of overlooking the existence of various translational practices and projects that took place in different historical settings—as previous treatments (or the lack thereof) of the early modern Jewish translational project aptly demonstrate.[32]

Toury offers a helpful solution. In his well-known discussion of the notion of "assumed translation," he suggests treating as a translation "any target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture/language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by a set of relationships based on shared features, some of which may be regarded—within the culture in question—as necessary and/or sufficient."[33] This means that any text considered by its designated readers to be a translation should be treated as such by scholars, even if it does not comply with our own contemporary notions of "translation." This approach allows researchers to study pseudo-translations (texts that present themselves as translations but are, in fact, original works), transcriptions, adaptations, and other works as translations, so long as they are perceived as such in the cultural context in which they are produced.[34]

What, then, did "translation" in general—and "Jewish translation" in particular—mean to early modern Jews? Clearly, no one definition can cover the vast period, spaces, genres, languages, and works that this study aims to discuss. During the early modern period, translational activity targeting Jewish readers took a dizzying variety of forms: from "literal" translations or even word-for-word transcriptions into Hebrew characters, to free adaptations and interpretive paraphrases. The translators themselves do not seem to have differentiated starkly between these various practices and tended to refer to them using the same terminology—*ha'atakah* (lit. copying) in Hebrew; *iber zetsen* (translating), *fartaytshen* (lit. "Germanizing"), or even *transletirn*[35] in Yiddish; and *kopiar* (copying) or *tresladar* (translating) in Ladino.[36] While some terms—such as *ha'atakah* or *iber zetsen*—could be used to signify the translation of both foreign and domestic texts, the term *tirgum* ("translation" in contemporary Hebrew) was used exclusively in the context of translation between Jewish languages, and between Hebrew and Aramaic.[37]

Attempts to evaluate the "Jewishness" of a translation are also hampered by the shifting cultural, literary, and linguistic trends that characterized the early modern era. In Italy, for instance, patterns of Jewish literacy changed drastically over the early modern period, resulting in the near disappearance of Yiddish translations in Italian-speaking spaces during the seventeenth century. At the same time, the cultural significance of translation into Hebrew also changed, as Italian Jews gradually became more linguistically assimilated into their surrounding environments. In fact, as I discuss in

Chapter 1, whereas the phenomenon of Hebrew translation in early modern Ashkenaz is striking in its novelty, in seventeenth-to-eighteenth-century Italy it is its putative anachronism that is surprising. Translation into Jewish languages, then, may have meant one thing in one cultural context and quite another in others.

Yet, in spite of the wide array of terms, modes, and meanings of translation in general, and Jewish translation in particular, early modern translators do seem to have had some notion, fuzzy though it may have been, of "Jewish translation." A 1703 Hebrew manuscript bearing the somewhat presumptuous title "Tekhunat ha-havaya" (Measure of existence) offers an interesting example. The work's title page presents the manuscript as a translation (*ha'atakah*) of an unnamed Latin source (*ne'etak mi-leshon Latin*) which has been "Judaized (*hityahed*) and brought under the wings of the *shekhinah* (the divine presence)."[38] As I discuss below, however, aside from the omission of some distinctly Christian motifs that appeared in its source and the addition of a few fleeting references to Jewish sources, the manuscript constituted a more or less faithful[39] Hebrew translation of its Latin source.[40] How then should we understand this translator's claim that the work had been "Judaized" and "brought under the wings of the *shekhinah*"?

A similarly befuddling understanding of Jewish translation is attested in early modern Yiddish translations, particularly in the near-transliteration of chivalric epics and popular chapbooks from the German into Hebrew letters. A 1597 Yiddish version of the German epic *Sigenot*, for instance, presents itself as a work taken from German or Christian script (*galkhes*) and translated (*fartaysht*) into Jewish (*yudish*).[41] The translation itself is, in fact, a near-transliteration, with the omission of distinctly Christian elements.[42] A later Yiddish translation, this time of the German chapbook *Schildbürger* (1727), similarly claimed to be "translated [*iber zetst*] from High German into Jewish-German [*oyz der hoykh taytsher galkhes shprakh in yudish taytsh*]."[43] Here again, the "Jewish translation" was little more than a near-transliteration of its German source, give or take a few minor omissions, particularly of distinctly Christian terms and motifs. Discussing this latter translation, Ruth von Bernuth raises a pointed question: given that the deviations from the German sources "are linguistically so modest," Bernuth writes, "what did the publisher mean when he claimed to be offering his own translation?"[44]

In providing an answer to this question, Bernuth underscores a salient feature of Jewish translation: "the issue here"—she argues—"is one of script: 'Christian German' means German written or printed in Latin characters

[whereas] 'Jewish German' signifies simply text written or printed in a Hebrew hand or font."[45] Indeed, for early modern Jews, it was the text's metamorphosis from the Latin script (*galkhes*) to the Hebrew script (*yudish*) which rendered it a "Jewish translation." This emphasis on script reflects the unique position of Hebrew script within early modern Europe; while Jews from different spaces, classes, and genders understood different languages, both Jewish and non-Jewish, what united them all, over and above anything else, was the Hebrew script—which was, at least ideally, accessible to all Jews. This unique orthographic reality confirms David Damrosch's suggestion that "alphabets and other scripts . . . serve as key indices of cultural identity, often as battlegrounds of independence or interdependence."[46]

The political valence of script is particularly discernible in the project of Jewish translation, where themes, ideas, and books bring together but script sets apart. During the early modern period, script remained the main cultural border between Christians and Jews; the overwhelming majority of Christians would have been unable to read a work in Hebrew letters, while for many Jews, particularly in Ashkenaz but also elsewhere, Latin script remained largely incomprehensible. Translating or transcribing a book from Latin letters to Hebrew ones thus constituted, as Bernuth notes, "an invitation to take part in an encounter with . . . Christian culture of the time but from a position of safety within the confines of Hebrew type."[47] As we shall see in Chapter 2 below, it was precisely this "position of safety," enabled by the mobilization of the text from Latin to Hebrew script, that served as one of the primary motivations for the production of translations by early modern Jews. Producing a translation in Hebrew script meant targeting a necessarily Jewish audience, whether learned (and thus able to read in Hebrew) or unlearned (and able to read in Yiddish or Ladino). At the same time, transferring a book from Latin to Hebrew script largely meant excluding a non-Jewish readership.

In keeping with the ambiguity of the early modern understanding of translation, in this book I have chosen to treat the various translations, transcriptions, and free adaptations that appeared in Jewish languages from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth century as forming part of one and the same phenomenon of early modern Jewish translation. Bearing in mind the unique understanding of Jewish translation that characterized the period, I treat any text that originated in Latin script and was rendered into Hebrew script as a Jewish translation.[48]

Structure of the Book

The different chapters of this book aim to offer a holistic view of Jewish translation in early modern Europe, focusing on translation from European to Jewish languages. In these chapters I attempt to answer the fundamental questions surrounding the phenomenon of Jewish translation, as I understand them.

Chapter 1 sketches the general contours of early modern Jewish translation. The chapter builds on a bibliographic survey of almost 650 translations of texts from European languages to Hebrew script, made available through the JEWTACT digital database. Drawing on this database, it traces the major routes of textual migration from non-Jewish to Jewish literatures, offering answers to such questions as: Where did Jewish translation take place? What were its primary sources? What were the selection criteria for the translation of European works into Jewish languages? At the same time, the chapter also offers an overview of the main characteristics of each translational site and language, exploring the shifts and transformations that occurred within and between these sites throughout the period. It follows the movement of Hebrew and Yiddish translational activity from the Italian peninsula in the sixteenth century to central and eastern Europe during the following centuries, and attempts to understand the ways in which the disparate endeavors of Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Italian translations inspired, opposed, and otherwise informed one another.

Chapter 2 discusses the question of motivation, namely: What motivated early modern Jews to render works from non-Jewish languages in Hebrew script? The answer to this question, I argue, may be gleaned by looking closely at the prefaces and other paratextual elements of early modern Hebrew and Yiddish translations. In these often lengthy prefaces, Jewish translators offered reflections on the meanings and merits of translation into Jewish languages and constructed a unique image of translation, combining elements of tradition and innovation, submission and subversion, attraction and aversion. The chapter focuses on the three primary motivations offered in these prefaces, namely the notions: (a) that translation offers a means to strengthen Jewish religion and faith; (b) that translation offers a means of reclaiming lost or stolen Jewish knowledge; and (c) that translation is a form of cultural gatekeeping. Of course, as I discuss further below, there may well have been other, hidden agendas that inspired translators throughout the period

discussed here; however, my discussion of the paratexts of Jewish translations focuses not on what Jewish translators desired to conceal but, on the contrary, what these authors, printers, and translators chose to trumpet. It is these revealed motivations for translation, I argue, that convey what passed within the early modern Jewish literary system as legitimate interreligious and intercultural transfer.

Chapter 3 is occupied with the methods of translation, and the question: How did early modern Jews translate? This chapter provides an overview of the norms of Jewish translation in early modern Europe and the ways in which they corresponded with the norms of translation in other European (and non-European) literatures during the same period. Particular attention is devoted to the phenomenon of translations that do not acknowledge their sources in whole or in part. The chapter asks why this particular translational norm was so prevalent among early modern Jewish translators, and to what extent these translators differed from their non-Jewish contemporaries. In other words, in addition to identifying the norms of Jewish translation in the period, this chapter sets out to answer the question: What is particularly *Jewish* about Jewish translation?

Chapter 4 attempts to identify the end of early modern Jewish translation. This chapter focuses on translations produced by authors of the Jewish Enlightenment in the decades around the end of the eighteenth century. While these translations have enjoyed greater scholarly attention than any other corpus of translation discussed in this book, rereading these works against the wider context of early modern works throws them into sharp critical relief. Thus, for instance, the maskilim's tendency to domesticate their translations has often been presented in the context of the Haskalah as a form of deception, designed to propagate radical innovation under a traditionalist guise. And yet, similar translational practices are found in earlier Hebrew and Yiddish translations, in translations that appeared in manuscript and were designed for individual edification, as well as in rabbinical translations of the same period. The chapter aims to reposition early maskilic translations in their early modern context, reading them not as a radical break with past literary traditions but as a continuation—perhaps the final culmination—of a centuries-long process of textual transmission from non-Jewish languages to Hebrew script.

This book treats a complex phenomenon, which took place over a long duration of time and across huge swaths of Europe. It discusses, at one and the same time, Yiddish translations and Hebrew translations, transliterations

and adaptations, translations produced on the Italian peninsula and translations produced in central and eastern Europe. It addresses translations authored by rabbinical thinkers as well as those produced by laymen and maskilim, literary translations and scientific works, and more. Chapter 1 reflects on this variety, attempting to offer some basic distinctions between these diverse corpora of translations while at the same time highlighting their overarching features. Other chapters are focused more on commonalities than differences. Of course, this kind of bird's-eye view comes at a price; future studies may offer more nuanced discussions of local varieties of Jewish translation, or of the differences between earlier and later translational endeavors.[49] However, one of the aims of this book is to move beyond the kind of isolated histories of translation that previous studies have offered, toward a more holistic understanding of Jewish translation in early modern Europe. The chapters below will attempt to provide a multidimensional view of the phenomenon of early modern Jewish translation—not only as a distinct period in Jewish literary history but as a unique and meaningful cultural phenomenon.

Chapter 1

From Metaphors to Mechanisms

Facts and Figures of Jewish Translation in Early Modern Europe

"The Jew," Isaac De Pinto wrote in 1762, "is a chameleon who everywhere assumes the colors of the different climates he inhabits, of the different peoples he frequents, and of the different governments under which he lives."[1] Formulated in an apologetic correspondence with the vehemently anti-Jewish Voltaire, De Pinto's famous analogy was emphatically rejected by Jewish historians over the following two centuries. As Israel Yuval explains, "the old Jewish historical scholars tended to adhere to the dogma of the authenticity of Judaism and were deeply fearful of parallel moves that were likely to present Judaism as adopting rival symbols into its world."[2]

This notion of Jewish authenticity was powerfully put forth by historian Jacob Katz in his *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*. In this classic work, originally published in Hebrew in 1958 and translated, republished, and retranslated several times over the ensuing decades (most recently in 2010), Katz characterized Jewish society in medieval and early modern Europe as "a close-knit, insular separate society, a veritable 'world unto itself.'"[3] All this was to change, according to Katz, at the end of the eighteenth century, with the importation of non-Jewish values and modes of thinking by the outward-turned Jewish Enlightenment, the Haskalah. It was the Haskalah, argued Katz, that broke down the centuries-old barriers between Jews and their surrounding environments, bringing about the dissolution of traditional society and the crisis to which the book's title refers. This narrative is indicative of twentieth-century Jewish historiography more broadly. Scholars of the Jewish past have often viewed moder-

nity as a kind of massive cultural earthquake, originating somewhere *outside* the Jewish community, in Paris or Berlin, and then gradually propagating throughout the world to tear down the walls of the Jewish cultural ghetto and make way for a new age.[4]

The past few decades, however, have witnessed growing dissatisfaction with this paradigm of historical crisis and discontinuity, and a new, more nuanced view of European Jewish history has emerged. Recent studies on the history of premodern European Jews often employ such terms as "overlapping spheres," "cultural entanglement," or "connected histories" to try and make sense of the undeniable parallels between the literature and culture of medieval and early modern Jewish communities and those of their surrounding environments.[5] The realization that such parallels exist is a surprisingly recent phenomenon, marking Jewish history's emergence from the proverbial "historiographic ghetto."[6] Over the past three decades, historians of Jewish life, literature, and culture in medieval and early modern Europe have demonstrated that large paradigm shifts, intellectual trends, and cultural transitions left their mark on early modern Jewish culture, where they often appeared in a heavily domesticated, indeed camouflaged, form.[7]

While much attention has been given to mapping the shared features of premodern Christian and Jewish cultures, the *actual mechanisms* of cultural exchange between the two groups are still not adequately understood. Thanks to recent studies, we now know that Jews across different strata and languages actively engaged with their immediate and even remote environments in different, often complex ways. But we still do not know quite *how* various ideas, information, and intellectual trends moved between early modern Christians and Jews, nor exactly what transformations they underwent along the way.

One set of answers to these questions has been offered by historians who investigate social and economic encounters between Jews and Christians in early modern Europe.[8] But the mechanisms of intellectual and religious transfer, and the movement of ideas through written and visual modes of communication, have received far less attention. Some studies point to the importance of *direct exchange* between Jewish and Christian intellectuals, either in epistolary form or in the form of face-to-face encounters.[9] Others stress the importance of Jewish converts to Christianity, on the one hand, and Christian missionaries, on the other, and their roles as cultural mediators between Christians and Jews.[10] Although these studies have significantly advanced our understanding of the mechanisms of cultural exchange between

specific Christian and Jewish *individuals* in early modern Europe, they do not suffice to explain the ubiquity of ideas, tropes, trends, and information derived from non-Jewish environments throughout early modern Jewish culture in its various spaces and social strata.

It is this massive movement of ideas that lies at the heart of this book. Throughout the following pages, I seek to move beyond the productive yet ambiguous *metaphors* of cultural entanglement to a discussion of demonstrable *mechanisms* of cultural exchange. I argue that during the early modern period, translation served as one of the most systematic and pervasive mechanisms of cultural transfer between Christians and Jews. Unlike direct encounters, which may have affected certain individuals, communities, or elites—but which could only have had a limited impact on Jewish culture more generally—such textual encounters played a pivotal role in fashioning the literature, culture, and history of European Jews from the sixteenth century into modernity.

The present chapter focuses on the empirical dimension of Jewish translation as it functioned in its two major centers: Italy and Ashkenaz. It maps the routes of the migration of texts from non-Jewish literatures to Jewish ones, from Latin to Hebrew script, proposing initial answers to such questions as: What were the primary sources for Jewish translation? What were the main languages in which these sources appeared? What were the selection criteria for the translation of works into Jewish languages? Who were the agents of translation? What were the differences between translational activity in Italy and Ashkenaz? What were the differences between translations into Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Italian?

Creating this kind of topographic map of Jewish translation—which combines both synchronic and diachronic aspects, as well as regional and pan-European or pan-Jewish perspectives—is a tricky business. The project of early modern Jewish translation was characterized by immense diversity, both in terms of its geographical, temporal, and linguistic scope and in terms of its agents. It encompassed writers from all corners of the Jewish literary world: from the often anonymous authors of Old Yiddish works through members of the Jewish-Italian Renaissance, to the early Jewish Enlightenment, eastern European rabbinical thinkers, converts to and from Judaism, Christian missionaries, and Hebraists. The complex nature of this corpus, or rather these corpora, of translations is further compounded by the liberal norms of translation that characterized the period and that allowed translators, as we shall see in Chapter 3, to obfuscate or even entirely conceal their sources.

In order to overcome these challenges, this chapter draws on the bibliographic survey of (at present) almost 650 translations that is available through the JEWTACT open-access digital database.[11] The database includes translations of texts from European languages into Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Italian that appeared from 1450 to 1830. These translations were produced throughout Europe, in both manuscript and printed form, and drew on source texts in languages as varied as Latin, German, Italian, Dutch, English, and French, among others.

Whereas the database makes no claim to be exhaustive and will presumably continue to expand as new translations are discovered, it is safe to assume that in its current state, this list of translations is already representative of the main corpora of early modern Jewish translations and is sufficiently comprehensive to statistically reflect the larger population of translations produced during the period. It thus allows us to make informed observations on the scope of the phenomenon and its geography, sources, languages, genres, agents, and norms.

Jewish Translation: Between the Medieval and the Early Modern

Translation has long occupied a central role in Jewish history.[12] The diasporic nature of Jewish existence from antiquity and into the modern period—the continuous migrations and expulsions of Jews throughout time and space—often resulted in profound linguistic changes. These changes in the languages and literacy of Jews made translation a necessity for Jewish religious continuity and cultural survival.[13] In Europe and elsewhere, translation served as a primary means of communication not only with the lost Hebrew past but also with the Jewish—and non-Jewish—present. Jews used (and continue to use) translation to enter into dialogue with Jewish communities both far and near.[14] In addition, beyond the borders of Jewish society, Jews served as cultural mediators, offering translations between such languages as Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek.

The best-known and most extensively studied project of Jewish translation is the Hebrew translation movement of the Middle Ages. Already in the eleventh century, Jews in Muslim Spain began to produce translations of scientific and philosophical texts from Arabic into Hebrew. In the mid-twelfth century, Andalusian Jews fleeing the Almohad persecutions settled

in southern France. Desiring to disseminate Graeco-Arabic culture among their coreligionists in Christian Europe, these Arabophone Jews took up the task of Arabic-to-Hebrew translation with added urgency. The works of these translators resulted in the creation of a centralized and prolific translation movement that would come to inspire translators (and scholars of translation) for centuries to come.[15]

Among those inspired by the medieval translation movement were early modern Jews. Both in Italy and in Ashkenaz, Jewish translators often cited the medieval precedent in their prefaces, and some (particularly in the Italian-speaking realm) seem to have viewed their translations as a continuation of the earlier tradition. At the same time, Jewish translational activity underwent profound changes in the early modern period. The era saw shifts in the centers where Jewish translational activity took place as well as in the languages from and into which translations were produced. Already in the fourteenth century the gravitational center of Hebrew translation gradually migrated from southern France to the Italian peninsula. Accompanying this transition was the decline of the medieval phenomenon of translations from Arabic into Hebrew, as Latin came to the fore as a source language for Hebrew translation, with Italian sources also achieving prominence in the sixteenth century.[16]

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Jewish translation underwent another important shift, as translational activity began to blossom in central Europe, resulting in the increased prevalence of translations from German into Hebrew and the explosion of Yiddish translations. As we shall presently see, the translation of works from non-Jewish languages was a new phenomenon in Ashkenaz, raising new questions and opening up entirely new possibilities. Jewish translation reached its apex in central Europe in the late eighteenth century, after which, as central European Jews began to embrace German as both a spoken and literary language, translational activity began to migrate once again, this time eastward to Poland-Lithuania, and—in the form of Ladino translations—to the Ottoman Empire.

The changes in the languages and geographies of Jewish translation dovetailed with the rapid technological and cultural innovations that characterized the early modern period. These developments, and especially the rise of printing technologies and vernacular literatures, were to dramatically transform the nature of translation in Europe and beyond. As we shall presently see, during the early modern period, Jewish translation became increasing decentralized and versatile, drawing on multiple genres and languages

and targeting new readerships well beyond the narrow elite of learned Hebrew readers, to whose literary appetites medieval translations had catered.

While there remained significant continuities, then, between the Hebrew translation project of the Middle Ages and Jewish translation in the early modern period, the latter phenomenon cannot be viewed as a mere extension of earlier trends. The overarching motivations, norms, and meanings of Jewish translation in early modern Europe differed vastly from those of its medieval precedent. These commonalities of early modern translations will be discussed in detail in the following chapters. In this chapter, I focus on the disparate but interrelated activities of the two major communities of Jewish translators in early modern Europe, termed here "Italian" and "Ashkenazic."

Mapping Early Modern Jewish Translation and the Conundrum of Communities

Before proceeding, it is necessary to comment on the complexities of arriving at any kind of neat division of early modern Jews into disparate communities. As Peter Burke observes, there is a latent danger in using the term "community" in general, in that the term "seems to imply a homogeneity, a boundary and a consensus that are simply not to be found when one engages in research at ground level."[17] Jewish communities in particular, are notoriously difficult to define, entailing, at one and the same time, territorial dimensions and considerations of lineage, ritual, custom, language, and more. The phenomenon of Jewish migration in the late medieval and early modern periods further complicates matters. The mass movement of European Jews during these periods—often the consequence of forced expulsions, but also of voluntary migration—resulted in the establishment of heterogenous Jewish communities throughout and beyond Europe.[18]

The Jewish world is often broadly divided into the Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities. With their expulsion from Spain and Portugal in the late fifteenth century, a large number of Iberian Jews settled in the Ottoman Empire, on the Italian peninsula, and in North Africa. In later decades, more Jews began to trickle out of the Iberian Peninsula, as ex-conversos (Jews who had been forcibly converted to Christianity in Spain and Portugal) began to settle in western and central Europe and in Italy, as well as across the Atlantic. These diverse migration patterns effectively created three separate

but interrelated Sephardic (lit. Spanish) diasporas: the large eastern, the smaller western, and the North African. These three diasporas shared religious rituals, customs, canons, commercial networks, and, to varying degrees, languages.[19]

A mass wave of migration also impacted and complicated Ashkenazic (lit. German) identity in the early modern period. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, large numbers of Jews were expelled from their homes throughout the Holy Roman Empire and began to settle in eastern Europe and northern Italy. Here too, three major diasporas emerged, often referred to in scholarship as Ashkenaz I (Ashkenazi Jews in central Europe), Ashkenaz II (eastern European Jews), and Ashkenaz III (Ashkenazi Jews in Italy).[20] Regional variations between these three Ashkenazic diasporas existed, but they were united by several overarching features, such as shared liturgy, rituals, and traditions and an indebtedness to German. As Joseph Davis notes: "the pressure of Sefardic Judaism, the common market for Yiddish books, and a shared rabbinic elite all helped make Ashkenazic Jews into a unified and distinctive group."[21]

While the borders between Ashkenaz I and II remained fluid, solidifying only towards the late eighteenth century, over the early modern period the Italian Ashkenazic community grew increasingly distant from its German heritage. Ashkenazi Jews in Italy gradually became immersed in Italian culture, language, and literature. This process coincided with the rise of the Italian ghetto system in the mid-sixteenth century, which brought Jews of Italian, Sephardic, and Ashkenazic heritage into close proximity with one another.[22] This unique reality resulted in the creation of a shared translational culture, which may be characterized as Jewish-Italian.

This is not to imply that early modern Italian Jewry constituted one, monolithic community. Throughout the early modern period, ritual differences, variations in tradition, and power struggles among the three disparate Jewish communities—the Ashkenazim, the Sephardim, and the Italkim (lit. Italians)—persisted to varying degrees in different Italian cities.[23] In Venice, for instance, the three communities remained more or less separate throughout the period, although the meanings and significance of this separation are debatable.[24] In nearby Padua, on the other hand, as David Sclar notes, "Jews of Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Italian origin . . . functioned as an amalgamated community."[25] Kenneth Stow writes that further to the south, in Rome, "the Jews . . . amalgamated and crossed so-called ethnic lines not only in their synagogues, but also in their private lives."[26] Still, even where

ritual and communal structures prohibited the formation of a homogenous community, the intellectual and cultural networks of many Jews in Italy—whether Italkim, Sephardim, or Ashkenazim—became increasingly "Italianized," resulting in the emergence of a shared linguistic community.[27]

Thus, Italian Ashkenazic Jews, who had previously drawn primarily on German texts, translating them into Yiddish—gradually began consuming and producing literature in Italian. The story of Sephardic Jews in Italy followed a somewhat similar, albeit not identical trajectory. Like their Italian Ashkenazic compatriots, these Jews, who had previously been immersed in Arabic and Iberian culture, became increasingly literate in Italian, French, and Latin beginning in the sixteenth century. Admittedly, some Sephardic Jewish communities in Italy continued to produce official documents in Iberian languages, and individual authors continued to produce works in these languages (including Ladino) well into the eighteenth century.[28] At the same time, however, in contrast to their Dutch peers, who continued to use Portuguese in their day-to-day interactions and who "consciously perpetuat[ed] Iberian social and intellectual traditions,"[29] Sephardic Jews throughout the Italian states seem to have engaged in literary and everyday dialogue with their Ashkenazi and Italian coreligionists, as well as with their non-Jewish neighbors—primarily in Italian.[30]

The emergence of two distinct linguistic communities in Italy and Ashkenaz throughout the early modern period is perhaps best exemplified by looking at the primary source languages of translation among Jews residing in these two locales. Of the 152 translations in the sample that were produced between 1500 and 1800 by Jews residing on the Italian peninsula (regardless of lineage), 39 percent (60 translations) were translations of Italian works (or of works in other languages, mediated by Italian), another 39 percent (60) were translations of Latin works, and only 9 percent (13) were translations from Iberian languages, 8 of which were produced during the sixteenth century. The translations from Italian included translations produced by Sephardic-Italian authors such as David Atias, Yosef Ha-Kohen, and Moshe Ibn Basa, and by Italian Ashkenazi authors such Elia Levita (Elye Bokher) and Pinḥas Ashkenazi (Felice Tedeschi).[31] By comparison, of the 211 works that were translated by Jews who may be reasonably assumed to be Ashkenazi Jews residing in central and eastern Europe between 1500 and 1800, 62 percent (130) were translated from German, 10 percent (21) were translated from Dutch, and 8 percent (16) were translated from Latin.

In the context of translation, these linguistic communities are of utmost importance. As the data above begin to suggest, it is the linguistic affinities of a community that set the tone for the kind of translational activity in which its members will participate: the languages from and into which they translate; the sources on which they rely; the genres they prefer; the literary norms and fashions to which they adhere, and, most importantly perhaps, the functions that translation will serve. This understanding underlies my decision, in the present study, to prioritize linguistic communities over communities defined by lineage and ritual. The first sections of this chapter focus separately on translations produced by Italian Jews, by which I mean both Sephardim, Italkim, and Ashkenazim residing in the Italian peninsula, and Ashkenazic translations, that is, translations by Ashkenazi Jews residing primarily in central Europe and, to a lesser extent, eastern Europe.

A brief word on other communities of Jewish translation. While it is true that Italian and Ashkenazi Jews took the lead in creating the library of Jewish translations in early modern Europe, other communities also contributed to its construction. The JEWTACT database includes, for instance, a small number of Hebrew translations produced by western Sephardim, particularly Portuguese Jews residing in Amsterdam. This small corpus of translations is marginally represented in the following chapters, as well as in some of the statistical figures featured and discussed below. However, I have not dedicated a separate discussion to the development of the western Sephardic corpus of Jewish translations. The reason is that while some important Hebrew translations were produced by western Sephardim in the eighteenth century, particularly in Amsterdam, as a rule, this community produced significantly fewer translations into Hebrew script than did the communities of Ashkenaz and Italy. The total number of Hebrew translations that currently appear in the JEWTACT database and that can be unambiguously attributed to western Sephardim is eleven.[32] This is unsurprising—for the vast majority of Sephardic Jews residing in Amsterdam, London, Hamburg, and other places in western and central Europe, Portuguese and Spanish functioned as Jewish languages, much in the same way as Yiddish and Hebrew functioned among Italian and Ashkenazi Jews, and they remained the primary languages of both literary output and daily communication for most of the early modern period. Thus, with some important exceptions, it was Iberian languages into which former conversos transmitted both Jewish and non-Jewish knowledge.[33]

The Position of Translated Literature Within the Italian and Ashkenazi Communities

Given the profound cultural and linguistic differences between Jews in Italy and Jews in central and eastern Europe, it is unsurprising that translation into Jewish languages served vastly different functions within these two communities. As noted above, Italian Jews, including the Sephardic exiles who settled in Italy, had long exhibited an interest in the translation of works from Latin and Arabic into Hebrew, particularly in the fields of science and philosophy. Mauro Zonta's list of medieval Hebrew translations in these genres includes no fewer than 128 translations that were produced (or likely produced) on the Italian peninsula between 1100 and 1500.[34] Italian interest in Hebrew translation continued in the sixteenth century, with the translation of near-contemporary works by thinkers of the Jewish-Italian Renaissance such as Avraham Farissol, Avraham Yagel, Azariah De Rossi, and Leon Modena.[35]

In later centuries, however, the valence of Jewish translation in Italy began to change. As discussed above, by the second half of the seventeenth century, Italian Jews had become, by-and-large, linguistically assimilated into their Italian environment. One would expect this linguistic change to have made translation into Jewish languages less appealing to Italian Jews—and translations of Italian works in particular entirely redundant. And indeed, the phenomenon of Italian-to-Yiddish translation, which had produced some of the classic works of Old Yiddish literature—such as Elye Bokher's *Bovo d'Antona* (1541) or the anonymous *Pariz un' Viene* (1594)—disappeared in the seventeenth century.[36] The last Yiddish book known to have been printed on the peninsula appeared in 1609, marking the end of a century of vibrant German Jewish culture in Italy and the emergence of a more localized Jewish-Italian identity.[37]

And yet, Hebrew translation (and Hebrew literature more generally) on the peninsula followed an altogether different trajectory. Figure 1 combines Zonta's list with the JEWTACT database in order to survey the number of Hebrew translations (both manuscript and print) produced by Italian Jews between 1200 and 1800.[38] The stacked columns in the front signify the number of translators, while the stacked area in the back reflects the number of translations produced.[39] As the chart shows, the number of active translators remained relatively steady throughout the entire period. Indeed, Hebrew

translation had always been the effort of a small number of dedicated translators in Italy, a phenomenon that continued well into the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries, when prominent Jewish authors like Samuel David Luzzatto (SHaDaL),[40] Ephraim Luzzatto,[41] and Samuel Romanelli[42] took it upon themselves to translate works from Italian, Latin, German, French, and English into Hebrew.

For these Italian Jews, translation into Hebrew constituted a continuation of a medieval tradition, thus occupying a peripheral position within the Italian Jewish literary (poly)system.[43] For the most part, Hebrew translation in Italy did not serve to invigorate Italian Jewish culture but rather to preserve the medieval tradition of Hebrew translation, as well as to disseminate Italian culture to Jewish readers outside the peninsula. The Hebrew translations produced by Italian Jews during this period, many of which remained in manuscript, were thus a marginal phenomenon, and their impact on the Italian Jewish literary system as a whole was limited at best.

For Ashkenazi Jews in central and, later, eastern Europe, on the other hand, translation into Hebrew and Yiddish bore profoundly different meanings. In contrast to the steady trend of linguistic assimilation that characterized Italian Jews (as well as western Sephardim in central Europe), the majority of Ashkenazi Jews in central and eastern Europe remained unable to read Latin script well into the eighteenth and even nineteenth centuries. Moreover, for these Ashkenazi Jews, unlike their Italian coreligionists, the translation of non-Jewish literature was essentially a new phenomenon. Of the 571 entries that appear on Zonta's list of medieval Hebrew translations, only four were produced in Ashkenaz (two in Germany and two in northern France). The remainder were produced primarily in Italy, Spain, and southern France. To this we may add a handful of Yiddish translations of German epics that appeared in the late Middle Ages, and which are discussed in further detail below.

Throughout the early modern period, however, the tables of translation would gradually turn. Figure 2 depicts the rise of Hebrew and Yiddish translations produced by Ashkenazi Jews in early modern Europe. Ashkenazi interest in translation began to blossom in the sixteenth century, initially encompassing Ashkenazi Jews in both Italy and central Europe. As Yiddish translation disappeared in Italy in the seventeenth century, Yiddish and Hebrew translations began to appear with increasing frequency in German-speaking lands and in the Low Countries. These translations encompassed works of science and philosophy, belles lettres, history, religion, and more.

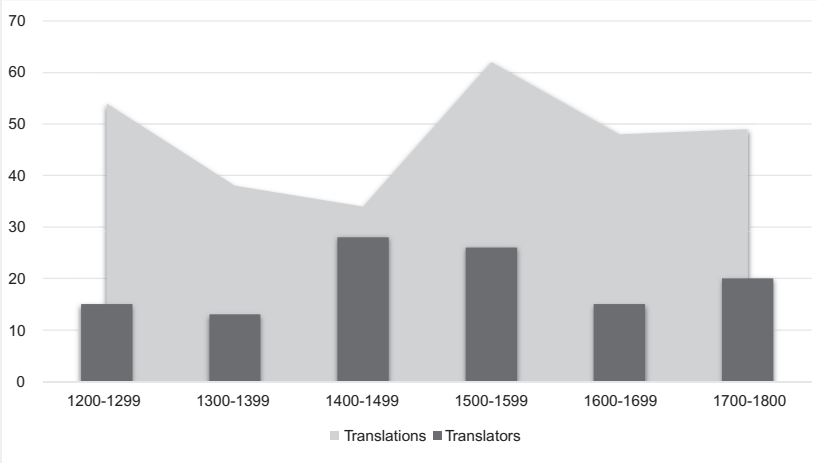

Figure 1. Jewish Translations Produced by Italian Jews, 1200–1800.
Based on 280 sources translated by Italian Jews that appear on Zonta's list (1200–1499) and in the JEWTACT database (1500–1800). The stacked columns in the front signify the number of translators, while the stacked area in the back reflects the number of translations produced. For the purposes of this analysis, I have only included translations—both printed and manuscript—whose authorship may be reasonably estimated as Italian, or which Zonta identifies as having been produced in Italy. The analysis looks at the translation's primary creator rather than the place of publication or production. Thus, for instance, works that were printed in Vienna or Basel but translated by Italian Jews appear as Italian works. Anonymous translators who can be reasonably assumed to have been Italian have been counted individually, except in cases where the same translator is clearly responsible for two or more works. The focus on translator rather than place of publication is designed to enable the inclusion of translations that appeared in manuscript form as well as to control the effects of the migration, in the mid-seventeenth century, of the centers of Hebrew printing from Venice to central and eastern Europe.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, this interest would migrate toward eastern Europe, where it would continue to thrive until the Second World War.[44]

Figure 3 offers a comparison of translational trends in Italy and Ashkenaz between 1200 and 1800, showing the numbers of Jewish translators in each translational site by century. As this figure makes clear, while Jewish translation in Italy continued on a small scale into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it skyrocketed in Ashkenaz. During this period, translation

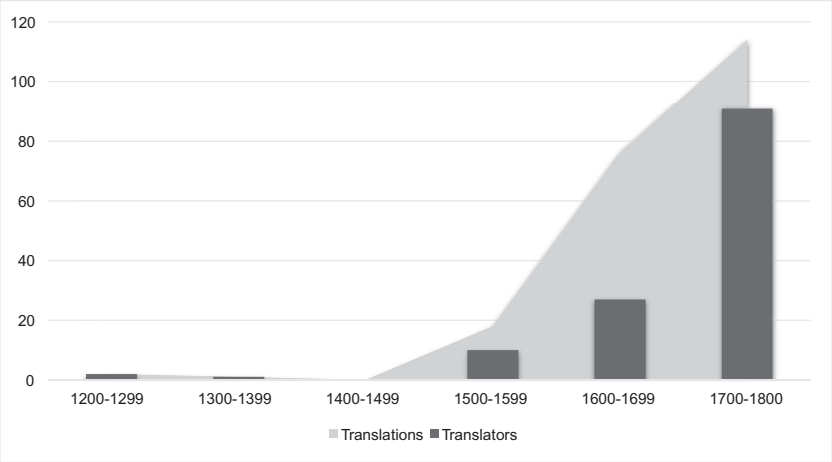

Figure 2. Jewish Translations Produced by Ashkenazi Jews, 1200–1800.
Based on 211 translated sources appearing on Zonta's list and in the JEWTACT database. The stacked columns in the front signify the number of translators, while the stacked area in the back reflects the number of translations produced. For the purposes of this analysis, I have only included translations—both printed and manuscript—whose authorship may be reasonably estimated as Ashkenazi. For the reasons discussed above, this analysis excludes Ashkenazim in Italy. Anonymous translators who can be reasonably assumed to have been Ashkenazim are counted individually, except in cases where the same translator is clearly responsible for two or more works. Zonta's list does not include Yiddish translations, but such translations are extremely rare before the sixteenth century.

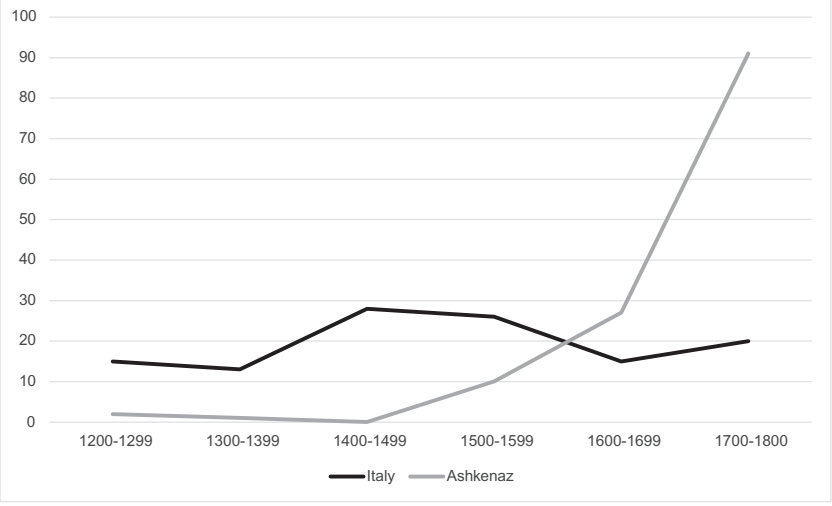

Figure 3. Jewish Translators in Italy and Ashkenaz, 1200–1800.
Based on a total of 248 individual translators appearing on Zonta's list and in the JEWTACT database who were active in Italy and Ashkenaz between 1200 and 1800.

emerged as a primary mechanism for cultural transfer and as a central catalyst for cultural innovation and historical change within the Ashkenazic cultural realm. Initially in Yiddish, but over time within the Ashkenazi literary realm more broadly, Jewish translation assumed an unmistakably central position, enabling central and eastern European Jews of various classes, genders, and ages to tackle the cultural developments of their day.

The difference between Jewish translation in central Europe and in Italy is expressed not only in the total number of translators active and translations produced throughout the period, but also in the kinds of works that dominated the two libraries. In keeping with the medieval tradition of Hebrew translation, Italian translators favored works in the fields of science, philosophy, and religion, whereas Ashkenazi translators were more interested in the translation of poetry and prose, at first into Yiddish and, later, with the rise of the Haskalah, into Hebrew. As discussed in Chapter 4 below, these translations would subsequently become an important platform for the development of original works in Yiddish (such as hymns, *tkhines* [Yiddish paraliturgical prayers and devotions] popular science, and short stories) and in Hebrew (such as children's literature, prose, and plays).

The Languages of Jewish Translation: Target Languages

There were three primary target languages of Jewish translation in early modern Europe: Hebrew, Yiddish, and Ladino (Figure 4).[45] In addition, a small number of translations appeared in Judeo-Italian. Each of these target languages of translation bore its own unique characteristics, drawing on different source libraries, employing different kinds of selection criteria, and addressing different target readerships. Let us focus a narrow lens on each language individually.

Hebrew

The largest library of Jewish translation during the early modern period was the Hebrew one, which accounts for 60 percent of all translations in the database (Figure 4). The dominance of Hebrew as a language of translation may perhaps seem surprising. The majority of studies of early modern Jewish translation have in fact focused not on Hebrew but on Yiddish, primarily

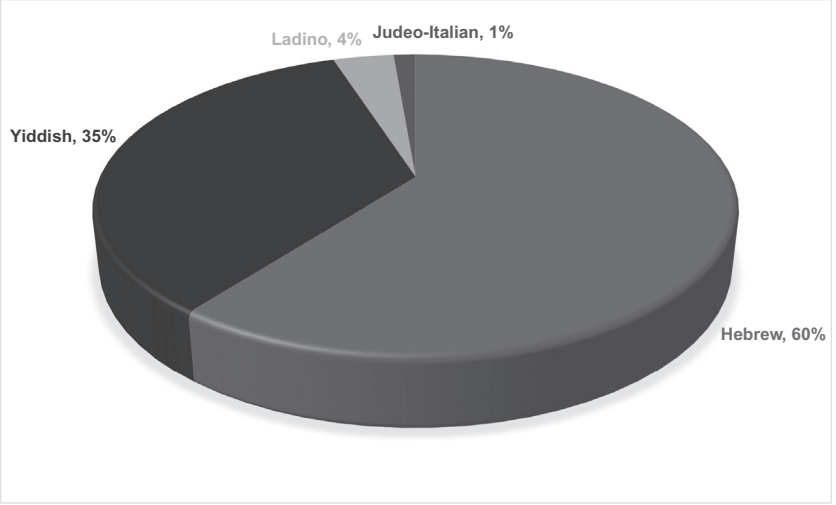

Figure 4. Percentage of Translated Texts by Target Language, 1500–1800. Based on the principal language of 301 target texts (macrotexts only).

because Yiddish literature is often imagined to have been much more receptive to non-Jewish influence. While this is true in the Ashkenazi context, where Yiddish translation took up 60 percent of all translations produced between 1500–1800, a pan-European view reveals that during the early modern period, Hebrew served as a primary conduit for the movement of new texts and ideas from Christian Europe into the Jewish cultural sphere.[46]

The dominance of Hebrew furthermore suggests that translational activity was not restricted to the lay classes, but was also actively pursued by—and for!—rabbinically trained Jews. And indeed, as discussed in further detail below, throughout the early modern period, Hebrew translations were produced by rabbis or rabbinical thinkers. Most of these translations centered on works of science, but in some cases translations made their way into distinctively religious texts, such as works of halakha, polemics, catechisms, and sermons.[47]

The ubiquity of texts translated into Hebrew further contributes to the refutation of the already widely debunked myth of Hebrew's death in the diaspora and its subsequent "revival" by Zionism.[48] Looking at the rich library of early modern Hebrew translations reveals that Hebrew literature served as a busy marketplace of texts and ideas, of both domestic and for-

eign provenance. Of course, one should not exaggerate the prevalence of Hebrew literacy in early modern Europe. For most Jews during this period, Hebrew was a language that could be read, but not necessarily comprehended.[49] Hebrew readership was limited to the learned Jewish elites, making demand only a marginal aspect of the choices made by Hebrew translators.

This Hebrew disregard for demand is perhaps most conspicuous in the Italian context. As noted above, Italian Jews continued to produce Hebrew translations, and particularly translations of Italian works, long after the linguistic assimilation of Italian Jewry.[50] These translations allowed Italian translators to address learned Jews well beyond the peninsula. In this sense, Hebrew translation functioned in Italy in the same way as Latin translations functioned in Christian Europe in the same period. Such translations continued to appear in relatively large numbers—Peter Burke counts no fewer than 1,140 of them—between the invention of printing and the end of the eighteenth century.[51] As Burke notes, they "ensured a wide geographical distribution at the price of appealing to a cultural minority."[52]

The international reception of Hebrew translations by Italian translators is demonstrated, for instance, by the first description of the Americas to appear in Hebrew, that is, Avraham Farissol's *Igeret orḥot olam*. Written in the first half of the sixteenth century, as David Ruderman has shown, the book was, in large parts, a translation of Italian author Fracanzano da Montalboddo's *Paesi nouamente retrouati et Nouo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato* (New lands that were revealed and the new world named after Alberico Vespucci from Florence, 1507).[53] Initially distributed in manuscript form, Farissol's translation was first published in Venice in 1586, but does not seem to have made much of a mark on contemporary Italian Jewish literature. As Ruderman notes, "many Italian Jews may have gone directly to the Italian literature, more popular and more widely diffused, in order to satisfy their curiosity about the new discoveries."[54] Throughout the following centuries, however, *Igeret orḥot olam* became wildly successful among Hebrew readers in central and eastern Europe. The book was published in Offenbach in 1720, then again in Prague in 1793, after which it moved to eastern Europe, where it was published three more times until 1822.[55] Parts of Fasrissol's book were also translated into Yiddish and published in Halle in 1711.[56]

Other Italian-to-Hebrew translations produced by Italian Jews enjoyed a similar afterlife in central and eastern Europe. Azariah de Rossi's *Me'or*

eynayim, for instance—which drew on various sources in Italian and Latin—was initially published in Mantua in 1573, after which it appeared in multiple editions in Berlin, Vienna, Vilna, and Warsaw from the late eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century, becoming a major source of inspiration for the Jewish Haskalah.[57]

Of course, in part, the publication history of these books reflects the changes that occurred in the Hebrew printing industry, but they also signify the appeal of Italian-produced Hebrew translations outside the peninsula.[58] Particularly instructive in this respect is the book *Otsar ha-ḥayim* by the Roman-born physician and chief rabbi of Ferrara, Ya'akov Zahalon (1630–1693). While predominantly a translation of the Latin works of German and French authors Daniel Sennert and Lazare Rivière, rather than of Italian works, *Otsar ha-ḥayim* is distinguished by its explicit appeal to a wide readership—from rabbinical scholars and talmudists to small-town physicians.[59] As Ruderman observes, "Zahalon's textbook was the first . . . work published in Hebrew to provide a general orientation to medicine. The author's interest in reaching a general public . . . suggests a nonelitist view of his profession and its specialized knowledge."[60] Of course, as was true for other Hebrew works of its time, the dissemination of knowledge that Zahalon pursued in his book was never truly nonelitist; in choosing to write the book in Hebrew (and publish it in folio format!), Zahalon strictly limited its reception to the narrow upper crust of Jewish society. *Otsar ha-ḥayim* made no attempt to target women, nor did it address most Jewish men, who did not possess the kind of rabbinical training that would have made Hebrew literature accessible to them.[61] Still, published in Venice in 1683, the book made its greatest impact on readers and authors outside of Italy. While it was never republished, large parts of the book were copied by the German physician Judah Leib Wallich and republished in his *Sefer dimyon ha-refu'ot* (Book of parallel remedies, 1700).[62] Select paragraphs of Zahalon's book were also copied by the Jerusalem-based physician David De Silva, who borrowed liberally from *Otsar ha-ḥayim* and the works of other Hebrew authors.[63] Traces of *Otsar ha-ḥayim* are also to be found in other eighteenth-century works produced in both central and eastern Europe, such as the maskilic *Aleh trufah* (Remedy leaf, 1785) by Avraham ben Shlomo Nansich of the Hague, and works of practical Kabbalah, such as *Zevaḥ Pesaḥ* (Passover sacrifice, 1722) by Ya'akov Pesaḥ, and *Sefer ha-ḥeshek* (The book of longing, c. 1740) by Hillel Ba'al Shem.[64]

Italian Jewish literature, on the other hand, seems to have remained largely unimpressed by *Otsar ha-ḥayim*. Thus, when in 1750 Itsḥak Lampronti, Zahalon's later successor to the Ferrara rabbinate, found himself in need of a paragraph from Sennert's oeuvre, he turned directly to the Latin source rather than to Zahalon's Hebrew translation.[65] The same is true for Tuviah ha-Kohen, who incorporated several translated paragraphs from the works of Sennert and other Latin physicians in his well-known *Ma'ase Tuviah* but made no mention of Zahalon, and seems to have made no use of his earlier translations of Sennert's works.[66]

It seems then, that Hebrew translations produced in Italy were, for the most part, consumed by readers outside the peninsula. This appears to hold true for most, but not all, such translations. Indeed, some Italian-to-Hebrew translators in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italy made no attempt to target readers in Ashkenaz or elsewhere. The translations produced by these Italian Jews remained in manuscript form, incorporated Italian terms or even whole passages in Italian or Judeo-Italian, and clearly targeted Jews who were literate in Italian. In a forthcoming study, for instance, Ahuvia Goren reveals the phenomenon of the translation of Italian preacher manuals and the incorporation of translated texts and fragments in early modern Hebrew sermons. Goren suggests viewing such translations as a means of domesticating non-Jewish ideas and texts and preparing them for use in sacramental contexts.[67]

In addition, as discussed above, for many Italian authors, translation into Hebrew seems to have been a direct continuation of the medieval tradition of Hebrew translation and was based on the desire to create a Hebrew-language library, regardless of demand. The corpus of Hebrew translations produced by Italian Jews thus offers a curious kind of meeting point between modern texts and medieval pursuits. It included translations of some of the most innovative and often controversial works of the time, but targeted a near-inexistent readership, perpetuating a medieval tradition that no longer corresponded with the literary tastes and requirements of early modern Italian Jews.

Of course, Jewish translation in Ashkenaz fulfilled largely different functions, but here too, translation into Hebrew was an endeavor largely motivated by ideology rather than demand. Thus, during the decades surrounding the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries, there emerged a small but not insignificant corpus of translations of German children's books into

biblical Hebrew. The production of such translations, which are discussed in detail in Chapter 4, was particularly popular among members of the Jewish Haskalah.[68] Significantly, unlike their German source texts, these maskilic translations never seem to have truly targeted children. They were written in biblical Hebrew, densely packed with biblical allusions and overtly didactic detours. With few exceptions, the maskilic translators often employed much duller storytelling techniques than the ones used by their source texts.[69] For these translators, the translation of children's books from German into Hebrew seems to have been an end in and of itself, and it entailed complete disregard for the needs and capabilities of the target readership.

The elitist nature of Hebrew literature is also manifested in the primary genres that dominated the corpus. Philosophy and science were by far the most popular genres among Hebrew translators in both Italy and Ashkenaz. However, Hebrew translators also drew on other genres, such as religion, history, magic, and, increasingly towards the eighteenth century, belles lettres.

Yiddish

Second in importance as a target language of Jewish translation in early modern Europe was Yiddish, which accounts for 35 percent of all translations created between 1500 and 1800 in the database (Figure 4). Old Yiddish texts began to appear during the late Middle Ages and, throughout the early modern period, Yiddish developed into a vibrant, versatile literary language. This development was largely facilitated by Yiddish literature's extensive reliance on the translation and adaptation of works from Hebrew, on the one hand, and from European languages, on the other.

The oldest surviving literary works in Yiddish date from the fourteenth century; the earliest of these works, which was discovered in 2011 by archeological excavations in Cologne, Germany, was written sometime before 1349. The text, of which only a few fragments have survived, seems to be a transcription or adaptation of an unidentified German chivalric tale.[70] The second oldest extant collection of literary texts in Yiddish, known as the Cambridge Codex, originates from around 1382. Discovered in the Cairo Geniza in 1896, this small collection of manuscripts contains eight Yiddish texts, the majority of which drew on previous Hebrew works.[71] But the text that has received the greatest attention in the collection, known as "Dukus

Horant" (Duke Horant), draws not on Hebrew but on German traditions and appears to be a transcription or near-transcription of a now-lost German chivalric poem.

While it is beyond the temporal scope of this study to explore it deeply here, it is worthwhile pausing to consider the scholarly controversy surrounding this Old Yiddish translation, which demonstrates the latent scholarly ambivalence surrounding Yiddish translation more generally. Indeed, the intimate field of Yiddish studies has known some surprisingly energetic debates, but none have elicited such heated reactions as the one surrounding this enigmatic 1382 epic. The controversy has even caught the attention of German scholars, who have also weighed in on the discussion.

The text itself is somewhat underwhelming, constituting a rather generic tale of a bridal quest, carried out on behalf of the king Etene by his trusted knight, Horant. The first scholarly edition of the epic, and of the collection more generally, was published by Leo Fuks in 1957. Fuks portrayed the work as one of the oldest known literary documents of Yiddish literature.[72] Not long after this initial publication, however, James W. Marchand, a scholar of German and Scandinavian literature, challenged this characterization, stressing the almost complete absence of Hebraisms in the text, as well as of so-called "Jewish themes."[73] Marchand suggested that "Dukus Horant" should be viewed *not* as one of the earliest specimens of Yiddish literature, but rather as a German epic in Hebrew characters.[74] Throughout the following decades there developed a widespread and often heated debate surrounding this work's Yiddishness, and—mutatis mutandis—its Jewishness. As Jerold Frakes and Gabriele L. Strauch have demonstrated, editions, translations, descriptions, and analyses of "Dukus Horant" have become, over the years, a litmus test for one's scholarly and, indeed, ideological affinities.[75] The reasons for this intense controversy surrounding "Dukus Horant" seem to be that answering the question of the text's language entails much more than mere philology. In fact, drawing the border between German and Yiddish necessarily requires making assumptions, often unvoiced, about what it means to be Jewish, about what *Jewishness* is all about.

The controversy has primarily revolved around two (or perhaps three) words that feature in the manuscript. In lines 485 and 584, the translator uses the derogatory term *tifle* to designate a Christian church.[76] The term—a play on the Hebrew words *tafel* (tasteless/unseemly) and *tefilah* (prayer), but which also has an assonance with the German term *Kirche* (church)—is by no means unusual, and appears regularly in Old Yiddish works. What is

unusual, however, is the appearance, just four lines after the occurrence of the first *tifle*, of the German *Kirche* (in "*tsu der kirkhn*").[77]

The prominent scholar of Yiddish literature Chone Shmeruk presents this inconsistency as an indication of the mechanistic nature of "Dukus Horant"'s treatment of its unknown German source. According to Shmeruk, "there can be no doubt that the German term *Kirche* appeared in both cases in the source, but that the translator only noticed it the first time, and replaced it with the ubiquitous derogatory term used by Jews. . . . A few lines later he did not notice this, and mechanically put down what appeared in his German source, whether written or oral."[78] For Shmeruk, such sloppy domestication does not a Jewish translation make: "the Jewish dimension [*ha-'asiya ha-yehudit*] of this German text is limited to its transcription in Hebrew characters, alongside the sporadic and inconsistent replacement of Christian terms with terms which were acceptable among Jewish readers. One cannot speak here of a Jewish work."[79]

But mishaps, errors, misunderstandings, and mistranslations are an integral part of the task of translation. The slip that occurs on the extant pages of "Dukus Horant" illustrates the inevitable slippage entailed in translation in general, and in Yiddish translation in particular. In neglecting to replace the German *Kirche* with the derogatory Hebrew-component *tifle*—a mere four lines after having in fact done just such a replacement—the Yiddish scribe offers a striking illustration of the hazards entailed in Yiddish translation, and in intercultural exchange more generally. Far from the negligible transliteration that it has often been understood to be, "Dukus Horant" in fact offers a Jewish translation in its most pristine form—a loaded encounter between three deeply asymmetrical but also closely entangled tongues, and between the conflicting expectations of readers, both early modern and modern. Under the weight of these tensions, "Dukus Horant" momentarily collapses, leaving us with a seemingly inexplicable duality, which has for too long been dismissed as a technical slip. It is this duality that perhaps most strikingly reflects the precariousness of translation in general, and of Yiddish translation in particular. As we shall see in Chapter 3, Yiddish translations often incorporated, at one and the same time, elements of submission and subversion, domestication and foreignization, polemic and dialogue.

In the centuries following the creation of "Dukus Horant," Yiddish literature would continue to draw heavily on translations of both foreign (Christian) and domestic (Hebrew) works. There were several reasons for this. First, as a relatively new literature, tending to the needs of the largest Jew-

ish readership of its time, Yiddish publishers and authors in the age of print were eager to expand the corpus of Yiddish books by offering translations of tried and tested works, which could be quickly absorbed into the rapidly developing library.[80] In addition, the Jewish cultural elite regarded Yiddish translations of Hebrew texts as didactic tools, mechanisms of instruction and mediation designed to bring sacred Hebrew knowledge to the Jewish masses, both men and women, who were unable to read in the Holy Tongue. Drawing heavily on these two separate libraries—the foreign and the domestic—Yiddish literature thus came to occupy a unique, often uneasy position between Christian and Jewish, old and new, high and low, women and men.

The precariousness of Yiddish literature was compounded by the fact that in stark contrast to Hebrew works—which, as noted above, targeted a narrow, elite readership—Yiddish literature cut across social, class, gender, and generational boundaries, addressing the entirety of Ashkenazi Jewish readers throughout (and beyond) early modern Europe. The popularization of knowledge facilitated by the rise of Yiddish literature in early modern Ashkenaz was met with attempts to assign Yiddish literature to a specific position on the margins of the Jewish literary realm.[81] Paradoxically, it was this very marginalization of Yiddish literature that allowed it to become a fertile environment for new forms of writing and for experimentation with new genres, texts, and ideas. Thus, while science and philosophy, as we have seen, were the dominant genres of Hebrew translation from the Middle Ages and into the early modern era, works of poetry, prose, epic, and drama account for the vast majority of all Yiddish translations of foreign works produced between 1500 and 1800 in the sample.

As we have seen, reliance on German rhymed prose is already evident in some of the earliest extant Yiddish works. Over the following centuries, the Old Yiddish library was to be further enriched with chapbooks, epics, and romances, translated primarily from German and Dutch. Some of these works enjoyed wide appeal, appearing in several editions and adaptations. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Yiddish readers seem to have been particularly fond of chivalric epics and romances. A notable example is offered by Elye Bokher's *Bovo d'Antona*, which was based on the Italian chivalric poem of the same name. Writing in Yiddish, Bokher aimed for a much wider Jewish readership than any Italian Hebrew author of his time could ever have imagined reaching. And indeed, the book was an immense success. Claudia Rosenzweig counts no fewer than twenty-nine adaptations and retellings of the book that appeared from the seventeenth century into the twentieth

century, initially in central Europe and, as of the beginning of the nineteenth century, in eastern Europe.[82] That Bokher himself aimed for this kind of international reception is evidenced by the glossary of Italianisms that he appended to his work, which would have made the book more accessible to readers outside of Italy.[83]

Another chivalric epic that seems to have enticed Yiddish readers was Wirnt von Grafenberg's Arthurian romance, *Wigalois*, of which at least four distinct Yiddish translations appeared between 1500 and 1780.[84] Also popular were translations of German and Dutch chapbooks, such as *Die sieben weisen Meister* (The seven wise masters), which appeared in no fewer than ten separate translations during the period,[85] or *Eulenspiegel*, which appeared in at least five translations.[86] Little is known about the translators of these works, who remained (with a few important exceptions) anonymous.

Hebrew or Hebrew-Aramaic belles lettres also offered an important reservoir of sources for Yiddish translation. Such translations often appeared in anthologies and seem to have enjoyed greater prestige than translations of foreign works; the translators of these works tended to openly acknowledge their sources, and often identified themselves by name. In several cases, they made a point of criticizing the library of translations of foreign works. And yet, the two competing libraries of translation—the domestic and the foreign—did not truly exist in isolation from one another. An evocative example is offered by the Yiddish book of fables known as the *Kue bukh* (Book of cows, 1596) and its readaptation, the *Sefer mesholim* (Book of fables, 1697). As Erika Timm and Eli Katz have demonstrated, this work combined tales derived from the medieval Hebrew works *Mishley shu'alim* (Fox fables) and *Meshal ha-kadmoni* (Fable of the ancient) with fables translated from the German author Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein*.[87] Like numerous other Jewish translators of his time, the translator chose not to reference his German source but only his supposedly domestic ones. I say "supposedly domestic" because, of course, like so many other Jewish works that were perceived as being entirely kosher, *Mishley shu'alim* also drew on unacknowledged foreign sources.[88] At the other end of the literary spectrum, Yiddish translations of distinctly foreign works often also incorporated themes, stories, or entire texts derived or translated from Hebrew.[89] Clearly then, the distinction between "domestic" and "foreign" Old Yiddish works was never as clear-cut as may initially appear.

In contrast to the library of Hebrew translations, Old Yiddish literature, as a usual suspect for intercultural transfer, has been extensively researched

for translations. Modern scholars such as Arnold Paucker, Sarah Zfatman, Erika Timm, Ruth von Bernuth, Jerold C. Frakes, and others have shown how the creators of Old Yiddish belles lettres employed the literatures of their surrounding environments in imaginative and often subversive ways.[90] But Yiddish was more than a literary language; throughout the early modern period, foreign works also played a role in the formation of other genres of Yiddish writing. An important example is offered in the field of religious writing. Of course, Hebrew provided the first and most important source library for the translation of religious works into Yiddish. Bible translations, in particular, played a central role in the development of the Old Yiddish library.[91] And yet, while most religious works were translated from Hebrew, some Yiddish translators drew on religious works in German, Dutch, and other European languages. Prominent examples include the first complete Yiddish Bible translations, which appeared in Amsterdam during the 1670s, and which, as Marion Aptroot has shown, relied in part on the Dutch *Statenvertaling* (State's Bible, 1637) and on Luther's German Bible.[92] Ironically, one of these Yiddish translations was translated back into German, to serve as an example of a "Jewish Bible" in the 1710 *Biblia Pentapla*, which featured competing translations of the Bible.[93] Other examples include the translation of various apocryphal books from non-Jewish languages into Yiddish.[94] Even more surprising is the occasional translation of Christian prayers, hymns, and blessings into Yiddish. Thus, Rebekka Voß has recently shown that the early-eighteenth-century authors of Yiddish musar books, Henle Kirchhan and Aharon Hergershausen, had no qualms about adapting church music and translating Protestant prayers into Yiddish, with only slight modifications. As Voß explains, these prayers—which touched upon such daily matters as pregnancy, travel, and sickness—were viewed by their Yiddish translators as reflecting "common religious concerns shared by both Jews and Christians." Consequently, Yiddish authors seem to have viewed these prayers as "kosher," and "did not regard it as problematic that [they] were originally written exclusively for a Christian audience."[95] The phenomenon seems to have been widespread in Yiddish. Thus, the early-seventeenth-century manuscript collection of Yiddish works known as the Wallich manuscript features several near-transliterations of Christian hymns from German to Hebrew.[96] Another example is offered by an anonymous Yiddish liturgical manuscript from the seventeenth century, which features a translation of one of the first Protestant morning hymns, as recently discovered by Roni Cohen.[97]

Scientific works also caught the attention of Yiddish translators, as Magdaléna Jánošíková and I have discussed in detail elsewhere.[98] Of course, Yiddish translators could not compete with their Hebrew peers, who drew on the rich medieval tradition of the translation of works of science and philosophy. Still, just as vernacular science developed in Europe throughout the early modern period, so too did scientific texts begin to draw increased attention from Yiddish translators.

Ladino

While Yiddish and Hebrew constituted the two main domains of Jewish translation during the early modern period, translations targeting a Jewish readership also appeared in other languages. Particularly significant is the Ladino library of translation. Judeo-Spanish literature began to develop around the beginning of the sixteenth century, as ex-conversos with little to no knowledge of Hebrew began to settle in the Ottoman Empire. The emergence of this class of newly observant Jews created a need for the translation of religious works from Hebrew into the developing Jewish vernacular. Early Ladino translations consisted primarily of literary translations of select biblical books, liturgies, ethical texts, and halakhic works (e.g., Meir Benveniste's abridged translation of *Shulḥan arukh*, 1568; Tsadik ben Yosef Formon's translation of *Ḥovot ha-levavot*, 1569).

After a long pause in the seventeenth century, often attributed to the economic crisis in the Ottoman empire and the decline of converso immigration, Ladino translational activity resumed in the eighteenth century. The best-known work from this period of Ladino literature is Ya'akov Kuli's *Me'am lo'ez*, the first volume of which appeared in Istanbul in 1730. *Me'am lo'ez* aimed to make the very best of rabbinic literature accessible to readers who were unable to grapple with Hebrew or Aramaic works. Kuli's encyclopedic endeavor was complemented by the translational activity of the prolific Avraham Asa, who, from 1728 to 1762, produced a litany of translations of various Hebrew liturgical, halakhic, ethical, and belletristic works.[99]

Ladino translations of works from European vernaculars flowered in the second half of the nineteenth century, but initial research suggests that such translations already existed even in earlier stages of Ladino literature.[100] The scope of this corpus of translations is the focus of ongoing research, but the JEWTACT database already includes twenty-seven translations of works from Latin script into Ladino. Ten of these are translations or near-

transliterations of Avraham Usque's translation of the Bible into Spanish, and the remainder are translations of the works of non-Jewish authors. While modest in size, this small corpus is characterized by surprising diversity. As to be expected, it primarily encompasses translations of works from Spanish (twenty translations[101]), but it also includes translations from Italian (three translations[102]), French (two translations[103]), Latin (one translation[104]), and Arabic (one translation[105]).

The variety of genres is also impressive; the greater part of the corpus is made up of translations of the Bible and literary works, but other genres are also represented. These include a seventeenth-century translation of Gabriele Fonseca's Latin tract, *Medici Oeconomia* (Medical economy, 1586); two translations of royal privileges granted to the Jews of France, Sicily, and Naples;[106] and an early (c. 1457–1477) Hebrew transcription of Alonso de la Torre's *Visión delectable de la filosofía y artes liberales, metafísica y filosofía moral* (The delectable vision of philosophy, the liberal arts, metaphysics, and moral philosophy, c. 1410).[107] Such translations and transliterations call for a rethinking of the traditional narrative of the history of Ladino literature prior to the second half of the nineteenth century as almost exclusively religious.[108] Indeed, the existence of this small library of "secular" translations of non-Jewish works provides a more coherent narrative of the development of Ladino literature. Viewed against the context of these earlier trends, the intense interest in translation that characterized Ladino authors in the second half of the nineteenth century becomes less a radical break with tradition and more a maturation of earlier trends.

Early Ladino translations also suggest an awareness among Ottoman Jews of corresponding interests among Jews to the west (as well as, perhaps, among non-Jews within the Ottoman Empire). That such an awareness existed is supported by the surprisingly consistent choices made by Ladino, Hebrew, and even Yiddish translators. Thus, for instance, the same royal privilege granted by Charles III of Spain to the Jews of Sicily and Naples that was translated into Ladino in 1740, was translated into Yiddish the same year by the prolific translator Yosef ben Ya'akov Maarssen of Amsterdam.[109] That a shared interest in translation also existed between Hebrew and Ladino translators is somewhat less surprising, given the close contacts between Ottoman and Italian Jews, as well as between the Ottoman Empire and the Italian-speaking realm more generally. Thus, the sixteenth century saw the production of two manuscript translations of Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516)—the first, an anonymous Ladino translation; the second, a

Hebrew translation by a young Leon Modena (c. 1583).[110] Later, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the works of Pietro Metastasio captured the attention of several Hebrew translators, including Samuel Romanelli, SHaDaL, Ephraim Luzzatto, and David Franco Mendes, as well as that of the Ladino author and translator David ben Moshe Atias, whose *La Guerta de Oro* (The golden flower garden, 1778) included fragments of Metastasio's *Isacco figura del redentore* (Isaac, a messianic figure, 1698).[111]

Judeo-Italian

A small library of translations into Judeo-Italian also emerged during the early modern period. Like Yiddish and Ladino translations, early Judeo-Italian translations focused on the Bible and on liturgical texts and were characterized by a literal approach. The late sixteenth century saw the rise of more literary techniques, as demonstrated by the Bible translations and glossaries of Leon Modena (*Galuth Yehudah*, 1612), Yedidya Recanati ("Sefer turgeman," c. 1596), and Hezekiah Rieti (*Mishlei Shlomo*, 1617). Intriguingly, as Alessandro Guetta has shown, the latter two works relied heavily on the first Italian translation of the Bible, produced in 1532 by the Florentine humanist Antonio Brucioli.[112] They are joined by two other Judeo-Italian translations (in one case a near-transliteration) of selections of Brucioli's Bible, which remain in manuscript.[113] None of these translators acknowledged their debt to the Italian source. This phenomenon bears a striking resemblance to the slightly later wave of Yiddish Bible translations, which appeared in seventeenth-century Amsterdam and which, as discussed above, were based in part on Dutch and German translations of the Bible.

There is scattered evidence to suggest that these early Judeo-Italian translators were not alone. Already in the fourteenth century an anonymous scribe created a transcription of four passages from Dante's *Divine Comedy*.[114] Later, in the sixteenth century, there appeared a transcription of select passages from Cecco d'Ascoli's *Acerba*.[115] To this we may add several fragmentary translations (or rather transcriptions) from Italian that appeared in Judeo-Italian (and Hebrew) sermons written around the mid-seventeenth century, recently discovered by Ahuvia Goren.[116] Whether the existence of these translations reflects a wider Judeo-Italian interest in intercultural translation is a question that has yet to be addressed in the research.

The Languages of Jewish Translation: Source Languages

Given the particular literary norms of the early modern period, it is often difficult to identify with certainty the specific language on which an individual translator may have drawn. At times, a translator will have had recourse to his source only through a mediating text. Yiddish translators in Amsterdam, for instance, often relied on mediating texts in Dutch for their translations of works from Spanish, French, Italian, and even German and Hebrew.[117] Works in Latin were also often translated via a mediating text: either via German, in the case of translations into Yiddish, or Italian, for Hebrew translations.[118] Other times, Latin also served as a mediating language, particularly for the translation of works from Greek.[119] In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, maskilic translations of French or English works—such as Edward Young's *Night Thoughts*, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, or Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*—often relied on mediating texts in German.[120] As unforthcoming as Jewish translators often were in acknowledging their sources, the acknowledgment of such mediating texts was even rarer.[121]

Sometimes an author will claim to have translated from one language when in fact he seems to have relied on another. Thus, for instance, in his famous *Shevet Yehudah* (Scepter of Yehudah, 1554) the Sephardi historian, Shlomo Ibn Verga (1460–1554) drew on multiple sources, of which he translated select passages—often word for word—that he then incorporated into his book. In at least one of these cases, Ibn Verga claimed to have translated from Latin (*ne'etak mi-leshon Latin le-leshon ha-kodesh*) when in fact he was drawing on a Spanish source.[122] Another sixteenth-century author, one Moshe Botarel, published in 1561 a book titled *Eyn mishpat*, which he also claimed to have translated from Latin. As I demonstrate in Chapter 2 below, however, the translation was, in fact, based on a French text. It could be that for early modern Hebrew authors, the term "Latin" served as a general placeholder for Romance languages or Latin script. If this is indeed the case, it would be part of a wider phenomenon of Jewish translators who generally only identify the language of their source as non-Jewish, utilizing such terms as *galkhes*[123] (Latin script, from the Hebrew *galaḥ*—lit. shaved, denoting the tonsures of some monastic and clerical orders), *kristn shprakh*[124] (Christian language), *leshon goyim*[125] (language of the gentiles), or even *leshonam shel akum*[126] (the tongues of idolators).

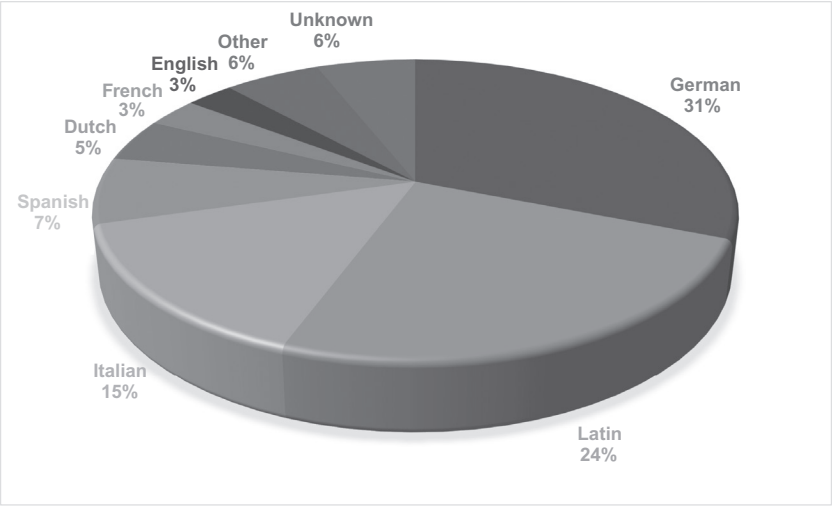

Figure 5. Source Languages, 1500–1800.
Based on a sample of 451 sources that were translated from European into Jewish languages between 1500 and 1800. Where mediating texts are known to have been used, the source language is shown as that of the mediating text.

Still, based on those translations whose source texts may be identified with reasonable certainty, it is possible to make some informed observations about the kinds of scholarly and intellectual networks in which early modern Jews participated (Figure 5).

Source Languages for Hebrew Translations

Unsurprisingly, the most popular source language for Hebrew translations in early modern Europe was Latin (Figure 6). In choosing to translate Latin texts, early modern Hebrew translators were continuing a late-medieval tradition. As discussed above, throughout the Middle Ages Jews in southern Europe had focused primarily on the translation of works from Arabic into Hebrew. As Zonta, Alexander Fidora, Yossef Schwartz, and others have shown, however, Latin literature also played a role in the formation of the medieval Hebrew library, gradually increasing in importance until it became the dominant source library for Hebrew translations in the fifteenth century.[127] The trend continued in the early modern period. Of 268 Hebrew

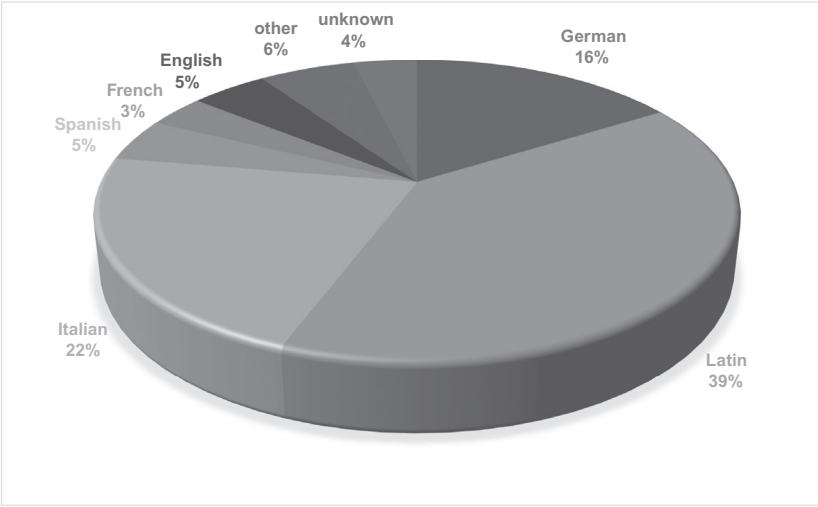

Figure 6. Source Languages for Hebrew Translations, 1500–1800.
Based on a sample of 268 sources that were translated from European languages into Hebrew between 1500 and 1800. Where mediating texts are known to have been used, the source language is shown as that of the mediating text.

translations produced between 1500 and 1800 whose source language is known to us, 39 percent were translated from Latin. Of course, the predominance of Latin as a source language changed as a function of genre, space, and, most importantly—time, decreasing significantly to 26 percent in the eighteenth century (of which the majority are translations of magical recipes or grimoires[128]). This decline corresponds with the decline of Latin as a literary language and is also attested by the decline in the number of vernacular-to-Latin translations, which began, as Burke has shown, in the mid-seventeenth century.[129]

As Latin decreased in importance as a source language for Jewish translation, the significance of German increased, accounting for 29 percent of all Hebrew translations produced between 1700 and 1800 that are featured in the database. As we have seen, works in other languages were often mediated through German. The prominence of German would continue to increase in the first decades of the nineteenth century, accounting for 66 percent of all Hebrew translations in the sample that were produced between 1800 and 1830.

Source Languages for Yiddish Translations

In contrast to the Hebrew library of scientific translations, which was dominated by Latin source texts, Latin translations into Yiddish were rare; where they existed at all, they were most often mediated by German translations.[130] But there are some exceptions to the rule, and the most outstanding among these is the anonymous Yiddish healthcare manual *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim* (The path of the tree of life). Published in 1613, probably in eastern Europe, the book constitutes a Yiddish translation of parts of two sixteenth-century Latin texts: *De Conservanda Bona Valetudine* (The preservation of good health, 1557), by Johannes Curio (d. 1561), the town physician and professor of medicine at Erfurt;[131] and a commentary on the *Materia Medica* of Dioscorides titled *De Epitome Plantis Utilissima* (1544/1586) by Pietro Andrea Mattioli (d. 1577), an Italian medical doctor, naturalist, and humanist.[132] Another Yiddish translation that may have relied on a Latin source is the anonymous translation of the apocryphal narrative of *Susanna* (from the Book of Daniel), which appeared under the title *Ma'ase gadol ve-nora* (A great and awesome tale). While the book's precise source has yet to be identified, the anonymous translator claimed to have translated the book from Latin.[133] Other Yiddish translators seem to have had some command of Latin, even when relying on German sources, as indicated by the occasional appearance of Latin terms (in either Latin or Hebrew script) in a handful of Yiddish works.[134]

Interesting as these expressions of Latin-to-Yiddish transfer may be, however, the overwhelming majority of Yiddish translations drew on more expected source languages; 65 percent of all Yiddish translations in the database, which appeared between 1500 and 1800, were translations of German works, and 14 percent were based on Dutch sources (Figure 7).

Of course, Yiddish literature's indebtedness to German was partly a result of the close linguistic proximity between these two languages, which made German a particularly appealing source library for Yiddish translators, who often merely transliterated entire works from German into Hebrew characters. But Yiddish translators' overwhelming reliance on German had to do not only with the linguistic but also with the functional proximity between the two languages.

An illustrative example is offered by the well-known seventeenth-century bibliographer, Shabbethai Meshorer Bass. In the landscape of early modern Jewish literature, Bass stands out as a particularly intriguing figure: he was

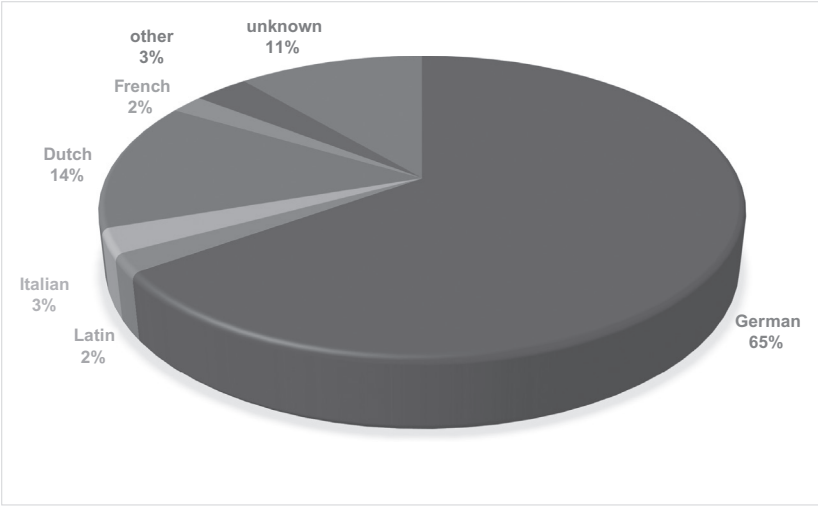

Figure 7. Source Languages for Yiddish Translations, 1500–1800. Based on a sample of 152 sources that were translated from European languages into Yiddish between 1500 and 1800. Where mediating texts are known to have been used, the source language is shown as that of the mediating text.

a pioneer of genres, being both the first modern Jewish bibliographer and the first author to produce a modern travel guide designed specifically for Jews. Bass is also one of the few Jewish translators who is known to have published translations in both Hebrew and Yiddish. And he produced both of these books, the Hebrew bibliography and the Yiddish travel guide, within the span of one year.

The first, and better-known, of these two translations is his monumental *Siftey yeshenim* (Lips of the sleeping, 1680), which, as Christian Wolf and Menaḥem Mendel Zlatkin have shown, drew heavily on previous bibliographies that had been produced in Latin.[135] Bass's second translation was an enigmatic travel guide, written in Yiddish and titled *Masekhet derekh erets* (Tractate on the ways of the world, 1680).[136] This latter book differed considerably from *Siftey yeshenim* in its language, content, target readership, and reception, and yet the two works were tied together by a shared secret: their unacknowledged usage of foreign sources. While Bass had used Latin works for his Hebrew *Siftey yeshenim*, in his Yiddish *Masekhet derekh erets* he turned not to the Latin library but to the German one; the greater part of the book

was a translation of the popular German travel guide *Memorabilia Europae* (1678) by Eberhard Rudolph Roth (1646–1715), a professor of philosophy at Ulm.[137] This difference between Bass's choices as a Hebrew translator and his choices as a Yiddish one reflects the different roles that Hebrew and Yiddish played within the Ashkenazi literary realm of the period and suggests that Jewish authors understood the difference between the two Jewish tongues as being parallel to that between Latin and German.

Criteria for Source Selection

In the early eighteenth century, the Italian rabbi and physician Shabbethai Marini (c. 1690–1747) took it upon himself to translate the first three books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* into Hebrew. The translation, which remained in manuscript form, was accompanied by an apologetic preface in which Marini addressed the question that, as we shall see in Chapter 2 below, overshadowed the entire project of Jewish translation in early modern Europe. "Dear reader," he wrote, "in innocence I shall inform you, what possessed me to utter in this poem the words of the pagans."[138] The answer was that the poem provided an excellent example of poetic writing, which could be used as a model by Hebrew authors.

Marini was not the first author to contemplate the appropriateness of perpetuating and disseminating Ovid's work. Already in antiquity, the *Metamorphoses* elicited both admiration and admonition. In Christian Europe, Ovid was often treated with wariness, largely in light of the pagan nature of his work, but this did little to diminish his appeal.[139] The Universal Short Title Catalogue (USTC) currently lists more than five hundred print editions of the work (or parts thereof) that appeared in Europe between the invention of printing and the mid-seventeenth century, in Latin, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, English, German, Greek, and Catalan.[140] Another recent survey counts no fewer than 152 editions of the *Metamorphoses* published in the Low Countries alone in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[141] It was likely at least in part this broad appeal that made the *Metamorphoses* both attractive and available as a source for Hebrew translation, and that prompted Marini to translate it notwithstanding its controversial nature.

Indeed, one of the foremost reasons for selecting a specific text for translation into Jewish languages was its popularity outside the Jewish literary

realm. This holds particularly true with respect to Yiddish translations, where economic interests played an important role in the selection of sources for translation. Although one may take issue with Paucker's assertion that "it is hard to discern any ethical motives in [the] choices [of Yiddish translators],"[142] it is true that the creators of Yiddish books were quick to identify potential best sellers, and to translate them, at times in multiple versions and editions. Modern classics such as the *One Thousand and One Nights* (1704–1717) or *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) appeared in Yiddish long before their appearance in Hebrew.[143] Other beloved German and Dutch works, such as the comic chapbook *Eulenspiegel* (1510), the medieval Arthurian epic *Wigalois*, and the international story cycle known as the *Seven Wise Masters* (*Die sieben weisen Meister*, 1473), were translated time and again throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.[144]

But it was not merely a work's popularity among European readers that determined whether or not it would be translated into Yiddish. Source selection was inspired by numerous other considerations as well, which may or may not be available to us today. In his study of the translation of early Yiddish epics, Jerold Frakes, has convincingly shown that translators tended to prefer works that "were provided with questionable anti-wiving practices, 'husbanding' quests substituted for wiving quests, and . . . the insistent and recurring role, for instance, of socially transformative singing as a mode of wiving."[145] For his part, Paucker identifies "at least some discrimination in favour of 'virtue rewarded' as against the 'martial deeds.'"[146]

In selecting sources for Hebrew translations, on the other hand, a more significant role was assigned to considerations of cultural and literary prestige. This holds particularly true for maskilic translations in the decades surrounding the end of the eighteenth century. As Zohar Shavit notes, "once certain writers were marked as writers of the Enlightenment, they became an object for translation into Hebrew"[147] and were translated time and again by maskilic translators. Salomon Gessner's idylls and poems, for instance, which received praise from such Enlightenment authors as Rousseau and Diderot and enjoyed immense popularity among European readers during the second half of the eighteenth century, were translated into Hebrew more than a dozen times between 1775 and 1830.[148] The works of Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818), a central figure of the German *Aufklärung* and a disciple of Rousseau, were also translated a dozen times into Hebrew and Yiddish.[149] The celebrated Italian poet and librettist, Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), was another favorite, whose works were translated at least ten times

into Hebrew[150] and once into Ladino,[151] and the famed German novelist and poet Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's (1715–1769) rhymed fables were translated at least six times by four different translators.[152]

Scientific prestige was also a consideration. The works of the Wittenberg physician Daniel Sennert, for instance, were a relatively popular choice for Jewish translators around the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As noted above, fragments from his *Practicae Medicinae* were translated in Tuviah ha-Kohen's *Ma'ase Tuviah*, Zahalon's *Otsar ha-ḥayim*, and Lampronti's *Paḥad Yitshak*. Also popular among Hebrew translators was the Catholic priest and theologian Christiaan van Adrichem's (1533–1585) *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae* (Theater of the Holy Land, 1590), parts of which were adapted by no fewer than four Hebrew authors in both central and eastern Europe between 1621 and 1781.[153] In selecting these works, Hebrew translators were complying with the taste of their non-Jewish contemporaries. Sennert's works in particular were extremely influential in early modern Europe. His medical tracts (or parts thereof) were translated into English, German, Dutch, and Arabic,[154] and his works appeared in at least 186 Latin editions between 1594 and 1650.[155]

Alongside popularity and prestige, availability would also have been an important (and closely connected) consideration among Jewish translators. While in comparison to the Middle Ages, the rise of print had immeasurably simplified the acquisition of books, for most Jewish readers, books—especially the prestigious kinds of books that were preferred by Hebrew translators—remained a luxury. Readers often had to rely on the collections of acquaintances or, at times, university libraries.[156] As late as 1798, the Galician maskil Yehudah Leib Ben Ze'ev (1764–1811) related how he had for years been hoping to translate the apocryphal book of Ben Sira into Hebrew, but was unable to obtain a good source text. Finally, he managed to locate a copy of Brian Walton's magisterial *Biblia sacra polyglotta* (1653) in the libraries of two Christian clerics, who allowed him to peruse the work, thus paving the way for the appearance of the first printed Hebrew translation of the book.[157]

At times (but not always!), religious considerations seem to have played a role in the selection of sources for translation. While translations of the works of more controversial authors such as Voltaire or Buffon did exist (some of them produced by distinctly rabbinical translators),[158] many Jewish translators tended to rely on texts written by authors with whom they shared a strictly conservative world view. The works of Catholic theologians, Jesuits, Pietists, and other distinctly Christian authors were a popular choice among

Hebrew and Yiddish translators, who often dressed their religious musings in Jewish garb to deliver what might then, upon a superficial reading, be viewed as devout *Jewish* works.[159] Augustine of Hippo's *City of God* (c. 430), for instance, was translated into Hebrew at least twice during the sixteenth century;[160] the works of Thomas Aquinas were translated no less than ten times, by three different translators, namely Itsḥak Abravanel (1437–1508), Eli ben Yosef Habillo (fifteenth century), and, as Goren has discovered, Ya'akov Zahalon.[161]

This preference for the works of devout Christian authors is particularly conspicuous in the field of scientific translations. An interesting example is afforded by an enigmatic but prolific translator by the name of Meir ben Yehudah Neumark.[162] Like other Hebrew translators of his time, Neumark did not identify his source text in the translation, but he did point out that the book was: "translated from the works of the . . . Sages of the Nations." The manuscript was bound with a cover page, in which a different hand identified it as a translation from Latin.[163] It turns out that Neumark's manuscript was, at least in part, a translation of several chapters of the Jesuit author Pierre Gautruche's (1602–1681) textbook, *Philosophiae ac mathematicae totius clara, brevis, et accurate institutio* (The Clear, Brief, and Precise Instruction of all Philosophy and Mathematics, 1653).

In handling his source text, Neumark provided a meticulous translation. He even went so far as to include rough sketches of the illustrations that appeared in Gautruche's source.[164] Within the body of the text, Neumark offered a form of Jesuit science in Jewish garb. Thus, for instance, he used his Jesuit source text to combat heliocentrism, explaining first that "Scopernicus [*sic*] and his scholarship suggest that the sun and the firmaments do not have any motion, but stand at the center of the world, [but] the earth, which is enclosed in the center of the lunar cycle, circles the world's core, which is the sun,"[165] but then going on to object that "the truth is that the planet of earth and water is the center of the world, and its center is the core of . . . gravitation which holds her [= the earth] from moving for all of eternity . . . and this is by design of the *shekhinah* in perfect harmony with all that is proper and reasonable."[166]

Neumark's translation of the astronomical textbook of this French Jesuit seems to reflect a wider phenomenon among Jewish translators of the early eighteenth century, whose contours have been charted by such historians as Bonfil, Ruderman, Gianfranco Miletto, and Josef Sermoneta.[167] According to Miletto, "the Catholic church and the rabbis had two common

goals: to safeguard their respective traditions, and to adapt them to a modern cultural context. The rabbis often adopted culturally Catholic models, adjusting them to their needs and for a Jewish milieu."[168] More recently, in his study of Italian Jewish responses to the Scientific Revolution, Ahuvia Goren reveals that Neumark's contemporary Tuviah ha-Kohen used Jesuit scientific works to justify his continued adherence to the geocentric model. While Tuviah's rejection of Copernicus has often been presented as the product of obstinance or even deception, Goren shows that in combating heliocentrism, Tuviah relied primarily on the well-known *Almagestum novum* (New almagest, 1651) by the famed Jesuit astronomer, Giovanni Battista Riccioli.[169] In a similar vein, but slightly different context, Maoz Kahana has recently demonstrated the conceptual, ideological, and even social affinities between the great rabbinical thinker Yonatan Eibeschütz (1690–1764) and Jesuit thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[170] According to Kahana, Eibeschütz identified "a shared religious interest between the Jewish people and the Jesuit scholars [namely] the common struggle to preserve the tenets of . . . religion: divine creation, providence, the eternity of the soul, and the existence of God."[171]

Such recourse to translation in order to strengthen tradition was characteristic also of later authors, and even appeared in the pages of the maskilic journal *Ha-me'asef*. In the 1810 issue, for instance, an obscure maskil by the name of Wolff BR"Y of Dessau published a Hebrew translation of the poem "An die Weisheit" (On wisdom) by the Austrian Jesuit Aloys Blumauer (1755–1798). In a short preface to the poem, the translator explained that he had translated the poem, in part, because of its scathing attack on the Greeks.[172] He went on to repeat Blumauer's blistering ridicule of "the Sophists of the land of Greece/who with wisdom claimed to be aligned/but their art was naught but trickery/where you [God] enlighten, they would merely blind."[173]

Agents of Jewish Translation

Unsurprisingly, learned Jewish physicians, such as Ya'akov Zahalon, Tuviah ha-Kohen, and Judah Leib Wallich (d. 1735), played a significant role in constructing the library of Jewish translations.[174] These physicians were in a privileged position to import works into the Jewish library, owing to their command of Latin—a prerequisite for medical training in early modern

Europe—as well as the legitimacy that the pursuit of medicine had enjoyed within the Jewish cultural realm at least since the Middle Ages. In translating medical or other scientific works from Latin into Hebrew, these physicians perpetuated the tradition forged by medieval rabbi-physicians, most famously Maimonides, who had no qualms about combining religious and secular learning and importing whatever cultural and scientific goods they deemed useful from well beyond the Jewish literary realm.

These Jewish physicians were joined, toward the late eighteenth century, by a new cohort of translators, members of the early Haskalah. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, translation into Jewish languages became much more prolific and more centralized. In part, this development had to do with the rise of maskilic journals and anthologies, which allowed for the publication of a large number of translations within a relatively short period of time. Other reasons for the increased interest in translation among the maskilim are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Converts were also in a particularly advantageous position to produce translations.[175] Converts to Judaism, like Moshe ben Avraham (c. 1711) or Avraham ben Ya'akov (c. 1669–1730), brought with them the kind of cultural capital—including a knowledge of languages and literatures—that authors born into Judaism often lacked. In much the same way, thanks to their familiarity with Jewish languages and literary norms, converts from Judaism to Christianity, such as Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580), Paul Helicz (c. 1540), and Heinrich Immanuel Frommann (?–1735), became conduits for the dissemination of Christian and missionary works in Hebrew and Yiddish translation.[176] These translators were joined by Hebraists and missionaries who contributed Hebrew and Yiddish translations of their own.[177]

Book printers were also active agents of Jewish, and particularly Yiddish, translations, which were considered financially lucrative. The phenomenon seems to have been particularly prevalent in Amsterdam, which was a center of early modern book production and trade.[178] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Amsterdam-based printers such as Ya'akov Maarssen and his son Yosef (d. 1754), or Shabbethai Bass, produced a wide range of Yiddish and, to a lesser extent, Hebrew translations.[179] Other publishers, such as Uri Phoebus (1623–1715), Yosef Athias (1634–1700), and Samuel Helicz (sixteenth century) commissioned their translations from semiprofessional translators, the majority of whom were to remain forever anonymous.[180] It is to such anonymous translators that we owe the majority of Old Yiddish

translations. In fact, out of 152 Yiddish translations that appear in the JEWTACT database and were produced between 1500 and 1800, no fewer than 104 (68 percent) were created by unknown translators.[181]

Sarah Zfatman contrasts the prevalence of anonymous translations of foreign works with the tendency found among Yiddish translators of domestic, that is Hebrew, books to sign their names to their translations. According to Zfatman, "the preoccupation with this kind of literature was not thought of highly, and the authors were thus reluctant to sign their names on their works."[182] This may well be true; however, it bears mention that anonymity was by no means unique to early modern Yiddish literature. As Marcy North has observed, to understand early modern notions of authorship we must think of "a world in which the author's name was not yet a standard feature on the title page and in which class expectations, dangerous political controversies, and even literary fashions gave many writers good reason to circulate their texts anonymously."[183]

Occasionally translations were commissioned not by a publisher but rather by a patron or even an individual client. A few examples are available from the eighteenth century. Neumark produced his translation of Gautruche's *Mathematicae totius*, as well as several other translations of Latin and German works, at the behest of the renowned bibliophile and chief rabbi of Prague, David Oppenheim. Around the same time, in Amsterdam, a midwife by the name of Rachel Salomons commissioned a translation of a Dutch treatise titled *Korte en Bondige Verhandeling van de Voortteeling en 't Kinderbaren* (A short and concise treatise on reproduction and childbirth), originally published in 1680.[184] Towards the end of the century, the Vilna Gaon is rumored to have urged his disciples to translate non-Jewish works—a request which may have been the driving force behind the translations produced by Rabbi Barukh Schick of Shklov and by the Gaon's son, Avraham ben Eliyahu of Vilna.[185]

The latter phenomenon, of rabbinical translators and supporters of translation, is particularly interesting. In recent years, a small corpus of studies has begun to focus attention on the interest of rabbinical thinkers in both Italy and Ashkenaz in the translation of works from foreign languages into Hebrew. As this growing corpus of studies reveals, throughout the early modern period, rabbis and rabbinical thinkers such as Ya'akov Zahalon, Itsḥak Lampronti, Leon Modena, Shlomo of Chelm, Avraham ben Eliyahu, and Moshe ben Yosef Heida took an active interest in the translation of non-Jewish works in such fields as medicine, science, philosophy, and theology.[186]

The fact that these early modern rabbinic thinkers joined the authors of Yiddish chapbooks and the emerging literary vanguards in Italy and central and eastern Europe to take an active part in the dissemination of non-Jewish texts prompts us to change the way we think about strict ontological classifications and religious, cultural, and social boundaries. Indeed, the scope of the early modern Jewish translational project was so vast and so varied that it necessarily challenges the conflation of modernity with secularism, which, though having come under some scrutiny in recent decades, is still reproduced in so much contemporary historiography and continues to hold a great deal of political valence today.

Translation and Jewish Women

The library of Jewish translation was, then, deeply heterogenous, with one glaring exception: to date, I have been unable to identify even a single translation produced by a Jewish woman.[187] Admittedly, Yiddish translations often appeared anonymously, and some may have been produced by women, but there is currently no evidence to support this. Indeed, of the hundreds of translations into Jewish languages known to us to have been produced during the early modern period, none can be proven to have been produced by, or (with one exception, discussed below) even specifically *for*, women.

This radical exclusion of women from the project of early modern Jewish translation stands in direct contrast to the corresponding reality outside the Jewish literary realm. As Hilary Brown notes, "in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe, . . . more women became active as translators than at any previous time in history."[188] The increasing presence of Christian women translators during this period has traditionally been understood to correspond with the secondary status of translation as a literary activity. "Seen as marginal, feminine, and secondary," so the argument goes, "translation allowed women . . . to enter the literary sphere and to engage in conversations typically seen as beyond a woman's scope."[189] And yet, recent research by Brown and others has problematized the association of translation with femininity and with women's literary agency. As these studies show, in early modern Europe, translation was often viewed as an activity bearing profound literary, religious, and political significance. At times, even as an activity superior to original writing.[190]

The complete absence of early modern Jewish women translators seems to confirm this more recent approach. While this absence corresponds with the scarcity of Jewish women authors in the premodern period more generally, it also underscores the complex power dynamics that characterized the phenomenon of Jewish translation. As I discuss in the next chapter, for early modern Jews, translation meant more than merely importing foreign texts into the Jewish literary realm. Rather, it was a means of engaging in religious polemics, literary reclamation, and cultural gatekeeping. It was often performed by key members of the community, who viewed themselves as having taken on the hazardous mission of venturing into the foreign literary realm in order to prevent less learned readers from having to do so themselves. Such an understanding of translation, as an activity requiring immense responsibility, learning, and religious stability, coupled with the virtual exclusion of Jewish women from the literary and religious elite more generally, made Jewish men's monopoly over translation almost inevitable.

This is not to say, however, that translation had no impact, or even that it had little impact, on early modern Jewish women. The emergence of Yiddish literature in the late Middle Ages and its consolidation as a major literary language in the early modern period enabled Jewish women to participate in the literary world of their time, if not necessarily as authors, then certainly as readers.[191] Some scholars have gone so far as to suggest that women were the chief consumers of Yiddish translations of German works. Thus, the Yiddish scholar Dovid Katz argues that "it is common sense that Ashkenazic women were in fact the 'first and foremost readers' of *Dukus Horant*, *Hildebrant*, *Ditrikh of Bern* . . . and others."[192] Katz views the appearance of these German-to-Yiddish translations as having "empowered the women of Ashkenaz [who] became more sophisticated and 'European' . . . in terms of familiarity with chatter of the wider gentile world than some of their most learned menfolk."[193]

Assumptions about translation and reception based on scholarly intuition, or "common sense," can only take us so far, however. In fact, exposure to non-Jewish literature did not necessarily constitute a way of empowering or of "Europeanizing" the Jewish reader. Rather, translation was often viewed as a way of maintaining the gap between Jewish readers and foreign works. This gap was made even greater by the particular norms that characterized Yiddish translation, discussed in Chapter 3 below, and which encouraged the production of unacknowledged translations, the omission of references to non-Jewish authors or works, and the use of denigrating terms for Chris-

tian rituals and beliefs. In addition, as I have shown elsewhere, translation into Jewish languages could also have *negative* effects on women. The cultural bridge that connected early modern Christians and Jews was a conduit for conveying not only new discoveries and scientific developments but also new forms of gendered discrimination and sexual repression.[194]

As for the question of readership, it is true that some popular Yiddish translations (although by no means *all* of them) did target women or girls specifically on their title pages, either alongside men and boys or without them.[195] In addition, several didactic works in Old Yiddish offered indictments of women who consumed such translations.[196] However, studies have shown that gender was a symbolic category in early modern Yiddish texts, which often had more to do with social hierarchy and education than with biological sex.[197] As a result of this ambiguity, as Katz himself observes, the answer to the question of who exactly Old Yiddish literature was created for is "oblique, complex and never to be fully known."[198]

One eighteenth-century report by a Christian missionary communicates a conversation with a Jewish book trader who claimed that while Jewish men studied the Torah, women had only the Yiddish translations of *Eulenspiegel* and other fool's narratives to read.[199] This anecdote should, however, be taken with a grain of salt; firstly, most Jewish men did not, in fact, dedicate their lives to the study of the Torah, and they were thus just as likely to consume translations of German prose as women were. Secondly, Jewish women were capable of reading original or semi-original Yiddish works, as well as translations from Hebrew into Yiddish. Some of these works, such as the *Brantshpigl*, the *Mayse bukh*, or the *Tsene u-rene*, were virtual best sellers. Surviving Yiddish works by Jewish women often include stories taken from such works. But I know of no one story that appears in a work by an early modern Jewish woman and that draws directly on a translation of a foreign work.[200] In addition, I know of no translations into Yiddish (or other Jewish languages) of works designed specifically for women, such as Christian women's devotions, cookbooks, or household guides.[201]

There is one interesting recent finding that indicates a more direct engagement with translation by a Jewish woman. I refer here to a Yiddish translation (briefly mentioned above) of a Dutch treatise titled *Korte en Bondige Verhandeling van de Voortteeling en 't Kinderbaren* (A short and concise treatise on reproduction and childbirth, 1680) by Samuel Janson. The translation, recently discovered by Jordan Katz, was commissioned by a Dutch Jewish midwife by the name of Rachel Salomons of Amsterdam.

Rachel commissioned the translation in 1709 as part of her training to become a licensed midwife in Amsterdam.[202] Here we have, for the first time, unambiguous evidence of the way in which translation could potentially empower Jewish women. For this Jewish midwife, translation into Yiddish functioned as a means of overcoming the limits of her own literacy and forged a path towards professional advancement. Future research into the particularly gendered aspects of early modern Jewish translation may discover more such cases.

* * *

A granular view of the various corpora of Jewish translations in the early modern period reveals immense versatility. Translation connected authors from vastly different social strata, geographical areas, cultural groups, religious backgrounds, and ideologies. These diverse authors translated works from different periods, languages, and genres, into Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Italian. Some translations remained in manuscript form, targeting individual or narrow groups of readers; others were hugely popular and were read by men and women across space, time, and generation. Some translators drew on a rich tradition of Hebrew translation, while others were instrumental in creating an entirely new library of vernacular works in print. The polyphony of early modern translation is one of the main features that distinguishes the phenomenon from the earlier project of medieval Hebrew translation. The next chapter tries to make sense of this early modern passion for translation, focusing on the question of motivation: why were so many Jews, of such varied backgrounds, interested in translating works from European to Jewish tongues?

Chapter 2

Ploughing a Field to Which You Have No Claim

The Question of Motivation

Tell me poet, what have you done? . . .
Ploughing a field to which you have no claim
A slave to a master have you thus become
And no longer will *Ḥofshi* [free] be thy name

It is with these words, supposedly sent to him by a disgruntled reader, that the Dutch Jewish author David Ḥofshi Franco Mendes (1713–1792) chose to open his Hebrew translation of Pietro Metastasio's *Betulia liberata* (1745).[1] Mendes's imagined critic presents the act of translation as an act of self-enslavement, of complete and utter submission. He prods the translator to explain his motivations: whatever could inspire someone to take upon himself such servitude? In other words—why translate?

Why translate? The question reverberates in later works and has become, in a sense, one of the defining questions of contemporary translation studies. The realization—first systematically formulated by Hans J. Vermeer in 1978, and then further developed by Vermeer and Katharina Reiß—that translation may serve numerous cultural and literary purposes, of which a desire to deliver a faithful equivalent to the source is only one, not necessarily

the most important, proved groundbreaking.[2] While still firmly nestled within a prescriptive understanding of translation studies, Vermeer and Reiß's *Skopostheorie* (from the Greek σκοπός/*skopos*—aim) was conducive to the transition from a predominantly linguistic understanding of translation to a more cultural, social, and historical approach. At the risk of reductionism, it is tempting to characterize the transition that occurred in the field of translation studies in the late 1970s as a shift from the question of "*how* to translate" to "*why* translate at all?" "After all," as Anthony Pym argued in 2012, "if we know *why* we translate, then we can deduce *how* we should translate and perhaps even *what* we should translate in each situation."[3] The question of motivation is thus inextricably bound up with the question of method.

To the historian of Jewish translation, the question of motivation is particularly perplexing. Extra-Jewish knowledge has long been a contested issue among Jews, going back to antiquity. The talmudic sages already diverged on the question of whether or not a Jew is permitted to learn the Greek language and wisdom (*ḥokhmah Yevanit*), and the issue remained unresolved throughout later generations.[4] Some Jewish authors were concerned that the pursuit of non-Jewish knowledge constituted a diversion from the straight path of rabbinic studies and was liable to contaminate the minds of Jewish readers. Others viewed religious and secular knowledge as complementary, and permitted or even encouraged the study of extra-Jewish knowledge under certain conditions or at certain times.[5] Some fields of inquiry, such as medicine and astronomy, were less controversial, while others, such as philosophy, elicited heated debate; some were legitimized by a number of authors but opposed by others.

With the development of printing techniques in the early modern period, the concerns surrounding the legitimacy of non-Jewish knowledge intensified. As Jeremy Dauber notes, "the rise of printing allowed the spread of knowledge to . . . to occur far more easily. . . . This in turn spurred not only the democratization of knowledge, but concomitant elite fears about loss of social and moral control."[6] This growing unease left its mark on the Jewish corpus of translations that developed during the period.

One way of dealing with the tension surrounding non-Jewish literature was to simply obscure the fact that such literature had been used at all—a ubiquitous practice among both Hebrew and Yiddish translators, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3. Another way of dealing with the problem was not to *conceal*, but rather *legitimize*, the resort to non-Jewish texts and literary domains. The famous Jewish chronicler David Gans (1541–1613),

for instance, elected to open the second part of his historiographic masterpiece, *Tsemaḥ David* (1592), by observing that "many will open their mouths to scorn me, and will find fault in my endeavor for having [translated] from the works of authors who are not of the Children of Israel."[7] Having anticipated his critics, Gans proceeded to provide precedents for the use of non-Jewish wisdom by such authorities as Maimonides, Yosef Ha-Kohen, and Avraham Farissol.[8] This list of precedents would continue to appear with some regularity in the prefaces of Jewish translations, growing considerably over time. Following the publication of his book, Gans himself would become an important addition to the list.

Thus, in the introduction to his Yiddish historical work, *She'eris Yisroel* (1743), the Dutch author Menaḥem Mann Amelander (d. c. 1767) claimed that the greater part of the work was based on domestic sources such as Gans's *Tsemaḥ David*, Farissol's *Igeret orḥot olam* (Letter on the ways of the world, 1524), and the works of Menashe Ben Israel. However, he explained, in some cases these sources did not suffice, and he had to complete the missing information from "a few books of the nations that are known to be truthful [*varhaftige shraybers*], as Yosef Ben Gurion [the supposed author of the beloved *Sefer Yosipon*] had also done in his book."[9] Amelander did not settle for this precedent alone, further conjuring the authority of no less than the ancient Jewish sages to justify his use of foreign sources: "As our sages have said, 'anyone who speaks wisdom, even among the nations, is called a wise man' [*ḥakham*, BT Megillah 16a]. . . . [And] it is impossible to derive all knowledge from the books of Israel alone as they are few in the present time."[10] Amelander does not identify which "truthful authors" in particular were used in his book; however, later scholars have revealed that the book drew largely on a Dutch translation of the book *Histoire des Juifs* by the Huguenot author Jacques Basnage.[11] Significantly, in contrast to his treatment of his Hebrew sources, aside from a solitary reference deep within the body of the text, Amelander does not mention Basnage in his book.[12]

Amelander's obfuscation of his non-Jewish source reveals something of the translators' ambivalence toward their literary and cultural endeavor. On the one hand, Jewish translators worked tirelessly to expose their readers to foreign texts, which offered new ideas, discoveries, and ideologies. At the same time, they seem to have been eager to protect the reader from precisely these innovations, by camouflaging or concealing the foreign nature of their sources and by attempting to adapt their works to the norms, world views, and cultural realities of the target system. The manipulation of the source

text according to the needs of the target readership was the result not only of a desire to appease the Jewish reader but also of the translators' reluctance to introduce elements that were too distant from existing Jewish norms and traditions into the Jewish literary system.

This inherent ambivalence of translation within the early modern Jewish literary system begs the question—why translate at all? What propelled so many early modern Jewish translators to render foreign texts into Hebrew script? What did these translators aim to achieve? And how did they understand their position within the Jewish literary sphere? To answer these questions, this chapter looks closely at the prefaces and title pages that accompanied acknowledged and partially acknowledged translations into Hebrew and Yiddish, to try and discern the translators' personal understanding of their literary and cultural endeavor. These prefaces allow us to uncover the ways in which Jewish translators dealt with questions surrounding the legitimacy of non-Jewish knowledge, the relationships between Christians and Jews, and the position of Jews as a religious and cultural minority more generally.

Before proceeding, it should be recognized that the stated motivations that appeared in the prefaces of Jewish translations are not necessarily those that inspired the decisions and choices of individual translators. Different translators may have had different hidden agendas; they may have entertained various ideological, political, commercial, or even personal considerations that are not accessible to us today. As marketing tools, prefaces and title pages are perhaps especially prone to insincerity. Gerard Genette notes in his influential *Paratexts* (1987/1997) that the preface "consists of forcing on the reader an indigenous theory defined by the author's intention, which is presented as the most reliable interpretive key; and in this respect the preface clearly constitutes one of the instruments of authorial control."[13] The same, predominantly instrumental understanding of the preface has often led scholars to dismiss the explanations offered by Jewish translators in their prefaces as merely apologetic and therefore to seek other, ulterior motivations for translation. This approach is guided by a critical approach to reading that seeks to excavate the unspoken truths that underlie the written text. As Rita Felski points out: "within this scheme, what is pushed out of sight is held to be of incomparably greater value, shimmering with a revelatory power."[14]

And yet, whether sincere or disingenuous, self-presentation matters. The ways in which Jewish translators explained, or attempted to legitimize their pursuits in their prefaces reveals what passed, within the early modern Jewish literary system, as legitimate interreligious and intercultural transfer. It

is this wider understanding of appropriate cultural exchange with which the present chapter is preoccupied. This is not to say that hidden agendas do not exist, or that they are essentially of no interest to the historian, but only that, as literary critics have taught us, exposing what lies underneath the surface of the text is not the only possible reading technique.[15] Indeed, it is often precisely what authors, printers, and translators chose not to conceal—but rather to flaunt, to trumpet, to bring forward—that is of particular significance to our understanding of the past. These revealed layers of meaning are of special interest in the context of translation, which, by its very nature, is not the artistic endeavor of an individual but rather emerges from a complex dialogue between two or more different texts, cultures, and languages. As Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington note, once viewed as "mere repositories of commonplaces," prefaces are now understood by scholars of translation "to offer privileged insight into early modern conceptions of the nature and status of translation activities."[16]

Why Translate? A Look at Previous Responses

Previous attempts to answer the question of early modern Jewish translators' motivations have focused primarily on two kinds of translations: the translations of literary texts into Old Yiddish, and late-eighteenth-century translations into Hebrew.[17] The most sustained treatment of the issue appears in Sarah Zfatman's study of early Yiddish belles lettres. Zfatman argues that there exists an "essential and discernible difference between the sublime moral aims of Yiddish literature which drew on domestic sources, and the purely entertaining purpose of Yiddish works which drew on foreign sources."[18] These observations correspond with the different functions served by Yiddish translations of Hebrew works, on the one hand, and of works from European vernaculars (particularly German and Dutch), on the other. As discussed in Chapter 1, Jewish translators drew on two distinct libraries—a Jewish/Hebrew library and a foreign (non-Jewish) library. Their treatment of these two libraries was largely differential and, while some translations (whether wittingly or unwittingly) combined both, they often served distinct purposes. Translations between Jewish languages (e.g., from Hebrew to Yiddish, from Judeo-Arabic to Hebrew, from Hebrew to Ladino) set out to disseminate Jewish knowledge to those who were unable to obtain it in its original tongue. Translations of foreign works, on the other hand, served

different, widely diverse functions, including the acquisition of scientific knowledge, the improvement of literary techniques, cultural refinement, or, particularly in the case of Yiddish translation of belletristic texts, leisurely enjoyment. And yet, a closer scrutiny of the paratexts of Yiddish translations of both Hebrew and foreign works reveals a less tidy scheme than previously imagined.

Admittedly, as Zfatman notes, Yiddish translations of German and Dutch prose often presented themselves on their title pages as entertaining (*kurts vaylig*) or amusing (*lustig*).[19] However, similar declarations are also to be found in the paratexts of no few Yiddish works that drew on Hebrew sources, such as *Mayse beyt David bi-yemey Paras* (1599), *Sefer ben Sira* (1586), the *Melokhim bukh* (1544), or the *Shmuel bukh* (1544).[20] In addition, Yiddish translations of foreign works often also presented other selling points besides entertainment value or economic interests. As one early-eighteenth-century translator put it, these translations were produced "not for the sake of money alone, but for the sins of the masses to atone" (*nit um vilen dos geringe gelt alayn, zondern mezake ha-rabim tsu zayn*).[21] Another translation, from later in the century, portrayed itself on its title page as a tale from which great morals (*fil musar*) might be learned. The message seems to have been of particular importance to this translator, who appended to each chapter of the book a lengthy discussion, about a page long, of the moral encompassed therein. Chapter 1, for example, is said to exemplify the importance of charity; Chapter 2 demonstrates that even when one is overwhelmed by misfortune, one must continue to place one's trust in God, and so on.[22] Interestingly, these moralistic discussions differ from other parts of the translation in their use of language, displaying a Yiddish rich in Hebraisms and biblical allusions. This would seem to suggest that the greater part of the text is a transcription or near-transcription of a German work, whereas the moralistic musings are the translator's own addition.

A particularly striking example of a moralistic translation of a foreign work is an unacknowledged Yiddish translation of the *Arabian Nights* that appeared in 1718 under the title *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot* (Mirrors of the assembling women).[23] In the preface to this work, the unnamed translator explains his choice of title: "I have called this book a mirror of the world [*shpigl for der velt*] or *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot* because . . . it reflects the entire world, in all its flaws and glories."[24] The translator goes on to describe the moral, cultural, didactic, and religious merits of his translation over the course of two lengthy introductions. He explains that the book exposes readers to a wealth of

knowledge from around the world, assists parents in educating their children, and offers allegories of a distinctly moral and religious value. The translator has no qualms about also noting his commercial interests in producing the work, or emphasizing its entertainment value, but he seems to have viewed these considerations as complementing his more "sublime" motivations, explaining that entertainment is essential for combating idleness, which, he argues, leads to crime, promiscuity, and blasphemy.[25] Anticipating, perhaps, skepticism from his critics, the translator adds that even though there are those who will view the work as a mere cornucopia of tales and fables, the essential morality of such tales is a well-known fact of Jewish tradition. Indeed, he argues, the ancient Jewish sages themselves "provided various tales and fables in order to bring men under the bond of morality [*den mentshen in (musar) tsu brengen*]."[26]

Still, Zfatman is skeptical of such moralizing in Yiddish literary texts; "at times"—she writes—"the Yiddish transcriber felt ill at ease with profane literature, whose only purpose was leisure, and he invested in efforts in order to 'elevate' his book of adventure and promiscuity, particularly by adding lofty morals. . . . Clearly, these additions are entirely artificial, and bear little relevance to the tale's narrative."[27] Paucker is similarly incredulous, arguing that "the moralizing and pieties which introduced or concluded [Yiddish translations] were matters of routine, . . . often mere eye-wash."[28]

However, I see no reason to dismiss the explanations provided by the translators themselves. Such selective reading of sources seems to me particularly problematic in the case of Old Yiddish literature. What access do we have to the ulterior motives of these largely anonymous translators, about whom we know so little, that would permit us to ignore their—often long and elaborate—prefaces? And even if we assume that there are such unspoken agendas underlying the text, why should they be of greater interest to the historian than those that appear on its surface? If in fact Yiddish translators conceived of the translation of non-Jewish texts as a tool for religious and moral edification, this should not surprise us. Such an understanding was also shared by Hebrew translators, such as Avraham Yagel and Leon Modena, who, during the early modern period, translated Christian catechisms and ethical works into Hebrew. As Bonfil notes, "such translations differed from the medieval translations of the works of non-Jewish authors, as medieval translators treated their sources as reservoirs of 'neutral,' scientific information, whereas [early modern translators] were pointedly interested in matters concerning religious morals and faith."[29]

Other Yiddish translators stressed the didactic value of their texts.[30] Several eighteenth-century translations of literary works such as Miguel de Cervantes's (1547–1616) "La Gitanilla" (The little gypsy girl) or Thomas-Simon Guellette's (1683–1715) *Les mille et un quart d'heures* (One thousand and a quarter hours) portrayed themselves as a means to improve the reading, writing, or speaking capabilities of their readers, particularly the young.[31] The same justification also appeared in Yiddish translations of works from other genres, such as Benyamin ben Zalman Croneburg's *Kurioser antikvarius* (1752), which was depicted as a kind of primer for acquiring the basics of High German [*di bokh daytshe shprakh grundlikh . . . mit fundament tsu erlernen*].[32] Croneburg offered his readers an exceedingly faithful translation of his unacknowledged source, even transcribing the Latin expressions that appeared therein, and spelling out the digits, so as to teach their correct pronunciation.[33] Clearly, then, entertainment and materialistic considerations cannot be considered to have been the sole motivations for the translation of foreign works into Yiddish.

An altogether different view of Jewish translators' motivations is offered by scholars of early maskilic translations, that is, translations produced by members of the Jewish Enlightenment around the end of the eighteenth century. These scholars tend to view translation, particularly from German and French into Hebrew, as an essentially ideological undertaking, a means to bridge the gap between Jews and Christians and a gateway to Jewish acculturation and "modernization." In his overview of the history of Jewish translation, for instance, Gideon Toury argues that, having declined over the early modern period, translation was once again picked up by the Haskalah, which "aimed at bringing Jewish culture closer to the achievements of the surrounding cultures."[34] According to Toury, maskilic authors took up translation as a "distinct strategy," designed to bring about the creation of a modern Hebrew library.[35] For Toury, as well as other scholars of maskilic translations such as Zohar Shavit and Tal Kogman, these translations were an essentially new phenomenon, quite distinct from the Yiddish and Hebrew translations that preceded them.[36]

This view of Hebrew translation stands in direct contrast to Zfatman's view of Yiddish translation as predominantly instrumentalist in nature. Scholars of maskilic translation often emphasize its deeply ideological nature, as well as the translators' complete disregard for questions of marketability or accessibility.[37] What the two approaches share, however, is a tendency to downplay or to dismiss the translators' own presentation of their

motivations in their prefaces as mere apologetics. In addressing the explanations for translation that appeared in medieval Hebrew translations, for example, Toury writes: "Many medieval translations were preceded by (often rather lengthy) prefaces, some of them amounting to minor treatises on translation. Those prefaces tended to be overwhelmingly apologetic in tone. . . . Translators may or may not have had genuine reasons for apologizing, but their over-indulgence in apologetics should be seen first and foremost as a convention of the time."[38]

The prevalent understanding of the role of Jewish translation in the Haskalah is closely linked to what has become known among historians as "the modernization thesis"—that is, the view that the eighteenth century constituted the dawn of a new age, and that it was the Enlightenment that paved the way for this unprecedented historical moment.[39] And yet, Jewish translation had begun to flourish long before the eighteenth century and was carried out not only by members of the Haskalah or of the other burgeoning secular elites but also by religious thinkers, rabbis, and other so-called "traditionalists." As I discuss in Chapter 4, viewing the corpus of maskilic translations against the backdrop of this wider library of translated works challenges its "modernist" image, allowing us to pinpoint more carefully elements of continuity and change in Jewish attitudes toward translation throughout history.

The celebratory view of maskilic translation as a gateway to modernity is further complicated by recent trends in the field of critical translation studies. Over the past few decades, historians and scholars of translation in colonialist settings, such as Tejaswini Niranjana, Maria Tymoczko, and Vicente Rafael have called our attention to the power dynamic inherent in any form of translation, and especially in translations between hegemonic and minority or subaltern cultures. As Niranjana points out, "translation as a practice shapes, and takes shape within . . . asymmetrical relations of power."[40] It is precisely these power structures that have contributed to contemporary scholars' disillusionment with translation and their skepticism surrounding the viability of translation as a means for intercultural dialogue. As Felski observes, translation is perceived today by many in the fields of literature and cultural studies as "a form of social homogenization, part of a more general flattening out of cultural and linguistic differences."[41] This suspicion toward translation is not unwarranted. As we shall see throughout the following pages, the translational choices made by Jewish translators were often deeply inspired by their unusual position as part of a religious and ethnic minority

within early modern Europe. Nevertheless, looking at the paratexts of early modern Hebrew and Yiddish translations, we encounter a complex understanding of translation, which challenges both the celebratory view of translation as a cultural bridge and its pessimistic view as a cultural abyss.

In fact, Jewish authors and translators seem to have shared modern scholars' apprehensions concerning the cultural hazards posed by translation. At the same time, they insisted on the absolute necessity of translating non-Jewish texts into Jewish languages, producing Hebrew and Yiddish translations at a dizzying pace, at times, with little or no regard for the needs of their target readers (see Chapter 1). How, then, did these translators navigate between their own vigilance toward non-Jewish culture and the choice to translate foreign works?

Looking at the paratexts of early modern Jewish translations, one finds that translators often tended to present their works as serving a primarily conservationist function—even as a means of fortifying Jewish culture in the face of foreign influence. This somewhat unintuitive view of translation appeared with exceptional regularity particularly in Hebrew translations but also pervaded translations into Yiddish. In contrast to the more standard justifications surveyed in Chapter 1 for the selection of a particular source text—justifications of a didactic, literary, financial, or cultural nature—these conservationist justifications seem to reflect a pointedly *Jewish* understanding of translation and intercultural exchange. Indeed, the conservationist view of translation implied by these justifications closely corresponds with the unique status of Jews as a European minority community that aspired to preserve its distinctiveness while at the same time maintaining close ties with the surrounding majority culture(s). Three central, closely interrelated, motivations stand out in particular: (a) the notion that translation may serve to fortify Jewish faith and tradition; (b) the notion that translation is a means for reclaiming lost Jewish knowledge; and (c) the notion that translation is a form of cultural gatekeeping. A closer scrutiny of each of these motivations affords a view into the specifically Jewish understanding of translation as it emerged in the early modern period.

Translation and Religious Fortification

Perhaps the most widespread justification appearing in early modern Jewish translations was the attribution of religious value to the source text in spite

of—or even, in some cases, specifically because of—its Christian origins. This explanation often had distinctly polemical and/or messianic dimensions.[42] An interesting example is the Yiddish geography *Sefer tla'ot Moshe* published by Moshe ben Avraham the Proselyte in 1711. The cover page depicts the work as follows: "A description of the entire world, and of the Ten Tribes . . . which is proven from Jewish books as well as the books of the nations which attest to the same, and also the writings of R. Avraham Farissol in his *Sefer igeret orḥot olam*."[43] While *Tla'ot Moshe* presents itself as a synthesis of various sources, the book is for the most part, as Chone Shmeruk and Israel Bartal have shown, a translation of two sources in particular: the first, the domestic or Jewish source—*Igeret orḥot olam*—is acknowledged right on the book's title page and again throughout the translation. The second source text—the Latin *Tabularum geographicum contractarum* by the Dutch author Petrus Bertius—is mentioned only in passing in the body of the text.[44] Admittedly, the translator does acknowledge his use of *some* non-Jewish sources on the book's title page but, in contrast to his treatment of his Hebrew source, apparently saw no need to mention these sources by name. For Moshe ben Avraham, it seems, the value of the non-Jewish source inhered not in the name of its author, its cultural prestige, or its scientific or literary merit, but *solely* in its admission of the truth of the Jewish messianic myth of the return of the Lost Tribes.[45] Moshe's choice to obscure his non-Jewish source reflects a widespread norm among Jewish translators. Ironically, one finds the same practice among some of the so-called "domestic" authorities to whom these Jewish translators refer in their introductions, most significantly Avraham Farissol. As David Ruderman has demonstrated, large parts of Farissol's *Igeret orḥot olam* were, in fact, translated from a book by the Italian author Fracanzano da Montalboddo.[46]

But there were some Jewish translators who not only acknowledged their non-Jewish sources but indeed trumpeted the Christian origin of their works. One such translator was the enigmatic sixteenth-century author Moshe Botarel. Sometime around 1561, Botarel published a Hebrew book titled *Eyn mishpat*. In direct contrast to the Jewish translators discussed thus far, Botarel's approach to translation was entirely unapologetic. In fact, he went so far as to introduce his Christian source on the book's title page. Thus, the title reads "Eyn mishpat, derived from the mouth of a gentile scholar (*yatsa mi-pi ḥakham goy*)."[47] Further information on the source text is provided in the work's preface, in which Botarel identifies his source as the work of "a certain gentile by the name of Michael, who speaks in all innocence

[*masiaḥ lefi tumo*]."[48] This innocent gentile was, in fact, none other than the famous prophet Michel de Nostredame, better known by his Latin name Nostradamus.[49] Curiously, *Eyn mishpat* is a translation not of Nostradamus's famous *Les Prophéties* (1555) but, rather, of a forgotten almanac for the year 1562, which was only available in manuscript form.[50] This manuscript somehow made its way to Botarel, who translated Nostradamus's idiosyncratic French into heavy-handed Hebrew, peppered with French terms.

The translation itself is largely faithful to its source; in some places, it is an almost word-for-word rendition of the French source. In fact, while Botarel claims on his title page to have translated the work from Latin, he clearly calls upon Nostradamus's French to complement his use of Hebrew where needed. The month of April, for instance, is termed *avril* (אבריל); the French word for gray—*gris*—is transcribed as *grisim*—apparently for lack of a better Hebrew term; a rose is a *flordlis* (*fleur de lis* in Nostradamus's manuscript), and so on.[51] Botarel does occasionally stray from his source to neutralize distinctly Christian terms. Thus, for instance, whereas the source text opens by praising "our Lord Jesus Christ" [*nostre Seigneur Iésus-Christ*], Botarel begins his book by praising "our Lord God" [*ha-tehilah le-el ha-ʻadon*], and where Nostradamus addresses Pope Pius IV as "*Nostre beatissime sainteté*"—our most blessed saint—Botarel simply uses "the pope."[52] Still, Botarel clearly had no qualms about translating, albeit in a slightly abbreviated form, the letter to the pope that was appended to the manuscript.[53]

At first glance, then, *Eyn mishpat* appears to be a largely faithful Hebrew rendering of a Christian text. But closer scrutiny reveals a much more complex view of translation which characterized Botarel's treatment of his source. Understanding Botarel's translational attitude requires a careful, intertextual reading of the book's paratext, and particularly the title page and the translator's preface. Here, Botarel initiates a kind of coded conversation with his Hebrew readers, which is key to understanding the translation in its entirety. It is perhaps this unique paratext that allowed Botarel to produce such an uncharacteristic early modern Hebrew translation. Let us begin to crack this carefully constructed code by looking at the title page, which identifies the work as one that describes "our salvation and redemption (*ge'ulatenu u-fedut nafshenu*)." This messianic message is reinforced in the introduction, in which Botarel explains his choice to translate Nostradamus's almanac, writing that "I have seen the great desire amongst the learned and the unlearned that the day will come when we shall reach our longed-for wish (*ha-mevukash ha-mekuveh*)."[54] But as the reader progresses from Botarel's

enthusiastic introduction to the body of the text, a certain tension is revealed; the book is a collection of grim prognostications, replete with natural calamities, disastrous plagues, bloody wars, and monstrous births that will torment Europe over the coming year. The question arises, then, *who exactly* is going to be redeemed? And how?

Having anticipated, perhaps, his readers' bewilderment at the stark difference between the mirthful introduction and the book's somber content, Botarel explains that the work "speaks of the good that awaits us [i.e., Jewish redemption] in riddles and in scattered places, divided and dispersed here and there, in small portions."[55] These riddles permeate Botarel's preface, which calls upon a wide range of well-known Jewish texts to create that "indigenous theory" discussed by Genette as one of the main purposes of the preface, and which is intended to provide the reader with "the most reliable interpretive key" to understanding the text. Thus, on the book's title page, Botarel anticipates that "the false gods will be destroyed [*ve-ha-elilim karot yikareitun*] speedily and soon [*be-'agal'a u-vi-zman kariv*], Amen." These lines incorporate verses from the highly contentious Aleynu prayer, which was considered to include anti-Christian and polemical elements, and from the Kaddish prayer, in which the mourner asks that the Messiah arrive "within the life and days of the House of Israel, speedily and soon."[56] In combining the messianic utterances of the Kaddish with the fantasies of eschatological vengeance of the Aleynu prayer, Botarel signals to his readers on the book's title page the kind of sophisticated polemic and inversion of the source that the translation entails.

The preface drives the message home. Here, Nostradamus is presented as "an envoy sent unto the nations [*tsir ba-goyim shaluaḥ*] from the Lord, who watches over his people, and remembers the covenant of our fathers. . . . Michael, a gentile who speaks in all innocence."[57] The term "a gentile who speaks in all innocence" hinges on the halakhic notion according to which a gentile's testimony is admissible only when the speaker is not aware that he is in fact offering testimony. In using the phrase to designate Nostradamus and his prophecies, Botarel gestures towards the translation's utility for a Jewish readership specifically. His use of the term legitimizes the translation by presenting his source as the admissible, unwitting testimony of a gentile. No less importantly, Botarel thus signals to his Hebrew reader that the book contains a hidden message for Jews, which is concealed even from the eyes of the greatest seer of them all—Nostradamus. This message is reinforced by Botarel's likening of Nostradamus to the biblical prophet Balaam

(Numbers 22) elsewhere in the preface.[58] One of the few gentile prophets mentioned in the Bible, Balaam was tasked by King Balak of Moab with cursing the Israelites on their journey to the Promised Land. However, he was unable to defy God's will and ended up blessing the Israelites instead. In likening Nostradamus to Balaam, Botarel once again underlines the involuntary nature of his source's Jewish utility.

As demonstrated by such scholars as Elliott Horowitz and Rebekka Voß, early modern fantasies of Jewish salvation often possessed violent undertones.[59] And indeed, for Botarel, it seems that Nostradamus's almanac contained the promise not only of Jewish redemption, but also of Jewish revenge. The message is most conspicuously articulated in Botarel's presentation of Nostradamus as "an envoy sent unto the nations," an unmistakable reference to Obadiah 1:1: "We have heard a message from the Lord: An envoy was sent to the nations to say, 'Rise, let us go against her for battle.'"[60] According to the biblical prophecy, the heavenly envoy will encourage the nations to declare war on Edom, by the end of which Edom will be made "small among nations, . . . utterly despised" (Obadiah 1:2). As is well-known, Edom was often identified with Christianity in the European Jewish imagination. Botarel's dense preface thus integrates several separate prophetic traditions that thicken the meaning of Nostradamus's enigmatic prophecies and harness the French seer's grim prognostications to the Christians in order to deliver an empowering message to the Jews.

Perhaps, however, this heavily coded message was lost on its actual Jewish readers, for whom Botarel's approach to the translation of Christian themes and content was too flippant. The book was published in one edition only, of which only a single copy is extant today, at the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Botarel's book seems to have had little impact on contemporary readers; I have found no mention of it in contemporary or near-contemporary works, and it is nowhere to be found in Shabbethai Bass's bibliographic magnum opus, *Siftey yeshenim* (1680). Later bibliographers and modern scholars have also, as a rule, devoted little attention to the book. Relying on an error that appeared in Isaak Benjakob's nineteenth-century bibliography, the book has been consistently referred to in contemporary research as a translation of Nostradamus's *Les Prophéties*—a misidentification that would have been discernible to any reader who ventured beyond Botarel's introduction.[61]

Still, its descent to obscurity notwithstanding, Botarel's *Eyn mishpat* offers a striking example of a two-faced translation, which appears faithful,

even submissive, to its source but is in fact deeply subversive. A similar, albeit more moderate, phenomenon may be identified in some of the Old Yiddish translations of German epics and chapbooks that appeared throughout the early modern period. A large number of these translations were near-transliterations of their sources, exhibiting a fidelity that could only have been achieved in languages as close as Yiddish and German. These translations' affinity to their source texts was such that some scholars tend to view them as mere "mechanical copies" rather than translations per se.[62] And yet, as Arnold Paucker and others have shown, on closer inspection one finds in these near-transliterations occasional, nearly imperceptible, expressions of *infidelity*, indeed of *insubordination*, to the non-Jewish source.

A widespread norm, for instance, among Old Yiddish translators was to replace the Christian denominators and figures that appeared in their sources with derogatory or polemical terms. We have already seen one example of this in "Dukus Horant's" inconsistent treatment of the term *Kirche* (in Chapter 1), and further examples abound (see Chapter 3). Of course, such occasional deviations from the source text facilitated the much smoother reception of the non-Jewish source within the Jewish literary system and constituted one of the classic norms of early modern Yiddish translation. Locating this translational norm against the context of the Hebrew translational system, however, reveals a broader polemical understanding of translation, which complicates our understanding of the power relations between the hegemonic or dominant source and its faithful, seemingly submissive translation.

Alongside the polemical understanding of translation, there also existed other arguments for its religious utility. Translators of scientific texts, for instance, often presented the information that appeared in their sources as an attestation to God's greatness.[63] A case in point is offered by the Lithuanian rabbinical thinker Avraham ben Eliyahu of Vilna (1750–1808), son of the Vilna Gaon and a well-known rabbinical thinker in his own right. Around 1800, Avraham published a book on natural history, titled *Gevulot arets* (Borders of the land). While no mention was made of the book being a translation, *Gevulot arets* was for the most part, a secondhand, heavily Judaized translation of the magnum opus of the French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle* (1747–1786).[64] Avraham opened his unacknowledged translation as follows: "Lift up now thine eyes and see [Gen.13:14] how . . . the Blessed One sustains and feeds [*zan u-mefarnes* after 'birkat ha-mazon'] the outcasts in all four corners of the earth and in the islands and deserts. And both ears of everyone that heareth it shall tingle [1

Sam. 3:11], and his heart will be filled with the love of the creator, and he will lift up his hands unto God in the heavens [Lam. 3:41]."[65] Of course, the Jewish theological framing of the work would have been entirely foreign to Buffon, a suspected deist, but for Avraham, it was by looking beyond the confines of the known world and of the known literature that the greatness of God was made most evident. He thus justified, at one and the same time, his interest in world geography and his own unacknowledged act of venturing outside the Jewish literary realm.

Similar declarations concerning the religious merit of non-Jewish scientific knowledge appear in numerous other translations, both Hebrew and Yiddish.[66] A slight variation on the theme is offered by *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim* (The path of the tree of life), which, as noted in Chapter 1, is largely a translation of parts of Johannes Curio's *De Conservanda Bona Valetudine* (The preservation of good health, 1557), combined with passages from Pietro Andrea Mattioli's commentary on Pedanius Dioscorides's *Materia Medica* (1544/1586). Like Avraham of Vilna, this translator also chose to domesticate his Latin source texts in some places, to deliver messages that would be particularly meaningful to his Jewish readership. A case in point is the book's first chapter, which discusses the negative health effects of sorrow or fear (*tristitia* in Curio's Latin, *zorg* in the Yiddish translation). Following his Latin source closely, the translator cites Proverbs 17:22: "a broken spirit drieth the bones."[67] While Curio then continues to discuss the hazardous health effects of melancholy, the translator seizes the opportunity to offer an explanation for the putative physical inferiority of the Jews. Indeed, he argues, given the close connection between anguish and poor health, "it should come as no surprise [*kayn khidesh*] that [the People of] Israel are weak and have little power, since because of our sins in the *golus* [diaspora] we are constantly subject to many worries and woes [*fil zorg un' der shreknsh*]."[68]

Derekh ets ha-ḥayim features two short introductions—the first, which appears on the book's title page, is written in Hebrew, and the second, in Yiddish, appears in the body of the text. The inclusion of such Hebrew introductions in Old Yiddish books was not unusual; although inaccessible to most Yiddish readers, as Dovid Katz notes, such introductions often served as "a message to the elite . . . that [the] book is kosher . . . and that they need not be too alarmed."[69] And indeed, the Hebrew introduction sets out to locate this unusual Latin-to-Yiddish translation within a deeply traditionalist background and to portray the translator's motivations as pure and pious: "The life of the soul and that of the body are closely connected, as the

sages of musar [*bakhmey hu-musar*] have taught . . . and as our sages of blessed memory [*RaZaL*, i.e., the sages of early rabbinic literature] have explained, the way of the tree of life . . . precedes the Torah, for the preservation of health is a great obligation . . . and it is for this reason that I have translated [this book] into the language of Ashkenaz [=Yiddish] so that the most excellent preservation may be accessible to all."[70] The translator is referring here to the authors of medieval Jewish ethical literature, particularly Maimonides, who composed works on the preservation of health and argued that "a healthy and sound body is in the Lord's path, for it is impossible to grasp knowledge of the Creator if one is sick."[71]

The Yiddish-language introduction offers a brief summary of the Hebrew preface, while omitting the references to the sages of musar and to Razal. The translator adds only that: "as God has given me health and a little wisdom [*gizunt un' epes khokhme*] I have taken it upon myself to fulfill the commandment of preparing this book which is used by the entire world."[72] The slight difference between the two introductions—the recourse to the highest authorities of Maimonides and Razal in the Hebrew introduction and the emphasis on the book's utility in the Yiddish one—adequately reflects the traditional division of labor between Hebrew and Yiddish literature in early modern Ashkenaz. Whereas Hebrew was the language of a narrow, learned elite, which was expected to focus on religious studies and to abstain from the pursuit of "secular knowledge," Yiddish literature cut across classes, spaces, genders, and generations. And yet, in addressing both his Hebrew readership and his Yiddish one, the unnamed translator of Curio and Mattioli's Latin tracts felt compelled to underscore the book's religious utility and to ground it within a traditionalist Jewish framework.[73]

Translation as Reclamation

A closely related justification that appeared in Jewish translations was that translation from European tongues was a form of reclaiming lost Jewish knowledge. This understanding of translation stems from the age-old myth surrounding the Jewish origins of science and philosophy. The myth is rooted in antiquity; Josephus for instance, claimed that it was Abraham who taught science to the Egyptians, who then taught it to the Greeks.[74] In the Middle Ages, the myth began to appear frequently in the works of Jewish authors such as Yehudah ha-Levi, Maimonides, and Immanuel ha-Romi, who used

it as a means to justify their interest in extra-Jewish science and philosophy. These authors believed that all knowledge had already been given to humanity in the Bible, whether in revealed or concealed form. However, the *galut*, Jewish exile, had brought about a decline in the Jews' ability to perceive these truths, and so the gentiles had usurped the original knowledge of the Jews.[75] In the late Middle Ages, the myth was harnessed by Hebrew translators such as Eli Ben Yosef Havilio and Ashtori ha-Parḥi to justify their Hebrew translations of Latin works.[76] As the centuries progressed and suspicions toward translation intensified, it began to appear with increasing regularity in Hebrew—and to a lesser extent also Yiddish—translations of the works of Christian authors.

An appealing example is found in an unpublished manuscript titled "Ḥug ha-arets" (Circle of the earth), by the Polish rabbi Shlomo of Chelm (c. 1716–1781). In the preface to the book, which constitutes a Hebrew geography of the Holy Land, Shlomo, a renowned rabbinical author, acknowledges his reliance on a non-Jewish source but does not identify the source by name.[77] This work has recently been shown to be a translation of two Latin sources: the Dutch humanist Christian van Adrichem's *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae* (1590) and the German mapmaker Georg Matthaeus Seutter's *Atlas Novus* (1745).[78] The book's preface affords an unusual view of a Jewish rabbi-translator's self-perception:

> May the Temple be built and the Holy City restored. . . . And if, God forbid, I shall not live to see it restored, may God at least permit me to behold its ruins. . . . And I shall stand from afar on the lookout [*Mitspah*] and look at its sight on the map [*mapah*]. . . . And, lo, it was all grown over with thorns [Prov. 24:31]. And I shall take pity on the holy cities which have been draped in foreign garments the thirsty swalloweth up [*sha'af tsamim*; Job 5:5][79] in foreign tongues. . . . And I shall remove their veils and I shall recognize their visages. . . . And I shall copy [=translate] from the foreign tongue into our holy tongue.[80]

For Shlomo, then, translation was a form of returning Jewish knowledge to the Jewish tongue. His understanding of the act of translation as reclamation enabled him to perform an almost acrobatic rhetorical maneuver, from which the translation emerged as the *real* source, while the source became a mere derivative copy. This unique understanding of originality and

authorship was coupled with a messianic view of translation. Indeed, in Shlomo's description, it was almost as though by transferring the description of holy sites from the Latin to the Hebrew script, he was able to transfer the land itself from the gentiles to the Jews.

Another example is offered by the aforementioned Meir Leib Neumark of Hanau, who, in 1703, produced at the behest of his patron David Oppenheim a Hebrew translation of an unidentified German geographical work, titled "Tokhen ha-kadur" (Measure/Astronomer of the world). In his preface to the translation, Neumark explains that all knowledge originates in Judaism, including philosophy, which, he observes (following Abravanel), arose from a chance encounter between the Greek Plato and the prophet Jeremiah.[81] He then likens the sciences to a young girl who had been taken from the Jews by the gentiles: "My spirit aches as I see a captive Israeli maiden (*na'arah shevuyah yisraelit*) taken from Yehdah and forced to serve a gentile mistress (*nokhrit ha-moshelet*)."[82] Like his later contemporary, Shlomo of Chelm, Neumark, too, viewed his text as having been *originally* Jewish, thus creating a kind of reversed causality that rendered the original non-Jewish text a fake. Viewed in light of this unique understanding of the reversed translational cycle, it seems only natural that Jewish translators would deem any acknowledgment of their non-Jewish source entirely superfluous.

Similar discussions of translation as an act of reclamation appeared in the writings of Jewish translators the likes of David Gans, Barukh Schick of Shklov, and even in the works of maskilic authors such as Barukh Lindau, Itsḥak Satanov, and Avraham Van Oven.[83] The German maskil Naftali Herz Wessely (1725–1805) offers a particularly interesting treatment of the myth. In 1780, Wessely published his *Ḥokhmat Shlomo*—a Hebrew translation (which had been circulating in manuscript form for two and a half decades) of the apocryphal book known as the Book of Wisdom or *Sapientia Salomonis*, attributed to the biblical King Solomon.[84] Reflecting on his undertaking in the introduction, Wessely raised a pointed question. He argued that translation is always a tricky business, requiring, as the great medieval Hebrew translator Shmuel Ibn Tibbon noted, fluency in both source and target languages and an acute comprehension of the book's subject matter.[85] And yet, he noted, the translation of biblical works is an especially difficult task, given the sanctity and complexity of the Hebrew language as well as the intricate, often obscure nature of the works' contents. Given these complexities, he asked, was not the retranslation of biblical apocrypha from the "languages of the nations" back into Hebrew a hopelessly futile task?

> For if indeed it is true that the author [of this book] was King Solomon, . . . and the book was written in Hebrew but lost, and we were left with naught but the translations made by the Greeks and the Romans, and then the Germans and the French, well then in attempting to return the book to its home, I was overcome with fear and trembling, for if the first translator did not adequately understand the Hebrew roots [or] the book's content, [then] rather than consume the nectar of King Solomon's . . . wisdom, we would receive the nonsense of the translator and his fancies. Moreover, I was concerned that during the years in which it had resided among the Egyptians and Assyrians, that they had harmed the book, and done with it as they pleased.[86]

Wessely's introduction bears a striking similarity to Neumark's earlier portrayal of Jewish knowledge as a captive maiden among the nations. In contrast to Neumark, however, who cast no doubts on the unspoiled virtue of the Hebrew text that had been held captive by the foreign work, for Wessely, that virtue was a matter of anxiety and uncertainty. Indeed, Wessely's introduction seems, on first reading, liable to undermine the legitimacy of the entire project of Jewish translation. If Jewish knowledge had been usurped by the gentiles, who was to say that it had not been corrupted over the course of time? Who was to vouch for its integrity? And yet, these (clearly rhetorical) concerns are promptly mitigated as Wessely explains that, notwithstanding its trials and tribulations, the book remained pious through and through: "for the sun of righteousness shone upon its words, and their wings which spread above were a cure, which sheltered the ark of the covenant of God . . . and their tongue was a remedy to cure the wounds of the tongues of deceit."[87]

Wessely's presentation of the travails of the biblical apocrypha are an unmistakable metaphor for the trials of diasporic Jews. More importantly, his putative concerns surrounding the book's potential erosion at the hands of the gentiles reflect the growing concerns, in the late eighteenth century, surrounding the increasingly familiar relationships between Jews and Christians, particularly with respect to Jewish maskilim such as Wessely himself. As we shall see in Chapter 4, such usage of translation to unpack concerns surrounding Jewish-Christian relations was extremely widespread in late-eighteenth-century maskilic literature. But perhaps most interesting in Wessely's discussion of translation is the overwhelming importance ascribed

to the Hebrew tongue, which has the power to resonate through the centuries, slicing through layers of gentile mediation, to reach Wessely's ears in its pristine, untainted form. It is this purifying power of the Hebrew language that made Jewish translation, as we shall presently see, an essentially redeeming act. Sheltering Jewish literature from the inquisitive tongues of the gentiles, the Hebrew language prevented the corruption of the captive maiden of Jewish knowledge, preserving its virginal form until such time as it could be rediscovered and redeemed by its true, appropriate partners—the Jews.

While the reclamation myth, with its characteristic sexual undertones, was particularly prevalent in Hebrew translations, which targeted a male readership, a milder version of the myth also appeared with some regularity in Yiddish translations, particularly of biblical apocrypha. Thus, for instance, towards the end of the sixteenth century an unnamed Yiddish translator produced a manuscript translation of Luther's German version of the book of Ben Sira, claiming that "the *goyim* use this book in their prayers/churches [the translator uses the derogatory "*tifles*"] and call it a book of morals [*bukh der tsukht*] . . . [but] the greater part [of the book] is taken from [the books of] Ecclesiastes and Proverbs."[88] A later translation of Ben Sira by the Dutch Jewish translator Yosef Ben Ya'akov Maarssen appeared in 1712, and was based on the Dutch version that appeared in Adolph Visscher's *Biblia das is de gantsche heylige Schrifture* (1648–1701).[89] Maarssen, an unusually prolific translator, presented the book's utility in a brief Hebrew preface that appeared on the title page:

> Behold, this is a wondrous novelty, an old and ancient book, which was composed and prepared by the High Priest (*ha-kohen ha-gadol*) Joshua ben Yozadak, and because of our sins we were exiled from our land [and] can no longer rise to observe the books that we once had, and many of them have been lost to us, and have disappeared, and this is one of those books. But before it was lost, it was translated [*ne'etak*] by his grandson, Joshua ben Sirak, from the Holy Tongue to the Egyptian language; and from Egyptian, the gentiles of the nations translated [it] into their own tongues . . . and as I have seen its great wisdom and utility I set my mind to translating this book from the Dutch language to our Yiddish [*mi-leshon holandsh le-leshoneno Ashkenazi*] to benefit the masses, and may the author of this book redeem us, that we may return to our land and witness

> the building of our Temple in our day and find there our books and all that we desire, Amen.[90]

One is struck by the close proximity between Maarssen's presentation of the translation of Ben Sira as an act with distinctly messianic implications and Shlomo of Chelm's similar treatment of the translation of geographical works from Latin. In all of these descriptions, translation, reclamation, and redemption are intrinsically bound together, and the act of translation functions as a bridge stretching *not* between Christians and Jews, but rather between the Jewish past, present, and posterity.

Translation as Gatekeeping

The cultural ferment that characterized European society in the early modern period also left its mark on Europe's Jews. The modest Hebrew library that had thus far targeted a narrow group of rabbinically trained Jewish men could no longer satisfy the appetite of an increasingly growing readership. Translation offered a double solution to the dilemma that faced Jewish authors during this time: on the one hand, the adaptation of foreign texts to Jewish tongues was a sure and swift means to enrich the Jewish library, while on the other hand, by making non-Jewish literature available in Jewish languages, translators were able to control the infiltration of ideas and discoveries into the Jewish cultural sphere. A keen observer of the cultural changes of his time, the sixteenth-century rabbi Moshe Isserles (c. 1525–1572) was quick to pick up on the necessity of translation in the changing literary climate. In his glosses to the *Shulḥan arukh* (Set table), Yosef Karo's authoritative sixteenth-century codification of Jewish law, Isserles added a caveat to Karo's original prohibition on the reading of profane books, even on Shabbat.[91] Isserles, who sought to make the book more congenial for Ashkenazi Jews, argued that one should indeed refrain from reading such works in non-Jewish languages, but that in the holy tongue it is permitted (*bi-leshon hakodesh sari*).[92] Isserles's exemption was promptly adopted by Jewish translators, most prominently by his disciple, David Gans, who quoted the great rabbinic authority in the introduction to his *Tsemaḥ David*.[93]

A similar distinction between licit reading in Hebrew and illicit reading in non-Jewish languages appears in the preface to Farissol's *Igeret orḥot olam*. Farissol spares no harsh words in condemning those who dabble in foreign

works: "To quiet their sadness and grief, they read songs and filthy romances, and books of ancient, fabricated wars . . . and they please themselves in the children of strangers [*be-yaldey nokhrim yaspiku*]."[94] Farissol's own book—in large part an unacknowledged translation, let us recall, of an Italian book—is presented as an appropriate alternative to such idle literary pursuits. That Farissol chose, at one and the same time, to both deride the consumption of profane non-Jewish works and to translate one of them into Hebrew himself reveals the unique Jewish perception of translation as a means both to cross and to reinforce the cultural and religious borders between Christians and Jews.

One way of comprehending this complex and perhaps, to our mind, contradictory line of thought is by following the biblical allusion that appears at the end of Farissol's admonition. The original passage appears in Isaiah 2:6: "thou hast forsaken thy people the house of Jacob, because they be replenished from the east, and are soothsayers like the Philistines, and they please themselves in the children of strangers." The great medieval biblical commentator R. Shlomo Yitsḥaki (Rashi) interprets the passage as follows: "*They please themselves in the children of strangers*. They cohabit with the daughters of the heathens and mingle with them, and they would bear children to them, with whom they are always pleased, and they occupy themselves [with them] and dote on them and fuss over them."[95] Once again, then, the Jewish encounter with foreign literature is articulated through the use of sexual rhetoric. This time, however, the foreign text is imagined to hold not a captive Jewish maiden but, rather, a foreign femme fatale. Drawing on Isaiah's admonition, the allusion likens the consumption of foreign works to an illicit sexual encounter, whose almost inevitable result is the breaking of the Jewish bond.[96] It is only through the translator's mediation that the temptation may be mitigated and the foreign text enjoyed.

The allusion to Isaiah 2:6 is surprisingly ubiquitous in early modern Hebrew translations. It appears, for instance, in Gans's *Neḥmad ve-na'im* (Pleasant and agreeable, 1592). In the introduction to the work, Gans seeks to legitimize his interest in astronomy (*ḥokhmat ha-tekhunah*), by contrasting it to the study of physics: "The study of physics (*ḥokhmat ha-teva*) from their books [that is, foreign books] is prohibited by Ḥazal, [for] these things attract the heart of the nation to mockery and foreign fallacies, and [the Sages] have already raised their voices like a *shofar* [against] those who read external books [*sfarim ḥitsonim*] which are not from the Children of Israel, and who please themselves in the children of strangers."[97] Curiously, here

the Talmudic edict against the study of "Greek wisdom" is understood to apply not, as was often argued, to philosophy, but rather to physics, and Gans uses it to draw the line between licit (astronomical) and illicit (physical) non-Jewish knowledge. Once again, the objection to the consumption of foreign works seems to exclude translation. As Andre Neher has shown, *Neḥmad ve-naʿim* was, in part, an unacknowledged translation of a near-contemporary German almanac published under the title *Astronomia Teutsch Astronomei* (German astronomer's astronomy, c. 1570).[98]

The biblical allusion continued to appear in Hebrew works in the eighteenth century, reproducing the same dichotomy between the direct and indirect consumption of foreign literature and allowing Hebrew translators (or would-be translators) to chart the difference between appropriate and inappropriate Jewish-Christian relations. Toward the end of the century, for instance, the German rabbi Moshe Sofer (the Ḥatam Sofer) planned to publish a Hebrew-language book on astronomy and physics "so that his disciples may learn from it, so that they do not please themselves in the children of strangers."[99] According to Sofer's grandson, the plan was abandoned after the Lithuanian kabbalist Pinḥas Hurwitz published his own *Sefer ha-brit*, rendering Sofer's book superfluous.[100]

Earlier in the century, in Neumark's "Tokhen ha-kadur," we are told that Jewish readers "will empty wisdom from their sacks and please themselves in the children of strangers, [they will] covet their languages, which they consider more pure and sophisticated."[101] Neumark's description of the readers' lust for foreign languages once again reveals the significance of the Hebrew tongue (or script) as a means for Jewish self-preservation. As in Wessely's poignant description of the Hebrew word's ability to preserve its purity under layers of time and language, so too in Neumark's admonition does the temptation of the foreign tongue pose a dire threat to Jewish existence. As noted above, Neumark himself served as a semiprofessional translator on behalf of the chief rabbi of Prague, David Oppenheim. For Neumark, the Ḥatam Sofer, Gans, Farissol, and others, then, the solution to the problem of Jewish readers "pleasing themselves in the children of strangers" was not to have them abstain from foreign literature entirely but rather to produce a Hebrew-language library of works of astronomy, geography, and other natural sciences in translation.

This somewhat unintuitive understanding of the act of translation also appears with surprising regularity in other genres of early modern Jewish

translation. In a book dedicated to matters of ethics and religious code, the ever-perceptive Ya'akov Emden offers a particularly rich variation on the theme. Emden, who elsewhere in the book criticizes Azariah De Rossi for having "pleased himself in the children of strangers,"[102] begins his discussion with the traditional myth of the Jewish origin of wisdom. He explains that there is nothing new in the works of the gentiles, and that all scientific progress is merely Jewish wisdom in Christian garb. He then goes on to remind his readers of the talmudic prohibition against the reading of so-called "external books," pointing out the contested nature of this prohibition. Finally, he explains that his own writings offer the ideal solution to the problem: "I have brought unto you all the good parts of the morals of those of the nations known for their wisdom. And God knows and is witness to the great pains to which I have gone, and all the toils I have undertaken for you, so that nothing of the morals will escape your attention, in whatever language it is written, and also to save you so that you do not approach the doors of their houses and drink their evil waters, and so that you are not taken captive in their fortresses."[103] Translation emerges here as a selfless act of courage in which the translator puts himself at risk and ventures into the volatile realm of foreign words for his readers' benefit. Elsewhere, Emden draws a dismal portrait of the hazards of learning foreign tongues. He was particularly adamant about avoiding the French language and literature, which, he claimed, "is based on the foundations of disdain, foul speech, lust, and adulterous desires."[104]

A no less dramatic vignette is painted by Rabbi Shaul ha-Levi of The Hague in his *haskamah* (approbation) to Rabbi Barukh Schick of Shklov's translation of Euclid's *Elements*: "If an Israelite should navigate among the nations to learn sciences from foreign books, waves of foreign knowledge will entangle him to divert him from the straight path. And now our teacher and master, Rabbi Barukh . . . of Shklov has arisen to translate the book of Euclid into the Holy Tongue to restore the crown to its ancient site, and wisdom to its home, so that Israel shall not need another nation [*lema'an lo yitsarḥu Yisrael le-'am aḥer*]."[105] For Ha-Levi, Emden, and other Jewish authors, then, in an era of increased Jewish thirst for knowledge, translation served as a kind of floodgate against the rising tide of foreign words.

Significantly, this idiosyncratic view of translation as cultural gatekeeping also characterized members of the Jewish Enlightenment. In Moses Mendelssohn's famous preface to his Bible translation, titled *Or la-netivah* (Light

for the path, 1783), the famed philosopher explained his motivations for preparing this *Jüdisch-Deutsch* Bible translation. According to Mendelssohn, the translation was designed to serve

> Jewish children wanting to understand words of discernment [who] run to and fro seeking the word of God (Prov. 1:2, Amos 8:12) from the translations of Christian scholars. For Christians translate the Torah in each and every generation, according to their languages, in their nations (Gen. 10:20) in keeping with contemporary need. . . . However, that path upon which many of our nation's youth tread has many a snare and stumbling block for those whose feet slip (Job 12:5), and great harm has emerged from there. For Christian translators—who do not have the traditions of our Sages, and who do not heed the masorah, not even accepting the vocalization and cantillation that we have in our possession—treat the words of the Torah like a breached wall, everyone contending against it and doing with it as he pleases. They add and delete and change the divine Torah, not only the vowel points and the cantillation, but sometimes even letters and words (for who will stem their senselessness?) according to what they think and perceive. As a result, they sometimes read in the Torah not what is written there, but that which occurs to them (Ezek. 20:32).[106]

Of course, this explanation, which appears in Mendelssohn's Hebrew preface, contrasts sharply with his better-known depiction of his translation in his oft-quoted letter in German to his friend August Hennings. As discussed in the introduction, Mendelssohn presented his translation in this letter as a "first step to culture from which my nation, alas, is so estranged that one is almost ready to despair of the possibility of improvement."[107] The discrepancy between Mendelssohn's two explanations for his Bible translation—the one in German, and the other in Hebrew—has caught the attention of previous scholars, some of whom have attempted to solve it by doubting the sincerity of Mendelssohn's Hebrew preface. Michael Meyer, for instance, writes that "the truest expression of Mendelssohn's motivation is unquestionably his letter to Hennings. . . . [However], in his introduction to the translation Mendelssohn of course could not mention this intention to disseminate 'culture.'" The rabbinical thinker David Kamentsky is more adamant: "Mendelssohn's original intention," he writes "was to 'acculturate'

his nation, This was a predesigned and premeditated plan, and all the talk of 'translating for the children' . . . are mere lies and deceit."[108]

Here, we begin to see how envisioning maskilic translation as inherently innovative—as a complete break with the Jewish, or at least Ashkenazi, past—often entails a selective reading of the translators' own words. More recent readings of Mendelssohn's Bible translation by David Sorkin, Abigail Gillman, Naomi Seidman, and others have complicated this presentation, allowing us to see Mendelssohn as both an innovator and a traditionalist, a careful consumer of Enlightenment values and ideals.[109] To these valuable perspectives, I would add that viewing the translation against the background of the broader corpus of Jewish translation in this and earlier periods provides a fuller understanding of Mendelssohn's view of his translation as both a bridge and a barricade: a way of bringing Jews closer to non-Jewish culture, but from a position of safety within the confines of Jewish culture.

Another telling example is offered by Mendes's poem, cited above. The poem depicts the views of a supposed critical reader, who prods Mendes to explain his actions in translating Metastasio's Italian into Hebrew. At first, the reader seems to voice suspicions regarding the importation of foreign works into the Jewish literary sphere. But in its final verse, Mendes's poem takes an unexpected turn. The grumpy reader concludes his tirade on translation by pointing out to the translator: "Know that your labor has been for naught/The Hebrew tongue is no longer in season/Knowledge is no longer sought/And no one heeds the cries of reason."[110] In Mendes's view, then, the enemies of translation are not those obstinate guardians of tradition—members of the rabbinical or religious elite—but rather those who have turned their backs on tradition, on the holy tongue of the Jews, and on the sacred pursuit of knowledge.

In a different work from around the same period, Mendes elaborates further on the same theme: "I have been alarmed to see small foxes from our people . . . eagerly consuming the . . . nonsense of the gentiles . . . whose lips spew lies and foul thoughts, and they have defiled the honor of the pure and Holy Tongue, and the language of learning and of science."[111] Mendes's own translations are introduced as a means to combat this phenomenon. In describing his method of utilizing the works of Metastasio and Jean Racine, Mendes explains that he has "descended unto the garden of their poetry . . . and found bell and pomegranate [*pa'amon ve rimon*, after Exod. 39:26] in their words. And I consumed their fruit and threw away the peel."[112] Mendes, then, shares with other early modern Jewish translators the notion that the words,

and *even the languages,* of the gentiles are potentially hazardous. It is only the skilled translator who is able to carefully defuse these words and to place whatever benefits they offer at the disposal of a Jewish readership. The translator is thus an indispensable part of the process of cultural transfer; it is his responsibility to moderate the flow of foreign culture into the Jewish community and to prevent, at one and the same time, both cultural isolation and cultural assimilation. It was this understanding of the importance of controlling the flow of non-Jewish knowledge into the Jewish literary sphere that guided maskilic translators' and authors' choice of language; whether they addressed their readers in biblical Hebrew or in German in Hebrew characters, the late-eighteenth-century maskilim saw the Hebrew letter as a means of both enabling and controlling the movement of texts and ideas.[113]

Yiddish and Gatekeeping

Given the emphasis placed by Isserles and later authors on the significance of the Holy Tongue in mediating foreign knowledge, it is perhaps unsurprising that the gatekeeping argument was prevalent in Hebrew works but did not appear in the same form in Yiddish translations. In contrast to the distinct domesticity of the Hebrew language, Yiddish occupied an ambivalent position between the foreign and the domestic, as well as within traditional Jewish hierarchies of knowledge. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that Yiddish authors and translators shared the understanding of translation as a form of cultural gatekeeping and viewed the increased interest in foreign works as an incentive for Jewish creativity. As Leo Fuks and Rena Fuks-Mansfeld note, "It is a general trend, that the editors and translators of . . . popular [Yiddish] literature tried to excuse themselves for their frivolous work by pointing out that it was better that the young people read Yiddish stories than that they read unworthy non-Jewish books." As a paradigmatic example, they cite a statement that appeared on the title page of a rhymed paraphrase of the story of Esther, published in Amsterdam in 1649: "While I have seen that a lot of boys and girls went to buy *galkhes* books and wasted their time with this kind of trash I decided to give the young people a present by compiling this lovely book."[114]

Another example is offered by the beloved *Mayse bukh*, first published in 1602. The book's preface, composed by the publisher, Ya'akov of Meseritz,

harshly criticized the popular Yiddish transcriptions of German chapbooks such as *Dietrich von Bern* or *Maynster Hildebrant*, which, Ya'akov claimed, "are pure filth . . . and are ungodly."[115] The *Mayse bukh* itself was presented in the preface as the antithesis to such works: a work of purely domestic provenance, based on midrashic and haggadic sources. What the publisher neglected to tell his readers, however, was that international tales, albeit heavily Judaized, also appeared in the book.[116] It seems, then, that for Ya'akov of Meseritz, the problem entailed in the Yiddish transliteration of German chapbooks and epics was not the recourse to non-Jewish literature in general but rather the *specific form* of those Yiddish transliterations of German works. The *Mayse bukh* offered a different, much more active, approach to translation, in which the non-Jewish tale was reframed to fit a Jewish mold.

I would venture to suggest that even those Yiddish translators who offered their readers near-transliterations of German chapbooks shared, at least to some extent, the concerns of the *Mayse bukh*'s publisher with respect to unadulterated access to vernacular works. As we shall see in Chapter 3 below, Yiddish translators often tended to omit from their works any distinctly Christian elements, as well as (particularly in the eighteenth century) other elements that they deemed inappropriate for a Jewish readership. In addition, these translators often obscured their non-Jewish sources, thus consolidating their position as the uncontested mediators between the Jewish reader and the Christian source and allowing their readers only indirect access to non-Jewish literature.

For Yiddish authors, however, gatekeeping was an even more complex task. As Bart Wallet has argued, the unique position of Yiddish literature—between Hebrew and German—meant that Yiddish translators were required to patrol not one, but two types of cultural borders. Thus, Wallet shows how Menaḥem Mann Amelander omitted from his book not only the Christian elements found in Basnage's source text, but also the kabbalistic elements that appeared in his Hebrew sources: "Amelander consented with the traditional view that Kabbalah was exclusively for the rabbinic elite and could be dangerous in the hands of non-learned people. As the author of a book aimed at the whole Ashkenazi community, he could therefore not include mystical passages. As a true gatekeeper he closed the gates for knowledge which he regarded as the exclusive right of the rabbinic elite."[117]

Amelander was not alone. As scholars such as Michael Stanislawski and Chava Turniansky have shown, Yiddish translations of Hebrew works were

often purged of philosophical, esoteric, and certain halakhic discussions, indicating a fear of the inappropriate transmission of these discussions to the Yiddish-speaking masses.[118]

* * *

In a lecture delivered in 1813 to the Royal Academy of Science in Berlin, the German theoretician Friedrich Schleiermacher argued that there are only two possible approaches to translation: "either translators leave the writer in peace as much as possible and move the reader toward the writer, or they leave the reader in peace as much as possible and move the writer toward the reader."[119] More than two centuries have gone by since Schleiermacher's famous formulation, but the notion that translation moves on an axis between embracement and rejection is still widespread. Often, translation is celebrated as a sign of cultural openness, a means to overcome cultural, linguistic, and religious differences. This is Toury, Shavit, and Meyer's understanding of translation and its relationship to Jewish modernization. Other times, translation is criticized as an imperialist act, aimed at the suppression of cultural diversity and the preservation of power relations between hegemonic and subaltern or minority cultures. This is the postcolonialist understanding of translation, which offers a pessimistic view of the possibility of intercultural dialogue.

And yet, looking at the paratexts of early modern Jewish translations challenges both of these views. For Jewish translators, translation was primarily a means of importing new, non-Jewish knowledge into the Jewish cultural sphere in a heavily monitored form, while at the same time maintaining the borders between Jews and their non-Jewish environments. Underlying the corpus of Jewish translations was a deep ambivalence toward non-Jewish culture and an acute awareness of the dangers inherent in direct, unmediated exposure to that culture. Jewish translation was thus *a solution to a problem*, and domestication—a defensive technique. This special understanding of translation reflects the essential ambivalence that characterized Jewish-Christian relations during the early modern period, a relationship that was marked, at one and the same time, by both assimilation and exclusion, attraction and repulsion, rivalry and respect.

Chapter 3

Translation as Judaization
The Norms of Jewish Translation

The notion of translational norms was first articulated in Gideon Toury's *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995) and has had an enduring impact on the field of translation studies. Defined by Toury as "the translation of general values or ideas shared by a community . . . into performance 'instructions' appropriate for and applicable to concrete situations,"[1] the understanding of translation as a norm-governed activity has allowed researchers to study translations not (or *not only*) in relation to their sources but also to one another, as well as to other corresponding phenomena within the target culture. The concept has thus proven pivotal to the understanding of translation as more than mere linguistic transference.[2] It is, in large part, the coupling of translation with norms that has allowed the study of translation to filter into new disciplinary territory, well beyond the intimate field of translation studies. The existence of shared translational practices and choices, and their relationship to wider values and ideals within the target culture, posit translation as an appealing means for understanding cultures, especially in their relationship to others.

This understanding of translation as providing keys to crucial cultural structures is particularly germane to the context of early modern Jewish translation. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that Toury developed his notion of translational norms and first tested his methodology on the basis of a study of Hebrew literature (albeit in a later period).[3] As we have seen in the preceding chapters, Jewish translation was deeply target-oriented, and ambivalent in its approach to its source cultures. Of course, translational norms were far from uniform across the various corpora surveyed here and varied

considerably over time, space, language, and genre.[4] Even among the more persistent norms, some were elective, while others were almost mandatory; some were self-imposed and others grudgingly accepted; some norms were applied in certain situations but not in others, while other norms were almost universal. Still, some conspicuous regularities may be discerned across the different corpora of Jewish translation in early modern Europe. In this chapter, I focus on these regularities and propose a taxonomy of the most pervasive norms of early modern Jewish translation on their basis.

The Ethics of Acknowledgment in Jewish Translation

Perhaps the most conspicuous translational norm that characterized early modern Jewish translations of foreign works was the production of unacknowledged translations. Jewish translators had no qualms about obscuring their sources and often made no mention of their works being translations at all.[5] This practice marked Jewish translations across space, time, and language, but was more prevalent in Ashkenaz than in Italy.

Figure 8 below reflects the proportion of acknowledged, unacknowledged, and partially acknowledged Jewish translations composed between 1500 and 1775 that appear in the JEWTACT database. As may be seen from the chart, more than 50 percent of all translations in the sample were either entirely unacknowledged, meaning that no mention was made of the work being a translation at all, or were partially unacknowledged, meaning that the work presented itself as a translation but did not identify its source(s). Bearing in mind that it is, naturally, much easier for us today to identify translations that were acknowledged or at least partially acknowledged, it stands to reason that the phenomenon of unacknowledged translations produced during this period was even broader than this figure suggests.

The phenomenon of unacknowledged translations raises several pointed questions: were these translations actively disguised as original Jewish works? And if so, why? As is often the case with questions surrounding the project of Jewish translation, the answer is—it depends.

Casual Concealment

While in some cases, as we shall see, translators actively concealed their use of extra-Jewish works, in most cases, it seems that translators and, no less

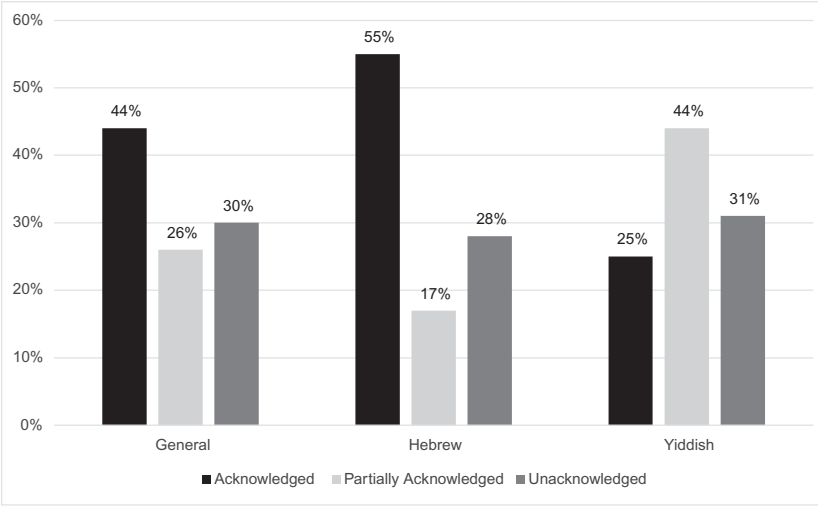

Figure 8. Acknowledgment of Source Text in Jewish Translations of Non-Jewish works, 1500–1775 (Macrotexts only).
Based on a total of 222 macrotexts. "General" includes all translations into Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Italian. For a discussion of the differences between acknowledged, partially acknowledged, and unacknowledged translations, see the appendix. As I discuss in Chapter 4, translational norms changed significantly during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Translations produced during this period are thus not represented here, but are represented in Figure 9 below.

importantly, publishers, simply saw *no need* to acknowledge their non-Jewish sources. This holds particularly true for Yiddish translations, which, as may be gleaned from Figure 8 above, rarely acknowledged their sources in full.

A telling example is the Yiddish translation of one of the first modern subject encyclopedias, *Die curieuse Orographia* (1715), by the Lutheran pastor and famed geographer Johann Gottfried Gregorii (1685–1770), also known as Melissantes. Published around 1792 under the title *Seyder harey olem beshraybung* (Description of the order of the mountains of the world), this anonymous translation offered its readers a heavily abridged albeit generally faithful translation of the German source. It featured some Hebraisms and additions, but for the most part, the translator's primary task was to condense Melissantes's verbose, almost 800-page-long tome into a manageable Yiddish booklet, totaling less than 50 pages.[6]

The translation made no mention of Melissantes, and the source was further obscured by the book's Hebraized title. Still, Yiddish readers of the period would have been hard-pressed to imagine the book was *anything but* a translation. Yiddish (and, for that matter, Hebrew) works on natural history and geography were uncommon, and those that were published were almost always translations, whether or not they acknowledged their sources. If any doubt remained as to the provenance of *Seyder harey olem*, the book's organization according to the Latin alphabet would have been a foolproof indication of its reliance on a foreign source. This organization, a particular oddity of the book, resulted, for instance, in the appearance of mountains beginning with the Hebrew letters *kaf* (כ, the eleventh letter of the Hebrew alphabet) and *kuf* (ק, the nineteenth letter of the Hebrew alphabet) immediately after mountains beginning with the Hebrew letter *bet* (ב, the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet).[7]

Still, the translator not only neglected to mention the existence of a source text but also expunged any mention of non-Jewish literature from the translation. A highly erudite man of science, Melissantes peppered his book with numerous references to canonical authors—ancient, medieval, and contemporary—none of whom appeared in the work's Yiddish translation. That these omissions were made to conceal the fact that the work drew on non-Jewish sources seems unlikely. More probable is that the translator simply assumed that the names of authorities such as Virgil, Ovid, Lucretius, Seneca, and Augustine—all of which appeared in his source—would mean little to Yiddish readers.[8]

Evidence of similar assumptions is found throughout Old Yiddish literature. German belletristic works such as *Die sieben weisen Meister*, *Eulenspiegel*, and *Die schöne Magelone* appeared in numerous translations and editions. While some translations made a point of Judaizing some or all of the Christian elements that appeared in their sources, others were less invested in adapting their sources. Consequently, some popular Yiddish translations featured such elements as Christian churches, holidays, and rituals.[9] Many translations also reproduced the German titles of their sources. It would have been impossible for contemporary readers to imagine these works, many of which were also extremely popular outside the Jewish literary realm, as domestic works. Still, there seems to have been no expectation that the translators acknowledge the author, language, or even the very existence of a source.

A somewhat amusing expression of the dismissive approach to source acknowledgment among Yiddish translators is found in a Yiddish version of

David Gans's *Tsemaḥ David*. As discussed in Chapter 2, the second part of Gans's Hebrew book originally opened with an attempt to legitimize his reliance on non-Jewish sources by appealing to both ancient and contemporary Jewish authorities, such as Maimonides and Farissol. This lengthy apologia was omitted in the book's Yiddish translation, which appeared in 1697. Explaining the omission, the publisher, Zalman Hanau of Frankfurt, wrote: "This [= Gans's preface] is too boring (*tsu lang vayl*) for the reader, [who] has no patience (*di gedult nit hobn*) to read it. . . . But the essence of the matter is that all that is written here has been taken (*aroys genumn*) from the Hebrew and German (*taytsh*) chronicles or books of geography."[10]

Having reduced one of the most charged, ancient, and complicated debates in Jewish history—the debate surrounding the legitimacy of non-Jewish wisdom—to mere tedium, Hanau goes on to berate Gans for his extensive references to obscure sources throughout his work, such as "Kasius or Bastius or Goltsius or other strange names."[11] This list of names may sound merely formulaic, but Hanau is referring here specifically to Georg Caesius (1543–1604), Martin Boregk (Boreccios, d. 1588), and Hubert Goltzius (1526–1583)—all of whom are mentioned in the introduction to Gans's *Tsemaḥ David* and cited several times throughout the Hebrew work.[12] Clearly, for Hanau, the names of these chroniclers were hardly selling points; on the contrary, they were a sure way to intimidate potential Yiddish readers, for whom such names would have been entirely devoid of meaning.[13]

It would seem then, that Yiddish translators' particular propensity to produce unacknowledged translations was not necessarily motivated by the desire to conceal the non-Jewish origins of their translations but rather by a recognition of their readers' literary tastes. There was also an unsentimental assessment of these readers' level of erudition at play here; the creators of Yiddish literature often viewed their target readership as being largely uneducated and assumed a significant imbalance between their own literary refinement and their readers' relative ignorance. This may be gleaned from the prefaces and introductions that featured in numerous early modern Yiddish works, in which the authors or printers explained (often in Hebrew!) their resort to the vernacular.[14] This paternalistic view contributed to the prevalence of unacknowledged Yiddish translations, which may have been guided by the (not entirely unreasonable) assumption that references to the authors of German, Dutch, Italian, or Latin works would hardly impress a Yiddish readership.

This view of the readership was matched by the equally dismissive approach to authorship that, as we saw in Chapter 1, characterized Yiddish

literature in the early modern period. With few exceptions, Old Yiddish translations (and Old Yiddish literature more generally) tended to appear anonymously, or under their publishers' names.[15] As discussed, this was by no means unique; similar practices are attested in the literatures of other contemporary vernaculars. However, while early modern translations of literary works into the various European vernaculars often appeared anonymously, they did not as often apply the same negligent attitude to acknowledging their sources. In fact, many translations that were unacknowledged in Yiddish were acknowledged in other vernacular translations, including in the mediating translations used by the Yiddish translators. The various Yiddish translations of the *Thousand and One Nights* which appeared throughout the eighteenth century, offer an interesting example. None of these translations made any mention of Antoine Galland, and the earliest, the aforementioned *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot* even went as far as to present itself under a Judaized title.[16] In direct contrast, the German mediating text used by the latter translator appeared anonymously, but identified its French source in its title, which read: *The Thousand and One Nights . . . first translated from the Arabic into French by Mr. Galland and from the same into German (Die Tausend und Eine Nacht . . . erstlich vom Hrn. Galland . . . aus der Arabischen Sprache in die Frantzösische, und aus selbiger . . . in Teutsche übersetzt*).[17] The same phenomenon is found when comparing the Yiddish translation of Boccaccio's *Decamerone* (1710) with its immediate Dutch source, identified by Moritz Steinschneider. While the Yiddish translator, Yosef ben Ya'akov Maarssen, acknowledged that the book was a translation of a "one-hundred-year-old Dutch book," he did not identify his source by name. Boccaccio's Dutch translator, on the other hand, acknowledged his Italian source in the book's title, which read: Fifty amusing stories or curiosities from Giovanni Boccaccio (*Vijftigh lustighe historien oft nieuwigheden Joannis Boccatij*).[18] Clearly, then, Yiddish translators tendency to obscure their sources was unparalleled among other vernacular translators during the same period.

Creative Concealment

Another incentive for the obfuscation of the source, among both Hebrew and Yiddish translators, seems to have been the understanding of translation as creative work that characterized early modern translations in general. As discussed in further detail below, beginning in the sixteenth century there arose in Europe a distinction between the supposedly slavish task of

word-for-word translation, which had often characterized medieval translations and which continued to be used for pedagogical purposes in early modern Europe, and the purportedly more noble task of creating a fluent translation. Of course, the specific degree of liberty that translators should take with their sources, and the circumstances under which such liberties might be taken, remained the focus of much debate, and yet, as Theo Hermans notes, "the demise of the literalist temper was sealed in the seventeenth century."[19] Translation thus came to be thought of as deeply creative, requiring, as the French philosopher Charles Batteux (1713–1780) argued, "if not as much genius, at least as much taste . . . as to compose. Perhaps even more."[20]

Some translators seem to have viewed their task as that of compilation and harmonization rather than mere translation. This understanding, which drew on humanist literary practices, entailed copying, excerpting, translating, adapting, juxtaposing, and citing of some sources sometimes, but not all sources all the time.[21] A case in point is offered by the prolific Hebrew translator and author Yosef Ha-Kohen (1496–1578). As Robert Bonfil has masterfully shown, Ha-Kohen's great chronicle *Sefer divrey ha-yamim le-malkhey Tsarfat u-malkhey beyt Otoman ha-Togar* (History of the kings of France, and the kings of the house of Ottoman the Turk, 1554), drew on a dizzying array of sources, both domestic and foreign—Latin chronicles, medieval Hebrew manuscripts, Italian *avvisi* or newsletters, and Spanish works—only a fraction of which were cited by name.[22] Tuviah ha-Kohen constitutes another example: the Padua graduate's famous *Ma'ase Tuviah* drew on multiple Latin sources, which were merged, translated into Hebrew, and complemented by the translator's own insights and observations. Only some of these sources were acknowledged.[23]

A creative understanding of translation seems to have been particularly widespread among Hebrew translators. The translation of a work from contemporary European vernaculars, or from Latin, to the ancient Hebrew language was an arduous task, requiring much research, adaptation, and creative thinking. In the introduction to his aforementioned "Tokhen ha-kadur" for instance, Meir Neumark describes the immense difficulties facing the Hebrew translator of the time. He begins by citing the great medieval translator Shmuel Ibn Tibbon, who famously determined that the task of the translator was "to transfer the contents of the book as they are, without change, into the language of the translation."[24] This formidable task, Ibn Tibbon noted, requires impeccable command of both source and target languages. And yet, Neumark remarked, the challenge of translation into

Hebrew was exacerbated by "the disappearance of our Holy Tongue from our lips."[25]

A little over half a century later, in 1755, the Tibbonide dictum would once again be conjured to portray the travails of translation into Hebrew. This time, the translator was none other than the famous German Jewish thinker Moses Mendelssohn, and the source was Edward Young's well-known English poem, *The Complaint: or, Night-Thoughts on Life, Death, & Immortality*, which Mendelssohn translated via a mediating German text.[26] Noting how difficult it had been for Ibn Tibbon to translate from Maimonides's Arabic into Hebrew, Mendelssohn asked: "And if this is true with regard to the languages of the East [from areas] close to the land of Israel such that they were almost the same tongue, what can we do with regard to languages of the west[?] . . . The ways of the Hebrew tongue and its refined language are far removed from the refined speech of those nations with the languages of their respective lands (Gen. 10:20)—who will draw them close so that they be joined together (Ezek. 37:17)?"[27] Mendelssohn's reply was that Ibn Tibbon's rules applied only to the translation of works of religion and science (*ḥokhmah*), such as the works of Maimonides or those of Bahya Ibn Paquda (whose *Ḥovot ha-levavot* [Duties of the Heart] had been translated by Yehudah Ibn Tibbon, Shmuel Ibn Tibbon's father), "for in [translating] these books, one may not deviate in the slightest from the words of their authors." But in translating literary works, Mendelssohn argued, the translator maintains a much greater degree of liberty.

Of course, the task of translation into Yiddish was much simpler. But some Yiddish translators did share the early modern understanding of translation as a form of creative genius. One such translator was Elye Levita (Bokher), whose beloved *Bovo d'Antona* was a translation of an Italian chivalric poem. While Bokher notes in the introduction that the work is a translation of a previous source, the title page makes no mention of this, suggesting instead that the work is "a handsome creation easily recognizable as Elye Bokher's" (*man kent vol Elye Bokers gemakht*).[28] The translator was furthermore identified on the title page by the name "Elye the author" (*Elye ha-meḥaber*). And indeed, Bokher took exceeding liberties with his source and his translation included numerous deviations, omissions, and additions, some of which were clearly designed to (mildly) Judaize the work while others seem to have been the result of his own literary preferences.

There is, perhaps, something disingenuous about exemplifying the creativity of Yiddish translation via an Italian-to-Yiddish translation. As Clau-

dia Rosenzweig notes, the language gap between Italian and Yiddish meant that Yiddish translations of Italian works, such as *Buovo de Antona* or *Paris e Vienna*, required a greater degree of authorial investment than translations from German. Indeed, translation from German or even Dutch into Yiddish was often tantamount to transliteration, and the work of translators of German books such as *Kaiser Oktavian*, *Eulenspiegel*, or *Schildbürger* was often limited to mild Judaization or the neutralization of Christian terms and, at times, not even that. Italian-to-Yiddish translations were thus often (though not always) characterized by greater liberty, creativity, and prestige than their German-to-Yiddish counterparts.[29]

And yet, some translators from languages linguistically closer to Yiddish do seem to have understood their endeavor to be creative, requiring the same or almost the same degree of creative effort as translating from Italian. In his translation of Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, for instance, the prolific Dutch translator Yosef Maarssen related the difficulties he had encountered in translating his source via the Dutch: "the Dutch tongue . . . is distinct from all other tongues (*fun ale andre leshoynes ob geshaydn iz*), because all tongues correspond with one another in terms of grammar, only Dutch is exceptional. This is why it is hard to translate (*iber zetsen*), and particularly this book [which is] over a hundred years old, and at the time the Dutch language was even harsher (*herber*) than it is now."[30]

Maarssen's claim that "all languages" apart from Dutch correspond closely with one another is bewildering. It could be that he was referring specifically to the linguistic and grammatical proximity between Yiddish and German, perhaps seeking thereby to distinguish his work from the near-transliterations of German *Volksbücher* so derided by his contemporaries. Whatever the meaning of these puzzling prefatory remarks, in fact, Maarssen seems to have greatly exaggerated his translational efforts. As Marion Aptroot has shown, while Maarssen offered a slightly abridged version of his source, for the most part, the text was hardly adapted.[31]

Some German-to-Yiddish or Dutch-to-Yiddish translators did, however, demonstrate a higher level of authorial investment. The creative aspect of these translations had less to do with linguistic adaptation and more with their treatment of narrative elements. Some Yiddish translations incorporated their own original tales into their translations or wove together tales from disparate sources; others turned prose into poetry; still others added original frame narratives, and more.[32] Oral transmission also contributed greatly to the revision and adaptation of international tales in Yiddish. While

their exact routes of transmission are much more difficult to follow, upon reaching the Yiddish literary sphere international folktales were often heavily Judaized and assimilated into a distinctly Jewish narrative universe, in which Jewish rabbis and Hasmonean rulers took the place of Arthurian kings and chivalric knights.[33]

Finally, as discussed in Chapter 2 above, drawing on the myth of the Jewish origin of the sciences, Jewish translators often understood translation as an act of reclaiming lost Jewish knowledge. This meant that these translators could view their endeavor as a complex form of returning the foreign text to its pristine Jewish form, making any acknowledgment of the non-Jewish source entirely superfluous.

Active Concealment: The Obfuscation of Specific Sources

We have seen, then, that the obfuscation of foreign sources in Jewish translation was not necessarily the result of a desire to conceal the non-Jewish provenance of the text or to present foreign works under a Jewish guise. Whether they viewed their work as deeply creative, or believed that their readers would have little interest in the chain of transmission of the work, translators often simply saw no need to cite their sources. But there were also those cases in which Jewish translators *actively concealed* their sources, at times going to great lengths to do so. This was often the result of one of two separate considerations: either a wish to conceal the use of a *particular* source, or a desire to conceal the traces of *any* non-Jewish influence on the work. Although both forms of concealment entailed some degree of deception even by early modern standards, they were inspired by different rationales and should therefore be addressed separately.

Some translators concealed the use of some non-Jewish source texts while trumpeting their use of others. In some cases, translators claimed to have translated one work while in fact relying on quite another. A relatively well-known example is the maskil Barukh Lindau's Hebrew textbook *Reshit limudim* (1788). In the book's preface, Lindau attributed the information derived for his book to some of the highest authorities of Enlightenment scientific thought, among them Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, the famous German geographer Anton Friedrich Büsching (1724–1793), and the Jewish ichthyologist Markus Bloch (1723–1799).[34] But while Lindau did occasionally rely on Buffon and on Büsching (both of whom were also translated by other Hebrew authors during the period), his primary source was much less

prestigious.[35] Not a decade after the publication of *Reshit limudim*, Pinḥas Hurwitz, author of the best-selling *Sefer ha-brit* (Book of the covenant, 1797)—and himself a frequent borrower of other writers' works (among them, ironically, Lindau himself)—claimed that the book was, in fact, a translation of a well-known German children's book by the Göttingen pedagogue Georg Christian Raff (1748–1788).[36] In a more recent comparative reading of the two works, Tal Kogman shows that *Reshit limudim* was indeed largely a heavily abridged, free translation of Raff's *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (Natural history for children, 1778). Lindau was not alone; as Kogman reveals, fragments of Raff's book were also translated by other maskilim, such as Aaron Wolfsohn-Halle (1754–1835), Menaḥem Mendel Lefin (1749–1826), and Shimshon Bloch (1784–1845), none of whom acknowledged their reliance on this popular German children's book.[37]

Did Lindau and other maskilim conceal their use of Raff's book in order to present their translations as drawing on more highbrow sources? Perhaps. But it could also be that Lindau viewed *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* and other works by Raff—which drew heavily on Buffon and Büsching—as mere mediating texts. If this were indeed the case, it would have made sense to Lindau not to mention Raff by name. As discussed in Chapter 1, the use of unacknowledged mediating texts (particularly in German) was a widespread norm among Jewish translators in the early modern period and into modernity. Even those translators who presented their works as translations, and provided information on their sources, tended to suppress their use of mediating texts and portray themselves as having drawn on the *Urtext* in its original language. In fact, elsewhere in *Reshit limudim* Lindau also used a Hebrew mediating text without acknowledgment. In the introduction to the book, he incorporated a Hebrew translation of a fragment from Ptolemy's "Almagest," which was copied in its entirety from the work of the esteemed Jewish scholar and rabbi Yosef Shlomo Delmedigo (YaSHaR mi-Kandia, 1591–1655). While Delmedigo was certainly no lowbrow German children's author, Lindau made no mention of his mediation either, presenting the translation as though it had been drawn directly from Ptolemy.[38]

Additional reasons for concealing specific non-Jewish sources while flaunting the use of others abound. Some translators seem to have been reluctant to cite sources that might have proved more problematic for their readers not necessarily because they were written by Christians but because they were the products of particularly controversial authors: suspected atomists, deists, or Pietists.[39] An enigmatic mid-eighteenth-century medical

manuscript, titled "Ets ha-sade" (Tree of the field, c. 1751), is a case in point. Composed in Yiddish, the manuscript was prepared by one Mordekhai Ha-Kohen of Schmallenberg, who boasted a rabbinic lineage going back to the well-known seventeenth-century talmudist Shabbethai Ha-Kohen, known as the *Shakh*. In a Hebrew introduction to the book, Ha-Kohen flaunted not only his lineage and extensive rabbinical training, but also his command of Latin, French, and other European languages.[40] It was owing to his polyglot erudition, he explained, that he had decided "to compose a book of medicine from what I have labored and discovered in the works of our sages . . . , and what I have learned from the books of the sages of the nations, but from which I have gathered the worthwhile and discarded the superfluous. And the greater part [of the treatments collected herein] I have tried and tested myself, and I have now brought all these together under one roof."[41]

With the exclusion of the short concluding chapter,[42] however, the manuscript itself featured little in the way of rabbinical discussions. It did, on the other hand, appear to draw heavily on the works of such learned physicians as Lazare Rivière, Andreas Vesalius, and Franciscus Sylvius, who were cited copiously throughout the work.[43] In addition, the Yiddish text was peppered with numerous Latinisms (in both Hebrew transliteration and Latin script), creating the impression that the scribe had indeed consulted the works of these learned physicians in their original Latin and that he had anthologized and translated the observations and remedies with which he concurred. And yet, a closer look reveals that, aside from some minor omissions and additions, "Ets ha-sade" was largely a wholesale Yiddish translation of the German physician Christian Weisbach's (1684–1715) *Warhaffte und gründliche Cur aller dem menschlichen Leibe zustossenden Kranckheiten* (True and thorough cures for all diseases affecting the human body, 1712).[44]

Weisbach had studied at the medical faculty in Halle, where he became involved in the local Pietist ferment. His book, which bore a strong Pietistic stamp, was largely an attempt to popularize the central tenets of medical Pietism, inspired by Georg Ernst Stahl.[45] Ha-Kohen's translation of the book was meticulous. He even copied Weisbach's lengthy German introduction, modifying it ever so slightly to make it appear as if it were his own original text. Here, for example, I juxtapose Weisbach's discussion of the relevance of the study of the soul for medical practice (left-hand column) with the corresponding passage in Ha-Kohen's book (right-hand column), followed by a translation. The slight departures made by the translator are highlighted in bold.

Du darffst dich nicht wundern, daß ich hier auch zugleich der **seele** des menschen gedencke: Wir betrachten in der artzneykunst den menschen, als einen gantzen, . . . und müssen folglich auch von der **seele**, als der bewegerin und regiererin des **leibes**, etwas melden, eben als wie ein **Theologus**, **oder seel-sorger**, . . . auch auf die zerbrechliche hütte des **leibes**, . . . seine absicht richten muß.[46]	**Ve-'al titameh**—du darfst zikh nit vundern, doz ikh hir oykh tsugleikh di **neshome** des menshn gedenke, vir betrekhtn in der arznaye kunst den menshn alz eynen gantsn, . . . un' mussn folglikh oykh fun der **neshome**, alz der bevegrin und regirirn des **gif** etwoz meldn, ebn alz vi ayn [**talmid khokhem**] **unt neshome dokter**, . . . oykh oyf di tsebrekhtikhe hite des **gif** . . . zayne ob zikht rikhtn muz.[47]

> You should not wonder that I also reflect here on the souls [*seele/neshome*] of men. We who practice medicine consider men as a whole . . . and must therefore consider the soul, as the mover and governor of the body, even as a theologian or a minister [*Theologus, oder seel-sorger/talmid khokem unt neshome dokter*], if he wishes to save the souls of men, [and] to bring about rebirth and renewal, . . . must point his attention even to the fragile hut [that is] the body.

As this comparison suggests, Ha-Kohen offered his readers a near-transliteration, with minimal Judaization, of Weisbach's text. Only terms that were specifically Christian (*Theologus*, *Seelsorger*) or that would ring foreign to the Jewish reader (*Seele*[48]) were replaced with Hebraisms (*talmid khokhem*, *neshome* . . .).[49]

Significantly, however, while the Yiddish scribe made no attempt to conceal his use of non-Jewish sources, even boasting of his familiarity with such works, Weisbach's name was nowhere mentioned in the book.[50] One can only speculate as to Ha-Kohen's motivations for concealing his reliance on Weisbach. In the introduction to the book, he portrayed himself as a polyglot and well-read student of medicine, and it could be that he wished to create the chimera of extensive reading, independent experimentation, and original research, rather than admit that the work was a wholesale translation of a vernacular textbook.

However, in speculating on the translator's motivation, the Pietist context of the source text should also be taken into account. As Rebekka Voß has recently shown, Yiddish authors around the mid-eighteenth century

actively engaged with the German Pietists of their time, often incorporating—even translating—their texts and ideas into their Yiddish works.[51] None of the authors discussed by Voß openly acknowledged their Pietist sources of influence, suggesting that such an acknowledgment was deemed problematic at the time. Viewed in this context, it seems unsurprising that Ha-Kohen would conceal his translation of a Pietist work. In fact, while maintaining the general Pietist "mood" of the book—including, for instance, the discussion of the importance of vernacular writing, of a holistic view of body and soul, and of religious renewal and reform—Ha-Kohen took pains to tone down the more glaring expressions of Pietism in his source.[52]

In some cases, the concealment of particular sources had to do with the desire to maintain a distance between particular readers and those sources. Thus, when the Galician maskil Yehudah Leib Ben Ze'ev (1764–1811) published his bilingual translation of the Book of Ben Sira in 1798, he made a point of acknowledging the sources for his Hebrew translation, but not for his Yiddish (or rather *Jüdisch-Deutsch*) one. In the preface to the work, Ben Ze'ev explained that he had long dreamed of translating Ben Sira, but that he was loath to base his translation on an unnamed German version of the book that had reached him. Echoing Wessely's earlier discussion in his own translation of the apocryphal *Sapientia Salomonis* (Solomon's Wisdom, discussed in Chapter 2 above), Ben Ze'ev noted that the German translation was necessarily flawed, being a translation of an Eastern (Hebrew) text into a Western (German) language. "Had I proceeded to translate the book [from German]"—he wrote—"I would have produced a twisted book, devoid of majesty and of glory."[53]

Luckily, Ben Ze'ev noted, "God wished that I should succeed [in my translation] and He provided me with the great biblical book, with a translation into four great languages, and these are Syriac, Arabic, Greek, and Latin, and [this book] is known as *Poliglota* [and] was printed in London almost two hundred years ago."[54] Ben Ze'ev was referring to the prestigious *Biblia sacra polyglotta* (1653–1657), curated by the Anglican Bishop Brian Walton (d. 1661).[55] And indeed, the translation showcases the Galician maskil's profound erudition, his command of Greek, Syriac, German, and Hebrew, as well as his embrace of humanistic antiquarian traditions, alongside the contemporary biblical zeal.

And yet, the *Jüdisch-Deutsch* translation that occupied the bottom half of each verso page of Ben Ze'ev's *Ben Sira* drew on an altogether different

tradition. Addressing this latter translation in passing in the preface, Ben Ze'ev claimed that he had appended to his book a translation into "easy and simple German, for the benefit of the uneducated [*'am ha-'arets*], for it is a useful [and educative] book, for all readers, young and old." "As to the quality of my translation"—he added—"I will let the reader be the judge."[56] For the unsuspecting reader, it would appear as though the *Jüdisch-Deutsch* translation was Ben Ze'ev's own creation, modeled perhaps after Moses Mendelssohn's famous *Jüdisch-Deutsch* Bible, *Netivot ha-shalom*. And yet, as readers of this book may already suspect, in preparing this translation Ben Ze'ev drew precisely on those German translations he had so adamantly condemned in the book's preface. In fact, Ben Ze'ev's *Jüdisch-Deutsch* translation relied heavily—in many verses, to the point of near-transliteration—on a German translation prepared in 1782 by J. W. Linde and edited by the Protestant theologian August Hermann Niemeyer.[57]

Ben Ze'ev's choice to conceal the German source of his Yiddish translation while trumpeting the sources of his Hebrew translation reflects not only the ubiquitous understanding of Yiddish-reading Jews as less sophisticated but also traditional concerns surrounding the democratization of knowledge facilitated by Yiddish literature. Yiddish readers would have been able to read Ben Ze'ev's German-Jewish *Ben Sira*, but they would not have been aware of its Lutheran sources.[58] In this way, Ben Ze'ev maintained the same kind of control over the Jewish literary sphere as his early modern predecessors had, reserving direct excursions into non-Jewish literature to Hebrew readers such as himself and ensuring a strictly mediated access for the majority of Jewish readers.

Active Concealment: The Concealment of Non-Jewish Influence

Finally, some Jewish translators seem to have gone to great lengths to conceal *any* traces of non-Jewish influence on their works. In such cases, concealment was designed to facilitate the work's smooth reception among Jewish readers. It bears emphasizing that, as the examples above demonstrate, such concealment was by no means a prerequisite for the reception of translations. Indeed, it stands to reason that, as surprising as the prevalence of the phenomenon of early modern Jewish translation may be to us today, most contemporary readers were likely aware that many Hebrew and Yiddish books, especially in the fields of science and medicine, did in fact draw on previous sources in European languages. Active concealment seems to have been prevalent,

however, in translations of works possessing a distinct religious dimension, such as prayer books, Bibles, and works of religious instruction. We have seen above, for instance, how the first Yiddish and Judeo-Italian Bible translations that were based on Christian translations suppressed their sources, presenting themselves as having drawn directly from Hebrew.

Another example of active concealment of the act of translation is Avraham Yagel's 1595 Hebrew catechism, titled *Lekaḥ tov* (Good lesson), which has been shown to be an unacknowledged translation of one of the best known Latin catechisms of its time, the *Catechismus minor seu Parvus Catechismus catholicorum* (1558) by the Dutch Jesuit Peter Canisius.[59] Yagel made no mention of Canisius or of his catechism anywhere in the book, and while contemporary Italian Jews may have been familiar with the Latin source, later Jewish readers, particularly in central and eastern Europe, seem to have viewed the book as an entirely domestic treatise of religious instruction. These readers, who often read the book in Yiddish translation, understood it to be "valuable and useful for all Jews" and "appropriate for everyone who calls himself an Israelite."[60] Recent research into Yagel's oeuvre reveals further concealed Italian and Latin sources, which were used in the production of several of Yagel's other works. At the same time, however, in a few other works, Yagel was forthcoming about his use of non-Jewish sources.[61] What motivated Yagel to conceal his use of Christian sources in some works but not in others remains to be understood.

Another Hebrew catechism from around the same period exemplifies a particularly devious case of concealment. In 1554, the Ferrara-born author Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580) published his *Sefer ḥinukh beḥirey Yah* (Book of educating God's chosen people). Tremellius was a convert from Judaism to Calvinism, and his book was in fact a Hebrew translation of John Calvin's Genevan Catechism (*Le catéchisme de l'Eglise de Genève*, 1537). The Hebrew translation made no mention of Calvin, however, and the cover page and preface portrayed the book as the work of a Jewish rabbi.[62]

Ashkenazi translators were also not loath to conceal their sources. Rebekka Voß has recently revealed that the early eighteenth-century Yiddish prayer book *Liblikhe tefile* (1709) by Aharon ben Shmuel Hergershausen was largely a translation of a German prayer book by the Lutheran theologian Johann Habermann (1516–1590), titled *Christliche Gebete für alle Not und Stende der gantzen Christenheit* (Christian prayers for all needs and estates in all of Christendom, 1567). No less than sixteen of the twenty-three Yiddish *tkhines* or personal devotions that appeared in the book were lifted from Habermann,

often almost verbatim and only mildly modified to omit distinctly Christian terms and add a Jewish flavor to the text.[63] Similarly, recent research by Roni Cohen has uncovered an unacknowledged and mildly Judaized Yiddish translation of one of the earliest Protestant morning hymns, generally attributed to Martin Luther, that appeared in a collection of Yiddish *tkhines* from the early seventeenth century.[64]

Domestication and Foreignization

Whether the product of active concealment or merely of casual omission, the exclusion of the names of foreign sources and authors in early modern Jewish translations contributed to the seemingly domestic nature of the Jewish literary realm. In this sense, concealment corresponded with a broader tendency among Jewish translators to assimilate foreign texts into the target culture by Judaizing their sources, to a greater or lesser degree. Known in the field of translation studies as "domestication," this practice constituted one of the most prevalent norms of Jewish translation in early modern Europe.

Domestication in translation may be loosely defined as the attempt to erase or diminish the foreignness of the source text by adapting it to the norms and conventions of the target culture. The practice has been subjected to critical scrutiny. In his seminal *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995) Lawrence Venuti, for instance, presents translation (particularly in what he terms "Anglo-American culture") as a form of "ethnocentric violence." When unmatched by foreignization techniques that disrupt "domestic values [and challenge] cultural forms of domination," the effects of this violence are particularly dire.[65] Meanwhile, Itamar Even-Zohar, in his influential study on "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem" (1978), presents domestication as characteristic of a literary constellation (or "polysystem," in Even-Zohar's terms) in which translation occupies a peripheral position, from which it serves to strengthen existing cultural and literary conventions. "A highly interesting paradox manifests itself here," Even-Zohar observes; "translation, by which new ideas . . . can be introduced into a literature, becomes a means to preserve traditional taste."[66]

Notwithstanding the merits of Even-Zohar's structuralism and Venuti's critical approach, however, recent studies of translation have suggested that there is no *one way* to disrupt or to strengthen prevailing cultural codes. As Maria Tymoczko astutely remarks, "translators' strategies for accomplishing

their social or ideological goals are legion, highly localized in time and space, shifting as cultures shift."[67] Other scholars have questioned the dichotomizing view of translation as either domesticating or foreignizing, arguing that translational choices are most often less strategic than studies such as Venuti and Even-Zohar's seem to imply.[68]

Indeed, to say that domestication was an almost universal norm of early modern Jewish translation is not to say that Jewish translation did not disrupt local values. Rather, domestication served a wide range of functions; in some cases, it allowed for a smoother or more accurate understanding of the text; in others, it seems to have been more of a stylistic or literary choice, appearing even in texts produced for limited or private use.[69] In some cases, domestication allowed translators to enrich their translations through intertextual references, or code words that would have resonated with Jewish readers, adding further layers of meaning to the text. The various functions of domestication dovetail with the plethora of ways in which it was achieved. In some translations, domestication was limited to the sporadic omission of select terms or phrases, while in others it entailed an overall reconceptualization of the source. In some cases, domestication resulted in a thoroughly Judaized translation; in others, it featured alongside foreignization techniques, creating a work that was, at one and the same time, both Jewish and foreign. Whatever the means employed for achieving it, however, domestication was an essential feature of early modern Jewish translation, and virtually all translations into Jewish languages produced during the early modern period shared this norm in one form or other.

Intertextual Allusion

Domestication was often achieved—particularly (but not exclusively) in Hebrew translations—through the use of intertextuality. The reliance on intertextuality in Hebrew writing is, as Jeremy Dauber notes, hardly coincidental: "the language itself, after all, is largely composed of words appearing in . . . classical texts."[70] In translating a work into Hebrew, the immediate source was necessarily only one of a multitude of ancient and medieval texts on which translators drew. As Dauber and others have shown, while it changed significantly over time and space, the use of intertextuality in Hebrew literature was largely intentional and was based on the expectation of an attentive reader, well-versed in the riches of the Jewish canon.[71] In referencing the Bible, Jewish liturgy, or rabbinic literature, Hebrew authors were

able to "conjure a range of associations, so as to ensure the desired reception of the [translated] work."[72]

In the particular context of translation, we saw in Chapter 2 above how Moshe Botarel used biblical intertextuality as a means to subvert his otherwise faithful translation of Nostradamus's prophecies, thus undermining his source in ways that would only have been comprehensible to readers well-versed in Jewish canonical texts and traditions. Other examples abound. Dvora Bregman shows, for instance, how in his Hebrew translation of parts of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Shabbethai Marini used intertextual references to the Song of Songs in order to bestow religious undertones on the erotic scenes that appeared in his source.[73]

In scientific works, biblical names were often assigned to newly discovered phenomena, conveying a worldview according to which all recent scientific discoveries were already present in the Bible.[74] Thus, for instance, Peru—which was, of course, a land entirely unknown to Europeans before the sixteenth century—often appeared in Hebrew texts under the name "Ofir"—denoting a legendary biblical land.[75]

Biblical allusions were particularly widespread in maskilic translations; numerous late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Hebrew translations infused their foreign sources with biblical terms, names, locations, or whole verses, which were designed to ensure a suitable reception of the text among Hebrew readers. The Polish maskil and prolific translator David Zamość, for example, chose, in his Hebrew translation (via German) of Richard Steele's story of Inkle and Yarico, to change the name of Steele's deplorable English sailor from "Thomas Inkle" to the biblical "Bera." The name, which is derived from the Hebrew term for "evil"—*r'a*—is also an allusion to the evil king of Sodom mentioned in Genesis 14:2. By transforming Steele's English colonist into an infamous biblical villain, Zamość ensured that Hebrew readers would pick up on the tale's critical tone.[76]

While they are almost unavoidable in Hebrew, biblical allusions are also found in Old Yiddish translations, where they similarly function to amplify the meaning of the text. An elegant example is offered by the tale of the rabbi-werewolf that appears in the *Mayse bukh*. The best-known version of this international tale appeared in Marie de France's medieval "Bisclavret." In its various non-Jewish iterations, it featured a knight who metamorphoses into a werewolf and is tricked by his evil wife into remaining in lupine form. In the *Mayse bukh* version, the protagonist experiences a no-less surprising transformation—from a Christian knight into a Jewish rabbi. As Astrid

Lembke has shown, the contours of the story remained more or less the same, but in the Yiddish adapter's treatment, the tale became "a story about the self-empowerment, agency, and self-confidence of a vulnerable minority."[77] This transformation was achieved through the intense Judaization of the narrative but also, I would argue, through the subtle incorporation of two distinct references, the first biblical and the second contemporary. The first of these references appears in the tale's opening line, which presents it as "the tale of a great rabbi who lived in the land of Uz" [*im land genant Uts*].[78] Modeled on the first verse of the biblical book of Job—"There was a man in the land of Uz, whose name was Job; and that man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil" (Job 1:1)—the story's opening communicates to the reader that the tale is one in which a Job-like figure will endure great adversity. It furthermore conveys the main preoccupation of the tale: the problem of the suffering of innocents. Significantly, this philosophical problem takes on a pointedly political meaning in the tale of the rabbi-werewolf, which targeted a European minority for whom the question of pious persecution bore deep contemporary meanings.

The second, contemporary reference consolidates the tale's political dimension. Cursed by his wife and transformed into a werewolf, "the good rabbi," we are told, "sprang out the window [and began to wander] in a great forest called the forest of Bohemia (*ayn grosen vald den man nent den femer valt*; i.e., Bömerwald)."[79] Fascinatingly, then, the rabbi's lupine leap out the window is matched by a narrative leap, which relocates the story from the Bible to Bohemia. The metamorphosis from pious rabbi to persecuted wolf is thus also a shift from the biblical Mediterranean to the contemporary diaspora. In this fashion, the story creates a sophisticated symmetry between exile and animality, reframing a medieval feudal tale as a messianic parable of Jewish exile and redemption.[80]

Judaization

As the adaptation of the international tale of the man-turned-werewolf begins to reveal, in some translations, domestication entailed aggressive intervention, inserting information, ideas, events, or storylines that were entirely absent in the source. In some Yiddish prose translations, such as Isaac Reutlingen's *Kayzer Okatavian* (1580), *Bovo d'Antona*, or the maskilic *Robinzohn, di geshikhte fun Alter Leb* (c. 1820), formerly non-Jewish protagonists and plotlines were Judaized, whether explicitly or vaguely.[81]

Other Yiddish translators made no attempt to obscure the foreign origins of their works, preferring instead to use wordplay in order to replace the Christian terms in their sources with derogatory or polemical terms.[82] Words like *Sakrament*, *Taufe* (baptism), or, as we have seen, *Kirche* (church), were replaced with pejorative terms like *sheker tame* (filthy lie), *shmad* (a derogatory term for conversion), and *tifle*.[83] Shared by Yiddish translators across the board, this practice appears even in works that constituted near-transliterations of their German sources.

Other translators simply neutralized Christian references.[84] An interesting example comes from an early Yiddish translation of the popular collection of tales *Les mille et un jours: contes Persans* (One thousand and one days: Persian tales) by François Pétis de la Croix. Not to be confused with Antoine Galland's better-known *Mille et une nuits* (which, as we have seen, was also translated into Yiddish), Pétis de la Croix's book originally appeared in 1710–1711, becoming a huge success almost overnight.[85] Its popularity was such that some stories from this derivative work were even introduced into volume 8 of *Mille et une nuits* by the book's first publisher, much to Galland's dismay.[86] The Persian tales seem to have struck a chord among Yiddish readers as well, who participated enthusiastically in the orientalist craze that swept eighteenth-century Europe.[87] At least two additional translations or editions of the work appeared in Warsaw during the nineteenth century, but have since been lost.[88] The extant edition, which appeared under the title *Toyzent unt ayn tag,* constitutes a slightly abridged but generally faithful translation of the 1712 German translation of the first two volumes of Pétis de la Croix's Persian tales. The language is predominantly German-in-Hebrew characters, almost entirely devoid of Hebraisms. No publication or authorship details are given in the book, but in the extant edition housed at the Goethe University Library in Frankfurt, an unknown hand notes that the book was published in Amsterdam sometime during the eighteenth century.[89]

The Yiddish translation of Pétis de la Croix's Persian tales provides a particularly interesting case of cultural transfer, as it constitutes a meeting point of not two, but (supposedly) three separate religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. As such, this second- or even third-hand translation offers an unusual opportunity to compare the limits of translatability between Christians and Jews. As is most often the case with Old Yiddish translations, *Toyzent unt ayn tag* divulged no information regarding its source.[90] Once again, the translation differs in this respect from other contemporaneous translations of Pétis de la Croix's book, such as those into German, Dutch,

and English.[91] As one continues reading, other idiosyncrasies of the Yiddish version reveal themselves. In the book's preface, Pétis de la Croix claimed that the work was, in fact, a translation of the Persian tales told by a certain Sufi dervish of Isfahan by the name of Moclés.[92] In the first two volumes the remainder of the preface was dedicated to an attempt to distinguish the work from Galland's earlier and more famous tales, but in later volumes Pétis de la Croix appended an important disclaimer. Here, he noted that while the original (supposedly Persian) work was burdened by numerous "licentious tales," the translator had chosen to omit the majority of these tales from the translation "for fear of annoying the reader" (*de peur d'ennuyer le lecteur*).[93] And yet, Pétis de la Croix's book was far from chaste, featuring numerous scenes of passion, temptation, extramarital affairs, murder, and violence, all of which are repeated in the book's German translation and, in abridged form, in its Yiddish translation. This was hardly unusual; with few exceptions, Yiddish translators rarely engaged in bowdlerization.[94]

But Pétis de la Croix had another bone to pick with his putative source; the Persian tales, he argued, are "replete with tales of the false miracles of Muhammad" (*de faux miracles de Mahomet*).[95] Once again, this did not stop him from communicating these Islamic-tinted tales to his readers. In fact, Pétis de la Croix's *Persian tales* included references not only to Muhammad but also to a litany of other non-Christian deities, beliefs, rituals, and customs. Where such references required explication, the author added explanatory glosses. Thus, the reader learned that Kesaya was an "idol worshipped in the old days in Kashmir,"[96] or that the word "*Sofi*" [= Sufi] comes from the words "*Suf*," "*Safa*," and "*Tesaouf*" [= Tasawwuf], signifying wool, purity, and mysticism, respectively.[97]

These references and glosses were reproduced, with minor variations, in all of the contemporary translations I have reviewed (into German, English, Dutch, and Italian) with the exception of the Yiddish translation, from which each and every reference to non-Jewish deities, rituals, and beliefs was pedantically eliminated. Thus, in one of the key scenes from the frame narrative, the Princess Farrukhnaz of Kashmir has a dream, which she interprets as a message "sent to her from the great Kesaya . . . , to warn her that all men were nothing but traitors, who would return only infidelity and ingratitude for the tender affection of women."[98] The Yiddish translation repeats the episode almost verbatim, with one small difference; the word "Kesaya" is replaced by the Yiddish/German word *got* (God).[99] Elsewhere in the book, Bedouins (*Beduinische Araber*) become thieves (*royberz*);[100] an audience of

"Muslims and infidels" (*Muselmännern und Ungläubigen Audienz*) becomes an audience simply of "people" (*mentshen oydiyents*);[101] and a mosque (*Mosquee*) becomes a house (*hoyz*).[102]

A comparison of Pétis de la Croix's treatment of the Islamic themes in his putatively Persian hypotext, the German translators' treatment of Pétis de la Croix's French book, and the Yiddish translator's treatment of his German source unveils the distinctiveness of Jewish domestication. As discussed in further detail below, while Christian translators did not abstain from domestication—indeed, Pétis de la Croix's translation has been noted for its transformation of the Persian court into the "luxurious and decadent world of Versailles"[103]—as a rule, they displayed no reservations in mentioning the rites, sites, customs, or beliefs of other peoples. For the Yiddish translator, on the other hand, domestication meant purging the text of any mention of their very existence.

Such Judaization is particularly discernible in translations of literary texts, Hebrew and Yiddish translations of scientific works were also often Judaized. Translators added observations, remedies, advice, and admonitions that would have been of particular relevance to Jews. One such translation specifically retailored for a Jewish readership was the seventeenth-century medical manual *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim*. As we saw in Chapter 2, the book's anonymous Yiddish translator drew on two earlier medical works in Latin. At the same time, he peppered his translation with observations and recommendations surrounding the particular health hazards that affected Jewish well-being in the diaspora. Thus, for instance, to his source's observations on the importance of sleeping on a light stomach, he added that "this holds particularly true on *Shabbes* when people eat leftovers [from the first of the three *Shabbes* meals] in the morning and from this many illnesses emerge."[104] Elsewhere, in a discussion of the adverse health effects of sadness and fear, he inserted the following observation: "It should come as no surprise (*kayn khidush*) that [the People of] Israel are weak and have little power, since because of our sins in the *golus* [diaspora] we are constantly subject to many worries and woes [*fil zorg un' der shrekns*]."[105]

Foreignization

Judaization was, then, a key feature of early modern Jewish translation. There are, however, cases in which translators defy our expectations, retaining—or even adding—precisely those things we would expect them to omit. We

saw in Chapter 1 how the late medieval Yiddish "Dukus Horant" combined the domesticating *tifle* with the foreign *Kirche* at a distance of just a few lines, and similar phenomena can be found throughout Jewish literature. A striking example comes from the 1600 version of *Eulenspiegel*, in which, as we have seen, the translator, Binyamin ben Yosef Merks of Tannhausen, deliberately corrupted such terms as *Heiliger Geist* (Holy Ghost) and *Taufen* (baptism) to polemicize against his Christian source. At the same time, Merks had no qualms about retaining such terms as *Christ* or *Sanct* (saint), nor even of translating in full a clearly Judeophobic tale about how Eulenspiegel sold his excrement to the Jews, claiming that it was "prophet berries."[106]

In Hebrew translations, the use of foreign terms to compensate for the absence of adequate Hebrew equivalents often furnishes a whiff of the foreign source used by the translator. This frequently occurs in scientific translations, which feature many terms that lack Hebrew equivalents.[107] Such terms are often distinguished in the translation by the use of brackets, a different typeface, or other paratextual features, thus breaking the fluency of the translation and forming crevasses in the text through which the foreign voices that domestication aims to muffle are transmitted to the reader. Indeed, it is often precisely these terms that enable us today to identify early modern Hebrew texts as translations and to determine their precise sources.

Contrary to Venuti's intuitions, however, Jewish forms of foreignization were often no less ethnocentric or aggressive than the corresponding techniques of domestication, and they often appeared alongside one another in one and the same translation. We saw above how Moshe Botarel offered his readers a deeply foreignized translation of Nostradamus's almanac for 1562, only to argue that the source text inadvertently prophesied the annihilation of Christianity and the coming of the Jewish Messiah. We have also seen how Yiddish translators of German works often highlighted the foreign nature of their sources, exploiting the mention of Christian rites, rituals, or figures to make light of Christianity and lambaste Christians.

At other times, foreignization was less strategic or planned and was simply the result of the slippage characteristic of translation. A somewhat amusing example comes from a "visual translation" that is featured in the beloved Amsterdam Haggadah, produced by Avraham bar Ya'akov in 1695. As Rehav Rubin has shown, Avraham, a convert to Judaism, reproduced in this Haggadah a litany of illustrations that were lifted from contemporary non-Jewish literature, including several engravings taken from a collection of biblical illustrations by the leading Swiss engraver Matheus Merian (1593–

1650). In one, an illustration of the temple in Jerusalem, a small cross is discernible atop the roof of the temple. Apparently, "during the copying process, the artisan who prepared the plates for the Haggadah forgot to erase [the cross]. Since the Amsterdam Haggadah and its illustrations merited numerous replicas over the centuries, this symbol of Christ found its way into many [other] Haggadahs."[108]

Avraham bar Ya'akov's reproduction of the cross may have been inadvertent, but it offers a visual representation of his own hybrid identity as a convert to Judaism. Indeed, the figure of the convert provides a pointed expression of the impossibility of a truly faithful translation, as well as of the creative power of untranslatability. In Jewish legal thought from the Middle Ages onwards, conversion from Judaism was considered impossible: "a Jew, even a converted Jew, simply could not become a goy."[109] Christians were equally doubtful as to the power of baptism to ensure commitment to Christianity, and converts' motivations and convictions were met with heavy suspicion.[110] Fueling this suspicion was, among other things, the notion that desire for economic gain often motivated conversion and that, given the opportunity, the converts were liable to return to Judaism. The case of the Yiddish printer Shmuel Helicz attests to the fact that these suspicions were not always entirely unfounded.

The Helicz brothers were the founders of Jewish printing in Poland, and it is to them that we owe the first printed Yiddish books. In 1537, the three brothers, along with several other family members, converted to Catholicism. The brothers' reasons for converting have been the focus of debate; some historians argue that the conversion was inspired by financial duress, while others point to the contemporary persecution of Jews in Poland.[111] The conjecture that their conversion may have been insincere seems to be supported by the fact that Shmuel, or Paul as he came to be known after his conversion, later returned to Judaism.[112] Whatever the reasons for his adoption of Catholicism, Shmuel/Paul Helicz's conversion and reconversion were accompanied by a series of translations that encapsulate the ambivalent position of Jewish converts/translators in early modern Europe. Indeed, Helicz's case itself nicely encapsulates the connection between translation and conversion.

The first book that Helicz published after his conversion to Christianity was a Yiddish translation of the New Testament (1540). As Majer Balaban noted, the translation (carried out by another convert, one Johann Harzuge, and dedicated to the bishop of Krakow, Piotr Gamrat) was in fact

a transliteration into Hebrew characters of the German Bible produced by none other than Martin Luther.[113] The translator went so far as to transliterate what was ostensibly Luther's most contested rendering, that is, his translation of Romans 3:28 as "*dass der Mensch gerecht werde ohne des Gesetzes Werke, allein durch den Glauben*" [that a person is justified without the works of the law, by faith alone]. Of course, the word *allein* (alone) was Luther's own addition to the biblical text and was a means of justifying the Protestant doctrine of *sola fide*—justification by faith alone. As Magda Teter and Edward Fram note, "for Catholics, this was a prime example of how Luther had corrupted scripture, and yet here it was in a work published by a new Christian, dedicated to the . . . bishop of Cracow. . . . The book was printed . . . to spread the Gospel among the Jews—and it taught them the wrong faith."[114] The translator's slip was that of someone not yet fully immersed in Catholic translational norms.

The translation that accompanied Helicz's reintroduction to Judaism was an entirely different story. Having returned to Judaism sometime before 1551, Helicz moved to Constantinople, where he reestablished himself as a printer of Hebrew books. A seasoned publisher, well-versed in the literary norms and conventions that dominated the Jewish literary system, Helicz chose to announce his return to the faith by publishing two books with deep symbolic value. The first was an edition of the Pentateuch, published in Constantinople around 1551, part of an ambitious but apparently unsuccessful attempt to publish the entire Hebrew Bible. For Shmuel, who presented himself on the title page of the translation as "Shavu'el" (returned to God), this book served perhaps as a corrective to his translation of the New Testament a mere eight years earlier.[115] The second translation was the apocryphal book of Judith, published by Helicz in Constantinople in 1552. Once again, the translator was not Helicz himself but rather one Moshe Meldonado, who presented the work as a translation from the Latin: "I have found the book of Judith written in the Latin tongue and decided to translate it into our Holy Tongue so that the righteousness of God, who extended his grace to us under siege and straitness, shall be known."[116] Like the Pentateuch translation, which served as penance for Shmuel's translation of the New Testament, the translation of an apocryphal book seems to have been a means of doing penance for his conversion. Indeed, there could be no more fitting translation for a returning Jew than the apocryphal works, which were viewed as books that had been appropriated by gentiles and were now being brought back into the fold. In Helicz's translation of Judith, then, conversion and

translation were conflated in a manner that allowed both printer and book to return to Judaism at one and the same time.

Change of Genre

For Jewish translators, domestication meant not only expunging the non-Jewish religious elements of the text and Judaizing its language, narrative, or setting but also making it more familiar to a Jewish readership by adapting it to the literary norms of the target culture. In their Hebrew and Yiddish translations, Jewish translators created works that brought together not only distinct languages and cultures but also different genres, registers, and target audiences. A case in point is Shabbethai Bass's Yiddish translation of the popular German travel guide *Memorabilia Europae* (1678), mentioned in Chapter 1. The German book was designed to serve as a guide for young German gentlemen (*Kavaliere*) as they set out on their grand tours through Europe's cultural capitals. In the book's preface, the author, Eberhardt Rudolph Roth observed: "Travel is a very fine, useful thing. . . . However, there are many who . . . would have been better off remaining at home. For there are those who travel to foreign lands in order to return home with all kinds of strange new vices, clothes, and foolish and adventurous ideas. . . . Others become loud atheists, and shy not from sins of all sorts."[117] Roth's book aimed to combat this phenomenon and to offer young travelers a guide that would ensure a safe, pious, and instructive journey. To this end, he included in his guide brief descriptions of various European cities, including the main tourist attractions therein—everything from historical monuments and impressive architectural sites to colorful markets and warm baths. The second part of Roth's book sketched a succinct route through Europe; a third provided basic medical advice for various medical emergencies that might occur en route; a fourth contained instructions on the handling of horses and carriages; and a fifth included short prayers and blessings for the journey.

Clearly, a book such as Roth's *Memorabila* would have seemed wholly irrelevant to a seventeenth-century Jewish readership. As Elhanan Reiner notes: "Travel for travel's sake was not part of Jewish leisure culture of those days, and the majority of travelers were poor vagrants, a large portion of whom were refugees from the Thirty Years' War and the Polish pogroms."[118] Still, in 1680, a mere two years after its original publication, parts of Roth's book were translated (without acknowledgment) into Yiddish by the Jewish bibliographer Shabbethai Bass. In a preface of his own, Bass, like so many

other Jewish translators before him, underscored the importance of profane knowledge for Jews. "This is particularly true," he emphasized, "in this day and age, in which making a living is as hard as parting the Red Sea [*so gar shver . . . mamash ke-kriyas yam Suf*]. Therefore [even the] learned Jew must make sure that he has some income, so that he may study in peace."[119]

The differences between the German source and its Yiddish translation could not be more profound. The lengthy discussions of the benefits and hazards of travel for the cultural refinement of Europe's youth were entirely omitted, as were the chapters on horseback riding and carriage maintenance, the treatment of medical emergencies, and the descriptions of Europe's major cities and cultural centers. In addition, Bass omitted routes that would have been unavailable to Jewish travelers, to whom specific travel bans and restrictions applied. In lieu of these routes, he inserted routes to popular Jewish mercantile centers such as Amsterdam and to various eastern European cities. Finally, Bass added a chapter on currency conversion rates in these trading centers, which was absent from Roth's book. In this way, Bass recast Roth's tour guide for young German gentlemen as a road book or merchants' manual, designed specifically for Jewish itinerant merchants.[120]

Changes of genre were characteristic not only of Yiddish but also of Hebrew translations. A particularly widespread norm, especially in the eighteenth century, was to repurpose German children's books for Jewish adults. Often presented as a peculiarity of maskilic translations, such as Lindau's *Reshit limudim* or the various Hebrew and Yiddish translations of the works of Campe,[121] the phenomenon was also shared by translators who were not distinctly associated with the Haskalah, such as Avraham ben Eliyahu of Vilna, who, as noted in Chapter 2, translated a children's adaptation of the works of Buffon. Another example is provided by the Hamburg-born author Moshe Heida.[122] In 1711, Heida published a Yiddish arithmetic book under the title *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev* (Opus of art and ingenuity). The book seems to have enjoyed a positive reception in contemporary rabbinic circles; in 1765 it was cited by Rabbi Eliyahu ben Moshe Gershon of Pinczow as one of the sources for his own Hebrew arithmetic book titled *Melekhet maḥshevet* (Opus of meditation/calculation), alongside Eliyahu Mizraḥi's well-known Hebrew *Kitsur torat ha-mispar* (Abridged art of the number, 1546) and Moshe Eisenstadt's Yiddish *Ḥokhmat ha-mispar* (Art of the number, 1712).[123] This was a rare case in which a Hebrew work of science acknowledged its reliance on previous Yiddish sources. Heida's book also boasted approba-

tions from several prestigious rabbinical authorities, including Naphtali Katz, the chief rabbi of Frankfurt (1650–1719).[124]

Heida did not divulge information about his sources but explained that he had perused previous works on arithmetic and found them either too lengthy or too haphazard. His own book was presented as the golden mean, providing just the right level of requisite arithmetical knowledge.[125] Heida seems to have drawn on multiple sources in preparing his book; one of which was a book published only three years earlier, by the Regensburg teacher and pedagogue Georg Heinrich Paritius, titled *Compendium Praxis Arithmetices* (1708).[126] Itself an adaptation of the author's earlier and much heftier *Praxis Arithmetices* (1706),[127] Paritius's compendium was designed primarily for the use of young readers, as is clear from the dedication, in which the author identified his prospective readers as "young people who admire art and virtue" (*Kunst und Tugend liebende Jugend*).[128]

Paritius used various pedagogical means to make the book accessible to its young readership. The first chapter of the compendium, for instance, uses questions and answers to teach readers how to pronounce the various numbers: "How should these two number signs 12 be pronounced together?/Answer twelve" (*Wie werden diese zwey Zahl-Zeichen 12. zusammen außgeprochen?/Antwort Zwölf*)."[129] Heida's Yiddish book reproduces this format, with only slight variations in the language and numbers used: "How should 101 be pronounced[?] answer one hundred and one" (*Vi verden 101 oys geshprokhen[?] antvort hundert un' ayns*).[130]

While the two works are similar both topically and in terms of their arrangement, Heida's book also departs from Paritius's text in numerous ways, offering discussions and examples found nowhere in the German compendium and that may have been drawn from other sources. And yet the linguistic proximity between some of the texts in the two books leaves little room for doubt as to the relationship between them; in some places, the language and phrasing in the two works is almost identical.[131] Heida seems to have drawn on Paritius's textbook for children but complemented it with other works, thereby fashioning his own work not for children but rather, as he explains in the book's introduction, "for the benefit of the residents of the land (*yoshve ha-arets*) and its merchants and traffickers (*kin'aneha*, acc. to Isaiah 23:8), . . . who are not well-versed in the Hebrew tongue."[132] An additional readership imagined by Heida seems to have been the rabbinical reader, who is often required, as he notes, "to pass judgement on issues relating to numbers and fractions."[133]

Other Deviations

While domestication was the leading consideration for straying from the source, there were also other prevalent motivations. Some translators strayed from their sources due to scientific disagreement, linguistic difficulties, misunderstandings, or the need to simplify, abbreviate, or, in some cases, to expand.

Abbreviation, Addition, and Amalgamation

One of the most widespread translational techniques among early modern translators into Hebrew and Yiddish was abbreviation. Jewish translators often displayed impatience with long, verbose presentations, overviews of current debates and controversies, or lengthy, nuanced discussions of detail. Abbreviations of this sort were characteristic of early modern translation more generally. As Peter Burke notes, during the early modern period, "long texts [were often] abridged in translation, reduced to as little as half of their original length."[134]

At times, such abbreviations resulted in translations that represented a significantly diluted version of their source. This happened often in Yiddish works, which, as noted above, catered to a readership that was understood to be less intellectually inclined.[135] In the aforementioned *Seyder harey olem*, for instance, Melissantes's meandering, multipage entries became short, lexical descriptions, consisting of no more than a few lines each. Some mountains seem to have piqued the translator's interest, and he translated their elaborate descriptions in greater detail, although never remotely in full. Interestingly, it was not the mountains of the Holy Land that particularly arrested him, as one might have expected—those, in fact, were treated offhandedly—but instead volcanoes, such as Mount Etna and Mount Vesuvius, and "exotic" mountains or mountain ranges, such as the Andes.[136] It may have been that the translator assumed that these distant, perilous mountains would excite his readers' imagination.

Although subtractions tended to be less radical in Hebrew translations, which catered to more theoretically inclined tastes, Hebrew translators, too, were often reluctant to reproduce the information that appeared in their sources in full. Zahalon, for instance, opened his *Otsar ha-ḥayim* (see Chapter 1) by stating that the book "offers a set table (*shulḥan arukh*) without dif-

ferences of opinion, as often appear in books of medicine, for I have included [only] the most proper, accepted, and proven methods."[137] And indeed, Zahalon offered his readers a much-abridged translation of his Latin sources. Lengthy explications of the various diseases, their causes, diagnoses, and treatment became short, lexical entries, while the sources' general order of presentation and classification were retained intact. Certain chapters, however, were translated in full, and some were even expanded. One example of such expansion is in the chapter on hypochondriac melancholy; Zahalon explains that it "is the cause of many sicknesses, is difficult to cure, and I myself have suffered from it to some degree, and so I chose to expand upon it."[138]

Such additions were not unusual in Jewish translations; indeed, where some translators abbreviated their sources, others saw the need to expand, at times heavily. An interesting example comes from the earliest Yiddish (or, for that matter, Jewish) version of the *Arabian Nights*, which appeared in Wandsbek (in present-day Hamburg) in 1718 (as briefly noted in Chapter 2). The book, published anonymously under the title *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, made no mention of its source. It was not until 1977 that Ḥayim Liebermann identified the work as a translation of the *Arabian Nights*. Based on the translator's use of French terms in Hebrew transliteration, Liebermann deduced that the translator had used the French version and was perhaps a resident of France.[139] However, closer inspection reveals the work to be a near-transliteration of the German translation of Galland's French *Arabian Nights*, which first appeared in 1710 and was reprinted, in several editions, throughout the eighteenth century.[140] The translator provided his Yiddish readers a close translation of the German text, with sporadic Hebraisms for good measure.[141]

And yet the translator's treatment of his source was far from slavish; in fact, he reframed Galland's *Arabian Nights* within a narrative of his own. In this new frame narrative, Galland's famous Persian princess, Scheherazade, is recast as an Indian (and vaguely Jewish) princess by the name of Melela;[142] the Persian sultan Shahryar becomes the Indian king Bendrari; and the tales are told during the day, not at night. No longer is the king a vengeful wife-killer but rather a beloved monarch, whose only fault is his distrust of women. With the absence of an heir looming, Melela, the daughter of one of the king's advisers, volunteers to marry the king in order to prevent the throne from being usurped by foreigners. Offering a long, involved adventure tale about an Arab prince who falls in love with a beautiful princess who has been

locked in a castle by her own father, Melela's father attempts to dissuade her from this marriage. This tale is the longest individual tale in the collection. It combines intricate storytelling techniques (parts of the narrative are communicated through correspondences between the protagonists) with a dizzying number of subplots (one of which tells of the "beautiful princess Medusa"[143]) and takes up almost half of the entire booklet.[144]

Exactly why the Yiddish translator chose to reframe the *Arabian Nights* in an original narrative of his own composition must remain a mystery. Perhaps this was a means of concealing the book's indebtedness to Galland's wildly popular source, or perhaps the translator wished to amplify the exoticism of the tale by relocating it to the even more "remote" India, where, in Yiddish imagination, marvels and monsters reigned. More probably, the translator saw in the *Arabian Nights* an opportunity to offer his own creative variation on a recent and hugely popular collection that had already been published in a large number of editions and translations. Whatever his motivation, in using Galland's *Arabian Nights* as a platform for his own literary creation, our unnamed translator was by no means unusual. Yiddish translators often combined their own original tales with translation, offering their readers books and stories that transgressed the boundaries between imitation and innovation, Jewish and foreign, copying and creating.

Deviations Inspired by Disagreement

In some cases, translators disagreed with a claim or an approach put forth in their source text and therefore deviated from that text in order to deliver messages of their own, at times in direct opposition to those found in the source. In Elye Bokher's *Bovo d'Antona*, for instance, the translator purged his Italian source of the many monsters that festered between its pages. Explaining this choice in the body of his text, he noted that "I would rather not write [of these things], I consider [them] lies."[145] Curiously, one monster still managed to make its way into the Yiddish translation—that is, Bovo's erstwhile nemesis and subsequent companion, the dog-headed Pelukan, who receives a much more sympathetic treatment in the Yiddish version of the tale than in the original Italian.[146]

Naturally, disagreement was a more prominent motivation for deviations in scientific translations. Tuviah Ha-Kohen, for instance, incorporated in his *Ma'ase Tuviah* a short translation of Chapter 2 of Johannes de Sacrobosco's famous astronomical treatise, *Sphaera Mundi,* originally written sometime

in the early thirteenth century. Enjoying some popularity among medieval and early modern Jewish writers, *Sphaera Mundi* appeared in several Hebrew translations in both print and manuscript form from the fourteenth century onwards and was the focus of at least two known commentaries, by Matityahu Delacrut and Moshe Almosnino.[147] It might seem jarring that Tuviah, the author of a work that boasted of its innovative nature, would base his astronomical discussion on such a dated text, but Sacrobosco's work continued to enjoy wide appeal even into the seventeenth century and was still the preferred textbook at universities for most of the early modern period.[148] The existence of several other Hebrew translations of, and commentaries on, the work would also have contributed to its appeal for Tuviah.

Still, writing almost five hundred years after Sacrobosco, Tuviah was forced to adapt his translation to tackle the astronomical discoveries of the previous half-millennium—most notably, of course, those of Copernicus. Thus, to Sacrobosco's brief discussion of the phenomenon of the solstice, Tuviah added the following (the words in bold type are Tuviah's addition to the source):

> The colure of the solstice [*igul ha'amadat ha-shemesh* in Hebrew, *solstitia* in Sacrobosco's Latin] passes through the poles of the earth [*olam*; *mundi*] and the polar points that are the pole of Cancer and the pole of Capricorn. **But when the ancients named these two polar points "the points in which the sun stands"** [Tuviah refers here to the etymology of the term *solstice* from the Latin *sol*—sun, and *sisto*—stop, stay] [they meant] **not that the sun actually stands in one place, for it cannot be imagined that the sun stands, for all things that move do not stand as argued by Aristotle.**[149]

Political considerations also inspired deviations from the source. In Avraham Ben Eliyahu's translation of Buffon, for instance, we read that Jews are always of a darker complexion than other Europeans. This message was reinforced by a footnote in which the translation (following Isaiah 61:9) emphasized that "all that see them shall acknowledge them, that they are the seed which the Lord hath blessed, and say: who is like your people, one nation in the world and one language." Remarkably, a comparison of this Hebrew discussion with its source reveals that Avraham manipulated his translation to deliver a message that is the opposite of the original. For Buffon, the variability of Jewish complexion was in fact an indication of the

circumstantial nature of physical variety. Thus, he explained in the *Histoire naturelle* that "the Jews of Portugal alone are tawny [but] the German Jews of Germany, those of Prague, for example, are not swarthier than the other Germans."[150] Avraham's deviation from his source is understandable when we consider the political significance ascribed to Jewish darkness in rabbinical thought in premodern Europe. In upholding darkness as a product of piety, Avraham was walking a well-trodden path. The anonymous, approximately thirteenth-century, *Sefer nitsaḥon yashan*, for instance, argues that Jews are black because they conceive in the darkness, whereas non-Jews engage in sexual relations during the day, which allows them to view beautiful images that are then imprinted on their offspring.[151]

What's "Jewish" About Jewish Translation?

To what extent were the translational norms surveyed above particularly Jewish? Even the most cursory look at early modern European literature reveals that notions of authorship, imitation, originality, and intellectual property differed vastly from our own.[152] In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, for instance, it was widely accepted that translation into French was intrinsically a creative act, which improved the quality of the original. This resulted in the formation of a library of so-called *belles infidèles*, which viewed domestication as an essential task of the translator.[153] In England, as Venuti notes, "a freer translation method was advocated with greater frequency from the 1620s onward," to the point that by the eighteenth century, "domestication dominated the theory and practice of English-language translation in every genre."[154] In Poland, "free adaptations existed as texts in their own right, totally independent of the originals."[155] Similar attitudes could be found all over Europe.[156]

It is often argued that the eighteenth century saw the rise of new norms of translation within the German-speaking sphere that prioritized fidelity and adequacy over aesthetics and acceptability. And indeed, some late-eighteenth-century Jewish authors who participated in the German literary system, such as Moses Mendelssohn, Henriette Herz, and Saul Asher, seem to have adhered to these new norms when translating into German (though, significantly, not when translating into Hebrew).[157] Still, studies have shown that until the end of the eighteenth century, "in practice theoretical com-

mitments to faithfulness played only a minor role even in Germany, while omissions, amendments and modifications were the real order of the day."[158]

A liberal approach to translation is also documented among early modern Ottoman translators. As Gottfried Hagen explains, "[early modern] Ottoman translators assumed a status similar to that of authors."[159] They translated chapters and fragments from both the Islamic and Christian worlds, often almost seamlessly combining the two.[160] The works of these translators offer particularly interesting parallels to the Jewish system, exhibiting a similar combination of tradition and innovation, religion and science, East and West. Thus, for instance, the popular Ottoman work *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi* (History of the India of the West)—originally written in 1580 and reproduced repeatedly in manuscript and print over the following two centuries—was, for the most part, a translation of several Italian translations of Spanish and Latin works, combined with a litany of Islamic geographies and cosmographies.[161] In the seventeenth century, the works of the Ottoman court physician Ibn Sallūm combined classical Graeco-Arabic medicine with so-called "prophetic medicine" and (likely secondhand) translations of early modern European medical texts.[162] His contemporary Kātib Čelebi combined European and Islamic sources in his *Ǧihānnümā*, considered the first Ottoman world geography. As Hagen shows, in discussing Europe and the "New World," Čelebi recognized the superiority of European geographers but showed a preference for Islamic sources in his description of other parts of the globe.[163]

In a study of the literary networks that developed during the spread of Islam through early modern South and Southeast Asia, Ronit Ricci reveals remarkably similar norms that characterized the translation of works from Arabic into Javanese, Malay, and Tamil.[164] Like their Jewish contemporaries to the West, these translators exhibited a deeply creative understanding of translation; they domesticated ("localized" is Ricci's preferred term) their sources, familiarizing the new and foreign ideas they entailed. Notwithstanding important differences between them, early modern Tamil, Malay and Javanese translators seem to have shared an understanding of translation as a way to "retell or rewrite a text in ways that were often both culturally appropriate and impressively creative."[165]

It appears then, that early modern Jews' understanding of translation dovetailed with ideals and concepts found elsewhere in Europe, the Ottoman Empire, and even South and Southeast Asia. And yet, it is important

to note some profound differences; unlike contemporary Christian and Islamic translational projects, the project of Jewish translation was distinguished by its unique combination of deep anxiety and intense attraction. For Jewish translators, translation was primarily a means of monitoring the influx of new, non-Jewish knowledge into the Jewish cultural and literary realm. The underlying ambivalence toward non-Jewish works and the acute awareness of the dangers inherent in direct, unmediated exposure to such works made Jewish translation a solution to a problem, and domestication an (almost deliberate) defensive technique. This anxiety about exposure contrasts sharply with the primary aim of translation from Arabic in South and Southeast Asia, which was essentially to promote religious and cultural change, namely conversion to Islam. As Ricci convincingly argues, the domestication techniques adopted by South and Southeast Asian translators corresponded directly with this aim. Making foreign texts feel more local enabled translators to blur the age-old linguistic, geographic, historical, and cultural lines that separated the Arabic source from the non-Arabic target cultures and to facilitate the emergence of a shared literary and religious cosmopolis: "Through translation, communities gradually created, adopted, and accumulated the cultural resources that made memories of an Islamic past and a lived Islamic present possible."[166] With the exception of a handful of missionary translations into Jewish languages, the Jewish understanding of translation could scarcely have been more different. Indeed, conversion was perhaps the ultimate threat that Jewish translation was designed to contain.

Jewish understandings of translation also differ significantly from the pluralistic approach to sources exhibited by Ottoman translators that is discussed by Hagen and others. Having encountered Christians and Jews as minority subjects within their massive realms, Ottoman intellectuals were little threatened by European knowledge and could therefore incorporate it seamlessly into their own Islamic world view. Their combination of Western science with Islamic sources seems to have stemmed not from an anxiety over contamination but from a literary pluralism that corresponded to the immense linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity that characterized the early modern Ottoman Empire.

Similarly, although many Christian translators domesticated their translations, this impulse was fueled less by anxiety about the hazardous potential of exposing their readers to foreign cultures and religions than by stylistic, aesthetic, didactic, or economic considerations.[167] Admittedly, as Venuti notes, any form of domestication entails "an ethnocentric reduction of the

foreign text to dominant cultural values in [the target culture],"[168] but as his own study shows, in the case of hegemonic cultures the expectation that foreign texts comply with the norms of the target culture is indicative not of an anxiety over influence but rather of a particular self-assuredness, enabled by "cultural narcissism and imperialism."[169] Accentuating this difference between hegemonic and non-hegemonic forms of domestication is the fact that whereas active domestication was widespread in early modern translations from one European vernacular to the other, this was rarely the case for translations of early modern *Jewish* texts into European languages. In translating Hebrew works into Latin or the European vernaculars, early modern Hebraists frequently opted for faithful, even literal translations, designed with multiple, often intersecting purposes: to edify and instruct Christians, to facilitate "accurate knowledge of the Jews," or to serve polemical or missionary roles.[170]

In the case of translations from Yiddish, Aya Elyada has shown how German translators tended to "exoticize" their sources. In contrast to Hebrew, the primary value of Yiddish texts for German translators lay precisely in their uncanny combination of the familiar and foreign. And yet, contrary to Venuti's expectations, these foreignization strategies did not disrupt cultural codes or "do right abroad [by doing] wrong at home."[171] In fact, Elyada views the foreignization of Yiddish works in German as a preventive measure, prompted by the close linguistic proximity between Yiddish and German. By emphasizing the foreignness of the source texts, German translators sought to clearly demarcate the lines between the cultures: "ours" (Christian-German) and "theirs."

This difference between Jewish and Christian attitudes to domestication reflects the asymmetries of power between Christians and Jews. For German, French, or English translators, foreign texts provided an opportunity for literary tourism. The beliefs, rituals, and world views of other peoples did not trigger fear, resistance, or a disruption of domestic values in these translators but rather elicited curiosity. This type of reaction required a degree of religious and cultural confidence that the Jewish minority in early modern Europe could hardly entertain. It is surely no coincidence, then, that Jews domesticated their translations of non-Jewish texts while Christians foreignized their translations of Jewish works. The ability to encounter other cultures in their alterity often hinges on the ability to view them as harmless. Stanley Diamond has characterized this approach toward other cultures as "a perspective congenial in an imperial civilization convinced of its power."[172]

Jewish translators drew, then, on the translational norms that existed in their surrounding (non-Jewish) environments, but their work was distinctive for the cultural significance that they ascribed to interreligious translation, on the one hand, and to the domestication and concealment of their sources, on the other. It was the chameleon-like nature of translation that made this particular literary activity a primary means for Jews to tackle the non-Jewish cultural developments of their time. Translation allowed Jewish authors to both conceal the foreignness of their new ideas and texts and, at the same time, adapt their sources to the norms, world views, and requirements of the Jewish target culture.

Chapter 4

Between the Trickle and the Tide

Maskilic Translations Around the Turn of the Eighteenth Century

For nearly two centuries, the Haskalah has been depicted as the harbinger of modern Jewish literature. According to the traditional narrative, for most of history "Jewish intellectual activity had been confined almost exclusively to the study of the sacred Jewish texts, the Bible, the Mishnah, . . . the Talmud, and other religious writings."[1] But in the late eighteenth century, a burgeoning cohort of intellectual pioneers assembled in Berlin and began to establish a new kind of secular Hebrew literature, which corresponded with the non-Jewish literatures of its time. From Berlin, this new literature disseminated eastward, to Galicia, Poland, and Russia, and finally also to modern Israel.[2]

Attempts to nuance this narrative, from both literary and historical perspectives, have become increasingly widespread. Scholars of Italian literature have long questioned the Germanocentrism that the traditional genealogies of modern Hebrew literature (and Jewish modernity more generally) often entail.[3] Similarly, scholars of Old Yiddish literature have pointed to the rise of secular forms of writing in Yiddish long before the consolidation of the Berlin Haskalah.[4] More recently, literary historians and critics have questioned the utility of creating a genealogy of modern Jewish literature more generally. As Ofer Dynes and Naomi Seidman remark, "the question of where modern Jewish literature began is clearly far too linear and lacking in self-consciousness to serve as a useful guide to the subject."[5] And yet, notwithstanding its futility, the question of the origins of modern Hebrew literature "has not ceased to be asked," as Dynes and Seidman note.[6]

The various answers that are given to this question often focus on the putative novelty, in the late eighteenth century, of Hebrew translation. When the maskilim approached their literary task of creating a secular Hebrew library, so the story goes, "not one of them knew how to create texts according to European models, on which these pioneers had not been raised."[7] The solution was translation; by importing works from the German to the Hebrew literary system, the maskilim were able to furnish the Jewish library with a new and unprecedented type of secular literature. While recent studies such as Dynes and Seidman's have underscored the admixture of modern and ancient modes of writing in maskilic prose, translation is still often presented as a tool for importing external forms of writing that had little to do with the Jewish literary past and everything to do with its future.[8]

One of the most influential advocates in recent years of this view of translation as a force of innovation in Jewish literary history has been the culture studies scholar Zohar Shavit. In a recent article, for instance, Shavit argues that the maskilim "attempted to offer an alternative repertoire of books, most of them translations, that would differ drastically from those on the traditional rabbinical bookshelf. [These new books] voiced an unprecedented, revolutionary process of modernization in European Jewish society. . . . [They] not only effected a radical transformation in the corpus of Jewish literature, but also performed a key role in the transition of Central European Jewry from its pre-modern, traditional stage to the modernity of the Haskalah."[9] In Shavit's account, translation served as a central conduit for the importation of modernity from the non-Jewish to the Jewish world. By bringing Jews into contact with non-Jewish literature, translation severed the ties that bound Jews to the past, even as it linked the Jewish and non-Jewish present. Appropriately, as we shall see, recourse to ancient Jewish texts in the works of maskilic translators is often presented by Shavit and others as having been either an accidental remnant of past traditions or, more often, a strategic choice designed to disseminate foreign and radically innovative ideas, themes, and texts under the guise of Jewish traditionalism.

As the reader of this book will undoubtedly discern, the characterization of maskilic translation as a radical break with past literary traditions entails the marginalization of the phenomenon of early modern Jewish translation. Indeed, we saw in the Introduction that one of the great scholars of translation, Gideon Toury, characterized Jewish translation in early modern Europe as a marginal activity, one that pales in comparison with past and future endeavors. Other studies offer similar characterizations; in a 2018 vol-

ume dedicated to *Jewish Translation—Translating Jewishness*, for instance, the editors argue that: "It was really only the *Haskalah* movement that brought with it a true expansion of Jewish translation efforts."[10] An earlier overview of the history of Jewish translation, by Gabriel Zoran, overlooks the early modern period entirely. While Zoran is aware that "the history of Hebrew translation does not, of course, begin in the nineteenth century," he presents this history as a series of great leaps—first from medieval Spain to late-eighteenth-century central Europe, and then again from there to the second half of the nineteenth century.[11]

In recent years, however, the burgeoning interest in translation before the Haskalah has led to some embarrassment. What becomes of the maskilic project of so-called "modernization through translation"[12] when faced with the realization that translation was by no means a new phenomenon in the late eighteenth century? What happens to the Promethean image of the maskilic translator when we take into account the steady influx of Hebrew and Yiddish translations throughout Europe in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries? How does the image of the revolutionary translator hold up against that of the traditionalist translator? How does it correspond with those rabbis, rabbinical thinkers, and other Jewish authors who, as we have seen in the chapters above, viewed (and, in the eighteenth century, continued to view) translation as a way of moderating the flow of non-Jewish ideas into the Jewish cultural sphere? Could it be that an activity that had been largely perceived, until the late eighteenth century, as a preventive measure against direct exposure to foreign literature suddenly became a deliberate means of achieving the very kind of exposure it had earlier guarded against?

Translation and the "Maskilic Muddle"

One—perhaps the most prevalent—solution to the "problem" of the appearance of translations before the Haskalah has been to simply subsume any translation produced by Ashkenazi Jews before the last quarter of the eighteenth century into the capacious category of "Haskalah." In her discussion of *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim*, for instance, Ewa Geller presents this early-seventeenth-century Yiddish translation as "one of the forerunners of the Enlightenment attitude."[13] In similar fashion, in discussing the Polish rabbi Shlomo of Chelm's eighteenth-century translation of the works of Christian

van Adrichem (1533–1585) and Matthaeus Seutter (1678–1756), Rehav Rubin presents Shlomo as "a forerunner of the Jewish Enlightenment (*haskalah*), which emerged in the next generation."[14] Further "forerunners" are found in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, where the first Yiddish translations of the complete Bible appeared. These translations, produced by Yekutiel Blits and Yosef Witzenhausen, were, as Marion Aptroot has shown, largely based on the Dutch *Statenvertaling* (1637) and on Luther's German Bible (see Chapter 1). In contemporary research, they have been described as constituting the "buds [of Enlightenment] which would fully flourish only a century later."[15]

One wonders, however, in what sense the translation of seventeenth- and even sixteenth-century works can be considered to constitute a form of "modernization" or Enlightenment. Moreover, does the existence of so many examples not suggest that the intellectual blossoming that these so-called "buds of Enlightenment" are said to foretell was already in full bloom in the early modern period? Indeed, although the overall volume of translational activity increased considerably over the early modern period, Jewish translation was hardly an idiosyncrasy before the end of the eighteenth century. Of course, as we saw in Chapter 1, Jewish translation underwent profound changes during the early modern period, and translational activity saw a significant increase in Ashkenaz, with the number of translators almost tripling each century between 1500 and 1800 (Figure 2). Still, the growth in translational activity in Ashkenaz had already begun in the sixteenth century, and by the last quarter of the eighteenth century, translation into Jewish languages was hardly a novelty, even in the Ashkenazi context.

Historians have taken issue, furthermore, with the teleological nature of the notion of "forerunners of the Jewish Enlightenment." Thus, Shmuel Feiner argues that the notion is, in fact, "a nineteenth-century invention, intended to prove that the Haskalah movement had immanent roots and to present it as a continuous trend throughout history, one that is not contradictory to tradition."[16] Having originated in the Haskalah movement itself, the concept of "forerunners" continues to skew our understanding both of the Enlightenment and of early modern Jewish culture. It creates a teleological historical narrative that is then harnessed to make early modern Jewish openness to extra-Jewish knowledge comprehensible within a tradition–modernity, religion–science binary.[17]

Partly in recognition of these issues, some studies have suggested extending the temporal limits of the Haskalah proper further back, into the

early modern period. In a 2018 study, for instance, Abigail Gillman writes of a "Yiddish and German Haskalah in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."[18] Underscoring the importance of the aforementioned Yiddish Bible translations published in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, Gillman argues that "it cannot be denied that [Moses Mendelssohn] who was the 'first' German Jewish translator of the Hebrew Bible was also the third to produce a Jewish Enlightenment Bible."[19] In underscoring the exaggerated novelty often ascribed to maskilic forms of writing by historians, Gillman joins scholars of Old Yiddish literature such as Max Weinreich and Shlomo Berger, who argue for the crucial importance of situating maskilic prose on a literary continuum with Old Yiddish literature.[20] In a different context, but somewhat similarly, Isaac Barzilay writes of an Italian Haskalah that existed in the Renaissance and post-Renaissance periods.[21] If, Barzilay argues in his much-debated essay, we define the Haskalah as "a show of readiness on [the Jews'] part to limit somewhat the area of their own uniqueness while widening the area of communication with the dominant culture," then Haskalah is "almost coeval with Jewish existence."[22] Barzilay does note some fundamental differences between his two so-called Haskalahs—most importantly, the ideological-political, rationalistic, and organized character of the later Haskalah, which, he claims, was not foreshadowed by the Italian case. However, as Adam Shear notes, many of these distinctions also do not apply or were much less pronounced in the Berlin Haskalah during the second half of the eighteenth-century.[23]

We are left, then, with a mammoth Haskalah, which began even before the European Enlightenment, sometime in the sixteenth century, and ended long after it. Several historians, however, urge us to adopt a more historically contextualized understanding of the Haskalah and its periodization. In an influential study, Olga Litvak, for instance, argues for the need to distinguish between a Jewish Enlightenment, which she identifies with select intellectuals active in the eighteenth century, and the Haskalah movement, which she identifies with the nineteenth century and with eastern European cultural trends.[24] A particularly valuable perspective is offered by David Ruderman, who argues that "the loosely connected community of Jewish intellectuals . . . who sought out secular wisdom, mastered the sciences, learned medicine, read non-Jewish books in European languages, and integrated this newly acquired knowledge into their scholarly and religious agendas have a long pedigree. They emerge centuries earlier [than the Haskalah] as products of the knowledge explosion generated by the printing press and by the

universities of early modern Europe."[25] Elsewhere, Ruderman notes that, rather than viewing the Haskalah as a break with tradition, it is more productive to see it as "a product of the continuous encounter of Jews with the . . . culture of Europe that had emerged with particular intensity from the late sixteenth century on and, at the same time, as a unique and novel expression of and response to particular developments [in] the eighteenth century."[26]

Adopting this wider view of the role of non-Jewish knowledge in general—and translation in particular—in Jewish history undermines the portrayal of maskilic translation as a "radical innovation," a complete negation of past literary traditions. Rather, we need to ask how the motivations, norms, and mission of maskilic translation corresponded with those of earlier Jewish translations. How did the scope and functions of translation change in the decades surrounding the end of the eighteenth century? What particular challenges did maskilic translators face? And how does viewing the phenomenon of maskilic translation against the wider context of the early modern translational project change our understanding of the Haskalah as well as, perhaps, of European Jewish history more generally?

Translation and Transformation Before the Haskalah

As the preceding chapters have demonstrated, throughout the early modern period, new kinds of texts, genres, and ideas were regularly being incorporated into the Jewish library through translation. This was not a traumatic encounter by any means: the gradual incorporation of these texts, their domestication and Judaization, and the monitored nature of their infiltration allowed for their smooth absorption by the target culture. In fact, notwithstanding the lively polemics surrounding the legitimacy of non-Jewish knowledge that took place throughout Jewish history and particularly in the early modern period, I know of no one translation from foreign to Jewish languages that stirred significant controversy. Admittedly, Azariah De Rossi's *Me'or eynayim* (Light of the Eyes, 1573), which drew on multiple foreign sources, remained the focus of heated debate for centuries, but it was not the act of translation specifically that elicited the inflamed reaction but rather De Rossi's treatment of rabbinic literature and his position on rabbinical chronology.[27] Some critics did call attention to De Rossi's utilization of foreign literature in his book; however, as Meir Benayahu remarks, "the use of literature in several languages was not an unusual phenomenon. . . . [It was]

however [De Rossi's] recourse to such literature in his interpretation of each and every debate which appeared in the rabbinical sources which . . . made it appear as though Jewish faith requires [this literature]. Naturally, this elicited bewilderment and opposition."[28] Robert Bonfil goes so far as to suggest that the entire affair was a tempest in a teapot, a result of "the uproar of a vociferous minority who themselves did not have a very precise idea of what heresies they suspected the book to contain."[29]

As we saw in Chapter 2, the translation of German epics and chapbooks into Yiddish was also frowned upon by the authors of more "prestigious" literary works. But this critique focused on the issue of genre, rather than translation. As such, it mirrored similar debates taking place within the contemporaneous non-Jewish—and particularly German—literary sphere. As Roy Pascal notes, while the German *Volksbücher* "remained popular for centuries [they] were derided after the middle of the sixteenth century by the learned as vulgar and immoral . . . and they lived on only among the lower classes. . . ."[30] For both Jews and Christians, the concerns surrounding the *Volksbücher* had more to do with class and literary preferences than with anxieties surrounding exposure to other European cultures or religious sects. That it was not translation that was the issue at stake here is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the fact that the same authors who were most vehemently opposed to these works were, in some cases, active participants in the production of other Jewish translations (see Chapter 2).

In a period that witnessed a number of inflamed controversies, then, Jewish translation seems to have largely stayed under the cultural radar. This is not to say that non-Jewish knowledge was viewed positively among early modern Jews; as argued in Chapter 2, translation was largely viewed as a solution to the problem of the unadulterated consumption of precisely such knowledge. Appropriately, in those cases in which translation *was* in fact considered an act of transgression, it was in the context of translation not into Jewish languages but rather *out* of them. Seidman notes that for medieval Jews, the translation of Hebrew texts into non-Jewish tongues constituted "a profound violation, the pillage of Jewish treasure[s] and [their] exposition to unfriendly eyes."[31] The same seems to hold true for the early modern period; in his *Yudisher theriak* (Jewish antidote, 1615), for instance, the Yiddish author Zalman Tsvi of Aufhausen responded to a recent German anti-Jewish work by the Jewish convert to Christianity Samuel Friedrich Brenz. Brenz's polemic included (mis)translations of Talmudic fragments as well as information derived from the medieval Hebrew manuscript "Toldot Yeshu." In

his response, Zalman corrected Brenz's mistranslations of the Talmud, noting the absence of precise citations in Brenz's source.[32] He furthermore denied (disingenuously!) the very existence of the medieval manuscript, noting that "an apostate [*mumar*] or scallywag [*lozer vogel*] . . . wrote about it to beat us and slander us with it."[33]

It was perhaps, in part, the gradual nature of early modern Jewish translation that allowed it the relative legitimacy it enjoyed as a literary activity during this period. The heavily moderated and, at the same time, heterogeneous and decentralized character of early modern Jewish translation meant that it could go almost unnoticed as a cultural endeavor by Jews of the period. And yet, even while this endeavor was largely tolerated, or even encouraged, by the Jewish religious elite, the steady trickling of texts in translation gradually weathered the bedrock of Jewish literature and culture. In order to accommodate the new texts, ideas, genres, and fashions that these translations were constantly importing into the Jewish library, the basic structures of that library needed to remain in a state of constant but contained flux, shifting ever so slightly to make room for these innovations. Translated works thus shaped early modern Jewish culture, even as they were shaped by it.

As translations seeped into the Jewish cultural sphere, they also paved the way for the emergence of new genres of Jewish writing. An emblematic example is the genre of the midrashic epic; by reframing biblical episodes in epic form, works such as the *Shmuel bukh* (1544) and the *Melokhim bukh* (1544) offered Old Yiddish readers Jewish alternatives to popular Christian chivalric tales. As Chava Turniansky notes, in creating this corpus Old Yiddish authors answered the call to present "worthy substitutes in order to replace [non-Jewish] poems with other true and meaningful ones based on Jewish sources, while at the same time preserving the interesting, attractive, and aesthetically pleasing elements of the foreign epic poetry."[34] The same impetus led to the rise of other genres of Yiddish literature, such as the *mayses* or short stories. As we have seen, the greatest of these works, the anthology known as the *Mayse bukh*, portrayed itself as a pious alternative to the translations of profane German works, combining midrashic and haggadic material with international tales. Other storybooks followed suit, weaving together translations and original or otherwise domestic sources to create a hybrid kind of Jewish literature that was neither wholly foreign nor domestic.[35] Other genres of Jewish writing were also forged by translation; from books of practical medicine, world geographies, and Hebrew bibliographies to Jew-

ish catechisms, translation transformed the Jewish literary landscape and shaped new ways of thinking about literature, science, religion, Judaism, the body, and the world.

These profound literary and cultural changes partially justify the insistence by modern scholars on viewing translation as a form of cultural innovation, an activity that disrupted the integrity of the borders between Jews and non-Jews and transformed the very core of Jewish culture. In this respect, Shavit and others are correct in arguing that translation is often inextricably bound with innovation. But during the early modern period, the transformations effected by this literary activity were largely inadvertent. Early modern Jews, with their unique understanding of translation as a form of reclamation and gatekeeping, could hardly be suspected of having adopted translation in order to initiate a cultural or literary revolution. Rather, the attitude of these translators resembles what Else Vieira has characterized (in a different context) as "an attitude towards relationships with hegemonic powers which involves the acceptance of foreign nourishment but a denial of imitation and influence in the traditional sense."[36] This is to say, Jewish translation in the centuries and decades preceding the Haskalah was a form of *transfusion*, a means of reinvigorating Jewish culture through the careful and largely unacknowledged appropriation of texts from the surrounding cultures.

But what about the Haskalah? How did the image of translation that took shape in the decades surrounding the end of the eighteenth century correspond with earlier understandings? Did the maskilim use translation as a means of revitalization, or did they view it as a route to revolution? Did they, like their early modern predecessors, use translation into Jewish languages to feed on their surrounding cultures, or to be devoured by them?

Transformations in Maskilic Translation

Scope and Centralization

The most immediately discernible change in the phenomenon of Jewish translation around the end of the eighteenth century was its volume. Beginning in the last quarter of the century, new translations, particularly into Hebrew, began to proliferate at a dizzying pace. Of 245 works that can be reasonably assumed to have been translated between 1730 and 1830 and that

currently feature in the JEWTACT database, at least 172 (70 percent) were translated between 1780 and 1830. What had begun as a slow stream in the sixteenth century became a massive wave in the early nineteenth century.

This growth in the number of translations was facilitated by various social, technological, and cultural factors, both internal and external. In the particular context of Jewish literature, one should also note the maskilim's desire to significantly expand the Hebrew-language library of secular or quasi-secular literature. While the maskilim were by no means the first to create secular literature in Hebrew, the domain of Jewish belles lettres had been largely occupied, until the late eighteenth century, by Yiddish. As Hebrew increasingly entered the same literary territory as Yiddish, it began to emulate the governing patterns of the competing Jewish literary system. Thus, Hebrew translators began to draw on the very same library that had been serving Yiddish translators for centuries—that is, the German library.

As translation from German moved from the Yiddish library to the more prestigious Hebrew one, it became not only more prolific but also more programmatic. Journals such as *Ha-me'asef* (1783–1811) and, later, *Bikurey ha-'itim* (1820–1831), as well as poem and short-story anthologies and children's books, became major platforms for the publication of Hebrew translations of songs, idylls, fables, and other short texts. This allowed for the introduction of numerous translations by a wide range of translators over a relatively short period of time.[37] These developments mirrored similar processes taking place outside the Jewish literary system around the same time. In addition to the century's profound demographic changes, the rise of journals and periodicals throughout eighteenth-century Europe facilitated the swifter and wider dissemination of texts and ideas, leading to an increased number of translations in the various European national tongues.[38] This dovetailed with other changes in eighteenth-century reading habits and the book market, including the absolute increase in the numbers of printed material, the rise of the novel, and the establishment of reading societies and public libraries. These and other developments both satisfied and encouraged the contemporary expansion of book readership among middle-class Europeans.[39]

Another factor contributing to the proliferation of translation—whether Jewish or non-Jewish—was the rising interest, throughout Enlightenment Europe, in vernacular languages, national literatures, philology, and translation as a discipline. This interest led not only to a growing number of translated texts but also to a change in translational norms, as translators gradually became less ambiguous about their sources, thus making it much easier to

identify translations produced during this period. The last quarter of the eighteenth century saw a profound change in what I have characterized above as one of the most distinctive norms of early modern Jewish translation—the production of unacknowledged translations. This is not to say that unacknowledged or partially acknowledged translations ceased to appear after 1775, but as translation became more programmatic and professional, it was accompanied by the newfound *expectation* that translators cite their sources.

The Changing Ethics of Acknowledgment

In 1771, the German-born maskil Mordecai Gumpel Schnaber Levison (1741–1797) published his first Hebrew work—an introduction to the sciences for Jewish readers, titled *Ma'amar ha-torah ve-ha-ḥokhmah* (Essay on Torah and wisdom). Throughout the book, Levison referred his readers to the works of such scientific and philosophical authorities as Copernicus, Newton, Descartes, Anton van Leeuwenhoek, and Petrus van Musschenbroek.[40] In addition to this inventory of scholarly references, he appended a Note to the Reader on the first page of the book, which read as follows: "And you, dear reader, do not be alarmed or dismayed to see that I have included in this book some matters and things that have already appeared in other tongues. . . . I have translated them (*he'etaktim*) word for word, without adding or removing, and without mentioning the names of their authors, for in this I followed the ways of Maimonides, may his memory be a blessing.[41] Levison repeated this point in a later work, explaining that in perusing the works of previous authors, "in some cases I have forgotten the name of the author, even though I have written his words, and there is no harm in this, for those who have read books will know from which belly these things have emerged and will be able to make the distinction between the words of previous authors and my own. And those who do not [read books] will benefit from finding the truth, regardless of by whom it was said."[42]

In his apologia, Levison conjured up Maimonides, who had dismissed the need to acknowledge sources, famously explaining in his introduction to his *Shemonah prakim* (Eight Chapters) that "one should accept the truth from whatever source it proceeds."[43] And yet, Levison's rhetorical acrobatics seem to have been inspired less by Maimonidean ethics and more by an attitudinal change, which was particularly prevalent in the eighteenth-century German literary system, and which strove for greater transparency in translation. As the century progressed, translational practices such as

literary embellishment, translational infidelity, and the presentation of translations as original works met with increasing disapproval and began to be identified either as outdated or, worse, as French conventions.[44]

These changes took time, and the transition to modern translational norms was not complete by the end of the eighteenth century. Still, the phenomenon of partially acknowledged and unacknowledged translations, a definitive feature of Jewish translation from the mid-sixteenth century onward, particularly in Ashkenaz, began to wane in the second half of the eighteenth century (Figure 9). Late-eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century maskilic translators seem to have been particularly aware of the increased emphasis on transparency in translation. Of the myriad Hebrew translations of German poems, idylls, and other literary works that appeared in the maskilic journals *Ha-me'asef* and *Bikurey ha-'itim* during the decades surrounding the end of the eighteenth century, only a handful did not acknowledge their sources in full.[45] In one particularly interesting instance, a Hebrew translation of Salomon Gessner's (1730–1788) idyll, "Menalkus und Alexis," which had originally appeared without acknowledgment in Itsḥak Satanov's *Sefer ha-ḥizayon* (c. 1775), was republished in the 1783 issue of *Ha-me'asef* with a note acknowledging both its Hebrew translator and its German source.[46] What had been an almost universal translational norm a mere eight years earlier now met with increasing disapproval.[47]

Those authors who did not catch up with the changing tides were chastised, as evidenced by the case of Yehudah Leib Ben Ze'ev. In 1802, Ben Ze'ev published a Hebrew reader titled *Bet ha-sefer* (School, lit. house of the book). The second part of the book included a selection of poems, the majority of which were translations of German works by such authors as Ewald Christian von Kleist, Albrecht von Haller, and Christian Fürchtegott Gellert.[48] The poems were translated into Hebrew, alongside several other Hebrew poems collected from the works of maskilim, among them Ephraim Luzzatto, Yosl Rychnov, and Ben Ze'ev himself. While Ben Ze'ev acknowledged in the introduction to the book that most of the poems appearing in the work had been copied or translated from previous works, he did not cite any specific sources.[49] And yet, the times had changed: Ben Ze'ev's liberal treatment of the works of other authors now drew criticism, and a list of the names of the original authors was appended to the third edition of the book, which appeared in 1809. The list, which was reprinted in all later editions, was accompanied by a militant apologia by Ben Ze'ev, which reads: "In this [list of sources] I have saved my soul from the ravenous fangs of a known critic who,

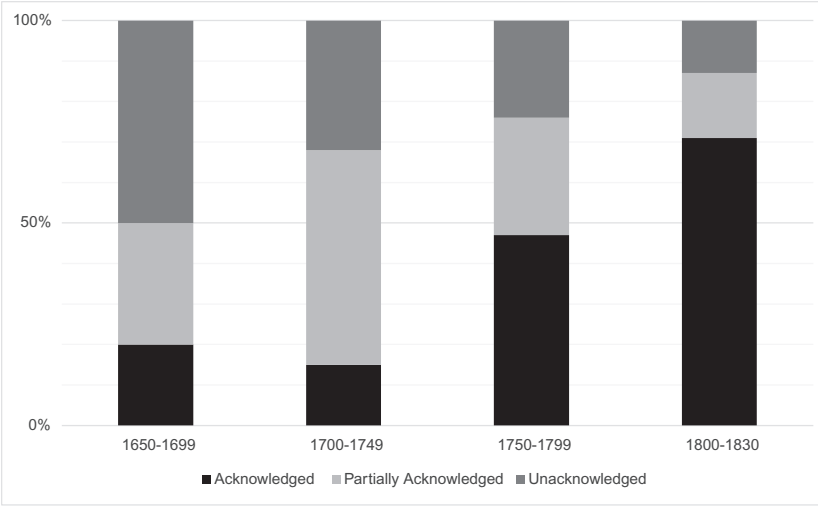

Figure 9. Percentage of Acknowledged, Partially Acknowledged, and Unacknowledged Translations in Ashkenaz, 1650–1830. Based on a sample of 201 translated texts.

possessed by writer envy and lacking the talent to produce his own work, criticized my book, . . . castigating me for covering myself in a *talith* that is not my own. . . . And it is not the way of compilers of useful things to write from whence they came. . . . Still, to rid myself of this harmful evil I have appended this list."[50]

The name of Ben Ze'ev's "known critic" is no longer known to us, but a clue may perhaps be found in the Bohemian author Juda Jeitteles's *Bney ha-ne'urim* (Young people, 1821), which includes a brief epigram poking fun at an unnamed author who had been criticized for plagiarism and for "compiling things from the books of others and cloaking [himself] in a talith that is not his own."[51] Whether the epigram, which appeared more than a decade after Ben-Ze'ev's death, is a reference to this affair must remain unresolved. What is clear is that an era had ended: Jewish translators were now expected to cite their sources.

The Implications of Domestication

Translations, Anthony Pym reminds us, "are for the person who stays home. Or are they"—he slyly adds—"*so that* the person stays home?"[52] Indeed, as

we have seen, domesticity was a defining principle of Jewish translation in early modern Europe. Throughout the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, translation into Jewish languages was often viewed as a way of monitoring the influx of non-Jewish ideas and texts and of preventing Jewish readers from being swept away by the waves of foreign knowledge that awaited them beyond the Jewish literary sphere. Translation was also viewed as a means of reclaiming Jewish knowledge and reinvigorating Jewish culture. Jewish translators thought of translation as a way of consolidating Hebrew as a literary language, perpetuating the medieval translational tradition, or consolidating Jewish faith. The domestic nature of Jewish translation was accentuated by the prevalence of domestication as a translational technique. From the smallest omissions of distinctively Christian terms to the intense Judaization of the language, narrative, and ideas found in the source, domestication featured alongside (and often in tandem with) the production of unacknowledged translations as a distinguishing feature of Jewish translation in early modern Europe.

While maskilic translators, as we have seen, became increasingly open about their sources and attempted to offer more adequate translations, the tendency to domesticate or Judaize non-Jewish sources persisted into the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In fact, it is to the library of maskilic translations that we owe one of the most heavily Judaized specimens of Jewish translation, namely the c. 1820 Yiddish translation of Joachim Heinrich Campe's German adaptation of *Robinson Crusoe* (1779). Attributed to the Galician maskil Yosef Vitlin, this deeply domesticated translation reinvents the Christian Crusoe as a Jewish merchant by the name of Alter leb (lit. "Old man-live"—a name given to Jewish children born after the death of a sibling), while his Caribbean slave, Friday, is transformed into a Judaized, vaguely African slave named Shabbes.[53] If other maskilic translations opted for less brazen forms of Judaization, the tendency to replace distinctly Christian features of the source, including names, rituals, and ideas, was widespread in maskilic literature. Even so prolific and professional a translator as the Polish David Zamość (1789–1864), who tended to openly acknowledge his sources, producing some of his translations in bilingual editions alongside their German source, subjected his translations to some form of Judaization. He changed the Christian names that featured in his sources to Jewish names, some of them biblical; omitted discussions that may have been irrelevant or offensive to Jewish readers; and added messages that would not have been relevant to non-Jewish ones.[54]

Such reproduction of earlier Jewish translational norms in maskilic translations has not gone unnoticed by researchers. As is often the case, Toury is particularly perceptive, remarking in passing that "as a rule, the norms which governed acceptability in [maskilic] Hebrew were a vestige of former historical phases. Indeed, being so very slow in picking up changes, these norms were most appropriate for another facet of their task . . . : namely, to protect Hebrew literature from inundation by foreign waves, in [the] face of the huge volume of imported goods."[55] For Toury, the persistence of antiquated translational norms (such as domestication) in maskilic translation stems from the "cultural lag" that characterized Jewish literature more generally and should not be viewed as an earnest manifestation of the maskilic world view. One wonders, however, why one would assume that the domestication techniques that prevailed in so many of their translations, and to which maskilim such as Vitlin clearly devoted a great deal of attention and creative thought, were the product of a mere unreflective adherence to outdated literary norms.

Other studies offer different explanations for the continued use of seemingly archaic translational norms by the maskilim. A widely accepted view is that maskilic translators deliberately chose to utilize traditionalist norms in order to placate any potential opposition and to pave the way for the smooth reception of their otherwise subversive works. In her discussion of Vitlin's *Alter Leb*, for instance, Leah Garrett argues that domestication functions in this translation as a façade. "'Ignorant' Jews," she explains, "had to be taught how to become enlightened . . . and one of the best ways to educate them was through didactic literature that at first glance seemed respectably Jewish but on a closer look perpetuated Maskilic tendencies."[56] Domestication was thus a form of deception, a ruse designed to cloak the maskilic translator's innovative agenda: "the more extreme the propaganda, the more necessary its 'camouflage.'"[57]

A similar understanding of the role of domestication in maskilic translation can be found in Zohar Shavit's recent discussion of Shimon BaRaZ's pedagogical essay "Ḥinukh ne'arim: Al devar ḥinukh ha-banim ka-ra'uy" (Education of youth: On the proper education of boys), published in *Ha-m'easef* in 1787. Shavit shows BaRaZ's essay to be an unacknowledged Hebrew adaptation of select paragraphs of Rousseau's *Émile* (1762), peppered with phrases from the Jewish canon, especially the works of Maimonides. She argues that "Baraz's presentation of passages taken from *Émile* masquerading as those of Maimonides was part of the strategies employed by the

Maskilim to minimize opposition and hostility to the translation of 'foreign' texts."[58]

And yet, as we have seen, in reality there seems to have been little opposition or hostility to the translation of foreign works in early modern Ashkenaz. In fact, throughout the early modern period and well into the early nineteenth century, rabbinical figures in both Italy (e.g., Ya'akov Zahalon, Itsḥak Lampronti) and Ashkenaz (e.g., David Oppenheim, Shlomo of Chelm, the Vilna Gaon), seem to have supported the translation of foreign works into Hebrew letters, whether producing such translations themselves or urging their disciples to do so (see Chapter 1). Rabbinical authors also contributed approbations to Jewish translations, a practice that continued even into the first decades of the nineteenth century.[59]

This is not to say that domestication was not a requirement of the Jewish literary system, or that it did not entail a deceptive dimension. Much like the connection between translation and innovation, so too is the association of domestication with deception not entirely unfounded, but it does require a more nuanced treatment. As discussed in Chapter 3, during the early modern period domestication served myriad purposes, of which the covert dissemination of non-Jewish ideas or, as Garrett would have it, "propaganda," does not stand out as particularly significant. Admittedly, domestication did often entail deceit, especially where it served missionary purposes, as in the case of Immanuel Tremellius; where it was used to veil the use of potentially controversial sources, as in the case of Mordekhai HaKohen's translation of a Pietist textbook; or in the hybrid Jewish-Christian Bible translations of Yosef Witzenhausen, Yekutiel Blits, and Yedidya Recanati. But for the most part, domestication seems to have been an elementary norm of Jewish translation, one that did not necessarily entail the kind of strategic, almost devious planning ascribed to it by modern scholars of the Haskalah.

In fact, active domestication techniques appear to have been equally prevalent in translations that were produced in manuscript and were not intended for publication. Many such translations were produced for personal use or private learning, thus making the need for deception or veiled propaganda superfluous. A case in point is a 1583 Yiddish manuscript consisting of a translation of Lorenz Fries's popular recipe book, *Spiegel der Artzney* (The physician's mirror, 1518). In a dedication found at the end of the manuscript, the scribe, a certain Moshe ben Ya'akov, notes: "I the writer have finished this book for my father-in-law, Shalom b"r Yo'ets the physician."[60] The book,

then, was designed for the private use of the scribe's father-in-law. Nevertheless, throughout his translation, Moshe made active efforts to domesticate his translation, eliminating references to Jesus, the New Testament, and other distinctly Christian motifs.[61] These omissions were made not to deceive the reader—Moshe had no qualms about copying the printer's colophon and citing the precise title and edition of his source. Rather, they display the scribe's understanding of the domestically oriented norms of translation that existed within the target culture, and his voluntary adherence to these norms even when translating for his own (or his family's) edification.

A later example is offered by Meir ben Yehudah Leib Neumark's early-eighteenth-century translation of the work of the French Jesuit Pierre Gautruche. As discussed in Chapter 1, the translation was commissioned by Rabbi David Oppenheim of Prague. And yet, even in this unambiguous case of a translation designed for the personal use of one of the most powerful rabbis of eighteenth-century Ashkenaz, domestication prevails. Thus, for instance, in discussing the division of the heavens, Gautruche argues that his astronomical views are supported not only by empirical observation but also by Holy Scripture. He then cites Job's reference to the heavens as being "hard as a mirror of cast bronze" (Job 37:18), followed by St. Paul's testimony about being "caught up to the third heaven" (2 Corinthians 12:2).[62] In his Hebrew translation, Neumark repeats the unproblematic reference to Job ("as Job has taught us in his book, the sky is solid as metal"), but omits the reference to the New Testament, citing the Talmud in its stead ("Were it not for the bustle of Rome, we would hear the sound of the sphere of the sun." BT Yoma 20b).[63]

A reading of the maskilic translations themselves, such as those of Vitlin and BaRaZ, further problematizes the suspicious approach to their domestication techniques. In fact, in his translation of Campe's *Robinsohn*, Vitlin made no attempt to conceal the foreign provenance of his work, candidly acknowledging on the title page that "this story is translated in all languages of the world, as well as in Yiddish (*ivri-daytsh*)."[64] As for BaRaZ's essay in *Ha-me'asef*, while he made no mention of Rousseau in this particular essay, in other pieces BaRaZ was forthcoming about his sources, citing his use of the works of such Christian authors as Campe, John Locke, and Salomon Gessner.[65] Like their early modern predecessors, then, for maskilic translators such as Vitlin and BaRaZ, domestication had little to do with deliberate deception. Rather, it was the view of translation as a means to enrich, invigorate, and maintain the cultural borders of Jewishness that prompted Jewish translators across time and space to domesticate their

sources. Indeed, domestication was the raison d'être of Jewish translation, whose aim, as Venuti writes in a different context, was "to bring back a cultural other as the same."[66] Rather than speaking of domestication as deception, then, we would perhaps be better served by thinking of Jewish translation *as domestication*. For Jews, importing works from foreign literatures necessarily meant embedding them within the target culture, Judaizing them—as indeed the act of translation was often termed in both Hebrew and Yiddish.[67]

Interestingly, this same early modern insistence on domestication also characterizes one of the most prominent genres of maskilic translation around the beginning of the nineteenth century—that is, the translation of German travel tales. Acutely aware of the hazards entailed in exposure to other cultures, the maskilim used such tales to unpack their concerns surrounding intercultural encounters and to envision a form of interreligious exchange that would reinvigorate Judaism, rather than subvert it.

The Campe Translations: Pedagogic Quest as Colonial Conquest

Given the tight link between translation and domestication in maskilic literature, it is striking that tales of faraway travel compose one of the largest corpora of turn-of-the-century maskilic translation. Particularly popular were the travel tales of the German pedagogue Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818), who became, as Shavit notes, "the most privileged German writer in the Jewish-Hebrew system" and who continued to shape Jewish literature long after his prestige had declined in the non-Jewish literary sphere.[68] At least fifteen separate translations of the works of Campe (including the aforementioned *Robinsohn*) into Hebrew, Yiddish, and German-in-Hebrew characters (*Jüdisch-Deutsch*) appeared between 1784 and 1830. The vast majority consisted of travel adventures and tales of colonial conquest for children, which became, through the process of translation, works for Jewish readers of all ages. To achieve this, the maskilim tended to omit the distinguishing features of the genre of children's literature from their translations, such as illustrations, direct speech, frame narratives, talking animals, and more.[69] Of course, in blurring the boundaries between the (Jewish) adult and (Christian) child, maskilic translators conveyed a paternalistic approach towards their readers, accentuating what they perceived to be the dire need for Jew-

ish (re-)education. But beyond paternalism, there was another, less immediately discernible dimension to this conflation of children and Jews in maskilic translations. By way of this analogy, the maskilim inscribed the essential feature of childhood—*perfectibility*—into the image of the Jew, denying the obstinance so often ascribed to Jews by their Christian detractors.[70]

Of all the children's authors favored by the maskilim, none was as beloved as Campe. Over the years, the relatively rich corpus of maskilic translations of Campe's travel tales has been presented as particularly instrumental in the making of modern Jewish literature. There seems to be something almost intuitive in this association between travel, translation, and transformation. If, as one later Yiddish translator argued, "the face of modernism is turned outwards,"[71] then translations of tales of exotic travel and colonialist conquest seem to offer a particularly appealing site from which to excavate the roots of Jewish modernity.[72] Thus, in a recent study, Ken Frieden presents maskilic "sea tales" as reflecting a sea change in Jewish literature. "Until about 1800," Frieden argues, "Jewish geography centered on the Land of Israel." Beginning in 1807, however, with the publication of Moshe Mendelsohn-Frankfurt's Hebrew translation of Campe's *Die Entdeckung von Amerika* (The Discovery of America, 1781), "a radically new travel literature arose in Hebrew. Under the star of the Berlin Enlightenment, authors such as Moshe Mendelsohn-Frankfurt and Mendel Lefin published books that charted a new literary route through the world."[73] Frieden's study highlights the contribution of maskilic translations of German travel narratives (and of Hasidic travel tales) to the rise of modern Hebrew literature. His goal is to "[rewrite] literary history by returning to the origins of modern Hebrew narrative at the beginning of the nineteenth century."[74]

But did maskilic travel tales really constitute such a moment of historical rupture? Did they really chart a new path that had not already been charted by the "exotic" adventures of ages past? Here again, the innovative aspect of maskilic translation, while not entirely unfounded, appears nonetheless to be exaggerated. In fact, in contrast to the "Zion-centered" approach that has been ascribed to them, it seems that medieval and early modern Jews were enthralled by exoticism and delighted in travel adventures and tales of faraway lands. One need only reflect on the multiple Hebrew versions of the Alexander Romance, which were adapted from Greek, Latin, Arabic, French, and other languages during the Middle Ages.[75] At least seven distinct Hebrew versions of the Romance have reached us, and they relate the eponymous hero's travels throughout the known—and unknown—world,

including the lands occupied by Amazons, Cyclops, and Cynocephali; the gates of Heaven; and the depths of the ocean.[76] Geographical works describing "exotic" lands were also in vogue throughout the early modern period. Many of these were also translations, and some even focused on the same discoveries that stood at the focus of maskilic sea adventures (e.g., Matityahu Delacrut's *Tsel olam*,[77] Avraham Farissol's *Igeret orḥot olam*, and Yosef Ha-Kohen's *Sefer ha-Indea ha-ḥadashah* and *Sefer Fernando Kortes*).

Old Yiddish translators and authors seem to have had a particular appetite for exoticism: so much so, indeed, that some translators of German works went so far as to relocate their European tales in more "exotic" settings. The 1735 translation of *Eulenspiegel*, for instance, adds several tales to its German source. These additions depict the eponymous protagonist's travels to faraway islands inhabited by warrior women, dog-headed cannibals, and anthropophagic apes.[78] The tales have little to do with the original German source text, in which Eulenspiegel's travels are limited to the familiar world of central Europe, particularly the German-speaking realm. Equally curious is a 1789 Yiddish adaptation of the thirteenth-century German *Wigalois*, which sets the classic German tale in China, thus reimagining this old Arthurian adventure as an orientalist tale.[79] Yiddish translators were also enthralled by orientalist works such as the *Arabian Nights* (*Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes*, 1704–1717), the "Persian Days" (*Les mille et un jours: contes persans*, 1711, and the "Tartar Hours" (*Les mille et un quart d'heures, contes tartares*, 1715), all three of which were translated into Yiddish almost immediately following their initial publication in French, in some cases in several versions and editions.[80] Perhaps, then, the putative shift of focus from the domestic to the exotic, which Frieden views as a novel feature of modern Jewish literature, was not so much a transformation as an intensification of an abiding medieval and early modern interest.

Of course, this is not to say that the maskilim simply replicated earlier literary conventions. Clearly, the genre of colonial travel tales for children that played such a prominent role in maskilic translation was a novelty of the late eighteenth century. Furthermore, the preoccupation with the issues of colonialism, slavery, and the burgeoning modern notions of race, while not unprecedented, became much more focused and intense.[81] At the same time, it is crucial that we locate the maskilic preoccupation with travel in translation in its wider historical context. The question that emerges from such a contextualization is not so much whether maskilic travel tales constituted an absolute break with the Jewish literary past but rather how the

maskilim drew on past traditions to tackle the particular challenges of their time. In order to answer this question, let us look closely at one particularly interesting translation of the works of Campe, produced by the Polish maskil Menaḥem Mendel Lefin.

On the Domesticity of Maskilic Travel

Born in the town of Satanov in 1749, Menaḥem Mendel Lefin has long been considered one of the father figures of the Galician Haskalah.[82] A prolific author and translator, he published a string of translations throughout his literary career, both into and between Jewish languages. His best-known translations include his 1794 Hebrew translation of Samuel Auguste David Tissot's *Avis au peuple sur sa santé* (Advice to the people about their health, 1761); his *Ḥeshbon ha-nefesh* (Moral stocktaking, 1808), which featured elements adapted from Benjamin Franklin's autobiography; and his *Mas'ot ha-yam* (Sea journeys, 1818), a Hebrew translation of two of Campe's travel tales.[83]

The latter book is of particular interest, providing an exquisite example of the domesticity of the maskilic preoccupation with faraway travel. *Mas'ot ha-yam* includes translations of two distinct and very different works: the first is a close translation of Campe's description of the English "discovery" of Palau (*Kapitän Wilson's*[!] *Schiffbruch bei den Pelju-Inseln*, 1791), and the second is a heavily abridged translation of the same author's description of an expedition to the North Pole led by the Dutch explorers Jacob van Heemskerk and Wilhelm Barents (*Jacob Heemskerks und Wilhelm Barenz nördliche Entdeckungsreise und merkwürdige Schicksale*, 1785).[84] *Mas'ot ha-yam* has long been held in the highest esteem. Nancy Sinkoff views it as a fine example of "Lefin's subtle use of . . . literary form to disseminate his programme of enlightenment,"[85] while Frieden identifies Lefin as "an innovator who was leagues ahead of his contemporaries"[86] and *Mas'ot ha-yam* as a book that "transport[ed] Hebrew readers . . . far beyond the traditional, Zion-centered world."[87]

The first question to which the book gives rise has to do with the translator's selection of sources: why did Lefin chose to translate these two specific tales? His choice of Wilson's travel tale seems unproblematic: here was a captivating discovery narrative, replete with "noble savages" and exotic adventures, the likes of which were a favorite of maskilic translation. Heemskerk and Barents's tale, on the other hand, is a rather tedious one, focusing

on a lonely expedition to the North Pole in an ill-fated attempt to find a northeast polar passage from Europe to China. A superficial glance shows little connection between this tale—which describes near-endless journeys through the frozen deserts of the north and a few, somewhat repetitive encounters with polar bears—and Wilson's much more lively colonial adventure. Lefin's treatment of the two tales is also strikingly different; while he followed Campe's descriptions of Wilson's journey closely, inserting the occasional reference to divine providence and omitting only what appeared to him superfluous,[88] he took exceeding liberties in adapting the narrative of Heemskerk and Barents's expedition, condensing Campe's over-one-hundred-page-long description into a succinct twenty-three-page narrative.

In the German source, Heemskerk and Barents's tale served as a foil for teaching young readers about the natural phenomena of the north: the polar bears, whales, and ice deserts that lay unexplored in the endless sun of the arctic summer. Campe used the tale, furthermore, to delve into a pseudo-anthropological description of the peoples of the north, who had sparked the imagination of not a few eighteenth-century authors, both Christian and Jewish.[89] But Lefin demonstrated little interest in all this—his Hebrew translation omitted entire pages of Campe's lengthy descriptions, retaining only the general skeleton of the journey's narrative.[90] In addition, like other maskilim of his time, Lefin purged the book of any distinct markers of children's literature, such as illustrations or direct addresses to the child reader, preferring to present the work as a plain historical narrative that could appeal simultaneously to both children and adults. Stripped of its pedagogical techniques and anthropological messages, Heemskerk and Barents's tale became almost as dreary as the desolate scenery it described. Clearly, while Lefin was enchanted by the allure of Wilson's colonialist adventure, he found little in the Dutch North Pole expedition to commend and communicate to his readers. Modern scholars seem to have been equally unmoved by Barents and Heemskerk's North Pole adventure, preferring—understandably—to focus on Lefin's much more invested treatment of Wilson's tale.[91] But Lefin's almost offhand translation of Campe's North Pole narrative begs the question: why translate this particular tale at all?

In addressing in passing the question of Lefin's selection of sources, Sinkoff argues that Lefin chose to translate tales "in which the encounter between enlightened, 'civilized' Europeans and 'noble savages' figures prominently as a leitmotif."[92] Yet, while this is true for Wilson's Palau adventure, Heemskerk and Barents's tale was not an encounter tale, and featured no

savages—noble or otherwise. The choice would, perhaps, have been understandable had the two tales appeared in the same volume of Campe's works, but whereas the North Pole tale appeared in volume 1 of Campe's collected travel tales, Wilson's Palau adventure appeared only years later, in volume 9. One can only speculate, of course, as to the motivations underlying a translator's selection of a particular source. Heemskerk and Barents's expedition was the first tale to appear in Campe's collected voyages, and it could be that Lefin simply translated it before producing his more mature translation of Wilson's journey, which appeared several years later. However, a reading of the two tales does suggest some commonalities that may have inspired Lefin's selection.

In an unpublished introduction to *Mas'ot ha-yam*, Lefin presents his motivation for translating Campe's travel tales: "to awaken the soul of the reader . . . in order that he will see from this to what lengths the forces of perseverance and wisdom go—foreseeing the consequences with which God has graced human beings—toward withstanding tremendous and enduring dangers of cold and heat and hunger, thirst, wild animals, bandits, and severe illnesses."[93] And indeed, the suffering and travails of travel play a central role in both tales, serving, as Frieden notes, "to prepare [readers] to endure hardships without losing faith."[94] These hardships are particularly prevalent in Lefin's translation of the North Pole adventure. Thus, at the height of their journey, the Dutch explorers find themselves stranded in the wintry darkness of Nova Zembla (Novaya Zemlya): "The fire seemed as though it too had lost its warmth, so that when they held their feet so close to the flames that their socks [*batey ha-raglayim*] caught fire, [only then] would they feel a little warmer, but they would not notice [the burning] until the smell of burnt flesh reached their noses. And they lost their spirits, as well as the power of speech and, seated around the flame, they appeared as mute golems, their faces sullen, their eyes sad, for they pitied one another, and one and all awaited their impending death."[95]

A similar emphasis on the hardships of travel was characteristic of other maskilic translations of the same period as well. Indeed, as I have argued elsewhere, for maskilic translators around the turn of the century, travel served as a powerful metaphor for the project of the Haskalah.[96] The maskilim used the perils of the journey to dramatize the hurdles they faced, while the emphasis on the gains of faraway travel served to alleviate concerns surrounding the maskilic project. In Moshe Mendelsohn-Frankfurt's translation of *The Discovery of America*, for instance, the translator describes numerous

occasions on which the crew of Columbus's ship succumbs to despair, lamenting their decision to set sail to a new, unknown land. These laments form a recurring theme in the narrative, providing the translator with a powerful analogy for the doubts and skepticism encountered by the Jewish maskil. In a particularly poignant scene, Columbus's crew cries out: "why have we left our homeland, our homes and properties, to follow this man of spirit [*ish ruaḥ*] towards nothingness, known to no man, and impassable also to him?"[97] Translating Columbus's response to these recurring doubts permits Mendelsohn-Frankfurt to articulate a militant maskilic response: "and [Columbus] neither did he set his heart to this also [Exodus 7:23], for he said in his heart, I know . . . that I am guiding them in the right direction."[98] Elsewhere in the translation, Mendelsohn-Frankfurt further accentuates his defense of maskilic innovation in the face of opposition, explaining that "this is the way of the wise man, whose soul yearns for discoveries. . . . And even if his brothers turn a blind eye to his efforts, even if they do him evil and are forever ignorant of his efforts on their behalf . . . still he will not sleep, and will work tirelessly to better their situation; he will endure their scorn and wrath, and . . . will forever courageously endeavor to help them."[99]

But, for conservative maskilim such as Mendelsohn-Frankfurt and Lefin, travel was a means not merely to dramatize the hurdles to be overcome by the maskil but also to discuss the hazards facing Jews as they ventured beyond the traditional cultural realm. The various maskilic translations of Campe's works all share a recognition that successful travel is a balancing act, requiring a precise combination of home and away. Thus, Mendelsohn-Frankfurt communicates how, upon their arrival in the "New World," those same sailors who had been so concerned that they would never return from their voyage now "became very desirous to settle in that land, and forgot their homes and homeland, and they said: here shall we settle for ever and eternity. But Columbus did not find peace, but was concerned both night and day, wondering: how shall I return to my home."[100] The domestic message is brought home during Columbus's second journey, in which he discovers that those sailors who had chosen to stay behind and not return to Europe "became corrupt . . . and razed the entire land and corrupted it."[101]

Lefin, a devout proponent of conservative Haskalah, similarly offered his readers a deeply domestic understanding of faraway adventure. Indeed, in different but complementary ways, both travel tales that appear in *Mas'ot hayam* are circular narratives, stories of journeys whose true destination is home.

Heemskerk and Barents's tale communicates to its readers little else beyond a description of the hazards of the journey, up until to the Dutch sailors' joyous return to Amsterdam. In Campe's original German version, the closing scene is short and almost anticlimactic; the sailors, we are told, "boarded and began their journey to Holland on September 15th . . . arriving after an uneventful journey in Amsterdam on November 1st. . . . Their sight aroused wonder and the tale of their adventures elicited astonishment."[102] This laconic finale gives Lefin little to work with; still, the translator tweaks the closing scene, adding his own unique Jewish touch:

> Around mid-Elul they boarded the ship . . . to return to Holland. . . . They journeyed in peace without any hurdles or travails until arriving in Amsterdam in the beginning of Ḥeshvan. . . . And the people gathered round them within minutes, hungry for wonders and thirsty for news. **Some asked questions, others expressed opinions, others wondered, and all were delighted and joyous and gave thanks and praise to the performer of mighty deeds, the master of wonders** [*po'el gvurot, adon ha-nifla'ot*; after the *Yotser or* blessing; my emphasis].[103]

Lefin's additions to Campe's source, which I have highlighted in the above quotation, are minor but meaningful. In underscoring the importance of providence in ensuring the sailors' safe return, the departures comply with a general theme in *Mas'ot ha-yam*, in which, as Frieden notes, "Campe's abstract Providence becomes more explicitly God's intervention."[104] But there is more here; the final sentence, which is Lefin's original addition to the text, refers the Hebrew reader to the *Yotser or* (Creator of light) blessing, the first of two blessings uttered before the Shema in the Jewish morning prayer (*Shaḥarit*), in which the worshiper thanks God for the creation of light. In referencing the prayer, the translation's finale offers an inversion of the darkness that had shrouded the sailors throughout their journey across the wintry arctic, signaling to the reader that the sun only rises once the journey is over.

In his translation of Wilson's travel tale, Lefin once again uses intertextual references to drive home the domestic message of the book. While Frieden correctly presents Lefin as a Hebrew author who "generally avoids quotations from Hebrew sources,"[105] biblical allusions do occasionally appear in the translation, their scarcity only accentuating their import. Through

the use of such intertextual references, Lefin establishes a powerful analogy between Wilson's South Sea adventure and the biblical story of the Exodus. Thus, on reaching the island of Palau, Campe writes that the English decided to send a group (*Kundschaft*) to survey the unknown land.[106] This is translated by Lefin as: "they decided to send spies that they may search the land [*latur et ha-'arets*]."[107] Lefin's choice of terms alludes to the post-Exodus story, in which the Israelites send spies to search the land of Canaan. The spies' expedition, however, is unsuccessful, and is followed by the continued sojourn of the Israelites in the desert. In this way, Lefin signals to his readers, well-versed in the biblical tale and its interpretations, that for all its promise and intrigue, Palau is a mere diversion, a stop on the circuitous course toward the journey's ultimate destination, the return home.

The domestic message is further accentuated through Lefin's treatment of the colonialist encounter between the English sailors and the natives of Palau. As Sinkoff notes, "in the realm of metaphor, [Lefin] appears to be comparing the 'noble savages' [of Palau] with east European Jewry and the British and their world with Western, non-Jewish culture, and depicting their encounter as the result of a tumultuous journey."[108] Of particular significance is Lefin's treatment of the image of the Palauan prince Libu. Libu is instructed by his father, the king of Palau, to accompany the British sailors back to their European home, in order to acquire from them "those things required for the advancement of his people."[109] In this way, Lefin underscores the aims of the conservative Haskalah, exploiting the colonialist encounter between the natives of Palau and the English sailors to discuss Judaism's dialogue with the majority European culture. The image of Libu, in particular, serves as a means to portray the benefits offered by such an exchange and seems to be an almost unavoidable analogy for the "maskilic voyager," Lefin himself.[110]

After reaching England, Libu learns to read and write in English, is amazed at the technological marvels and cultural fineries he encounters, and finally immerses himself in English society, all while maintaining his natural kindness, wisdom, and naïveté.[111] Following his German source closely, Lefin notes that for all his amazement at the riches of English culture, Libu was set in his decision to return to Palau: "Whenever he would see or hear something new he would make a note to himself to use this novelty for the benefit of his nation" (*bney 'amo* in Lefin's Hebrew; *sein Vaterland* in Campe's text).[112]

And yet, Libu's journey is cut short. Before he can complete his quest and return to Palau, he is struck down by the pox, his last thoughts dedicated to his father and the great loss of wisdom that his death bodes for Palau: "and it did him well to be angry [after Jonah 4:9] because he would not be able to tell his father the king all the novel things that he had seen in the land of Britain."[113] The tale's tragic closing scene depicts Libu's father standing on the beach, staring at an indifferent ocean, waiting for a son who will never return. Lefin calls his readers to "imagine . . . this pious king, who abandoned his son in order to bring a blessing to his people and his mission was all in vain."[114] For Lefin, it seems, Libu's ill-fated journey offered a final opportunity to reflect on the hazards and, potentially, the futility of venturing outside the familiar world. For all his good intentions, it seems, Libu still strayed too far from home.

Was Libu's frustrated journey a metaphor for the radicalization of the Berlin Haskalah? As Sinkoff has shown, a one-time close affiliate of the maskilim, by the 1790s Lefin had become disenchanted with the movement.[115] In an unpublished manuscript written sometime in the 1810s, he reflected on the role played by the increasing German literacy in the radicalization of the German maskilim:

> Now, however, since this past [prejudice] has been pierced [i.e., the language barrier], everything proceeds very quickly. . . . A general mania for innovation took hold. Soon, the majority of the people scorned the esteemed Orthodoxy, the Sages of the Talmud and of the religion, who were mocked by shabby esthetes [*armselige Schöngeistler*]. . . . Now they have become completely enlightened towards meanness. They are ashamed of their Jewish names. Hirsch was transformed into Herman and into Heinrich; Malkah was transformed into Amalie and into Maiblume. Moses's prescriptions were examined and found no longer suitable for the spirit of the age. They switched to Deism, to indifference.[116]

Lefin's words give voice to the promise and perils of foreign words. In order for the Haskalah to be successful, it is imperative that a language barrier be maintained between foreign tongues and the Jewish masses. Only the select few, whose adherence to tradition is beyond doubt, may cross this barrier. Only they are sure to return with the fruits of their labor to the Jewish

everyman who must remain home. But once the barrier is broken, cultural openness becomes a route to assimilation. The collapse of the language barrier signifies the end of Jewish translation. No longer are non-Jewish works domesticated into the Jewish literary realm—rather, the Jewish self is now translated into the languages, cultures, and religions of the gentiles.

* * *

As Lefin's reflections on the language barrier reveal, the decades around the end of the eighteenth century witnessed a significant change in the German-Jewish literary realm. The sheer volume of translations, the increasing exposure to imported ideas and works, the more organized nature of Jewish translational activity, and the changing ethics of acknowledgment joined other technological, social, and cultural changes. Faced with these profound changes, European Jewish culture was required to swifter, more radical transformations than it had ever before undergone. Under these conditions, things that were once easily absorbed by the Jewish literary system now became harder to accommodate, and the meanings and functions of translation began to change. Still, this was not the revolutionary process that previous studies have made it out to be. It is, perhaps, better understood as a kind of phase transition: like the boiling of water, in which a steady, long-term exposure to a gradually increasing variable results in sudden, nonlinear change.

Of course, it was not only the changes in Jewish translation that led to this tipping point. Other transformations that were taking place throughout Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century contributed to the growing unease surrounding translation specifically and non-Jewish knowledge more generally among members of the rabbinical elite. It was, however, only after this tipping point had been reached that translation began to be perceived as truly transformative and the phenomenon of traditionalist translators disappeared. Non-Jewish knowledge, whether in its original or its Judaized form, now became increasingly associated with assimilation and secularization, and its outright rejection became the battle cry of the new Jewish orthodoxy.

But for late-eighteenth-century Jewish translators, these developments still lay in the future. Translators during this period were still devoted to the gradual introduction of new texts and ideas into a deeply religious Jewish literary realm. Their translations convey an attempt to strike a balance

between continuity and change, home and away, and they appear to have used translation as a means to unpack their concerns surrounding the radicalization of the process of intercultural and interreligious dialogue, of which their translations were a part. Their ambivalent attitudes toward their own project, their aspirations for reform and fears of revolution, reflect not only their link to their early modern past but also their Enlightenment sensibilities. Indeed, as recent studies of the Enlightenment have suggested, "the Enlightenment was not a philosophical doctrine, a coherent ensemble of ideas and values, nor even a reformatory program, but rather a polyphonic and deeply reflexive intellectual movement."[117] It was not so much a harbinger of modernity as it was a reflection on modernity, a wide-ranging, multivalent debate over its tensions, promises, hazards, and contradictions.[118]

Conclusion

Of Bridges and Barricades

Translation is often narrated through the metaphor of movement: texts *migrate* from one language to another; translators *bring the text to* the reader through domestication or *move it away* through foreignization; translation forms a bridge over which texts are carried and where cultures may meet. As Michael Emmerich notes, such metaphors "cleave so well both to the etymology of the word 'translation' itself and to the spatial metaphors implicit in the language we use when we speak of translation . . . , that at times it seems almost impossible to think of translation in any other way."[1] Underlying these metaphors of movement is a sense of liberty, a feeling of limitlessness enabled by translation. Translations seem to allow us to travel throughout the world without visas, passports, or border crossings. They grant us the opportunity to encounter other cultures without the inconvenience of learning foreign languages or the discomfort of leaving our own familiar spaces.

There is, indeed, something almost inevitable about our tendency to talk about translation through metaphors of space and movement. If thinking about translation as set in space helps us, as Sherry Simon observes, "to try and make concrete an activity that eludes definition,"[2] then movement lets us maintain something of its mutability. Throughout this book, I too have located Jewish translation in a specific space—that of the early modern ghetto. But in contrast to the metaphor of movement and the sense of liberty from which it ensues, the site of the ghetto is one of segregation, designed specifically to restrict movement, to limit intercultural encounter and exchange.

Perhaps, however, in the context of translation, the distance between limit and liberty, segregation and encounter, is not so great after all. In fact,

there is something deeply restrictive about the kind of liberty afforded by translation, which offers one of the safest forms of tourism, protecting the reader from all the hazards and challenges that a more direct encounter with foreignness entails. As Lawrence Venuti reminds us, it is the very purpose of translation to "[reconstitute] the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and representations that preexist it in the target language [and] to bring back a cultural other as the same, the recognizable, even the familiar."[3] Thinking about translation in this way, as both a bridge and a barricade, may help us to understand why, contrary to our a priori expectations, translation, as a cultural and literary activity, raised virtually no resistance among early modern Jews.

As we have seen throughout this book, translation stirred authors from different, seemingly opposing corners of the Jewish literary world: rabbis and maskilim; Hebrew and Yiddish authors; Ashkenazi, Italian, and Sephardi Jews; converts into Judaism and converts out of it; printers and physicians; proponents of innovation and champions of conservation. These diverse writers translated their sources into different Jewish languages for different Jewish readerships, drew on texts from both Latin and the European vernaculars, translated into different registers and genres, employed different translational techniques, and understood translation in largely disparate ways. Further research is required to determine more fully the differences between the distinct corpora of Jewish translation. In attempting to offer a holistic overview of the phenomenon I have doubtless glossed over many disparities and idiosyncrasies. Much work still needs to be done to uncover the scope and character of Ladino and Judeo-Italian translation, as well as to determine the relationship between Jewish translation in Europe and outside of it. The study of translations designed for early modern Jews in other languages and scripts is a further desideratum. Still, the diverse body of translations surveyed in the chapters above suggests a firm and widespread belief among early modern Jews that rendering foreign texts in Hebrew script was vital for Jewish literary, linguistic, religious, and cultural survival.

The dialectical nature of Jewish translation was made possible by the unusual linguistic and orthographic reality that characterized Jewish society in early modern Europe. It was the unique status of Hebrew script, almost entirely inaccessible to non-Jews and almost universally accessible to Jews, that facilitated the emergence of a kind of parallel Jewish literary universe. Within this self-contained "other dimension," Jews could converse with one another on the issues of the day, using the same works that circulated

in Christian Europe but in a domesticated, Judaized form. Jewish translation thus allowed Jews to participate in the cultural ferment that took over early modern Europe from a position of safety, and to consume Christian works without the hazards of venturing outside the Jewish cultural realm.

Of course, there are exceptions to the rule; indeed, translation into Yiddish and Hebrew could be—and at times was—envisioned as a means of bringing Jews closer to Christianity, even to the point of subsuming them. This holds particularly true for the various missionary translations that appeared throughout the early modern period.[4] These translations were motivated by an understanding of translation that was almost diametrically opposed to the one surveyed in the chapters above. As Aya Elyada has demonstrated, Christian missionaries, writing in Hebrew characters, attempted to mimic the style and language of Jewish works, thus coupling translation with deception.[5] Clad in artificial Jewish garments, such pseudo-Jewish translations provide a fascinating glimpse into Christian perceptions of Jews. But they also display an essential misunderstanding of what Jewish translation set out to achieve. In direct contrast to these missionary translations, Jewish translators did not desire to deceive their readers, nor did they aspire to assimilate Jews into another religion or culture. On the contrary, as a cultural and literary phenomenon, Jewish translation consisted of the attempt to assimilate Christian texts into the Jewish literary sphere, to convert Christian texts into Jewish ones. In this sense, missionary translations were paragons of the problem of untranslatability.

But the intricacies of early modern Jewish translation were not only misunderstood by early modern missionaries; modern scholars have also mistaken them. We have grown so accustomed to thinking about translation through its European Christian versions that translations that do not fit the missionary mold are often either marginalized (as in the case of most early modern translations) or misunderstood (as has often been the case with maskilic translations). This tendency to overlook divergent ways of thinking about translation extends beyond the field of early modern Jewish history. In part, it is the centrality of Christian European understandings of translation, particularly their missionary and colonialist expressions, that informs the contemporary suspicion towards translation and the rise of untranslatability as a cause célèbre in such fields as comparative and world literature.[6] Ironically, in its disregard for differing notions of translation, this insistence on untranslatability in contemporary European and North American aca-

demic discourse often reproduces the same Eurocentrism that it sets out to critique.[7]

A wider, more comparative view of translation both within and beyond Europe reveals, however, that Jews were not singular in their understanding of translation as a means of both engagement with and resistance to hegemonic languages and literatures. Maria Tymoczko has demonstrated how the translation strategies employed by modern Irish translators changed according to the particular historical contexts in which they operated. In some cases, Irish translators exhibited "the tendency . . . to introject the [English] colonizers' values and standards."[8] In others, translation was a form of resistance to English culture and a way of defining Irishness in opposition to Englishness.[9] Finally, for some Irish translators, translation functioned as a way of establishing "an autonomous cultural stance . . . irrespective of the colonizing power's approbation or condemnation."[10] From the works of Brazilian theorists and translators such as Oswaldo de Andrade and Haraldo de Campos we have learned that translation may also be used to reverse the power structures inherent in colonialism, enabling translators to "cannibalize" the literature of the colonizing culture, so as to strengthen and invigorate the culture of the colonized.[11] For Homi Bhabha, the very impossibility of smooth (cultural) translation "moves the question of culture's appropriation beyond the assimilationist's dream, or the racist's nightmare, . . . towards an encounter with the ambivalent process of splitting and hybridity that marks the identification with culture's difference."[12] In all of these accounts, translation functions as a means not (or not only) of eliminating difference, but of coming to terms with it.

My own account of Jewish translation joins these alternative understandings of the cultural meanings and functions of translation. Throughout the chapters above, I have tried to make visible the phenomenon of early modern Jewish translations in two separate but interrelated ways. First, I have attempted to demonstrate that during the early modern period, European Jews were constantly, in one form or another, in dialogue with their Christian contemporaries. Whether they produced translations of their own or consumed translations produced by others, early modern Jews were deeply embedded in the non-Jewish cultures and literatures of their non-Jewish surroundings. Any attempt to understand European Jewish culture and literature thus necessarily entails locating them in their wider multilingual contexts.

Secondly, I have attempted to show that while Jewish translators have often been viewed as either advocates of acculturation or agents of assimilation, in fact they were careful and critical consumers of their surrounding cultures. For these translators, translation was a solution to a problem, a middle ground between isolation and assimilation. In their approach toward their non-Jewish sources, Jewish translators were thus simultaneously submissive and subversive; they accepted, yet they adapted—they at once embraced and rejected their sources. Translation thus served as a way of bringing Jews and Christians together, but also of setting them apart.

Appendix

The JEWTACT Database

The database of Jewish Translation and Cultural Transfer in Early Modern Europe (JEWTACT) (https://aranne5.bgu.ac.il/jtact/index.php) offers a general bibliography of translations of texts from European to Jewish languages that appeared between 1450 and 1830. It aims to cover translations that were produced throughout Europe, in both manuscript and print, and that drew on sources in languages as varied as Latin, German, Italian, Dutch, English, French, and Greek. The database's primary focus is on translations of contemporary works from Latin to Hebrew script. Translations of ancient and medieval works are also included, but the database does not presume to offer an exhaustive survey of such translations. Translations produced by missionaries or Hebraists are also included, but here again, the database makes no claim to be exhaustive. Excluded are translations of works between Jewish languages (such as Yiddish translations of Hebrew works), except in those cases in which a mediating text in a non-Jewish language was used.[1] The database includes both wholesale translations and translated fragments of a few lines, but focuses only on texts that can be shown to have drawn directly on previous written sources. Suspected translations and works that may have been based either on written sources or on oral traditions (as is the case with many Yiddish story booklets) are not included.

The database aims to provide the most complete bibliographic information possible for the translations and their sources. It provides publication details and information on the creators of both the target and source texts and, where relevant, on any mediating texts used by the translators. Where available, information on library holdings, digital versions, and previous studies of the translations' relationship with their sources is also included. Creation dates are often only estimates—particularly in the case of manuscripts.

In the statistical figures that feature in this book, where estimated date ranges exist, I have selected the earliest possible date as the estimated date of creation or publication.

For reasons of convenience, the database categorizes its target texts according to four basic European Jewish languages: Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Italian. More nuanced language categories, such as *Jüdisch-Deutsch*, western or eastern Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Tuscan, and Hebrew-Aramaic, are subsumed under these larger categories. Where possible, these languages are identified as additional languages in the individual entries.

In determining whether a translation is acknowledged, unacknowledged, or partially acknowledged, the following considerations apply. A translation is considered to be acknowledged if it identifies its source in full or if it identifies as a translation *and* provides at least one further detail about its source (e.g., source language, title, author name, etc.). A partially acknowledged translation is one that presents as a translation but does not provide any identifying details about its source, or one that does not acknowledge that it is a translation but does retain the title of its source. An unacknowledged translation is a text that does not identify as a translation and does not provide any indication of a foreign source. As is the case for many distinctions drawn in the database, the boundaries between these categories are often muddied. In Yiddish, for instance, it must have been common knowledge that any work titled *historye* relied on a foreign source; however, many such works do not explicitly identify as translations. While only a handful of translations of this kind appear in the database, those that do are considered to be unacknowledged or partially acknowledged.[2] In other cases, a text will identify as a translation and cite a source, but will not acknowledge its use of a mediating text. In the database, such translations are considered acknowledged, even though they do not acknowledge their sources in full.[3] A discussion of the particular nature of each translation and, where needed, the considerations employed in its classification is provided for each individual entry in the database.

The database is the collaborative work of five editors and (at present) five principal contributors. At the time of writing, it includes 640 translations, and it is presumed that it will continue to grow as further translations are discovered. The number of translations in the database reflects the number of translated sources, meaning that a given Hebrew or Yiddish work that includes more than one translated source may occupy several entries. Such compound translations are referred to in the database as *macrotexts*.

Macrotexts are particularly ubiquitous in manuscripts, which often bind together several distinct translations. An example of one particularly prominent macrotext that appears in the database is the Wallich collection of manuscripts housed at the Bodleian library in Oxford, which is dated c. 1600. Comprising an unusually large number of translated ballads, hymns, folk songs, and even a play, the Wallich collection accounts for no fewer than forty-two entries in the database.[4] While the collection may have been the endeavor of more than one translator, it is treated in the database as a single macrotext. Other large macrotexts include maskilic anthologies,[5] preacher guides,[6] works of history,[7] and works of science and medicine.[8] In the statistical analysis and figures that are featured above, where such macrotexts are liable to skew the statistics, I have counted each macrotext as a single text and made a note of this in the captions (see Figures 4 and 8). Note that all percentage values in the figures in this book have been rounded.

The database's digital interface features a wide range of search and browse options, from free-text-based search to advanced search options that enable users to conduct their own, independent research. In its wide historical, linguistic, spatial, and literary scope, the database aims to speak across the disciplines and to offer a powerful research tool not only to users within the fields of Jewish history, literature, and thought but also to researchers in such fields as translation studies, European history, comparative literature, cultural studies, philology, linguistics, folklore, and the history of science.

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Louis Kelly, *The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (Oxford, 1979), 1.

2. On cultures of literacy among early modern Jews, see Chone Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish: prakim le-toldoteha* (Tel Aviv, 1978), 24–39; Re'uven (Robert) Bonfil, *Be-mar'ah kesufah: chayey ha-yehudim be-'Italiyah bi-yemey ha-Reneysans* (Jerusalem, 1994), 120–22; Shlomo Berger, Aubrey Pomerance, Andrea Schatz, and Emile Schrijver, "Speaking Jewish—Jewish Speak: Introduction," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 36 (2002–2003): vii–xv; Chava Turniansky, "Yiddish and the Transmission of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (2008): 5–18; Edward Fram, "Limud sfat ha-makom be-Krakov ba-me'ot ha-16 ve-ha-17: hayitakhen?" *Gal-ed* 25 (2017): 23–37.

3. On early modern translation in general, see Peter Burke, "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007), 7–38; Karen Newman and Jane Tylus, Introduction to *Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, ed. Karen Newman and Jane Tylus (Philadelphia, 2015), 1–24.

4. Moses Mendelssohn, Letter to August Hennings, June 29, 1779. Quoted in Jeffrey A. Grossman, *The Discourse on Yiddish in Germany from the Enlightenment to the Second Empire* (Rochester, NY, 2000), 78.

5. Michael A. Meyer, *The Origins of the Modern Jew: Jewish Identity and European Culture in Germany, 1749–1824* (Detroit, 1967), 42–43.

6. Leonard J. Greenspoon, "Jewish Translations of the Bible," in *The Jewish Study Bible*, 2nd ed., ed. Adele Berlin and Marc Zvi Brettler (New York/Oxford, 2014), 2095.

7. Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 87.

8. See, e.g., Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley, 1992); Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham, 1993); Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (New York, 2003).

9. Sherry Simon, *Translation Sites: A Field Guide* (New York, 2019), 104.

10. There exist also other understandings of translation, which are closer to the early modern Jewish view. See my discussion of these approaches in the conclusion.

11. The relationship between history and translation studies has become the focus of a great deal of attention in recent years. See, e.g., the various contributions to the special forum of the journal *Translation Studies* 5, no. 2: Rethinking Methods in Translation History (2012): 131–261. More recently, see Julia Richter, *Translationshistoriographie. Perspektiven &*

Methoden (Vienna, 2020); Christopher Rundle, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Translation History* (London, 2022).

12. Ya'akov Emden, *Sefer birat migdal oz* (Zhytomyr, 1873), 214.

13. Shaul ha-Levi, approbation to Barukh Schick of Shklov, *Sefer Uklidos* (The Hague, 1780), (n.p. [1]). Translation (with slight modifications) according to Tal Kogman, "Science and the Rabbis: Haskamot, Haskalah, and the Boundaries of Jewish Knowledge in Scientific Hebrew Literature and Textbooks," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 62 (2017): 142.

14. See, e.g., Babylonian Talmud (BT) Sanhedrin 100b; BT Chagigah 15b.

15. Robert Bonfil, "Jewish Attitudes Towards History and Historical Writing in Pre-Modern Times," *Jewish History* 11, no. 1 (1997): 29.

16. On the early modern ghetto as a means of bringing Jews closer to Christians, see Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Anthony Oldcorn (Berkeley, 1994), 68–77; Robert Bonfil, "Change in the Cultural Patterns of a Jewish Society in Crisis: Italian Jewry at the Close of the Sixteenth Century," *Jewish History* 3 no. 2 (1988): 18.

17. Bonfil, "Change in Cultural Patterns," 18.

18. Ha-Levi, approbation to Schick, *Sefer Uklidos*, [1]. The same logic is repeated in other Hebrew works of the period; see Chapter 2 below.

19. For an overview of the central role played by translation in early modern Europe and the Ottoman Empire, see, in addition to the works cited in note 3 above, Scott L. Montgomery, "Why Did Modern Science Emerge in Europe? An Essay in Intellectual History," *Know* 3, no. 1 (2019): 69–92; Sietske Fransen, Niall Hodson, and Karl A. E. Enenkel, eds., *Translating Early Modern Science* (Leiden/Boston, 2017); Gottfried Hagen, "Translations and Translators in a Multilingual Society: A Case Study of Persian-Ottoman Translations, Late Fifteenth to Early Seventeenth Century," *Eurasian Studies* 2, no.1 (2003): 95–134; B. Harun Küçük, "Early Modern Ottoman Science: A New Materialist Framework," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21 (2017): 407–19.

20. Naomi Seidman, *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation* (Chicago, 2006), 16, 153–54; Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893).

21. Gideon Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation: A Skeletal History for the Uninitiated," in *Jewish Translation History: A Bibliography of Bibliographies and Studies*, ed. Robert Singerman (Amsterdam, 2002), xix. See also the survey of Hebrew translation history in Robert Singerman, "Between Western Culture and Jewish Tradition: Translations to and from Hebrew," in *A Sign and a Witness: 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Leonard Singer Gold (New York, 1988), 140–54. See Chapter 4 below for further examples and a discussion.

22. Following Steinschneider, most scholarship on medieval Hebrew translations has focused on translations from Arabic. More recently, a large-scale collaborative project has sought to amend this by investigating medieval Hebrew translations from Latin. See Alexander Fidora, Gad Freudenthal, Resianne Fontaine, Harvey J. Hames, and Yossef Schwartz, eds., *Latin-into-Hebrew: Texts and Studies*, 2 vols. (Boston/Leiden, 2013).

23. See Robert Singerman, ed., *Jewish Translation History: A Bibliography of Bibliographies and Studies* (Amsterdam, 2002).

24. Nitsa Ben-Ari and Shaul Levin, "Traditions of Translation in Hebrew Culture," in *The World Atlas of Translation*, ed. Yves Gambier and Ubaldo Stecconi (Amsterdam, 2019), 199.

25. See Chapter 4.

26. On this late development, see David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton, 2010), 214–20; Francesca Bregoli, Introduction to *Connecting Histories: Jews and Their Other in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Francesca Bregoli and David B. Ruderman (Philadelphia, 2019), 6–7.

27. On the relatively organized nature of medieval Hebrew translation, see Ram Ben Shalom, *Yehudey Provans: Reneysans be-tsel ha-knesiya* (Ra'anana, 2017), 445–82.

28. On German translations of Yiddish works, see Aya Elyada, *A Goy Who Speaks Yiddish: Christians and the Jewish Language in Early Modern Germany* (Stanford, 2012); Jerold C. Frakes, *The Cultural Study of Yiddish in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2007). On translations from Hebrew, see Yaacov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2012); Zur Shalev, "Benjamin of Tudela, Spanish Explorer," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 25, no.1 (2010): 17–33; Stephen Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden, 1996).

29. For some notable studies of Hebrew translations see, e.g., Zohar Shavit, "Literary Interference between German and Jewish-Hebrew Children's Literature during the Enlightenment: The Case of Campe," *Poetics Today* 13, no. 1 (1992): 41–61; Tal Kogman, *Ha-maskilim be-mad'aim ḥinuḥ Yehudi le-mad'aim ba-merḥav dover ha-germanit ba-et ha-ḥadashah* (Jerusalem, 2013); Gideon Toury, "Reshit ha-tirgum ha-moderny le-'ivrit: od mabat eḥad," *Dapim le-meḥkar be-sifrut* 11 (1997); Ken Frieden, *Travels in Translation: Sea Tales at the Source of Jewish Fiction* (Syracuse, NY, 2016); Zvi Malachi, *The Loving Knight: Amadis de Gaula and Its Hebrew Adaptation* (Lod, 1982); David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati, 1981); Itsḥak Barzilay, *Yoseph Shlomo Delmedigo: His Life, Works and Times* (Leiden, 1974); Jiřina Šedinová, "Non-Jewish Sources in the Chronicle by David Gans, 'Tsemah David,'" *Judaica Bohemiae* 8 (1972): 3–15. On Yiddish translations, see Rebekka Voß, "A Jewish-Pietist Network: Dialogues between Protestant Missionaries and Yiddish Writers in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 112, no. 4 (2022): 731–63; Jerold C. Frakes, *The Emergence of Yiddish Literature: Cultural Translation in Ashkenaz* (Bloomington, IN: 2017); Ruth von Bernuth, "Das jischev fun Nar-husen: Jiddische Narrenliteratur und jüdische Narrenkultur," *Aschkenas* 25, no. 1 (2015): 137–39; Claudia Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona by Elye Bokher. A Yiddish Romance: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Leiden, 2015); Astrid Lembke, "Ritter außer Gefecht. Konzepte passiver Bewährung im *Wigalois* und im *Widuwilt*," *Ashkenas* 25, no. 1 (2015): 63–82; Marion Aptroot, "I Know This Book of Mine Will Cause Offence': A Yiddish Adaptation of Boccaccio's *Decameron* (Amsterdam 1710)," *Zutot* 3 (2003): 152–59; Erika Timm, "Die jiddische Literatur und die italienische Renaissance," in *Alte Welten neue Welten. Akten des IX. Kongresses der Internationalen Vereinigung für germanische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, ed. Michael S. Batts (Tübingen, 1996), 60–75; Paucker, TYV, 151–67; El'azar Shulman, *Sfat Yehudit-Ashkenazit u-sifruta* (Riga, 1913), esp. 123–40, 164–71, 208–11.

30. Seidman, *Faithful Renderings*, 30.

31. Toury, DTS, 26. Notwithstanding these cautionary remarks, elsewhere Toury does venture to suggest an ahistorical definition of Jewish translation, based on three central criteria: creator, language, and theme. See Toury, "Translation and Reflection," x–xi.

32. On the need to arrive at a culturally specific definition of translation, see Ronit Ricci, "On the Untranslatability of 'Translation': Considerations from Java, Indonesia," *Translation Studies* 3, no. 3 (2010): 287–301.

33. Toury, DTS, 31.

34. Toury, DTS, 93–113.

35. See, e.g., *Ayn vunderlikhe sheyne historye mit nomen di zibn vayzn maynsters fun Rom . . . hot mikh der tsu getribn, . . . oys das holandshn tsu translitirn* (Amsterdam, 1776), cover page.

36. See, e.g., *Privilegos del poderozo rey Karlo* (Constantinople [Istanbul], 1740), title page; David ben Moshe Atias, *La Guerta de Oro* (Livorno, 1778), 8v. On these translations, see Tamir Karkason's work in progress, and Matthias B. Lehman, "A Livornese 'Port Jew' and the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (2005): 51–76. See also Karkason, JEWTACT #228–29, 432, 464, 466–67.

37. See, e.g., Yehudah Leib Ben Ze'ev, *Ben Sira* (Wrocław, 1798), pp. 4–5 of preface.

38. Meir ben Yehudah Leib Neumark, "Tekhunat ha-havaya," [Prague(?)], 1703; MS Bodl. Opp. 184. Title page.

39. In characterizing translational methods, I use such terms as "faithful," "liberal," "domesticated," "foreignized," or "Judaized" for reasons of convenience; these should not be taken as an assessment of translational quality or value. The recent critique of the use of such terms by scholars of translation is well taken; more accurate terms, however, are still a desideratum. See Karen Emmerich, *Literary Translation and the Making of Originals* (New York, 2017); Lawrence Venuti, *Contra Instrumentalism: A Translation Polemic* (Lincoln, NE, 2019).

40. See Chapter 1.

41. *Her Ditriekh* (Krakow, 1597), 22v. It should be noted that the term "Yiddish" is a modern term, which did not appear before the eighteenth century. Early modern Jews, in contrast, did not have a designated word for their language and most often simply used *Taytsh*, which could mean either German or what we would today term Yiddish. See Marion Aptroot, "Writing 'Jewish' not 'German': Functional Writing Styles and the Symbolic Function of Yiddish in Early Modern Ashkenaz," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 55, no. 1 (2010): 115–16.

42. For a comparative reading of the translation and its source, see Joseph Perles, "Bibliografische Mittheilungen aus München," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 25, no. 9 (1876): 351–61.

43. *Shild burger* (Amsterdam, c. 1727). For discussion, see Ruth Von Bernuth, *How the Wise Men Got to Chelm: The Life and Times of a Yiddish Folk Tradition* (New York, 2016), 78. For an example from another genre of Old Yiddish literature, see Benyamin ben Zalman Croneburg's *Kurioser antikvarius* (Neuwied am Rhein, 1752). Croneburg presents the book as the first "word-for-word translation into Jewish" (*vort tsu vort oyf [Yehudis] tsum erstn mol iber zetst*) of its unnamed source. In fact, the book is a near-transliteration into Hebrew characters of the German Protestant theologian Paul Ludolph Berckenmeyer's *Neu-vermehrter curieuser Antiquarius* (Hamburg, 1708).

44. Bernuth, *Wise Men*, 78.

45. Bernuth, *Wise Men*, 79.

46. David Damrosch, "Scriptworlds: Writing Systems and the Formation of World Literature," *Modern Language Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (2007): 195. For a fascinating counterexample, in which a culture adopts a foreign script as a means of bringing the translation closer to its source, see Ronit Ricci, "Citing as a Site: Translation and Circulation in Muslim South and Southeast Asia," *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 2 (2012): 331–53.

47. Bernuth, *Wise Men*, 84. See also Ester Lapon-Kandelshein and Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, "Hebrew Scientific Publications from the 15th to the 18th Centuries: Social and Cultural Aspects," *La Bibliofilía* 104, no. 2 (2002): 171–72; Ran Ha-Cohen, "Germanit be-'otiyot

ivriyot: kama he'arot al ma'arekhet ketivah hibridit," in *Ha-sifriyah shel tnu'at ha-haskalah: yetsiratah shel republikat ha-sfarim ba-ḥevrah ha-yehudit ba-merḥav dover ha-germanit*, ed. Shmu'el Feiner, Zohar Shavit, Natalie Naimark-Goldberg, and Tal Kogman (Tel Aviv, 2014), 459–74.

48. While this definition also applies to missionary translations, I do not devote sustained discussion to such translations, which adhered to different norms, were produced by different agents, and were inspired by different motivations than translations produced for and by Jews. Still, missionary translations are included in the electronic database on which some of the findings in this study are based. A sustained discussion of such translations, particularly in the eighteenth century, is the focus of a DFG research project headed by Rebekka Voß of Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main.

49. One essay that has already begun to do so is Magdaléna Jánošíková, "United in Scholarship, Divided in Practice: (Re-)Translating Smallpox and Measles across Seventeenth-Century Jewish Communities," *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science Society* 133, no. 2 (2022): 289–309.

CHAPTER 1

1. Isaac De Pinto, "Réflexions critiques sur le premier chapitre de VII tome des Œuvres de M. de Voltaire, &c.," in *Lettres de quelques Juifs Portugais, Allemands et Polonais, à M. de Voltaire*, vol. 1 (1762; repr., Paris 1781), 12–13.

2. Israel Ya'akov Yuval, *Two Nations in Your Womb: Perceptions of Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, trans. Barbara Harshav and Jonathan Chipman (Berkeley, 2006), 21.

3. Jacob Katz, *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*, trans. Bernard D. Cooperman (Syracuse, NY, 2000), 26.

4. For a critique of this approach, in addition to the studies discussed in Chapter 4 below, see David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, 1995); Robert Bonfil, "Rabanim, Yeshuim u-ḥidot: Iyun be-olamo hatarbuti shel R' Moshe Zakut," *Italia: Studi e Ricerche Sulla Storia, la Cultura e la Letteratura Degli Ebrei d`Italia*, 13–15 (2001): 169–89; Eliyahu Stern, *The Genius: Elijah of Vilna and the Making of Modern Judaism* (New Haven, 2014); Maoz Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev: dat u-mada ba-khtivah ha-rabanit ba-me'ah ha-shmoneh esreh* (Jerusalem, 2021).

5. See, e.g., Francesca Bregoli and David B. Ruderman, eds., *Connecting Histories: Jews and Their Others in Early Modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2019); David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton, 2010), esp. 224–25; Robert Liberles, "Overlapping Spheres: Jews and Christians in Early Modern Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 55, no. 1 (2010): 39–40.

6. Debra Kaplan and Magda Teter, "Out of the (Historiographic) Ghetto: European Jews and Reformation Narratives," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 40, no. 2 (2009): 365–93.

7. For some notable studies, in addition to the studies listed in note 4 above, see, e.g., Rebekka Voß, *Sons of Saviors: The Red Jews in Yiddish Culture* (Philadelphia, 2023); David I. Shyovitz, *A Remembrance of His Wonders: Nature and the Supernatural in Medieval Ashkenaz* (Philadelphia, 2017); Katrin Kogman-Appel, *Jewish Book Art Between Islam and Christianity: The Decoration of Hebrew Bibles in Medieval Spain* (Leiden, 2014); Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame, IN, 2007); Ivan Marcus, *Rituals*

of Childhood (New Haven, 1996). For a useful overview of the debates surrounding cultural transfer in Jewish history, see Micha J. Perry and Rebekka Voß, "Approaching Shared Heroes: Cultural Transfer and Transnational Jewish History," *Jewish History* 30 (2016): 1–13.

8. See, e.g., Cornelia Aust, *The Jewish Economic Elite: Making Modern Europe* (Bloomington, IN, 2018); Adam Teller, *Money, Power, and Influence in Eighteenth-Century Lithuania: The Jews on the Radziwill Estates* (Stanford, 2016); Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, 2014); Debra Kaplan, *Beyond Expulsion: Jews, Christians and Reformation Strasbourg* (Stanford, 2011); Magda Teter, *Jews and Heretics in Catholic Poland: A Beleaguered Church in the Post-Reformation Era* (Cambridge, 2006); Claudia Ulbrich, *Shulamit und Margarete: Macht, Geschlecht und Religion in einer ländlichen Gesellschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1999).

9. See, e.g., Andrew Berns, *The Bible and Natural Philosophy in Renaissance Italy: Jewish and Christian Physicians in Search of Truth* (Cambridge, 2015); Francesca Bregoli, "Jewish Scholarship, Science, and the Republic of Letters: Joseph Attias in Eighteenth-Century Livorno," *Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism* 7 (2007): 97–181; Daniel Jütte, "Interfaith Encounters between Jews and Christians in the Early Modern Period and Beyond: Towards a Framework," *American Historical Review* 118, no. 2 (2013): 378–400.

10. See, e.g., Elisheva Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven, 2001); Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, 125–32, 180–90; Rebekka Voß, "A Jewish-Pietist Network: Dialogues between Protestant Missionaries and Yiddish Writers in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 112, no. 4 (2022): 731–63; Rebekka Voß, "Love Your Fellow as Yourself: Early Haskalah Reform as Pietist Renewal," *Transversal: Journal for Jewish Studies* 13, no. 1 (2015): 3–11; Avraham Siluk, "Isaac Wetzlar's Pietist Surroundings: Some Reflections on Jewish–Christian Interaction and Exchange in 18th Century Germany," *Transversal: Journal for Jewish Studies* 13, no. 1 (2015):12–19.

11. The JEWTACT database can be found at https://aranne5.bgu.ac.il/jtact/index.php. For more on the database, see the Appendix.

12. For a useful overview of the history of Hebrew translation (though not in the early modern period), see Gideon Toury, "Hebrew Tradition," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2nd ed., ed. Mona Baker (New York/London, 2009/2011), 427–34. On Hebrew translation in the Middle Ages, see Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893); Alexander Fidora, Gad Freudenthal, Resianne Fontaine, Harvey J. Hames, and Yossef Schwartz, eds., *Latin-into-Hebrew: Texts and Studies*, 2 vols. (Boston, 2013).

13. On translation and Jewish cultural survival, see Tessa Rajak, *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford, 2009).

14. On translation as a form of dialogue between Jewish communities today, see Omri Ascher, *Reading Israel, Reading America: The Politics of Translation between Jews* (Stanford, 2020).

15. For a recent and useful survey of the Hebrew translation movement in the Middle Ages and references to further literature, in addition to the works cited in note 12 above, see Gad Freudenthal, "Why Translate? Views From Within Judaism: Egodocuments by Translators from Arabic and Latin into Hebrew (Twelfth–Fourteenth Centuries)," in *Why Translate Science? Documents from Antiquity to the 16th Century in the Historical West*, ed. Dimitri Gutas (Leiden, 2022), 544–56. See also Resianne Fontaine, "Translations: Medieval Period," in *Encyclopedia of Jewish Book Cultures* (EJBC), forthcoming.

16. For a discussion of these changes, see Alexander Fidora, Resianne Fontaine, Gad Freudenthal, Harvey J. Hames, and Yossef Schwartz, "Latin-Into-Hebrew: Introducing a Neglected Chapter in European Cultural History," in *Latin-into-Hebrew: Texts and Studies*, vol. 1: *Studies*, eds. Resianne Fontaine and Gad Freudenthal (Boston/Leiden, 2013), 1:9–18.

17. Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), 5.

18. On mobility as a central theme in late medieval and early modern Jewish history, see Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, 23–56.

19. On the making of the Sephardic diaspora, see Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York, 2013).

20. On these distinctions, see the chapter on "Criteria for the Periodization of Yiddish" in Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language* (New Haven, 2008), 2:719–33; Erika Timm, "Das jiddischsprachige literarische Erbe der Italo-Aschkenasen," in *Schöpferische Momente des europäischen Judentums in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Michael Graetz (Heidelberg, 2000), 161–75. On the shifting borders of Ashkenaz more generally, see Joseph Davis, "The Reception of the *Shuḥhan 'Arukh* and the Formation of Ashkenazic Jewish Identity," *AJS Review* 26, no. 2 (2002): 251–76; Adam Shear, "Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe," in *The Cambridge Guide to Jewish History, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Judith R. Baskin and Kenneth Seeskin (Cambridge, 2010), 142–49.

21. Davis, "Reception of the *Shulḥan 'Arukh*," 276.

22. On the often close connections between the Italian and Ashkenazic Jewish communities in Italy, see Moshe Avigdor Shulvass, *Ḥayey ha-yehudim be-Italyah bi-tekufat ha-renesans* (New York, 1955), 55–61.

23. On these tensions, see Shulvass, *Ḥayey ha-yehudim be-Italyah*. See also David Sclar, "Revisiting a Sabbatian Controversy: Alliance, Disunity, and Independence in the Orbit of Moses Hayim Luzzatto," *Jewish Quarterly Review* (forthcoming).

24. Cecil Roth, for instance, argued that while it is true that each community had its own place of worship, "the differences between them were of no great importance; even the pronunciation of Hebrew, which elsewhere forms one of the greatest bars between Ashkenazim and Sephardim, was identical, all following the Italian variant." See Cecil Roth, *Venice* (Philadelphia, 1930), 137–38. For a different view, see Shulvass, *Ḥayey ha-yehudim be-Italyah*, 58–61; David Malkiel, "The Ghetto Republic," in *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, ed. Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid (Baltimore, 2001), 117–42.

25. Sclar, "Revisiting."

26. Kenneth R. Stow, *The Jews in Rome: The Roman Jew*, vol. 1: *1536–1551* (Leiden, 1995), xliv. See also Kenneth R. Stow, "Ethnic Amalgamation, Like It or Not: Inheritance in Early Modern Jewish Rome," *Jewish History* 16 (2002): 107–21; Kenneth R. Stow, "Ethnic Rivalry or Melting Pot: The 'Edot' in the Roman Ghetto," *Judaism* 41, no. 3 (1992): 286–96.

27. On the importance of linguistic communities in early modern Europe, see Burke, *Languages and Communities*. On the changes that occurred in Jewish society in Italy, see Robert Bonfil, "Change in the Cultural Patterns of a Jewish Society in Crisis: Italian Jewry at the Close of the Sixteenth Century," *Jewish History* 3, no. 2 (1988): 11–30.

28. On the continued influence of Iberian culture on Sephardic Jews in the Italian peninsula, see Cecil Roth, "The Marrano Press at Ferrara, 1552–1555," *The Modern Language Review* 38, no. 4 (1943): 307–17.

29. Francesca Bregoli, *Mediterranean Enlightenment: Livornese Jews, Tuscan Culture, and Eighteenth-Century Reform* (Stanford, 2014), 32.

30. Bregoli, *Mediterranean Enlightenment*, 31–34; Shulvass, *Ḥayey ha-yehudim be-Italyah*, 38–43; Malkiel, "The Ghetto Republic," 122.

31. On these translations, see Tamir Karkason, JEWTACT #432, 467; Ahuvia Goren, JEWTACT #475, 476, 77; Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #4; Roni Cohen, JEWTACT #536. On Ibn Basa, see Ahuvia Goren's study on Jewish-Italian Preaching Manuals, currently under preparation. On Ashkenazi, see Kedem Golden and Yehosheva Samet Shinberg, "Mi-shirey Ossian: Tirgum ivri me'et Pinḥas Ashkenazi min ha-mizmor ha-rishon shel 'Fingal,'" *Deḥak* 13 (2021): 105–130. It should be noted that it is difficult to determine the precise lineage of Italian authors, and while it stands to reason that names such as Tedeschi denote Ashkenazi lineage, this is not ironclad.

32. Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #64, 162, 165, 225, 298, 497, 498, 499, 500; Karkason, JEWTACT #384; Ya'akov Z. Mayer, JEWTACT #422.

33. On the cultures of literacy among western Sephardim, see Cecil Roth, "The Role of Spanish in the Marrano Diaspora," in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of I. González Llubera*, ed. Frank Pierce (Oxford, 1959), 299–308; Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*, 178–80. On the rise of Hebrew literacy among western Sephardim in Amsterdam, see Irene Zwiep, "An Echo of Lofty Mountains: David Franco Mendes, a European Intellectual," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 35, no. 2 (2001): 285–96; Moisés Orfali, "On the Role of Hebrew Grammars in the Western European Diaspora and the New World," in *Religious Changes and Cultural Transformations in the Early Modern Western Sephardic Communities*, ed. Yosef Kaplan (Leiden, 2019), 431–51. On the phenomenon of Hebrew translations by Amsterdam Sephardim (primarily via the French and Portuguese), see Shlomo Berger, "Amadores das Musas," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 15 (1996): 274–88.

34. Mauro Zonta, "Medieval Hebrew Translations of Philosophical and Scientific Texts: A Chronological Table," in *Science in Medieval Jewish Cultures*, ed. Gad Freudenthal (Cambridge, 2011), 17–73. Zonta does not provide any details about his criteria for determining a work's origin, and his list seems to include a few inaccuracies (see, e.g., Tamar Nadav, JEWTACT #305, 606). Still, to date, the list provides the most comprehensive bibliography of medieval Hebrew translations.

35. See, e.g., Mayer, JEWTACT #63, 71, 344–45; Magdaléna Jánošíková, JEWTACT #337, 339, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394; Goren, JEWTACT #28, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400; Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #62, 161; Nadav, JEWTACT #549, 557.

36. On Yiddish literature in Italy in general, see the essays and bibliographies in Chava Turniansky and Erika Timm, eds., with Claudia Rosenzweig, *Yiddish in Italia: Yiddish Manuscripts and Printed Books from the 15th to the 17th Century* (Milan, 2003). On *Bovo d'Antona* and *Paris un' Viene*, see Claudia Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona by Elye Bokher. A Yiddish Romance: A Critical Edition with Commentary*. (Leiden, 2015); Erika Timm, *Paris un Wiene: Ein jiddischer Stanzenroman des 16. Jahrhunderts von (oder aus dem Umkreis von) Elia Levita* (Tübingen, 2015).

37. See Chone Shmeruk, "Yiddish Printing in Italy," in *Yiddish in Italia: Yiddish Manuscripts and Printed Books from the 15th to the 17th Century,* ed. Chava Turniansky, Erika Timm, and Claudia Rosenzweig (Milan, 2003), 179–80; Lucia Raspe, "Minhag and Migration: Yiddish Custom Books from Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *Regional Identities and Cultures of Medieval Jews*, ed. Javier Castaño, Talya Fishman, and Ephraim Kanarfogel (London, 2018), 242–43; Lucia Raspe, "Portable Homeland: The German-Jewish Diaspora in Italy and Its Impact on Ashkenazic Book Culture, 1400–1600," in *Early Modern Ethnic and Religious Communities in Exile*, ed. Yosef Kaplan (Cambridge, 2017), 26–43.

38. Since Zonta's list does not distinguish between macrotexts and translations, Figure 1 reflects the number of translated sources, rather than the number of macrotexts. It should also be noted that Zonta's list does not include translations of belletristic texts and includes only Hebrew translations in the fields of science and philosophy, whereas the JEWTACT database aims to cover translations into Hebrew, Yiddish, Ladino and Judeo-Italian in all genres. And indeed, a few Yiddish, Ladino, and Judeo-Italian translations are included in the data reflected in the chart. Still, the discrepancy is not significant, as the overwhelming majority of translations which appeared in Italy throughout the early modern period continued to be translations into Hebrew. Furthermore, in terms of genre, as discussed below, Italian translation was largely dominated by translations of works of science (including medicine and history) and philosophy (including theology) well into the seventeenth century.

39. The high numbers of translations in specific periods often results from the prolific activity of individual translators (e.g., Natan he-Me'ati in the thirteenth century, Yehudah Romano in the fourteenth century, and Yosef ha-Kohen, Azariah de Rossi, and Avraham Yagel in the sixteenth century).

40. Samuel David Luzzatto, *Kinor na'im* (Vienna, 1825), 5–13, 26, 84–89. Includes translations of Giovanni Della Casa, Giambattista Marino, Silvio Stampiglia, Pietro Metastasio, and others, accompanied by reproductions of the Italian or Latin sources. For further information, see Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #356, 358, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364.

41. See "Ha-yom atem yots'im be-hodesh ha-aviv" in Ephraim Luzzatto, *Eleh bney ha-ne'urim* (London, 1766). Cf. Pietro Metastasio, "La Primavera" (Rome, 1719). For a discussion, see David Mirsky, *The Life and Work of Ephraim Luzzatto* (New York, 1987), vii, 93, 98. And see Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #320.

42. On Romanelli's translations, see Ḥayim Schirmann, "Kovets shirey Shmuel Romanelli bi-khtav yad," *Tarbiz* 35 (1966): 373–95. See also Karkason, JEWTACT #332, 343, 347, 365, 366, 371, 385.

43. My discussion of the functions and positions of translated literature draws on the theoretical insights detailed in Itamar Even-Zohar's seminal article, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem," in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, ed. James S. Holmes, J. Lambert, and R. van den Broeck (Leuven, 1978), rev. ed. in *Poetics Today* 11, no. 1 (1990): 45–51. While I am mindful of the critique voiced by scholars of translation concerning the tendency of polysystem theory to overlook the unequal power relations at play in translation as well the theory's penchant for binary classification, I do find it a helpful framework for understanding the differences between Italian and Ashkenazi approaches to translation. For critiques of polysystem theory and descriptive translation studies more generally, see, e.g., Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley, 1992), 59–60; Theo Hermans, *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and System-Oriented Approaches Explained* (1999; repr., New York, 2014), 14–15, 117–19, 151–61.

44. On Jewish translation in Eastern Europe during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Zoran, "Past and Present in Hebrew Literary Translation," 333–56; Toury, "Translation and Reflection," xxiii-xxviii; Ken Frieden, *Travels in Translation: Sea Tales at the Source of Jewish Fiction* (Syracuse, NY, 2016).

45. For reasons of convenience, I do not distinguish in this analysis between Yiddish and German-in-Hebrew characters (*Jüdisch-Deutsch*), Ladino and Judeo-Spanish, Hebrew or Hebrew-Aramaic, Judeo-Italian, or Judeo-Tuscan, and so on. For more on this, see the appendix.

46. It should be noted that the greater proportion of Hebrew translations corresponds with the greater number of Hebrew books printed throughout the early modern period. As Shlomo Berger notes, this disproportion should not be taken as an indication that Hebrew works enjoyed wider circulation and reception; it stands to reason that the opposite was the case. See Shlomo Berger, "Yiddish on the Borderline of Modernity: Language and Literature in Early Modern Ashkenazi Culture," in "Early Modern Culture and Haskalah," ed. David Ruderman and Shmuel Feiner, special issue, *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 6 (2007): 114–15.

47. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #62, 306; Goren, JEWTACT #75, 76, 221, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244. See also Goren's study on translation in preaching manuals, currently in preparation.

48. On the problematic representation of premodern Hebrew as a dead language, see Lewis Glinert, ed., *Hebrew in Ashkenaz: A Language in Exile* (New York/Oxford, 1993).

49. Chava Turniansky, "Yiddish and the Transmission of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (2008): 5–18.

50. See, e.g., Goren, JEWTACT #27, 29, 35, 44, 45, 82, 135, 157, 158, 159, 160, 240, 241, 243, 396, 399, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 476, 477, 486, 487, 601, 602; Karkason, JEWTACT #343, 347, 365, 366, 371, 385; Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #41, 320, 356, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 599; Mayer, JEWTACT #285, 375; Gal Sofer, JEWTACT #619, 631, 635, 636, 637, 638.

51. Peter Burke, "Translations into Latin in Early Modern Europe," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007), 65.

52. Burke, "Translations into Latin," 71.

53. David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham Ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati, 1981), 134–36.

54. Ruderman, *World of a Renaissance Jew*, 164.

55. For a publication history, see Ruderman, *World of a Renaissance Jew*, 164–66.

56. Moshe Ben Avraham, *Tla'ot Moshe* (Halle, 1711). On the translation, see Chone Shmeruk and Israel Bartal, "Tla'ot moshe—sefer ha-giografiya ha-rishon be-Yiddish," *Kathedra* 40 (1986): 121–37; Hilde Pach, "Moushe's Choices: Was the Compositor of the Oldest Yiddish Newspaper a Creator or an Epigone?" *Studia Rosenthaliana* 40 (2007–2008): 203–4.

57. Joanna Weinberg, "Azariah de' Rossi and the Forgeries of Annius of Viterbo," in *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*, ed. David Ruderman (New York/London, 1992), 269n2.

58. On the history of Hebrew printing in the early modern period, see Meir Benayahu, "Ha'atakat merkaz ha-defus mi-Venetsia le-Amsterdam ve-ha-hitḥarut beneyhen le-ven ha-defus be-Kushta," in *Mehkarim al toldot yahadut Holand*, ed. Joseph Michman (Jerusalem, 1974); Marvin J. Heller, Introduction to *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2011); Adam Shear and Joseph R. Hacker, "Book History and the Hebrew Book in Italy," in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Joseph R. Hacker and Adam Shear (Philadelphia, 2011).

59. Ya'akov Zahalon, *Otsar ha-ḥayim* (Venice, 1683), [2].

60. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery*, 235.

61. For more on this translation, see Iris Idelson-Shein, "Of Wombs and Words: Migrating Misogynies in Early Modern Hebrew Medical Literature in Latin and Hebrew," *AJS Review* 46, no. 2 (2022): 243–69.

62. Compare, e.g., Avraham Wallich, *Sefer dimyon ha-refu'ot* (Frankfurt am Main, 1700), 50–54, 65–67 with Zahalon, *Otsar ha-ḥayim*, 11v, [2] of introduction. Wallich's indebt-

edness to Zahalon was already noted in passing by Harry Friedenwald, "The Use of Hebrew Language in Medical Literature," *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 2 (1934): 99. More recently, Magdaléna Jánošíková conducted an extensive comparative reading of the two works. See Magdaléna Jánošíková, "United in Scholarship, Divided in Practice: (Re-) Translating Smallpox and Measles across Seventeenth-Century Jewish Communities," *Isis: A Journal of the History of Science Society* 133, no. 2 (2022): 289–309.

63. Cf., e.g., David de Silva, "Pri Hadas" (c. 1735). National Library Israel, Ms. Benayahu, E 208, 378v–379r; Zahalon, *Otsar ha-ḥayim*, 89r.

64. Avraham ben Solomon Nansich (Nanzig), *Aleh trufah* (London, 1785), 2r–2v. See also Barry Levy, *Planets, Potions, and Parchments: Scientifica Hebraica from the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal/Kingston, 1990), 78–79: §108–§109. On Zahalon's appearance in *Sefer ha-ḥeshek* and *Zevaḥ Pesaḥ*, see Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, "The Master of an Evil Name: Hillel Baʿal Shem and His 'Sefer ha-ḥeshek,'" *AJS Review* 28, no. 2 (2004): 223–24.

65. Cf. Itsḥak Lampronti, *Paḥad Itsḥak,* 2 vols. (Venice, 1750), 2:100r; Daniel Sennert, *Practicae Medicinae*, 6:359 (1628; repr. Wittenberg, 1635). And see Zahalon's much-abridged translation of the same paragraph: Zahalon, *Otsar ha-ḥayim*, 28r.

66. See Idelson-Shein, "Of Wombs and Words," 243–69. While originally born in Metz, Tuviah received his medical training in Padua.

67. See Goren's upcoming work.

68. Zohar Shavit, "Literary Interference between German and Jewish-Hebrew Children's Literature during the Enlightenment: The Case of Campe," *Poetics Today* 13, no. 1 (1992): 56–58; Iris Idelson-Shein, "No Place Like Home: The Uses of Travel in Early Maskilic Translations," in *Jews and Journeys: Travel and the Performance of Jewish Identity,* ed. Joshua Levinson and Orit Bashkin (Philadelphia, 2021), 129–46.

69. See Chapter 4 below for a discussion of this phenomenon.

70. Elisabeth Hollender, "Die Schriftfunde," in *Von den Ausgrabungen zum Museum: Kölner Archäologie zwischen Rathaus und Praetorium. Ergebnisse und Materialien 2006–2012*, ed. Sven Schütte and Marianne Gechter (2nd ed., Cologne, 2012), 144–52; Erika Timm, "Ein neu entdeckter literarischer Text in hebräischen Lettern aus der Zeit vor 1349," *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 142 (2013): 317–443. For a history of Old Yiddish language and literature, see Max Weinreich, *History of the Yiddish Language*, trans. Shlomo Noble and Joshua A. Fishman, 2 vols. (New Haven, 2008); Chone Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish: prakim le-toldoteha* (Tel Aviv, 1978); Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, trans. and ed. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford, 2005); Jerold C. Frakes, *The Emergence of Yiddish Literature: Cultural Translation in Ashkenaz* (Bloomington, IN: 2017). On the Jewish community of Cologne more generally, see Ephraim Shoham-Steiner and Elisabeth Hollender, "Beyond the Rabbinic Paradigm: Lay Leadership in the Early Medieval Jewish Community in Cologne," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 111, no. 2 (2021): 236–64.

71. On the Cambridge manuscript in general, see Leo Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature (c. 1382)*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1957); Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish*, 26–32; Baumgarten, *Introduction*, 132–37.

72. Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents*, 1:xxvi–xxix.

73. On the problem inherent in the notion of a "Jewish theme," see Max Weinreich, "Old Yiddish Poetry in Linguistic-Literary Research," *Word* 16, no. 1 (1960): 101.

74. James W. Marchand, Review of "L. Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature*," *Word* 15, no. 2 (1959): 386.

75. Jerold Frakes, *The Politics of Interpretation: Alterity and Ideology in Old Yiddish Studies* (New York, 1989); Gabriele L. Strauch, *Dukus Horant: Wanderer zwischen zwei Welten* (Amsterdam, 1990), 9–23.

76. See facsimile reproduction and transcript in Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents*, 1:61, 65.

77. Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents*, 1:61.

78. Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish*, 29.

79. Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish*, 29.

80. On the centrality of translation in the development of "young" literary polysystems, see Even-Zohar, "The Position of Translated Literature," 47–48.

81. See Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish*, 13–18; Shlomo Berger, "Functioning within a Diasporic Third Space: The Case of Early Modern Yiddish," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (2008), 68–86.

82. Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona*, 503–31.

83. Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona*, 71–72.

84. On the Yiddish translations of the German *Wigalois,* see Astrid Lembke, "Ritter außer Gefecht: Konzepte passiver Bewährung im *Wigalois* und im *Widuwilt*," *Aschkenas* 25, no. 1 (2015): 63–82; Achim Jaeger, *Ein jüdischer Artusritter: Studien zum jüdisch-deutschen 'Widuwilt' ('Artushof') und zum Wigalois der Wirnt von Gravenberc* (Tübingen, 2000); Leo Landau, "Arthurian Legends or the Hebrew-German Rhymed Version of The Legend of King Arthur," *Teutonia: Arbeiten zur germanischen Philologie* 21 (Leipzig, 1912); Leo Landau, ed., "A nit bekanten nusekh fun der Artus-legende," in *Landoy-bukh* (Vilna, 1926), 129–40; Jerold Frakes, *Early Yiddish Epic* (Syracuse, NY, 2014), 181–237; Moritz Steinschneider, "Jüdische-Deutsche Literatur nach einem handschriftlichen Katalog der Oppenheim'schen Bibliothek (in Oxford), mit Zusätzen und Berichtigungen," *Serapeum* 10, no. 3 (1849): 43; Shabbethai Bass, *Siftey yeshenim* (Amsterdam, 1680), 67 §39. See also Annegret Oehme, *The Knight without Boundaries: Yiddish and German Arthurian Wigalois Adaptations* (Leiden, 2022).

85. See Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 308, 309. For a discussion, see Arnold Paucker, "Das Volksbuch von den Sieben weisen Meistern in der jiddischen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 57 (1961): 177–94; Jennifer Juillard-Maniece, "From German to Yiddish: Adaptation Strategies in the Kuhbukh and the Sieben weisen mainster bichel" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 2013): 156–218.

86. See Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #7, 8, 9, 10, 329. For discussion, see Moritz Steinschneider, "Jüdisch-Deutsche Handschriften," *Serapeum* 25, no. 3 (1864): 39–48; Paucker, TYV, 228–49; Ruth von Bernuth, "Das jischev fun Nar-husen: Jiddische Narrenliteratur und jüdische Narrenkultur," *Aschkenas* 25, no. 1 (2015): 137–39; Hermann-Joseph Müller, "Eulenspiegel im Land der starken Weiber, der Hundsköpfe und anderswo: Fünf unbekannte Eulenspiegel Geschichten in einem jiddischen Druck von 1735," in *Jiddische Philologie: Festschrift für Erika Timm*, ed. Walter Röll and Simon Neuberg (Tübingen, 1999), 200–26; Hermann-Josef Müller, "Ein wenig beachteter 'Eulenspiegel' in hebräischen Lettern: Eulenspiegel als Kristallisationsgestalt in einem Nowidworer Druck von 1806," in *Röllwagenbüchlein: Festschrift für Walter Röll zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Jürgen Jaehrling, Uwe Meves, and Erika Timm (Tübingen, 2002), 411–32; Iris Idelson-Shein, "Meditations on a Monkey-Face: Monsters, Transgressed Boundaries, and Contested Hierarchies in a Yiddish Eulenspiegel," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 108, no. 1 (2018): 28–59.

87. Erika Timm, "Zur jiddischen Fabelliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies—Division C: Talmud and Midrash, Philosophy and*

Mysticism, Hebrew and Yiddish Literature (Jerusalem, 1981), 159–64; Eli Katz, *Book of Fables: The Yiddish Fable Collection of Reb Moshe Wallich* (Detroit, 1994), 16–17.

88. See Haim Schwarzbaum, *The Mishle Shu'alim (Fox Fables) of Rabbi Berechiah Ha-Nakdan: A Study in Comparative Folklore and Fable Lore* (Kiron, 1979). Another example is offered by the *Mayse bukh* (1602), as discussed in Chapter 2 below.

89. See, e.g., "Min ha-metsar ikh tue an rufen Got," c. 1600, repr. in Diana Matut, ed., *Dichtung und Musik im frühneuzeitlichen Aschkenas* (Leiden, 2011), 1:135–39. See also the tales collected in the famous Old Yiddish collection MS Munich, Cod. Hebr. 100, which includes both transliterations of German works and original material in Yiddish. See also Zfatman's discussion of *Mayse Prag*, which combines both foreign and domestic tales: Zfatman, DISS, 1:232–48.

90. See the studies mentioned in the introduction, note 29.

91. Shlomo Berger, *The Bible in/and Yiddish* (Amsterdam, 2007); Shlomo Noble, *Ḥumesh-taytsh: an oysforshung vegn der traditsye fun taytshn Ḥumesh in di khadorim* (New York, 1943).

92. Marion Aptroot, "Bible Translation as Cultural Reform: The Amsterdam Yiddish Bibles (1678–1679)" (PhD diss., University of Oxford, 1989), esp. 112–15, 120–78; Marion Aptroot, "In Galkhes They Do Not Say So, but the Taytsh Is as It Stands Here: Notes on the Amsterdam Yiddish Bible Translations by Blitz and Witzenhausen," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 27, no. 1/2 (1993): 136–58. See also Erika Timm, "Blitz and Witzenhausen," in *Studies in Jewish Culture in Honour of Chone Shmeruk*, ed. Israel Bartal, Ezra Mendelsohn, and Chava Turniansky (Jerusalem 1993), 60*–66*.

93. Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, 2005), 57n12 (Witzenhausen appears mistakenly there as Witzenberger).

94. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #139, 140, 314, 421, 482, 483. On the translations of apocryphal works, see Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin, 1852–1860), 199, §1338–39; 208, §1397; Zfatman, BIB, 42–44 §21–22; 59–60 §42, 82 §67, 106–8 §96–97, 126 §116; El'azar Shulman, *Sfat Yehudit-Ashkenazit u-sifruta* (Riga, 1913), 49–54; Leo Fuks and Rena Fuks-Mansfeld, "Yiddish Language and Literature in the Dutch Republic," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 20, no. 1 (1986): 38; Ruth von Bernuth, "Shalom bar Abraham's Book of Judith in Yiddish," in *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies Across the Disciplines*, ed. Kevin R. Brine, Elena Ciletti, and Henrike Länemann (Cambridge, 2010), 127–51.

95. Voß, "A Jewish-Pietist Network," 753.

96. See Felix Rosenberg, "Ueber eine Sammlung deutscher Volk- und Gesellschaftslieder in hebräischen Lettern," Part 1, *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 1888, no. 3: 270, 272–73; Diana Matut, *Dichtung und Musik im frühneuzeitlichen Aschkenas*, 1:50–56, 1:284–87 (edition), 2:101–8, 2:273–74 (discussion). Cf. e.g., Anon., "Fun grunt des hertse mayn," c. 1600, repr. in Matut, *Dichtung und Musik*, 1:284–87; "Von grund des hertzen mein," in *Zwo wahrhafftige newe Zeitung* (Magdeburg, 1605), n.p.

97. See Roni Cohen's study of this translation, in progress. See for now Cohen, JEWTACT #628.

98. Magdaléna Jánošíková and Iris Idelson-Shein, "New Science in Old Yiddish: Jewish Vernacular Science and Translation in Early Modern Europe," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 113, no. 3 (2023).

99. Tamir Karkason, "The Iberian Diasporas in the 18th and 19th Century," in *Jewish Literatures in Spanish and Portuguese: A Comprehensive Handbook*, ed. Ruth Fine and Susanne Zepp (Berlin, 2022), 319–51.

100. See, e.g., Matthias B. Lehmann, "A Livornese 'Port Jew' and the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire," *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (2005): 51–76.

101. See Karkason, JEWTACT #143, 147, 148, 149, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 282, 283, 284, 301, 464, 466; Cohen, JEWTACT #522, 525, 526; Manrique, JEWTACT #383. See also David M. Manrique, "The Personification of the Angel of Death in a Castilian Version of the Dance of Death (Ms. Parma, Palatina 2666)," *Kabbalah: Journal for the Study of Jewish Mystical Texts* 44 (2019): 117–57.

102. Karkason, JEWTACT #228, 432; Mayer, JEWTACT #84.

103. Karkason, JEWTACT #229, 467.

104. Jánošíková, JEWTACT #312. See also Cohen, JEWTACT #522, 525, 526.

105. Jánošíková, JEWTACT #313.

106. *Privilegos del poderozo rey Karlo* (Kustandina, 1740). For details see Karkason, JEWTACT #229, 228.

107. Karkason, JEWTACT #301.

108. See, e.g., Lehmann's description of the rise of secular genres in Ladino (Lehmann, "A Livornese 'Port Jew,'" 52).

109. Yosef ben Ya'akov Maarssen, *Patent fon zayner keniglikhe mayestet fon Napols un' der baydn Sitsilien* (Amsterdam, 1740). While the translation itself is no longer extant, the title page has survived and is reproduced in Mirjam Gutschow, *Inventory of Yiddish Publications from the Netherlands c. 1650—c. 1950* (Leiden/Boston, 2007), 227, plate 19. See also Shalhevet Dotan-Ofir, "Ha-sifrut ha-didaktit be-Yiddish be-Amsterdam ba-shanim 1650–1750: Historiah ḥevratit u-tarbutit" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2011), 250–51. Maarssen's translation was mediated by a Dutch translation of selected articles from the privilege. The Ladino translation is the focus of in-progress research by Tamir Karkason. For now, see Karkason, JEWTACT #228.

110. On the Ladino translation, see Laura Minervini, "Una versione giudeospagnola dell'*Orlando Furioso*," in *Los judaizantes en Europea y la literatura castellana del Siglo de oro*, ed. Fernando Díaz Esteban (Madrid, 1994), 295–98; Laura Minervini, "An Aljamiado Version of Orlando Furioso: A Judeo-Spanish Transcription of Jeronimo de Urrea's Translation," in *Hispano-Jewish Civilization after 1492: Proceedings of Misgav Yerushalayim's Fourth International Congress, 1992,* ed. Michel Abitbol, Galit Hasan-Rokem, and Yom Tov Assis (Jerusalem, 1997), 191–201.

111. Karkason, JEWTACT #432.

112. Alessandro Guetta, "Antonio Brucioli and the Jewish Italian Versions of the Bible," in *Jewish Books and Their Readers: Aspects of the Intellectual Life of Christians and Jews in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Scott Mandelbrote and Joanna Weinberg (Leiden, 2016), 45–73.

113. Guetta, "Antonio Brucioli."

114. See Asher Salah, "A Matter of Quotation: Dante and the Literary Identity of Jews in Italy," in *The Italia Judaica Jubilee Conference*, ed. Shlomo Simonsohn and Joseph Shatzmiller (Leiden, 2013), 167–98.

115. Sandra Debenedetti Stow, "A Judeo-Italian Version of Selected Passages from Cecco D'Ascoli's *Acerba*," in *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora: The Pre-Modern World*, ed. Sophia Menashe (Leiden, 1996), 283–311.

116. Goren, JEWTACT #412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 486.

117. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #56, 57, 122, 129, 130, 131, 132, 142, 315, 316; Jánošíková, JEWTACT #303.

118. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #13, 82; Goren, JEWTACT #397; Mayer, JEWTACT #461.

119. See, e.g., Jánošíková, JEWTACT #386, 389, 390, 394, 407, 428; Mayer, JEWTACT #125, 150, 151, 152. Latin could also serve as a mediating language for the translation of works from Arabic. See Jánošíková, JEWTACT #387.

120. On these translations, see Gideon Toury, "Translating English Literature via German—and Vice Versa: A Symptomatic Reversal in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature," in *Die literarische Übersetzung: Stand und Perspektiven ihrer Erforschung*, ed. Harald Kittel (Berlin, 1988), 139–57; Shavit, "Literary Interference" 41–61; Iris Idelson-Shein, "Their Eyes Shall Behold Strange Things: Abraham Ben Elijah of Vilna Encounters the Spirit of Mr. Buffon," *AJS Review* 36, no. 2 (2012): 295–322.

121. See, e.g., the following translations, which acknowledge their distant *Urtext* but not their immediate sources or mediating texts: Idelson-Shein and Jánošíková, JEWTACT #378; Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #357, 490; Goren, JEWTACT #43.

122. Itzḥak Baer, "He'arot ḥadashot al sefer Shevet Yehudah," *Tarbiz* 6 (1935): 156. For other examples, see Goren, JEWTACT #43, 44; Idelson-Shein and Jánošíková, JEWTACT #378. And see my discussion of Mordekhai ben Yeḥiel ha-Kohen of Schmallenberg's "Ets hasade" in Chapter 3.

123. Examples are numerous. For a select few, see, e.g., Ḥayyim Ben Natan, *Sefer ha-ma'asim* ([Hanau?], 1623); *Sefer ha-refu'ot* (Jeßnitz, 1722); Yosef ben Ya'akov Maarssen, *Ayn bashraybung fun der rebeliray tsu Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1707); Leib ben Ozer, "Bashraybung fun Shabse Tsvi," 1711. MS NLI Heb 8°5662. F. 14v.

124. *Paris un' Viena* (Verona, 1594).

125. Mordekhai ben Moshe Drucker, *Mikveh Yisrael* (Amsterdam, 1691). The translator claims to have translated the work, by the famous Jewish author Menashe Ben Israel, from "*leshon goyim Ashkenazim*," which would seem to imply German. However, the book seems to have been translated from the Dutch. See Moritz Steinschneider, "Jüdisch-Deutsche Literatur, nach einem handschriftlichen Katalog der Oppenheim'schen Bibliothek (in Oxford), mit Zusätzen und Berichtigungen," *Serapeum* 10, no. 1 (1849): 12–13, §205; Shlomo Berger, "Ashkenazim Read Sepharadim in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 35, no. 2 (2001): 260–61; Henri Méchoulan and Gerard Nahon, "Introduction," in Menasseh Ben-Israel, *The Hope of Israel*, eds. Gerard Nahon and Henri Méchoulan (Oxford, 1987), 91.

126. Eliyahu ben Moshe Gershon of Pincow, *Mlekhet maḥshevet* (Berlin, 1765), title page of part 1.

127. Fidora et al., "Latin-into-Hebrew: Introducing a Neglected Chapter," 9–18.

128. See, e.g., Sofer, JEWTACT #619, 620, 621, 624, 625, 626, 627, 629, 630. On some of these translations see Gal Sofer, "Kitvey ha-yad ha-'ivriim shel Mafteaḥ Shlomo u-ferek al ha-magiya shel ha-Shabtayim," *Kabbalah* 32 (2014): 135–74.

129. See Burke, "Translations into Latin," 68.

130. See Jánošíková and Idelson-Shein, "New Science in Old Yiddish."

131. On Curio, see Richard Loth, "Das Medizinalwesen, der ärztliche Stand und die medizinische Fakultät bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts in Erfurt," *Jahrbücher der Königlichen Akademie Gemeinnütziger Wissenschaften zu Erfurt* (N.S.) 30 (1904): 445–46.

132. See Jánošíková and Idelson-Shein, "New Science in Old Yiddish." For a philological analysis of the work, see Ewa Geller, "A New Portrait of Early Seventeenth-Century Polish

Jewry in an Unknown Eastern-Yiddish Remedy Book," *European Judaism* 42, no. 2 (2009): 62–79. Geller argues that the book was a translation of the medieval *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* (see Ewa Geller, "Yiddish 'Regimen sanitatis Salenitanum' from Early Modern Poland: A Humanistic Symbiosis of Latin Medicine and Jewish Thought," in *Jewish Medicine and Healthcare in Central Eastern Europe*, ed. Marcin Moskalewicz [Oxford, 2019]), 13–26). However, see our discussion in Jánošíková and Idelson-Shein, "New Science in Old Yiddish." Shabbethai Bass, in his bibliography, mentions a 1663 Yiddish version of the popular *Sieben weisen Meister* that, he claims, was translated from the Latin. Given, however, that all other Yiddish versions of this popular German work were based on German or Dutch editions, I find this unlikely. See Bass, *Siftey yeshenim*, 24 §15.

133. *Ma'ase gadol ve-nora* (Offenbach, 1715). On the translation, see Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin, 1852–1860), 208, §1397; Zfatman, BIB, 106–7, §96. Another Yiddish translation that utilizes a Latin work is the 1717 translation of Itsḥak ben Avraham of Troki's polemical *Ḥizuk emunah*, which relies on Johann Christoph Wagenseil's bilingual edition of the book (Christoph Johann Wagenseil, *Tela ignea Satanae* [Schönnerstaedt, 1681]). However, the 1717 translator relied on the Hebrew text that was reprinted in Wagenseil's book. See *Sefer ḥizuk emunah* (Amsterdam, 1717). For a discussion, see Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, "Yiddish Language and Literature," 38.

134. Jánošíková and Idelson-Shein, "New Science in Old Yiddish."

135. Menaḥem Mendel Zlatkin, *Reshit bikure ha-bibliografia ba-sifrut ha-ivrit: Ha-sefer Siftey yeshenim me-rabbi Shabbetai Meshorer Bass* (Tel Aviv, 1958), 31–32; Johann Christoph Wolf, *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, (Hamburg, 1715), 1:12–13. More recently, see Patrick Benjamin Koch, "'Many Books on Issue of Divine Service': Defining *Musar* in Early Modernity," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 71, no. 1 (2020): 7–8, 14–15.

136. Shabbethai Bass, *Masekhet derekh erets* (Amsterdam, 1680).

137. Cf. Bass, *Masekhet derekh erets*; Eberhard Rudolph Roth, *Memorabilia Europae* (1678, repr. Ulm, 1682). For a comparative reading of the two works, see Iris Idelson-Shein, "Shabbethai Meshorer Bass and the Construction (and Deconstruction) of a Jewish Library," *Jewish Culture and History* 22, no. 1 (2021): 1–16.

138. Reprinted in Devora Bregman, "Shirey ha-ḥalifut asher le-Ovid be-tirgum Shabbethai Ḥayim Marini," *Daḥak* 3 (2013): 172. On Marini's translation, see Bregman, "Shirey ha-ḥalifut", 169–75; Jakob Goldenthal, *Rieti und Marini oder Dante und Ovid in hebräischer Umkleidung* (Vienna, 1851), 26–27; Laura Bonifacio, "L'episodio di Dafne e Apollo nelle Metamorfosi di Ovidio tradotte da Shabbetay Hayyim Marini," *Henoch* 13 (1991): 319–35.

139. Alison Keith and Stephen Rupp, "After Ovid: Classical, Medieval, and Early Modern Receptions of the Metamorphoses," in *Metamorphosis: The Changing Face of Ovid in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alison Keith and Stephen Rupp (Toronto, 2007), 14–35. And see the essays collected therein.

140. See the USTC database at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/ (accessed March 2022; search term: meta*; author: Ovidius Naso, Publius).

141. John Tholen, *Producing Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' in the Early Modern Low Countries* (Leiden, 2021), 16.

142. Paucker, TYV, 16. For more on this, see my discussion in Chapter 2 below.

143. Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #6, 20, 52, 144, 146.

144. Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #7, #8, 9, 10, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 308, 309, 329, 434, 435, 436.

145. Frakes, *The Emergence of Yiddish Literature*, 180.

146. Paucker, TYV, 16.

147. Zohar Shavit, "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe: The Beginning of Hebrew Children's Literature in Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 33 (1988): 405.

148. Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 267, 268, 508, 509, 510, 511; Cohen, JEWTACT #528, 578. On maskilic translations of Gessner's *Tod des Abels*, see Ḥayim Shoham, *Be-tsel haskalat Berlin* (Tel Aviv, 1996), 49–64. On Gessner's popularity outside the Jewish literary sphere, see Gabrielle Bersier, "Arcadia Revitalized: The International Appeal of Gessner's Idylls in the 18th Century," in *From the Greeks to the Greens: Images of the Simple Life*, ed. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Madison, WI, 1989), 34–47.

149. See Shavit, "Literary Interference Between German and Jewish-Hebrew Children's Literature during the Enlightenment: The Case of Campe," *Poetics Today* 13, no. 1 (1992): 57–58; Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 119, 120, 121, 322, 324, 409; Goren, JEWTACT #232.

150. Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #165, 298, 320, 364; Karkason, JEWTACT #343, 365, 366, 371; Goren, JEWTACT #35; Mayer, JEWTACT #375.

151. Karkason, JEWTACT #432.

152. Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #319, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495. On Gellert's popularity among the maskilim, see Gideon Toury, "Shimush muskal be-mashal ha-maskili: Christian Fürchtegott Gellert ba-sifrut ha-ivrit," in *Nekudot mifneh ba-sifrut ha-ivrit u-zikatan le-maga'im im sifriyot aḥerot*, ed. Ziva Shamir and Avner Holzman (Tel Aviv, 1993), 65–74.

153. On these translations, see Moritz Steinschneider, *Jüdische Schriften zur Geographie Palästina's (X–XIX. Jahr)* (Jerusalem, 1892), 26–27; Rehav Rubin, "Chug ha-'areṣ by Rabbi Solomon of Chelm: An Early Geographical Treatise and Its Sources," *Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism* 8 (2008): 131–47; Rehav Rubin, *Portraying the Land: Hebrew Maps of the Land of Israel from Rashi to the Early 20th Century* (Berlin, 2018), 103–36; J. H. Chajes, "Jacob Ṣemaḥ, Humanist," *European Journal of Jewish Studies* 16 (2021): 1–24. See also Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #64, 65, 66; Mayer, JEWTACT #422.

154. See, e.g., *Verhandelingh der toover-sieckten . . . gestelt in't Latyn by Dan. Sennertum* (Dordrecht, 1638); *Daniel Sennerts Gottseelige Betrachtung, wie man christlich leben, und seeliglich sterben soll. Auß d. Lat. ins Teutsche gebracht durch Georg Richter* (Nuremberg, 1645). Various works by Sennert were also translated and adapted into English by Nicholas Culpeper. On Sennert's reception in the Ottoman context, see Natalia Bachour, *Oswaldus Crollius und Daniel Sennert im frühneuzeitlichen Istanbul: Studien zur Rezeption des Paracelsismus im Werk des osmanischen Arztes Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣrullāh Ibn Sallūm al-Ḥalabī* (Freiburg, 2012).

155. See the USTC database at https://www.ustc.ac.uk/ (accessed September 2021).

156. See Shifra Barukhson, *Sefarim ve-kor'im: Tarbut ha-kri'ah shel Yehudey Italyah be-shilhey ha-Renesans* (Ramat Gan, 1993), 45–67.

157. Yehudah Leib Ben Ze'ev, *Ben Sira* (Wrocław, 1798), introduction [4] (n.p). As I show in a forthcoming study, while Ben Ze'ev's Hebrew and Aramaic translations are based on Walton's polyglot, the German-in-Hebrew translation that appears in the book is heavily indebted to August Herman Niemeyer, ed., *Sittenlehre Jesu des Sohns Sirach*, trans. J. W. Linde (Leipzig, 1782).

158. See Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #1, 254, 498, 499; Mayer, JEWTACT #164. It should be noted that the image of Buffon that reached Jewish readers in the first years of the nineteenth century was entirely different from that of the combative French naturalist whose adherence to strict naturalism had earned him a reputation as a deist. In fact, the Hebrew translation of selections from Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* was mediated by a German transla-

tion of an adaptation of Buffon, titled *Génie de M. de Buffon*. This adaptation was created by an Italian author by the name of Giovanni Ferri, who recast Buffon as "the rival of Lucretius and Plato" and presented the works as "a testament to the advantages of our healthy philosophy over the errors of the ancients." See [Giovanni Ferri de St. Constant], *Génie de M. de Buffon* (Paris, 1778), viii. On the Hebrew translation, see Idelson-Shein, "'Their Eyes Shall Behold Strange Things'," 295–322.

159. For some examples, see Voß, "A Jewish-Pietist Network," 731–63; D. Oppenheimer, "Abraham Jagel und sein Cathechismus," *Hebräische Bibliographie* 37 (1864): 19–20; S. Maybaum, "Abraham Jagel's Katechismus Lekach-tob," *Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin* 10 (Berlin, 1892): 3–18.

160. Jánošíková, JEWTACT #407; Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #338.

161. Goren, JEWTACT #75, 326; Mayer, JEWTACT #95, 97, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 115.

162. On Neumark, see Moritz Steinschneider, "Mathematik bei den Juden (1551–1840)," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 49, no. 9/10 (1905): 592–95; Joshua Teplitsky, *Prince of the Press: How One Collector Built History's Most Enduring and Remarkable Jewish Library* (New Haven, 2019), 51–54. For another example from scientific literature, see the discussion of Mordekhai ben Yeḥiel Michal ha-Kohen mi-Schmallenberg, "Ets ha-sade," in Chapter 3 below.

163. The actual source language has been debated by bibliographers. See Adolf Neubauer, *Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and in the College Libraries of Oxford* (Oxford, 1886), p. 704, §2059. And see Steinschneider's reponse in Moritz Steinschneider, "Mathematik bei den Juden (1551–1840)," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 49, nos. 9/10 (1905): 595.

164. Cf., e.g., Petro Galtuchio (Pierre Gautruche), *Philosophiae ac mathematica totius clara, brevis, et accurate institutione* (1653, repr. Vienna, 1661), table 5 fig. 6; table 8 figs. 3, 4, 5; Meir ben Yehudah Leib Neumark, "Tekhunat ha-havaya" ([Prague?], 1703), MS Bodl. Opp. 708, 25r, 27r, 28r.

165. Neumark, "Tekhunat ha-havaya," 3r (mistakenly bound as page 28v in bound mss.). Cf. Gautruche, *Philosophiae*, 197.

166. Neumark, "Tekhunat ha-havaya," 5r (27r in bound mss.). Cf. Gautruche, *Philosophiae*, 200.

167. Bonfil, "Rabanim, yeshu'im u-ḥidot," 169–89; Robert Bonfil, "Preaching as Mediation between Elite and Popular Cultures: The Case of Judah Del Bene," in *Preachers of the Italian Ghetto*, ed. David B. Ruderman (Berkeley, 1992), 67–88; Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery*, 196–98, 369–70.

168. Gianfranco Miletto, "Jesuit Influence on Italian Jewish Culture in the 16th and 17th Centuries," in *The Tragic Couple: Encounters Between Jews and Jesuits*, ed. James Bernauer and Robert Aleksander Maryks (Leiden, 2014), 103.

169. Ahuvia Goren, "Ha-metodah ha-mada'it, ha-te'oriah ha-atomistit u-farshanut ha-mikr'a be-haguto shel rabi Moshe Ḥefets (1664–1712)," *Zion* 88, no. 1 (2022): 90–91. See also Jeremy Brown, *New Heavens and a New Earth: The Jewish Reception of Copernican Thought* (Oxford, 2013), 89–99.

170. Maoz Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev*, 287–94, 338–56; Kahana, "Sefer 'Merav' ha-avud ve-ḥazon ha-dat ha-mada'it: Perek lo yadu'a be-olamo shel ha-rav Yehonatan Eybeshits," *Zion* 89, no. 2 (2019): 229–77.

171. Kahana, "Sefer 'Merav,'" 234. See also Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev*, esp. 264–65, 287–94, 299–300, 338–44, 349–51.

172. Wolff BR"Y of Dessau, "El ha-ḥokhmah," *Ha-me'asef* (April 1810), 3–8. Cf. Aloys Blumauer, "An die Weisheit," in *Freymaurergedichte von Blumauer* (Vienna, 1782), 2. See also Moshe Pelli, *Sha'ar la-haskalah: Mafteaḥ mu'ar le-Ha-me'asef* (Jerusalem, 2000), 170. Following the translator, Pelli identifies the name of the source author but not the source text.

173. Cf. Aloys Blumauer, "An die Weisheit," 16; Wolff BR"Y of Dessau, "El ha-ḥokhmah," 6.

174. On the translations produced by these physicians, see Goren, JEWTACT #75, 76, 237, 238, 341, 342; Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #11, 12; Jánošíková, JEWTACT #295, 299, 386, 387, 478, 479.

175. On the complex relationship between conversion and translation, see especially Vicente Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham, 1993); Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago, 2011); Naomi Seidman, *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation* (Chicago, 2006), 115–52. See also the famous discussion in Jacques Derrida, "What Is a 'Relevant' Translation?," trans. Lawrence Venuti, *Critical Inquiry* 27, no. 2 (2001): 174–200.

176. See Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 163–69; Magda Teter and Edward Fram, "Apostasy, Fraud, and the Beginnings of Hebrew Printing in Cracow," *AJS Review* 30, no. 1 (2006): 31–66. See also Plewa, JEWTACT #518, 519, 567, 571, 614; Goren and Plewa, JEWTACT #68.

177. See Yitzhak Tzvy Langerman, "Peurbach in the Hebrew Tradition," *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 29 (1998): 137–50; Mayer, JEWTACT #249, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406; Plewa, JEWTACT #533, 559, 562, 566, 597, 598, 600, 603, 607.

178. On Amsterdam's centrality to the seventeenth-century European book trade, see Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven, 2019). On Jewish book printing in Amsterdam, see Avriel Bar Levav, "The Religious Order of Jewish Books: Structuring Hebrew Knowledge in Amsterdam," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 44 (2012): 1–8; Benayahu, "Ha'atakat merkaz hadefus mi-Venetsia le-Amsterdam"; Ahuvia Goren, "Benyamin Dias Brandon's Orot Hamizvot (1753): Halacha and Polemics in Eighteenth-Century Amsterdam," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 46, no. 1–2 (2020): 187–208.

179. On these translations, see Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #55, 126, 128, 141, 142, 379, 418, 419, 420, 443, 444. On Bass, see above.

180. See Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #105, 106, 107, 521, 523.

181. This also holds true for Old Yiddish literature more generally, which was produced primarily by anonymous authors and translators. See Zfatman, DISS, 56–79.

182. Zfatman, DISS, 78.

183. Marcy L. North, "Early Modern Anonymity," in *Oxford Handbooks Online*, ed. Colin Burrow (Oxford University Press, 2015).

184. See Jordan R. Katz, "Jewish Midwives, Medicine and the Boundaries of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe, 1650–1800" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2021), 138–79.

185. As reported by Barukh Schick in his *Sefer Uklidos* (The Hague, 1780), (n.p. [7]). On Schick and his testimony, see David E. Fishman, *Russia's First Modern Jews: The Jews of Shklov* (New York, 1995), 22–45. The Gaon's purported support of the sciences has been the focus of lively debate over the centuries. See, e.g., Shmuel Werses, *Hakitsa ami: sifrut ha-Haskalah be-'idan ha-modernizatsiya* (Jerusalem, 2001), 26–29, 63–64; Immanuel Etkes, *The Gaon of Vilna: The Man and His Image* (Berkeley, 2002), 53; Idelson-Shein, "'Their Eyes Shall Behold Strange Things," 295–322.

186. Iris Idelson-Shein, "Rabbis of the (Scientific) Revolution: Revealing the Hidden Corpus of Early Modern Translations Produced by Jewish Religious Thinkers," *American Historical Review* 126, no. 1 (2021): 54–82. See also Goren's in-progress study on translation in Italian preaching manuals. On Heida, see Chapter 3.

187. I refer here specifically to translation into Jewish languages. Early modern translations between European languages by Jewish women are rare, but not inexistent. A case in point is Henriette Herz's German translations (from English) of the works of Isaac Weld and (with Friedrich Schleiermacher) of Mungo Park.

188. Hilary Brown, *Women and Early Modern Cultures of Translation: Beyond the Female Tradition* (Oxford, 2022), 1.

189. Deborah Uman, *Women as Translators in Early Modern England* (Newark, 2012), 36.

190. See Brown, *Women and Early Modern Cultures of Translation*, esp. 1–7, 19–49; Brenda Hosington and Hannah Fournier, "Translation and Women Translators," in *The Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France, and England*, ed. Diana M. Robin, Anne Larsen, and Carole Levin (Santa Barbara, 2007), 369–75; Marie-Alice Belle, "Locating Early Modern Women's Translations: Critical and Historiographical Issues," *Renaissance and Reformation* 35, no. 4 (2012): 5–23. See also Chapter 3 below.

191. See Chava Turniansky, "Yeladot u-na'arot be-sifrut Yiddish be-et ha-ḥadashah ha-mukdemet," *Masekhet* 12 (2016): 65–84.

192. Dovid Katz, *Yiddish and Power* (Basingstoke, 2015), 74.

193. Katz, *Yiddish and Power*, 75. A different but corresponding connection between Yiddish translation and feminine agency appears in Lembke, "Ritter außer Gefecht," 63–82; see also Annegret Oehme, *He Should Have Listened to His Wife: The Construction of Women's Roles in German and Yiddish Pre-Modern 'Wigalois' Adaptations* (Berlin, 2020), 52–67.

194. Idelson-Shein, "Of Wombs and Words." 243–69.

195. See, e.g., Itsḥak Reutlingen, "Das ma'ase der kayzerin mit tsvey zoyn" (1580), 66v. MS Munich, Cod. Hebr. 100, Bavarian State Library (targets women only). See also Turniansky, "Yeladot u-na'arot be-sifrut Yiddish," 74.

196. See Chapter 2 for examples as well as Katz, *Yiddish and Power*, 72–83; Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, trans. and ed. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford, 2005), 156–57. On the popularity of these works, see esp. Paucker, "Das Volksbuch von den Sieben weisen Meistern," 177–94; Jaeger, *Ein jüdischer Artusritter*; Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona*.

197. See esp. Chava Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women* (Boston, 1998), 52–65.

198. Katz, *Yiddish and Power*, 75.

199. Bernuth, "Das jischev fun Nar-husen," 134.

200. Yiddish works by Jewish women do, however, include international stories that were probably orally transmitted from the surrounding cultures. For a discussion of such tales, see Zfatman, DISS, 160–83. For an example of such a story in a work by a Jewish woman, see Glikl bas Judah Leib, *Zikhronot Glikl*, *1691–1719*, bilingual ed., Hebrew translation by Chava Turniansky (Jerusalem, 2006), 80–106.

201. Further research, which is currently being carried out by Roni Cohen, may correct this observation.

202. Katz, "Jewish Midwives," 138–79. See also Jánošíková, JEWTACT #307, 480.

CHAPTER 2

1. David Franco Mendes, *Teshu'at Israel bi-yedey Yehudit* (Rödelheim, 1803), [13]. In Hebrew:

אֱמוֹר נָא הַמְשׁוֹרֵר! מַה זֹּאת עָשִׂיתָ [. . .]
בַּעֲבוֹדַת שָׁדֶה אִישׁ זוּלָתֶךָ?
הֲלֹא יָדַעְתָּ כִּי אָדוֹן קָנְיָתָ
וְלֹא יַאֲמַר עוֹד חָפְשִׁי שְׁמָךְ

2. Katharina Reiß and Hans J. Vermeer, *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (Tübingen, 1984). On the impact of *Skopostheorie,* see Mary Snell-Hornby, *The Turns of Translation Studies: New Paradigms or Shifting Viewpoints?* (Philadelphia, 2006), 47–60, 63–67.

3. Anthony Pym, *On Translator Ethics: Principles for Mediation Between Cultures* (1997, trans. and rev. Heike Walker, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2012), 12.

4. For an overview, see David Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, 1995); Jacob J. Schacter, ed., *Judaism's Encounter with Other Cultures: Rejection or Integration?* (Northvale, NJ, 1997), esp. the chapters by Gerald G. Blidstein and David Berger, 1–56, 57–141; Maoz Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev: Dat u-mada ba-ktiva harabanit ba-me'ah ha-shmoneh esreh* (Jerusalem, 2021), esp. 15–31.

5. For a discussion and further examples, see David Berger, "Judaism and General Culture in Medieval and Early Modern Times," in *Judaism's Encounter with Other Cultures*, 57–141; Yitzhak Tzvi Langerman, "The Astronomy of Rabbi Moses Isserles," in *Physics, Cosmology, and Astronomy, 1300–1700: Tension and Accommodation,* ed. Sabetai Unguru (Dordrecht/Boston 1991), 83–98; Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev*, 15–31.

6. Jeremy Dauber, *In the Demon's Bedroom: Yiddish Literature and the Early Modern* (New Haven, 2010), 7. See also Robert Bonfil, "Jewish Attitudes Towards History and Historical Writing in Pre-Modern Times," *Jewish History* 11, no. 1 (1997): 29–30.

7. David Gans, *Tsemaḥ David* (Prague, 1592), part 2, 3r.

8. On the sources used by Gans in *Tsemaḥ David*, see Jiřina Šedinová, "Non-Jewish Sources in the Chronicle by David Gans, 'Tsemah David,'" *Judaica Bohemiae* 7 (1972): 3–15. Interestingly, Gans's other famous work, *Neḥmad ve-na'im*, does not acknowledge its sources. For a discussion of that work and its source(s?), see Andre Neher, *David Gans (1541–1613) and His Times*, 2nd rev. ed. (Jerusalem, 2005), 74.

9. Menaḥem Mann Amelander, *She'eris Yisroel* (Fürth, 1767), [3]. For a discussion, see Bart Wallet, "Links in a Chain: Early Modern Yiddish Historiography in the Northern Netherlands, 1743–1812" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 176–78.

10. Amelander, *She'eris Yisroel*, 1r.

11. Leo Fuks and Rena Fuks-Mansfeld, "Yiddish Language and Literature in the Dutch Republic," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 20, no. 1 (1986): 49–50; Wallet, "Links in a Chain," 176–208.

12. Amelander, *She'eris Yisroel,* 91r. See also Wallet, "Links in a Chain," 177.

13. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1987, trans. Jane E. Lewin, Cambridge, 1997), 222. On the importance of paratexts in Old Yiddish literature, see Shlomo Berger, "An Invitation to Buy and Read: Paratexts of Yiddish Books in Amsterdam, 1650–1800," *Book History* 7 (2004): 31–61.

14. Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago, 2015), 61. See also the earlier objections within literary criticism to the search for authorial intent, particularly Roland Barthes's foundational essay "The Death of the Author" (1967); repr. in Roland Barthes, *Image-Music-Text,* trans. Stephen Heath (New York, 1977), 142–48.

15. See, e.g., Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus, "Surface Reading: An Introduction," *Representations* 108, no. 1 (2009): 1–21; Franco Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* 1 (2000): 54–68; Felski, *The Limits of Critique*.

16. Marie-Alice Belle and Brenda M. Hosington, introduction to *Thresholds of Translation: Paratexts, Print, and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Britain (1473–1660)* (London, 2018), 5. For more on the importance of paratexts for the historical study of translation, see Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, "What Texts Don't Tell: The Uses of Paratexts in Translation Research," in *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues*, ed. Theo Hermans (Manchester, 2002), 45–60.

17. Some studies have been dedicated to identifying the motivations underlying particular translations, or clusters of translations. See, e.g., David A. Wacks, "Translation in Diaspora: Sephardic Spanish-Hebrew Translations in the Sixteenth Century," in *A Comparative History of Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula*, ed. César Domínguez, Anxo Abuín González, and Ellen Sapega (Amsterdam, 2016), 2:351–63.

18. Zfatman, DISS, 1:102. For further context, see Zfatman, DISS, 1:86–103.

19. See, e.g., *Arabishe ertselung / toyzend und ayn nakht* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1794); Yosef ben Ya'akov Maarssen, "Ayn sheyn mayse," in *Ayn beshraybung fun di rebleray tsu Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1707); *Shild burger* (Amsterdam, c. 1700); Benyamin Ben Yosef Merks of Tannhausen, "Vunderparlikh unt zeltsame historyen Til Eylin Shpigls" (c. 1600), Bavarian State Library, MS Munich, Cod. Hebr. 100, 134v. For further examples see Zfatman, DISS, 1:87–89.

20. *Sefer ben Sira* (Krakow, 1586); *Mayse beyt David bi-yemey Paras* (Basel, 1599), [1]; *Melokhim bukh* (Krakow, 1582); *Shmuel bukh* (Augsburg, 1544).

21. *Sefer ha-refu'ot* (Jeßnitz, 1722), title page. The translation presents itself as a translation of an Egyptian source. I have not yet been able to identify the source text.

22. *Historie Hertsog oyz holendish Flandrn* (Prague, 1762), 2b, 5b–6a. See also Zfatman, DISS, 1:89–93.

23. The precise meaning of the term *tsov'ot* is contested. See Admiel Kosman, "Ma'ase ha-kiyor ve-kano be-mar'ot ha-tsov'ot u-ḥokhmat ha-nashim," in *Mi-perot ha-ilan al parashat ha-shavu'a*, ed. Leib Moskovitz (Ramat Gan, 2005), 2:204–8.

24. *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot* (Wandsbek, 1718), 1a. On this translation, see Ḥayim Liebermann, "Tirgum Yidi bilty yadu'a shel sefer Elef layla va-laya," *Aley sefer* 4 (1977): 156–62; Zfatman, DISS, 1:90–92.

25. *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, 4b. See discussion in Zfatman, DISS, 1:90–91.

26. *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, 5a.

27. Zfatman, DISS, 1:89, 93.

28. Paucker, TYV, 19. See also 105–6.

29. Robert Bonfil, "Sifriyoteyhem shel yehudey Italia beyn yemey-ha-beynayim la-et ha-ḥadashah," *Pe'amim* 52 (1991): 8.

30. See Meier Schüller, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der alten jüdisch-deutschen Profanliteratur," *Festschrift zum 75jährigen Bestehen der Realschule mit Lyzeum der Isr. Religionsgemeinschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1928), 85.

31. *Toyzent und ayn firtel shtund: Tartarishe historien* (Prague, 1775); *Shpanishe hayden oder tsigayners* (Amsterdam, 1700–1730). On the latter translation, which is based on a mediating

text in Dutch, see Shlomo Berger, "The Spanish Pagan Woman and Ashkenazi Children Reading Yiddish circa 1700," in *Children and Yiddish Literature from Early Modernity to Post-Modernity*, ed. Gennady Estraikh, Kerstin Hoge, and Mikhail Krutikov (New York, 2016), 9. The translation of Guellette's book, which was mediated by a 1775 German translation, has previously been misidentified as a translation of Antoine Galland's *Les mille et une nuits, contes arabes*. See Zfatman, BIB, 138–39 §135 (on a lost earlier edition), 142–43 §141.

32. Benyamin ben Zalman Croneburg, *Kurioser antikvarius* (Neuwied am Rhein, 1752), [1].

33. That the transcription of the digits into words was a conscious choice, and not a printing necessity, is clear from the appearance of a few solitary digits on p. 2v of the book.

34. Gideon Toury, "Translation and Reflection on Translation: A Skeletal History for the Uninitiated," in *Jewish Translation History: A Bibliography of Bibliographies and Studies,* ed. Robert Singerman (Amsterdam, 2002), xix.

35. Gideon Toury, "Reshit ha-tirgum ha-moderny le-'ivrit: od mabat eḥad," *Dapim le-meḥkar be-sifrut* 11 (1997): 107. For a similar view, see Zohar Shavit, "Cultural Translation and the Recruitment of Translated Texts to Induce Social Change: The Case of the Haskalah," in *Children's Literature in Translation: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Jan Van Coillie and Jack McMartin (Leuven, 2020), 33.

36. Toury, "Reshit ha-tirgum," 108; Zohar Shavit, "Ha-tafkid she-mile'u ha-tekstim le-yeladim yehudim be-maga beyn ha-tarbut ha-'ivrit ha-yehudit ve-ha-germanit bi-tkufat ha-haskalah," *Dapim le-meḥkar be-sifrut* 11 (1997–1998): 100; Tal Kogman, "Maga'im beyn-tarbutiyim be-tekstim she sh-haskalah 'al mad'ey ha-teva," in *Ha-haskalah li-gvaneyhah: Iyunim ḥadashim be-toldot ha-haskalah u-ve-sifrutah*, ed. Shmuel Feiner and Israel Bartal (Jerusalem, 2005), 29. These studies are inspired by Itamar Even-Zohar's model of translation, on which see Chapter 1 above.

37. Zohar Shavit, "Ha-rihut shel ḥadar ha-haskalah ha-yehudit be-Berlin: Nituaḥ ha-mikra'ah ha-modernit ha-rishonah le-yeladim yehudim," in *Ke-minhag Ashkenaz u-Polin: Sefer yovel le-Khone Shmeruk*, ed. Israel Bartal, Ezra Mendelsohn, and Chava Turniansky (Jerusalem, 1993); Tal Kogman, *Ha-maskilim be-mada'im ḥinukh Yehudi le-mada'im ba-merḥav dover ha-germanit ba-et ha-ḥadashah* (Jerusalem, 2013), 72–74.

38. Toury, "Translation and Reflection," xvii.

39. Annelien de Dijn, "The Politics of Enlightenment: From Peter Gay to Jonathan Israel," *The Historical Journal* 55, no. 3 (2012): 785–805.

40. Tejaswini Niranjana, *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley, 1992), 2. See also Maria Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation* (New York, 1999); Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule* (1988; repr., Durham, 1993).

41. Rita Felski, "Comparison and Translation: A Perspective from Actor-Network Theory," *Comparative Literature Studies* 52, no. 3 (2016): 751.

42. A polemical view of translation already existed in the Middle Ages. See Daniel J. Lasker, "Latin into Hebrew and the Medieval Jewish-Christian Debate," in *Latin-into-Hebrew: Texts and Studies*, vol. 1, *Studies*, ed. Resianne Fontaine and Gad Freudenthal (Boston/Leiden 2013), 333–47. Polemical translations were also produced by Christian translators of Jewish works. See Aya Elyada, "Zwischen Austausch und Polemik: Christliche Übersetzungen jiddischer Literatur im Deutschland der Frühneuzeit," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 69 (2017): 47–73; Yaacov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2012), 114–15.

43. Moshe ben Avraham of Amsterdam, *Tla'ot Moshe* (Halle, 1711).

44. Chone Shmeruk and Israel Bartal, "Tla'ot moshe—sefer ha-gi'ografiya ha-rishon be-Yiddish," *Kathedra* 40 (1986): 121–37.

45. On the book's messianism, see Shmeruk and Bartel, "Tla'ot Moshe," 122, 128. Another author who used translations of non-Jewish sources to prove the existence of the ten Lost Tribes beyond the Sambatyon River was Itsḥak Lampronti. On Lampronti's discussion see David Malkiel, *Isaac's Fear: An Early Modern Encyclopedia of Judaism* (Boston, 2022), 130–51.

46. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati, 1981), 134–36.

47. Moshe ben Leon Botarel, *Eyn mishpat* (Constantinople [Ferarra?], 1561). For an initial discussion of the work see Moritz Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893), 962, §574. On the question of the book's location of publication, see Yitsḥak Yudlov, "Sefer Eyn mishpat," *Aley sefer* 6 (1979): 118–20.

48. Botarel, *Eyn mishpat* [2].

49. Nostradamus's full name appears on the last page of the translation as: מיקייל דנוסטארי דאמוש. See Botarel, *Eyn mishpat* [51].

50. A different version of the almanac appeared in print in Paris: Michel de Nostredame, *Almanach nouveau pour l'an 1562* (Paris, 1561). However, *Eyn mishpat* contains many details that appear in the manuscript but not in the print edition. On the differences between Nostradamus's two almanacs, see Jacques Halbronn, "Une attaque réformée oubliée contre Nostradamus (1561)," *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance* 33 (1991): 48–49. The original 1561 manuscript has been lost, but a reproduction was printed in 1906 as Michel de Nostredame, *Reproduction très fidèle d'un Manuscrit inédit de M. de Nostredame* (Mariebourg, 1906).

51. Cf. Nostradamus, *Reproduction très fidèle*, 33, 41, 42, 47; Botarel, *Eyn mishpat*, 22, 27, 29.

52. Nostradamus, *Reproduction très fidèle*, 5, 42; Botarel, *Eyn mishpat*, 2, 27.

53. Nostradamus, *Reproduction très fidèle,* 1–4; Botarel, *Eyn mishpat*, 50–51.

54. Botarel, *Eyn mishpat*, 1.

55. Botarel, *Eyn mishpat*, 1–[2]. In the extant copy, the second page is mistakenly bound as page 12.

56. On the polemical interpretation of the Aleynu prayer in the medieval and early modern periods, see Ruth Langer, "The Censorship of Aleinu in Ashkenaz and Its Aftermath," in *The Experience of Jewish Liturgy: Studies Dedicated to Menahem Schmelzer*, ed. Debra Reed Blank (Leiden, 2011), 144–66.

57. Botarel, *Eyn mishpat*, 1. Steinschneider notes that Nostradamus in fact came from a family of Jewish converts; however, Botarel does not seem to be aware of his purported Jewish background. See Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, 962.

58. Botarel, *Eyn mishpat*, [2].

59. Elliott Horowitz, *Purim and the Legacy of Jewish Violence* (Princeton, NJ, 2006); Rebekka Voß, "Entangled Stories: The Red Jews in Premodern Yiddish and German Apocalyptic Lore," *AJS Review* 36, no. 1 (2012): 1–41; Voß, *Sons of Saviors: The Red Jews in Yiddish Culture* (Philadelphia, 2023), 98–105.

60. See also Jeremiah 49:14.

61. See, e.g., Isaak Benjakob, *Otsar ha-sefarim* (Vilnius, 1880), 439; Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, 962, §574. See also Yitsḥak Yudlov, "Sefer Eyn mishpat," *Aley sefer* 6 (1979): 118.

62. See, e.g., Zfatman, DISS, 69; Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish: prakim le-toldoteha* (Tel Aviv, 1978), 29

63. *Seyder harey olem beshraybung* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1792), title page. Cf. Johann Gottfried Gregorii, *Die curieuse Orographia, oder Beschreibung derer berühmtesten Berge in Europa, Asia, Africa und America* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1715). For more on the religious uses of science, see Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev*, esp. 276–86.

64. Iris Idelson-Shein, "Their Eyes Shall Behold Strange Things: Abraham Ben Elijah of Vilna Encounters the Spirit of Mr. Buffon," *AJS Review* 36, no. 2 (2012): 295–322.

65. [Avraham ben Eliyahu], *Gevulot arets* (Berlin, 1800), title page.

66. See, e.g., *Seyder harey olem beshraybung*, title page; Baruch Lindau, *Reshit limudim* (Berlin, 1788).

67. Johannes Curio, *De Conservanda Bona Valetudine* (Frankfurt am Main, 1557), 2r; *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim* (n.p., c. 1613), 4–5.

68. *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim*, 5.

69. Dovid Katz, *Yiddish and Power* (Basingstoke, 2015), 46.

70. *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim*, title page.

71. Maimonides, *De'ot*, 4:1. English trans.: Maimonides, *The Book of Knowledge from the Mishneh Torah*, trans. from Hebrew by H. M. Russel and J. Weinberg (New York, 1983), 35. On the development of this idea in the works of early modern rabbinical thinkers, particularly in Ashkenaz, see David Sorotzkin, *Ortodoksiya u-mishtar ha-moderniyut* (Tel Aviv, 2011), 299–309.

72. *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim*, 3.

73. On the division of labor between Yiddish and Hebrew literature, see, e.g., Shmuel Niger, *Di tsveyshprakhikayt fun undzer literatur* (Detroit, 1941); Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish*, 12–22; Shlomo Berger, "Functioning within a Diasporic Third Space: The Case of Early Modern Yiddish," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (2008): 68–86.

74. Louis H. Feldman, "Abraham the Greek Philosopher in Josephus," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99 (1968): 143–56.

75. For a detailed history of the myth of the Jewish origins of science and philosophy, and references to further research, see Abraham Melamed, *Rokḥut u-tabaḥut: Ha-mitos al mekor ha-ḥokhmot* (Jerusalem, 2010).

76. Jean-Pierre Rothschild, "Motivations et méthodes des traductions en hébreu du milieu du XIIe à la fin du XVe siècle," in *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge*, ed. Geneviève Contamine (Paris, 1989), 289–90.

77. There are several examples of this practice. See, e.g., Schick, *Kne ha-midah* (Prague, 1784).

78. Rehav Rubin, "Chug ha-'areṣ by Rabbi Solomon of Chelm: An Early Geographical Treatise and Its Sources," *Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism* 8 (2008): 131–47.

79. The King James Version (KJV) translates the relevant passage from Job ("ושאף צמים חילם") as "the robber swalloweth up their substance." Here, I have combined the KJV's translation of the verse with the more ubiquitous interpretation of צמים as derived from צימאון—"thirst," which seems more in line with the context of the passage.

80. Shlomo of Chelm, "Ḥug ha-arets," National Library Israel, Ms. Heb. 28°8310, fol. 1. For additional examples, see Melamed, *Rokḥut u-tabaḥut*, 321–40.

81. Neumark, "Tokhen ha-kadur" (1703), MS Bodl. Opp. 184, 3r–3v.

82. Neumark, "Tokhen ha-kadur," 2v. For a strikingly similar presentation, see the presentation of biblical apocrypha in Isaac ben Yehudah Leb Friedlander's song in Naftali Herz Wessely, *Ḥokhmat Shlomo* (Berlin, 1780), [13 (my pagination)].

83. See David Gans, *Neḥmad ve-na'im* (Jeßnitz, 1592), 9r–v; Barukh Schick, *Sefer Uklidos* (The Hague, 1780), 1; Abraham Van Oven, *Derekh ish yashar* (London, 1778), 18–19. On Lindau and Satanov, see Kogman, *Ha-maskilim be-mada'im*, 63.

84. Wessely, *Ḥokhmat Shlomo*.

85. See Samuel Ibn Tibbon's introduction to his translation of Maimonides's *Guide to the Perplexed*: Shmuel Ben Yehudah Ibn Tibbon, Preface to *Sefer moreh nevukhim by Moshe ben Maimon*, repr. Jerusalem, 1960.

86. Wessely, *Ḥokhmat Shlomo*, First introduction [18]. Similar concerns are also raised in Yehudah Leib Ben Ze'ev's translation of Ben Sira. Ben Ze'ev criticizes Wessely for relying on a German translation and claims to have solved the dilemma by using the *London Polyglot* printed in 1657. See Ben Ze'ev, *Ben Sira* (Wrocław, 1798), introduction [4–5] and second note (n.p.).

87. Wessely, *Ḥokhmat Shlomo*, First introduction [19].

88. "Bukh der tsukht." C. 1598. Oxford Bodl. Ms. Opp. 607. 33r. For an initial discussion of the translation, see Moritz Steinschneider, "Jüdische Litteratur und Jüdisch-Deutsch," *Serapeum* 25, no. 3 (1864): 41–42, §391. My comparative reading confirms Steinschneider's suspicion that the translation is based on Luther's German, with minor Judaization (e.g., Luther's "*Das wort Gottes*" [the word of God] becomes in Yiddish "*di Torah gotes*"). The Old Yiddish translations of biblical apocrypha are the focus of work in progress by Ruth Von Bernuth.

89. On the translation, see Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, "Yiddish Language and Literature," 38.

90. Yosef ben Ya'acov Maarssen, *Sefer Yehoshua ben Sirak* (Amsterdam, 1712), title page. For an example in Hebrew, see Wessely's translation of *Ḥokhmat Shlomo*.

91. Yosef Karo, *Shulḥan arukh: Oraḥ ḥayim*, 307:16.

92. Moses Isserles's gloss to Karo, *Shulḥan arukh*, 307:16.

93. Gans, *Tsemaḥ David*, 2:2v.

94. Avraham Farissol, *Igeret orḥot olam* (Venice, 1587), 2r.

95. Rashi on Isaiah 2:6. English translation: Israel Wolf Slotki, *Isaiah: Hebrew Text and English Translation with an Introduction and Commentary* (London, 1949). Slightly revised according to the Hebrew source.

96. Further examples of the use of the passage in this sense abound. In addition to the examples discussed below, see, e.g., Yonatan Eibeschütz, *Ya'arot dvash*, parts 1 and 2 (1797, repr. Lublin, 1897), 49, 341.

97. Gans, *Neḥmad ve-na'im,* 9v.

98. On Gans's sources for this book, see Andre Neher, *David Gans (1541–1613) u-zmano: Maḥshevet Israel ve-ha-mahapekha ha-mada'it shel ha-me'ah ha-shesh-esre* (Jerusalem, 2005), 74. Neher mentions the translation in passing, but further research is required to assess Gans's treatment of his source. See also Mayer, JEWTACT #50.

99. Quoted in Maoz Kahana, "Megaresh ha-shedim mi-Presburg: Perek ba-ḥashiva ha-mada'it shel R. Moshe Sofer," *AJS Review* 38, no. 2 (2014): 10.

100. Kahana, "Megaresh ha-shedim," 10–11. On *Sefer ha-brit*, see David Ruderman, *A Best-Selling Hebrew Book of the Modern Era: The* Book of the Covenant *of Pinḥas Hurwitz and Its Remarkable Legacy* (Seattle/London, 2014).

101. Neumark, "Tokhen ha-kadur," 3v.

102. Ya'akov Emden, *Sefer birat migdal oz* (c. 1747, repr. Zhytomyr, 1874), 38.

103. Emden, *Sefer birat migdal oz*, 214. I thank Ahuvia Goren for referring me to Emden's discussion. On Emden's own engagement with foreign literature, and for an initial discussion of his possible sources, see Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev*, esp. 204–7, 258–62.

104. Ya'akov Emden, *Mitpaḥat sefarim* (1768, repr. Lviv, 1870), 75. See also Shmuel Feiner, *The Jewish Eighteenth Century: A European Biography, 1700–1750*, trans. Jeffrey M. Green (Bloomington, IN, 2020), 5. Ironically, Emden cites in support of his arguments against reading in French a book which, he writes: "I happened to read where one must not contemplate holy things"; Emden, *Mitpaḥat sefarim*, 75. He seems to be referring to the German novel, *Der Dänische Robinson*, which describes, among other things, the prurient adventures of a Danish traveler in Paris. See *Der Dänische Robinson oder die Reisen Niels Bygaard*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1750), 46ff.

105. Shaul Ha-Levi, approbation to Schick, *Sefer Uklidos*, [1].

106. Moses Mendelssohn, *Moses Mendelssohn's Hebrew Writings*, trans. Edward Breuer, introduced and annotated by Edward Breuer and David Sorkin (New Haven, 2018), 290. For the Hebrew, see Moses Mendelssohn, *Or la-netivah* (Berlin, 1783), n.p. [50].

107. Moses Mendelssohn, Letter to August Hennings, June 29, 1779. Quoted in Jeffrey A. Grossman, *The Discourse on Yiddish in Germany from the Enlightenment to the Second Empire* (Rochester, NY, 2000), 78.

108. Michael A. Meyer, *The Origins of the Modern Jew: Jewish Identity and European Culture in Germany, 1749–1824* (Detroit, MI, 1967), 43; David Kamentsky, "Haskamoteyhem shel gedoley ha-rabanim la-ḥumashim shel rabi Shlomo Dubnow," *Yeshurun* 8 (2000): 732–33.

109. Abigail Gillman, *A History of German Jewish Bible Translation* (Chicago, 2018), 15–85; Naomi Seidman, *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation* (Chicago, 2006), 164–76; David Sorkin, *Moses Mendelssohn and the Religious Enlightenment* (Berkeley, 1996).

110. David Franco Mendes, "Teshu'at Israel bi-yedey Yehudit" (Rödelheim, 1803), [13].

111. David Franco Mendes, *Gmul Atalya* (Amsterdam, 1770), 4v.

112. Mendes, *Gmul Atalya*, 4v–5r. Gans uses the same terms to justify his use of foreign sources. See Gans, *Tsemaḥ David*, 2:2v.

113. On the importance of Hebrew orthography in the writings of the Berlin Haskalah, see Ran Ha-Cohen, "Germanit be-'otiyot ivriyot: kama he'arot al ma'arekhet ktivah hibridit," in *Ha-sifriyah shel tnu'at ha-haskalah: yetsiratah shel republikat ha-sfarim ba-ḥevrah ha-yehudit ba-merḥav dover ha-germanit*, ed. Shmu'el Feiner, Zohar Shavit, Natalie Naimark-Goldberg, and Tal Kogman (Tel Aviv, 2014), 463–66.

114. Fuks and Fuks-Mansfeld, "Yiddish Language and Literature," 55. See also Nachum Shtif, "Ditrikh fun Bern: Yidishkayt un veltlikhkayt in der alter Yidishe literatur," *Yidishe filologye* 1, no. 1 (1924): 1–11; Shmeruk, *Sifrut Yidish*, 32–37; Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, ed. and trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford, 2005), 155–57.

115. Ya'akov b. Avraham of Meseritz, "Preface," in *Ayn sheyn mayse bukh* (Basel, 1602), 7.

116. For a discussion, see Jakob Maitlis, "Some Extant Folktales in Yiddish Mss," *Fabula* 12 (1971): 212–17. For a discussion of one of these tales, see Chapter 3 below. Zfatman mentions that Ya'akov Ben Avraham of Meseritz was also involved in the publication of one of the wildly popular Yiddish translations of *Die sieben weisen Meister*. See Zfatman, DISS, 1:98–99.

117. Wallet, "Links in a Chain," 203–4.

118. Michael Stanislawski, "Toward the *Popular Religion* of Ashkenazic Jews: Yiddish-Hebrew Texts on Sex and Circumcision," in *Mediating Modernity: Challenges and Trends in*

the Jewish Encounter with the Modern World: Essays in Honor of Michael A. Meyer, ed. Lauren B. Strauss and Michael Brenner (Detroit, 2008), 93–106; Chava Turniansky, "Yiddish and the Transmission of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (2008): 5–18. On the objections to Hebrew-to-Yiddish translation see Avriel Bar-Levav, "Intimiut tekstualit u-vrit ha-kri'ah beyn gerush Sepharad le-Amsterdam," in *Ba-derekh el ha-modernah: Shay le-Yosef Kaplan*, ed. Avriel Bar-Levav, Claude B. Stuczynski, and Michael Heyd (Jerusalem, 2018), 145–68. A similar phenomenon may be found in translations into Judeo-Arabic, as recently discussed by Avi-ram Tzoreff, "Acknowledging Loss, Materializing Language: Translation and Hermeneutics of Gaps in Nineteenth Century Baghdad," *Middle Eastern Studies* (2022): 4.

119. Friedrich Schleiermacher, "Ueber die verschiedenen Methoden des Uebersezens," in *Das Problem des Übersetzens*, ed. Hans Joachim Störig (Stuttgart 1963), 5.

CHAPTER 3

1. Toury, DTS, 63.

2. At the same time, the concept of translational norms has also drawn some criticism for its rigid structuralism, overemphasis on the target culture, and overall inattention to imbalances of power, ambiguities in translation, individual choice, historical specificity, and the general messiness of life and literature. See, e.g., the essays collected in *Current Issues in Language and Society* 5, no. 1–2 (1998), especially the essay by Anthony Pym: "Okay, So How Are Translation Norms Negotiated? A Question for Gideon Toury and Theo Hermans," 107–13. For a sympathetic yet critical view, see Maria Tymoczko, *Translation in a Postcolonial Context: Early Irish Literature in English Translation* (New York, 1999), 55–56. For an overview of other critiques, see Siobhan Brownlie, "Descriptive vs. Committed Approaches," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 2nd ed. (London/New York, 2009/2011), 77–79; Mona Baker, "Norms," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 2nd ed. (London/New York, 2009/2011), 193.

3. See Gideon Toury, *Normot shel tirgum ve-ha-tirgum ha-sifruti le-ivrit ba-shanim 1930–1945* (Tel Aviv, 1977). See also Toury, DTS, 163–65.

4. On the variability of norms in general, see Toury, DTS, 65–67, 82–87.

5. See discussion of this in the context of the Haskalah in Toury, DTS, 164–67. See also, in the Jewish-medieval context, Rina Drory, "Muda'ut, zikaron u-shikhaḥa be-maga'eha shel ha-tarbut ha-yehudit im ha-tarbut ha-Arvit be-yemey ha-beynayim," in *Ma'agalim u-ksharim: Iyunim ba-sifrut ha-yehudit u-ba-sifrut ha-'arvit shel yemey ha-beynayim* (Jerusalem, 2021), 110–25.

6. See, e.g., the translator's use of the Hebrew term *har* for mountain, rather than the German *Berg*. Cf. *Seyder harey olem beshraybung* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1792); Johann Gottfried Gregorii, *Die curieuse Orographia, oder accurate Beschreibung derer berühmtesten Berge in Europa, Asia, Africa und America* (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1715). On abridgment as a translational norm, see below. A more substantial deviation from the source is the addition of a description of the so-called *Judenberg* (the Jews' mountain), which does not appear in Melissantes. The description, which would have particularly interested a Jewish readership, features a greater number of Hebraisms than other parts of the translation, and seems to be the translator's original contribution to the text. See *Seyder harey olem*, 23.

7. Cf. *Seyder harey olem*, 9r–11v; Gregorii, *Die curieuse Orographia*, 248–336. For a different approach, see Shabbethai Bass's *Masekhet derekh erets*, in which the translator organized his German source text according to the Hebrew alphabet. Cf. Shabbethai Bass, *Masekhet derekh erets* (Amsterdam, 1680); Eberhard Rudolph Roth, *Memorabilia Europae* (1678; repr., Ulm, 1682).

8. Cf. *Seyder harey olem*, 1v, 3r–4r; Gregorii, *Die curieuse Orographia*, 30, 31, 49.

9. Compare, for instance, the three different Yiddish versions of the tales of Till Eulenspiegel, which appeared in 1600, 1735, and 1736. It is only the 1735 edition that neutralizes the Christian elements found in the source. Cf. e.g., [Hermann Bote?], *Ein kurtzweilig lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel*, facsimile of the 1515 edition (Leipzig, 1911), 3v; Binyamin ben Yosef Merks of Tannhausen, "Vunderparlikh und zeltsame historien Til Eylin Shpigilz," c. 1600, Bavarian State Library, MS Munich, Cod. Hebr. 100, fol. 134r.; *Eylin shpigl* (Prague, 1735), [1], [3]. A rare exception is the mention of a bishop in the 1735 edition, but Eulenspiegel's pretend visits to church, which appeared in the same story in the source, are omitted. Cf. *Eylin shpigl*, [19]–[20]; [Bote], *Ein kurtzweilig lesen*, 120v–r. For a discussion of the Christian elements found in Old Yiddish translations more generally, see Paucker, TYV, esp. 125, 129, 131–32, 134, 136.

10. David Gans, *Tsemaḥ Dovid izt fon dem loshn ha-koydesh tsum taytsh iber zetst wordn*, trans. anon. (Frankfurt am Main, 1697), 38v. I thank Rebekka Voß for referring me to this translation.

11. Gans, *Tsemaḥ Dovid*, 38v.

12. See, e.g., Gans, *Tsemaḥ David*, part 2, 2v, 35r, 39r, 99r, 109r. On Gans's sources in general, see Šedinová, "Non-Jewish Sources in the Chronicle by David Gans, 'Tsemah David.'" *Judaica Bohemiae* 8 (1972). See also Mayer, JEWTACT #50; Jánošíková, JEWTACT #273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280.

13. A further example is found in Alexander ben Moshe Ethoyzen's *Beys Yisroel*, published in Yiddish in 1719. Ethoyzen noted that he had drawn the information for his book from various sources, but that identifying these works would be of little service to the reader. He furthermore noted his plan to publish the book in Hebrew as well, and declared that he would cite his sources in the Hebrew version. See Chone Shmeruk and Israel Bartal, "Yerushalayim ba-zman hazeh le-r' Aleksandri ben Moshe Ethoyzn," *Shalem* 4 (1984): 447.

14. On these introductions, see Shlomo Berger, "An Invitation to Buy and Read: Paratexts of Yiddish Books in Amsterdam, 1650–1800," *Book History* 7 (2004): 31–61; Chava Turniansky, "Yiddish and the Transmission of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (2008): 5–18; Chava Weissler, *Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women* (Boston, 1998), 52–65. See also Moshe Heida's introduction to *Melekhet maḥshevet*, discussed below.

15. See Zfatman, DISS, 56–79.

16. *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot* (Wandsbek, 1718); *Arabishe ertselunge oys toysend und ayn nakht* (Hamburg, c. 1720); *Arabishe ertselung / toysend und ayn nakht* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1794).

17. *Die Tausend und Eine Nacht, Worinnen Seltzame Arabische Historien und wunderbare Begebenheiten . . . erstlich vom Hrn. Galland aus der Arabischen Sprache in die Französische, und aus selbiger . . . in Teutsche übersetzt* (Leipzig, 1710; repr. 1730). See also the English translation: *Arabian Nights Entertainments: Consisting of One Thousand and One Stories . . . Translated into French from the Arabian* [sic] *Manuscript by Mr. Galland of the Royal Academy and Now Done into English* (London, 1706).

18. Yosef Ben Ya'acov Maarssen, *Sheyne artlekhe geshikhtn* (Amsterdam, 1710); Dirck Volkertzoon Coornhert, *Vijftigh lustighe historien oft nieuwigheden Joannis Boccatij* (1564; repr.

Amsterdam, c. 1644). See below for a discussion of the translation and its relationship with its source. For the first identification of the source text, see Steinschneider, *Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana* (Berlin, 1852–1860), 1507 §5954.6.

19. See Theo Hermans, "Concepts and Theories of Translation in the European Renaissance," in *Übersetzung—Translation—Traduction*, vol. 26: *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, ed. Haralld Kittel et al. (Berlin, 2007), 2:1425.

20. Charles Batteux, "Contenant les Règles de la Traduction," in *Lettres sur la phrase françoise comparée avec la phrase latine* (Paris, 1748), 64. At the same time, it should be noted that European translators who strove for what Venuti has termed "fluency" in their translations often omitted their own names from the texts. See Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 1995), 43–44.

21. On these practices in Latin literature, see especially Ann M. Blair, *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information Before the Modern Age* (New Haven, 2010); Anthony Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, MA, 2020).

22. Reuven (Robert) Bonfil, introduction to Yosef Ha-Kohen, *Sefer divrey ha-yamim le-malkey Tsarfat u-malkhey beyt Otoman ha-Togar*, ed. Reuven Bonfil (Jerusalem, 2020), 1:19–23.

23. See discussion in Iris Idelson-Shein, "Of Wombs and Words: Migrating Misogynies in Early Modern Hebrew Medical Literature in Latin and Hebrew," *AJS Review* 46, no. 2 (2022): 243–69. See also Goren, JEWTACT #237, 238.

24. Shmuel Ben Yehudah Ibn Tibbon, preface to *Sefer moreh nevukhim by Moshe ben Maimon* (repr., Jerusalem, 1960), 1r.

25. Meir ben Yehudah Leib Neumark, "Tokhen ha-kadur" (1703), MS Bodl. Opp. 184, 3v.

26. On the translation, see Gideon Toury, "Translating English Literature via German—and Vice Versa: A Symptomatic Reversal in the History of Modern Hebrew Literature," in *Die literarische Übersetzung: Stand und Perspektiven ihrer Erforschung*, ed. Harald Kittel (Berlin, 1988), 139–57; Gideon Toury, "Reshit ha-tirgum ha-moderny le-ivrit: od mabat eḥad," *Dapim le-meḥkar be-sifrut* 11 (1998): 109–10; Jeremy Dauber, "New Thoughts on 'Night Thoughts': Mendelssohn and Translation," *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 2, no. 2 (2003): 132–47. The same poem would later be translated again by a number of maskilic translators. See Ḥayim Shirman, "Kovets shirey Shmuel Romanelli bi-khtav yad," *Tarbiz* 35, no. 4 (1966): 374n; Fishel Laḥover, *Toldot ha-sifrut ha-ivrit ha-ḥadashah* (Tel Aviv, 1928), 1:95–96. See also Karkason, JEWTACT #335.

27. Translation cited from Moses Mendelssohn, *Moses Mendelssohn's Hebrew Writings*, trans. Edward Breuer, introduced and annotated by Edward Breuer and David Sorkin (New Haven, 2018), 49. For the Hebrew, see [Moses Mendelssohn], *Kohelet musar* (Berlin, 1755), issue 6 (n.p.).

28. Elye Bokher, *Bovo D'Antona* (Isny, 1541), title page.

29. Claudia Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona by Elye Bokher. A Yiddish Romance: A Critical Edition with Commentary* (Leiden, 2015), 55. See also Paucker, TYV, 8–9. Paucker attributes the difference to the change in the character of the translators who, he argues, "were copyists and publishers, not poets" (Paucker, TYV, 9).

30. Maarssen, *Sheyne artlekhe geshikhte*, 2v. On Maarssen and his translations, see Jacob Shatzky, "Di hakdomes tsu Yosef Maarssens khiburim," *Yivo-bleter* 13 (1938): 377–89; Shalhevet Dotan-Ofir, "Ha-sifrut ha-didaktit be-Yiddish be-Amsterdam ba-shanim 1650–1750: Historiyah ḥevratit u-tarbutit" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2011), 245–51.

31. Marion Aptroot, "I Know This Book of Mine Will Cause Offence': A Yiddish Adaptation of Boccaccio's Decameron (Amsterdam 1710)," *Zutot* 3 (2003): 156.

32. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #6, 8, 436. For further examples and discussions, see Chapter 4, as well as Max Erik, *Di geshikhte fun der Yidisher literatur: fun di elteste tsaytn biz der haskalah-tekufa* (Warsaw, 1928), 338; Paucker, TYV, 185–227; Zfatman, DISS, 228–231; Jennifer Dowling, "A Maiden's Tale," *Shofar* 10, no. 4 (1992): 49–61.

33. For an example, see Glikl bas Judah Leib, *Zikhronot Glikl*, *1691–1719*, bilingual ed., Hebrew translation by Chava Turniansky (Jerusalem, 2006), 80–106. On the tale's relationship with its putative source, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 40–41, 245nn138–39. For further examples, see the discussion of domestication by Judaization below.

34. Baruch Lindau, *Reshit limudim* (Berlin, 1788), [4].

35. Iris Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind: Jewish Constructions of Race During the Long Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2014), 117–24, 403–5.

36. Pinḥas Hurwitz, *Sefer ha-brit ha-shalem* (1797; repr., Jerusalem, 1990), 199. For examples of Hurwitz's often unacknowledged reliance on Lindau, Schick, and other Hebrew writers, cf., e.g., Hurwitz, *Sefer ha-brit*, 194–95, 242, 244–45; Lindau, *Reshit limudim*, 26r–26v; Barukh Schick of Shklov, "Sefer tiferet ha-adam," in *Sefer amudey ha-shamayim* (Berlin, 1777), 4v, 21v–22r, 26r. On Hurwitz's reliance on Tuviah Ha-Kohen, see Shmuel Feiner, "Sefer ha-brit kore be-sifriyat ha-haskalah: Perek be-shlilat ha-ne'orut be-shilhey ha-me'ah ha-shemoneh esreh," in *Ba-derekh el ha-modernah: Shay le-Yosef Kaplan*, ed. Avriel Bar Levav, Claude B. Stuczynski, and Michael Heyd (Jerusalem, 2018), 319–20. See also Resianne Fontainne, "Natural Science in *Sefer ha-Berit*: Pinchas Hurwitz on Animals and Meteorological Phenomena," in *Sepharad in Ashkenaz: Medieval Knowledge and Eighteenth-Century Enlightened Discourse*, ed. Resianne Fontaine, Andrea Schatz, and Irene Zwiep (Amsterdam, 2002), 161–62; Noaḥ Rosenblum, "Ha-entsiklopediya ha-ivrit ha-rishonah: Meḥabrah ve-hishtalshelutah," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 55 (1988): 19–20; Tal Kogman, *Ha-maskilim be-mada'im: ḥinukh Yehudi le-mada'im ba-merḥav dover ha-germanit ba-et ha-ḥadashah* (Jerusalem, 2013), 54.

37. Kogman, *Ha-maskilim be-mada'im*, 60–61, 134–36; Tal Kogman, "Siaḥ mada'i ivri be-megamat shinuy ba-maḥatsit ha-rishonah shel ha-me'ah ha-19 be-Ashkenaz: *Sheviley olam* le-Shimshon Block ke-ve-sefer *Toldot ha-'arets* le-Yosef Sheinhok ke-mikrey mivḥan," in *Ha-maskil ba-et ha-zot: Sefer ha-yovel le-Moshe Pelli*, ed. Zeev Gerber, Lev Hakak, and Shmuel Kats (Tel Aviv, 2017): 264, 277n42.

38. Cf. Lindau, *Reshit limudim*, p. 3 of introduction (n.p.); Yosef Shlomo Delmedigo, *Sefer Elim*, part 2: *Ma'ayan gamin* (Amsterdam, 1628), 3. Delmedigo's translation of Ptolemy was cited again by a later Hebrew maskil, in 1828, but this time with adequate reference. See Itsḥak Baer Levinsohn, *Te'udah be-Israel* (Vilnius, 1828), 98–100.

39. See, e.g., Moshe Ḥefets's concealment of his use of Gassendi, as discussed in Ahuvia Goren, "Ha-metodah ha-mada'it, ha-te'oriah ha-atomistit u-farshanut ha-mikr'a be-haguto shel rabi Moshe Ḥefets (1664–1712)," *Zion* 88, no. 1 (2022).

40. Mordekhai ben Yeḥi'el Mikhal Ha-Kohen mi-Schmallenberg, "Ets ha-sade," c. 1751–1753. National Library of Israel, Yah. Ms. Heb. 56, fol. 2r. For more on this translation, see Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #502, 503.

41. Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 2r.

42. Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 218r–229v.

43. See, e.g., Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 200v–201r.

44. Christian Weisbach, *Warhaffte und gründliche Cur aller dem menschlichen Leibe zustossenden Kranckheiten* (1712. Reprint, Strassburg, 1722).

45. Johanna Geyer-Kordesch, *Pietismus, Medizin und Aufklärung in Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert: Das Leben und Werk Georg Ernst Stahls* (Tübingen, 2000), 57–139. For a brief biography of Weisbach, see Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, (Leipzig, 1751), 4:1867.

46. Weisbach, *Warhaffte und gründliche Cur*, 5.

47. Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 4v.

48. On Yiddish translators' tendency to replace *Seele* with the Hebrew *neshome*, see Ruth Von Bernuth, *How the Wise Men Got to Chelm: The Life and Times of a Yiddish Folk Tradition* (New York, 2016), 98.

49. The greater part of the manuscript (up to fol. 205r, excluding chapters 2 and 113) is a near word-for-word translation of Weisbach's book, with minor additions and omissions. The remaining folios seem to be an amalgamation of German and Hebrew sources, including Tuviah Ha-Kohen's *Ma'ase Tuviah*, on which the scribe draws liberally (particularly when writing in Hebrew), acknowledging his Hebrew source in some instances but not in others. Cf., e.g., Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 161r; Tuviah Ha-Kohen, *Ma'ase Tuviah* (Venice, 1707/1708), 132v. Some of the illustrations that appear throughout the manuscript are also copied from Tuviah's book (see, e.g., the illustration of the female reproductive system), while others may be original or copied from yet another source. The editions of Weisbach's book that I have seen contain no illustrations. See also Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 208v–209r; Veit Riedlin, *Kurtze und gründliche Unterweisung, wie die meiste Krankheiten sicher, glücklich und so viel es seyn kan, durch annehmliche Artzneyen zu curiren* (Frankfurt, 1709), 203–6.

50. A fleeting reference toward the end of the manuscript mentions "a physician from Strasbourg" whose works had been consulted in the specific context of the section on melancholy. See Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," fol. 201v. Cf. Weisbach, *Warhaffte und gründliche Cur*, 544. In fact, while Weisbach had his book printed in Strasbourg, he was born near Magdeburg, studied in Halle and Basel, and practiced in Düsseldorf.

51. See esp. Rebekka Voß, "A Jewish-Pietist Network: Dialogues between Protestant Missionaries and Yiddish Writers in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 112, no. 4 (2022): 731–63; Rebekka Voß, "Love Your Fellow as Yourself: Early Haskalah Reform as Pietist Renewal," *Transversal: Journal for Jewish Studies* 13, no. 1 (2015): 4–11.

52. See, e.g., the omission of overtly pietistic expressions and the reference to Stahl in the preface. Cf. Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 4r; Weisbach, *Warhaffte und gründliche Cur*, 2–3. Ha-Kohen does translate a passing reference to Stahl later in the manuscript, but this reference does not discuss his Pietist ideology but rather his use of balsam pills for the treatment of uterine disorders. See Ha-Kohen, "Ets ha-sade," 94v; Weisbach, *Warhaffte und gründliche Cur*, 139.

53. Yehudah Leib ben Ze'ev, *Ben Sira* (Wrocław, 1798), p. 8 of introduction (n.p.).

54. Ben Ze'ev, *Ben Sira,* Introduction [8].

55. On the book, its production and reception, see Peter N. Miller, "The 'Antiquarianization' of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 63, no. 3 (2001): 467–70; Alastair Hamilton, "In Search of the Most Perfect Text: The Early Modern Polyglot Bibles from Alcalá (1510–1520) to Brian Walton (1645–1658)," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3: *From 1450 to 1750*, ed. Euan Cameron (Cambridge, 2016), 151–54; Jacques Lelong, *Discours Historique sur les principales editions des Bibles Polyglottes* (Paris, 1713), 206–46.

56. Ben Ze'ev, *Ben Sira*, final page of introduction.

57. August Hermann Niemeyer, ed., *Sittenlehre Jesu des Sohns Sirach*, trans. J. W. Linde (Leipzig, 1782).

58. Like many other German biblical scholars of their time, Niemeyer and Linde set out to correct what they viewed as Luther's no-longer-adequate German Bible. Niemeyer, editor's preface to Niemeyer, *Jesus Sirach*, 1, 7. On the critical attitude toward Luther's *Bibel* in the eighteenth century, see Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, 2005), 29; Abigail Gillman, *A History of German Jewish Bible Translation* (Chicago, 2018), 47.

59. See D. Oppenheimer, "Abraham Jagel und sein Cathechismus," *Hebräische Bibliographie* 37 (1864): 19–20; S. Maybaum, "Abraham Jagel's Katechismus Lekach-tob," *Bericht über die Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums in Berlin* 10 (Berlin, 1892): 3–18. On Yagel, see David B. Ruderman, *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science: The Cultural Universe of a Sixteenth-Century Jewish Physician* (Cambridge, MA, 1988).

60. Morris M. Faierstein, "Abraham Jagel's 'Leqaḥ Tov' and Its History," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 89, no. 3/4 (1999): 319–50.

61. On Yagel's use of Christian sources in his "Gey ḥizayon" and "Bat sheva," see Ruderman, *Kabbalah, Magic, and Science*. For new discoveries concerning Yagel's sources, see Goren, JEWTACT #396, 397, 400; Nadav, JEWTACT #549, 595.

62. Immanuel Tremellius, *Sefer ḥinukh beḥirey Yah* (Paris, 1554). An earlier edition in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew appeared in 1551 and seems to have been reprinted in several editions and versions. It is unclear who exactly was the target readership for this edition. See Kenneth Austin, *From Judaism to Calvinism: The Life and Writings of Immanuel Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)*, (Aldershot, 2007), 75. Joshua Andrew Johnson suggests that the book did not, in fact, target Jews, but rather Christian Hebrew-learners and new converts. See Joshua Andrew Johnson, "When Brethren Walk Together: Immanuael Tremellius (c. 1510–1580)" (MA thesis, Washington State University, 2019), 202–3. I am grateful to Mellanie Plewa for referring me to this study and for bringing the Greek version to my attention.

63. Voß, "A Jewish-Pietist Network," 752–55.

64. See Cohen, JEWTACT #628. This intriguing translation is the focus of ongoing research by Roni Cohen.

65. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 146–47.

66. Itamar Even-Zohar, "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem," in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies*, ed. James S. Holmes, J. Lambert, and R. van den Broeck (Leuven, 1978); rev. *Poetics Today* 11, no. 1 (1990): 49.

67. Maria Tymoczko, "Translation, Resistance, Activism: An Overview," in *Translation, Resistance, Activism*, ed. Maria Tymoczko (Amherst, 2010), 9. See also Tymoczko's concluding chapter in the same volume ("The Space and Time of Activist Translation," 227–54), and Naomi Seidman, *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation* (Chicago, 2006), 119.

68. See, e.g., Silvia Kadiu, *Reflexive Translation Studies: Translation as Critical Reflection* (London, 2019), 20–42; Anthony Pym, *On Translator Ethics: Principles for Mediation Between Cultures* (1997), trans. and rev. Heike Walker (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2012), 32–35; Anthony Pym, "Venuti's Visibility," *Target* 8, no. 2 (1996): 165–77.

69. For a discussion of the use of domestication in manuscripts, see Chapter 4 below.

70. Jeremy Dauber, *Antonio's Devils: Writers of the Jewish Enlightenment and the Birth of Modern Hebrew and Yiddish Literature* (Stanford, 2004), 33; see also 34–35.

71. Dauber, *Antonio's Devils*, 39; Tova Cohen, "Ha-tekhnika ha-lamdanit—tsofen shel sifrut ha-haskalah," *Meḥkarey Yerushalayim be-sifrut ivrit* 13 (1992): 137–69; Amir Banbaji, "Melitsah, Rhetoric, and Modern Hebrew Literature: A Study of Haskalah Literary Theory," *Prooftexts* 38, no. 2 (2020): 238–77.

72. Yehudah Friedlander and Ḥayim Shoham, Introduction to Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, *Mot Adam me'et Friedrich Klopstock, metargem Tsvi Ben David (Prag, 1817)*, trans. Zvi Ben-David (Ramat Gan, 1976), 28.

73. Dvora Bregman, "Shirey ha-ḥalifut asher le-Ovid be-tirgum Shabbethai Ḥayim Marini," *Daḥak* 3 (2013): 173–74.

74. See discussion in Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind*, 133; Tal Kogman, "Baruch Lindau's Rešit Limmudim (1788) and Its German Source: A Case Study of the Interaction between the Haskalah and the German *Philanthropismus*," *Aleph* 9, no. 2 (2009): 295.

75. See, e.g., Avraham Farissol, *Igeret orḥot olam* (Venice, 1587), 14r–15v; Azariah ben Moshe de Rossi, *Ma'or eynayim* (Mantua, 1573), 58r–59v; Menaḥem Mendel Lefin, *Moda le-vina* (Berlin, 1789), 25r–26v; Hurwitz, *Sefer ha-brit*, 144; "Mashal ne'etak mi-leshon Ashkenaz," *Ha-me'asef* (Königsberg, 1784), 4–5. And cf. Karl Wilhelm Ramler, "Die zwey Peruanischen Weisen" in *Fabellese*, part 2 of 2 (Leipzig, 1783), 162. For a discussion of this phenomenon in sixteenth-century Hebrew literature, see Limor Mintz Manor, "Ha-siaḥ al ha-olam ha-ḥadash ba-tarbut ha-yehudit ba-et ha-ḥadashah ha-mukdemet" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2011), 57–62, 193–95.

76. David Zamość, *Tokhaḥot musar* (Wrocław, 1819), 172–76. For an instructive discussion of the use of biblical allusion in maskilic translation, see Friedlander and Shoham, Introduction, 26–27.

77. Astrid Lembke, "Das unwillige Untier: Ehe, Gefolgschaft und Autonomie in den französischen und jiddischen Werwolferzählungen Maries de France (12. Jh.) und im Mayse-Bukh (1602)," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 68 (2018): 26.

78. *Ayn sheyn mayse bukh* (Basel, 1602), 175r.

79. *Ayn sheyn mayse bukh*, 177r.

80. On the connection between exile and animality in this and other Old Yiddish tales, see Iris Idelson-Shein, "Kill the Hen that Crows Like a Cock: Animal Encounters in Old Yiddish," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 71, no. 2 (2020): 321–44.

81. See, e.g., Itsḥak Reutlingen, "Das ma'ase der kayzerin mit tsvey zoyn" (1580), Bavarian State Library, MS Munich, Cod. Hebr. 100, fol. 1–66; [Yosef Vitlin?], *Robinzohn: Di geshikhte fun Alter Leb* (c. 1820., repr. Vilnius, 1894). See also Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona*, 161–62; Paucker, TYV, 44–103; Arnold Paucker, "Das Volksbuch von den Sieben weisen Meistern in der jiddischen Literatur," *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 57 (1961): 177–94; Leah Garrett, "The Jewish Robinson Crusoe," *Comparative Literature* 54 (2002): 215–28. On *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, see below. This was also characteristic of Yiddish short stories (*mayses*), which featured Jewish oikotypes of international tales, such as the *Mayse bukh*'s tale of the rabbi-werewolf discussed above. For another examples, see *Ayn sheyn mayse* ([Offenbach?], c. 1711). For a discussion of the Judaization techniques employed in the tale, see Sarah Zfatman, "Ma'aseh be-shivat bney Hyrkanus she-hafkhu le-avazim: le-darkey 'ibudah be-Yiddish shel ma'asiyah benle'umit (AT451)," *Meḥkarey Yerushalayim be-folklor Yehudi* 10 (1987/88): 32–93.

82. On the intentional corruption of the source text in order to deliver anti-Christian messages in Old Yiddish translations, see Paucker, TYV, 7–12, 30–32, 241, 245; Ruth von

Bernuth, "Das jischev fun Nar-husen: Jiddische Narrenliteratur und jüdische Narrenkultur," *Aschkenas* 25, no. 1 (2015): 138–39; Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, ed. and trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford, 2005), 160–62; Elisheva Carlebach, "The Anti-Christian Element in Early Modern Yiddish Culture," in *Braun Lectures in the History of the Jews in Prussia,* no. 10 (Ramat Gan, 2003), 12–20; Claudia Rosenzweig, "The Widow of Ephesus: Yiddish Rewritings and a Hypothesis on Jewish Clandestine Forms of Reading," *Aschkenas* 25, no. 1 (2015): 97–113.

83. See, e.g., Merks, "Vunderparlikh unt zeltsame historyen," fols. 134r, 188v. On *Kirche*, see Chapter 1 above.

84. For a discussion, see Paucker, TYV; Bernuth, *Wise Men*, 99; Iris Idelson-Shein, "Meditations on a Monkey-Face: Monsters, Transgressed Boundaries, and Contested Hierarchies in a Yiddish Eulenspiegel," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 108, no.1 (2018): 33–35.

85. François Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours: contes Persans*, vols. 1 and 2 of 5 (Amsterdam, 1711). On the book's success, see Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford/New York, 2008), 277–78.

86. See Robert L. Mack, introduction to *Arabian Nights Entertainment* (Oxford, 1995), xv.

87. See my discussion in Chapter 4 below.

88. Ḥayim Dov Friedberg, *Beyt Eked Sefarim* (1950–56; repr. Tel Aviv, 1970), 2:399 §79.

89. *Toyzent unt ayn tag* (n.p., c. 1720).

90. Zfatman and Friedberg speculate that the book appeared in Amsterdam. Zfatman presents the book as a translation of an anonymous compilation of sixteenth-century Persian tales from the German, and speculates that it was probably printed around 1720. See Friedberg, *Beyt Eked Sefarim*, 2:399 §78; Zfatman, BIB, 118 §102.

91. See, e.g., *Tausend und Ein Tag . . . Anfangs aus der Persianischen Sprache in die Frantzösische übersetzt von Hrn. Petis de la Croix* (Leipzig, 1712); Pétis de la Croix, *The Persian and Turkish Tales* (. . .) *Translated formerly from those Languages into French By M. Petis De La Croix*, trans. William King (London, 1739); *Persiaansche Lusthof ofte de duizent en een dag Persiaansche vertellingen uit het Fransche van den heer Pétis de la Croix in het Nederduitsch vertaalt* (Amsterdam, 1724). A contemporary Italian translation does not mention Pétis de la Croix by name, but does identify itself as a translation of a French translation of a Persian work. See Anon., *Novelle Persiane divise in mille, ed una giornata, tradotte in Francese, e Dal Francese nel volgare Italiano* (Venice, 1743).

92. Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, vol. 1: p. 1 of preface (n.p.). On the book, its sources, and its reception, see Paul Sebag's introduction to the modern edition, in François Pétis de la Croix, *Histoire du prince Calaf et de la princesse de la Chine*, 1710–1712, ed. Paul Sébag (Paris/Montréal, 1981).

93. See, e.g., Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours,* vol. 5 (Amsterdam, 1713), p. 1 of translator's warning (n.p.). See also the translator's warning appended to vol. 2 of the 1711 edition.

94. Paucker, TYV, 13, 32–33. For some exceptions, see the discussion in Paucker, TYV, 251–306; Bernuth, *Wise Men*, 95.

95. Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours* 5:[1].

96. Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, 1:4n.

97. Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jours*, vol. 1: p.1 of preface; *Tausend und Ein Tag*, pp. 1–2 of preface.

98. *Tausend und Ein Tag*, 3–4. "[Sie] vermeynte es sey ein Traum, welchen der grosse Kesaya . . . ihr zugeschickt, um ihr dadurch anzudeuten, daß alle Manns-Personen nichts als Verräther wären, welche die zarte Liebe der Weiber nur mit Untreue und Undanck zu belohnen pflegten." Cf. Pétis de la Croix, *Les mille et un jour*, 1:4.

99. *Toyzent unt ayn tag*, [2v]. Another oddity of the translation is the division of each tale into short story units, each of which constitutes one of the thousand and one days. This results in the appearance of 1001 story units in 380 pages. This division is absent in the German source, which simply dispenses with the division of the tales into days. The French source does divide the tales into days, but allows for much longer story units, amounting to a total of only 79 days throughout its two tomes.

100. *Tausend und Ein Tag*, 225, 256; *Toyzent unt ayn tag*, 56r, 63r

101. *Tausend und Ein Tag*, 241; *Toyzent unt ayn tag*, 59r.

102. *Tausend und Ein Tag*, 153; *Toyzent unt ayn tag*, 31r. Curiously, a churchyard (*Kirch-Hof*) does make its way into the Yiddish translation. Cf. *Tausend und Ein Tag*, 230; *Toyzent unt ayn tag*, 57r.

103. Susan Mokhberi, *The Persian Mirror: Reflections of the Safavid Empire in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 2019), 35.

104. *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim*, [6]; see also [11].

105. Cf. *Sefer derekh ets ha-ḥayim*, [5]; Johannes Curio, *De Conservanda bona valetudine* (Frankfurt am Main, 1557), 2r.

106. See Merks, "Vunderparlikh unt zeltsame historyen," 153r–153v. For a detailed comparison between the German source, the 1600 translation, and the 1736 translation, see Paucker, TYV, 237–46.

107. See, e.g., Botarel's use of the French word *gris* for gray or Avraham ben Eliyahu's use of the German word *broyn* (from "*Braun*") for brown.

108. Rehav Rubin, *Portraying the Land: Hebrew Maps of the Land of Israel from Rashi to the Early 20th Century* (Berlin, 2018), 119.

109. Theodor Dunkelgrün and Paweł Maciejko, introduction to *Bastards and Believers: Jewish Converts and Conversion from the Bible to the Present*, ed. Theodor Dunkelgrün and Paweł Maciejko (Philadelphia, 2020), 7. See also Elisheva Carlebach, *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany, 1500–1750* (New Haven, 2001), 24–29.

110. Carlebach, *Divided Souls*, 33–46.

111. For an overview of the debate, see Magda Teter and Edward Fram, "Apostasy, Fraud, and the Beginnings of Hebrew Printing in Cracow," *AJS Review* 30, no. 1 (2006): 37–40.

112. There has been some confusion as to the names of the brothers after their conversion; see Teter and Fram, "Apostasy, Fraud," 64.

113. Majer Balaban, "Zur Geschichte der hebräischen Druckerein in Polen," *Soncino Blätter: Beiträge zur Kunde des jüdischen Buches* 3 (Berlin, 1929–1930): 7–9.

114. Teter and Fram, "Apostasy, Fraud," 59–69.

115. See Avraham Me'ir Habermann, "Ha-madpisim bney Ḥayim Helicz," *Kiryat Sefer* (1958): 518; Teter and Fram, "Apostasy, Fraud," 62.

116. Moshe Meldonado, trans., *Yehudit* (Constantinople, 1552), first page of preface (n.p.).

117. Roth, *Memorabilia Europae*, pp. 1–2 of foreword (n.p.).

118. Elchanan Reiner, "Otsar ha-sfarim," *Et-mol* 200 (2008): 41.

119. Bass, *Masekhet derekh erets*, 2.

120. For a comparative reading of the two works, see Iris Idelson-Shein, "Shabbethai Meshorer Bass and the Construction (and Deconstruction) of a Jewish Library," *Jewish Culture and History* 22, no. 1 (2021): 1–16.

121. Zohar Shavit, "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe: The Beginning of Hebrew Children's Literature in Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 33 (1988): 388–415; Kogman, *Ha-maskilim be-mada'im*, esp. 72, 76, 86, 103–4, 114, 129.

122. Heida is mentioned in passing in Johann Jacob Schudt's *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, (Frankfurt/Leipzig, 1714), 2:289–90.

123. Eliyahu ben Moshe Gershon of Pinczow, *Melekhet maḥshevet* (Berlin, 1765), title page of part 1 (n.p.). While most bibliographies treat this as the first edition of the book, according to the preface, an earlier edition was published in Żółkiew. I have been unable to track down this earlier edition.

124. Moshe Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev* (Frankfurt, 1710). Publication year according to p. 17r (*der yetsiger yohrtsahl, 1710*).

125. Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev*, last page of preface (n.p.).

126. Georg Heinrich Paritius, *Compendium Praxis Arithmetices* (Regensburg, 1708). On Paritius, see Johann Gruber, "Georg Heinrich Paritius," in *Erzählen und Rechnen in der frühen Neuzeit: Interdisziplinäre Blicke auf Regensburger Rechenbücher*, ed. Edith Feistner and Alfred Holl (Münster, 2016), 295–317. Similarities between Paritius's compendium, Heida's book, and the later works of Moshe Eisenstadt and Eliyahu ben Moshe Gershon of Pinczow should also be noted. The latter acknowledges his use of both Eisenstadt and Heida, as well as of non-Jewish works. Whether the two later works were based on Paritius's book directly or on Heida's adaptation is a question that still requires research. For now, on Eliyahu's use of Paritius, see Goren, JEWTACT #291.

127. Georg Heinrich Paritius, *Praxis Arithmetices* (Regensburg, 1706).

128. Paritius, *Compendium*, dedication page (n.p.).

129. Paritius, *Compendium*, 1:2.

130. Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev*, 2r.

131. This is particularly discernible at the beginning of each of the chapters and sections of the two books. Cf. Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev*, 3r with Paritius, *Compendium*, 1:4; Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev*, 5v with Paritius, *Compendium*, 1:5; Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev*, 32v with Paritius, *Compendium*, 2:1.

132. Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev,* last page of preface (n.p.).

133. Heida, *Ma'ase ḥoresh u-ḥoshev,* p. 2 of preface.

134. Peter Burke, "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007), 31.

135. On simplification in Yiddish translation, see Bernuth, *Wise Men*, 96–97; Turniansky, "Yiddish and the Transmission of Knowledge," 11; Wallet, "Links in a Chain: Early Modern Yiddish Historiography in the Northern Netherlands, 1743–1812" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 203–8.

136. Melissantes, *Die curieuse Orographia*, 47–89, 699–707, *Seyder harey olem*, 3–5r, 21v–22r.

137. Ya'akov Zahalon, *Otsar ha-ḥayim* (Venice, 1683), [2].

138. Zahalon, *Otsar ha-ḥayim*, 75v.

139. Ḥayim Liebermann, "Tirgum Yidi bilty yadu'a shel sefer Elef layla va-laya," *Aley sefer* 4 (1977), 156. See also Zfatman, BIB, 116, §100.

140. Another German translation, titled *Arabische Liebes-Händel, und andere Seltzame Begebenheiten*, appeared around 1706 but has since been lost. However, the linguistic similarities between the Yiddish and extant German translation are such that we may safely assume that the translator used the 1710 translation or one of its later editions.

141. Cf., e.g., *Die Tausend und Eine Nacht*, 42 with *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, 47v (where *Kauffmann* becomes *soḥer*).

142. At the very beginning of the narrative, Melela proclaims her faith in God using the distinctively Jewish term "*ha-shem yitbaraḥ*" (*Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, 7v). On the other hand, her name (spelled מילילא) may be a heteropalindrom containing a pun on the Hebrew term for pagan gods—"אלילים."

143. *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, 36r.

144. *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, 9r–43r. In addition to the changes he makes to the frame narrative, the translator merges chapters that were distinct in the original, producing fewer and longer chapters than appeared in his source. Cf., e.g., *Die Tausend und Eine Nacht*, 45–46 with *Mar'ot ha-tsov'ot*, 47v, 51r.

145. For the original and the English translation (slightly modified here), see Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona*, 124 and n413.

146. On the different portrayals of Pelukan and for an extensive comparison between the Yiddish text and its Italian source, see Rosenzweig, *Bovo d'Antona*, 136–57.

147. For further details on these translations, see Steinschneider, DhU, §407–411 (pp. 643–47); Mintz-Manor, "Ha-siaḥ al ha-olam ha-ḥadash," 164–71.

148. Mordechai Feingold, "The Mathematical Sciences and New Philosophies," in *The History of the University of Oxford,* vol. 4: *Seventeenth-Century Oxford*, ed. Nicholas Tyacke (Oxford, 1997), 378; Ingrid D. Rowland, *Giordano Bruno: Philosopher/Heretic* (Chicago, 2008), 65–66.

149. Tuvia Ha-Kohen, *Maase Tuviah* (Venice, 1707/8), 59a. Compare: Johannes Sacrobosco, "Sphaera Mundi," in Lynn Thorndike, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949), 90.

150. For a comparison of the two texts, see Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind*, 149–50.

151. David Berger, *The Jewish-Christian Debate in the High Middle Ages: A Critical Edition of the Nizzahon Vetus* (Philadelphia, 1979), 224. For an example from the eighteenth century, see Yonatan Eibeschütz, *Ahavat Yonatan* (Hamburg, 1765), 59r.

152. See, e.g., Tiler J. Mazzeo, *Plagiarism and Literary Property in the Romantic Period* (Philadelphia, PA, 2007), 5–16; Julie C. Hayes, "Plagiarism and Legitimation in Eighteenth-Century France," *The Eighteenth Century* 34, no. 2 (1993): 115–31.

153. Miryam Salama-Carr, "The French Tradition," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, 411–13 (1998, rev. London/New York 2009/2011). On the complicated relationship between plagiarism and translation more generally, see Marilyn Randall, *Pragmatic Plagiarism. Authorship, Profit, and Power* (Toronto, 2016), 191–217.

154. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 46, 65.

155. Elżbieta Tabakowska, "Polish Tradition," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha (1998, rev. 2nd ed. London/New York, 2009/2011), 505. See also, in Mona Baker and Gabriela Saldanha, eds., *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*: Roger Ellis and Liz Oakley-Brown, "The British Tradition," 344–45; Anna Lilova, "The Bulgarian Tradition," 354–56; Zlata Kufnerová and Ewald Osers, "The Czech Tradition," 378; and Theo Hermans, "The Dutch Tradition," 396.

156. For a general overview, see Burke, "Cultures of Translation."

157. Iris Idelson-Shein, "Their Eyes Shall Behold Strange Things: Abraham Ben Elijah of Vilna Encounters the Spirit of Mr. Buffon," *AJS Review* 36, no. 2 (2012): 304–6. This supports Toury's argument that the same translator "may well be found to abide by different sets of norms and manifest different kinds of behaviour . . . in each role and/or context of operation" (Toury, DTS, 66).

158. Stefanie Stockhorst, introduction to *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation*, ed. Stefanie Stockhorst (Amsterdam, 2010), 13. See also Fania Oz-Salzberger, "Translation," in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. Alan Charles Kors, 4:181–88 (Oxford, 2002); Kenneth E. Carpenter, *Dialogue in Political Economy: Translations from and into German in the 18th Century* (Boston, 1977), 20–24.

159. Gottfried Hagen, "Translations and Translators in a Multilingual Society: A Case Study of Persian-Ottoman Translations, Late Fifteenth to Early Seventeenth Century," *Eurasian Studies* 2, no. 1 (2003): 106. See also B. Harun Küçük, "Early Modern Ottoman Science: A New Materialist Framework," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21, no. 5 (2017): 407–19; Johann Strauss, "What Was (Really) Translated in the Ottoman Empire? Sleuthing Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Translated Literature," in *Migrating Texts: Circulating Translations Around the Ottoman Mediterranean*, ed. Marilyn Booth (Edinburgh, 2019), 57–94.

160. Feza Günergun, "Ottoman Encounters with European Science: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Translations in Turkish," in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge, 2007); Gottfried Hagen, "Atlas and Papamonta as Sources of Knowledge and Power," in *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi'nin Yazılı Kaynakları*, ed. Hakan Karateke and Hatice Aynur (Ankara, 2012), 105–29; Gottfried Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit: Entstehung und Gedankenwelt von Kātib Čelebis Ǧihānnümā* (Berlin, 2003), 190–215; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Some Remarks on Ottoman Science and Its Relation with European Science and Technology up to the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *Science, Technology and Learning in the Ottoman Empire: Western Influence, Local Institutions, and the Transfer of Knowledge* (Hampshire, VT, 2004), 45–73; Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Science among the Ottomans: The Cultural Creation and Exchange of Knowledge* (Austin, TX, 2015), 108–10; Küçük, "Early Modern Ottoman Science," 1–13.

161. Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of 'Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden, 1990).

162. See Natalia Bachour, *Oswaldus Crollius und Daniel Sennert im frühneuzeitlichen Istanbul: Studien zur Rezeption des Paracelsismus im Werk des osmanischen Arztes Ṣāliḥ b. Naṣrullāh Ibn Sallūm al-Ḥalabī* (Freiburg, 2012).

163. Hagen, *Ein osmanischer Geograph bei der Arbeit*, 191.

164. Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago, 2011), esp. 41–65; Ricci, "On the Untranslatability of "Translation": Considerations from Java, Indonesia," *Translation Studies* 3, no. 3 (2010): 287–301.

165. Ricci, *Islam Translated*, 64.

166. Ricci, *Islam Translated*, 271.

167. Carpenter, *Dialogue in Political Economy*, 8, 20–24; Paucker, TYV, 168–69, 187.

168. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 81.

169. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 20.

170. Yaakov Deutsch, *Judaism in Christian Eyes: Ethnographic Descriptions of Jews and Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2012), 114–15; Stephen Burnett, *From Christian*

Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century (Leiden, 1996), 78–79; Theodor Dunkelgrün, "The Christian Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, vol. 7: *The Early Modern World, 1500–1815*, ed. Jonathan Karp and Adam Sutcliffe (Cambridge, 2017), 316–48. For an example, see Faierstein's discussion of the Latin and German translations of Yagel's *Lekaḥ tov*: Faierstein, "Abraham Jagel's 'Leqaḥ Ṭov,'" 329–36. Faierstein notes that he was unable to consult the introduction to the 1740 German translation, produced by the convert Johannes Zacharias. A digital copy containing the introduction is now available and supports his general characterization. See ספר לקח טוב, oder *Ein Buch der Guten Lehre* (Bremen, 1740), [11–13], http://rosetta.nli.org.il/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE119817 (accessed March, 2019).

171. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, 20. Aya Elyada, "Zwischen Austausch und Polemik: Christliche Übersetzungen jiddischer Literatur im Deutschland der Frühneuzeit," *ZRGG* 69, no. 1 (2017): 48–49, 69–72.

172. Stanley Diamond, *In Search of the Primitive: A Critique of Civilization* (1974; repr. New York, 2018), 81.

CHAPTER 4

1. Glenda Abramson, "Modern Hebrew Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, ed. Martin Goodman, Jeremy Cohen, and David Sorkin (Oxford, 2002), 516.

2. See, e.g., Joseph Klausner, *Historiyah shel ha-sifrut ha-ivrit ha-ḥadashah* (1930; repr. Jerusalem, 1960), 1:1; Moshe Pelli, "When Did Haskalah Begin? Establishing the Beginning of Haskalah and the Definition of 'Modernism,'" *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 44 (1999): 55–96; Ya'akov Shavit, "A Duty Too Heavy to Bear: Hebrew in the Berlin Haskalah, 1783–1819: Between Classic, Modern, and Romantic," in *Hebrew in Ashkenaz*, ed. Lewis Glinert (New York, 1993), 111–28.

3. See, e.g., Hayim Bar Dayan, "Li-she'elat reshitah shel sifruteynu ha-ḥadashah," *Proceedings of the First World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1952): 302–6. See also the discussion of the so-called Italian Haskalah below.

4. See Shlomo Berger, "Yiddish on the Borderline of Modernity: Language and Literature in Early Modern Ashkenazi Culture," in "Early Modern Culture and Haskalah," ed. David Ruderman and Shmuel Feiner, Special edition, *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 6 (2007), 113–22. See also note 20 below.

5. Ofer Dynes and Naomi Seidman, "The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Literature," *Prooftexts* 38, no. 2 (2020): 201. See also Amir Banbaji, "Melitsah, Rhetoric, and Modern Hebrew Literature: A Study of Haskalah Literary Theory," *Prooftexts* 38, no. 2 (2020): 238–77.

6. Dynes and Seidman, "The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Literature," 203.

7. Gideon Toury, "Reshit ha-tirgum ha-moderny le-'ivrit: od mabat eḥad," *Dapim lemeḥkar be-sifrut* 11 (1997): 108. See also Ḥayim Shoham, *Be-tsel haskalat Berlin* (Tel Aviv, 1996), 32.

8. Even in their own—highly nuanced—assessment, Dynes and Seidman, following Ken Frieden (whose approach I discuss below), argue that "Hebrew translators forged a flexible and worldly idiom in which a modern literature could be produced . . . through the guiding and liberating constraints of translation and adaptation. Dynes and Seidman, "The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Literature," 204.

9. Zohar Shavit, "Cultural Translation and the Recruitment of Translated Texts to Induce Social Change: The Case of the Haskalah," in *Children's Literature in Translation: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Jan Van Coillie and Jack McMartin (Leuven, 2020), 74.

10. Magdalena Waligórska and Tara Kohn, introduction to *Jewish Translation—Translating Jewishness* (Berlin, 2018), 3.

11. Gabriel Zoran, "Past and Present in Hebrew Literary Translation," *Harvard Library Bulletin* 36, no. 4 (1988): 334n.

12. Ya'akov Shavit, "A Duty Too Heavy to Bear," 119; Ken Frieden, *Travels in Translation: Sea Tales at the Source of Jewish Fiction* (Syracuse, NY, 2016), 6.

13. Ewa Geller, "Yiddish 'Regimen sanitatis Salenitanum' from Early Modern Poland: A Humanistic Symbiosis of Latin Medicine and Jewish Thought," in *Jewish Medicine and Healthcare in Central Eastern Europe*, ed. Marcin Moskalewicz (Oxford, 2019), 15.

14. Rehav Rubin, "Chug ha-'areṣ by Rabbi Solomon of Chelm: An Early Geographical Treatise and Its Sources," *Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism* 8 (2008): 136; see also 147. For a different view of Shlomo of Chelm, but one that still embraces the notion of "forerunners of the Haskalah," see Immanuel Etkes, "Li-she'elat mevasrey ha-haskalah be-mizraḥ eyropa," *Tarbiz* 58 (1988): 95–114.

15. Chava Turniansky, "Le-toldot ha-taytsh-khumash'—'khumash mit khibur,'" in *Iyunim be-sifrut: devarim she-ne'emru ba-erev likhvod Dov Sadan bi-mlot lo shmonim ve-ḥamesh shanah* (Jerusalem, 1988), 26.

16. Shmuel Feiner, *The Jewish Enlightenment* (Philadelphia, 2002), 28. See also Maoz Kahana, *Tarnegolet beli lev: Dat u-mada ba-khtiva ha-rabanit ba-me'ah ha-shmoneh esreh* (Jerusalem, 2021), 285–86.

17. For critiques of this binary, in addition to the studies by Ruderman, Bonfil, Stern, and Kahana noted in Chapter 1 above, see Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters* (Cambridge, MA, 2003); Jonathan Sheehan, *The Enlightenment Bible: Translation, Scholarship, Culture* (Princeton, 2005); David J. Sorkin, *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton, 2008); William G. Bulman and Robert J. Ingram, eds., *God in the Enlightenment* (New York, 2016); Anton M. Matystin and Dan Edelstein, eds., *Let There Be Enlightenment: The Religious and Mystical Sources of Rationality* (Baltimore, 2018); Rebekka Voß, "A Jewish-Pietist Network: Dialogues between Protestant Missionaries and Yiddish Writers in Eighteenth-Century Germany," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 112, no. 4 (2022): 731–63.

18. Abigail Gillman, *A History of German Jewish Bible Translation* (Chicago, 2018), xvi.

19. Gillman, *A History of German Jewish Bible Translation*, 85. See also Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, ed. and trans. Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford, 2005), 123–24.

20. Berger, "Yiddish on the Borderline of Modernity," 113–22; Max Weinreich, *Bilder Fun Der Yidisher Literaturgeshikhte* (Vilna, 1928), 276–77. See also Dynes and Seidman, "The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Literature," 202.

21. Isaac E. Barzilay, "The Italian and Berlin Haskalah (Parallels and Differences)," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 29 (1960–1961), 17–54.

22. Barzilay, "The Italian and Berlin Haskalah," 18. Of course, we are confronted here with an essential ambiguity that lies at the heart of this debate, which has to do with the absence of an agreed-upon meaning for the terms *Haskalah* and *Enlightenment* and therefore also for the differences between them. For a classic and still highly useful presentation of the problems inherent in the definition of the Enlightenment, see Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment* (Cambridge, 1995), 1–13.

23. Adam Shear, "'The Italian and Berlin Haskalah'—Isaac Barzilay Revisited," in "Early Modern Culture and Haskalah," ed. David Ruderman and Shmuel Feiner, *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 6 (2007): 49–66.

24. Olga Litvak, *Haskalah: The Romantic Movement in Judaism* (New Brunswick, NJ, 2012).

25. David B. Ruderman, "Why Periodization Matters: In Early Modern Jewish Culture and the Haskalah," in "Early Modern Culture and Haskalah," ed. David Ruderman and Shmuel Feiner, Special edition, *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 6 (2007): 25–26. For a different view, see, in the same volume, Shmuel Feiner, "On the Threshold of the 'New World': Haskalah and Secularization in the Eighteenth Century," in "Early Modern Culture and Haskalah," ed. David Ruderman and Shmuel Feiner, *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 6 (2007), esp. 40–42.

26. David B. Ruderman, *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe* (New Haven, 1995), 340.

27. See Meir Benayahu, "Ha-pulmus al Sefer me'or eynayim le-rabi Azariah min ha-adumim," *Asufot* 5 (1990): 213–19.

28. Benayahu, "Ha-pulmus al Sefer me'or eynayim," 219. There may have been some controversy surrounding Barukh Schick of Shklov's *Kne ha-midah*, a translation of an unknown English work, which appeared in two editions. Some copies of the first edition, published in 1783, featured an approbation from Yeḥezkel Landau (Noda bi-Yehudah), while others did not. In the latter copies, Schick explained that he had decided not to include approbations. Judging by the arrangement of Schick's apologetic preface, it seems that the original copies appeared with the approbation, which was then replaced with the preface. This would suggest that Landau had rescinded his approbation. The later edition of the book featured approbations from a number of rabbis but, conspicuously, not from Landau. See Barukh Schick, *Kneh ha-midah* (Prague, 1784). Copies that include the approbation are housed at the Mehlmann Library, Tel Aviv University, and the National Library of Israel. A copy that does not include the approbation but features the preface instead, was housed at the (now defunct) Yad ha-Rav Herzog library. A digital edition of the latter copy is available in the Otzar HaHochma Digital Library: https://tablet.otzar.org/he/book/book.php?book=100601&width=0&scroll=0&udid=0&pagenum=1 (accessed August, 2021).

29. Robert Bonfil, "Some Reflections on the Place of Azariah de Rossi's *Meor Enayim* in the Cultural Milieu of Italian Renaissance Jewry," in *Jewish Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. Bernard Dov Cooperman (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 23–48.

30. Roy Pascal, *German Literature in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1968), 53.

31. Naomi Seidman, *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation* (Chicago, 2006), 137.

32. Zalman Tsvi mi-Oyfn Hoyzn, *Yudisher teriyak* (1615; repr. Altdorf, 1680), 8v–9r. On *Yudisher theriak*, see Faierstein's introduction to Zalman Tsvi mi-Oyfn Hoyzn, *Yudisher Theriak: An Early Modern Defense of Judaism*, ed. and trans. Morris M. Faierstein (Detroit, MI, 2016), 1–29.

33. English translation (with minor changes) according to Zalman Tsvi mi-Oyfn Hoyzn, *Yudisher Theriak*, 49. For original Yiddish, see Zalmen Tsvi mi-Oyfn Hoyzn, *Yudisher teriyak*, 10r.

34. Chava Turniansky, "On Old Yiddish Biblical Epics," *International Folklore Review* 8 (1991): 32.

35. In addition to the works discussed in chapters 2 and 3 above, see Zfatman, DISS, 232–48.

36. Else Ribeiro Pires Vieira, "A Postmodern Translational Aesthetics in Brazil," in *Translation Studies: An Interdiscipline,* ed. Mary Snell-Hornby, Franz Pöchhacker, and Klaus Kaindl (Amsterdam, 1994), 67.

37. For some examples of translations that appeared in *Ha-me'asef* and *Bikurey ha-'itim*, and references for further reading, see Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #34, 100, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264, 267, 268, 269, 321, 357, 452, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 495, 496, 504, 564; Cohen, JEWTACT #517, 520, 527–530, 534, 535, 537–540, 543, 546, 547, 554, 555, 565, 569, 570; Karkason, JEWTACT #333, 335. On the prevalence of translations in *Ha-me'asef*, see Shoham, *Be-tsel haskalat Berlin*, 30–41.

38. On the importance of journals and periodicals in the eighteenth century, see, most famously, Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (1962; trans. Thomas Burger, Cambridge, MA, 1989), esp. 24–25, 72–73. On the increase in translational activity, see Armin Paul Frank, "Translation and Historical Change in Post-Renaissance Europe: From 'Supranational' to National Cultures," in *Übersetzung—Translation—Traduction*, vol. 26: *Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft*, ed. Haralld Kittel et al. (Berlin, 2007), 2:1460–517; Daniel O. Dahlstrom, "The New Philosophies in Translation in the 18th and 19th Centuries," in Kittel et al., *Übersetzung—Translation—Traduction*, 2:1609–14.

39. On these developments in Germany in particular, see the classic work of Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesegeschichte in Deutschland 1500–1800* (Stuttgart, 1974). More recently, see Helga Brandes, "The Literary Marketplace and the Journal, Medium of the Enlightenment," in *German Literature of the Eighteenth Century: The Enlightenment and Sensibility*, ed. Barbara Becker-Cantarino and James N. Hardin (Rochester, NY, 2005), 79–102. For a helpful overview of these developments more generally, and the scholarly debates surrounding them, see Outram, *The Enlightenment*, 13–19.

40. See, e.g., Mordecai Gumpel Schnaber Levison, *Ma'amar ha-torah ve-ha-ḥokhmah* (London, 1771), 18, 25, 28, 32, 42, 56, 60, 65. On Levison's reliance on Newton and Musschenbroek, see Shimon Bolag, "Mivḥar mekorot mad'ayim be-ḥiburim ivriyim min ha-me'ah ha-17 ve-ha-18," *Korot* 9, no. 5–6 (1989): 141–45.

41. Levison, *Ma'amar ha-torah ve-ha-ḥokhmah*, 1r.

42. Mordecai Gumpel Schnaber Levison, *Shlosh esreh yesodey ha-torah* (Hamburg, 1792), 2v.

43. Maimonides, *The Eight Chapters of Maimonides on Ethics*, trans. Joseph Isaac Gorfinkle (New York, 1912), 36.

44. See Helmut Knufmann, "Das deutsche Übersetzungswesen des 18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel von Übersetzer- und Herausgebervorreden," *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*—Frankfurter Ausgabe 91 (1967), 2676–716; Wilhelm Graeber, "Blüte und Niedergang der *belles infidèles*," in Kittel et al., *Übersetzung—Translation—Traduction*, 2:1460–519.

45. See Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #259, 452, 489, 492, 493, 504, 505, 552.

46. See Isaac Satanov, *Sefer ha-ḥizayon* (Berlin, c. 1775), 25v–27r; David Friedländer, "Eyn simḥa la-nefesh ke-simḥat asot ḥesed," *Ha-me'asef* (November, 1783): 20–24. A third reprint appeared in 1821 in *Bikurei ha-itim* 1. See also Moshe Pelli, "Le-verur she'elot bibliyografiyot bi-yetsirato shel Iẓḥak Satanov," *Kiryat Sefer* (1974): 437.

47. The change is slightly less discernible in Yiddish, as the overall number of Yiddish translations decreased in the second half of the eighteenth century. Still, Yiddish, and

particularly Jüdisch-Deutsch, translations do seem to have become more upfront about their sources towards the beginning of the nineteenth century. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #120, 256, 324, 409; Jánošíková, JEWTACT #469.

48. For details, see Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT database, #317, 318, 319.

49. Yehudah Leib Ben Ze'ev, *Bet ha-sefer*, part 2: "Limudey ha-meysharim," (1802; 2nd ed., Vienna, 1806), [7].

50. Ben Ze'ev, *Bet ha-sefer*, part 2 (3rd edition, Vienna, 1809), 308.

51. Juda Jeitteles, *Bney ha-ne'urim* (Prague, 1821), 136.

52. Anthony Pym, *On Translator Ethics: Principles for Mediation Between Cultures*, 1997, trans. and rev. Heike Walker (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2012), 18.

53. *Robinzohn: Di geshikhte fun Alter Leb* (c. early 19th century, repr. Vilnius, 1894). For a discussion of the Judaization techniques employed in this translation, see David Roskies, "The Medium and Message of the Maskilic Chapbook," *Jewish Social Studies* 41, no. 3/4 (1979): 283; Leah Garrett, "The Jewish Robinson Crusoe," *Comparative Literature* 54 (2002): 215–28.

54. Compare, e.g., David Zamość, *Tokhaḥot musar* (Wrocław, 1819), 172–716; Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen* (1777; repr. Munich, 1786), 73–77. See also the omission of the names of Greek gods in Zamość's Hebrew translation of Herder's "Das Kind der Sorge": David Zamość, *Agudat shoshanim* (Wrocław, 1826), 44; Johann Gottfried von Herder, "Das Kind der Sorge" (1789), repr. in *Gedichte*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, 1817), 7. A similar strategy was adopted by a later Hebrew translator of the same poem. See Cohen, JEWTACT #543.

55. Toury, DTS, 163.

56. Garrett, "The Jewish Robinson Crusoe," 216. See also Roskies, "The Medium and Message," 275–90.

57. Garrett, "The Jewish Robinson Crusoe," 219.

58. Shavit, "Cultural Translation," 85. See also Zohar Shavit, "Ruso bi-glimat ha-Rambam: Perek be-hakhnasat kitvey ha-ne'orut le-aron ha-sfarim ha-yehudi ha-ḥadash be-tkufat ha-haskalah," *Zion* 79, no. 2 (2014): 136, 143, 146. See also Shoham, *Be-tsel haskalat Berlin*, 49–64. For a different and more nuanced view, see Seidman's discussion of previous attempts to present the layout of Mendelssohn's Bible as a deceptive strategy. Seidman instead views the translation as reflecting the essential ambiguities of the Enlightenment ideal of "toleration." See Seidman, *Faithful Renderings*, 171–79.

59. For a discussion of the phenomenon of rabbinic approbations in maskilic works and the complex reception of these approbations, see David Assaf, *Untold Tales of the Hasidim: Crisis and Discontent in the History of Hasidism*, trans. Dena Ordan (Hanover, 2010), 21–27; Yehoshua Mondshein, "Haskamot shtukot mi-Valozhyn u-Vilna: Kabel et ha-'emet mi-mi she'amrah?" *Or Israel* 4, no. 16 (1999): 151–59; Tal Kogman, "Science and the Rabbis: Haskamot, Haskalah, and the Boundaries of Jewish Knowledge in Scientific Hebrew Literature and Textbooks," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 62 (2017): 135–49.

60. Moshe ben Ya'akov, "Sefer refu'ot bi-leshon Ashkenaz" [title by a later hand], Bodleian Library, Oppenheim Collection, Ms Opp. 690, fol. 409r.

61. For a discussion, see Magdaléna Jánošíková and Iris Idelson-Shein. "New Science in Old Yiddish: Jewish Vernacular Science and Translation in Early Modern Europe," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 113, no. 3 (2023).

62. Pierre Gautruche, *Philosophiae ac mathematica, totius clara, brevis, et accurata institutio* (1653; repr. Vienna, 1661), 89–90.

63. Meir ben Yehudah Leib Neumark, "Tekhunat ha-havaya" [Prague?], 1703, MS Bodl. Opp. 708, 3v. For another example of the domestication of a source translated for private use, see Jordan R. Katz, "Jewish Midwives, Medicine and the Boundaries of Knowledge in Early Modern Europe, 1650–1800" (PhD diss. Columbia University, 2021), 169.

64. The first edition of the book is lost. However, all remaining editions present themselves as translations. See, e.g., *Robinzohn di geshikhte fun Alter-Leb* (Vilna, 1894); *Robinzohn di geshikhte fun Alter-Leb* (Krakow, 1989); *Robinzohn di geshikhte fun Alter-Leb* (Krakow, 1907).

65. See Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #258, 260, 261, 268; Moshe Pelli, *Sha'ar la-haskalah: Mafteaḥ mu'ar le-Ha-measef* (Jerusalem, 2000), 171, 123; Shavit, "Ruso bi-glimat ha-Rambam," 141, 150, 153–54.

66. Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 1995), 18.

67. On the terms used to designate translation, see the Introduction.

68. Zohar Shavit, "Literary Interference between German and Jewish-Hebrew Children's Literature during the Enlightenment: The Case of Campe," *Poetics Today* 13, no. 1 (1992): 50–51.

69. On the maskilim's tendency to omit such narrative models, which were a hallmark of philanthropinist prose, see Zohar Shavit, "Ha-rihut shel ḥadar ha-haskalah ha-yehudit be-Berlin: Nituaḥ ha-mikra'ah ha-modernit ha-rishonah le-yeladim yehudim," in *Keminhag Ashkenaz u-Polin: Sefer yovel le-Chone Shmeruk*, ed. Israel Bartal, Ezra Mendelsohn, and Chava Turniansky (Jerusalem, 1993), 194–207; Shavit, "Literary Interference," 51–57; Zohar Shavit, "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe: The Beginning of Hebrew Children's Literature in Germany," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 33 (1988): 385–415; Tal Kogman, *Ha-maskilim be-mad'aim: ḥinuḥ yehudi le-mada'im ba-merḥav dover ha-germanit ba-et ha-ḥadashah* (Jerusalem, 2013), esp. 72, 76, 86, 103–4, 114, 129. Some notable exceptions include the corpus of works by Barukh Shoenfeld and David Zamość, especially the latter's translation of Campe's *Robinsohn*, which maintained the dialogic form of the original, aimed at enticing readers. David Zamość, *Robinzon der yinegere: ayn lezebukh fir kinder* (Wrocław, 1824); Barukh Shoenfeld, *Musar haskel* (1811; repr. Berlin, 1859). Another rare Jewish translation that retains the dialogic form of the original intact is the anonymous 1784 German-in-Hebrew-characters adaptation; however, this version omits many of the other didacticisms of Campe's version. See Anon., *Historiya oder zeltzame und vunderbare begebenhayten aynes yungen zee fahrers* (Prague, 1784).

70. On the image of the obstinate Jew in the Enlightenment, see Ronald Schechter, *Obstinate Hebrews: Representations of Jews in France, 1715–1815* (Berkeley, 2003). For more on the child-Jew analogy and its connection to the colonialist themes of Campe's translations, see Iris Idelson-Shein, "No Place Like Home: The Uses of Travel in Early Maskilic Translations," in *Jews and Journeys: Travel and the Performance of Jewish Identity,* ed. Joshua Levinson and Orit Bashkin (Philadelphia, 2021), 140–43.

71. Abram Efros, "Lampa Aladdina," 1918, trans. Ludmila Lezhneva and Alan Myers, in *The Posen Library of Jewish Culture and Civilization,*vol. 8: *Crisis and Creativity Between World Wars, 1918–1939*, ed. Todd Endelman, Zvi Gitelman, and Deborah Dash Moore (New Haven, 2020), 4.

72. For discussions of these travel tales, see, e.g., Zalman Reyzn, "Campes 'Entdekung fon Amerike' in Yiddish," *Yivo bleter* 5 (1933): 36; Roskies, "The Medium and Message," 283; Shavit, "Literary Interference," 385–415; Iris Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind: Jewish Constructions of Race During the Long Eighteenth Century* (Philadelphia, 2014), 161–78; Idelson-Shein, "No Place Like Home," 129–44; Garrett, "The Jewish Robinson Crusoe,"

215–28; Rebecca Wolpe, "Judaizing Robinson Crusoe: Maskilic Translations of Robinson Crusoe," *Jewish Culture and History* 13, no. 1 (2012): 42–67; Ken Frieden, *Travels in Translation*.

73. Frieden, *Travels in Translation,* 5, 7.

74. Frieden, *Travels in Translation,* 254.

75. For an overview of the different medieval versions, and of the rich scholarship surrounding this literature, see Eli Yassif, "Ha-masorot ha-'ivriyot al Aleksander Mokdon: Tavniut sipuriot u-mashma'utan ba-tarbut ha-yehudit shel yemey ha-beynayim," *Tarbiz* 75, no. 3/4 (2006): 359–407.

76. For a discussion and analysis of the wondrous elements appearing in the Hebrew versions of the Alexander Romance, see Dudu Rotman, *Drakonim, shedim u-meḥozot ksumim: 'Al ha-mufl'a ba-sipur ha-'ivri bi-yemey-ha-beynayim* (Be'er Sheva, 2016), 235–93. On other early travel narratives and Jewish interest in faraway spaces, see Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World* (Philadelphia, 2014); Limor Mintz Manor, "Ha-siaḥ al ha-olam ha-ḥadash ba-tarbut ha-yehudit ba-et ha-ḥadashah ha-mukdemet" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 2011); Ossnat Sharon-Pinto, "Ha-pil, ha-livyatan, u-Ninveh ha-ir ha-gdolah: 'Sivuv r' Petahiya me-Regensburg' ve-'Midrash Yonah' ve-hadpasatam yaḥdav," *Meḥkarey Yershalayim be-folklor yehudy* 30 (2016): 37–73.

77. Mattatyahu ben Shlomo Delacrut, *Tsel ha-olam* (c. 16th century; printed Amsterdam, 1733); An earlier printed version of Delacrut's book appeared in Yiddish under the title *Yedi'at olam* (n.p., 1719).

78. Iris Idelson-Shein, "Meditations on a Monkey-Face: Monsters, Transgressed Boundaries, and Contested Hierarchies in a Yiddish Eulenspiegel," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 108, no. 1 (2018): 28–59.

79. *Historie oder moralishe ertselung [fun] riter Gabein* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1789). See also Achim Jaeger, *Ein jüdischer Artusritter: Studien zum jüdisch-deutschen 'Widuwilt' ('Artushof') und zum 'Wigalois' der Wirnt von Gravenberc* (Tübingen, 2000), 337–50. This translation and its printing press is the focus of research in progress by Ossnat Sharon-Pinto.

80. Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #6, 144, 145, 146, 367. Erika Timm explains "the high proportion of orient-related [Yiddish] texts" in that "for many Jewish readers even the most unrealistic orient was still *mizraḥ*, and in their minds was near to Jerusalem." This seems highly speculative and, given the prevalence of geographical literature in Yiddish, unlikely. See Erika Timm and Hermann Süss, *Yiddish Literature in the Franconian Genizah* (Jerusalem, 1988), 47.

81. See on these issues Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind*.

82. See the discussion in Nancy Sinkoff, "Tradition and Transition: Mendel Lefin of Satanow and the Beginnings of the Jewish Enlightenment in Eastern Europe" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1996), viii–ix.

83. Tissot's book was also translated into Yiddish four years earlier by Moses Markuse. For an interesting comparison between the two works, see Chone Shmeruk, "Moshe Markuze fun Slonim un der makor fun zayn bukh 'Ezer Yisro'el,'" in *Sefer Dov Sadan: Kovets meḥkarim mugashim bimlot lo 75 shana,* ed. Shmuel Werses (Tel Aviv, 1977), 361–82. Another translation that has been attributed to Lefin (albeit, not unproblematically) is that of Campe's description of Willem Ysbrandsz Bontekoe's East Indian travel narrative. See *Oniya so'ara* (Zolkiew, c. 1815). But see also Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 183–99.

84. Joachim Heinrich Campe, "Jacob Heemskerks und Wilhelm Barenz nördliche Entdeckungsreise und merkwürdige Schicksale," in *Sammlung interessanter und durchgängig*

zweckmäßig abgefaßter Reisebeschreibungen für die Jugend (Hamburg, 1785); Joachim Heinrich Campe, "Kapitän Wilson's Schiffsbruch bei den Pelju-Inseln," *Sammlung interessanter und durchgängig zweckmäßig abgefaßter Reisebechreibungen für die Jugend*, vol. 9 (Braunschweig, 1791).

85. Nancy Sinkoff, "Strategy and Ruse in the Haskalah of Mendel Lefin of Satanov," in *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*, ed. Shmuel Feiner and David Sorkin (London, 2001), 93–94, 97.

86. Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 180. See also Klausner, *Historiya shel ha-sifrut ha-ivrit*, 227–30, 235–37.

87. Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 203.

88. For a discussion of Lefin's omissions from Campe's description of Wilson's journey, see Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 223–29.

89. See Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind*, 120–21, 128.

90. A lengthy discussion of the whale, for instance, is entirely omitted from Lefin's translation. Cf. Mendel Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam* (Zolkiew, 1818), 45r; Campe, "Heemskerks und Barenz," 16–20. Another lengthy discussion that is entirely expunged is the anthropological survey of the peoples of the north, to which Campe dedicated several pages, including illustrations. Cf. Campe, "Heemskerks und Barenz," 81–103; Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 53r–v.

91. Frieden does analyze Lefin's treatment of the North Pole expedition, but focuses primarily on issues of language and style, arguing that "the content of the story . . . is less important than Lefin's original Hebrew style." Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 230.

92. Sinkoff, "Strategy and Ruse," 91.

93. Translation cited from Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 247–48. For a reproduction of the Hebrew text, see Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 244–46. This draft introduction is extant in manuscript in the Yosef Perl Archive, at the National Library in Jerusalem, ARC 4°1153/124. For unknown reasons, it was never published by Lefin.

94. Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 217.

95. Cf. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 48v; Campe, "Heemskerks und Barenz," 48.

96. Idelson-Shein, *Difference of a Different Kind*, 161–70.

97. Moshe Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, *Metsi'at ha-'arets ha-ḥadashah kolel kol ha-gevurot ve-ha-ma'asim asher na'asu le-et metso ha-'arets ha-zot* (Altona, 1807), 21; for further examples, see 15–17, 20, 21–22, 25–26.

98. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, *Metsi'at ha-'arets*, 23.

99. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, *Metsi'at ha-'arets*, 123–24.

100. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, *Metsi'at ha-'arets*, 50.

101. Mendelssohn-Frankfurt, *Metsi'at ha-'arets*, 71. On the relationship between the maskilic emphasis on domesticity and the choice to translate children's travel tales in particular, see Idelson-Shein, "No Place Like Home," 137–38.

102. Campe, "Heemskerks und Barenz," 108.

103. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 55v.

104. Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, 223.

105. Frieden, *Travels in Translation*., 206.

106. Campe, "Kapitän Wilson," 16.

107. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 20r.

108. Sinkoff, "Strategy and Ruse," 93.

109. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 31r. See also the depiction of the Palauan king on p. 29r: "Whenever the king visited the British, he would look closely at the fruits of their industry,

in order to learn and explain to his people whatever he could from the arts and deeds of the Europeans."

110. See Idelson-Shein, "No Place Like Home," 136–37.

111. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 37r–39r.

112. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 38v; Campe, "Kapitän Wilson," 303.

113. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 39r; Campe, "Kapitän Wilson," 306.

114. Lefin, *Mas'ot ha-yam*, 40r; Campe, "Kapitän Wilson," 312.

115. On Lefin's disenchantment with the Berlin Haskalah, see Sinkoff, "Tradition and Transition," 29–34.

116. Translation from: Sinkoff, *Tradition and Transition*, 32–33. For the original in Jüdisch-Deutsch, see Menaḥem Mendel Lefin, Letter on the languages of the Jews, in Perl Archive, N.D. MS NLI ARC 4° 1153/134, fol. 4v–5r.

117. Antoine Lilti, *L'héritage des Lumières: Ambivalences de la modernité* (Paris, 2019), 29.

118. Antoine Lilti, "In the Shadow of the Public: Enlightenment and the Pitfalls of Modernity," *International Journal for History, Culture and Modernity* 8, no. 3–4 (2020): 256–77.

CONCLUSION

1. Michael Emmerich, "Beyond, Between: Translation, Ghosts, Metaphors," in *In Translation: Translators on Their Work and What It Means*, ed. Esther Allen and Susan Bernofksy (New York, 2013), 49.

2. Sherry Simon, "Space," in *The Routledge Handbook of Translation and Culture*, ed. Sue-Ann Harding and Ovidi Carbonell Cortés (New York, 2019), 97.

3. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London, 1995), 18.

4. See, e.g., Mayer, JEWTACT #79; Plewa, JEWTACT # 518, 519, 533, 534, 548, 556, 559, 562.

5. Aya Elyada, *A Goy Who Speaks Yiddish: Christians and the Jewish Language in Early Modern Germany* (Stanford, 2012), 34–38. The role of translation in the Christian mission in the early modern period has been studied extensively. In addition to the works of Elyada and Vicente Rafael cited above, see, e.g., Peter Burke, "The Jesuits and the Art of Translation in Early Modern Europe," in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, and T. Frank Kennedy (Toronto, 2019), and the essays collected in Antje Flüchter and Rouven Wirbser, *Translating Catechisms, Translating Cultures: The Expansion of Catholicism in the Early Modern World* (Leiden, 2017).

6. The best-known studies are Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (New York, 2003), and Barbara Cassin, ed., *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies: Le dictionnaire des intraduisibles* (Paris, 2014).

7. See David Damrosch, "Review of *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*," *Comparative Literature Studies* 51, no. 3 (2014): 504–8; Lawrence Venuti, *Contra Instrumentalism: A Translation Polemic* (Lincoln, NE, 2019), esp. 53–65.

8. Maria Tymoczko, "The Space and Time of Activist Translation," in *Translation, Resistance, Activism*, ed. Maria Tymoczko (Amherst, 2010), 247.

9. Tymoczko, "The Space and Time," 248.

10. Tymoczko, "The Space and Time," 248.

11. Oswald de Andrade, "Cannibalist Manifesto" [1922], *Latin American Literary Review* 19, no. 38 (1991): 38–47. On de Campos, see Else Vieira, "Liberating Calibans: Readings of *Antropofagia* and Haroldo de Campos's Poetics of Transcreation," in *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London, 1999), 95–113. See also the introduction to the same volume: Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi, "Of Colonies, Cannibals and Vernaculars," in *Postcolonial Translation: Theory and Practice*, ed. Susan Bassnett and Harish Trivedi (London, 1999), 1–18.

12. Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 224.

APPENDIX

1. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #129.

2. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #370, 376; Sharon-Pinto, JEWTACT #553.

3. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #357, 378, 490.

4. See Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT, #176–218. On the Wallich manuscript and the translations included therein, see Felix Rosenberg, "Ueber eine Sammlung deutscher Volk- und Gesellschaftslieder in hebräischen Lettern," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, part 1 (1888), no. 3: 232–296; part 2 (1889), no. 1: 14–28. A critical edition and analysis appears in Diana Matut, *Dichtung und Musik im frühneuzeitlichen Aschkenas* (Leiden, 2011).

5. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #72–74, 317–19, 356–64, 513–15.

6. See, e.g., Goren, JEWTACT #240–44, 412–416, 475–77.

7. See, e.g., Jánošíková, JEWTACT #273–80; Mayer, JEWTACT #427, 453–63.

8. See, e.g., Idelson-Shein, JEWTACT #11–12; Jánošíková, JEWTACT #478–79; Goren, JEWTACT #237–38.

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Index

Acknowledgments

It is not often that an historian, especially a cultural historian, makes a discovery that significantly transforms their view of the past. But one winter's afternoon back in 2008, I was perusing the stacks of old Hebrew books at the National Library of Israel when I read something—a few sentences, maybe a paragraph—that made me revisit not only my understanding of early modern Jewish literature but also my most basic historiographical methods and assumptions. I was, at the time, writing a dissertation on the reception of modern notions of racial difference among thinkers of the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) in the late eighteenth century. I had been planning to juxtapose my maskilic (members of the Haskalah) authors, and their burgeoning secular world view, with the deeply religious thinking of their rabbinical contemporaries. A colleague had suggested that I have a look at an old work on Jewish geography titled *Gevulot arets* (Borders of the land). The work was attributed to the well-known rabbinical thinker and son of the Vilna Gaon, Avraham ben Eliyahu of Vilna. In a few previous studies and bibliographies, it had been presented as a kind of rabbinical geography of Jews in the diaspora, a traditional text, which I therefore thought could be easily pitted against my more "modern" maskilic works. But as I opened the book and began reading, I sensed a strange familiarity arising from this dense rabbinical text. It was not long before I realized that what I was reading was in fact a heavily domesticated, and pointedly concealed, translation of a few chapters from one of the best-known works of the French Enlightenment, Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle*. The realization sent my head spinning. The maskilim certainly knew Buffon, and they cited him here and there, but none of them had ever dared to actually translate the works of this controversial French thinker. How was it, then, that the earliest (and still, to date, only) known Hebrew translation of Buffon had been produced by such a high-ranking member of the rabbinical elite? What was I to make of this curious encounter between an east European rabbinical thinker and

a French *philosophe* and suspected deist? Why had the translator concealed his source? And, perhaps most pointedly, was this a unique historical oddity? Or, I tentatively began to reflect, might there be other such translations?

This book is the direct result of the serendipitous discovery I made that wintry afternoon in 2008. In the years that have passed since, I have become a detective of sorts, making my way slowly through what has often been termed "the Jewish library," while attempting to unlock the doors to the hidden libraries that underlie it. I would never have been able to do this alone. Indeed, this book bears testimony to the immeasurable support, advice, collaboration, and kindness of my colleagues, students, friends, family, and the generosity of the funding agencies that have supported this endeavour. It is my distinct pleasure to be able to thank them here.

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Chapter 2 develops some of the ideas first articulated in my Hebrew-language essay "Meni'im le-tirgum be-paratekstim shel tirgumin le-Ivrit u-le-Yiddish ba-'et-ha-ḥadahshah ha-mukdemet" (*Zion* 86, no. 4 [2021]: 535–62). The sections on Ladino and Judeo-Italian translations in Chapter 1 build, in part, on my entry "Jewish Translation, Early Modern Period," in the *Encyclopaedia of Jewish Book Cultures* (Leiden, 2023). The final section of chapter 3 reproduces portions of my article "Rabbis of the (Scientific) Revolution: Revealing the Hidden Corpus of Early Modern Translations Produced by Jewish Religious Thinkers" (*American Historical Review* 126, no. 1 [2021]: 54–81). I thank Brill and Oxford University Press for the permission to reuse the material here.

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