

**A Research Guide to the *Haskalah* Collection at the John Rylands Library,  
Manchester**

**Dr. Rebecca Wolpe**

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The *Haskalah* collection at the John Rylands Library reflects the varied and eclectic nature of the *Haskalah* itself. Its over 700 titles in more than 900 volumes were printed between the late 18th century (the earliest texts are *Sefer yad Hayyim: yedi 'ot diḳduḳ*, a Hebrew grammar book published in Prague, 1758, and *Gemul 'Atalyah*, a translation of Racine by David Avraham Franko Mendes [Amsterdam, 1769/70] and early 20th century (the latest volume, a collection of articles on Jewish Studies entitled *Alumah: me'asef ha-Agudah le-mada'e ha-Yahadut bi-Yerushalyim*, was published in Jerusalem in 1936). Although not all the volumes are "*maskilic*", in particular those published after 1900 and in America/England/Palestine, the vast majority of works in the collection are nineteenth European *maskilic* texts.

Some of the works are by the most well-known figures from the beginning to the end of the *Haskalah* and even following it and many tractates written by the *maskilim* on religious, social, philosophical and literary issues (Moses Mendelsohn, Naftali Herz Wessely, Menachem Mendel Lefin, Judah Leib Benze'eb [BenSew], Isaac Beer Levinzon, Shlomo Yehuda Rapaport, Mordechai Aharon Gintsburg, Shmuel David Luzatto, Heinrich Graetz, Leopold Zunz, Moshe Leib Lilienblum, Yehuda Leib Gordon, Nachman Krochmal, Ahad ha-Am, Avraham Mapu, I. L. Peretz, Chayim Nachman Bialik, David Frishman, Yehuda Ben Eliezer and many more). Others are by those considered more marginal or to whom scholars have paid less attention (Kalman Schulman, HaMizlaghi, Isaac Rumsch, Shimon Bloch) or almost completely unknown.

The collection was purchased in 1970 from the historian Professor Chimen Abramsky (1917–2010) and is now located in the John Rylands Library in Deansgate. Beyond this, nothing is known about the origin of the collection. The volumes are listed on an excel chart which includes author, title, date and place of publication (it is not clear when this drawn up or by whom), a copy of which is attached to this report, and can be ordered to the Reading Room. This report was written after spending two weeks examining the works in the collection and provides an overview of them according to category. Despite the problems involved in dividing the collection in this way (since there is some degree of overlap), I felt that this was the best way to demonstrate the diversity of the collection in terms of time period and subject material. As will be seen, each category contains works spanning almost the entire period,

providing a picture of the development of each kind of works over the course of the nineteenth century.

At the end of the report are some suggestions for further study of the collection as well as a bibliography of secondary sources regarding the *Haskalah* period and its literature.

### **The *Haskalah*: A Brief Overview**

The *Haskalah* was a movement of many faces, locations and ideologies. Beginning in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century, spreading to Eastern Europe—Galicia in the early nineteenth century then to the Russian Empire—the *Haskalah* was never a formal organization but rather was comprised of groups of Jews seeking to change the values of their society and to "normalize" European Jewry in keeping with current European trends, within limits which would prevent the annihilation of Judaism. In practice, despite many programs of comprehensive reform (social and religious, for example) which were drawn up by *maskilim*, their main activities were in the fields of literature and education.

Most scholars will agree that the *Haskalah* was a reaction to a combination of internal and external forces—the European Enlightenment on the one hand and on the other the need for change within Jewish society following the failed messianic movements of the seventeenth century and the breakdown of the *kehillah*. Just as the historical, social and cultural factors which led to the *Haskalah* were influenced by an intermingling of Jewish and non-Jewish culture, so too were the aims of the *Haskalah*. The *maskilim* had no intention of detracting from religious faith but desired to restore the lost balance between Jewish and universal culture. They looked to medieval Jewish rationalist philosophy and interpretations, to critical views of antiquity and the authority of Kabbalah, seeking to glorify Hebrew as a vehicle of expression, no longer viewing non-Jewish culture as alien. Participation in this culture was not only possible but desirable.

Although there were figures who exhibited what could be called *maskilic* tendencies, in terms of secular learning and calls for social change and educational reform, before the 1780s, it is generally accepted that *Haskalah* began in the early years of this decade, with the publication of the *Toleranzpatent* by Habsburg Emperor Joseph II in 1781, of Naftali Herz Wessely's (1725–1805) *Divrey shalom ve'emet* in 1782 and of *ha-Measef*, which has been recognized as the first modern Hebrew monthly journal (published in the years 1783–1791 and again between 1808–1811).

The three core areas of *Haskalah* activity may be defined as (1) language and literature; (2) ideological, cultural and religious trends; and (3) social and educational activities. These three areas were intertwined and recur throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Educational reform and the incorporation of general subjects into the curriculum

were a major focus of the *maskilim*. In *Divrey shalom ve'emet*, Wessely claimed that the study of the humanities has an intrinsic value and is not subordinate to Torah learning—indeed its importance should be either equal to or ranked above the latter, since it is vital to the understanding of religion. He outlined the need to study the law of man—language and grammar (both Hebrew and German), social behaviour and good manners—alongside the law of God, the Bible and religious precepts, Talmud and Rabbinic literature. Criticized by many traditional authorities, the influence of this work was wide-ranging geographically and chronologically.

Alongside their educational pursuits, the *maskilim* saw themselves as preachers and writers of ethical or *musar* literature, attempting to change the behaviour and moral values of Jewish society, in line with those of the rest of Europe. The transformation that the *maskilim* desired in Jewish society included many Enlightenment and humanist values, for example tolerance and love of one's fellow man. Thus moral education became a central pillar of the *Haskalah*.

Some *maskilic* writers took upon themselves the duty of ethical preachers, competing with the kabbalistic *musar* works widely circulating in Europe at the time which sought to rouse readers to repentance, advocating greater observance and intense personal piety. These traditional works emphasized the next life rather than the present, and calls for ascetic penitence were very common; they sought to instil fear not love of God through threats of punishment rather than awe. In contrast to works such as these, *maskilic* writers of *musar* sought to create a worldly morality, based on rational principles. By embracing these values, Jews would improve themselves, enabling full entrance into European society. For example, Lefin's *Heshbon ha-nefesh* (1808) discusses the importance of (among other qualities) calmness, patience, order, cleanliness, justice, frugality, diligence, silence, tranquillity and truth.

Despite these calls for social, ethical and educational reform, the early *maskilim*, and those moderate *maskilim* who adopted their ideology all over Europe, sought not to contradict Jewish law and tradition, but rather to supplement them. In fact, as Wessely noted in his response to *Nahal ha-besor*, the call for contributions to *ha-Measef*, the editors of this journal needed to take care to remain within the boundaries of Jewish tradition. *Maskilic* writers and educators sought to encourage Jews to embrace the values of *Bildung* and Enlightenment by finding a balance between modern and traditional forces.

### **Periods of the *Haskalah***

The *Haskalah* can be divided into a number of periods. The first was that of the Berlin *Haskalah*, 1778–1797. In this period the *maskilim* formed a very small group of writers and educators in Berlin (and also Prague and Vienna), most of whom wrote for the journal *ha-Measef*. The central core of this group never reached more than a few hundred. By the 1790s, divisions had already arisen among the *maskilim*. Creators and consumers of the *Haskalah* culture dispersed to centres outside of Berlin, throughout Germany and Austro-Hungary, including Galicia (1797–1824). In these new centres, the *Haskalah* "program" underwent change. The *maskilim* felt less need to transform Jewish society and were more concerned with the formation of moral individuals, bourgeois family values and stability. The *Haskalah* in these centres was somewhat more conservative than the earlier Berlin *Haskalah* and defensive against the threat of secularization, although the aims of reviving the Hebrew language and transforming the education system remained similar to those of the earlier period.

*Maskilim* such as Menahem Mendel Lefin, Yosef Perl (1773–1839) and Nachman Krochmal (1785–1840) imported the *Haskalah* to Galicia, based on the early *Haskalah* of the 1780s. Yet at the same time, changes in method and ideology occurred as a result of the different milieus in which the various *maskilim* lived. In Galicia, they became entrenched with fights against *hasidim* in a hostile environment. As a result, polemical and satirical works became the most pronounced literary contributions of the Galician *maskilim*, and these works were dominated by the ongoing battle against *hasidim*.

The Russian *Haskalah* 1825–1899 (the end of the *Haskalah*) also began by adopting the attitudes and philosophical, ideological and literary aims of the Berlin *Haskalah* (for example Isaac Beer Levinzon and Mordechai Aharon Gintsburg); the myths of the German *Haskalah* and Mendelsohn continued to hold sway until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. Yet the Russian *Haskalah* soon developed in its own direction under the influence of various factors.

Eastern European *maskilim* faced differing questions of language and identity and within the Russian Empire itself there were to be found many localized versions of the *Haskalah*. Beginning as a tiny minority in the 1830s and 40s, the *maskilim* in Russia were faced with seemingly insurmountable obstacles. They saw the humiliating and decrepit situation of Russian Jewry as a result of a combination of factors: a) the proliferation of rabbis and teachers without any general education and unable to represent the people before the

government; b) the educational system and specifically the *melamdim* (teachers of young boys in the *heder*, the primary education system); c) the dangerous and destructive effects of *Hasidism* on Eastern European Jewry; and d) the difficult economic situation and lack of sources of income among the Jewish masses.

In order to achieve their aims in the face of widespread opposition, the *maskilim* looked to the government for support. The Russian government was viewed with great suspicion by traditional Jews, who feared that attempts at forced conversion lay behind government sponsorship of the *Haskalah*, especially in light of the feared and hated recruitment of Jewish youths into the Russian army (which began in 1827). Traditionalists also feared the *Haskalah* in light of the process of secularization that had taken place in Germany. Co-operation with the government during the reign of Nicholas I and the efforts of the Russian government to enforce enlightenment upon the Jews, strengthened the self-confidence of the Russian *maskilim*, but reduced their popularity with traditionalists. Following this, the reign of Alexander II (1855–1881) was witness to many reforms, including the freeing of the serfs, increased freedom of the press and the end of the hated conscription. It was in this period that the Russian *Haskalah* grew significantly in strength and numbers. Although some continued to follow the "moderate" path of the Berlin *Haskalah* of the 1780s, a new generation of *maskilim* which matured in the 1860s and 1870s introduced a much more radical *Haskalah*, seeking to bring about sweeping changes in Jewish society.

When did the *Haskalah* end? Just as it is impossible to point with absolute certainty to a date which signified the beginning of the *Haskalah*, so too there is no cut off point which signifies its end. The major spokesmen of the *Haskalah* died in the 1880s and 1890s and were replaced by writers that had received a general education (unlike the self-taught *maskilim* who arose from within the traditional system). By this time, the basic *Haskalah* program was accepted and the general Jewish public had become readers of a wide range of literary and journalistic texts. At the same time, many became disillusioned with the *Haskalah*, particularly following the pogroms of the early 1880s, and began to question the future of the Jews in Europe. Rather than placing a final date on the *Haskalah*, it is preferable to use the careers of various *maskilim* as an historical marker for the end of the period.

### **Languages of the *Haskalah***

The complicated linguistic environment of European Jewry is reflected in the often heated discussions of language by the *maskilim*. European Jewry functioned in a bilingual reality: the vernacular was, in the case of European Jewry, Yiddish. For the *maskilim* one of the signs of Jewish “backwardness” was this “unseemly”, irrational and ugly language, and as a result they sought to replace this vernacular with the state language.

In Germany the situation was relatively simple. Yiddish, a dialect of German, was to be replaced by pure German. Thus the first languages of *Haskalah* literature in German speaking lands were Hebrew and German. The choice of Hebrew was neither obvious nor simple. Writers of the German-language *Haskalah* sought to integrate into the surrounding German society. On the other hand, those who chose to write specifically in Hebrew, despite the fact that this was not a spoken language, nor the language of the land in which they resided, and facing the many difficulties of applying this language in a modern setting, did so not only for enlightenment purposes, but also in order to retain their specifically Jewish identity.

What both the Hebrew and German-language *maskilic* writers sought, whether through resurrecting Hebrew as the language of the Jewish people or through the use of "pure" German, was the eradication of Yiddish.

In Eastern Europe the linguistic situation was more complicated and the choice of replacement vernacular was not as obvious as it was in German speaking lands: should Yiddish be replaced by German or Russian? While Eastern European *maskilim* continued to employ Hebrew in an ever-widening range of literary genres, Yiddish was the only means available to them to reach the uneducated Jewish masses and thus became an important language of the *Haskalah*. It is interesting that the collection is almost completely made up of Hebrew works, both translated and original.

### ***Maskilic* Literature**

Whether the beginning of "modern" or "new" European Hebrew literature is dated to the Berlin *maskilim*, to half a century earlier in Italy and Holland or even to the Italian renaissance, it is clear that the *Haskalah* initiated a new stage in Hebrew literature.

The first major Hebrew literary project of the Berlin *Haskalah* was *ha-Measef*, a journal which widened the literary genres and topics of the Hebrew language and includes the first



shoots of most of the genres and topics which recur over the next century in *maskilic* literature — consciously or unconsciously, it guided the future development of this literature.

Because the early formative stages of *Haskalah* literature took place in German-speaking lands, *maskilic* literature was influenced by German literature and German translations of other literatures, for example English and French. However, *maskilic* translators did not translate contemporary German texts but rather those of a slightly earlier period (see below). Only very rarely to be found in the Hebrew literary system in the early years of its development, are prose *belles lettres* and fictional texts; love stories are non-existent.

Although the literature which emerged during the years of the Berlin *Haskalah* became the framework for the literature of the *Haskalah* in all its locations and chronological periods, *maskilic* literature did not remain static. As was noted, in Galicia *maskilic* satire went from strength to strength. While translations of German works continued to play a central role in the *maskilic* literary canon throughout the nineteenth century, in Russia in the mid nineteenth century, the range of acceptable texts widened considerably (Kalman Schulman's [1819–1899] translation of Eugene Sue's *Mysteries de Paris*, published in 1857, is commonly recognized as a turning point in this respect) and the text commonly known as the first original modern Hebrew novel, Abraham Mapu's *'Ahavat Zion*, was published in 1853. In light of the important role that translation played in the *maskilic* canon, it is not surprising that translated texts constitute a significant proportion of the collection at the John Rylands.

The collection also contains a vast array of instructional texts on topics including language (French, Hebrew), grammar, chemistry, biology, geography and history. Some of these are translated from European works, others are original Hebrew texts for use in school settings or "self-education" at home. Especially prominent are geographical, historical and scientific texts. These in particular were of interest to the *maskilim* since they provided a perfect platform to disseminate information on a vast range of subjects: culture, flora, fauna, anthropology, science, history and geography among them.

Likewise, the collection includes Biblical commentaries, works about the Oral Torah (Mishnah and Talmud), Jewish thought, moral texts (*musar*), Kabbalistic and Halakhic works. Works in each of these categories are representative of the various stages of the *Haskalah*, presenting a picture of the development of *maskilic* thinking over the course of the nineteenth century.

## The Collection

### 1. Biblical Texts and Commentaries (c. 90–100 vols., 10%)

Bible study was one of the most sensitive topics for the *maskilim*. The *maskilim* were not the first to criticize the traditional system of instruction, according to which children were taught by translating verses word by word into Yiddish (without reference to Yiddish syntax). A significant number of *maskilim* published Biblical commentaries and many also emphasized the importance of biblical grammar, and saw study of the Bible as a means to learning the pure, Hebrew language, as opposed to its later incarnations (Mishnaic or Rabbinic Hebrew), which they regarded as inferior. It is thus not surprising that Biblical texts and commentaries account for around 10% of the collection's volumes (90–100 volumes).

Moses Mendelssohn's Translation and Commentary on the Pentateuch, commonly known as the *Biur*, changed the face of Bible printing and translations. Until this project, Yiddish translations of the Bible (such as that published in Augsburg in 1544) had followed the system used in elementary instruction, translating word for word according to the Hebrew word order. As a result of this system, the resulting translated text was often incomprehensible. Likewise, such translations tended towards homiletic exegesis rather than the literal meaning of the text. Mendelssohn's *Biur* was an innovative translation of the Bible into German written in Hebrew characters (not Yiddish, as part of the efforts to put an end to the use of this language), and accompanied by a Hebrew commentary which emphasized the literal meaning of the text. Mendelssohn did not translate the entire Pentateuch himself, but was helped by other *maskilim* including Naftali Herz Wessely and Herz Homberg. Further biblical books were later translated in the same style. The collection includes a complete set of the *Biur* on the Pentateuch (1801 edition) in addition to an 1817 edition of the minor prophets and Proverbs, an 1804 edition of Genesis and a 1791 edition of Psalms.

The collection also includes five volumes of *Torat ha-Elohim*, Isaac Reggio's bilingual Italian-Hebrew Pentateuch which too adopted the characteristics of Mendelssohn's project and an 1871 edition of Samuel David Luzzatto's *Ḥamishah ḥumshe Torah*, also bilingual Italian-Hebrew, with Luzzatto's critical Bible commentary. In addition to this the collection includes various single volumes regarding a certain Biblical book or even specific passages, including a 1907 edition of Psalms with scientific commentary by Avraham Kahana, commentaries on the book of Esther and the Song of Songs as well as 20 volumes of *Or le-*

*Yisra'el*, a Hebrew Bible with Yiddish translation and Rashi's commentary, printed in Krotoschin in 1837.

## **2. Commentaries on the Oral Torah (around 30–40 volumes)**

The collection includes a number of commentaries on the oral Torah—Mishnah and Talmud. These either focus specific sections or stories, sometimes presenting "re-writings" of certain tales, or constitute "introductions to the Oral Torah". The earliest work on the topic is *Sefer ha-'Oyen: be-or ma'amare ha-Talmud kefi mishpat higayon sefat 'Ivrit* by Moshe ben Menachem Mendel Kunits (Vienna 1796), which provides commentary on sections of the Talmud according to Maimonides' interpretation. The text book, *Mevo ha-Talmud: agadah, mishnah ugemara. Sefer limud u-mikra le-vate sefer* by N. Levin (Vilna, 1907) and an introduction to the Jerusalem Talmud (Breslau, 1870) provide introductions to parts of the Oral Torah. The work of Talmudic exegesis *Or hadash: ha-me'ir 'ene ha-holkhim be-Torat H.* was published in London in 1880 by Joseph Kohen-Zedek. Hebrew adaptations of stories from the Talmud, midrash and Zohar appear in Isaac Margaliyot's *Sipure Yeshurun: 'al pi sipure ha-sofrim ha-ketuvim be-sifre ha-Talmud ha-Bavli yeha-Yerushalmi midrash Yalkut ye-Zohar* (Berlin, 1877). *Sefer Otsar leshon hakhamim* by Kalman Avigdor Perla (Warsaw, 1900) includes 7000 Talmudic and Mishnaic sayings, idioms and proverbs, translated and explained. Seven volumes of *Petaḥ enayim* by Benedetto Frizzi, a late eighteenth century physician in Mantua, discuss Biblical and Talmudic medicine. *Sefer darkah shel Torah* by Hirsch Mendel ben Solomon Pineles (Vienna, 1861) is a defence of the Oral Torah and its importance against those who questioned the significance and validity of the Oral Torah.

## **3. Hebrew Grammars and Dictionaries (just under 10% of the collection, around 80 volumes)**

The *maskilim* took a great interest in Hebrew grammar. Their aim of reviving the Hebrew language and restoring it to its former glory could only be achieved by a proper understanding of its words, syntax and grammar. Thus the *maskilim* published numerous works of scholarship regarding Hebrew grammar in addition to dictionaries, concordances and instructional texts either to be used to teach Hebrew in schools or for self-education.

The earliest instructional text of this kind is *Sefer yad Hayyim: yedi'ot dikduk* by Chayim ben Moshe, printed in Prague in 1758/59. The collection includes many examples of Hebrew grammar books and handbooks published throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including *Sefer torat ha-lashon: le-halakah ve-lemaseh* published in Jaffa in 1911/12 by Yisrael Teler; *Ivrit be-Ivrit: reshit limud sefat 'Ever 'al pi ha-shitah ha-tiv'it* by Isaac Epstein published in Warsaw in 1900 and Yehoshua Steinberg's *Ma'arkhe leshon 'Ever: torat leshon ha-qedesh* (Vilna, 1891), all of which are instructional texts, the latter teaching Hebrew according to the new system and in light of "modern Hebrew".

Dictionaries range from *Sefer Otsar ha-shorashim* by Judah Leib Benze'eb (Vienna, 1806/7) to a Hebrew-Yiddish dictionary published in Odessa in 1903, and *ha-Mashbir: o, 'arukh hehadash*, a Hebrew-Aramaic dictionary including terms from the Targum and Talmud by Yosef Benyamin Dov Shainhak of Sovalk (Warsaw, 1858), Eliezer Ben Yehuda's dictionary vols. 1–7 (1910–1912), a dictionary of Torah and Mishnah by Shmuel Yosef Funn, *ha-Otsar* (1903), and Yehoshua Steinberg's Russian-Hebrew dictionary (Vilna, 1895)

The collection includes studies of particular grammatical and linguistic topics by, among others, Naftali Herz Wessely (*HaLevanon*, 1829), Isaac Beer Levinzon (*Shorshe Levanon: ... shorashim mi-leshon 'Ivrit beheker hokhmat ha-lashon*, Vilna, 1841), Moses Riecherson (*Helkat ha-pe'alim yehamilot: kolel kelale ha-pe'alim yehamilot le-khol mishpatehem*, Vilna, 1873) and Ya'akov Bakhrakh (*Sefer ha-Yahas li-khetav Ashuri ye-toldotay ha-nekudot yehate'amim*, Warsaw, 1854).

#### 4. Education (10–20 vols.)

Since education was such an important topic for the *maskilim*, many texts were written about how best to reform the Jewish education system and ensure that the Jewish masses receive a better education. This trend began already with Wessely. In 1828 Isaac Beer Levinzon published his views on the matter in *Te'udah be-Yisra'el: kolel gidre ha-Torah yeha-hokhmah* (Vilna). Many of the text books and instructional works also contain discussions of education and didactic systems in their introductions. A discussion of Hebrew education in the land of Israel can be found in *ha-Hinukh ha-Ivri: kuntres arukh al pi hartsa'at Merkaz ha-morim be-Yafo* by Yosef Vitkin (Cracow, 1907).

The collection also contains a mathematics textbook—*Hokhmat ha-mispar: heshbon ha-pashut (arimetik) yeha-algebra ha-perati vaha-kelali* by Nachman Zebi Hirsch Linder

(Warsaw, 1854) and an introduction to French (in Yiddish) for beginners (male and female)—*Der hoyzfrantsaze: fir anfenger und anfengerinen* by Avraham Mapu (Warsaw, 1859).

### 5. Geographic Texts/Travel Accounts (around 30–35 volumes)

Geographical texts served as a perfect platform for *maskilim* to educate their readers not only about the geography of the world but also other related topics including anthropology, natural phenomena and more, allowing them to widen readers' general knowledge. In particular, travel accounts provided both an exciting story and many didactic opportunities; hence they played an important role in the *maskilic* literary canon from the beginning of the *Haskalah* (including articles in *ha-Measef* and early translations of travel works by the German writer Joachim Heinrich Campe). The geographical texts and travel accounts in the collection range from the entire period of the *Haskalah*. They can be divided into two groups: those about journeys to the holy land, which also usually served a religious or nationalistic purpose of some kind, and those concerning other parts of the world.

Kalman Schulman, best known for his Hebrew translation of Eugene Sue's *Mysteries de Paris*, wrote a number of works infused with love of Zion, the holy language and romantic ideals. In particular he composed works about the geography of the land of Israel, such as *Sefer Ari'el* (Vilna, 1856) and *Sefer divre hefets* (Vilna, 1891), in addition to a volume concerning India, *Erets ha-qedem* (Vilna, 1890). *Be-erets ha-mizrah: Ba-aḥuzot Yiśra'el sheba-Galil ushevi-Yehudah uve-'arehen* by A. B. Herschberg (Vilna, 1910) claims to be a new type of account of journeys to Israel. Until now, so the publisher claims, most accounts only describe certain places, however this is a whole journey including the Galilee, Judean desert, Jerusalem which provides details of the inhabitants, language, climate, traditions and behaviour.

Volume 1 of Shimon Bloch's *Shevile òlam* (1822) offers a geography of the world ordered by place name and Yehoshua Levinzon's *Sefer Yediàt gelilot ha-arets* (part 1, 1868) provides a geography of the Russian Empire. *Gelilot ha-arets* by Hilel Kahana (1901) is a text book for students including colourful maps.

*Metsuke erets, o, Yesode yedi'at he-ge'ografye ha-tiv'it* is a translation of a work by the American navy officer, geologist and oceanographer Matthew Fontaine Maury, probably via a Russian version, by Nachum Sokolov, published in Warsaw in 1878.

Travel accounts describe a wide range of places all around the world. *Oniyah so'arah* (first published in 1818, collection edition Warsaw, 1854) is the translation of a Dutch captain's journey to and shipwreck in the Far East; Menachem Mendel Lefin's *Masa'ot ha-yam* (first printed 1815, collection edition Lemberg 1859) includes two accounts of sea journeys—one to the Arctic and one to the Far East, translated from Campe's German. *Masa' Kolumbus, o, Galut ha-arets ha-hadashah* (first edition 1823, collection edition Warsaw 1883) is Mordechai Aharon Gintsburg's translation of Campe's German retelling of how Columbus discovered America, followed by the further discoveries and conquests of Pizarro and Cortez. Other travel accounts, some in the first person, include Egypt and the Middle East—*Tsiyure-masa': reshimot masa' be-midbar Erets-Kush*, the accounts of the travels of George Selikovitch, an Egyptologist from Philadelphia (Warsaw, 1910); Crimea—works by Ephraim Deinard such as *Masa' ba-hatsi ha-I Krim* (Warsaw, 1869–70); *Masa' be-erets ha-kedem* (Pressburg, 1881); *Sefer Masa' Krim* (which also includes detailed descriptions of the Jews in Crimea, their history and details about the Karaites living there, Warsaw, 1878); the Arctic—*ha-Nidaḥim be-yarkhete tsafon*, translated by Moses Sender Aizinshtat (Warsaw, 1898).

The collection also includes a number of volumes of the journal *Hotsa'a le-'Am* printed in Palestine in the early twentieth century on geographical topics.

## **6. Nature/Science (5% of the collection—around 40–50 volumes)**

Similarly to geography and travel, from the very beginning of the *Haskalah*, *maskilic* writers demonstrated an interest in natural and scientific topics. They sought to widen their readers' education in the field and also rid the people of superstitions regarding natural phenomena. Many articles in *ha-Measef* describe scientific advances and natural phenomena ranging from meteorological phenomena to exotic animals. In 1788 Baruch Lindau published his two-volume natural and scientific compendium, *Reshit Limudim* (based on G. Raff's *Naturgeschichte für Kinder*, which was still popular in the late nineteenth century—the collection includes an 1869 version and vol. 2 of the 1810 edition. The collection also includes *Limude ha-teva'* by Mosheh Mordekhai Yovel (Czernowitz, 1836), Shalom Yaakov

Abramovitsch's (better known as Mendele Mokher Sefarim) *Sefer toldot ha-teva* which he translated from the German by Harald Othmar Lenz (1872); Nechemiah Dov Hoffman's *Ma'ašey ḥakhamim: yiś'a me-divrotav 'al 'inyanim mada'iyim shonim* (Warsaw, 1897); Chayim Zelig Slonimski's *Metsi'ut ha-nefesh: ye-ḳiyumah ḥuts la-guf* which concerns souls, bodies, natural phenomena (this also strays into the realm of philosophy); and various booklets published in Jaffa in the early twentieth century on topics such as the sky and stars, bacteria, the earth, animals, water.

### 7. History and Biographies of Historical Figures (70–75 volumes—8%)

The *maskilim* showed an interest in both histories of the Jewish people and general histories of the world. Jewish history was of particular importance in building a Jewish future: the *maskilim* looked back to past periods of Jewish history when the Jews had lived as an independent nation. They also studied with interest some of the dark days of Jewish existence in Europe, including in particular the exile from Spain. The movement *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, which emerged in western Europe in the nineteenth century, sought to prove that Jewish history was worthy of study. Figures such as Leopold Zunz, Abraham Geiger and Zechariah Frankel from Germany, Samuel David Luzzatto from Italy, and Nachman Krochmal and Solomon Judah Rappaport from Galicia studied Jewish history in an attempt to place Jewish culture on par with Western European culture and to restore a sense of Jewish pride.

Histories of the Jewish people in the collection include various Hebrew translations of Graetz's history as *Divre yeme Yiśra'el* (one of the first histories of the Jewish people)—by Y. A. Trivush (Vilna, 1808–1809) and Shaul Pinchas (Warsaw 1912–1916); Kalman Schulman's multi-volume *Sefer Divre yeme òlam* (Vilna, 1868–1886); and *Ḳore ha-dorot: divre ha-yamim le-'amenu* by Shalom Hakohen (Warsaw, 1838). In addition there are a number of early twentieth century studies of Jewish history which include the modern period and the *Haskalah* itself: for example *Dor tahpukhot: monografyah mi-yeme reshit Haskalat ha-yehudim be-Germanyah bi-shenot ha-meah ha-18* by Sh. Bernfeld (Warsaw, 1898). The collection also includes Avraham Ber Gottlober's history of the Karaites: *Biḳoret le-toldot ha-Ḳara'im* (Vilna, 1865).

Likewise, there are histories that focus on particular periods or events (Sabbateanism, for example) and figures in Jewish history e.g. *Ha-rav mi-Ladi u-mifleget Habad* (Warsaw, 1913); Sha'ul Pinhas Rabinovits' biographies of Zunz and R. Zekharyah Frankel and Eli'ezer Shenkel's history of the exile from Spain: *Motsa'e golah: Zikhronot nedude ha-golah mi-Sefarad u-Portugalyah ba-dorot ha-rishonim* (Warsaw, 1894). Other examples of biographies are those of Meir Anshil Rothschild (by Kalman Schulman, Vilna, 1885) and Dr. Asher Asher, the first Scottish Jew to become a doctor.

General histories include histories of Russia (Solomon Mandelkern's *Divre yeme Rusiya: ketuvim 'al pi me'av sifre ha-zikhronot* [Warsaw, 1875]), of the Napoleonic Wars (Mordechai Aaron Gintsburg, *ha-Tsarfatim be-Rusya* [Vilna, 1842]), Deinard's original history of the Crimean War *Sefer Milhemet Krim* (Warsaw, 1879) and a biography of Cremieux (it is not clear whether this is a translation or an original work) by Yoel Ben-Benjamin Elk (Memel, 1882).

## 8. *Belles Lettres*

This section in total accounts for around 30% of the collection, over 230 volumes.

### a. Translated Literature

As was noted above, translation of European works played an important role in the development of Hebrew literature. This infant literature drew upon the cultures around it for inspiration and to expand the corpus of works available to Jewish readers. Many factors were involved in selecting a text for translation, in particular its ideology, utility and educational content, although these criteria became less strict in the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Of particular interest are the introductions to many of the translated texts, which not only provide information about the motivations behind the choice of specific texts and the decision to add to or omit sections from the text, but also shed light on other aspects of the *maskilic* ideological and pedagogical agendas. These works at times include introductions by the translators themselves, by other writers/thinkers or both. For example, Kalman Schulman composed an introduction to Mikhah Yosef Kohen Lebzohn's *Harisut Troyah: be-yad ha-*



*Yeyanim* (a translation of the *Aeneid*) in which he explains the importance of Virgil's *Aeneid* in world literature and also discusses the state of Hebrew literature and the beauty of the Hebrew language. This is followed by the translator's introduction explaining his choice of text, telling the story of the first and second books of the *Aeneid* and discussing the difficulties of translating into Hebrew in the current state of the language.

### i. Classical Texts (Greek/Latin)

Considering the importance of Classical literature in nineteenth century European culture, it is no surprise that the *maskilim* translated Latin and Greek texts into Hebrew (generally via either German or Russian) in an attempt to widen the education and culture of the Jewish population. Among these are books 3 and 4 of Virgil's *Aeneid* which describe the destruction of Troy (*Harisut Troyah: be-yad ha-Yeyanim*, translated by Mikhah Yosef Kohen Lebnzohn from Schiller's German version and published in Vilna 1869); Philo (*ha-Mal'akhut el Kayus Kaligulah ha-Ḳesar ha-shelishi le-Romim* translated by Mordechai Aaron Gintsburg (first ed. 1836, collection edition Warsaw 1894); Josephus Flavius (translated by Kalman Schulman, Vilna 1884, as *Milhamot ha-Yehudim 'im ha-Roma'im*) and Lucian (*Tehilat ha-kesilim, o, Tsaya'at Be'ur Ben-ḥamor*, translated by S. Rubin, Vienna 1880). One of the forewords to Schulman's translation of Josephus discusses the Vilna Gaon's desire for translation of certain non-Jewish books in order to improve the understanding of the holy books, the words of the prophets and the holy Rabbis. And indeed, the foreword continues, a translation of Josephus will shed light on the words of the Rabbis in the Talmud and midrashim in many places relating to the holy land and the Temple. Two further long introductions by Schulman himself provide information on the history of the period, Josephus himself and the translator's reasons for choosing this text.

These translations are accompanied by other works in Hebrew on classical themes, including a biography of Aristotle together with a discussion of his philosophy and its comparison with Jewish philosophy *Ḥaye Aristō vaha-filosofya shelo: le-'umat ha-filosofya vaha-yedi'ot asher timsholnah be-sifre Yiśra'el ha-rishonim mi-zeman Miḳra, Mishnah ve-Talmud divre ḥadash ume-ḥodesh* (Samuel Modlinger, Vienna, 1883); a work on early Greek philosophy by Dr. S. Rubin *Halatsah ḳadmoniyah: 'al rashe filosofe ha-Yeyanim ha-ḳadmonim* (Cracow, 1897); a description of Roman history and life in ancient Rome *Ḥaye ha-Roma'im* (Ludwig Friedlander, Vilna 1908/9, no translator's name is given) and others.

## ii. German Literature

Since the early *Haskalah* developed in a German-speaking environment it drew greatly upon the literature in its surroundings. This influence continued even as the *Haskalah* moved eastwards. Many *maskilim* translated the works of writers such as Lessing, Schiller, Campe and Goethe (only one volume) as well as those of less well known figures such as Freidrich Spielhagen and Klara Schott.

It is not surprising that works of German ghetto and historical fiction also feature significantly amongst the works translated from German. Since, the Jewish social reformers and enlighteners looked to Germany, especially the "heavenly city of Berlin" as their ideal, it was only logical that works written by enlightened German/Austro-Hungarian Jews would become a source of inspiration. Furthermore, works of ghetto fiction focused on the same topics with which Eastern European Jewish writers and reformers were concerned, including the position of women in society, arranged and early marriages, the debilitating influence of superstition, the negative attributes of Hasidism, and the preponderance of prejudice amongst traditionally-minded Jews, prejudice against secular learning, against western influences and against non-Jews in general. Works of German Jewish historical fiction concentrated on fostering Jewish national feeling and pride in the illustrious Jewish past, a theme with which Eastern European *maskilim* could also identify. However, the translators at times made significant alterations to the works, adapting them for their different target audience. For example, David Rothblum notes in the introduction to his *Rabi 'Akiva* (Cracow, 1896), a translation of Marcus Lehmann's German historical novel based on Talmudic sources *Akiba*, that

Although I began at the beginning to follow the footsteps of the author and to copy chapter by chapter each by itself, afterwards I had to retreat from this method, for many chapters written in the original German and useful to the German reader are not necessary for the Hebrew reader, who knows them well from other sources, so I omitted many chapters and I made also changes in those that I copied. If the critic does not like these changes, he is of course free to translate the story again, according to his will and desire.

The last sentence also indicates that writers were often subject to severe criticism and thus the translator felt the need to defend his work.

Among other works of this kind in the collection are *Qeshet ben Netanyahu: hazut kashah be-divre ha-yamim le-vene Yisra'el* (Cracow, 1888) translated from Ludwig Philippson's

German by Tzvi Elazar Teller; *Ya 'aḳov Ṭirado: sipur ḳorot yesod ha-ma'aleh li-yishuv ha-Yehudim ha-Sefaradim be-Holandiya*, also by Phillipson, translated by Shmuel Yosef Funn (Vilna, 1881); Marcus Lehmann's *Bustenai: sipur mi-yeme ha-ge'onim*, also translated by Funn (Vilna, 1881); and *Ḥatan ha-melekh: sipur neḥmad af na'im yesodato bekorot bene 'amenu mi-yeme gezerot 5408 ve5409* (Warsaw, 1892).

### iii. English/American literature

Works translated from English language literature (usually via Russian or German) range from Shakespeare and Milton to Mayne Reid and Homer Greene, Grace Aguilar and Disraeli (interestingly there are no translations of Israel Zangwill). The collection includes a number of Shakespeare's plays, such as *Romeo and Juliet* (*Ram ve-Ya'el*, Vienna 1878), *The Taming of the Shrew* (*Musar sorerah*, Berdichev 1892) and *Othello* (*Iti'el: ha-kushi mi-Vine'tsya*, Vienna, 1874). The latter opens with a long introduction by Smolenskin stating that this translation is the Jewish revenge on the British: they have translated so many Jewish treasures; now the Jews will translate theirs! Likewise, there are translations of *Robinson Crusoe* (two copies of *Sefer kur 'oni: sipur be-tavnit Robinzon he-ḥadash* by Itzhak Moshe Rumsch, translated from Dr. Rauch's German *Robinsons Leben und Abenteuer*, first published in 1841) and of *Pilgrim's Progress* as *Halikhot orah* (1844).

In addition to these well known and canonical texts of English literature are some more surprising finds: for example a translation of Mayne Reid's 1870 *Borneo*, a tale of adventure in the wilds of Borneo, with "additions and changes" (*I Borne'o: sipur*) and Homer Greene's *The Blind Brother, a Story of the Pennsylvania Coalmines* (first published in 1887) as *ha-Aḥ ha-'iyer: o Me-afelah le-orah* translated by Y. B. Levner (Piotrikow, 1899). In the introduction to *Hoṭer mi-geza' Yishai, o, David Al-ro'i*, a translation of Disraeli by Avraham Aba Raḳoyski, the printer of this third edition of the work (Warsaw, 1898; it is replete with a picture of Lord Beaconsfield) explains Disraeli's greatness and love of Israel, how he laboured day and night for the good of the Jewish people. He also outlines the book's aim: to arouse love of the land of Israel and portray the heroes of the Jewish people. He expresses his hopes that the reader will understand the great work of the translator who "knew to chose what is good in translating this great story to our language" and that it will resonate with his readers at this time of national renewal.

### iv. French literature

The range of French titles translated is less extensive than the list of English and German books, yet also includes notable French novelists such as Victor Hugo and Eugene Sue. Hugo's *Le dernier jour d'un condamné* was translated as *ha-Yom ha-aḥaron be-ḥaye ha-nidon le-mitah* (Warsaw, 1898). In addition to *Mysteries de Paris*, Sue's *Le Juif errant* was translated by S. Posner as *ha-Tsofeh be-erets Nod* (Warsaw, 1866).

#### v. Russian literature

The number of Russian works translated into Hebrew increased steadily throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. Here too are to be found examples of some of the most famous Russian writers and the translators/printers include justifications of their choice and discussions of these writers' importance. Examples include translations of Krylov, *Mishle Kṛylov* by Me'ir Ze'ev Zinger; Chekhov, *Bitsah* translated by A. N. Gnesin (Jerusalem, 1912) and Tolstoy, *Ha-Shavui be-Ḳaykaz* translated by A. Z. Rabinovits (Warsaw, 1896).

#### b. Modern Hebrew Fiction

The collection includes works of the earliest and most famous writers of modern Hebrew fiction: Avraham Mapu, Reuben Braudes, Peretz Smolenskin, I. L. Peretz, Mendele Mokher Sefarim, David Frishman and many others, editions of single books by them and their collected works. In addition it includes some rarer and less well known works published in the late nineteenth century by authors who are considered "minor" or even completely unknown. One example is *Mistere nikhbadot: ḥezyonot aḥadim mi-mistere ha-nišu'im bi-Yišra'el bi-yamim 'Ivru ... sipur Ben porat* by a writer using the pseudonym 'Arafel (which means "fog" or "mist", a clear allusion that he is hiding his real name). This work appears to be an original Hebrew novel concerning arranged marriages. It would appear that this book is a unicum and no other copy has been located in a search of electronic library catalogues around the world. Other examples of lesser known original Hebrew fiction include Yehudah Shtaynberg's *Ba-yamim ha-hem: sipuro shel zaḳen* (Cracow, 1905/6), a story about the snatching of Jewish children and their conscription into the Russian army.

### c. Poetry

Poetry historically played an important role in Hebrew literature, from Biblical times to the medieval Hebrew poets in Islamic lands. So too, the *Haskalah* was no exception. Continuing this tradition and employing it for their own means, *maskilim* composed poems, often with educational content, in praise of European leaders, on Biblical themes or concerning nature. Later the subject material widened significantly. The collection, which includes poetry from all periods of the *Haskalah*, also contains translations of poetry from foreign languages. The earliest poems in the collection are Wessely's *Shire tiferet* (vols. 1–3, 1840–41); *Agudat shoshanim: kolel shirim u-melitsot shonot* by David Zamosc (Breslau, 1829); *Tikun Lavan ha-Arami* by Mordekhai Aharon Gintsburg (first published 1864, collection edition 1894); Letteris' *Tofeś Kinor ye-'ugav: yavo'u bo kol ha-shirim yeha-zemirot ha-ba'im ba-sefer divre shir Ayelet ha-shaḥar, ye-'od nosafot* (Vienna, 1860).

The collection also includes some anthologies by famous modern Hebrew poets such as Chayim Nachman Bialik, Shaul Tchernichovsky and Isaac Katznelson who later wrote in Yiddish and perished in the Lodz ghetto.

Collections of original and translated poetry include *Mi-kenaf ha-arets: zemirot ye-shirim meḳoriyim ḥadashim ye-gam yeshanim ha-meturgamim mi-shire Britanyah* by Yosef Mazal; *Ḳevutsat shirim* by Favius Miezes (Cracow, 1891); and *Ya'ar av shalom: kolel minim mi-minim shonim* by Abraham Shalom (Padova, 1855). Likewise, *Kinor Tsiyon: mivḥar shire-Tsiyon bi-sefat 'Ever mi-yeme kitve ha-ḳodesh 'ad yamenu eleh* is a collection of Hebrew poetry from Biblical times to the present day (Warsaw, 1900). A collection of Italian Hebrew poetry, *Kol 'ugav, heleḳ rishon: kibuts shirim nivḥarim mi-ben 'arugot niṭ'e sha'ashu'im asher naṭ'u be-Italya ne'ime zemirot Yiśra'el ba-dorot she-lifnenu*, was published in Livorno, 1846. A later collection of poems/songs for children arranged according to topic including Hebrew poetry from Italy in past generations is *ha-Zamir: shire yeladim le-zimrah ule-miḳra* by Noah Pines. Mosheh ben Yehudah Piza's volume of religious poetry published in Warsaw, 1905, is entitled *Shir emunim*. The contents of businessman Eliezer Halberstam's varied collection *Ale higayon ye-khinor: o leḳeṭ shibolim: asefat be'urim ye-divre shir* (Warsaw, 1895) range from Torah thoughts and commentaries to original poetry on Biblical topics (such as Moses in the River Nile) and a poem in honour of Alexander II in the second year of his reign, praising the end of forced conscription and Jewish quotas in universities. There is also a poem in honour of Moses Montefiore, of Graetz's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday and lamenting the death

of Yehuda Leib Gordon. Other poems in the collection are translated or "inspired by" foreign poetry.

#### d. Children's Books/Collections of Parables, Short Stories and Sayings

Among the earliest kinds of books written by *maskilim* were collections of short stories and parables in relatively simple Hebrew for the moral and linguistic instruction of the young. They served as easy Hebrew readers and at the same time the stories found therein always contained some kind of "moral". These kinds of works, which often adapted Biblical/Mishnaic/Talmudic stories, continued to be popular throughout the nineteenth century. Examples include *Agudat shoshanim: kolel shirim u-melitsot shonot* by David Zamosc (Breslau 1828/9); *Agudat perahim: kevutsat Shirim shonim, meshalim ketsarim u-ma'amarim ketanim le-alef musar haskel ule-hashiv lev ya-nefesh* by J. S. Wittkower (Altona, 1880); *Meshalim li-vene ha-ne'urim* by S. Z. Goldman (Berlin, 1923); *Moda' le-yalde Yi'sra'el* by Menaḥem Manush Bendetszohn (Warsaw, 1872); *Gan sha'ashu'im le-yalde Yeshurun* by A. Rozenfeld (Warsaw, 1896); *Şafah berurah: ... kevutsat melitsot ye-sipurim shonim ...* by Kalman Schulman (Vilna, 1864).

*Amarim mešamḥe lev: kolel mile di-bediḥuta me-ḥakhamim* by Y. Izbitski is a collection of sayings by the sages, to which the author added a few of his own.

#### e. Plays: Original and Translated

It was already noted above that a number of Hebrew translations of Shakespeare's plays are to be found in the collection. In addition there are other translated plays: Molière's *Tartuffe ou L'Imposteur* translated as *Tartif, o, ha-Tsavu'a: mišḥaḳ tokhniti be-ḥamesh ma'arakhot* by Nachman Rozenkrants (Zlatshov, 1900) and *Kesher Fi'esḳo be-Genu'a* a translation of Friedrich Schiller's *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua* (Drohobycz, 1888).

Original Hebrew plays include a number by Judah Leo Landau: concerning the Besht, *Yi'sra'el Besh't* (Johannesburg, 1922 or 1923); Shimon ben Shetach, *Dam taḥat dam* (Cracow, 1897); and Don Isaac Abarbanel (New York, 1918 or 1919).

## 9. Literary Criticism

The collection includes early works of modern Hebrew literary criticism, among them those by Joseph Klausner, Perets Smolenskin and Micah Joseph Berdichevsky. Some of the critical works pose wide ranging questions about the state of Hebrew literature and its future (Klausner, *Mah la-'asot: li-she'elat ha-mashber be-sifrut ha-'Ivrit* [Cracow, 1906/7]) or focus on critiques of existing works, either translations or original texts. Examples of the latter include Klausner's *Ruhot menashvot: biḳoret meforetet 'al shene sifre ha-"Pardes"* (Warsaw, 1896) or *Biḳoret tihyeh* by Peretz Smolenskin, concerning Letteris' translation of Faust (Odessa, 1866/7).

## 10. Religion and Philosophy—around 15% of the collection 100–110 volumes

### a. Basic Tenements of the Faith

*Maskilim* composed various texts on religious topics and introductions to the Jewish faith, at times in the style of the Catholic catechism, some of which sought to "normalize" the Jewish faith in line with European culture and religion: for example *Mikhtav le-ḥakhme Yisra'el 'al Yesode ha-emunah* by M. B. Friedenthal (Breslau, 1815) and a bilingual Italian-Hebrew written in the style of the catechism outlining the basic elements of faith for young children, *Lekah tov: 'im Shevile emunah lehanekh ha-ne'arim ba-emunah uva-musar* (it was first printed in the 1600s, and later adopted by the *maskilim* for their purposes and reprinted, this edition dates from 1809). In addition there are a number of texts concerning specific aspects of Halakah (Jewish law), such as *Tay zikaron: kolel kol dine hilkhot terefot ye-dine basar behalav, ta'arovot isur, ma'akhalot asurot u-tevilat kelim* by Isaac Frankel (Lik, 1864).

### b. Religion and Religious Philosophy

Among the many tractates discussing religion and religious philosophy in the collection are works by Shmuel David Luzatto (a fierce opponent of "philosophical" Judaism), Shlomo Yehuda Rapaport, the collected writings of Hilel Zeitlin and various writings by Nachman Krochmal, such as his modern "Guide for the Perplexed" (using the title of Maimonides' famous work), *Moreh nevukhe ha-zeman: sefer moreh emunah tserufah u-melamed ḥokhmat Yisra'el* (Lemberg, 1863); *Agadat ma'amarim: ye-hu asefat kol ma'amre ha-ḥoker yehamevaḳer* (Lemberg, 1885).

Other works in this category focusing on philosophy include *Moreh da'at: yeva'er et ha-shitot shel ha-filosofim ha-nimtsa'im be-'olam ha-mada'* by E. Kutnik (Kaunas, 1925) and some focus on specific philosophers, such as Shlomo Rubin's work on Baruch Spinoza *Barukh Shpinozah: Be-rigshe ahavat Elohim: ha-nishkafim be-'ad aspaqlaria me'irah bi-shishah tsiurim* by Shlomo Rubin (Podgorze, 1910).

### c. Moral Tractates

As was noted in the introduction, morality or *musar* was important to the *maskilim*, who sought to present their own specific brand of morality influenced by the European values. Works on this include Wessely's *Sefer ha-midot: ye-hu Kolel Musar ha'skel* (Poremba, 1856); Menachem Mendel Lefin's *Heshbon ha-nefesh* (Warsaw, 1894; this is based on Benjamin Franklin's *The Book of Spiritual Accounting*); Israel Sirkis' *Mahut ha-musar* (Odessa, 1906) a tractate on morality for the young.

### d. Kabbalah

Kabbalah or Jewish mysticism became a topic of contention for the *maskilim* mainly as a result of *maskilic* battles against the *hasidic* movement in Galicia and Eastern Europe, since the Kabbalah played a major role in Hasidism. Thus the texts concerning Kabbalah are mainly from the later periods of the *Haskalah*/early twentieth century. Some *maskilim* dismissed Kabbalah completely, while others saw in it some value, although emphasizing that it should be used with caution. Still others took an academic approach to the Kabbalah, searching for the original roots amongst the great deal of additions and commentary which had become attached to the basic Kabbalistic texts (such as *Sefer ha-Zohar*, traditionally attributed to Rabbi Shimon Bar Yochai).

Some of the Kabbalistic texts form part of the polemic between *maskilim* and *hasidim* in the collection, such as the Galician *maskil* Fabius Mieses' *Sefer Kin'at ha-emet: hu divre meḥkar 'al meḥor de'ot u-minhage bene Yiśra'el* (Vienna, 1828), a condemnation of the superstitious belief in demons. Others discuss the source of the Kabbalah and its author, such as Mosheh ben Menachem Mendel Kunits' *Sefer Ben Yoḥai: meva'er tsefunot be-ma'amre ha-tana ... Rabi Shim'on ben Yoḥai, zal, ha-ketuvim be-khol ha-Shas Bavli yi-Yerushalmi, Sifra ye-Sifre ye-Tosefta* (Vienna, 1815). Similarly, *Sefer Rabiyaḥ: ha'sagot 'al sifro shel Lipman Tsunts*



*mi-Berlin* : *ye-'al divre ... Shelomoh Yehudah Leyb ha-Kohen Rapaport mi-Levov by Elyakim ben Yehudah ha-Milzahgi* (Ofen, 1837) discusses the authenticity of the Zohar, as does *Sefer Aderet Eliyahu: be-kan'o kin'at H. ... neged Sefer ha-Vikuah 'al kadmut Sefer ha-Zohar ye-kadmut hokhmat ha-ḳabalah ye-kadmut ha-neḳudot yeha-te'amim* by Shelemoh Eliyahu Nesim (Livorno, 1833). *Rabi Yehudah Aryeh Modena: be-ḳomato ye-tsivyono* by Nehemiya S. Libowitz (New York, 1901) concerns Leon Modena, his life and works, his views on the Talmud, Kabbalah and Jesus; and is a defense against his critics, particularly Graetz.

It is interesting to note that apart from the *hasidic-maskilic* polemic within works on Kabbalah and Mordechai Aaron Gintzburg's poem *Tikun Lavan ha-Arami* (see above), which is an anti-*hasidic* poem, the collection contains few texts from the vociferous battle between *maskilim* and *hasidim*, which was especially strong in Galicia.

### 11. Post-Maskilic Works (5%)

The collection contains a number of works written after the period of the *Haskalah* (taking 1900 as the end of most *maskilic* activity), or by writers who cannot be defined as *maskilim*. These include texts written outside "Jewish Europe" (America, South Africa, England or Palestine) which provide a picture of life in those times/places and indications of the challenges facing the Jews there, such as assimilation and anti-semitism. Examples include works by Judah Leo Landau, in addition to some of his plays mentioned above: *Le-fanim o le-aḥor: deramah me-ḥaye 'amenu ba-zeman ha-zeh* (Jerusalem, 1923) and *Yiduyim: mikhtavim 'al devar ha-Yahadut yeha-Yehudim ba-zeman ha-zeh* (Vienna-Berlin, 1828). *Yalkuṭ Ameriḳa: asefat ma'amre mada' ketuvim be-yede sofre Yiśra'el be-erets ha-ḥadashah* (New York, 1899) is a collection of articles written by American Jewish scholars.

Regarding Jewish life in England, the collection includes a little known work of original Hebrew fiction (later translated into Yiddish) about the life of Jews in the East End of London, *Lel ḥoref: 'al pene rehovot mizrah* by Ya'akov Shalom Katsnelenboigen (London, 1907; little is known about the author). A non-fictional work describes the life of Jews in England: *Shevile ha-Yahadut be-Angliyah: yekhalkel hashḳafah u-seḳirah maḳefet et galgal ha-ḥayim ha-datiyim yeha-tsiburiyim asher le-aḥenu bi-medinat Briṭanyah* by Israel Isaac Shvartsberg (Manchester, 1903).

Publications from Palestine are mainly journals with a largely educational focus, text books, works of language instruction and a number of works of *belles lettres*.

Works regarding Zionism/pre-Zionism range from the early texts of Kalman Schulman's collected letters to the *Hovevei Zion* movement, *Sefer Tsevi le-khol ha-aratsot: tokho ratsuf ahavah le-ra'yon "Yishuv Erets Yiśra'el"* (Vilna, 1893); volume one of Zalman Epshtain's writings; a JNF publication including pictures—*Mahu ha-natsiyonal-fund ha-'Ivri u-mah te'udato?* (Vilna, 1906); a tractate concerning the involvement of Jews in wars by the Zionist, essayist Aharon Shemu'el Tamares—*Keneset Yiśra'el u-milhamot ha-goyim* (Warsaw, 1920); and the collected writings of Elhanan Leib Lewinsky and Ahad Ha'am.

## 12. Journals (5%)

The collection contains volume 2 of *ha-Measef* (1784), volumes 1 to 9 of *Kerem Hemed*, the journal of the Galician and Italian *Haskalah* (1833–1856), various editions of *Hotsa'a Le'Am* (Palestine, early twentieth century) and volumes 1–6 of *ha-Eshkol* a literary and scientific Zionist journal about the land of Israel.

In addition examples of the "informative calendar" are to be found in the collection. This kind of calendar was published in Galicia by the *maskil* Josef Perl and later became popular also in the Russian Empire. It included a full annual calendar replete with useful information, articles on various topics and even some short works of *belles lettres*. The examples in the collection are: *Luah erets Yiśra'el* years 5, 9, 10 16 and 19 (Palestine) and the first year of *Luah Ahièver* (New York, 1918), a calendar with academic articles, original *belles lettres*, memoirs and discussion of the life of Jews in America.

## 13. Prayer Books (less than 10 volumes)

Prayer books in the collection include a holiday prayer book (*Mahzor*) according to the Roman tradition with an introduction by Shmuel David Luzatto, *Mahzor kol ha-shanah* (volumes 1 and 2, Livorno) and David Friedlanders' German translation of the prayer book (written in Hebrew characters) *Gebete der Yuden oyf dos gantse yohr* with *Pirke Avot* and annotations and explanations (Amsterdam, 1806/7).

#### 14. *Briefsteller* (less than 10 volumes)

Letter writing guides, offering sample letters which could be copied and adapted, were a popular genre in both Hebrew and Yiddish. The collection contains a number of examples: *Igron li-vene ha-ne'urim: mikhtavim le-mofet li-yeladim yeli-yelado: 'im milon ha-meva'er 'Ivrit yeha-metargem Rusit ye-Ashkenazit* by Y. Ch. Tavyov (Warsaw, 1906), which includes sample letters and a glossary. *Ketav yosher he-ḥadash: kolel kevutsat mikhtavim asher nikhtevu bi-pu'al, ye-asher akh le-tavnit konenu, le-lamed no'ari bene Yiśra'el ketov tsaḥot bi-śefat 'Ever: gam yavo'u divre melitsah, sipurim u-mishle musar ye-k hadomeh* is another letter writing book with a few fables included at the end (Warsaw, 1868).

#### 15. Miscellaneous

A number of volumes do not fit into any of the above categories. Among these are eulogies—*Alon bakhut: hesped mar 'al ... Avraham Naftali Hirts Shiyar* by Abraham Benjamin Hamburg, (Fiyorda, 1822 or 1823); *Śede bokhim: misped mar... 'al...Shim'on Binyamin Volf fon Roḥshild* by Simon Rabi (Cracow, 1901)—and laments, such as *Ḳinim ye-hegeh: 'al mot ha-Rav Shelomoh Yehudah Leb Hakohen Rapoport* by Smolenskin (Prague, 1867). The collection contains a copy of *ha-Eshkol* by Y. Goldman, the first attempt at a Hebrew encyclopedia on Jewish and non-Jewish topics (Warsaw, 1888); volume 1 of *Matsevet ḳodesh* by Gabriel ben Naftali Hirtz Sochestow which reproduces the gravestones of great Rabbis of Lvov (Lemberg, 1863); three volumes of *Sefer Ginze nistarot* (1868–1872) which offer copies of Hebrew manuscripts with introductions and footnotes; *Shomre ha-dat: Statuten für den ungarisch-jüdischen Verein "Glaubenswächter"* (Pest, 1868), concerning the establishment of the Hungarian Jewish association *Shomre hadath* with the German regulations of the society; and *Be'er Yithaq: igrot ratso ya-shov ben ... Yithaq Ber Leyinzohn ... u-ven ḥakhme doro bi-zemanim shonim*, letters to and from Isaac Beer Levinzon, marking 100 years since his birth (Warsaw, 1899), as well as various other volumes of letters.

## Suggested topics for detailed study based on the collection

### 1. Translation in the *Haskalah*.

2. As demonstrated by this short survey, the *maskilim* drew upon a wide range of sources from classical Greek to American literature, translating them into Hebrew. The full extent of this range has yet to be properly explored.

While much attention has been paid to the development of original modern Hebrew literature, few scholars have devoted any significant study to *maskilic* translations beyond those of the early Berlin *Haskalah*, often dismissing them as of little literary interest. This includes poetry, prose and plays. Despite isolated studies of specific texts, the wider issues of great importance and interest regarding maskilic translations, which cross the borders of literary, historical and cultural study, have yet to be tackled. These include the translator's motivation, choice of source text, the use of language, the influences on the translations (from within Jewish tradition and society and outside), the often ideological introductions to the texts by translators and other writers and many other topics. Since translated literature played such a significant role in the Hebrew canon, the lack of scholarship regarding these works is a major gap in our understanding of maskilic Hebrew literature, the development of modern Hebrew literature as a whole and the existing picture of the period.

### 3. Kalman Schulman

Histories of Hebrew accord Kalman Schulman an important role in Hebrew literature as the translator of Eugene Sue's *Mysteries de Paris*, which opened the way for a wider range of translated European literature. However, beyond this he is barely mentioned. His wide range of other texts, including travel writing, history, geography and *belles lettres*, have never been studied and Schulman remains largely shrouded in mystery, as a writer and a man. The collection includes many of Schulman's works and thus provides a good setting for studying his literary and educational activities.

### 4. Hebrew Grammars and Language Textbooks

The collection contains a range of Hebrew grammar and language textbooks from throughout the *Haskalah* period. This provides the perfect setting for a researcher of approaches to language teaching or Hebrew grammar to investigate the development of methods of teaching Hebrew, taking into account historical, cultural and ideological factors.

## 5. Geography/Travel Writing

Unfortunately overlooked is the extensive corpus of *maskilic* travel writing. This corpus constitutes a fascinating source for better understanding not only the *maskilic* educational aims, but also their interests, the works available to them and their opinions on various topics of global importance. Most studies of the *Haskalah* focus on internal dialogue within Jewish society. These works however provide an opportunity to understand how the *maskilim* viewed the rest of the world, outside the borders of Europe.

## 6. Historical Writing in the Haskalah

In the same manner that geographical texts have been neglected, this is also true of many of the historical texts in the collection. Works such as Gintsburg's history of the Napoleonic Wars or the various biographies of historical figures mentioned herein have been largely neglected. A study of these texts, their sources, their motivation and content will improve our understanding of the *maskilic* approach to history (both Jewish and world history) and the writers' beliefs/opinions on a range of topics.

### Scholarly Literature Regarding the *Haskalah* and *Maskilic* Literature

(This list is restricted to texts in English and represents only a tiny percentage of the range of academic literature available on all aspects of the *Haskalah*).

Bartal, Israel. "'The Heavenly City of Germany' and Absolutism à la Mode d'Autriche: The Rise of the Haskalah in Galicia." In *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model*, by (ed.) Jacob Katz, 33–42. New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1987.

Dauber, Jeremy. *Antonio's Devils. Writers of the Jewish Enlightenment and the Birth of Modern Hebrew and Yiddish Literature*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.

Etkes, Emanuel. "Immanent Factors and External Influences in the Development of the Haskalah Movement in Russia." In *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model*, by (ed.) Jacob Katz, 13–32. New York: Leo Baeck Institute, 1987.

Feiner, Shmuel. *The Jewish Enlightenment*. Translated by Chaya Naor. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar, 2004.

Feiner, Shmuel. "Towards a Historical Definition of 'Haskalah'." In *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*, by (ed.) Shmuel Feiner and David Sorkin, 184–219. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001.

Feiner, Shmuel and Israel Bartal. *The Varieties of Haskalah*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2005.

Feiner, Shmuel and David Sorkin. *New Perspectives on the Haskalah*. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001.

Katz, Jacob. *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation 1770–1870*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1973.

—. *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*. Translated by Bernard Dov Cooperman. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

Pelli, Moshe. "Haskalah Literature — Trends and Attitudes." *Jewish Book Annual* 39, 1981–2: 92–101.

—. *The Age of Haskalah: Studies in Hebrew Literature of the Enlightenment in Germany*. Leiden: E J Brill, 1979.

Raisin, Jacob S. *The Haskalah Movement in Russia*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1913.

Shavit, Zohar. "From Friedländer's Lesebuch to the Jewish Campe: The Beginning of Hebrew Children's Literature in Germany." *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 33, 1988: 385–413.

Sinkoff, Nancy. *Out of the Shtetl: Making Jews Modern in Polish Borderlands*. Providence: Brown University Press, 2004.

Zalkin, Mordechai. "Scientific Literature and Cultural Transformation in Nineteenth Century Eastern European Jewish Society." *Aleph* 5, 2005: 249–271.

Zinberg, Israel. *A History of Jewish Literature*. Translated by Bernard Martin. New York: KTAV, 1978.