

Jüdische religiöse Erziehung im Zeitalter der Emanzipation

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Jüdische religiöse Erziehung im Zeitalter der Emanzipation



Konzepte und Praxis

Herausgegeben von Dorothea M. Salzer

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Zohar Shavit

***Robinson der Jüngere* in the Service of the Haskalah: Joachim Heinrich Campe, the Haskalah and the “Bildung” Project in Jewish Society**

“These people have a heart like mine.”

(David Samosc [transl.], *Robinson der Jüngere*. Ein Lesebuch für Kinder von Joachim Heinrich Campe, p. 10)

What does a Jewish Maskil, unhappy about the poor state of Jewish education and residing in a province relatively far from the cultural center of Berlin, do to remedy the situation? A typical answer can be found in Haskalah literature of the early nineteenth century, in David Samosc’s (1789–1864) 1824 Hebrew translation of Joachim Heinrich Campe’s *Robinson der Jüngere* titled *Robinson der Jüngere*. Ein Lesebuch für Kinder (the book cover and title appeared in German transliterated into Hebrew letters; the language of the text itself was entirely Hebrew).¹ This translation demonstrates both the familiarity of members of the Haskalah movement – even those in the provinces – with contemporary German literature, and their use of translations as a tool to disseminate their ideas and ideals within the Jewish community. The ideas in this case were the Philanthropinist movement’s approaches to education; David Samosc’s translation was designed to provide teachers and parents (primarily fathers) with a text they could use to impart a new set of values to children, thereby generating change in Jewish society and its culture in the German-speaking parts of Europe.

This article will examine the circumstances that led to Samosc’s translation of *Robinson der Jüngere*, an internationally renowned bestseller. Its author, Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818), was among the most prominent writers of the

Note: This article was written in the framework of a DFG funded research project: “Innovation durch Tradition? Jüdische Bildungsmedien als Zugang zum Wandel kultureller Ordnungen während der ‘Sattelzeit’” run together with Prof. Simone Lässig of the German Historical Institute, Washington D.C. I would like to thank Prof. Lässig for her cooperation and advice and I would like to deeply thank M. Engel, Irit Halavy, Irad ben Isaak, Ido Peled, and Ran Kalderon for their precious and indispensable help in the intricate work of writing this essay.

1 Samosc, David: ראבינזאון דער ינגערע. איין לעזעבוך פיר קינדער. פאן יאָאָכִים היינריך קאמפּע. אינס זאמושטש העבראָישע איבערזאגן פֿאַן דוד זאמושטש [Robinson der Jüngere, Ein Lehrbuch für Kinder. Von Joachim Heinrich Campe. In’s Hebräische übertragen von David Samosc]. Breslau 1824.

Philanthropinist movement and had personal contacts among the Maskilim; his *Robinson* was considered the text that most clearly expressed the values of Philanthropinism. My study of Samosc's translation will focus on how he utilized Campe's status among the Maskilim to embed Philanthropinist approaches to education in Jewish literature; how he used his translation as a platform for imparting the values of "Bildung" to the Jewish communities of German-speaking areas of Europe; and how he leveraged his translation to introduce civil society, the values of "Bildung", and the bourgeois family model to Jews – all this in the context of the relationship between the Haskalah and Philanthropinism in general and with Joachim Heinrich Campe in particular. This article will also compare later translations of *Robinson* that were based on a different worldview than Samosc's, in order to better illustrate the objectives of his own work.

In previous articles I have demonstrated how Maskilim used translated texts to present Jewish society with an alternative habitus;² by embedding in those overt or implied instructions regarding everyday practices. This article will describe how Maskilim employed translation to put forth their ideal model for Jewish society – one which deviated from tradition and was based on the values of the German bourgeoisie, particularly in terms of familial relations, "Bildung", vocational training and relations with non-Jews.

David Samosc's translation was part of a major Maskilic project that emerged toward the late eighteenth century of publishing books for Jewish children and young adults. These books voiced the change that the Haskalah movement was trying to engender in Jewish communities, among other things by establishing a network of schools whose pedagogical approach embraced Philanthropinist values – albeit filtered through their own Maskilic interpretation. The Maskilim sought to become part of bourgeois civil society and to reform Jewish society via the dissemination of "Bildung" values, in the spirit of Christian Wilhelm von Dohm's³ recommendation that Jews be granted equal civil rights provided that they adopt "Bildung" values and the behavioral codes of civil society's bourgeoisie (Bürgertum). The Maskilim understood that adopting such values would open up new horizons for Jews' integration into non-Jewish

2 Shavit, Zohar: What Do You Do When You Get Up in The Morning: The Function of The Haskalah Library in The Change Which Took Place in the Jewish Habitus. In: The Library of the Haskalah. Ed. by Shmuel Feiner, Zohar Shavit, Natalie Naimark-Goldberg, and Tal Kogman. Tel Aviv 2014. P. 39–62 [Hebrew]; Shavit, Zohar: Train Up a Child: On the Maskilic Attempt to Change the Habitus of Jewish Children and Young Adults. In: Journal of Jewish Education 82,1 (2016). P. 28–53.

3 Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von: Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden (1781). Hildesheim – New York 1973.

bourgeois society, where one was judged by his ability to acquire independent status by attaining a profession, a broad education, and financial and cultural capital. The line separating the bourgeoisie from other socioeconomic strata was shaped by a unique bourgeois self-consciousness, cultural model, and ways of life.⁴ This *Bürgerlichkeit* was manifested in “individuelle Leistung, Arbeit und Arbeitsethos, Neigung zu rationaler Lebensführung, Selbständigkeit, Selbstorganisation, Bildung, ästhetisches Verhältnis zur Hochkultur, ein Familienideal, symbolische Alltagsformen (Tischsitten, Kleidung, Konventionen) etc. – und ‘vielleicht’ auch politische Werte wie ein ‘Minimum an liberalen Tugenden’”.⁵

Embracing bourgeois values eased – and in fact made possible – Jews’ integration into German speaking society. Their emancipation, as opposed, for example, to that of the Jews in France, was conditional. Whereas French Jews could decide for themselves what to make of their emancipation, the Edict of Tolerance, passed in 1782 in the Habsburg empire, demanded a prolonged preliminary process for Jews if they wished to earn emancipation.⁶ Jews could enjoy equal (albeit limited) rights if they proved they had acquired “Bildung”. In other words, emancipation meant adopting the German bourgeoisie’s Enlightenment ideals: its unique social ethos, its rules of “Sittlichkeit”, and its customs and etiquette.

Scholars have provided different answers to the question of how Jews adopted bourgeois values. Some, like Shulamit Volkov,⁷ believe it involved a two-stage process that relied on Jews having first achieved economic prosperity. Others, like Simone Lässig,⁸ argue the opposite: that Jews began acquiring a secular education and adopting the daily practices of the German bourgeoisie at an earlier rather than later stage of the process of entering that stratum; in other words, the “Bildung” that they acquired then enabled them to improve their economic sta-

4 For a comprehensive discussion on the subject, see: Hettling, Manfred: *Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit*. http://docupedia.de/zg/hettling_buerger_v1_2015 (4. 9. 2015).

5 Hettling, Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, p. 13.

6 Rürup, Reinhard: *Judenemanzipation und bürgerliche Gesellschaft in Deutschland*. In: *Emanzipation und Antisemitismus, Studien zur “Judenfrage” der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*. Göttingen 1975. P. 11–36, p. 17f. Weissberg, Liliane: *Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, Johann Wolfgang Goethe und die Erfindung des jüdischen Bürgertums*. In: *Trumah* 22 (2012). P. 69–91, p. 71.

7 Volkov, Shulamit: *Die Verbürgerlichung der Juden in Deutschland als Paradigma*. In: Volkov, Shulamit: *Jüdisches Leben und Antisemitismus im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Zehn Essays*. München 1990. P. 111–130.

8 Lässig, Simone: *How German Jewry Turned Bourgeois: Religion, Culture, and Social Mobility in the Age of Emancipation*. In: *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute (GHI)* 37 (2005). P. 59–73.

tus, and most importantly the economic and social status of their children, who were raised on the values of “Bildung”.

I propose to understand the process of bourgeoisification as both a continuation of and a departure from a long Jewish tradition in which intellectual capital was combined through marriage with financial capital. In this tradition, the bride’s family supplied the capital necessary to fund the groom’s Torah studies. The tradition continued during the Enlightenment, but with a change in the intellectual capital in question: the groom’s assets were no longer religious education, but “Bildung”, which allowed him and his family to climb the social ladder within one or two generations.

Whether Jews first acquired financial capital, and only then gained, in the words of Pierre Bourdieu, symbolic capital and established themselves within the bourgeoisie, or whether a parallel or inverse process took place, it is clear that by the end of the nineteenth century a significant number of Jews in German-speaking areas had become part of the bourgeoisie. This was evident from their ways of life and economic and social structures, which differed from those of Jewish communities in the German-speaking areas a century earlier. This revolution took place thanks to the confluence of two factors: a shift in the ruling regimes’ policy towards Jews, from exclusion and discrimination to tolerance and inclusion; and the process of reform that the Haskalah movement strove to generate in Jewish society.⁹

That effort toward reform would involve several agents of change, among them a new educational system and the publication of non-religious texts explicitly aimed at children and young adults. These texts also unofficially addressed adults who were searching for a path towards Enlightenment, and presented Jewish readers with a new social model. Such was the case with the translation into Hebrew of *Robinson der Jüngere*, whose story, built on the framing device of a dialog between father and children, dramatized various scenarios in a typical bourgeois family and thus provided an almost visual illustration of the ideal model of bourgeois life.¹⁰

⁹ Bodian, Miriam: The Jewish Entrepreneurs in Berlin and the ‘Civil Improvement of the Jews’ in the 1780’s and 1790’s. In: *Zion* 49, 2 (1984). P. 159–184 [Hebrew with English summary].

¹⁰ On Campe’s presentation of familial life and on his changes to Defoe’s text, see Mouchet, Claude: Robinson Crusoe. Un héros pédagogique entre Rousseau et Campe. In: *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l’Étranger* 185,3 (1995). P. 311–336, p. 321 f.

1 The Haskalah and its Relationship with Members of the Philanthropinist Movement

The Philanthropinist movement (in German: Philanthropinismus) blossomed in the 1770s in northern Germany. It sought to implement educational reforms based on Enlightenment values and to correct the flaws of traditional education.¹¹ The Jewish Maskilim saw Philanthropinism as a source of inspiration for the revolutionary change they desired to bring to Jewish education. In its early stages, their connection to Philanthropinism stemmed from Moses Mendelssohn's personal relationships with central members of that movement, primarily with Joachim Heinrich Campe and Johann Bernhard Basedow, who founded the “*Philanthropinum*” school in Dessau.

Moses Mendelssohn played a pivotal role in introducing reform within Jewish education. He participated in most of the efforts to introduce “Bildung” into Jewish society in Berlin and was among the initiators of the first Jewish civil school (Bürgerschule) in Europe – “Die Jüdische Freischule zu Berlin”, founded in 1778. He himself introduced civic education in his home for his own children in the 1760s and 1770s, serving as a role model for Jewish civic education.¹² Contact between Basedow and Mendelssohn began after Mendelssohn published a lengthy review of a book by Basedow in *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften* in 1757.¹³ While he praised the book, he also leveled sharp criticism at Basedow's great veneration of French culture.¹⁴ When, ten years later, Basedow was recruiting pre-subscribers for his new encyclopedic textbook *Elementarbuch*, he asked Mendelssohn to help gather pre-subscriptions, apparently since he thought Jews might be interested in promoting a book that presented the foundations of the Philanthropinist movement. Mendelssohn responded with a bitter letter¹⁵ in

11 Schmitt, Hanno: Vernunft und Menschlichkeit. Studien zur Philanthropischen Erziehungsbewegung. Bad Heilbrunn 2007. P. 16–18.

12 Behm, Britta: Moses Mendelssohn und die Transformation der jüdischen Erziehung in Berlin. Eine bildungsgeschichtliche Analyse zur jüdischen Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert. Münster 2002. P. 19.

13 Basedow, Johann Bernhard: Lehrbuch prosaischer und poetischer Wohlredenheit in verschiedenen Schreibarten und Werken, zu akademischen Vorlesungen. Kopenhagen 1756.

14 Mendelssohn, Moses: Basedows Lehrbuch prosaischer und poetischer Wohlredenheit. In: Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freien Künste. 2. Band. Erstes Stück. Leipzig 1757/1758. P. 57–90, p. 90.

15 See Simon, Ernst: Philanthropism and Jewish Education. In: Mordecai M. Kaplan, Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday. New York 1953. P. 149–187, p. 159 [Hebrew]. For Mendelssohn's full response, see Appendix 1 and Fraenkel, Albert: Mendelssohn und die Er-

which he expressed his frustration with Jews' limited civil rights; he questioned the point of encouraging his Jewish brethren to learn about civil rights and freedom of thought while some civil rights and full equality were still denied to them.

In September 1776 Jean Frédéric Simon, an emissary of Basedow's and a teacher at the *Philanthropinum*, approached Mendelssohn and requested his help in raising funds for the school.¹⁶ According to Basedow's and Campe's account from 1777 in the journal *Pädagogische Unterhandlungen*, forty-eight Jewish donors, most of them from Berlin, donated the substantial sum of 518 Reichsthaler.¹⁷ The donors comprised prominent figures in the Berlin Jewish community; some belonged to the most affluent and politically influential Jewish families of the city.¹⁸ Basedow repaid them by dedicating the entire eightieth illustrated panel (Tafel) of *Elementarwerk* to Jewish themes: the crossing of the Red Sea, Jews being expelled by soldiers, and pogroms against Jews. In addition he included a portrait of Mendelssohn by Daniel Chodowiecki, which was the sole portrait in the entire book.¹⁹

After the establishment of the *Philanthropinum* in Dessau, efforts were made to find students who would enroll in the school, including Jewish students. But Jewish parents hesitated. The Duke of Dessau, who supported the institution, was irate about what he saw as Jews' lack of gratitude. Joachim Heinrich Campe, who began working at the *Philanthropinum* in Dessau on October 16, 1776 as a Kurator (a kind of administrative manager of the school)²⁰ turned in distress to Moses Mendelssohn, whom Philanthropinist adherents saw as the preeminent representative of enlightened Jews. Campe wrote Mendelssohn of the failed effort to

ziehungsreformation. In: Lessing-Mendelssohn Gedenkbuch. Zur hundertfünfzigjährigen Geburtsfeier von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing und Moses Mendelssohn, sowie zur Säcularfeier von Lessing's "Nathan". Ed. by Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund. Leipzig 1879. P. 190–192.

16 Behm, Moses Mendelssohn, p. 185.

17 Freudenthal, Max: Aus der Heimat Moses Mendelssohns. In: Gedenkbuch für Moses Mendelssohn. Ed. by Verband der Vereine für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur in Deutschland. Berlin 1929. P. 11–40, p. 36; Simon, Philanthropism, p. 159.

18 For a list of Jewish donors to the *Philanthropinum* see Behm, Moses Mendelssohn, p.186.

19 Basedow, Johann Bernhard: *Elementarwerk mit den Kupfertafeln Chodowieckis u. a.* Ed. by Theodor Fritsch. Hildesheim 1972 [1770]. Tab 80 [lxxx]; Simon, Philanthropism, p. 159.

20 Niedermeier, Michael: Campe als Direktor des Dessauer Philanthropins. In: *Visionäre Lebensklugheit. Joachim Heinrich Campe in seiner Zeit (1746–1818)*. Ed. by Hanno Schmitt and Peter Albrecht. Wiesbaden 1996. P. 45–66, p. 52.

spur Jewish enrollment,²¹ and Mendelssohn responded in an open letter published first in 1783 in the German journal *Litteratur und Völkerkunde*²² and later again in the German-language supplement of *Ha-Me'assef* (September 5544/1784, see appendix 1).²³ Among other things Mendelssohn wrote that, with all due respect to the Duke's generous offer to accept Jewish students, his gesture was hardly exceptional: Jews were already being accepted into several German schools as students and teachers. Nor did Mendelssohn abstain from commenting about Frederick the Great, who vetoed his acceptance to the Prussian Academy of Science. Despite the letter's biting tone, Campe and Mendelssohn became friends;²⁴ Campe visited Mendelssohn's home, and even recorded his impressions from the visit – a description rather resembling that of an anthropologist visiting a foreign tribe.²⁵

At any rate, the Maskilic connection to Philanthropinism did not depend solely on the personal relationships forged between certain Maskilim and Campe. The more profound reason for the former's embrace of Philanthropinism was rooted in the movement's foundational ideals, such as a "love for humankind" irrespective of religion or nationality, the idea of a universalist religion, and the push for cosmopolitan education.²⁶ An example of the importance that Maskilim attributed to Philanthropinism can be found in the following description of the word "Philanthropin" that appeared in the first year of *Ha-Me'assef*: "Philanthropin: The name consists of two Greek words and means love of Man, and they named this school Philanthropin in order to emphasize its founders' love toward all humankind, to teach wisdom and that no difference lies between a Jew, a Christian and a gentile."²⁷

21 According to Britta Behm, Campe's letter was written at the beginning of 1777. See: Behm, Moses Mendelssohn, p. 182, note 167. Most likely the letter was lost, according to my correspondence with Birgit Bucher of the Mendelssohn Archive, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.

22 *Literatur und Völkerkunde* 2, X (1783), p. 897.

23 Mendelssohn, Moses: Schreiben, die philanthropinische Erziehung jüdischer Kinder betreffend. In: *Ha-Me'assef*. Tevet 5544 (1. 1. 1784). P. 5–10.

24 It is interesting to note that Campe's student Wilhelm von Humboldt "inherited" Campe's philosemitic attitude, maintained contact with Jewish women who hosted salons, and corresponded with them. See Frieden, Ken: *Travels in Translation. Sea Tales at the Source of Jewish Fiction*. Syracuse 2016. P. 154.

25 Kayserling, Moritz Meier: *Moses Mendelssohn. Sein Leben und Wirken*. Leipzig 1888. P. 422f.; Badt-Strauss, Bertha: *Moses Mendelssohn. Der Mensch und das Werk*. Berlin 1929. P. 71f. (with minor differences).

26 Eliav, Mordechai: *Jewish Education in Germany in the Period of Enlightenment and Emancipation*. Jerusalem 1960. P. 3 [Hebrew].

27 *Ha-Me'assef*. Tevet 5544 (1. 1. 1784). P. 62; Tsamriyon, Tsemach: *Ha-Me'assef. The First Modern Periodical in Hebrew*. Tel Aviv 1988. P. 196, note 130 [Hebrew].

2 The Haskalah's Educational System and its Relationship with Philanthropinism in General and with Campe in Particular

The Maskilim adopted the Philanthropinist model of education and according to their own interpretation of it endeavored to implement reform within the Jewish educational system. Their articles on pedagogy, published in Maskilic journals – primarily *Ha-Me'assef* and *Shulamit* – referred frequently to Philanthropinist writing on the subject. They adopted Philanthropinism's working assumption about the existence of essential differences between children and adults, and thus strove to adapt the educational process to children's cognitive abilities. This required a change in teaching methods, with an emphasis on students' individual needs and a constant dialogue between teacher and students. Learning, they believed, should take place in a pleasant and healthy environment, eschew physical punishment, and even include free time and recreation.²⁸ They encouraged experiential learning and the integration of games and field trips alongside theoretical and text-based study and recommended the use of experiments in the classroom and abundant concrete examples of theoretical concepts.²⁹ They also endorsed the study of geography, history, natural sciences, and modern languages, and encouraged competition between students through certificates of praise (Lobkärtchen) for achievement and good behavior.³⁰ In addition, Maskilic Jewish schools adopted a series of Philanthropinist practices such as an emphasis on physical health and hygiene and compulsory uniforms.³¹ Several schools, such as the first Maskilic Jewish school, the Jüdische Freischule zu Berlin, were founded on the adoption of Philanthropinist theories and methods adjusted to their own needs.³² The Samson School in Wolfenbüttel introduced the Philanthropinists' method of certificates of recognition, grades for daily conduct, public

28 Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 3, p. 146; on the Maskilim's attitudes to the study of the Bible, see Shavit, Yaacov: *The Hebrew Bible Reborn: From Holy Scripture to the Book of Books*. Berlin 2007. P. 35–37.

29 Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 105.

30 Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 97.

31 Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 3, p. 145.

32 Behm, Moses Mendelssohn, p. 189; Feiner, Shmuel: *The Freischule on the Crossroads of the Crisis in Jewish Society*. In: Chevrat Chinuch Nearim. *Die jüdische Freischule in Berlin (1778–1825) im Umfeld preußischer Bildungspolitik und jüdischer Kulturreform*. Ed. by Ingrid Lohmann [et al.]. Münster 2000. P. 6–12.

scolding for unruly students, organized games and field trips,³³ and constant dialogue between parents and the school.³⁴ Philanthropist ideas were also evident in the importance schools gave to vocational training. For example, the Jacobsonschule in Seesen was initially established to provide impoverished youth with occupational training alongside basic studies according to the Philanthropist method.

These schools catered at first only to boys, but later expanded to serve girls as well. Instruction included several basic fields of knowledge, which Naphtali Herz Wessely, in his Maskilic manifesto *Divre Shalom ve-Emet* (“Words of Peace and Truth”, Berlin 1782), distinguished from *Torat ha-Shem* (religious study) and described as *Torat ha-Adam* (universal human knowledge); this latter category included fields such as geography, history, natural science, botany, zoology, mineralogy, astronomy, optics, mathematics, engineering, one’s state language, etiquette, ethics, and more. The schools’ programs stressed the importance of “natural education” and of love for children. Alongside the effort to adjust studies to a child’s capacity, their curricula were also characterized by the gradual introduction of concepts according to complexity or difficulty and by an avoidance of rote memorization. Furthermore, the schools emphasized loyalty to the local state and regime, and endorsed the rejection of social barriers between Jews and Christians by opening registration to Christian children.³⁵ The journal *Ha-Me’assef* regularly featured these schools; thus, for instance, the Heshvan 5545 issue (November 1784) noted that “thanks to his Excellency the Bishop the Christian children do not pester Jewish students, nor are Jews required in any way to change their laws or the practice of their religion”.³⁶

According to Akiva Ernst Simon and Tsemach Tsamriyon, prominent scholars of the Haskalah and the history of education, no other educational system in Europe adopted the principles of Philanthropism to as great an extent as did Jewish schools. Akiva Ernst Simon noted in 1953 that the National Library in Jerusalem possessed eleven copies of translations of Campe’s work into Hebrew and Yiddish.³⁷ Jewish pedagogues preferred Philanthropism to the Pestalozzi approach,³⁸ which was highly popular in the German educational system.

33 Feiner, *The Freischule*, p. 105.

34 Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 106, p. 129.

35 Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 171.

36 Tsamriyon, *Ha-Me’assef*, p. 182; “History of time [Toldot ha-Zeman]”, translated from “Ashkenazi” [German]. *Ha-Me’assef*. Heshvan 5545 (1. 11. 1784). P 27.

37 Simon, *Philanthropism*, p. 163.

38 See Simon’s note on an article by Shimon Baraz (attributed mistakenly to Shimon Brill), entitled “The Education of Youth”, which was published in the fourth volume of *Ha-Me’assef*, Ha-

In the first of his four epistles concerning Jewish education, *Divre Shalom ve-Emet* (Berlin 1782), Naphtali Herz Wessely sharply criticized the isolationist and static character of traditional Jewish education, which did not provide Jewish children with a systematic and methodical education and which failed to prepare them to function as citizens in a civic society. In addition he outlined a pedagogical scheme for Haskalah schools established in German-speaking areas in the late eighteenth century.³⁹ His program was based on striking a balance between religious and non-religious study, as described above; training teachers as professionals; and carefully structuring curricula, classrooms, and textbooks.⁴⁰ Wessely saw religious and non-religious education as parts of a whole, interdependent and inseparable.⁴¹ The first epistle introduced Philanthropinist ideas,⁴² such as graduated study, making learning enjoyable, and conducting teacher-student dialogues. In his second epistle (*Rav tuv le-vet Yisrael*, Berlin 1782), addressed to Trieste's Jewish community, Wessely linked another Philanthropinist idea, that of the need for recreational time, to the keeping of the Shabbat.⁴³ Philanthropinist ideas⁴⁴ were behind critiques of the traditional Jewish education system by various Jewish thinkers, such as R. Wolf Dessau, who was one of the first Maskilim in Dessau and in contact with the Philanthropinists.⁴⁵

Me'assef 5548 (15. 10. 1787). P. 33–43. They rejected the idea of home schooling proposed by Pestalozzi: Simon, *Philanthropism*, p. 175.

³⁹ "ויצו עליהם [יאזעפוס השני] שיכינו בתי מדרשות ללמד בהם את בניהם קריאת לשון אשכנזי וכתיבתו, ושיחברו ספרי מוסר השכל על פי דרכי התורה ללמד בהם את הנער' דעת ומנהגי דרך ארץ, ואולם חכמת המספר והמדידה ותכונת השמים וכיוצא, וכן קורות הימים ותכונת הארץ, ילמדון הנערים בספרים המצויים במלכותו שלומדין בהם ילדי ותכונת השמים וכיוצא, וכן קורות הימים ותכונת הארץ, ילמדון הנערים בספרים המצויים במלכותו שלומדין בהם ילדי עמו." – Wessely, Naphtali Herz: *Divre Shalom ve-Emet*. First Epistle. Warsaw 1886. P. 16.

⁴⁰ Feiner, Shmuel: Moses Mendelssohn. Jerusalem 2005. P. 122f.

⁴¹ "[...] ומכל מקום שתי התורות מתאימות, כי התורה ודעת האדם שתיהן מעשה אלהים הן [...]" – Wessely, *Divre Shalom ve-Emet*. First Epistle, p. 9. For a German translation by Rainer Wenzel see: Lohmann, Ingrid, Rainer Wenzel and Uta Lohmann (eds.): *Naphtali Herz Wessely Worte des Friedens und der Wahrheit. Dokumente einer Kontroverse über Erziehung in der europäischen Spätaufklärung*. Münster – New York 2014. P. 118.

⁴² Simon, *Philanthropism*, p. 172.

⁴³ For instance, the following dialogue justified a day of rest:

"הרב, ומהו יום השבת? תלמיד, ששת ימים עשה ה' את השמים ואת הארץ, וינח ביום השביעי וברכנו וקדשו"
 – "Rabbi/ and what is Shabbat?/Student: Six days the Lord made heaven and earth / and rested on the seventh day and blessed and sanctified." Wessely, Naphtali Herz: *Divre Shalom ve-Emet*. Second Epistle. *Rav tuv le-vet Yisrael*. Warsaw 1886. P. 67. For a German translation by Rainer Wenzel see: Lohmann (ed.), *Naphtali Herz Wessely*, p. 165.

⁴⁴ Freundenthal, Max: R. Wolf Dessau. Breslau 1916. P. 7.

⁴⁵ Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 171.

Philanthropist literature found a place of honor on the library shelves of the new Jewish schools. For example, Campe's book *Sittenbüchlein* was included in the list of textbooks at the Breslau school⁴⁶; some of his books were also found in that school's teachers' library. At the Samson Schule in Wolfenbüttel, whose objectives were described by its headmaster Meir Ehrenberg as "scientific, social, ethical and national education,"⁴⁷ students were assigned Campe's books for young adults. Articles by Maskilim referred directly to Philanthropist literature; for example, Shimon Baraz's article in the fourth volume of *Ha-Me'assef* from 1788 referred in a footnote to Campe's [sic] *Allgemeine Revision*,⁴⁸ and David Caro's comprehensive article *Giddul Banim* ("Raising Sons", 1810), published in seven installments in *Ha-Me'assef*, laid forth his educational doctrine and acknowledged Campe as one of his most important sources.⁴⁹

In addition to adopting the pedagogical practices of Philanthropism in schools, the movement's ideas were also introduced into the Jewish education system by means of a relatively massive project of translation. On the whole, the translation project provided a major influx of texts to the body of Haskalah literature. The Maskilim translated primarily from German, or used the German translation as a mediating language.

In this article I analyze, as a case study, several translations into Hebrew of Joachim Heinrich Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere. Zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder* – not only because of the latter's popularity in Germany and beyond it, but mainly because of the varying themes and structures of the translations. Among the translations, as we shall see, only Samosc's retained Campe's Philanthropist ideals. In Campe's adaptation, Robinson ultimately established an entire micro-civilization from scratch – the perfect illustration of how a person, depending solely on his intelligence, determination and hard work, is capable of shaping his entire life from the outset.

⁴⁶ Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 84; Simon, *Philanthropism*, p. 164.

⁴⁷ Eliav, *Jewish Education*, p. 104.

⁴⁸ Simon, *Philanthropism*, p. 175; *Ha-Me'assef*. Heshvan 5548 (15. 10. 1787). P. 33–43, p. 151; Baraz probably refers to the series edited by Campe during the years 1785–1792, *Allgemeine Revision des gesammten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*.

⁴⁹ Simon, *Philanthropism*, p. 176; *Ha-Me'assef*. Tamuz 5570 (15. 7. 1810). P. 14–31; Av 5570 (15. 8. 1810). P. 63–73; Tishrei 5571 (10. 5. 1810). P. 25–33; Heshvan 5571 (15. 11. 1810). P. 44–54; Tevet 5571 (15. 1. 1811). P. 26–31; Shevat 5571 (15. 2. 1811). P. 56–64; Adar 5571 (15. 3. 1811). P. 86–94. Simon notes that the last installment was never published.

3 Joachim Heinrich Campe and *Robinson der Jüngere*

Joachim Heinrich Campe's life (1746–1818) was filled with twists and upheaval. He began his intellectual life as a theologian and developed into a scholar of the German language, a writer, a publisher and one of the most prominent thinkers of the Philanthropinist movement. In 1773, Campe stayed in Potsdam, where he designed a plan for the education of Friedrich Wilhelm, the Crown Prince of Prussia. He then was employed at Tegel as a private teacher for the von Humboldt family; he first taught Heinrich von Holwede, step-son to the father of the family, Alexander Georg von Humboldt, and later briefly tutored the brothers Alexander and Wilhelm von Humboldt.⁵⁰ He went on to teach at the *Philanthropinum* School established in 1774 by Basedow in Dessau, which served as a model school for the Philanthropinist movement.⁵¹ In 1776, Campe assumed management of the school and, together with Basedow, founded the journal *Pädagogische Unterhandlungen* ("Pedagogic Discussions"), whose publication gradually changed in format from monthly to quarterly and then to biannual.⁵² He left the *Philanthropinum* dramatically after less than a year following severe disputes with Basedow.⁵³ Moving to Hamburg, he established a school in the Philanthropinist spirit. The period between 1785–1791 was among the most fruitful in his life. Campe published sixteen (!) volumes of the programmatic collection of articles *Allgemeine Revision des gesamten Schul- und Erziehungswesens*,⁵⁴ to which Baraz, as mentioned earlier, referred directly in his *Ha-Me'assef* article. He also translated, from French and English, two fundamental books on education which were at the basis of his pedagogic thought: *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* by John Locke (1693), and *Émile, ou De l'éducation* by Jean Jacques Rousseau (1762). An indication of Campe's high status beyond Germany was the honorary citizenship he was granted by revolutionary France in 1792, togeth-

50 Schmitt, Hanno: Visionäre Lebensklugheit. Zur Biographie Joachim Heinrich Campes. In: Visionäre Lebensklugheit. Joachim Campe (1746–1818) in seiner Zeit. Ed. by Hanno Schmitt and Peter Albrecht. Wiesbaden 1996. P. 13–32, p. 15f. Campe traveled with Wilhelm von Humboldt to Paris after the storming of the Bastille and subsequently wrote about the French Revolution in his book *Briefe aus Paris*. See: Garber, Jörn: Joachim Heinrich Campes Reisen in die 'Hauptstadt der Menschheit' (1789–1802). In: *Ibidem*. P. 225–246, p. 229.

51 Eliav, Jewish Education, p. 3.

52 Kersting, Christa: Die Genese der Pädagogik im 18. Jahrhundert. Campes *Allgemeine Revision* im Kontext der neuzeitlichen Wissenschaft. Weinheim 1992. P. 67–70.

53 Fertig, Ludwig: Campes Politische Erziehung. Darmstadt 1977. P. 6–9.

54 Kersting, Die Genese der Pädagogik, p. 88.

er with Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, George Washington and Friedrich Schiller.⁵⁵

Robinson de Jüngere was the most successful of the many travel books Campe wrote. Such books allowed children to experience distant places and remote cultures, and absorb information on history, geography, customs, and manners. The books were not only designed to increase the children's knowledge,⁵⁶ but also to inculcate values like courage, grace under hardship, and the importance of teamwork, order, and respect for others.⁵⁷

Robinson der Jüngere was first printed in two parts in Hamburg in the years 1779 and 1780, and was considered one of the very first children's books to appear in Western and Central Europe. It was the most successful of a wave of adaptations of *Robinson Crusoe* that emerged in the wake of Daniel Defoe's novel (three volumes, 1719–1720). Such was *Robinson Crusoe*'s popularity that German translations of Defoe's first two volumes were issued as early as 1720⁵⁸ – one in Leipzig and the other one in Hamburg (the latter edition also included a glossary of maritime terms). A real deluge of Robinson adaptations was to follow, often varying the hero's nationality: *The German Robinson* (1722); *The Saxon Robinson* (1730); *Robinson the Swede* (1733); *Robinson the Netherlander* (1733) and *Robinson the Brandenburger* (1750), among others. Altogether more than forty Robinson books were published in as many years⁵⁹ – among these *The Jewish Robinson* (1759).⁶⁰ Moritz Steinschneider mentions an adaptation of Robinson Crusoe that was written in German but transliterated using Hebrew (not Yiddish) orthography; that book was published in Metz in 1764 by Joseph Antoine.⁶¹ In 1778, a year before the publication of Campe's adaptation, J. K.

55 Fertig, *Campes Politische Erziehung*, p. 37.

56 On Campe's pedagogical intentions and his endeavor to replace the sentimental reading material then available to children, see Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, p. 155 f.

57 See Zantop, *Susanne: Colonial Fantasies. Conquest, Family and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870*. Durham (NC) – London 1997. P. 102–120, esp. p. 105.

58 Dottin, Paul: *Daniel De Foe et ses Romans*. Paris 1924. P. 439.

59 Dottin, *Daniel De Foe et ses Romans*, p. 440–443; Ullrich, Hermann: *Robinson und Robinsonaden*. Bibliographie. Weimar 1898. P. 63–222.

60 This book presented strong anti-Jewish sentiment, described by Jürgen Fohrmann as follows: “[...] der Jüdische Robinson von 1759 ist schließlich ein übel anti-jüdisches Machwerk, in dem nur die Gemeinheiten literarisiert werden, die man den Juden anlastete.” On this see Fohrmann, Jürgen: *Abenteuer und Bürgertum. Zur Geschichte der deutschen Robinsonaden in 18. Jahrhundert*. Stuttgart 1981. P. 49 f.

61 Steinschneider, Moritz: *Hebräische Drucke in Deutschland*. In: *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 5,2 (1892). P. 154–186, p. 156.

Wezel published a Philanthropinist adaptation of *Robinson Crusoe* in the journal *Pädagogische Unterhandlungen*.⁶²

Campe's decision to adapt *Robinson Crusoe* for children must thus be discussed as part of the new "Robinsonade" genre that inundated Europe, especially Germany.⁶³ Nevertheless, only Campe's adaptation enjoyed such remarkable success, becoming one of the most-translated books of his day – it was translated into French, English, Italian, Latin, Greek, Croatian, Czech, Serbian, Romanian, Spanish, Danish, Swedish, Finnish, Dutch, Yiddish,⁶⁴ and Lithuanian,⁶⁵ among others. The translators in many cases were themselves prominent cultural figures, testifying to the status of Campe's book.⁶⁶

Campe's adaptation was highly praised.⁶⁷ The critic and literary historian Wolfgang Menzel called it "Die neue Bibel aller Kinder gebildeter Stände" ("The new Bible for all children of the educated classes")⁶⁸, and Johann Wolfgang Goethe referred to it in his conversations with Eckermann as a children's gospel.⁶⁹

Thanks to Campe's adaptation, Robinson as a character remained a vivid part of Western Europe's literary repertoire and dozens of variations emerged

62 See Elke Liebs' chapter "Die wohltemperierte Seele. Wezels Robinson Crusoe". In: Liebs, Elke: *Die pädagogische Insel. Studien zur Rezeption des Robinson Crusoe in deutschen Jugendbearbeitungen*. Stuttgart 1977. P. 95–134.

63 Dottin maintains that translations were used as means to fill in the gaps of the lacking system of German literature. See Dottin, Daniel De Foe et ses Romans, p. 441.

64 Taykhman, Moyshe: *Tsu der yidisher oysgabe fun robinzon kruzoo*. In: *Literarische bleter* 40 (1937). P. 699 [Yiddish]. I thank Irad Ben-Yizhak for the translation from the Yiddish. Taykhman reviews the Robinsonade literature and explains why he found it necessary to update Zalman Raisin's translation.

65 Geriguis, Lina Lamanauskaitė: *Discovering the Lithuanian Reinscription of Robinson Crusoe: A Literary Construct of Nineteenth Century Cultural, Political and Historical Discourses in Lithuania*. *Lithuanian* 54, 4 (2008). http://www.lituanus.org/2008/08_4_07%20Geriguis.html.

66 The Lithuanian version, for example, was translated by the famous historian Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864).

67 See Ewers, Hans-Heino: *Joachim Heinrich Campe als Kinderliterat und als Jugendschriftsteller*. In: *Erfahrung schrieb's und reicht's der Jugend*. Ed. by Hans-Heino Ewers. Frankfurt/Main 2010. P. 53–78, p. 53f. Fertig, *Campes politische Erziehung*, p. 133; Stambor, Elisabeth: *Young Robinson by Campe and the Literary Billiards Game in Europe*. Seminary work, Dept. of French Literature, Tel Aviv University 1990 [Hebrew].

68 Menzel, Wolfgang: *Die deutsche Literatur*. 2. verm. Aufl. Stuttgart 1836. P. 31.

69 "Auch halte ich in der Tat ein großes Stück auf Campe [...] Er hat den Kindern ungläubliche Dienste geleistet; er ist ihr Entzücken und sozusagen ihr Evangelium." Eckermann, Johann Peter: *Gespräche mit Goethe*. In den letzten Jahren. Ed. by Heinz Schlaffer. München 1986, p. 670. Goethe's description of Campe is rather unflattering: "Ich fand ihn damals sehr alt, dürr, steif und abgemessen", p. 670.

on the Robinsonade. Campe's massive popularity in and beyond Germany made him one of the most successful authors in German: "Rechnet man die zahllosen Übersetzungen – u. a. ins Französische 1779/82, Italienische 1787, Lateinische 1785, Hebräische 1824 – und die Fortsetzungen hinzu, dann darf man *Campes Robinson der Jüngere* wohl zu den erfolgreichsten Büchern deutscher Sprache rechnen." ("In light of the countless translations, among them translations into French 1779/82, Italian 1787, Latin 1785, Hebrew 1824 and their sequels *Campes Robinson the Younger* can be counted among the most successful books in the German language.")⁷⁰

Some scholars see Campe as the father of eighteenth-century German children's literature;⁷¹ others note that he was the first to accommodate his work to different age groups. His significant status among the Maskilim should thus be understood not only in the context of Philanthropinism's special status in the Haskalah movement, but also in the context of his international fame. It is, however, worth noting that while the 122nd illustrated edition of *Robinson der Jüngere* was published as late as 1923, Campe's celebrity had begun to fade during the nineteenth century, and the literary device for which he was best known – the use of dialogue as an axis upon which the narrative is built – suffered heavy criticism and was considered damaging to the spirit of literary creation.⁷²

4 *Robinson der Jüngere* and the Philanthropinist Worldview

Campe described his adaptation of Defoe's novel as an attempt to present *Robinson Crusoe* through the eyes of Rousseau.⁷³ Rousseau, as is well known, wrote that the first and only book he would give his *Émile* would be Defoe's *Robinson*,⁷⁴ as reading it would provide *Émile* with a knowledge of nature and human-

⁷⁰ Ewers, Joachim Heinrich Campe als Kinderliterat und als Jugendschriftsteller, p. 160.

⁷¹ Kunze, Horst: Schatzbehälter. Vom Besten aus der älteren deutschen Kinderliteratur. Hanau/Main 1965. P. 25.

⁷² Ewers, Joachim Heinrich Campe als Kinderliterat und als Jugendschriftsteller, p. 170.

⁷³ On the making of Robinson as a pedagogical protagonist see: Mouchet, Robinson Crusoe, p. 311; Zantop, Colonial Fantasies, p. 104.

⁷⁴ Rousseau, Jean Jacques: *Émile, ou De l'éducation*. Deux-Ponts 1782. Livre III, p. 307.

ity through a deep identification with Robinson and his condition.⁷⁵ Yet, despite his admiration for Rousseau, Campe, who as a translator of *Émile* into German knew the text well, decided to alter Defoe's novel significantly: while Defoe's Robinson arrived at his island armed with enough of the tools of civilization to allow him to reestablish a parallel civilization on a smaller scale, Campe's Robinson reaches the island entirely naked and unequipped and must build his life from scratch.⁷⁶

According to Reinhard Stach, Campe's version is considered the most characteristic representative of Philanthropist thought.⁷⁷ Its Philanthropist agenda is noticeable in various aspects, but first and foremost in how the story is structured. Instead of Defoe's first-person narration, the story is presented through a dialogue between a father and a group of children, one of them his own. The mother of the family and two friends join in as well. Campe's addition of a frame story transformed the construction and the nature of the text: his adaptation makes Defoe's story a multi-vocal text, offering multiple and diverse perspectives and viewpoints. Furthermore, the father and the children play different roles and thus act out the principles of Philanthropism, providing a dramatization of the principles of Philanthropist pedagogy. The unfolding narrative contributes its part to demonstrating these principles: for example, the story takes place over the course of thirty nights; each night the father stops his story for dinnertime or bedtime, purposely placing the intervals at moments of suspense, to teach the children the virtue of patience. In line with the Philanthropist approach, the group mixes children of various ages; some of the children have not yet begun formal learning while others have. It is important to note that although Campe was granted an honorary citizenship by revolutionary France, his work did not reflect any advocacy for the concept of egalitarian education for all.⁷⁸ At the heart of his pedagogy were children from the bourgeoisie and upper classes; it was to these that "love of humankind" primarily referred. References to other classes, if they appeared, were characterized by a patronizing undertone.

75 Brunner, Horst: *Kinderbuch und Idylle, Rousseau und die Rezeption des Robinson Crusoe im 18. Jahrhundert*. In: *Jahrbuch der Jean-Paul-Gesellschaft*. Ed. by Kurt Wölfel. München 1967. P. 85–116, p. 89.

76 On the nature of Campe's adaptation, see Claude Mouchet's discussion: Mouchet. *Robinson Crusoe*, p. 317.

77 Stach, Reinhard: *Robinson der Jüngere als pädagogisch-didaktisches Modell des philanthropistischen Erziehungsdenkens. Studie zu einem Klassischen Kinderbuch*. Ratingen – Wuppertal – Kastellaun 1970. P. 7.

78 Fertig, *Campes Politische Erziehung*, p. 89.

5 Hebrew Translations of *Robinson der Jüngere*

Campe was one of the most frequently-translated authors into Hebrew during the nineteenth century.⁷⁹ *Robinson der Jüngere* was published in Hebrew in four different editions within just a few decades; an additional translation by Isaac Erter was lost.⁸⁰ The three latest of these were printed under different titles; the 1849 translation by Eliezer Ben Shimon Hacoen Bloch (Lazar Cohen Bloch) was first entitled *Ma'aseh Robinson*⁸¹ and later on *Sippur Robinson* (see list of *Robinson* translations into Hebrew in Appendix 2). Earlier, two Yiddish-language translations and two German-language editions in Hebrew transliteration had also been published.⁸² According to Rebecca Wolpe,⁸³ the 1784 transliterated-German adaptation of *Robinson der Jüngere*⁸⁴ was far shorter than the original and omitted a great deal of dialogue. Almost all references to education and to questions of ethics were omitted; the importance of hard work was emphasized and idlers were denounced. In 1812–1813, an even shorter version of the text (only fifteen pages long) was published in German in Hebrew transliteration,⁸⁵ and the anonymous adapter omitted nearly all content not strictly essential to the sequence of events. The ending of the book was also altered. Unlike Campe's book, which concludes with a description of his protagonists' virtues – love of humankind, devotion, and beneficial work – and whose protagonists fondly remember

79 For a list of translations, see Tsamriyon, Ha-Me'assef. The First, p. 98, footnote 50. Shavit, Zohar: Literary Interference between German and Jewish-Hebrew Children's Literature During the Enlightenment. The Case of Campe. In: *Poetics Today* 13,1 (1992). P. 41–61, p. 57 f. On the reasons for the frequent translations of Campe into Hebrew see Frieden, *Travels in Translation*, p. 154. For a table of translations of Campe's work into Hebrew, Yiddish and Early Judeo-German, see *ibid.*, p. 167.

80 On Isaac Erter's lost translation, see Ofek, Uriel: *Hebrew Children's Literature. The Beginnings*. Raanana 1979. P. 174 f. [Hebrew]; Klausner, Joseph: *A History of Modern Hebrew Literature*. Vol. 2. Third edition. Jerusalem 1960. P. 330 f. [Hebrew].

81 Eliezer Ben Shimon Hacoen Bloch (Lazar Cohen Bloch): *Ma'aseh Robinson*. Warsaw 1849; reprinted as *Sippur Robinson* in 1874 (Warsaw) and in 1912 (Przemysl).

82 On German in Hebrew transliteration, see: HaCohen, Ran: *German in Hebrew Characters – Some Remarks on a Hybrid Writing System*. In: *The Library of the Haskalah*. Ed. by Shmuel Feiner [et al.]. Tel Aviv 2014. P. 459–474 [Hebrew].

83 Wolpe, Rebecca: *Judaizing Robinson Crusoe: Maskilic Translations of Robinson Crusoe*. In: *Jewish Culture and History* 13,1 (2012). P. 42–67, p. 48 f.

84 Anonymous: *Historye oder zeltsame und vunderbare bagebenheiten einem yungen zeefarers [Story, or The Odd and Wonderful Circumstances of a Young Seafarer]*. Prague 1784.

85 Anonymous: *Historye fun der zeefahrer Robinzon [The Story of the Seafarer Robinson]*. Frankfurt/Oder 1812/1813; Wolpe. *Judaizing Robinson Crusoe*, p. 49–51.

their lives on the island each week, the protagonists of the Jewish story become wealthy and celebrate the day of their rescue with a grand annual feast.⁸⁶

An 1820 anonymous translation into Yiddish entitled *Robinzon di geshikhte fun Alter-Leb* (published in two parts) has been described at length by Leah Garrett.⁸⁷ Like other scholars, among them Ber Shlosberg (1937) and Dov Sadan, Garrett attributes the adaptation to the Yiddish Maskil Yooysef Vitlin.⁸⁸ She describes how the adaptation communicated the values of the Haskalah, especially intellectual curiosity, rationality, and love for all humankind.⁸⁹ Vitlin employs the characterization of his protagonist, Alter-Leb – Robinson’s name in the Yiddish translation – to educate his readers. For example, Alter-Leb lacks an understanding of geography, and thus believes that London is just a few miles away from Hamburg; when he realizes his mistake, it is too late to retrace his steps. Vitlin thus demonstrates to readers the importance of studying geography, a subject on which the book expounds greatly. Efforts to judaize the text are apparent not only in the alteration of the protagonists’ names (Robinson’s name is changed to Alter-Leb, and Freitag becomes Shabbes),⁹⁰ but also in various tiny details: where Robinson finds oysters, Alter-Leb finds herring. Alter-Leb teaches Shabbes the Jewish prayers, and even some Yiddish ones, and Shabbes flavors his words with “Chas ve-Shalom” (“God forbid”).⁹¹ Alter-Leb’s character is a clear illustration of how a Jew in the new world may maintain his Judaism and at the same time productively engage with the culture of the non-Jewish world. The book places value on a love for all humankind and opposes Jewish isolation, which is expressed inter alia through the acceptance of non-Jews into a Jewish community. The ending of the book is similar in spirit to Campe’s optimistic conclusion, but also describes the happiness felt by Alter-Leb and Shabbes, who are able to see their children married. Alter-Leb advises his townsmen to live better lives: to educate their children in foreign languages and pro-

86 Wolpe, *Judaizing Robinson Crusoe*, p. 50.

87 Garrett, Leah: *The Jewish Robinson Crusoe*. In: *Comparative Literature* 54,3 (2002). P. 215–228.

88 Garrett, Leah: *The Jewish Robinson Crusoe*, p. 215. According to Garrett, David Roskies cites personal communications with Dov Sadan that also identify Vitlin as the author (Roskies, David G.: *A Bridge of Longing. The Lost Art of Yiddish Storytelling*. Cambridge 1995. P. 359). Garrett also refers to Viner, Meir: *Tsu der geshikhte fun der yiddisher literatur in 19tn yor hundert*. Vol. 1. New York 1945. P. 259.

89 Garrett, *The Jewish Robinson Crusoe*, p. 221.

90 Garrett, *The Jewish Robinson Crusoe*, p. 215.

91 Garrett refers to part 2, p. 42 of Vitlin’s translation. Garrett, *The Jewish Robinson Crusoe*, p. 223f.

fessions, teach worthy virtues and the proper ways of life, and nurture in them a love for humankind.

According to Wolpe, the YIVO library possesses two additional translations of Robinson into Yiddish from 1849 and 1894; the last of these⁹² was extremely popular.⁹³ The same cannot be said of Samosc's translation into Hebrew, which was not reissued in any additional printings. Isaac Rumsch, who in 1861 published his translation of Franz Rauch's *Robinsons Leben und Abenteuer* under the title *Kur Oni* ("The Furnace of affliction/poverty"),⁹⁴ noted in his prologue that Samosc's translation was already almost entirely lost.⁹⁵ Yet despite its rarity, Samosc's work is a remarkable example of a Maskilic translation designed to serve the distribution of the values of the Haskalah.

6 David Samosc as translator

David Samosc (1789–1864) was born and raised in Kempen and continued his studies in Breslau, where he was exposed to Enlightenment literature. He first worked as a teacher, subsequently turned to commerce, and, after losing his fortune, returned to teaching and to writing. Throughout his lifetime he published Hebrew-language poems, stories, plays and translations, primarily for children and young adults;⁹⁶ his translation of *Robinson der Jüngere* was his eighth book. His body of work as a translator testifies to his high degree of familiarity with the German literature of the day, as he tended to translate best-sellers. In addition to *Robinson der Jüngere*, Samosc translated two additional books by Campe into Hebrew: *Sittenbüchlein für Kinder aus gesitteten Ständen*, whose title in Hebrew read *Tochehot mussar* ("Moral Admonishment", 1819) and *Die Entdeckung von Amerika*, or in Hebrew *Metziat Amerika* ("The Discovery of America", 1824).⁹⁷ Samosc also translated Stéphanie Félicité de Genlis's *Les bergères*

⁹² Vitlin, Yoysef: *Robinzon: Di geshikhte fun Alter-Leb, eyne vare und vunder bare geshikhte tsum unterhalt und zur belerung* [Robinson: The Story of Alter Leb, A True and Wonderful Story for Entertainment and Instruction]. Vilna 1894.

⁹³ Wolpe: *Judaizing Robinson Crusoe*, p. 53.

⁹⁴ According to Wolpe several elements that characterized Rauch's adaptation, such as some poems or certain moral stances, were taken from Campe.

⁹⁵ Ben Moshe Rumsch, Yitzhak: *Sefer kur oni* [The Furnace of Affliction]. Vilna 1883. P. IV.

⁹⁶ Kressel, Getzel: *Lexicon of Hebrew Literature in Recent Generations*. Vol. 1. Jerusalem 1965. P. 753f. [Hebrew]; Fin, Shmuel Yosef: *Knesset Israel*. Warsaw 1887. P. 234; Fürst, Julius: *Bibliotheca Judaica*. Leipzig 1863. P. 231f.

⁹⁷ Samosc, David: *Tochehot mussar*. Breslau 1819; Samosc, David: *Metziat Amerika*. Breslau 1824 (lost).

de Madian; ou, La jeunesse de Moïse, poème en prose en six chants (1812)⁹⁸; the translation was published as *Ro'ot Midian o Yaldut Moshe* (“The Shepherdesses of Midian, or The Childhood of Moses”, Breslau 1834).⁹⁹ The intriguing case of de Genlis deserves a separate discussion, and here I will note briefly that his choice of that author was rooted in the fame she achieved in Germany. Nearly all her popular books were translated from French into German, and prominent figures of the German Enlightenment were involved in the translations; Campe, for example, wrote the foreword and endnotes to the translation of her book *Adèle et Théodore, ou Lettres sur l'Éducation* (1782).

7 David Samosc' Translation

7.1 The Preface

It is difficult to determine which edition of *Robinson der Jüngere* Samosc used for his translation. Apparently he worked from a different edition than the canonical one of 1779 which Reclam has used for its publication. This is evident, for instance, from the two sections that appear in his translation but are absent from the Reclam edition:¹⁰⁰ one ten-page long section that describes, in vibrant and nearly graphic detail, the rescue of passengers from a shipwreck; and a scene in which the father offers the children a coconut to taste.¹⁰¹

98 La Poésie en prose, des Lumières au Romantisme. Ed. by Voisine-Jechova, Hana [et al.]. Paris 1993. P. 122.

99 The title page of the translation, in Hebrew and German, mentions Madame de Genlis as Frau von Genlis, probably an indication that Samosc translated the text from German and not from the original French, which perhaps he did not know. The German version was published two years after the French edition, whereas the Hebrew translation appeared 20 years after the first edition in French.

100 The afterward to the Reclam edition notes: “Im folgenden werden alle inhaltlich bedeutenden Abweichungen aufgeführt, die die achte Auflage (A8) von der ersten (A1) unterscheiden. Diese Stellen wurden auch mit der dritten Auflage (A3) verglichen [...]”. In: Campe, Joachim Heinrich: *Robinson der Jüngere*. Zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder. Ditzingen 1981. P. 354.

101 Campe, Joachim Heinrich: *Robinson der Jüngere*. Zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder. Stuttgart 1981, A8 [= eighth edition] (p. 60–63), A3 (p. 68–72), p. 361; Samosc, David (Transl.): Campe, Joachim Heinrich. [German in Hebrew letters:] *Robinson der Jüngere*, ein Lesebuch für Kinder. Breslau 1824. P. 25f. From this point onward, all references to Campe's original novel published by Reclam will be noted as “Reclam”, and all references to Samosc's translation will be noted as “Samosc”.

Samosc's is the only Hebrew translation aspiring to equivalency with Campe's text. It is consequently the longest, numbering one hundred and sixty pages (Bloch's translation, in comparison, is forty-eight pages long). It seldom deviates from the original text, and this, as I will demonstrate, is a marked contrast to later Hebrew translations, which deviate drastically from the original and omit its Philanthropinist message altogether. Most of the omissions in Samosc's translation are local, usually neglecting minor details or a specific metaphor. It is also important to note that Samosc's reading endeavored to convey Philanthropinist tenets and is very different from present-day post-colonialist readings of Campe's text suggested by, for example, Frieden, Idelson, and Zantop.¹⁰²

Despite Samosc's attempt to adhere to Campe's original text, his translation deviates from it in its understanding of the objectives of children's education and of texts designed for the young. While Campe maintained that reading should contribute to children's morality and happiness in the spirit of the Enlightenment – and believed this benefit should be attained in the most “pleasant and beneficial” way¹⁰³ – for Samosc the objective, as the father in his *Robinson* says, was to encourage children to learn a profession and succeed in it.¹⁰⁴ This difference is also evident in the subtitles of both books. Campe's subtitle explicitly and conspicuously invokes the pleasure to be found in the learning process – “For Beneficial and Pleasant Amusement” (“Zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder”). The Hebrew translation, instead, employs a vague and businesslike subtitle: “Ein Lesebuch für Kinder” (“A Reading Book for Children”). This is a seemingly minor change, but nevertheless significant; the original subtitle, with its reference to the fundamental Philanthropinist principle of pleasure in learning and reading, was apparently too far-reaching for Samosc.

In his preface Samosc also referred to the linguistic difficulties he faced translating the book:¹⁰⁵

102 Frieden, *Travels in Translation*; Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*; Shein-Idelson, *Iris: Difference of a Different Kind. Jewish Constructions of Race During the Long Eighteenth Century*. Philadelphia 2014.

103 “angenehme und nützliche Dinge”, Reclam, p. 21; Samosc, p. 7. All translations of Samosc's work are my own.

104 Samosc, p. 7.

105 "וראיתי הרבה פעמים כי קשתה עלי המלאכה כי ימצאו בספר הזה שמות כלי מעשה אשר בתנ"ך לא יזכר שמם, בכל זאת לא אמרתי נואש, אספתי לי מלות שנות אשר בתלמוד מקורן, וחפשתי לי מלות חדשות למען אנדיל השפה וארחיבה. [...] המבין יראה כי לא דבר נקל הוא להעתיק ספר אל לשון אשר שיעריה סגורים". [...] – Samosc, p. 1.

The knowledgeable person will see that it is no simple thing to translate a book into a language whose gates are closed and insulated [...] and I saw many times that the task became difficult for me as there are names of tools that do not appear in the Bible; but I did not despair, I gathered various words from the Talmud, and searched for new words, that I might expand and enrich the language.

The translational challenges Samosc encountered demand a separate discussion. Here I will only note that most of these derived from the state of the Hebrew lexicon at the beginning of the nineteenth century – chiefly the absence of many terms for which ad hoc solutions had to be unearthed in various sources, including the Bible and the Talmud (the latter being less favored for this purpose).

The most salient difference from the original in Samosc's translation emerges in its preface. Campe's *Robinson* included a preface for children, in which he presented the Philanthropinist principle of making children part of the learning process and making that process a source of pleasure; Samosc translated this preface almost in its entirety. However, he refrained from translating Campe's separate additional preface for adult readers, in which the latter described the educational approach underlying his work. Instead, Samosc composed his own five-page preface in which he described his motivation in translating *Robinson*. In addition to his wish to take advantage of Campe's success ("if the story sounds sweetly in a gentile's tongue/how delightful must it be in the Hebrew language")¹⁰⁶ Samosc explained that he wished in this manner to help bring the Haskalah to his Jewish brethren "who live in ignorance."¹⁰⁷ He also emphasized that the translation would make an important book accessible to Jewish readers; thus they might acquire knowledge and, most importantly, become familiar with the principles of Philanthropinist education.¹⁰⁸ In addition, Samosc's preface testifies that he sought to link Philanthropinist ideas with Jewish heritage, by constructing the preface as a mosaic of Biblical verses. Samosc's phrase "as a bed of spices, as sweet flowers,"¹⁰⁹ for example, is a direct quote from Song of Songs 5:13 ("His cheeks are as a bed of spices, as sweet flowers: his lips like lilies, dropping sweet smelling myrrh"),¹¹⁰ while "The tree of life, shooting forth its branches"¹¹¹ builds on a verse from Ezekiel.¹¹² To further un-

106 "אם מתקו הדברים בשפה נכריה / איך יערבו לנפשנו בלשון עבריה!" – Samosc, p. 1.

107 "והיה אם יגדל בני היקר [...] ואקוה כי אחרי ידע זאת בל יהי נבער מדעת." – Samosc, p. 1.

108 Samosc, p. 1.

109 "מלא ערוגות הבשם, ופרחים המשמחים לב איש." – Samosc, p. 1.

110 Samosc, p. 1. Song of Songs 5:13, King James Version.

111 "ועץ החיים משלח פארותיו." – Samosc, p. 1.

112 Samosc, p. 1. Ezekiel 17:6, King James Version.

derscore the ways in which his translation drew on the Bible, Samosc drew parallels between reading Campe's book and visiting the Garden of Eden. Writing of the four rivers of Eden (the Pishon, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates), Samosc named them after four core values of Philanthropinist education that he aimed to impart to his readers: ethics (*mussar*), wisdom (*bina*), hope (*tikva*), and experience (*ni-sayon*).¹¹³ Embedding biblical verses in his translation made it possible for Samosc to present the principles of Philanthropinist education as entirely in line with the Bible.

Samosc's attempt to adhere to Philanthropinist ideas is conspicuous in his decision to retain the two central devices of Campe's adaptation: 1. Campe's frame story; 2. the integration of Robinson's storyline within the dialogue between father and children, reinforcing the dialogues in his translation.

7.2 The Frame Story

Samosc's translation was the only one to preserve the structure of Campe's frame story. Later translations into Hebrew replaced the dialogue-based narrative with an omniscient author, retaining only parts of the text which were dealing with Robinson's adventures. Yet the importance of the frame story's role in presenting Philanthropinist ideas cannot be overstated, because it created numerous opportunities for dialogue between the father and the children wherein the former shares his knowledge of the world, primarily on the subject of practical skills as well as history and geography, and instructs the children on moral values and virtues – all in an enjoyable, informal manner.

Samosc furthermore retained Campe's digressions from the central story, which the latter used as a central mechanism for incorporating informational references to geography, physics, nature, and the animal and botanical world. For example, the father presents the children with a world map, pointing out the places where Robinson has traveled and describing the flora and fauna therein – primarily exotic species such as coconut and palm trees, llamas, parrots, and oysters.

It is worth noting here, that in contrast with the norms that would dominate later translations into Hebrew,¹¹⁴ Samosc did not strive to “make kosher” the

¹¹³ Samosc, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Toury, Gideon: In Search of a Theory of Translation. Jerusalem 1980. P. 140–159. Ben-Ari, Nitsa: Didactic and Pedagogic Tendencies in the Norms Dictating the Translation of Children's Literature. The Case of Postwar German-Hebrew Translations. In: *Poetics Today* 13,1 (1992). P. 221–230. Shavit, Zohar: “Invited Strangers”. *Cultural Translation into Hebrew Literature*. Strat-

world described in the text. When Robinson is hungry but unable to start a fire, he tenderizes the meat between two stones and eats it raw. When he searches for food on the beach, he finds an “oyster shell” and devours it.¹¹⁵ When the children ask how the oysters are gathered, Samosc takes no issue with the non-kosher oysters (unlike later translations), but uses the opportunity to teach the children about tides (or, as Samosc calls them, “the water’s rise and fall”).¹¹⁶

Except for the Hebraization of proper names, Samosc’s translation makes no attempt to Judaize the text or replace Christian customs and rituals with Jewish ones, as did later the Hebrew and the Yiddish translations of Robinson Crusoe.¹¹⁷ The Hebrew names of the protagonists maintain similar sounds or meanings to the source text: Lotte becomes Leah, Gotlieb becomes Yedidia, Diedrich becomes Dan, and Johannes becomes Yochanan. Samosc’s translation keeps Robinson’s Christian world almost untouched. As in the source text, Robinson’s day of rest is Sunday: “The next day was the first of the week, and Robinson dedicated it to a break from work.”¹¹⁸ It is the day on which Robinson prays to God, gives thanks to the Lord and begs forgiveness for his sins. And when the father teaches the children the Gregorian calendar, he concludes:¹¹⁹ “In such ways did Robinson make sure to track the passing of days, that he might keep Sunday as his day of rest in accordance with Christian law”¹²⁰ (“Auf diese Weise also sorgte unser Robinson dafür, daß er die Zeitrechnung nicht verlöre, und immer wüßte, welcher Tag ein Sonntag wäre, um ihn, wie die Christen, feiern zu können”).¹²¹

The frame story allowed Samosc not only to present the foundations of the Philanthropinist doctrine, but also to use it as a platform for illustrating typical

egies and Legitimizations.” Keynote paper presented at the University of Granada conference on “Translation Studies and Children’s Literature. Current Topics and Future Perspectives.” University of Granada, Spain, September 2017. Published meanwhile as an article: Shavit, Zohar: Invited Strangers in Domestic Garb. *Cultural Translation in Hebrew Children’s Literature: Strategies and Legitimizations*. In: Elvira Cámara Aguilera (ed.): *Traducciones, adaptaciones y doble destinatario en literatura infantil y juvenil*. Berlin 2019. P. 323–338.

115 Samosc, p. 20f.

116 “עת כלו ימי העלות והנה רדת המים.” – Samosc, p. 21.

117 See Wolpe, *Judaizing Robinson Crusoe*, p. 53–60; Garrett, *The Jewish Robinson Crusoe*, p. 215–228.

118 “יום המתרת היה הראשון בשבוע, ויקדשו ראבינואן לשבות בו.” – Samosc, p. 27.

119 Here and throughout the essay, where parallel quotes are presented, the first is a translation to English of Samosc’s Hebrew, while the second is taken directly from Campe’s Robinson. All translations of Samosc’s work are my own.

120 “כזה וכזה דאג ראבינואן בל ישכת חשבון העתים, לדעת מתי יום הראשון לשבות בו כחך הנוצרים.” – Samosc, p. 29.

121 Reclam, p. 69.

scenarios of bourgeois families in which children are educated according to the principles of Philanthropinism. Throughout his translation Samosc presented a model of bourgeois life and “staged” or dramatized various principles of Philanthropinist pedagogy, such as the existence of a constant dialogue between parents and children and between teachers and children. Staging scenes of family life and intra-familial dialogues between parents and children and among the children themselves provided a way to illustrate the ideal model of interaction between father and children and between teacher and students – a model that Philanthropinists believed should replace the alienation between teacher and students that characterized children’s education among the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Indeed, Campe noted in his preface that through his “authentic” scenes of family life he presented the ideal model of parent-child relations or teacher-student relations: “Ich hoffte nemlich, durch eine treue Darstellung wirklicher Familienscenen ein für angehende Pädagogen nicht überflüssiges Beispiel des väterlichen und kindlichen Verhältnisses zu geben, welches zwischen dem Erzieher und seinen Zöglingen nothwendig obwalten muß.”¹²²

7.3 The Dialogues

Campe received acclaim for his extensive use of dialogue and conversations (“Gesprächform”),¹²³ primarily between an adult and children. In *Robinson der Jüngere* the father encourages his young listeners to ask questions and express their opinions on the events of the story and the characters’ behavior. Such dialogue invites critical thinking about the tale being told; the children are given the opportunity to ask the father questions about what they hear, primarily in regard to Robinson’s behavior and the lessons he learns. The children are also invited to raise moral questions, such as how to become a good person, act fairly and be productive. At times the children interrupt the father to inquire and express their opinions, yet never to the point of undermining his authority or status.

Through his constant use of dialogues Campe presented – in a concrete rather than abstract way – the normative rules for dialogue between adults and children, and the differences between such dialogue and conversation among the children themselves.¹²⁴ The various models for family scenes and dialogues which characterized Campe’s *Robinson* posed a real challenge for Sa-

¹²² Reclam, p. 14.

¹²³ Ewers, Joachim Heinrich Campe als Kinderliterat, p. 162f.

¹²⁴ Ewers, Joachim Heinrich Campe als Kinderliterat, p. 174.

mosc. Hebrew at the time was not yet a spoken, colloquial language; Samosc thus had to devise ad hoc solutions for translating the dialogues and invent patterns for conversations taking place in the family, in a language that did not yet offer a reserve of ready-made and formulaic exchanges for everyday situations.¹²⁵ Thus, for example, Samosc proposed the following solutions: “O prächtig”¹²⁶ became “how nice and pleasant”;¹²⁷ “o, aber mach’s ja nicht zu traurig”¹²⁸ was translated to “please Father, do not tell us such a horrible thing lest it upset us infinitely”;¹²⁹ “ich armer, armer Mensch”¹³⁰ became “I am a poor and sorrowful man”;¹³¹ “Alle. Ah! Das ist gut! Das ist schön, daß er nicht todt ist”¹³² became “Everyone: Ah! How nice and pleasant that he is not dead!”¹³³ “Vater. Nun, was gibt’s, was gibt’s denn? Alle. Eine Bitte! Lieber Vater! Eine Bitte!”¹³⁴ was translated as “Father: Well, what’s going on! What’s going on! All: A request, beloved Father! A request!”¹³⁵

In this way translations of texts for children took part in the renaissance of the Hebrew language – especially in the depiction of spoken language in written texts – and perhaps offered models for dialogue and conversation, just as the letter-writing manuals that were common at the time provided templates for written correspondence.

I will now turn to a discussion of Samosc’s presentation of several basic Philanthropinist values: the importance of “Bildung” and of acquiring knowledge; hard work and good virtues; love for others; respect for one’s parents; and love for Nature.

125 On the development of dialogue in literary texts see Shavit, Zohar: From Time to Time. Fictional Dialogue in Hebrew Texts for Children. In: Translating Fictional Dialogue for Children and Young People. Ed. by Martin B. Fischer and Maria Wirf Naro. Berlin 2012. P. 17–42.

126 Reclam, p. 20.

127 "מה טוב ומה נעים!" – Samosc, p. 6.

128 Reclam, p. 20.

129 "נא אבי אל תספר לנו מעשה נורא עד מאד פן תעצבנו לבלי חק." – Samosc, p. 7.

130 Reclam, p. 57.

131 "אנכי איש עני ונכה רוח!" – Samosc, p. 23.

132 Reclam, p. 165.

133 "כלם: האח! מה טוב ומה נעים כי לא מת!" – Samosc, p. 77.

134 Reclam, p. 220.

135 "האב: מה לכם! מה לכם! כלם: בקשה אחת אהבי אבי! בקשה אחת!" – Samosc, p. 101.

7.4 Philanthropinist Values

7.4.1 “Bildung” and Acquisition of Knowledge

“Bildung” and the acquisition of knowledge were of utmost importance in Philanthropinist thought. Samosc, following Campe, neglected no opportunity to convey knowledge to children or to preach to them regarding the importance of education and of acquiring a profession. An example may be found in the description of Robinson’s arrival on the island. Robinson, as we have seen, must rebuild his life entirely from scratch – Campe deviates here intentionally from the text that Rousseau so admired,¹³⁶ despite seeing himself as Rousseau’s faithful disciple; his version is a fundamental change from the circumstances under which Defoe’s Robinson finds himself on the island. In his preface, Campe referred explicitly to the difference between him and Rousseau in this matter (a comparison that does not appear in Samosc’s translation, in which Campe’s preface was omitted): “Hierin irret Rousseau. Der alte Robinson hat Werkzeuge in Menge, die er von dem gestrandeten Schiffe rettete. Der gegenwärtige jüngere Robinson hingegen hat zu seiner Erhaltung nichts, als seinen Kopf und seine Hände.”¹³⁷

Lacking any equipment for survival, Robinson must rely on his reason, knowledge, and manual skills, utilizing his natural surroundings in order to survive on the island. His ability to construct a new life on the island depends on his ability to acquire knowledge that he had not bothered to attain in his youth; had he done so, so goes the moral, his life on the island would have been far simpler. And indeed, Robinson rues his neglect of learning. For example, when he wishes to increase the number of coconut trees on the island, he regrets not having studied the science of tree cultivation:

Ahh! How little I knew in my youth of the benefit of knowing a trade. Why did I not pay attention to what was being done under the sun and learn a trade myself! How I wish I’d had an inclination for such things in my youth.¹³⁸

O, seufzte er oft, wie wenig habe ich in meiner Jugend meinen Vortheil gekant, daß ich nicht auf Alles, was ich sahe oder hörte, recht genau Achtung gab, um den Leuten alle ihre Künste abzulernen! Hätte ich das Glück noch einmahl jung zu werden: o wie wolt’ ich aufmerksam sein auf Alles, was Menschen Hände und menschliche Geschicklichkeit nur immer machen können!¹³⁹

136 Mouchet, Robinson Crusoe, p. 311.

137 Reclam, p. 9.

138 "אהה! מה מעט ידעתי בנעורי תועלת כל מלאכה, מדוע לא שמתי עיני ולבי על כל הנעשה תחת השמש ללמוד". "מלאכה! מי יתנני כימי חרפי תהי מגמתי לעשות מעשה ידי אמן." – Samosc, p. 55.

139 Reclam, p. 117.

In another scene, Robinson labors to fashion a leather coat from llama skin only to realize that his efforts have been pointless; because in his youth he disregarded his teachers, he was ignorant of the fact that warm coats are hardly necessary in “the hot climates”¹⁴⁰ (“den heissen Himmelsgegenden”)¹⁴¹, where there is no winter season. On the other hand, the children are bewildered to discover that Robinson is able to converse in English with the captain of a ship departing for Guinea. This scene provides an opportunity for the father to note the importance of learning foreign languages: “Robinson studied a bit of English in Hamburg, and this helped him while he was in England.”¹⁴² (“[...] Robinson schon im Hamburg Gelegenheit gehabt hatte, Englisch zu lernen, welches ihm jetzt, da er in dem Lande der Engländer war, sehr wohl zu statten kam.”)¹⁴³

The father uses Freitag’s panic at the sight of Robinson boiling water over a fire to demonstrate how ignorance and a lack of general knowledge lead to irrational thinking and superstition (Freitag fears there is a witch lurking in the bubbling water). The father explains to the children that this irrational idea stems from Freitag’s ignorance:

Father: [...] those ignorant fools never learned in their childhood to derive a rational explanation for new things they encounter. These heartless people always say: This is a mysterious and inexplicable matter, something that cannot be understood!¹⁴⁴

Vater. [...] was unwissende, in ihrer Jugend nicht unterrichtete Menschen zu denken pflügen, wenn ihnen etwas begegnet, wovon sie die Ursache nicht einzusehen vermögen. Diese armen einfältigen Menschen gerathen nemlich alsdan fast immer auf den Gedanken, daß irgend ein unsichtbares Wesen, ein Geist, die Ursache von demjenigen sei, was sie nicht begreifen können.¹⁴⁵

In addition to advocating for the acquisition of knowledge, the father takes advantage of every opportunity for teaching the children everyday skills, as is evident in the following scene where he teaches the children how to build a house, start a fire, and count the days of the months. The process of building a house is described in great detail, from the preparation of plaster to the construction of a roof:

140 "באזורי החמים." – Samosc, p. 37.

141 Reclam, p. 81.

142 "ראבינוואהן למד בעיר המבורג לשון אנגלי אך מעט, השפה הזאת היתה בעזרו באנגלי." – Samosc, p. 13.

143 Reclam, p. 31.

144 [...] קצר הבנת בוערים אשר לא למדו מאומה בילדותם להשיג סבת מקרה החדש בעיניהם, אנשי חסר "האב: [...] קצר הבנת בוערים אשר לא למדו מאומה בילדותם להשיג סבת מקרה החדש בעיניהם, אנשי חסר" – Samosc, p. 99.

145 Reclam, p. 214.

Father: [...] Did you notice how they build a house?

Yedidia: I noticed them many times, the bricklayer first makes plaster and stirs it into the sand, takes stones and places them one atop the other and combines them with the plaster so that they hold tightly. Then the carpenters come and cut the beams with their hatchets, and make them fit into one another. Then they line up the beams so that they nail one to the other. Then they place the rafters to lay the roof tiles on them.¹⁴⁶

Vater: [...] hast du wohl schon recht genau zugesehen, wie die Zimmerleute und die Maurer es anfangen, wenn sie ein Haus bauen?

Gotlieb: O ja! Schon so oft! Der Maurer macht erst Kalk zurechte und rührt Sand darunter. Denn legt er immer einen Stein auf den Andern und schmiert mit seiner Mauerkelle den Kit dazwischen, daß sie recht fest zusammen halten müssen. Denn kommen die Zimmerleute her, und behauen die Balken mit ihren Beilen und machen, daß sie so recht in einander passen. Darnach winden sie die Balken mit einer Winde oben auf die Maurer hinauf und nageln immer einen an den andern. Dann sägen sie auch Bretter und Latten, die sie auf die Sparren nageln, um die Dachziegel darauf zu legen.¹⁴⁷

Next, the father describes how to make a fire:

Father: [...] Now only the fire – the most necessary of all – was wanting. In order to produce this, he cut two pieces of wood from a dry tree and rubbed them together in order to start a fire.¹⁴⁸

Vater: [...] Nun fehlte nur noch das Nöthigste von Allen, das Feuer. Um dieses durch Reiben hervorzubringen, hieb er von einem trockenen Stamme zwei Hölzer ab, und setzte sich so gleich in Arbeit.¹⁴⁹

The father then teaches them how to remember the length of each month:

Father: Listen to me! Make a fist of your left hand and put a finger from your right hand on a knuckle and then on the groove beside it and call out the names of the months in their order. Each month that falls on a knuckle has thirty-one days, and the others, which fall into the grooves, have only thirty, except for February, which has not thirty-one days but only twenty-eight, and every four years twenty-nine.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ "האב: [...] השמת לבך על הבונים עת בונים בית? ידידיה: הרבה פעמים שמתי עיני עליהם, החורש אבן לוקח 146 סיד, ומבלל אותו בחול, לוקח אבנים ויערכם אחת אל אחת ובתוכן משים סיד למען תדבקנה ותהינה לאחדות, ואחר כן יבא חורש עץ לפסול הקרות בקרדמות אשר בידם, למען תהינה משלבות אשה אל אחותה אחרי כן יעלו בחוקה [...]]" Samosc, p. 22.

¹⁴⁷ Reclam, p. 55f.

¹⁴⁸ "האב: [...] ויחסר לו דבר אשר כמעט לא יכול היות בלעדו הוא האש ויכרות לו מעץ חרב שני כפיסים להתגרד 148 "האב: [...] ויכרות לו דבר אשר כמעט לא יכול היות בלעדו הוא האש ויכרות לו מעץ חרב שני כפיסים להתגרד" Samosc, p. 37. – זה על זה להוציא מהם אש."

¹⁴⁹ Reclam, p. 83.

¹⁵⁰ "האב: הקשיבו לדברי! סגר כף ידו השמאלית וישם אצבע ידו הימנית על קרסול אחת ואחרי כן על הגומץ 150 הקרוב לה ויקרא בשם החדשים כאשר בסדרים לנו, לחדש אשר אצבעו על הקרסול שלשים ואחד יום ושם

Vater. Nun, so gebt Achtung! – Seht, er machte so die linke Hand zu; dan stipte er mit einem Finger der andern Hand erst auf einen dieser hervorragenden Knöchel, dan in die dabei befindliche Grube, und nante dabei die Monate in der Ordnung, wie sie auf einander folgen. Jeder Monat der auf einen Knöchel fällt, hat ein und dreissig Tage, die andern aber, die in die Grübchen fallen, haben nur dreissig, den einzigen Februar ausgenommen, der nicht einmahl dreissig, sondern nur acht und zwanzig, und alle vier Jahre neun und zwanzig Tage hat.¹⁵¹

Following Campe's source text, Samosc integrates events from Robinson's storyline into the children's daily life. The children are invited to imitate Robinson and gain hands-on experience recreating several of the objects he made. For example, on the fourth night, the children attempt to fashion a bag and a parasol.

Yedidia: Oh, I would like to make such a bag.

Shimon: Me too; if we had only strings!

Mother: If you wish, like Robinson, to find pleasure in your work, you must weave the strings by yourself, and prepare the flax by yourself [...].¹⁵²

Gotlieb. O ich mögte mir auch gern eine solche Jägertasche machen.

Nikolas. Ich auch; aber wenn wir nur Bindfaden hätten!

Mutter. Wenn ihr eben so viel Freude, als *Robinson*, an eurer Arbeit haben woltet: so müstet ihr auch erst euch den Bindfaden selbst machen [...].¹⁵³

Campe advocates that adults exploit every opportunity to impart knowledge to children. Nearly every scene in his book is utilized to this end. A dialogue recounting the journey of a ship to London serves, for example, as an opportunity for a geography lesson. The father mentions that Robinson's ship is anchored in the Thames, and Fritzchen/Issachar asks: "What does that mean – the mouth of the Thames?"¹⁵⁴ ("Was ist das, die Mündung der Themse?")¹⁵⁵ Another child (Diedrich/Gad) explains that the Thames is a large river, like the Elbe, that is located near London, and explains what a river mouth (Mündung) is. Sometimes it is the

החדש אשר קרא בשומו אצבעו בגומץ לו שלשים יום זולת החדש פעברואר אשר לו שמנה ועשרים יום בשנה "ידידיה: גם נפשי אותה לעשות לי ילקוט. שמעון: גם לי לבב כמוך, אך מאין לנו חוטים? האם: אם תחפצו".¹⁵² Samosc, p. 28.

151 Reclam, p. 68.

152 "ידידיה: גם נפשי אותה לעשות לי ילקוט. שמעון: גם לי לבב כמוך, אך מאין לנו חוטים? האם: אם תחפצו".¹⁵² Samosc, p. 31.

153 Reclam, p. 72.

154 "מה זאת פי טהעמעז?"¹⁵⁴ – Samosc, p. 11.

155 Reclam, p. 27.

children who initiate the study of geography;¹⁵⁶ at other times it is the father. For example, in a conversation on Guinea, the father asks Diedrich/Gad to explain to Fritzchen/Issachar who the Guinea-traders (Guineafahrer Afrika) are.¹⁵⁷ Together with the father they consult an atlas to follow Robinson's route to Guinea:

Father: You have your little chart; come, I will show you. You see, from London they sail down the River Thames to the North Sea; then they pass through the sea at Calais towards the Channel. From here they enter the great Atlantic Ocean, whereupon they continue their course to the Canary Islands and the green mountain range, till they finally land down here on this coast, which is called Guinea.¹⁵⁸

Vater. Du hast deine kleinen Charten bei dir; kom, ich wil dir's zeigen! Siehst du, von London fahren sie hier die *Themse* hinunter bis in die *Nordsee*; dan steuern sie gegen Abend durch die Meerenge bei *Calais* in den *Kanal*. Aus diesem kommen sie in das große *atlantische Weltmeer*, worauf sie dan immer weiter fortsegeln, hier bei den *Canarischen Inseln* und da bei den *Inseln des grünen Vorgebirges* vorbei, bis sie endlich hier unten an dieser Küste landen, welche *Guinea* ist.¹⁵⁹

Robinson lacks sufficient funds to return home and the captain gives him a guinea. Gottlieb/Yedidia is curious and wants to know what that is, and the father explains that it is the name of an English coin, comparing its value to the Thaler:

Yedidia: What is a guinea?

Father: It is used by the merchants in England just like our Louis d'or, and is worth about six Thalers.¹⁶⁰

Gottlieb. Was sind das, Guineen.

Vater. Englisches Geld, mein Lieber; Goldstücken, so wie unsere Louisd'or. Sie gelten ohngefähr sechs Thaler.¹⁶¹

Like Campe and Rousseau, Samosc's translation emphasizes the importance of learning through experience. When searching for food, for example, Robinson discovers the coconut tree and its fruit. The father presents the children with a

¹⁵⁶ Samosc, p. 11.

¹⁵⁷ Samosc, p. 12.

¹⁵⁸ "האב: הלא בידך גלילת הארץ בא ואראך, מלאנדאן עברו דרך טהעמזע עד יבאו אל ים הצפוני, משם יפנו מערבה אל בריח הים, אצל קאלעעס אל הצנור, משם יבאו אל הים הגדול (אטאלאנטישע וועלט מעער) משם אל Samosc, p. 13 f. – איי קאנארי ואצל איי אשדות הרי דשא, משם יבאו אל החוף אשר שם גואינעא."

¹⁵⁹ Reclam, p. 32f. (italics in the original).

¹⁶⁰ "ידידיה: מה זאת גינעען? האב: זהב עובר לסוחר בענגלאנד כמו הלואיסדאר אשר לנו, מחירים ששה ר"ט." Samosc, p. 12.

¹⁶¹ Reclam, p. 29.

coconut he received as a gift, and later on describes in detail the shape of the coconut and how to crack it open:

Father: [...] Let us see if we can split this shell [...]

Father: Now you can see how hard we worked before finally cracking one, and this despite having sharp knives and a saw which Robinson did not have. But there is no work in all Creation too arduous for hungry man who hopes to fill his stomach.¹⁶²

Vater. [...] wir wollen indeß sehn, ob wir die Schalen öffnen können. [...]

Vater. Das könnt ihr nun beurtheilen, nachdem ihr gesehen habt, wie viel Mühe es gekostet hat, ungeachtet wir uns scharfer Messer und einer Säge bedienen konnten, welche *Robinson* nicht hatte. Aber welche Schwierigkeit ist so groß, daß ein Hungeriger sie nicht überwände, wenn er Hoffnung hat, gesättiget zu werden.¹⁶³

The father explains to the children that the coconut originates in East India, showing them its location on the map; he also takes advantage of the opportunity to offer them a new sensory experience. The children taste the exotic fruit and are exposed to a new and unfamiliar flavor: “And they scraped the middle shell with a saw and discovered the taste of the sweet white juice from the delicious meat of the coconut”¹⁶⁴ (“Hierauf sägte man die Nuß selbst durch, und gelangte so zu dem weissen in der Mitte ausgehöhlten Kerne, der allen noch lieblicher, als die süßeste Haselnuß schmeckte.”)¹⁶⁵

7.4.2 Labor and diligence

The Philanthropinists considered hard work the source of all virtue, seeing it as a way to prevent the corrupting effects of idleness and generate good health and wealth. Campe addresses the matter towards the end of *Robinson*, and Samosc translates: “Idleness is the source of all evils.”¹⁶⁶ (“Müßiggang, aus welchem nichts, als Böses komt!”)¹⁶⁷

162 האב: [...] נראה אם כח בידינו לפצל הקליפות. [...] האב: הלא תכלו לשער אחרי ראיתם את עמלינו טרם "פצלנו אחד, ולנו סכינים חדים ומגורות ואין לראבינוואהן מאומה, אכן אין עבודה עלי תבל אשר קשתה לנפש". Samosc, p. 26.

163 Reclam, p. 361.

164 "ויוגררו במשור את הקליפה התיכונה וימצאו בו מיץ לבן מתוק לפיהם מאגוזים הערבים." – Samosc, p. 26.

165 Reclam, p. 361.

166 "הבטלה היא מקור כל הרעות." – Samosc, p. 160.

167 Reclam, p. 346.

Following Campe's source text, Samosc's translation is rich in descriptions of the importance of hard work and industry; the following is a typical scene in which the children refer to Robinson and Freitag's joint efforts to build their home. One of the children (Hans/Matityahu) wishes he could join Robinson and contribute to his labors. This wish leads to a discussion of the importance of work:

Matityahu: I wish I were there to help him!

Dan: Why do you need to go to a desolate island? If you wish to work, you can work here, just open your eyes and pay attention to what Father always gives us to do when we have free time. Soon we will gather wood, bring the smaller logs into the kitchen, dig in the garden, fetch water or pull weeds – there is always something to do!

Father: And why do I instruct you to do such work?

Yochanan: Lest we become accustomed to idleness, and you know that work makes us strong.¹⁶⁸

Hans. Ich hätte mögen dabei wohl sein, um auch so mit zu arbeiten!

Diderich. O deswegen brauchst du nach keiner wüsten Insel zu fahren! Es läßt sich hier eben so gut arbeiten. Solst nur sehen, was uns Vater immer zu thun giebt, wenn wir Freistunden haben! Bald müssen wir Holz mit ihm pakken, bald klein gehauenes Holz in die Küche fahren, bald im Garten graben, dan wieder Wasser zum Begiessen tragen, oder Unkraut ausgäten – o da giebt es immer genug zu thun!

Vater. Und warum führ' ich denn wohl euch zu solchen Arbeiten an?

Johannes. I, daß wir uns gewöhnen sollen, niemals müßig zu sein, und weil uns das gesund und stark macht!¹⁶⁹

The great importance of industry and physical labor as a way of life is expressed in Robinson's deliberations regarding whether he should continue to work after having settled on the island, or allow himself to take pleasure in idleness and leave Freitag to labor on his behalf:

And he said to himself, who will prevent you from living a pleasant life! Without worries or sorrow, take pleasure in what God gave you, eat and drink from your flock and from the fruits of the tree (for you have abundance in everything), let your body enjoy good food,

"מתתיהו: לו הייתי שמה להיות לו מעיר לעזור. דן: הלעשות זאת תרד לגור על אי שומם! גם פה תוכל לעבוד עבודה, פקח נא עניך וראה את אשר יתן אבינו בידינו לעשות, עת חפשים אנחנו מעסקינו, מהר נערוך עמו עצים מהר נביא העצים הקטנים אל בית המבשל, מהר נשדד אדמה בגן, נביא מים לצקת, או נסיר הבאזשים מהנטעים, כן תמיד לנו מה לעשות. האב: ומדוע אורה אתכם לעשות כזאת? יוחנן: בל נרגיל אותנו לטמון ידינו בצלחת, ואתה יודע".
 — Samosc, p. 134f.

169 Reclam, p. 289.

drink, and joy, to compensate you for all the trouble and privation of past years. Freitag will do your work; he is young and strong, and you were so generous and charitable with him.¹⁷⁰

Was kan dich, dacht' er, nun noch hindern, vergnügt und unbekümmert zu leben? Geneuß also der mannigfaltigen Wohlthaten des Himmels; iß und trink von deiner Heerde und von den Früchten des Landes das Beste, (denn du hast ja Ueberfluß an allem) und halte dich nun durch Ruhe und gutes Essen und Trinken schadlos für die ausgestandnen Mühseeligkeiten und den Mangel der verflossenen Jahre! Dein Freitag mag für dich arbeiten; er ist jung und stark und du hast es ja um ihn verdient, daß er dein Knecht sei.¹⁷¹

Robinson decides to go on working and grounds his decision, rationally of course, in both pragmatism and morality. The pragmatic reason has to do with his fear that the fire may die out if he does not tend to it; the moral consideration is that idleness corrupts and may thus lead Robinson to forget God's grace in saving him. Ultimately, he chooses labor as a way of life not out of altruism or concern for Freitag, but out of self-reliance, because hard work guarantees physical and mental health:

What will you do if this success comes to an end? If Freitag dies? If the fire goes out again? A cold shudder ran through him at the thought. [...] And you wish to be idle and lazy, and corrupt your soul and body that grew so accustomed to hard work [...] And Robinson continued to deliberate on the matter and said: If you spend your days wallowing in the pleasures of the world, will you not quickly forget God and the mercy he showed you – grow fat, and become arrogant, and forget your Creator? And he cried: Heaven forbid! And fell on his knees and prayed to God to save him from such villainy.¹⁷²

Aber wie? dacht' er, wenn deine ganze gegenwärtige Glückseligkeit einmahl wieder ein Ende nähme? Wenn dein Feuer abermahls erlöschte? Ein kalter Schauer lief ihm bei diesem Gedanken durch alle Glieder.[...] Robinson fuhr in seiner Betrachtung also fort: "Und, dacht' er, wenn du von nun an ein ruhiges und schwelgerisches Leben führtest, wie lange würd' es dauern, daß du aller überstandenen Noth, und der väterlichen Hülfe, die dein lieber Gott bis hieher dir geleistet hat, vergessen würdest? Wie bald würdest du übermüthig, trozig, gottvergessen werden? Schrecklich! schrecklich!" rief er aus und fiel auf seinem Knie,

170 "ויאמר בלבו מי ימנעך לחיות בנעימים! בלי דאגה ותוגה התענג בטוב אשר נתן לך ה', אכל ושתה מעדוך ומפרי העץ (הלא כל טוב ה' בידך) החזק את גיחתך במאכל ומשתה ובשמחה, תגמול על המפגעים והמחסור בשנים העברות, פרייאטאג יעשה מלאכתך הנה הוא רך בשנים ובריא אולם, הלא עשית עמו חסד ואמת!" Samosc, p. 100.

171 Reclam, p. 217f.

172 "ויאמר! מה תעשה אם עת קץ ההצלחה הזאת הגיעה? אם ימות פרייאטאג? אם יכבה האש עוד הפעם? בחשבו זאת אחז לבו פלצות ויאמר עוד מה תעשה אחרי תפנק נפשך ותטמון ידיך בצלחת ויקשה לך לשוב לשפל מצבך הראשון [...] ויוסף ראבינוזאן לפקוח עיניו על מקרהו, ויאמר: אם תבלה ימך בתענוגי תבל הלא מהר תשכח את ה' ואת חסדו אשר עשה עמך ותשמך ותבעט ותלבש רהב כשריון, ותשכח אל מחוללך? ויקרא: חלילה חלילה! Samosc, p. 100f. – ויפול על ברכיו ויתפלל לה' כי יצילוהו מהגבלה הזאת."

um Gott zu bitten, daß er ihn doch ja vor diesem abscheulichen Undanke bewahren mögte.¹⁷³

Throughout the story, recurrent scenes demonstrate the value of industry and a strong work ethic. Even on the first night of storytelling the children learn not to sit idle as they listen, and the answer to the father's rhetorical question is clear to all:

Father: What will you do while I tell you the story? Will you sit idly?

Yochanan: If only we had something to do!¹⁷⁴

Vater. Aber, was denkt ihr denn zu machen unter der Zeit, daß ich euch erzäle? So ganz müssig werdet ihr doch wohl nicht gern da sizzen wollen?

Johannes. Ja, wenn wir nur was zu machen hätten!¹⁷⁵

The book describes the dynamic and industrious atmosphere that characterizes the children while they are listening to the story. The boys crack seeds, the young daughter practices knitting, and the whole of their behavior exemplifies the values of labor and diligence:

Father: Here are seeds to crack, if you wish.

Everyone: I do, me! Me! [...]

Leah: With your permission, I will first work on the stitches as mother instructed [...].

Dan: How sweet and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. Here there is room for everybody, let see who amongst us will crack the most seeds.¹⁷⁶

Mutter: Hier sind Erbsen auszukrüllen! Hier türksche Bonen abzustreifen; wer hat Lust?

Alle. Ich! ich! ich! ich!

[...] Lotte. Nein, mit Erlaubniß, ich muß erst den Kettenstich machen, den Mutter mir gezeigt hat.

[...] Diederich. O gern, gern! Hier ist noch Plaz genug. Das ist exzellent! Nun wollen wir sehen, wer am meisten abstreifen kan!¹⁷⁷

173 Reclam, p. 218f.

174 "האב: ומה תעשו משך הזמן אשר אספר לכם הקרות הבאות? התטמנו ידיכם בצלחת? יוחנן: לו יהי לנו דבר 174 Reclam, p. 20.

175 Reclam, p. 20.

176 "האב: הנה זרעונים לפצל לאשר יחפוק! כלם: אנכי אחפוק, אנכי! אנכי! [...] לאה: אם יש את נפשך אעשה 176 Reclam, p. 20.

177 Reclam, p. 20.

The parents' success in educating their children and imparting to them the values of diligence and dedication to work is seen as a measure and reflection of their parental love. Robinson's own parents supply an opposite and negative example, having failed to provide Robinson with a "good education" because their love for him led them to accept his idleness and forgive his faults.

7.4.3 Virtuous Living

The adoption of bourgeois virtues plays a major role in the progression of events in *Robinson*. These virtues include faith in Divine Providence, modesty, proportionality and moderation, making do with little, and self-reliance. In the spirit of Rousseau, acquiring virtues is not a passive development but instead an effort comprising an active part of one's daily activities. In Campe's book the father encourages the children to imagine how Robinson would have coped with specific problems and then to reenact Robinson's life, "playing" his role, experiencing what he went through, praising him, yet also evaluating his actions critically. The father intentionally sets up situations in which the children may learn how to live modestly and deprive themselves of material satisfaction. For example, they learn to delay gratification. On the sixteenth night of storytelling, Robinson meets an inhabitant of the island named Freitag; the children are frightened that the wild Freitag might kill Robinson. Here the father pauses and the children wait in suspense for him to continue, but the father offers the children a choice between immediately gratifying their curiosity or deciding to take advantage of the moment and apply restraint. When the children ask why he has paused, he answers:

In order to afford you the opportunity to moderate your burning desire to learn the news. You are all curious to know the outcome of this terrible battle. I will tell you, if you really wish it.¹⁷⁸

Um euch abermahls eine Gelegenheit zu geben, eure Begierden bändigen zu lernen! Vermuthlich seid ihr jetzt alle sehr neugierig, den Ausgang des fürchterlichen Kampfes zu wissen, der unserm *Robinson* bevorzustehen scheint; auch bin ich, wenn ihr es so wolt, so gleich bereit, ihn euch zu erzählen.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ "למען אתן לכם דרך, להשקיט אש התאווה אשר לשמוע חדשות בקרבכם בווערת. כלכם תחפצו לשמוע אחרית" — Samosc, p. 95.

¹⁷⁹ Reclam, p. 204.

He offers, however, the alternative of continuing the story on the following evening. Needless to say, the children choose to put off hearing the rest of the story and each one of them turns to do some work. Campe commented, as an aside, on the importance of teaching children to postpone gratification:

Please note, dear readers, that not so long ago these youths had taught themselves to endure suffering, that they might restrain their desire to hear the news, and thus happily they discard all vanity as their father wishes; you will be very wise to learn from them.¹⁸⁰

Unsere jungen Leser müssen aber wissen, daß alle diese Kinder seit einiger Zeit, so manche Übung in der Selbstüberwindung gehabt hatten, daß es ihnen gar nicht mehr sauer wurde, auch auf ihre liebsten Vergnügungen, wenn es sein muste, mit lachendem Munde Verzicht zu thun; und sie werden wohl thun, wenn sie diese Kinder, die sich sehr gut dabei befinden, darin nachzuahmen suchen.¹⁸¹

In another episode, the children practice self-denial. They ask the father's permission to fast for the whole day and deprive themselves of sleep for the whole night.¹⁸² Not only is permission granted, but the father praises them for their request and decides to join in the exercise.

Dan: Shimon, Yochanan and I ask your permission not to eat bread tomorrow afternoon.

Yedidia: And Yissachar and Leah and I would like to ask to be given only dry bread tomorrow and nothing in the evening.

Father: And why?

Yohanan: That we might learn to master ourselves!¹⁸³

Diderich. Ich und Nikolas und Johannes wollten bitten, daß es uns erlaubt wäre, morgen Mittag nicht zu essen.

Gotlieb. Und ich, und Frizchen und Lotte wollten bitten, daß wir Morgen zum Frühstück nur ein Bischen trokken Brod und den Abend gar nichts essen dürften.

Vater. Und warum das?

Johannes. Ja, wir wollen uns auch gern überwinden lernen.¹⁸⁴

"ידעו נא קוראים נעימים! כי זה ימים לא כבירים הנערים הרגילו את עצמם לשאת ולסבול, בל יתאוו לשמוע **180** חדשות, בפנים שחקות השליכו כל תענוגי תבל אחרי גום, אם לא השיגום בנקל, וברצון אביהם, יחכמו אם מהם יראו". Samosc, p. 95. – וכן יעשו."

181 Reclam, p. 205.

182 Reclam, p. 220–223.

"דן: אנכי ושמעון ויוחנן נבקש ממך כי תתן לנו רשיון בל נאכל מחר לחם הצהרים. ידידיה: ואנכי וישכר ולאה **183** נבקש בל יותן לנו מחר להברות [=לאכול] כי אך לחם יבש, ובערב אין כל. האב: ומדוע? יוחנן: למען נלמוד למשול" – ברוחנו! Samosc, p. 102.

184 Reclam, p. 220f.

7.4.4 Love for Others

Universal love for humankind – love for all simply by virtue of their membership in the great family of humanity – was a fundamental principle of Philanthropinism, as evident from the name of the movement and as demonstrated by the following anecdote, in which Robinson's ship runs into trouble and sailors from another ship come to its aid. One of the children listening to the story asks whether the sailors are from Hamburg. The father uses this opportunity to teach the children of the obligation to help others, and the reason he offers for that obligation is a sense of shared humanity. This sentiment is more explicit in Samosc's translation: while the original German reads "Nun, eben so menschlich dachten die Leute in dem Boote auch"¹⁸⁵ ("The people in the boat also thought in a humane way"), Samosc's father explains why all people are equal, after all: "These people have a heart just like mine."¹⁸⁶ When the child goes on to wonder whether this refers to all people, including "the others" (for Samosc, "others" refers to the Ishmaelites; for Campe, they are the Turks), the father responds that all people should be treated equally and not be judged by their nationality:

Father: You should know that in every nation and every country there are good people, and in every nation and every generation there are empty and reckless people.¹⁸⁷

Vater. Lieber Johannes, du wirst immer mehr erfahren, daß es unter allen Völkern, in allen Ländern gute Leute gibt; so wie es unter allen Völkern, in allen Ländern und zu allen Zeiten auch hin und wieder Taugenichts gegeben hat.¹⁸⁸

The father warns the children not to be overquick in their judgment of other people, and in addition teaches them the importance of forgiving. Johannes/Shimon [elsewhere Johannes is Yochanan] announces angrily that he does not pity Robinson because the latter sinned gravely and left home without his parents' permission. To this the father responds that Robinson deserves some mercy:

For he is our brother, our lost brother; his offense will no longer be remembered, but we will strive to help him if we are able.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Reclam, p. 358.

¹⁸⁶ "גם לאנשים האלה לב כמוני." – Samosc, p. 10.

¹⁸⁷ "האב: תוסף לדעת כי יש בכל עם ועם מדינה ומדינה אנשים טובים כאשר יש בכל דור ודור אנשים רעים ופוחזים." – Samosc, p. 10f.

¹⁸⁸ Reclam, p. 358.

¹⁸⁹ "נשום על לבנו כי אחינו הוא, אחינו התועה, פשעו לא יזכר עוד, אך נקומה לעזור לו אם יש לאל ידינו." – Samosc, p. 13.

[...] da wollen wir bedenken, daß er unser Bruder, unser armer verirrter Bruder sei, und seine Schuld vergessen, und ihm nicht bloß unser Mitleid schenken, sondern, wenn wir können, ihm auch helfen auf den Weg des Rechtthuns und der Glückseligkeit zurückzukehren.¹⁹⁰

7.4.5 Natural/Universal Religion

Piety and faith in God occupy a central place in Campe's thought. These attitudes help overcome hardships, fears, and frustrations in life, as the father explains to his daughter Leah (Lotte): "As you know, nothing in this world brings me more pleasure to tell of than the greatness and benevolence [of God]."¹⁹¹ ("Du weist, ich rede von nichts lieber, als von ihm, der so gut und so groß und so liebevoll ist.")¹⁹²

The central role that religious education played in books for children in the second half of the eighteenth century has been described at length by Rüdiger Steinlein, who sees *Robinson der Jüngere* as one of the most prominent books to address moral and religious education.¹⁹³ Indeed, Campe drew a strong connection between accepting God and doing good, and believed that religious education and a genuine acceptance of God were fundamental to the construction of a "bourgeois person" – that is, to the adoption of bourgeois values and the bourgeois way of life: "You are correct, my daughter: if you know the ways of God and strive to do only good, happiness will be yours from now on"¹⁹⁴ ("wenn du Gott erst recht wirst kennen lernen: so wirst du dich noch vielmehr bemühen, so ganz gut zu werden, und dan wirst du noch vielmehr Freude haben, als jetzt.")¹⁹⁵

Because of Campe's universalist understanding of religion, Samosc found no difficulty in transmitting his ethical and religious message to his own Jewish readers. This is, for example, the case when Robinson teaches Freitag about God's universality:

¹⁹⁰ Reclam, p. 32, p. 358.

¹⁹¹ "הלא ידעת כי טוב לי לספר מגדלו וטובו מספר מכל אשר על פני תבל?" – Samosc, p. 23.

¹⁹² Reclam, p. 59.

¹⁹³ Steinlein, Rüdiger: Aufgeklärte Gottesfurcht – das Gott-Vater-Paradigma als religionspädagogisches und wirkungsästhetisches Prinzip erzählender Kinder- und Jugendliteratur der Aufklärung (am Beispiel von J. H. Campes Robinson der Jüngere). In: Zeitschrift für Germanistik Neue Folge 4,1 (1994). P. 7–23.

¹⁹⁴ "צדקת בתי היקרה! אם תדעי דרכי ה' ומפעליו מגמת פינדך תהי לעשות רק טוב סלה, תשמחי אז מעתה." – Samosc, p. 23.

¹⁹⁵ Reclam, p. 59.

And he taught him of the ways of God and told him that there is an end, that there is reward and punishment in eternal life, and instructed him that God is powerful and glorious, that wisdom is his and he is compassionate to all. He created everything that exists on this Earth and breathes life into us all. He has no beginning and no end, and even if he is beyond our ken he exists and knows our thoughts and our deeds, loves what is good and hates what is evil.¹⁹⁶

[...] und fing von dem Augenblicke an, ihm besser Begriffe von Gott und von dem Leben nach dem Tode mitzuthellen. Er lehrte ihn, daß Gott ein unsichtbares, höchst mächtiges, höchst weises und gütiges Wesen sei; daß er Alles, was da ist, erschaffen habe, und für alles Sorge; er selbst aber habe nie einen Anfang genommen; daß er überall zugegen sei, und wisse alles, was wir denken, reden und thun; daß er Wholgefallen am Guten finde und alles Böse verabscheue.¹⁹⁷

In another case Robinson recites a prayer to (the universal) God: “You are the source of life! Accept my thanks for having shown to me your precious sun, to behold by its light the wonders of your deeds.”¹⁹⁸ (“O du ewiger Quel des Lebens, rief er aus, indem er sich auf seine Knie warf; Gott! Gott! Habe Dank, daß du mich noch einmahl deine schöne Sonne erblicken, und in ihrem Lichte die Wunder deiner Schöpfung sehen läßt’.”)¹⁹⁹

Samosc did not omit references to religion unless they featured Christian elements explicitly. For example, the following hymn of praise, “das Loblied”, was left untouched: “[...] Your mercy and your righteousness are found everywhere under the sky / I will exalt you among the living / Each day your powers are renewed / All that we require, you supply.”²⁰⁰ (“So weit die Himmel gehen / Geht, Vater deine Treu; / Ich will sie, Gott, erhöhen, / Denn täglich wird sie neu. / Von dem wir Alles haben [...].”)²⁰¹

Nevertheless, explicit references to Christianity were replaced by universalist ones. For example, Samosc omitted the reference to the cross in the following phrase: “[...] Den wird er wunderlich erhalten / in allem Kreuz und Herzeleid.”²⁰²

196 "וילמדהו לדעת את ה' והגיד לו כי יש אחרית ויש תגמול ועונש בחיי הנצחי, ויורהו כי אלקים הוא בעל הכח 196 והגבורה לו החכמה והוא המרחם על כל, הוא יצר את כל אשר על פני תבל ומחיה את כלם, אין לו ראשית ואין תכלית Samosc, p. 108. – ואם נסתר במסתרים שם הוא וידוע כל מחשבותינו וכל מעשינו גלויים לו, אוהב טוב ושונא רע."

197 Reclam, p. 233 f.

198 –"אתה מקור החיים! קח תודה ממני כי הראתני הפעם שמשך היקר הולך, לראות באורו נפלאות מעשיך." – Samosc, p. 77 f.

199 Reclam, p. 167.

200 "תחת כל השמים, חסדך אלוהים וצדקותיך / ארוממך בקהל החיים, לבקרים תחדש גבורותיך / מידך כל 200 "(...]. – צרכינו – Samosc, p. 128.

201 Reclam, p. 369.

202 Reclam, p. 57.

Instead of the cross, he references the universal God: "His great wonders will soon be evident when illness and soreness afflict his tent."²⁰³

7.4.6 Honoring One's Parents

The value of honoring one's father and mother is emphasized time and again. It is only during his life on the island that Robinson learns to appreciate parental love and the value of filial obedience. Early in the story Robinson sins before his parents in leaving them without their permission, and a long process of learning is required before Robinson internalizes this understanding. After first boarding his ship Robinson confesses to the captain that he never obtained his parents' permission to depart. The agitated captain rebukes him and says that had he known this in Hamburg, he would not have let Robinson aboard. Embarrassed, Robinson weeps and does not know what to do. The father explains to the children why the captain was so hard on Robinson: "It is the duty of every man to prevent his fellow man from doing wrong."²⁰⁴ ("Er that, was jeder thun muß, wenn er seinen Nebenmenschen fehlen sieht; er erinnerte den jungen Menschen an seine Pflicht.")²⁰⁵

On the island, Robinson and Freitag manage to construct a well-equipped house for themselves and cultivate a magnificent vegetable garden. Their material needs are entirely satisfied, and the only shadow over Robinson's life is his longing for his parents and his strong sense of remorse for not having sought their forgiveness. His feelings for his parents, as well as Freitag's for his own, are described time and again. In one scene, the intensity of their longing is described as preventing them from finding peace. In another, the very mention of Robinson's parents brings tears to his and Freitag's eyes:

Tears fell down [Freitag's cheek], and Robinson recalled his own parents and wiped tears from his face, and both were silent for long moments.²⁰⁶

Father: [...] it would seem as if Robinson lacks for nothing. But what do you think?

Yedidia: Only his being away from his parents made him troubled.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ "נפלאותיו הגדולות יראהו / בקרוב באהלו מחלה ונגע." – Samosc, p. 22.

²⁰⁴ "חובת כל אנוש להשיב רעהו מאון." – Samosc, p. 11.

²⁰⁵ Reclam, p. 28f.

²⁰⁶ "[...] דמעות ירדו על לחיו, ויזכור גם ראבינוואהן את הוריו ומחה הדמעות מעל פניו." – Samosc, p. 116.

²⁰⁷ "האב: [...] למלאות שלות ראבינוואהן אין מחסור, אך – מה תדמו בנפשכם? ידידיה: אך פרידת הוריו היתה "האב: [...] למלאות שלות ראבינוואהן אין מחסור, אך – מה תדמו בנפשכם? ידידיה: אך פרידת הוריו היתה". – בעברו. – Samosc, p. 137.

[...] ein Paar große Tränen rolden ihm die Backen herab. *Robinson* dachte an seine eigene Eltern und muste sich gleichfalls die Augen wischen. Beide beobachteten eine Zeitlang ein rührendes Stillschweigen.²⁰⁸

Vater. [...] Zu *Robinsons* vollkommener Glückseligkeit fehlte also weiter nichts mehr, als – was meint ihr?

Gotlieb. Daß er nicht bei seinen Eltern war!²⁰⁹

To this the father adds: “Thus did the Creator sow love and gratitude for one’s parents in the hearts of every creature.”²¹⁰ (“So gewiß, fügte der Vater hinzu, hat Gott die Liebe und Dankbarkeit gegen Eltern allen Menschen ins Herz gelegt!”)²¹¹

The captain suggests that *Robinson* return home to his parents and ask them to forgive him.²¹² While many years must pass before *Robinson* can do so, the ceremony of begging forgiveness ends his story and closes the circle. Upon returning to Hamburg, *Robinson* earns his father’s forgiveness and shows his great respect for the latter by requesting his permission to venture forth in his own field of work – even though he is no longer a young lad just leaving the nest:

Robinson’s father was an estate agent and wished to teach his son the business, that he might take his place after his death. But *Robinson*, who had become accustomed to working with his own hands for many years, asked his father’s permission to learn the craft of carpentry [Tischler, in Hebrew transliteration]; and his father fulfilled his desire.²¹³

Robinsons Vater war ein Makler. Er wünschte, daß sein Sohn sich in diesen Geschäften üben mögte, um nach seinem Tode an seine Stelle treten zu können. Aber *Robinson*, der seit vielen Jahren an das Vergnügen der Handarbeiten gewöhnt war, bat seinen Vater um die Erlaubniß, das Tischler-Handwerk zu lernen; und dieser ließ ihm seinen freien Willen.²¹⁴

208 Reclam, p. 248f.

209 Reclam, p. 294.

210 "כך נטע הבורא אהבה ותודת בנים לאבותם בלב כל היצירים." – Samosc, p. 116.

211 Reclam, p. 249.

212 "מה תעשה ענה החובל שוב אל בית אביך, חזק ברכי והוריד ובקש מהם סליחה על מעותך." – Samosc, p. 11.

213 "אבי ראבינוזאהן היה סרסר ויבקש לחנך את בנו לעשות כמוהו למען ימלא את מקומו אחרי מותו, אכן ראבניזאהן אשר הסכינ זה שנים אחדות במלאכת היד בקש רשיון מאביו כי ילמדהו מלאכת חרשי עץ (טישלער) – וימלא אביו את רצונו." – Samosc, p. 160.

214 Reclam, p. 346.

Towards the end of the book, Campe presents two golden rules of parent-child relations. One is addressed to parents and the other to children; loving parents must instill sound values in their children, and children must strive to learn those values well:

Parents! If you love your children, educate them to be honest, to make do with little and work industriously [...] Little children! Obey your parents and teachers, do your utmost to learn well, fear your Lord and beware of idleness, which is the source of all evils.²¹⁵

Eltern, wenn ihr eure Kinder liebt, so gewöhnt sie ja frühzeitig zu einem frommen, mäßigen und arbeitsamen Leben! [...] lieben Kinder seid gehorsam euren Eltern und Vorgesetzten; lernt fleißig alles, was ihr zu lernen nur immer Gelegenheit habt; fürchtet Gott, und hütet euch – o hütet euch – vor Müßiggang, aus welchem nichts, als Böses, komt!²¹⁶

7.4.7 Life in Nature

Philanthropinism sought to bring children out of the traditional closed and stuffy classroom and into nature's fresh air. The importance Campe attributed to nature is noticeable not only in where the frame story takes place – the father relates Robinson's story in the open air of a green garden, beneath an apple tree – but also in how learning to live in nature is necessary for Robinson's survival. In order to stay alive, Robinson must come to know nature through the process of trial and error. This "natural" way of life is at first forced upon Robinson, but after he gains familiarity with nature and is able to control it, he willingly lives in harmony with it. Nevertheless, Robinson's is a story about humankind conquering nature, rather than nature conquering humankind. Nor does Campe present an ideal of an isolated man living in nature; quite the opposite is true. Campe's protagonist does not forego a social life, and Campe demonstrates time and again humankind's fundamental need for a social existence. Robinson learns this lesson when he is able to light a fire – a prerequisite for the life on the island – only after having cooperated with another person, namely Freitag:

If only he had one helper who might stand by his side and rub the trees together when his own hands grew weak [...].²¹⁷

²¹⁵ "הורים! אם תאהבו את בניכם תחנכו אותם היות תמים לחיות במשורה ולעבוד עבודה... [...] ילדים קטנים! סורו למשמעת הוריים ושופטיכם למדו היטב כאשר לאל ידכם יראו את ה' והשמרו מרשת הבטלה היא מקור כל הרעות!" – Samosc, p. 160.

²¹⁶ Reclam, p. 346.

²¹⁷ "לו היה לו אך עזר אחד אשר יעמוד לימינו להתגרד העצים עת רפו ידיו [...]" – Samosc, p. 37.

It is difficult for one person to fulfill his needs all by himself. Great is the benefit to us of the society of other human beings, my children!²¹⁸

Hätte er nur einen einzigen Gehülphen gehabt, der dan, wenn er selbst ermattet war, fortgefahren hätte zu reiben [...].²¹⁹

So unendlich schwer ist es für jeden einzelnen Menschen, für alle seine Bedürfnisse selbst zu sorgen.²²⁰

7.5 The Ending

Robinson returns to Hamburg empty-handed, just as he arrived on the island, because his ship sinks before it reaches shore. All the property Robinson had brought with him plunges to the depths of the ocean, and he must once again create a life from scratch.²²¹ He chooses, ultimately, to begin a career as a carpenter; in this way, the story's conclusion reinforces the values of resourcefulness and industry which are at the heart of the book. Robinson actively chooses to continue to live by these values, even when he has the option to choose a different path.

In light of the fact that Campe addressed his books to the bourgeoisie and upper classes, one might wonder why he made Robinson a carpenter; after all, a different path in life awaited Campe's readers. I believe that what Campe depicts here is primarily an ideal centered on an independent person who can earn his living from the fruit of his work. Such an approach, of course, closely matched the model way of life that the Haskalah movement sought to disseminate among non-Maskilic Jewish society. Furthermore, while living in Hamburg, Robinson and Freitag continue to maintain a healthy life of productive work, and once a week they consciously exercise the virtues they acquired on the island:

In memory of the time they lived on the island, they dedicated one day each week to live as they did upon the island; living in harmony, forgiving their brothers, helping their friends and loving them had now become their habitual virtues, and they could not comprehend how to live without them. They distinguished themselves by a pure, unfeigned and active

218 "כבוד לאיש למלאות כל צרכיו יחיד, גדול מאוד התועלת אשר תגיע לנו מחברת בני אנוש, בני!" – Samosc, p. 41.

219 Reclam, p. 83.

220 Reclam, p. 91.

221 See: Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 115.

piety. And when they pronounced the name of God, joy and love shone from their eyes. [...] They lived in peace and in health, and did their useful work for many days.²²²

Zur Erinnerung an ihr ehemaliges Einsiedler-Leben setzten sie einen Tag in jeder Woche fest, an dem sie ihre vormahlige Lebensart, so gut es gehen wolte, zu erneuern suchten. Eintracht, Nachsicht mit den Fehlern anderer Menschen, Dienstfertigkeit, und Menschenliebe waren ihnen jetzt so gewohnte Tugenden geworden, daß sie gar nicht begriffen, wie man ohne dieselben leben konte. Vornehmlich zeichneten sie sich durch eine reine, ungeheuchelte und thätige Frömmigkeit aus. So oft sie den Nahmen Gottes aussprachen, strahlte Freude und Liebe aus ihren Augen. [...] Sie erlebten in Friede, Gesundheit und nützlicher Geschäftigkeit ein hohes Alter [...].²²³

Samosc retained Campe's ending with no alteration, in contrast to a contemporaneous Yiddish translation which, as we have seen, judaized the ending in its portrayal of Alter-Leb (Robinson) and Shabbes (Freitag) enjoying much satisfaction in marrying off their children.

7.6 Samosc's Translation and the Philanthropinist Program

The extent to which Samosc made use of his translation to present the Philanthropinist program to Jewish readers becomes clear not only through examination of his translation, but also from comparison to a later Hebrew translation. This later translation, which enjoyed much success, was first published in Warsaw in 1849 and subsequently thrice more (in 1874, 1910, and 1912), each edition differing slightly from its predecessor, particularly in regard to its title.²²⁴ The comparison shows that while Samosc's translation aimed to present his Jewish readers with the Philanthropinist worldview, the translations that followed a quarter-century later sought to turn *Robinson der Jüngere* into an exciting adventure story, completely discarding the ideological and didactic dimensions of the source text. The abandonment of the Philanthropinist program by the later translator, Eliezer Ben Shimon Hacoheh Bloch (Lazar Cohen Bloch) is noticeable in the omission of the frame story and of dialogues that were so central to the Philanthropic system of pedagogy. The source text was shortened and sections previously dedicated to practical knowledge omitted, such as, for example, the

"לזכרון בעת אשר חיו על האי יעדו להם יום אחד בשבוע בו יחיו באופן אשר חיו אז, האחדות ולסלוח עון בני גילם לעזור לרעייהם ולאהוב אותם היו להם צדקה אשר הרגילו בהם לא ידעו אך יהיה גבר בלעדי המדות האלה, ויבדלו מכלן בישרת לבבם ובצדקתם, בזכרם את שם ה' קרני אהבה ושמחה מעיניהם נוצצו [...] חיו שלוים ובריאים ויעשו מלאכתם להועיל ימים רבים." — Samosc, p. 160.

²²³ Reclam, p. 346f.

²²⁴ See Appendix 2.

meticulous descriptions of how objects were constructed, and entire sections about knowledge of the world, primarily history and geography. The universalist message was also omitted, along with references to the great importance of education and industry. However, unlike Samosc's work, Bloch's translation underlined its religious message.²²⁵ The judaization of the text is evident not only in minor details like the replacement of oysters with fish, but also in the replacement of Christian allusions with those of the Hebrew Bible and the addition of elements from Jewish tradition. For example, when Robinson instructs Shabbes (i. e. Freitag) in the fundamentals of religion, these include the story of the Creation, which does not appear in Campe's version. Such additions are especially conspicuous because Bloch's translation is considerably shorter than Campe's original text.

As mentioned above, Isaac Erter's (1791–1851) translation (*The Hebrew Robinson*) was lost and cannot be studied directly. However, we can reconstruct the principles that underlay the translation because Erter described them in a letter to Meir Letteris (1800–1871), an editor and writer. Erter put forth three objectives for his book: 1) It should be readable by children in their leisure time and provide them an opportunity to express their repressed emotions; 2) The book should help to instill rational thinking in place of the irrational modes of thought that children absorb during infancy; 3) It should assist children in learning to read Hebrew, before they begin to learn the Bible.²²⁶

The description of these three objectives makes it clear that Erter's translation, unlike Samosc's, did not aim primarily at introducing Philanthropinist ideas and did not seek to serve as an agent for the introduction of Philanthropinism in Jewish society.

8 Conclusion

Of all the translations of *Robinson der Jüngere* into Hebrew, only the first, David Samosc's, explicitly sought to impart to Jewish readers the Philanthropinist worldview and the model of a bourgeois society built on the values of "Bildung". The story of a young man who travels the world, finds himself abandoned on an island and then builds his life and home from scratch on the basis of the knowledge he acquires, was perfectly in line with the Maskilim's aspiration to broaden

²²⁵ Shein-Idelson, *Difference of a Different Kind*, p. 332.

²²⁶ Erter, *Issac: Hatzofeh Lebet Yisrael*. Vienna 1864. P. 116f. Cited in Klausner, *A History of Modern Hebrew Literature*, p. 330f.

the horizons of their Jewish brethren beyond their narrow and provincial world. Samosc gave expression to his objective by using his translation to present an ideal society whose model should be appropriated by Jewish society. Instead of a conservative and insular society, Samosc, like the author of his source text, envisioned one characterized by openness to the world, social mobility, rationality, and a universalist outlook – a society of people who attained a profession, were knowledgeable about the world, and lived off of their own hard work. In place of the isolated Jew keeping to the confines of his home, Samosc sought to portray a society that was open, inclusive, and enjoyed fruitful relations with its surroundings. The “New Jew” in this society adopts the daily practices of non-Jews, speaks the language of the society in which he lives and is familiar with its culture. He makes his living in various professions and enriches his spiritual world not only through religious study but also through secular studies. In this way, David Samosc – an unknown Maskil from Breslau, a provincial city in Prussia – made his own modest contribution to the major reforms the Maskilim aspired to bring to Jewish communities, in the spirit of the European Enlightenment.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter by Moses Mendelssohn

Schreiben, die philanthropinische Erziehung jüdischer Kinder betreffend, von Moses Mendelssohn. In: *Ha-Me’assef* (September 1784). P. 5–10. Also in: *Litteratur und Völkerkunde*. 2. Band (April 1783). P. 897–900 (shortened by the author of this article).

Aber bester Freund! War denn der Schritt wirklich so ausserordentlich, so kühn, den das Philanthropin zu Besten meiner Brüder gethan? Liegt es nicht schon im Begriff eines philanthropinischen Instituts, das ihm der Mensch als Mensch erziehungswürdig und willkomment seyn muß, ohne darauf zu sehen, ob er einen beschnittenen oder unbeschnittenen Vater gehabt?

[...]

Ich von meiner Seite finde das Anerbieten der philanthropinischen Vorsteher ihrer würdig, aber nicht ausserordentlich. Denn daß jüdische Schüler und Zöglinge aufgenommen werden, dieses geschieht auf allen niedern und hohen Schulen Deutschlands; und auf die Abschaffung kleiner pedantischer Unterscheidungszeichen, die bey Promotionen und Streitübungen noch auf mancher Universität im Schwange sind, legt doch wohl niemand einen Werth. Und daß sie Unchristen auch zu Lehrern annehmen wollen, ist sicherlich nicht befrem-

dender, also daß eine königlich preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften einen Juden zum Mitgliede erwählt habe; daß die Gesellschaft naturforschender Freunde allhier, Gelehrte vom ersten Range, geheime Finanzrätthe und Juden zu Mitgliedern hat; daß Mendes d'Accosta vor einigen Jahren Sekretair der Londoner Societät gewesen; und daß selbst in den dunkelsten Zeiten nicht selten Beschnittene auf den Lehrstühlen der orientalischen Sprachen, der Medicin und der Astronomie gesessen haben. [...]

Aber von der andern Seite ist auch dieses so ausgemacht noch nicht, daß nicht so manche Israeliten die philanthropinische Einladung mit dem verdienten Danke annehmen, und sich zu Nutze machen werden. Als ich das Vergnügen hatte, vor ihrer Abreise mit ihnen selbst, und einige Zeit darauf mit Herren P. Simon von dieser Materie zu sprechen, machte ich mir von diesem Projekte überhaupt keine sonderliche Hoffnung; Herr Wessely, der besseres Zutrauen hatte, unterzog sich der Sache mit löblichen Eifer, und fährt noch immer fort sie zu betreiben. Ich hoffe, seine Bemühungen sollen nicht so ganz fruchtlos seyn. Der Erfolg geht etwas langsam von Statten; er wird aber vielleicht desto sicherer und anhaltender seyn. Es liegt in den Gemüthern der Menschen eine gewisse vis inertiae, die nicht immer durch heftige Stöße überwunden seyn will. [...].

Appendix 2: List of *Robinson der Jüngere* Translations into Hebrew

Samosc, David

1824 *Robinson der Jüngere*. Ein Lesebuch für Kinder von Joachim Heinrich Campe. Ins Hebräisch übertragen von David Samosc (Breslau: Sulzbach)

Erter, Isaac

1830? *Robinson ha-ivri* (lost). Probably Warsaw.

Bloch, Eliezer Ben Shimon HaChohen (Lazar Cohen Bloch)

1849 *Ma'ase Robinson* (Warsaw: Bomberg)

1874 *Ma'ase Robinson* (Warsaw: J. Lebenssohn)

1910 *Sippur Robinson* (Bilsgoraj: Natan Neta Kronenberg)

1912 *Sippur Robinson* (Przemysl: Amkraut & Freund)

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