From German to Yiddish: adaptation strategies in the *Kuhbukh* and the *Siben weisen mainster bichel*.

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ABSTRACT

Analyses of Yiddish literature adapted from German narrative models have been weighed down by a variety of prejudices, from the distrust of *variance*, the low opinion of translation and adaptation, the dichotomies built around notions of high and low literatures and cultures, the close linguistic proximity of German and Yiddish, as well as the gendering and essentialising of its readership. This thesis will propose a different approach to viewing these adaptations.

Having demonstrated that the lack of methodology in analyses of early modern Yiddish texts has led to regularly unsubstantiated or unaddressed statements concerning levels of adaptation in Yiddish literature, this thesis shows that reactive analyses of a Yiddish text's judaizing elements are rife in Yiddish scholarship. These judaizing elements are either used as a measure to assert a text's Jewishness, or used as proof that they are purely superficial changes that fail to mask the fact that the Yiddish text is a copy of existing German material. They have also been seen as further proof that Jews were incapable of consuming literary products that did not reflect their lived experience as Jews, thereby furthering ideas espoused by Jacob Katz of irretrievable differences between Jews and Christians that led to limited types of interaction. This isolationist perspective of Jews in relationship to mainstream society has progressively been laid to rest in recent Jewish histories and the results of this thesis will support this renewed perception.

Building on methodologies and frameworks of analyses developed in contemporary medieval scholarship, this thesis pushes for a re-assessment of this type of Yiddish

literature and suggests a flexible model of adaptation that views adaptation as a creative interaction between two texts. It distinguishes between different levels of adaptation, from transcription to *Wiedererzählen*, all of which impact different levels of the narrative text. This model also emphasises the fluidity between these categories, highlighting that different texts may present combinations of adaptation strategies. This model of adaptation avoids associating different levels of adaptation with qualitative assessments, in order to move away from ideas that the usage of transcriptions and translations in the process of canon formation is symptomatic of literary poverty.

In response to unsatisfactory approaches to judaizing strategies found in Yiddish texts adapted from German literature, this thesis also suggests a different method of analysis. Judaizing processes can either be part of overall processes of adaptation aimed at coding the text as Jewish within an overarching framework of renewed cultural specificity; or, they can function as translation principles that achieve equivalence with the original model. In both cases, they are a thoughtful process, used either to shape a text in a different cultural and ethical direction, or to preserve meaning and equivalence in the translational shift from one language to another. Judaizing processes are not frenetic additions on which transfer, readership, and acceptance are conditional.

In order to illustrate both ends of this scale of adaptation, this thesis centres on two early modern Yiddish texts and subjects them to extensive analytical approaches. The *Kuhbukh* (Verona, 1595) and the *Siben weisen mainster bichel* (Basel, 1602) share a number of similarities: they were printed within a contiguous time frame and in a relatively close geographical span. Additionally, they are both a collection of short-form narratives that work towards an overarching thematic message. Both enjoyed popularity outside of their immediate century. While both have a strong didactic element, both texts were also read for entertainment.

They do, however, also display a number of differences: whilst the *Kuhbukh* (KB) is a collection of rhymed fables, the *Siben weisen mainster bichel* (ZWM) is a frame-narrative. The KB is the result of a merging of three different sources, one of which is German; whereas the ZWM is adapted from a single German text. Additionally, whereas the KB displays evidence of a complete overhaul of the German material, the ZWM only shows variations from the original German print at localised levels.

Chapter I of this thesis focuses on the *Kuhbukh*'s transmission. It provides additional support for the argument that an earlier 1555 edition of the KB may have existed by showing that the literary and infrastructural conditions for its production in mid-sixteenth century Italy were met. It also clarifies a misunderstanding concerning the Dürer mural and its impact on the KB timeline of transmission, highlighting the difficulty of actually ascertaining the transmission of the Boner material to Yiddish audiences of the sixteenth century. This chapter also discusses the available scholarship on the *Kuhbukh* and flags issues that remain to be analysed.

Chapter II is centred on an extensive literary analysis of the *Kuhbukh* through the lens of the twenty-two fables adapted from Boner's *Edelstein*. It demonstrates that the KB exemplifies one side of the scale of adaptation by displaying levels of *Wiedererzählen*. Using Bauschke's typology of changes in German courtly romances, this chapter categorises the ways in which expansion was achieved. It also argues that the *Kuhbukh* presents a unified and cohesive argument against social mobility and the disruption of social order through a moral framework underpinned by exclusionary and inclusionary laughter, as well as punitive violence. In response to inadequate analyses of judaizing elements, this chapter shows that the judaizing elements found in the *Kuhbukh* further enables its author to anchor his collection of fables, and, by extension, his moral framework, within a Jewish context which serves to emphasise the relevance and urgency of his moral vision.

Moving on to the *Siben weisen mainster bichel,* Chapter III provides an overview of both Western and Eastern branches of the Seven Sages narrative, as well as discusses the printing and literary context of the Yiddish *Volksbuch*. In light of the introduction's earlier discussion of the ways in which Yiddish literature adapted from German models is devalued, this chapter also outlines the specific ways in which the *Volksbuch* has been dismissed. This chapter also establishes beyond any doubt that the 1602 Yiddish edition of the ZWM printed in Basel has as a source an edition related to the 1473 German *editio princeps*. In order to justify the methodological basis for comparison of the ZWM with the 1473 edition, this chapter demonstrates that the German text remained stable throughout its print run in the sixteenth century. Chapter III also suggests further ways in which the source of the Yiddish edition could be identified, but acknowledges that this is beyond the scope of the thesis.

Chapter IV develops a methodology adapted from Thomas Klein in order to assess the levels of variation between the SWM and ZWM at the localised level of sentences. This new and improved methodology enables us to account for the types of localised variation in the ZWM. This expansion of Klein's methodology enables us to account for the levels of adaptation beyond the simplistic measure of surviving word count. The results of this approach show that while the selected ZWM passages contain elements of transcription, these levels of transcription are not as high as those found in Klein's own article. This means that while the ZWM does contain levels of transcription, this is not the only level of adaptation present. In order to establish if it is possible to view the ZWM as a mixture of both transcription and translation, chapter IV goes on to analyse the judaizing elements of the ZWM. This analysis establishes that these elements are only deployed in order to achieve equivalence, and that the ZWM adaptor's translating principles privileged the coherence of the overall narrative.

In light of the frameworks of analysis developed throughout, this thesis pushes for a future reassessment of other popular Yiddish narratives adapted from German models. This could ideally be achieved by a positioning of each individual Yiddish text based on German narratives on the proposed scale of adaptation. This should be backed by verifiable methodologies and analyses devoid of unjustifiably dismissive opinions. This would consequently move scholarship towards structured, methodological analyses of early Yiddish secular literature.

INTRODUCTION

"Weniger eigenbewußt zeigte sich die breite Masse der Judenheit, der die deutsche Unterhaltungsliteratur dieser Zeit sehr willkommen war."

Helmut Dinse, *Die Entwicklung des jiddischen Schrifttums im deutschen Sprachgebiet*

The relationship of Yiddish secular literature with its German narrative models is a fascinating one. It is a unique scenario involving both linguistic proximity and cultural shift. This assessment, however, does not account for the complexities of this particular context, as it obscures the fact that since Yiddish was embedded in wider mainstream Christian culture, Jews could consume Gentile literary production at various stages of mediation and levels of adaptation. Yiddish literature was therefore able to interact with its German counterpart in a variety of ways, from the fully mediated rewriting of narratives to the less extensively changed transcriptions and translations. Although the close relationship between medieval German and early secular Yiddish literature may not have been fraught at the time of its transmission and adaptation, it has had an enduring impact on the perception of Yiddish over the centuries. This thesis aims to assess the complex inter-relationship between secular Yiddish literature and Middle High German literature by an analysis of two secular texts, the *Kuhbukh* (KB) and the *Siben weisen mainster bichel* (ZWM). This thesis will provide alternative ways to think of this type of literature and work towards filling the gaps in early Yiddish literary theory by providing a detailed analysis of two examples of early secular Yiddish literature based on medieval German models.

The *Kuhbukh* (Verona, 1595) and the *Siben weisen mainster bichel* (Basel, 1602) share a number of similarities: they were printed within a contiguous time frame and in a relatively close geographical span. Additionally, they are both a collection of short-form narratives that

work towards an overarching thematic message. Both enjoyed popularity outside of their immediate century. While both have a strong didactic element, both texts were also read for entertainment.[1]

They do, however, also display a number of differences: whilst the *Kuhbukh* is a collection of rhymed fables, the ZWM unites its prose short stories within an encompassing frame-narrative. The KB is the result of a merging of three different sources, two of which are Hebrew; whereas the ZWM is adapted from a single German text. Additionally, whereas the KB displays evidence of a complete overhaul of the German material, the ZWM only shows variations from the original German print at localised levels.

While the KB has attracted more attention than the ZWM, this may be due to the ZWM's perceived lower status as a translation of a German original. This suggests an existing hierarchy of adaptation which assumes that the more deviation present in a text from its original counterpart, the more worthy of interest the new text is. This thesis will propose a different approach to adaptation. The act of adaptation is in itself highly informative for a variety of reasons. First, it attests the cross-cultural popularity of certain narratives. Second, it indicates that Jewish audiences had an appreciation for mainstream secular literary production in conjunction with more traditional Hebrew narratives, and that the two were not mutually exclusive. Third, the variety of types of adaptation present in secular Yiddish literature highlights that it was an emerging literature subject to both commercial and creative considerations.

This thesis will focus on the relationship between these two Yiddish texts and their German counterparts and assess the level of adaptation in the KB and the ZWM by using

[1] The notion that entertainment and edification are mutually exclusive is to be rejected. Elke Brüggen has successfully highlighted the problems with this dichotomous train of thought and argued that both aims should be viewed as "ein Kontinuum von Möglichkeiten und Abstufungen von Lehrhaftigkeit von Literatur." Elke Brüggen, 'Fiktionalität und Didaxe. Annäherungen an die Dignität lehrhafter Rede im Mittelalter' in *Text und Kultur,* ed. Ursula Peters, (Stuttgart; Weimar: J.B Metzler, 2001), p. 574.

a variety of methods used to analyse medieval German literature. It will discuss how these different levels of adaptation function in terms of their new Jewish audiences and how both Yiddish texts, irrespective of their relationship to their German sources, are essential components of early Yiddish literature. In order to contextualise the analysis of both the KB and the ZWM, the following introduction will first address the negative assessments relating to adaptation that have impacted early Yiddish literature and its analysis. The second part of this introduction will discuss the ways in which certain trends in academic thought have supported derogatory views of Yiddish literature. A third section will analyse Yiddish translation in the context of Jewish poetics of translation, whilst a fourth section will suggest a rehabilitation of translation, as well as propose a new conception of adaptation.

I. Adaptation and Early Yiddish Literature

Academic interest in Yiddish has long been dominated by ideological concerns that have had problematic consequences. Such prejudices have had a heightened impact on the analysis of early Yiddish literature because it was considered subordinate to national literary canons and thereby marginalised further from the mainstream. This reduced level of interest has shaped scholarship on early Yiddish in ways that have often gone unquestioned. In order to move this thesis away from such limitations, this first section of the introduction will address the ideological constraints that have plagued scholarship of early Yiddish literature. This is a necessary step since discussion of the process of adaptation in Yiddish literature has often been influenced by these negative perceptions. By effectively rejecting traditional stereotypes about early Yiddish literature, especially those

that relate to its relationship with medieval German literature, this thesis will offer an innovative analysis which considers processes of adaptation in their literary and linguistic complexity.

It will be necessary to take stock of existing scholarship in order to assess the extent to which Yiddish literature has been denigrated, dismissed, or misrepresented. This chapter examines examples from academic work dating from the 1970's onwards that focus on secular Yiddish literature derived from non-Hebrew models, mostly from German and English language scholarship, since works in these languages tend to have wider 'mainstream' audience. Additionally, as the discussion below will show, these works tend to refer to each other, thereby perpetuating unchallenged stereotypes. This selection of examples will provide a context for this thesis' move towards less intransigent forms of analysis. This section will show the varied ways in which Yiddish has been negatively assessed by both well-wishers and detractors. Broadly, these assessments display and rely on a range of *topoi*: the unquestioned support of a dichotomy between 'good' literary models, generally those pertaining to ethical discussion, and those perceived as 'bad', usually with a primary commitment to entertainment; the notion of secular Yiddish literature as aesthetically inferior; the essentialising of Jewish readership based on the presumption that Jews were unable to relate to non-Jewish narratives; and the unjustified and unquestioned labelling of Yiddish adaptations as translations.

i. Dreeßen on the aesthetics of *Artushof*

In 'Zur Rezeption Deutscher Epischer Literatur im Altjiddischen: Das Beispiel 'Wigalois' – 'Artushof' in Deutschen Literatur des Späten Mittelalters' (1973), Dreeßen argues that the relationship between the German original and its Yiddish counterpart is one predicated on

an oral transmission.[2] Dreeßen sees the disparity in rhymes between *Wigalois* and *Artushof* (also known as *Vidvilt*) as evidence that the transmission was not a direct one: "Zumindest wäre bei derart enger Verwandschaft zwischen beiden Texten, wie sie Landau, Erik und Weissberg annehmen, eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit in der Reimtechnik zu erwarten."[3] He goes on to argue that the dissimilarities between the German and the Yiddish texts, both in rhyme and content, coupled with a simplistic syntax and language can be attributed to an oral transmission:

> Man muß beachten, daß stereotyper Ausdruck, konventionelle Reimtechnik, metrisch-syntaktischer Gleichlauf und schablonehafte Gestaltung einzelner Erzählelemente zu den Hauptmerkmalen mündlicher Erzählkunst gehören.[4]

Although this argument may initially seem plausible, it does betray some underlying negative assumptions that are not productive to any analysis of Yiddish literature. First, it assumes that because it does not fit the same aesthetic requirements as its German counterpart, it is automatically 'lesser', no longer a work in its own right, but rather a work continuously compared to its earlier counterpart, and as a result, devalued. Second, that because it deviates from the German material, this must be due to a corrupted transmission process rather than legitimate desires to create a new text. Third, that any changes from the original are the result of poorer standards, rather than acknowledging that they may be the result of literary tastes changing over time. Additionally, Dreeßen interprets the oral features in the Yiddish text at face-value, without consideration for the

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[2] Wulf Otto Dreeßen, 'Zur Rezeption Deutscher Epischer Literatur im Altjiddischen: Das Beispiel 'Wigalois' – 'Artushof' in Deutschen Literatur des Späten Mittelalters', in *Hamburger Colloquium 1973* ed. by Wolfgang Harms and Leslie Peter Johnson, pp. 116-128.
[3] Ibid., p. 119.
[4] Ibid., p. 122.

possibility that they may be narratological devices.[5] Indeed, the dichotomous opposition of orality with written culture obscures the fluidity between, and interdependence of, both modes of expression.[6] Futhermore, Dreeßen's implied denigration of orality is rooted in an unquestioned association with illiteracy that has recently been challenged. Jan-Dirk Müller, for example, has argued that illiteracy in medieval Germany did not entail exclusion from literate culture.[7]

Dreeßen situates Leo Landau's claim that the *Artushof*'s direct source is *Wigalois* within the context of attempts to demonstrate the closeness between German and Yiddish literatures and cultures:

> Jiddisch galt vielen Aufklärern als Kauderwelsch, als verdebtes Deutsch, als Jargon, den es abzulegen galt zugunsten eines 'reinen' Deutsch, wie es die Juden im Mittelalter gesprochen haben sollten. Das Altjiddische mußte demzufolge den von der Aufklärung Jiddisten vor allem zum Beweis für die ursprüngliche Unterschiedslosigkeit zwischen Juden und Nichtjuden dienen, und die altjiddische Literatur galt ihnen als ein wichtiges Zeugnis für die kulturelle Gleichwertigkeit. Infolgedessen war umgekehrt das Interesse an allem Unterscheidenden gering und ließ es vielfach kaum in den Blick gelangen.[8]

Unfortunately, much like Landau, Dreeßen is not free from ideological considerations: he displays a commitment to demonstrating the differences between both literatures, and a

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[5] Mark Chinca and Christopher Young note in their introduction to *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: Essays on a Conjunction and its Consequences in Honour of D.H Green*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005) that formulations of orality can be strategic: "Rather than interpret these features as residues of an original or 'primary' orality that supposedly preceded the transmission of these texts in writing and which we can – at least dimly – glimpse, we are encouraged to consider whether we are not in fact dealing with the communicative strategy of a literate author, who is deploying the 'language of proximity' for rhetorical ends. This 'conceptual', or 'fictive', orality thefore tells us nothing about the origins of written texts in orality, but much more about the strategies of communication available to literate authors who work in a culture where the written word most usually reached its addressees through being read aloud.", pp. 6-7.

[6] Paul Zumthor, in his *La Poésie et la voix dans la littérature médièvale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1984) uses the term *vocalité* to account for the interdependence of orality and writing in medieval texts, p. 49. D.H Green emphasised the close association of writing and orality during both the production and reception of texts. *Medieval Listening and Reading* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 15-17, 30-35 ; pp.169-236. Additionally, oral performance does not preclude textual existence, and textual existence does not preclude oral performance. Paradoxically, the witnessing of the existence of an oral tradition, and its survival, are only possible through writing. Jan-Dirk Müller, 'Medieval German Literature: Literacy, Orality, and Semi-Orality' in *Medieval Oral Literature*, ed. Karl Reichl (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), pp. 298, 305-306. Keith Busby argues that some Old French manuscripts of narrative texts dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries displayed word-separation and word-clustering that facilitated oral performance. '*Mise en texte* as Indicator of Oral Performance in Old French Verse Narrative' in *Performing Medieval Narrative*, ed. Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado and Marilyn Lawrence (Cambridge: D.S Brewer, 2005), pp. 61-71.

[7] Müller, 'Medieval German Literature: Literacy, Orality, and Semi-Orality', pp. 296-297.

[8] Dreeßen, 'Zur Rezeption', p. 123.

deliberate avoidance of burdening the analysis of Yiddish literature with a German focus. Whilst very aware of the detrimental effect of an exclusively German perspective on Yiddish, Dreeßen rushes into the opposite ideological framework of conceiving Jewish literary production of the medieval and early modern period as entirely independent and different from German narratives. As detailed above, Dreeßen argues that *Artushof* is the result of changing aesthetical norms (although, again, his attribution of this to orality is problematic). Dreeßen goes further, arguing that Jewish audiences were unable to relate to stories of German origin:

> Für den jüdischen Erzähler galten aber nicht nur andere ästhetische Normen, sondern er erzählte gar nicht die gleiche Geschichte wie sein mittelhochdeutsch schreibender Kollege und wie der Verfasser des Prosaromans. Negativ haben schon Landau und Erik dies festgestellet, indem sie hervorhoben, das Ritterliche sei für den jüdischen Erzähler notgedrungen ohne Interesse, d.h, ohne Bezug zum Alltag wie zur Phantasiewelt seiner Hörer gewesen.[9]

This unquestioned dismissal of narrative content fails to effectively engage in an analysis of the difference in content between Gentile and Jewish material, relying instead on the idea that some concepts, such as chivalry, are intrinsically superior. Indeed, rather than looking at the *Artushof* as a product of a different time than *Wigalois*, Dreeßen chooses to see these differences as community-based rather than the result of diachronic social and cultural expectations. *Artushof* is extant in three manuscripts dating from the sixteenth century, whereas *Wigalois* dates from the beginning of the thirteenth. While the experiences of a religious minority may well have been very different from those of mainstream society, Dreeßen's analysis is problematic in its tendency towards essentialism, especially when statements are made concerning a community's ability to interact with narratives that are not initially their own.

[9] Dreeßen, 'Zur Rezeption', p. 124.

ii. Dinse and the artificial dichotomies of Yiddish

Dinse's *Die Entwicklung des jiddischen Schrifttums im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (1974) is an example of how academic work purportedly about Yiddish literature works towards undermining its own subject. Dinse achieves this denigration of early Yiddish literature in a variety of subtle and less subtle ways. He describes emerging Yiddish literary production as the output of intellectually unpromising men, and in the same breath argues that these literary endeavours are merely pandering to the simplistic tastes of women:

> Es waren meist Hauslehrer, Vorbeter und Talmudjünger, die sich als 'weibersche schreiber' versuchten. Sie alle besaßen zwar kein großes Wissen, dafür aber umso mehr ein treffliches Gespür für die Wirklichkeit des Alltags und die Psyche des unbefangenen, von Tora-und Talmud studium nicht verbildeten Menschen, insbesondere der Frau.[10]

By setting up Yiddish as the work of minor intellectuals responding to the desires of the uninitiated, Dinse effectively removes any possible positive appraisal of the burgeoning literature by implying that these works would not be of any real creative value. Additionally, Dinse creates a dichotomy between those who explicitly wrote for women and those who copied Hebrew stories into Yiddish. This distinction is problematic, since it allows Dinse to present those who wrote rather than copied as displaying a lack of skill:

> Die 'weiberschen schreiber' sind nicht zu verwechseln mit jenen Kopisten, die jüdisch-deutsche Handschriften aus hebräischen Quellen zusammenstellten. Diese führten den Titel 'sofer' (=Schreiber) vor ihrem Namen, worin sich gewissermaßen ein in ihrer Schriftkundigkeit begründetes Standesbewußtsein dokumentierte. Entsprechend ihren hebräischen Vorlagen gestalteten die 'sofer' ihre Bearbeitungen in einem ernsten, oft stereotypen Stil. Dagegen klebten die 'diner fun ale frum weiber' weniger an den Quellenschriften. Sie verstanden das Hebräische kaum und legten infolgedessen ihre Arbeiten weniger gründlich, weniger systematisch an.[11]

[10] Helmut Dinse, *Die Entwicklung des jiddischen Schrifttums im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974), p. 70.
[11] Ibid., p. 70.

Dinse succeeds in portraying Yiddish as a literature that responded to a demand from those who lacked formal education and was produced by those who lacked skills and training, thereby signalling implicitly its inferior status.[12] Furthermore, the difference in genre within Yiddish literature also becomes a loaded distinction in Dinse. In contrast to the more edificatory works of religious and ethical literature, Dinse sees straightforward narratives in a poor light:

> Dagegen [from religious/ethical literature] stellten Sagen, Legenden und Geschichten, die uns in einem naiven, oftmals belehrenden Ton mit halbswegs orientalischer Färbung und vorherrschend sittlicher Tendenz in den sogenannten *maassios* überliefert worden sind, die literarischen Bedürfnisse der einfachen, weniger ehrgeizigen Leserschichten zufrieden.[13]

Dinse uses an association with readership coded as intellectually inferior to further drive home his dismissal of profane Yiddish narratives. The vocabulary he uses is explicit in its negative qualitative assessment: 'naiv', 'halbwegs', 'einfach', 'weniger ehrgeizig' etc. The distinction between profane and religious is not the only dichotomy Dinse employs to further undermine Yiddish. Although there is no denying that Yiddish is composed of both Hebrew and German narratives, Dinse imbues this divergence in source material with negative connotations. He considers an interest in German narratives as the inevitable result of a weakened sense of the Jewish self and contrasts it with the more 'self-aware' readers of historical epics based on midrashic and Talmudic sources: "Weniger

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[12] This association of a vernacular with lower levels of literacy is not exclusive to Hebrew and Yiddish. It also featured in scholarship on the relationship between Middle High German and Latin. For an overview of the progressive evolution of scholarship on this relationship, see the introduction (as well as the articles in the volume) of *Latein und Volkssprache im deutschen Mittelalter 1100-1500*, ed. by Nikolaus Henkel and Nigel F. Palmer (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), pp. 1-18. The hierachalisation of Hebrew and Yiddish is mirrored to some extent in the relationship between Latin and German, although Latin was ultimately replaced by local vernaculars. The complexities of the hierarchies between Latin and German are touched upon by Nikolaus Henkel in 'Text – Glosse – Kommentar. Die Lektüre römischer Klassiker im frühen und hohen Mittelalter' in *Lesevorgänge: Prozesse des Erkennens in mittelalterlichen Texten, Bildern und Handschriften*, ed. by Eckart Conrad Lutz, Martina Backes, and Stefan Matter (Zürich: Chronos, 2010), pp. 237-262. Henkel demonstrates that the occasional 12th century German glosses and marginalia for classical Latin texts remained subordinate to their Latin counterparts. However, these Latin glosses and explanations of Latin texts facilitated the rewriting of these narratives into the vernacular. Thus, the subordination of German did not prevent the displacement of Latin.

[13] Dinse, *Die Entwicklung*, p. 97.

eigenbewußt zeigte sich die breite Masse der Judenheit, der die deutsche Unterhaltungsliteratur dieser Zeit sehr willkommen war."[14]

iii. Howard on the limited relevance of Yiddish literature

In "A Little Known Version of *Til Eulenspiegel*" (1980), Howard writes:

> A little known fact, however, is that it [*Til Eulenspiegel*] was also during this [sixteenth] century cast into Hebrew letters for a German-Jewish audience. If the reader finds this somewhat surprising, he will be even more startled to discover that this was done to quite a large body of German 'Volksbuch' material.[15]

The use of the expression 'cast into Hebrew letters' betrays a perception of the Yiddish version of *Til Eulenspiegel* (TE) as a mere transcription of a German source. A hundred years earlier, Joseph Perles had referred to the Yiddish Sigenot in the same vein: "Da die Ausgabe in hebräischen Lettern den Zweck hatte, das Gedicht dem jüdischen Publikum mundgerecht zu machen (...)."[16] Couching the adaptation process as a simple 'casting' into different letters has led to the often unjustified and unquestioned relegation of those particular Yiddish adaptations to transcriptions and translations. The use of vocabulary connoting mechanized tasks effectively removes any possible view of these works as creative literary products.

Howard's 'few random comparisons' used to assess the relationship of the Yiddish text with the German are methodologically problematic.[17] His overall argument is that the Yiddish TE, dating from 1600 and contained in a manuscript now held in Munich, must have had as a source an intermediate German edition that displayed features from the

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[14] Dinse, *Die Entwicklung*, p. 99.
[15] John A. Howard, 'A Little Known Version of Til Eulenspiegel', *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 15 (1980), 127-142.
[16] Joseph Perles, 'Bibliographische Mittheilungen aus München', *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 25 (1876), p. 354
[17] Howard, 'A Little Known Version of Til Eulenspiegel', p. 134.

German editions of 1532 and 1586.[18] The problem with Howard's analysis is not that he views the TE as a transcription of a German source. Rather, it is that he views deviations in the Yiddish text in an extremely limited way. Changes in the Yiddish that relate to references to Christianity and added Jewish references are dealt with an almost audible sigh of relief since they fall within accepted parameters of intervention.[19] Other variations from the initial edition he uses for comparison are attributed to misunderstanding and misreading:

> Some of the differences between the texts of Singe's 1618 edition [which he uses as a substitute for the no longer extant 1586 edition] and Codex 100 are attributable to misunderstandings or misreadings (ie. on the part of Merks [the scribe]), but many of the differences provide strong evidence that Codex 100 used a source other than 1586.[20]

Howard's refusal to acknowledge that deviations could be the result of anything other than mistakes or a different source illustrates how by labelling works as 'transcription', some academics blind themselves to the possibility of (limited) positive and conscious content variation. This removes any real possibility for an in-depth discussion concerning any changes that do occur. If they happen to be based around Christian elements, then they are summarily dealt with in a standard fashion. This perpetuates the view of Yiddish texts as a mere linguistic variant from either Hebrew or Middle High German and reduces the Yiddish text to the status of transliteration. This impact is explicit in Howard's own statement that the Yiddish TE is only of real interest in terms of its placement in textual tradition:

> The main interest in the Hebrew letter 'Til Eulenspiegel' for Germanists, as was just alluded to, lies in its relationship to the German versions – in other words, where does it belong in the textual tradition of the 'Eulenspiegel' material?[21]

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[18] Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 100.
[19] Howard, 'A Little Known Version of Til Eulenspiegel', p. 131.
[20] Ibid., p. 134.
[21] Ibid., p. 132.

Viewing this Yiddish TE solely under the auspices of how it fills in the blanks of the German textual tradition is limiting.

iv. Strauch and the well-meaning essentialising of Jewish readership

Strauch's article is an important contribution to understanding the problematic aspects of early *Dukus Horant* (DH) scholarship.[22] Nevertheless, her attempts to pinpoint what exactly about the DH narrative appealed to Jewish audiences use formulations which suggest that she is essentialising characteristics of Jewish readership:

> For the Jewish author to have adopted and made use of the structural framework of Brautwerbungsepen and to have made a messenger or wooer, i.e, marriage broker, its central figure, does not make the Dukus Horant a Yiddish epic. The point here is merely that a medieval Jewish audience would have been able to understand the epic in the terms of its own cultural context.[23]

Strauch argues that Jewish interest in bridal epics such as the DH was the result of the position of the matchmaker in traditional Jewish communities, in effect interpreting a common narrative pattern with reference to concrete cultural contexts, whilst ignoring the narratological function of the motif. Strauch's failure to distinguish narratological from referential discourse leads to the significant othering of Jewish readership in its implication that Jews could only have an appreciation for a popular narrative because of some tangential link to their own community experiences. Furthermore, it displays the kind of attitude Strauch condemns earlier in her article:

> [t]oo often, reading a text in context means a reduction of the literary text to a reflection of a preconceived view of the historical background. The text becomes proof of historical assumptions and categories.[24]

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[22] Gabriele Strauch, 'Text and Context in the Reading of Medieval Literature – A Case in Point: Dukus Horant', *Exemplaria*, 3, (1991), pp. 67-94.
[23] Ibid., p. 88.
[24] Ibid., p. 69.

Strauch's desire to explain how the DH could have appealed to Jewish audiences should be seen in the context of the debate over whether or not the DH is a German or Yiddish literary product. Strauch presents her article as an attempt to move away from such polarising categories:

> The Dukus Horant epic is an excellent if not blatant example of how literary critics, conditioned by the concepts and ideologies of a majority literary historiography, are able to erase the complexity and contradiction of this undecidable case by forcing it into the categories in which medieval literature or the Middle High German canon has been understood – making it one with a German epic in spite of its difference at the most obvious textual level, its Hebrew script, and as a result denying this medieval Yiddish epic its own life, its own history, its message about difference.[25]

Reading Jewish interest in the DH solely in terms of historicity, however, does not save it from appropriation by those who claim it as a German, rather than Yiddish text. Instead, it merely furthers the perception of Jews as an isolated group, a view that Strauch herself argues is limited.

Strauch also suggests a tension between the Jewish and German elements of the DH:

> Through its external appearance, then, the Dukus Horant manifests its ties to the Jewish medieval world. By virtue of its content, the Horant epic is firmly anchored in the world of Germanic sagas.[26]

This continuous emphasis on a tension unduly polarises a relationship that may more helpfully be seen as complementary: Jews had access to mainstream literary narratives that they enjoyed, and sought to make these narratives their own. By essentialising the Jewish reading experience, Strauch is effectively giving credence to a supposed tension between content and format. This privileging of content over literary form reduces modes of cultural contact and exchange to simple hierarchies of transfer.

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[25] Strauch, 'Text and Context', p. 69.
[26] Ibid., p. 73.

Strauch's article also buys into a range of conceptions of transfer and adaptation processes that tend to be accepted unquestioningly. The first of these preconceptions is the notion that transfer is conditional on changes being made to the text. The assumption behind these changes is that without them, the original material would have been unpalatable to the new audience. This particular attitude ties into the above discussion about the essentialising of the Jewish reading experience: it assumes that Jews would have been unable to appreciate an entertaining Gentile story if had not been mediated and altered. I would instead argue that these changes are the result of a normal impulse to make an already appealing story better. The very act of transfer cannot be seen as conditional on changes being made, since for these changes to be made, the transfer of material must have already happened on some level. Chapter IV on the ZWM will show that extensive changes to make a narrative more Jewish are not a necessary condition for success. Through the analysis of two different Yiddish texts, this thesis will show that Jews interacted with narratives of Gentile origins at various levels of adaptation. The ZWM in particular belies Strauch's statement that

> (i)t would have been impossible for the Christian precursive text(s) to enter the Jewish cultural realm uncensored and/or unrevised. To think it feasible makes meaningless the concept and historical reality of a separate and self-defined Jewish minority.[27]

The second of these unquestioned preconceptions is the idea that the transfer of narrative material occurred after a careful selection process. Strauch writes:

> In the course of the selection process from the vast choice of available medieval tales and sagas, the Jewish author of the Horant epic was able to draw on and make use of the compositional framework of medieval *Brautwerbungsepen* because he could rely on a Jewish audience to recognise and accept in the protagonist a familiar figure, familiar to its daily life. Actually, the figure of wooer or matchmaker was more familiar to Jewish daily life than to Christian life.[28]

[27] Strauch, 'Text and Context', p. 84.
[28] Ibid., p. 88.

There is no evidence in the DH or in other Yiddish texts adapted from German narratives that their transfer and adaptation were the result of a selection process and occurred at the expense of other texts. Additionally, we have no way of knowing the true number of texts that had been adapted from German into Yiddish since so few known texts have survived in the first place. It is irresponsible to talk of a selection process as a legitimately researched and understood trend when key data is missing, effectively barring us from ever being able to qualify such sweeping statements.

v. Warnock and literary hierarchies

Robert Warnock's discussion in "The Arthurian Tradition in Hebrew and Yiddish" (1990) is characterised by his dismissal on 'aesthetic' grounds of both Hebrew and Yiddish adaptations of Arthurian material. Warnock describes the 1279 Hebrew *Melekh Artus* as "of scant importance aesthetically, the Hebrew translation is of major value for an assessment of early Jewish interest in and reception of medieval Arthurian material."[29] Here, Warnock sustains the often held opinion that the Jewish text can only be of interest in relation to its Gentile source. He, however, offers no discussion with which to support his qualitative 'assessment' of the *Melekh Artus*, leaving the reader to rely on Warnock's subjective opinion. Furthermore, Warnock contends:

> Judged by the number and diversity of transmissions and length of its popularity which, from a conservative estimate of its date of origin, lasted between 300 and 350 years, the Artushof complex was the most prominent creation of early Yiddish literature, surpassing such aesthetically and ethically superior writings as the *Akedas Yitzhak*, *Beria und Zimra*, and the *Shmuel* and *Doniel* epics.[30]

Again, Warnock succeeds in inserting a pointed dismissal, this time of a Yiddish text; and once more, Warnock does not find it necessary to justify his statement. He implies, but

[29] Robert G. Warnock, 'The Arthurian Tradition in Hebrew and Yiddish' in *King Arthur Through the Ages*, ed. by Valerie M. Lagorio and Mildred Leake-Day (New York: Garland, 1990), vol. I, p. 191.
[30] Ibid., p. 192.

does not demonstrate, that texts derived from Jewish sources are aesthetically superior. Furthermore, by appending this remark to a discussion of the widespread transmission of the *Vidvilt* [Artushof] narrative, Warnock effectively calls into question the judgement of Jewish readership that preferred 'inferior' narratives (as is implied by the referenced circulation) to the more edifying texts that were also available to them, implying that widespread transmission or commercial success stand in inverse proportion to aesthetic quality.[31] Considering how this particular comparison with *soi-disant* superior texts ties in to dichotomy between 'inferior' narratives derived from German and 'superior' narratives derived from biblical models discussed above, it comes as no surprise that Warnock references Dinse's overview in a footnote at the end of the above quotation.

vi. Delany and 'translation'

Another feature of scholarly writing about Yiddish is the often unquestioned use of the word 'translation' to describe a Yiddish text's relation to its source. This can be seen in Sheila Delany's article on the *Bovo-bukh*. Delany's article '*Bovo* then and now: An Old Yiddish romance in its time and ours' (2006) alternates in its assessment of the Yiddish text's relation to its Italian counterpart.[32] Delany refers to the *Bovo-bukh* in her opening line as having been 'composed' by Elia Levita in 1507. A page later, however, she writes:

> It [the Bevis narrative] appears in several European languages from the thirteenth century on and became the *Bovo-bukh* through the good offices of the German scholar Elias

[31] A glance at the transmission of some Middle High German texts reveals how problematic generalisations concerning success, quality, and transmission can be. Hartmann's *Erec* survives in just one complete manuscript, whereas Wolfram's *Parzival* is an example of exceptionally broad transmission. For an outline of *Erec*'s transmission, see Christoph Cormeau, 'Hartmann von Aue', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexicon*, vol. III (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1981), p. 506. For an outline of *Parzival*'s transmission, see Joachim Bumke, 'Wolfram von Eschenbach' in *Verfasserlexicon*, vol. X, pp. 1381-1383.

[32] Sheila Delany, '*Bovo* Then and Now: An Old Yiddish romance in its time and ours' in *Medieval Cultural Studies*, ed. Ruth Evans, Helen Fulton, and David Matthews (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 181-197.

> Levita, who translated it from Italian into Yiddish in 1507, probably from the 1497 edition of an Italian stanzaic version.[33]

Delany refers the reader to Claudia Rosenzweig's article 'La Letteratura Yiddish in Italia: L'esempio del *Bovo de-Antona* di Elye Bocher' in support of her argument for a 1497 Italian source.[34] However, in her article, Rosenzweig clearly states that the *Bovo-bukh* is an original reworking, in direct contradiction to Delany's use of the word translation.[35] Delany later refers to the *Bovo-bukh* as a recreation: "what did Elias Levita create when he re-created Sir Bevis of Hampton as Bovo d'Antona?"[36] Delany then goes on to discuss the ways in which Levita gave the *Bovo-bukh* a specifically Jewish resonance. At no point in her article does Delany address, or attempt to reconcile her earlier use of 'translation' with the outlined strategies of judaization. In this way, Delany's usage is an example of the unreferenced use of terms such as 'translation' and 'recreation'; it underlines the need for a more systematic and analytical assessment of the processes involved in such cultural transfer.

II. Academic trends and their impact on Yiddish

The previous section has shown that the dismissal of Yiddish was articulated along the lines of a selection of tropes: good and bad literary models, aesthetic inferiority, essentialising of readership, and the unquestioned labelling of Yiddish texts as translations. These tropes reflect a variety of academic trends that have legitimised such analyses. By briefly discussing a few of these particular trends, this section will show the ways in which some ideological constructions fed into a prejudicial attitude towards the nascent Yiddish

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[33] Delany, '*Bovo* Then and Now', p. 182.
[34] Claudia Rosenzweig, 'La Letteratura Yiddish in Italia: L'esempio del *Bovo de-Antona* di Elye Bocher', *ACME*, 50 (1997), pp. 159-189.
[35] "Una visione sinottica delle due versioni, quella italiana del 1497 e quella yiddish, mostra come Elia Levita abbia sostanzialmente mantenuto la macrostruttura, tavolta addirittura "traducendo" alla lettera alcuni versi, ma al tempo stesso si sia reso talmente indipendente dalla fonte nel trattare la materia, da giungere alla creazione di un'opera assolutamente originale, espressione di una spiccata personalita poetica.", Rosenzweig, 'La Letteratura Yiddish in Italia', p. 168.
[36] Delany, '*Bovo* Then and Now', p. 191.

literature. This is not to say that Yiddish was the sole victim of these particular trends. Indeed, many of the conditions under which Yiddish literature emerged were conditions mainstream and established national literatures had to initially contend with too, from the need to translate foreign material to satisfy demand for entertainment, to the navigating of the high/low language dichotomy. Trends in academic thought relating to translation, divergence, originality and the emergence of vernacular secular literature have therefore also impacted the analysis of other literatures. However, whilst these emerging literatures have been rehabilitated through their association with a national canon of literature, Yiddish has had to contend with many of these prejudicial trends without the support of national, cultural and institutional frameworks of rehabilitation.

i. From Old to New Philology

Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la variante* (1989) and the subsequent *Speculum* volume on 'The New Philology'[37] marked a shift in scholarly interests by questioning previously held assumptions in philology.[38] In particular, this led to reassessing the focus on the 'ur-text', and argued for a shift away from the single archetype as the creation of a single author.[39] Instead, New Philology advocated for an interest in the coexistence of variant versions. An engagement with a critique of established philological methods would be beyond the scope of this thesis; nevertheless, the New Philology movement is of interest because it offers alternative approaches to variance which support a more positive approach to the analysis of Yiddish literature.

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[37] *Speculum*, 65 (1990).
[38] Bernard Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the variant: a critical history of philology*, trans. by Betsy Wing (John Hopkins University Press: London; Boston, 1999).
[39] For a response to 'New Philology' see *Towards a Synthesis? Essays on the New Philology*, ed. by Keith Busby (Rodopi: Amsterdam, 1993)

Cerquiglini argued that notions that the medieval text existed as a fixed entity are built on an anachronistic overemphasis on originality and authorship; as a result of this overemphasis such views had considered textual variation as parasitic.

> In the Middle Ages the literary work was a variable. The effect of the vernacular's joyful appropriation of the signifying nature suited to the written word was the widespread and abundant enjoyment of the privilege of writing. Occasionally, the fact that one hand was the first was probably less important than this continual rewriting of a work that belonged to whoever prepared it and gave it form once again. This constant and multifaceted activity turned medieval literature into a writing workshop. Meaning was to be found everywhere, and its origin was nowhere.[40]

> In the generalized authenticity of the medieval work, all that philology could see was a lost authenticity. Medieval philology is the mourning for a text, the patient labor of this mourning. It is the quest for an anterior perfection that is always bygone, that unique moment in which the presumed voice of the author was linked to the hand of the first scribe, dictating the authentic, first, and original version, which will disintegrate in the hands of all the numerous , careless individuals copying a literature in the vernacular. It is the desire to reduce the troubling image of the other to a primordial sameness which is endlessly afforded by the writing of variance through its extreme instability of detail. (...) The work copied by hand, manipulated, always open and as good as unfinished, invited intervention, annotation and commentary. Confronted with an earlier piece of writing, it constructed itself and sustained itself simply with the distance it assumed in relation to the utterance that was its basis.[41]

The distancing from traditional views of authorship has led to a rethinking of how editions should work: "The classical notion that a critical edition will attempt to reconstruct the author's original or intended meaning has, to some scholars, become a rather utopian idea – leading them, in the case of certain works, to produces parallel texts from two or more manuscripts instead."[42] The traditional approach to editions betrayed an initial desire to edit manuscripts and texts in fixed forms that they simply did not exist as:

> The high calling of philology sought a fixed text as transparent as possible, one that would provide the vehicle for scholarly endeavour but, once the work of editing accomplished, not the focus of inquiry. It required, in short, a printed text.[43]

For Yiddish literature, this meant that Yiddish versions of German texts were considered a form of variation with all its associated perceptions as derivative texts of interest only

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[40] Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, p. 33.
[41] Ibid., p. 34.
[42] Siegfried Wenzel, 'Reflections on (New) Philology', *Speculum*, Vol.65 (Jan 1990), p. 14.
[43] Stephen G. Nichols, 'Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture', *Speculum*, Vol.65 (Jan 1990), p. 3.

because of their relation to German literary tradition. As this introduction has established earlier, an initial assessment of a Yiddish text as a translation is readily accepted, often unverified and usually dismissive. Additionally, views of Yiddish literature as interesting only in light of its relationship to German texts are still held, as seen in Howard's article, discussed earlier.

Because it removes the focus on authorship, Cerquiglini's approach would seem particularly suited to the often anonymously authored Yiddish adaptations of German material.[44] In cases where Yiddish authors do not name themselves in their work's preface, this removes the emphasis on the creative act of adaptation, and furthers a view of adaptation and transmission as quasi-mechanical. This particular mechanical aspect of adaptation will be discussed in more detail below. The author's invisibility works towards effacing the creative act at the source of Yiddish literature; a focus on transmitted variants would redress that balance.

Cerquiglini also emphasised the difference in aesthetics between the medieval and modern periods. Whereas the modern period values originality in literary endeavours, the medieval period favoured what Cerquiglini terms the aesthetics of return:

> Such an aesthetics of return, the pleasure of sameness and difference, was the result of a number of phenomena: the slight influence of Latin models and, correlatively, the scrupulous and constant establishment of vernacular forms; human memory, whose abilities were exercised in a way that is now inconceivable to us, oral practices to which we have become deaf but whose effects moved into the written word, which amplified and made use of them; the power of rhetoric, a mental structure, the *habitus* shared by the huge collection of literate, half-literate, or para-literate people who saw topical repetition as a creative act. In an aesthetics of return, where pleasure lay in variance, writing made minute shifts in what was already known, and the acts of reading and listening lent themselves to the vicissitudes of recognition and surprise.[45]

[44] See Cerquiglini's first chapter of *In Praise of the Variant* for a discussion of how modern conceptions of authorship arose as a result of the legal aspects of literary property.
[45] Ibid., pp. 36-37.

It is this difference in aesthetics that James Schultz touches on when he argues that the desire for coherence in narrative is a modern one and should not be applied to medieval texts for the simple reason that they did not subscribe to the same ideals we, as a modern society, do.[46] The re-evaluation of traditional systems of thought that are at the heart of New Philology are essential to any modern analysis of Yiddish literary products based on German (and other Gentile) models because it offers alternative views on variance. It is because of this re-evaluation that we should be able to move away from perceptions of Yiddish as derivative and secondary to its German sources and see its literature instead as a 'joyful appropriation' of narratives, symptomatic of the conversation between cultures that is the starting point of much medieval secular literature.[47]

ii. Translation, originality and literary value

The traditional focus on the fixed text and the resulting rejection of variance, as well as the overemphasis on originality and authorship, has also had a negative impact on the perception of translation. Indeed, where the presence of originality is doubted, the label of translation is quickly applied. Pratt, for example, argues that the use of translation as a measure through which to compare German adaptations of French courtly narratives led to their dismissal as *adaptation courtoise* by sections of French academics who saw these German texts as only of interest due to their relationship to French literary models.[48] In order to move away from these negative assessments, critical engagements with these German narratives have proposed frameworks of analysis that emphasise the innovative elements of the German texts. Bauschke, for example, proposed a categorisation of the levels at which the German texts emancipated themselves from the French romances.

[46] James A. Schultz, *The Shape of the Round Table: Structures of Middle High German Arthurian Romance* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983)
[47] Cerquiglini, *In Praise of the Variant*, p. 78.
[48] Karen Pratt, 'Medieval Attitudes to Translation and Adaptation: the Rhetorical Theory and the Poetic Practice' in *The Medieval Translator II* ed. by Roger Ellis (London: Centre for Medieval Studies, 1991), 1-27.

Additionally, she argued that these changes worked towards the enhancement of the narrator role, a feature that was very much independent of the French texts.[49] Bumke's attempt to formalise the analysis of medieval German adaptations through the notion of *Retextualisierung* also rejected the negative assessments of German narratives based on French models.[50]

While the rejection of the label *adaptation courtoise* was centred on demonstrating that these German narratives were not translations, thereby further feeding into the notion of translation as secondary, the drive towards reclaiming translation is only possible through a positive perception view of the act. Similarly to New Philology, modern translation theory has sought to rehabilitate the act of translation by highlighting the ways in which prejudices about translation are a matter of contextual constructs such as modern valuations of originality and authorship.[51] Venuti writes:

> Perhaps the most important factor in the current marginality of translation is its offense against the prevailing concept of authorship. Whereas authorship is generally defined as originality, self-expression in a unique text, translation is derivative, neither self-expression nor unique: it imitates another text. Given the reigning concept of authorship, translation provokes the fear of inauthenticity, distortion, contamination.[52]

The negative perception of translation has also impacted medieval scholarship. Campbell and Mills illustrate how the dismissal of variance in medieval scholarship has effectively labelled translation as a second-order text. However, this view assumes that all translations have an original text in the first place:

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[49] Ricarda Bauschke, 'adaptation courtoise als "Schreibweise." Rekonstruktion einer Bearbeitungstechnik am Beispiel von Hartmanns Iwein' in *Texttyp und Textproduktion in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005), 65-84.

[50] Joachim Bumke, 'Retextualisierungen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur, besonders in der höfischen Epik', in *Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. Joachim Bumke and Ursula Peters (ZfdPh 124, Sonderheft, 2005), pp. 19-22.

[51] See for instance Lawrence Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2008), and the chapter 'Authorship' in his *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), which explores the various academic, financial, and commercial ways the translator is marginalised.

[52] Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation*, p. 31.

> The evaluative approach [of translation] assumes that translations can be traced back to an originary 'source', that translation is always a second-order phenomenon, and that its success as a transmitter of meaning resides in its ability to keep faith with the 'original' from which it derives. This hierarchy of original and copy, with its associated rhetoric of fidelity and error, equates language use explicitly with moral value: translations are assessed in terms of right and wrong.[53]

The equation of translation with secondary has meant that it has not been considered a legitimate creative endeavour. In the case of secular Yiddish literature based on German models, this has meant that these Yiddish texts have regularly gone without proper analysis because they were deemed uninteresting. Additionally, Yiddish narratives derived from Gentile models have regularly been labelled as translations without any systematic methods of analysis. Furthermore, the notion of translation as a secondary and derivative form of adaptation has had a noticeable impact on the vocabulary used to describe the act of Yiddish literary production, as has been discussed earlier in this chapter in the context of John Howard's article on the Yiddish version of Till Eulenspiegel.

iii. Linguistic boundaries: German or Yiddish?

While the positioning of Yiddish narratives adapted from German literature as secondary is partly the result of notions of variance and originality, as discussed above; another reason for the widespread assumption that Yiddish versions of German narratives can be subsumed as variants of a German text is the relative linguistic proximity between Middle High German and Yiddish.[54] This is illustrated by the debate surrounding the *Dukus Horant* following Fuks' edition in 1957.[55] This debate was centred mainly on whether or not it was

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[53] *Rethinking Medieval Translation*, ed. Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (Cambridge: D.S Brewer, 2012), p. 3.
[54] For an overview of the linguistic debate over Yiddish as German, see Edith Wenzel 'Alt-Jiddisch oder Mittelhochdeutsch?', *Aschkenaz* 14/1 (2004), 31-49.
[55] Leo Fuks, *The Oldest Known Literary Documents of Yiddish Literature (c. 1382)* (Leiden: Brill, 1957). This edition was followed by *Dukus Horant*, ed. P.F.Ganz, F. Norman, and W. Schwarz (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1964). Ganz's introduction to the edition referred to the *Dukus Horant* as 'mittelhochdeutschem Dialekt', p. 1.

a German, Yiddish or Jewish literary product.[56] A step by step account of the debate is set out in Frakes' chapter "The Names of Old Yiddish" in *The Politics of Interpretation*.[57] This overview demonstrates the extent to which Germanist scholars denied the Jewishness of the DH, preferring to see it as German written in Hebrew letters. Its content was deemed not Jewish enough, both in terms of literary tradition and perceived lack of judaization of the narrative material; its language identical to Middle High German. Paradoxically, therefore, the Yiddish text that has elicited the most attention from non-Yiddishists was continually deemed to be of little to no literary value.[58] As a result of such ideological readings of the DH, it was rarely considered a text in its own right and its level of adaptation has not been studied. Rather than considering the lack of judaizing features as a marker for the type of adaptation it had undergone (a view that will be argued for later in this chapter), this absence was read as proof that the text was German.

Two repercussions of this debate are relevant to this introduction. First, the continuous labelling of Yiddish secular literature as a subsection of German cultural production perpetuates the view of Yiddish as derivative. It effectively positions Yiddish literature as secondary, and thereby worthy only of interest as a foil to the original German. Second, the debate around whether or not the DH in particular, but Old Yiddish secular literature in general, is German or Yiddish forces Yiddish scholars to consider how they can defend texts from the accusation of not being Yiddish. The issue of linguistic independence or dependence is related to the larger issue of cultural status: if Yiddish texts are widely considered as written in a variant of German rather than a separate language, the question

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[56] The *Verfasserlexikon*, for example, contains an entry for the *Dukus Horant*, placing it amidst the rest of medieval German literature. Its author, Manfred Caliebe, notes that "Die Sprache des 'DH' weist ins Md. Genauere Lokalisierung ist schwierig, da das zugrundeliegende Phonemsystem aus dem defektiven Graphemsystem der Hs. (hebr. Schriftcharakter) erschlossen werden muß. Es gibt Anhaltspunkte grammatischer und sprachsoziologischer Art, die darauf schließen lassen, daß der überlieferte Text eine frühe Stufe des Jiddischen repräsentiert." 'Dukus Horant' in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, vol. II (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980), p. 240.

[57] Jerold C. Frakes, 'The Names of Old Yiddish' in *The Politics of Interpretation: Alterity and Ideology in Old Yiddish Studies* (State University of New York: Albany, 1989), 21-103.

[58] Ibid., p. 49.

of their Jewish cultural distinctiveness takes on a much more important role. As a result, this attitude forces those who write about Yiddish literature adapted from German material to start from a defensive and reactive position. As we will see below, this usually takes the shape of listing the variety of ways a text intended for a Jewish audience is Jewish enough.

iv. The disadvantages of diglossia: gender and the vernacular

As the discussion of Dinse has highlighted, analyses of Yiddish literature have been further undermined by an erroneous association of early Yiddish literature with an exclusively female readership. The case of Ashkenazic bilingualism (and even trilingualism) has been successfully outlined by Katz's *Words on Fire*, in which he details how Hebrew gained greater status as a result of its close association with the educated elites of Jewish communities.[59] However, Yiddish's lower literary status is not merely a reflection of its linguistic status. Rather, it is further compounded by gendered associations. The association of Yiddish with a literature for women and "for men who are like women" has been detrimental to the status of Yiddish literature. Although this association is an old one, it is important to reiterate that it is a construct:

> [The] identification of Yiddish with femininity is as old as Ashkenazic Jewish trilingualism (Aramaic, Hebrew, Yiddish), as old as Ashkenaz itself. But it is critically important to remember that it is a literary, social and cultural identification. In real life, Yiddish was everybody's language, and it is obvious even from the content of older Yiddish literature that much of it was meant for men (or for men as well).[60]

Although the association of Yiddish with women has been successfully reclaimed by feminist Jewish studies, it would be erroneous to see this association with femininity as anything but intentionally negative:

> Make no mistake. Yiddish was not the language of feminist revolution, or was so only for a brief moment at best. Yiddish femininity nearly always marked both Yiddish and

[59] See chapter II "The Three Languages of Ashkenaz" in Dovid Katz, *Words on Fire: The Unfinished Story of Yiddish* (New York: Basic Books, 2004), 45-77.
[60] Katz, *Words on Fire*, p. 57.

> women as inferior within a rigid patriarchal order that valorized both Hebrew and masculinity (although this inferior position sometimes allowed for the exercise of subversive power).[61]

The feminist reclaiming of Yiddish undergone by Chava Weissler, for example, explores the ways in which particular Yiddish devotional texts dedicated to women enabled women to symbolically transcend rigid gender roles. Weissler shows how through an association with the High Priest of the Temple in certain texts, the enactment of certain women-specific duties such as lighting the Sabbath candles allowed women to be like men.[62] No matter the extent to which women are enabled to symbolically become like men in the framework of religious duties, Weissler acknowledges that this discourse is still very much anchored in a hierarchical gender structure that places more value on men than on women:

> Note the asymmetry here: It is easier for women to symbolize 'real men' than for 'real men' to symbolize women. This points to the hierarchical ordering of these categories. In Ashkenazic culture, it is better to be a man than a woman, and it is easier to lose status in the social hierarchy than to gain it.[63]

Seidman charts the rise of the gendered association of women with Yiddish, which started in the sixteenth century at the time when religious literature in Yiddish was first printed in order to educate women outside the restricted framework of Hebrew and Torah study.[64] The references to female readership in the prefaces of secular narratives further strengthened the association of Yiddish with women. This is not to say that women were not recipients of Yiddish literature – rather, they were not its sole recipients.[65] By the time of the nineteenth century, when an interest in early Yiddish literary production arose, this Yiddish/female binary was firmly in place. This meant that the initial scholarly steps in

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[61] Naomi Seidman, *A Marriage Made in Heaven: The Sexual Politics of Hebrew and Yiddish* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 9.
[62] Chava Weissler, 'For Women, and For Men Who Are Like Women: The Construction of Gender in Yiddish Devotional Literature', *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, Vol.5 n°2 (1989), 7-24.
[63] Ibid., pp. 22-23.
[64] Seidman, *A Marriage Made In Heaven*, p. 3.
[65] For example, some Yiddish manuscripts were explicitly dedicated to a female recipient. Josef Bamberger, 'Weiblicher Geschmack und männlicher Erwartungshorizont in der Jiddischen Literatur des 16. Jahrhunderts.', *Aschkenaz*, 14/2 (2004), 469-484.

Yiddish literary studies were shaped by this dialectic. The association with a feminine, and therefore uneducated and secondary, readership was a further way in which early Yiddish literature was viewed as diminished:

> This is a typical ideological move in attempts to debase a language of whatever kind: by relegating it to inferior status within the culture by assigning it to use by members of a group which is by definition also held to be inferior – in this, as in so many cases, women. With respect to Old Yiddish, this ideological move is also represented in the ubiquitous characterization of the Old Yiddish romance epics as "women's literature" that was shunned by men, who were absorbed with their "legitimate" studies of the Talmud and Torah, but who nonetheless in most cases translated and/or wrote the books, copied, typeset, bound, distributed, sold, and not seldomly read these women's books as well.[66]

Frakes homes in on one of the ironic aspects of this dismissal of Yiddish as women's literature: men were its primary producers. Seidman also highlights that the ostensible addressing of Yiddish religious texts to women masked the fact that, by implication there were men who were not in a position to access the Hebrew texts. Dedicating these Yiddish translations and paraphrases to women circumvented the issue of men marginalised from their religious duties, but it also legitimated Yiddish as a necessity.[67] This also ties in with Seidman's earlier comment about Yiddish occasionally functioning as an arena in which men were not shackled by the conventional bounds of religious and Hebrew production. By operating outside the normative restrictions of the higher, more regulated discourse, Yiddish, especially Yiddish that was adapted from non-Hebrew models, was freed from many of the anxieties that plagued other types of production.

III. Jewish Translation

The previous two sections of this chapter have regularly touched upon how strongly an assessment of Yiddish secular literature is influenced by negative perceptions of translation.

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[66] Frakes, *The Politics of Interpretation*, p. 16.
[67] Seidman, *A Marriage Made in Heaven,* p. 17.

Moving away from negative conceptualisations of translation, this thesis will demonstrate that Yiddish translations of German texts were an equally valid method of adapting new texts and integrating them into the Yiddish literary canon. In order to move towards a rehabilitation of translation, this next section will explore the concept of translation in early Yiddish literature. A comparison of translation into Yiddish with Hebrew translation poetics will show that in contrast to the Hebrew translation tradition, the early modern Yiddish approach to translation was remarkably free from many of the anxieties that are often related to translation. This overview and contextualisation of Yiddish translation will be an adequate basis for the discussion of translation and adaptation in the fourth and final section of this thesis.

i. Contemporary discussions of Yiddish translations

Recent editions of Koppelmann's Yiddish *Mishle Shualim* and a Yiddish version of *Kaiser Octaviano* have addressed the issue of translation into Yiddish. Since these discussions are set in the introduction to editions, they are restricted both in length and depth and display a certain reluctance to fully address the nature of the relationship between the German and the Yiddish texts. Nevertheless, both texts offer examples of contemporary discussion about the nature and status of translation, and it will therefore be necessary to consider them here.

a. Jacob Koppelmann

Jacob Koppelmann's *Sefer Mishle Shualim* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1582/3) sought to render the Hebrew fables of Berechiah ha-Nakdan into Yiddish, using the Mantua edition of 1559 as a source. Schumacher argues that by transmitting the entire Berechiah corpus except for one fable, Koppelmann moved away from the more traditional transmission of only a

selection of fables from different sources.[68] Aside from the 106 Berechiah fables, Koppelmann also added six Erasmus Alberus fables, fourteen Steinhöwel fables, four Sebastian Brant fables, and seven other fables from unknown sources.[69] Schumacher argues that Koppelmann's translation principles for the Berechiah fables differed from the translation of the fables of German origin. Koppelmann allowed himself a considerable degree of freedom when adapting the Berechiah fables, shortening most of the fables to a considerable extent and at times altering the closing moral of some fables.[70] Within the corpus of fables of German origin there is a further difference in levels of adaptation. Schumacher argues that the many errors in the Alberus fables, as well as their linguistic distance from the rest of the collection are evidence that Koppelmann did not seek to adapt the Alberus fables:

> In Koppelmanns strenger Orientierung an der Vorlage bei eben diesen Fabeln, die er nicht selbst formuliert, sondern im wesentlichen in hebräische Zeichen umgesetzt hat, mag der Grund für ihre Fehlerhaftigkeit liegen. Sie sind den Fabeln mit hebräischer Quelle sprachlich so fremd, daß offenbar auch der Setzer Verständnisschwerigkeiten hatte und ebenfalls abschrieb, was er, teilweise ohne dem Sinnzusammenhang folgen zu können, entzifferte.[71]

Schumacher also adds that it is probable that Koppelmann did not read the Alberus fables, but rather, had them dictated to him by a Christian. The Brant and Steinhöwel fables have undergone a greater level of adaptation as a result of Koppelmann's decision to switch them from prose to rhyme in order to keep with the overall aesthetic of his collection.[72] Probably as a result of these particular fables' content, Schumacher has noted that the Brant and Steinhöwel contain fewer Hebraisms.

Tellingly, Schumacher avoids using the term translation when assessing the relationship between German and Yiddish fables, preferring to refer to Koppelmann's work as "eine

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[68] Jutta Schumacher, *Sefer Misle Suolim 'Buch der Fuchsfabeln' von Jakob Koppelmann* (Buske: Hamburg, 2006), p. xiii.
[69] See Chapter II for a discussion of Berechiah's *Mishle Shualim*.
[70] Schumacher, *Sefer Misle Suolim*, p. xxxi.
[71] Ibid., p. lxii.
[72] Ibid., p. lxiv.

möglichst getreue Übertragung" and his "Übertragungsprinzipien."[73] This reluctance to label the nature of the adaptation may be as a result of Koppelmann's different treatment of his various sources, from shortening some fables more than others, to setting German prose into Yiddish rhymes. Schumacher's avoidance of stating the level of adaptation the Yiddish collection underwent in order to refrain from restricting this collection of fables to one label emphasises the need for more flexible and less hierarchical categories of adaptation.

b. Kaiser Octaviano

Theresia Friderichs similarly refrains from detailing the nature of the relationship between the Yiddish *Kaiser Octaviano* (KO) written by Isaac Reutlingen in 1580 and found in the Munich Codex. She does, however, elaborate on the judazing strategies present in the Yiddish KO, but as chapter IV will demonstrate, the presence of judaizing strategies does not preclude a close translational relationship between source and target texts. Friderichs also avoids referring to the Yiddish KO as a translation, using terms such as 'Version', 'Bearbeitung'. There are, however, references to the ways in which the Yiddish aligns with the German version: "sowohl Inhalt als auch Struktur der deutschen Historie werden im wesentlichen unverändert beibehalten", and she observes that

> Nicht alle jiddischen Volksbuchbearbeitungen weisen dasselbe Maß an Originalität gegenüber der Vorlage auf, wie es für den 'Kaiser Octavian' charakteristisch ist. Dennoch zeigt unser Beispiel, daß pauschale Abqualifizierungen der jiddischen Texte als Plagiate oder reine Umsetzungen in hebräische Buchstaben – wofür es auch Beispiele gibt – im Einzelfall erhebliche Fehleinschätzungen und damit verbunden eine ungerechtfertigte Vernachlässigung der Texte zur Folge haben können.[74]

[73] Schumacher, *Sefer Misle Suolim*, pp. xxii, xxx.
[74] Theresia Friderichs-Müller, *Die 'Historie von dem Kaiser Octaviano' Band I: Transkription der Fassung des Cod.hebr.monac.100 mit 18 Federzeichnungen von Isaak bar Juda Reutlingen*, (Buske: Hamburg, 1981), pp. 25-26.

This last quotation is the only place Friderichs outright discusses the level of proximity between the Yiddish and the German texts, aside from passages selected to demonstrate judaizing tendencies.

This refusal to discuss the exact nature of the relationship between the two texts is an acknowledgement that some features of the Yiddish literary canon may tend towards translation. By remaining deliberately oblique, Friderichs does not provide us with the full picture and obscures the overall assessment we would ideally want to make concerning the relationship between the two versions of *Kaiser Octaviano*. Since the codex is damaged in parts, the opening passages of the KO are missing, which means that we are unable to ascertain Reutlingen's position on his act of transmission. Throughout her introduction to the edition, Friderichs does refer to the derogatory ways in which German scholarship has dealt with Yiddish literary production, by either subsuming Yiddish versions of particular texts into the German textual tradition, by barely paying any attention to the Yiddish branch of *Volksbücher*, or – and here Friderichs directly references Dinse – by summarily dismissing Yiddish works as plagiarism.[75] Given Friderichs' awareness of how scholarship has generally positioned itself *vis-à-vis* Yiddish and its German models, her reluctance to label the Yiddish KO is understandable, albeit unhelpful.

ii. Jewish poetics of translation

As the previous paragraphs have shown, recent discussions of Yiddish adaptations of German narratives remain reluctant to engage fully with the possibility of translation. In order to remedy this lack of in-depth discussion, the next few paragraphs will endeavour to discuss Yiddish translation in greater detail, starting with its relationship to other forms of Jewish translation.

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[75] Friderichs-Müller, *Die 'Historie von dem Kaiser Octaviano'*, pp. 9-11.

a. Hebrew Tradition

A succinct introduction to translation in the Hebrew tradition can be found in Gideon Toury's article in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies. Toury marks the beginning of medieval translation into Hebrew as the shift of Jewish centres from Muslim to Christian territories in the twelfth century. Once Jewish communities moved to non-Arabic speaking locations they progressively lost the ability to read Arabic and needed to translate key texts such as Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* into Hebrew so as to maintain their accessibility.[76] Translation in the medieval period was not limited to Jewish works: with Arabic often a mediating language, works of philosophy, logic, grammar and medieval sciences found their way into Hebrew. Toury addresses the existing distinction between translations of 'works of wisdom' and 'works of beauty' and makes the important point that translations of 'works of beauty' suffered from lack of recognition and academic interest both then and now. As a result, they have not reached us in the same way as translations of 'works of wisdom' since their survival was dependent on the process of copying and recopying manuscripts. Once Hebrew medieval texts resurfaced in modern interest, the focus very much remained on scientific, philosophical, and religious writings.[77]

A few key *belles lettres* texts have drawn some attention, especially Al-Harizi's Hebrew translation of Al-Hariri's Arabic *Maqamat* known as *Mahbarot Iti'el.* Al-Harizi's went on to compose his own collection of *maqamat* known as the *Tahkemoni*. Other well-known translations into Hebrew of literary texts are translations from the Arabic of the Barlaam and Josaphat narrative (*Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha-Nazir*), *Kalila wa-Dimna,* and the *Mishle Sendebar* (see ch. III). A Hebrew translation of a putative Italian version of an Arthurian romance

[76] Gideon Toury, 'Hebrew Tradition' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, ed. by Mona Baker (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 440.
[77] Ibid., p. 441.

dating from 1279 has been edited by Curt Leviant, and a 1541 Hebrew translation from the Spanish *Amadis de Gaula* was printed in Constantinople.[78]

Toury outlines two main approaches to the translation process in medieval Hebrew translation that follow the divide between works of beauty and works of wisdom:

> Translators of 'important' works – mostly scientific texts – usually chose to stay close as close as possible to the Arabic wording, replacing small, relatively low-rank segments one at a time, and the resulting text consequently reflected the structure of the original. In an attempt to reduce the gap between the two lexical repertoires, new words were also coined, either through direct borrowing (with a measure of adjustment to the target language) or by way of loan-translation. (...) By contrast, when it came to literary and other less-privileged texts, the translators – sometimes the very same persons – stuck much closer to domestic models, especially those offered by the quasi-biblical language used in Hebrew medieval poetry.[79]

Establishing what would constitute the poetics of Jewish translation beyond Toury's sketch is not easy, and not necessarily desirable. Seidman argues for the impossibility to talk of a unifying Jewish politics of translation: "Jewish translation may be hard to categorize not only because it takes shape in a variety of contexts and periods, but also because translation is a term for doubleness and difference, the very site of undecidability and ambivalence."[80] Seidman rejects essentialist models of Jewish translation, choosing to privilege instead individual translations as "an expression of how the translators saw themselves vis-à-vis various 'others'."[81] Although her *Faithful Renderings* does not address medieval and early modern Yiddish translation, it provides a solid overview of the many ways in which Jews negotiated translation over time and across a spectrum of socio-cultural contexts.

b. Torah translation

[78] *Alilot ha-abir* ed. by Zvi Malachi (Hebrew) (Papirus: Tel-Aviv, 1981). An English language companion to this Hebrew edition is available as *The Loving Knight: The Romance Amadis de Gaula and its Hebrew Adaptation* by Zvi Malachi, translated by Phyllis Hackett (The Haberman Institute for Literary Research: Tel Aviv, 1982) Unfortunately Malachi does not address the specific translation practices of the Hebrew version of the narrative.
[79] Toury, 'Hebrew Tradition', p. 441.
[80] Seidman, *Faithful Renderings*, p. 30.
[81] Ibid., p. 30.

Within the spectrum of Jewish translation, Torah translation occupies a clearly defined space. Translating the Torah has been seen in Jewish tradition as a duty towards those who do not understand the Hebrew.[82] The difficulty in religious translation is of course avoiding exegesis and 'faulty' interpretations of more esoteric passages and vocabulary. This may explain why, according to Alpert:

> (g)enerally speaking, translations of the Torah have traditionally been read not as texts in their own right but rather as aids to comprehension. In the Jewish tradition, the Hebrew text must not be emended and is preserved by many rules of copying and checking (...).[83]

In addition, the commentaries of medieval scholars such as Rashi, Rashbam, Nachmanides and Kimchi are transmitted alongside the Hebrew Bible text. The focus of these commentaries is to aid comprehension and provide midrashic explanations of certain passages. The purpose of Torah translation works towards furthering understanding of the original scriptural text, but does not aim to replace it. Hughes argues that translation did more than furthering understanding of the Jewish scripture. He argues that the act of translation cannot be dissociated from the context of the act and is necessarily interpretative:

> [biblical] Translation justified and legitimated a particular reading and thereby elevated one particular paradigm over others. Disagreement about translation— what was in the text, or at least just behind it—inevitably meant disagreements about the text's intentionality. An interwoven set of religious, intellectual, and political forces were conferred upon any reading of the Bible. Those engaged in the translative act, however, rarely envisaged their activities as innovative; to the contrary, they saw themselves as taking up a semi- prophetic act, reclaiming and reconstituting an original text.[84]

According to Hughes, translation also enabled the construction of an 'idealized' Jewish past and the legitimate re-absorption of material as essentially Jewish. This sub-section of

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[82] See 'Torah Translation' by Michael Alpert in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, pp. 269-273.
[83] Alpert, 'Torah Translation', p. 270.
[84] Aaron W. Hughes, *The Invention of Jewish Identity: Bible, Philosophy, and the Art of Translation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), pp. 13-14.

Jewish translation is interesting because it positions translation (of the Torah) as a mediating tool between the original and the reader. However, at no point is translation an end product that can be consumed in its own right: rather, it is the continuous companion of the original religious text. It may be productive to illustrate the differences between the translation cultures of the Torah and the Christian Bible with Copeland's distinction between primary and secondary translations. Torah translations may be viewed as primary translations in that they 'define their purpose in terms of service to their source text', whereas Christian Bible translations may be considered as secondary translations as they 'do not define themselves through exegetical models of service or supplementation.' [85] Notions of service and supplementation to another, hierarchically superior, text are productive to this discussion, since they effectively illustrate the fundamental differences with both cultural approaches to religious translation.

Notions of canonicity are echoed to some extent in the case of the Bible and Christianity: the Vulgate Latin version as initially prepared by Jerome was perceived as canonical for over a thousand years.[86] The fourteenth century Wycliffite Bible, Copeland argues, signalled a desire to achieve accessibility, and no longer claimed canonicity: it left room for other translations.[87] The conjunction of the printing press and the Reformation led to the existence of vernacular translations of the Bible, the most notable of which were Luther's translation into German and Tyndale's English translation, both of which challenged the Vulgate's monopoly and rendered the sacred text accessible to those literate in a vernacular language.

The move towards vernacular translations of the Bible at the time of the Reformation was

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[85] Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 6-7.
[86] On issues of canonicity and biblical translation, see Eugene Nida's 'Bible Translation' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, pp. 22-28. See also Susan Bassnett's *Translation Studies*, 3rd edition (London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 51-55.
[87] Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages,* pp. 225-226.

to some extent mirrored in Yiddish.[88] However, the first extant Yiddish Bible translations printed in 1543 (Augsburg) and 1544 (Konstanz) were not meant to be read independently of the Hebrew text, rather they were designed as reading aides to be used in association with the Hebrew.[89] They were essentially word for word translations that followed Hebrew syntax at the expense of sense in the Yiddish, and relied on archaic vocabulary.[90] These vernacular translations of the Torah, therefore, did not mirror the translation principles of the vernacular Christian translations of the Bible which followed Jerome's precept of 'non verbum pro verbo' and viewed textual fidelity as the preservation of meaning.[91]

No other literal translations of the Jewish Bible into Yiddish are known of, until the Amsterdam Bibles of 1678 and 1679.[92] These two Amsterdam bibles differed from the earlier translations in that they were translated into comprehensible Yiddish:

> It seems that the criticisms of rabbis and scholars of the strict word for word translations, which failed to link the words into sensible, intelligible sentences, had finally been addressed. Using *khiber*, connecting the words according to Yiddish rather than Biblical-Hebrew syntax but without changing the vocabulary, transformed the translation into a user-friendly text.

Despite this attempt to tailor the translation to its users, the Amsterdam translations were not successful. The next attempt at a Bible translation into Yiddish was Moses Mendelssohn's *Bi'ur* in 1783.[93] The lack of success of these Yiddish bible translations was not a reflection of the religious appetite of Yiddish readership; rather, it simply demonstrated that the Ashkenazim preferred religious content mediated differently from

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[88] For a general overview of Yiddish Bible translation and its history, see Walter Röll, 'Die Bibelübersetzung ins Jiddische im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert' in *Die Vermittlung geistlicher Inhalte im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Timothy R. Jackson, Nigel F. Palmer and Almut Suerbaum, pp. 183-195.
[89] Chava Turniansky, 'Reception and Rejection of Yiddish Renderings of the Bible' in *The Bible in/and Yiddish*, ed. by Shlomo Berger (Amsterdam: Menasseh ben Israel Institute, 2007), pp. 9-10.
[90] Ibid., p. 8.
[91] On Jerome's legacy on biblical translation in the Middle Ages, see Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, pp. 50-53.
[92] Marion Aptroot, "Yiddish Bibles in Amsterdam" in *The Bible in/and Yiddish*, 42-60.
[93] See Seidman's discussion of Mendelssohn's translation in *Faithful Renderings*, pp. 153-198.

the wooden translation principles that were the result of the higher status source text. Turniansky writes:

> By the time the embellished versions of the Augsburg edition were being printed, other kinds of Yiddish works relating to the biblical text had begun to surface. These were works of homiletic prose, in which *khiber*-style translations of each verse were followed by a paraphrased exposition of an array of additional explanations drawn from various sources, primarily Rashi. This kind of rendition, rooted in the oral tradition, formed an integral part of the oral instruction in *kheyder*, known as *tzuzats, oysred* or *oysredenish* due to its additional, expansive character.[94]

A number of biblical texts became available in this more periphrastic and interpretative religious literature: they include the Song of Songs which interwove stories, commentaries, homilies and parables, as well as the books of Proverbs, Isaiah, and Esther. These attempts proved more commercially successful and attracted larger readership that the Yiddish bible translations. The *Tsene-rene*, of which the first known surviving edition dates to 1622 and refers to earlier prints, was, according to Marion Aptroot a "virtually risk-free undertaking" for printers.[95] Rather than a translation of the first five books of the Old Testament, the Scrolls and the weekly portions of the Prophets, the *Tsene-rene* was more of an adaptation which quoted select verses and included translations of these passages, whilst also providing paraphrases of post-biblical texts, moral instructions, *halakhic* explanations etc.[96]

This short overview of Jewish and Yiddish translation has shown that it may not be possible (or even desirable) to talk of Jewish translation as a unified convention. Indeed, in the case of Yiddish, it becomes apparent that translation was not the preferred method of mediating encounters with religious texts but rather came second to other forms of mediation. This lack of interest in translation as a means to access religious texts resulted in a disinterest in discussing, and therefore problematising, the act of translation. This may

[94] Turniansky, 'Reception and Rejection of Yiddish Renderings of the Bible', p. 16.
[95] Aptroot, 'Yiddish Bibles in Amsterdam', p. 44.
[96] Ibid., p. 44.

account for observations that will be articulated in more detail below concerning the seemingly anxiety-free translations of German narratives into the secular Yiddish literary canon, which contrasts with the apologetics found in Hebrew translations of foreign material.

iii. Translation apologetics

Toury writes that the "over-indulgence in apologetics should be seen first and foremost as a convention of medieval Hebrew translation."[97] He notes two trends in these apologies: first, a tendency to apologise for the act of translating if the translation was initiated by the scribe himself; and second, an apology for the translator's lack of knowledge in the case of 'works of wisdom', or an apology for the content in 'works of beauty'.[98] This section will explore two examples of Hebrew translation apologetics which showcase that in these particular interactions of Hebrew with non-Jewish secular material the process is not undergone without some rhetorical anxiety.

a. Al-Harizi

Al-Harizi's Hebrew translation of Al-Hariri's Arabic *Maqama* was well received in Jewish literature and signalled the beginning of Jewish interest in this particular literary form. Al-Harizi addresses the issue of his translation work in the preface to his own *Tahkemoni* (c.1220). Contrasting his previous work with the literary creative endeavour of the *Tahkemoni* he views it as problematic in two ways. Personifying Hebrew and Arabic as biblical characters, Al-Harizi decries the resulting secondary status of Hebrew compared to Arabic:

[97] Toury, 'Hebrew Tradition', p. 441.
[98] Ibid., p.441.

> They set Hagar the maidservant in my place and rushed to her embrace, kissing her hand and pressing her teat – for stolen waters are sweet. Me they have abandoned, the Rose of Sharon, saying Hagar is fecund and Sarah barren.[99]

Additionally, Al-Harizi does not view his translation as his own creative production; rather he sees it as furthering Al-Hariri's:

> But after I had translated the treasure of this all-but-prophet- to my reader's pleasure and profit, I left the west, dared mountain peaks and the wave's curled crest, and eastward came – where I was struck with shame. Forgive me, Lord, I cried, for I am much to blame! Alas my name and my father's name, that I diverted the Bible's crystal brook to fructify a foreign book. I mistook my purpose. Look: I tended strangers' vineyards and my own forsook.[100]

The stated aim of the *Tahkemoni* is to address the perceived shortcomings of Al-Harizi's initial translation project by rehabilitating the usage of Hebrew and showcasing its literary quality whilst also creating original material not attributable to Arabic:

> And well shall this feast serve our people from west to east, for too often is their Hebrew mangled, their phrases tangled, their clauses jarred and jangled. Let the limp, the halt, the twisted, the unsightly read this work and speak rightly. Let their eyes be opened, let them know the plight that they are in, let them flee their sin, weave new garments and cover their skin. Yes, here let them renew their hope, enlarge their scope with gleaming thought and shining trope. And in this that I have written, all the lot, I took nothing from the Arabs, not a jot; unless, perchance, I forgot – or it came into my hand and I knew it not. No: all of my matter is free and fresh, bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh.[101]

b. Melekh Artus

A Hebrew manuscript of an Arthurian romance dating from 1279 follows the two-part apology typescript outlined by Toury. This Hebrew romance follows an unknown Italian version and is divided into two parts which follow the Merlin and Lancelot sections of the Prose *Lancelot*.[102] In presenting the story of Lancelot and Guinevere, the scribe opens his story with a cursory explanation of his translation principles:

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[99] Judah Alharizi, *The Book of Tahkemoni*, trans. by David Simha Segal (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization: London ; Portland, 2001), p. 12.
[100] Alharizi, *The Book of Tahkemoni*, p. 18.
[101] Ibid., p. 17.
[102] *King Artus: A Hebrew Arthurian Romance of 1279*, ed. and trans. by Curt Leviant (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969), pp. 5-6.

> While translating, I omitted some passages which were in the book from which this translation was made. I did this because these passages contained only questions and answers between one person and another, or elegies, or irrelevant matters which were not pertinent to the story itself. Therefore I omitted them, for they were insignificant and did not even add up to three small leaves.[103]

This comment on his translating decisions is interesting for two reasons: first, it indicates that the scribe engaged in a qualitative assessment of the text and understood his duty as mediator as involving a process of betterment of the story. Second, it may be that the justification for his emendations to the narrative is based on a presumption that his audience might know the narrative material well enough to notice that some sections were missing.

Following the outline of his translation principles, the scribe launches into a two-part apology, which functions as a justification for his translating work. The first reason he decided to translate this Arthurian narrative into Hebrew was for reasons of mental and physical preservation:

> I attempted the translation of these conversations for two important reasons. The first was the preservation of my physical wellbeing, for owing to my sins my troubles have grown and my laments increased, and I am immersed in a sea of perplexed thoughts. Night and day I am continually astounded by events which have passed over me and I fear lest I fall into melancholy, that is madness, to which death is preferable. Therefore I have translated these conversations for myself in order to calm my mind, mitigate my grief, and dispel somewhat the bad times I have experienced.[104]

This dramatic and open discussion of the scribe's depression may be a rhetorical exaggeration, but it is effective. First, no one would deny a sick man his cure. His translation becomes a personal attempt at recovery, which bypasses the traditional denial of ambition usually found in these exercises in apologetics. Second, by linking his recovery to the translation exercise, he is effectively empowering translation by ascribing it curative properties. These curative properties in turn work towards situating translation as a continued intellectual exercise, albeit not on as high a plane as religious study.

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[103] *King Artus*, p. 9.
[104] Ibid., pp. 9,11.

The scribe's second reason for his translation is articulated in terms of promised moral betterment:

> The second and most important reason for my translation was that sinners will learn the paths of repentance and bear in mind their end and will return to the Name, as you will see at the conclusion. This apology should satisfy any intelligent man who admits the truth and is not willfully obstinate.[105]

This second reason is further supported by a continuous discussion in the preface of the importance of received secular wisdom, a canny comparison with an illustrious historical figure, and the insistence that the scribe's reasoning should be easily understood by any one of sufficient intelligence:

> No intelligent person can rebuke me for this, for we have seen that some of our sages of blessed memory, such as Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, did not disdain the knowledge of fox-fables, washers' parables or the speech of palm trees. And this is done so that a man who is steeped in Torah-study or in worldly pursuits may derive from the knowledge of these tales a measure of relaxation and relief.
>
> (...) Moreover, it is possible to learn wisdom and ethics from these fables concerning a man's conduct toward himself and towards his fellow man. Therefore they are neither idle nor profane talk. The proof for this is that had they been profane talk Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai would not have studied them. For it is said concerning Rabbi Johanan that during his entire lifetime he never uttered profane talk.[106]

These two justifications for translating the Arthurian tale address two different questions: the first part apologises for the act of translation itself, whereas the second apologises for the material being translated. Leviant is of the opinion that the scribe's apology is the result of his awareness that by rendering the story accessible, he would be enabling (and therefore responsible for) other people's transgression.[107] Additionally, Leviant attributes a level of sincerity to the scribe's apology, even in the face of the rhetorical value of such apologetics: "There is little reason, then, to believe that the tone of the apology is conventional or

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[105] *King Artus*, p. 13.
[106] Ibid., pp. 9, 11.
[107] Ibid., p. 58.

insincere; the *fact* of the apology may have been predetermined, but the scribe used a conventional instrument to express his avowed pious intent."[108]

Drukker, on the other hand, reads the issue of translation as personal therapy as a rhetorical device. This strategy absolves the scribe of charges of corrupting other readers intentionally whilst obscuring the more likely scenario that the scribe did have an intended audience in mind.[109] Drukker also places the justification of the chosen narrative material against the backdrop of the prohibitive stance taken by the religious establishment against 'corrupting' stories.[110] Paul R. Rovang departs from the conventional acceptance of the *Melekh Artus* as a translation by calling into question Leviant's assertion that the shortened version of the Hebrew text is the result of a shortened Italian original.[111] Rovang argues that by shortening the narrative himself, the *Melekh Artus*' author was able to bring the moral messages he articulated in sharper relief:

> The twin themes of adultery and violence, the one often fuelling the other, move the plot rapidly toward a catastrophic closure that the author has told us will be an inducement to repentance. The focus and economy of the story are clearly enough tailored to this end to argue convincingly that the alteration was done by a Jewish rather than an Italian or French seamster.[112]

In addition, Rovang sees the structure privileged by the author as a emphasising the biblical parallels in the narrative. Rovang does not expand on how this reading of the Hebrew narrative affects the reading of the opening translation apologetics, but he does briefly hint at both humility and justification.[113]

iv. Secular Yiddish translations

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[108] *King Artus*, p. 60.
[109] Tamar S. Drukker, 'A Thirteenth Century Arthurian Tale in Hebrew: A Unique Literary Exchange', Medieval Encounters 15 (2009), p. 129.
[110] Drukker, 'A Thirteenth Century Arthurian Tale in Hebrew', p. 127.
[111] Paul R. Rovang, 'Hebraizing Arthurian Romance: The Originality of *Melekh Artus*', *Arthuriana* 19 (2009), 3-9.
[112] Ibid., p. 6.
[113] Ibid., p. 5.

The two Yiddish adaptations central to this thesis do not present any form of translation apologetics as existed in Hebrew adaptations of secular material. This is not to say that these adaptations do not acknowledge the act of translation, or even the existence of foreign sources; rather, these references simply do not problematise the act of adaptation and do not comment on strategies employed by the translator.

A feature of any discussion of the translation trend in early Yiddish literature is the importance of commercial considerations. The small Yiddish printing run in the Veronese dalle Donne press, for example, produced relatively safe texts (established religious material and popular secular narratives), thus avoiding unsatisfactory sales.[114] Not only was translation an effective way to produce new material for publication cheaply and quickly, it also posed a lesser risk of commercial failure because these adaptations were based on texts that had already demonstrated their success in mainstream markets. Translating a popular bestseller was an attempt to mirror the commercial success of its Gentile counterpart. Chapter IV of this thesis expounds in some more detail on the commercial advantages of translation. This commercial aspect could be seen as liberating the act of translation: since the aim was to produce a new text cheaply, time spent assessing ideal translation principles was not on the cards. Equally, the texts catered to an audience that did not have a stake in intellectualising this type of production: the only accountability for these texts was financial outcome.

[114] Marvin Heller, 'A Little-Known Chapter in Hebrew Printing: Francesco dalle Donne and the Beginning of Hebrew Printing in Verona in the Sixteenth Century' in *Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 151-164.

Aside from the commercial imperatives that were central to many of the Yiddish adaptations, the production of Yiddish translations of vernacular material was further aided by the fact that considerations found in other types of Jewish translation were not present. The combination of Yiddish being a vernacular, and therefore free from the burden of being a religiously loaded language, as well as the lack of religious controversy involved in the material adapted, meant that these particular acts of translation were devoid of the struggles and conventions that dictated the translation process of texts with higher religious stakes. In her discussion of the Hebrew version of the *Melekh Artus*, Drukker acknowledges that in the act of translating into Hebrew it was inevitable for the new version to acquire loaded religious and moral significance:

> And yet, inevitably, by translating the Arthurian tale into Hebrew—adopting the practice of writing Italian words in Hebrew characters only on those few occasions when the Hebrew was found lacking—the translator transforms the romance from a popular tale in the vernacular to one written in the language of Scripture and liturgy, one which would be understood mainly by an educated elite. The mere choice of the language loads the fiction with significance, highlighting religious or moral elements within the prose.[115]

Yiddish, on the other hand, did not have to contend with such esoteric and religious layers of meaning.

This third section of the introduction has shown that while Yiddish secular translations of the early modern period were relatively anxiety-free, especially compared to some elements of the Jewish poetics of translation, the labelling of the Yiddish texts itself is not without its own set of problems. The next section of this chapter will propose a rehabilitation of translation and insert it within a new approach to the process of adaptation.

[115] Drukker, 'A Thirteenth-Century Arthurian Tale in Hebrew', p. 117.

IV. Towards a Flexible Model of Adaptation

This introduction has highlighted a variety of ways in which overly rigidified structures of analysis have been detrimental to the study of Yiddish secular literature. The chapters dedicated to the ZWM will further demonstrate that the rigidity of established categories of adaptation (transcription, translation, re-working etc.) cannot fully account for the realities of certain texts and that these prescriptive applications of labels are, as a result, unproductive. We should move towards viewing adaptation as a flexible scale, rather than focus on rigid boundaries. Chapter IV will show that these boundaries are blurred extremely easily, especially between transcription and translation in the context of German/Yiddish linguistic proximity. Furthermore, these boundaries cannot deal effectively with texts that display both translated/transcribed sections and moments of clear deviation: if we are bound by one label, what is the correct amount of translation needed before a text can stop being a transcription; or, for that matter, how much deviation from the original text should an adaptation demonstrate before no longer qualifying as a translation? The next section of this thesis will advocate for the consideration of adaptation as a flexible scale, rather than as a quantitatively measured categories that can be affixed to texts. First, however, the following few paragraphs will argue that translation should be considered within the scale of adaptation, rather than outside of it.

i. Translation as adaptation

Whereas literary theories of adaptation have included translation as a type of adaptation (see iii. below), modern translation theory, with its focus on modern translation, views translation as separate from adaptation because of its more constrained mode of transfer:

> Adaptation may be understood as a set of translative operations which result in a text that is not accepted as a translation but is nevertheless recognised as representing a source text of about the same length. As such, the term may embrace numerous vague notions such as imitation, rewriting, and so on. Strictly speaking, the concept of adaptation requires recognition of translation as non-adaptation, as a somehow more constrained mode of transfer.[116]

This dissociation of translation from adaptation may be the result of traditional perceptions of adaptation as aesthetically inferior. Bassnett, for example, notes that the dissociation of translation from adaptation is based on the idea that a translation is more faithful to the original. This, she writes, "is based on the flawed premiss that there *is* such a thing as a 'faithful' translation in the first place (...)."[117] Bastin anchors his argument for the dissociation of translation from adaptation in Horace's distinction between 'word for word' and 'sense for sense' approaches to the text. Bastin sees Horace's concept of 'word for word' as referring to translation, whilst 'sense for sense' refers to freer types of transfer. Bastin's extremely narrow view of what constitutes adaptation, which allows for him to dissociate translation from adaptation, can be seen in the examples he lists as adaptations:

> The golden age of adaptation was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the epoch of the *belles infidèles* which started in France and then spread to the rest of the world. The very free translations carried out during this period were justified in terms of the need for foreign texts to be adapted to the tastes and habits of the target culture, regardless of the damage done to the original.[118]

Bastin does recognise that there is no clear definition of what constitutes adaptation, which makes his initial dissociation all the more tenuous.[119] The main problem with Bastin's argument is that it views adaptation as a failure to account for the original text, rather than acknowledging that there is a creative element to the deviations from the source. Instead, he views creation as a mere subset, or mode of adaptation, alongside transcription of the original, omission, expansion, exoticism, updating and situational equivalence.[120] These categories are localised evaluations of a text, rather than accurate depictions of a text's

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[116] Georges L. Bastin, "Adaptation", *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, p. 5.
[117] Susan Bassnett, 'Theatre and Opera' in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, ed. Peter France (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 100.
[118] Bastin, 'Adaptation', pp. 5-6.
[119] Ibid., p. 6.
[120] Ibid., p. 7.

overall adaptation strategy. Furthermore, Bastin's view establishes translation as an ideal scenario from which the adaptor was forced to deviate, further removing creative input from adaptation considerations and strengthening the view that adaptation is a translation technique: "The most common factors (i.e. conditions) which cause translators to resort to adaptation are: *cross-code breakdown* (...), *situational inadequacy* (...), *genre switching* (...), *disruption of the communication process*."[121]

This is where the limitations of modern translation theory when dealing with medieval and early modern texts appear. First, the process of adaptation does not require a survival of the original's length. Chapter II will show that adaptation is not contingent on a preservation of length: indeed, the level of adaptation present in the KB is mainly made possible by the expansion of the Yiddish fables in comparison to their Boner counterparts. Second, by viewing adaptation as a deviation from the ideal scenario of translation, this view of adaptation and translation fails to account for the creative process involved in adapting a narrative from one text to another. The final sections of this introduction will argue that translation should be considered a mode of adaptation. This will not only enable us to view translation within a spectrum of creative input, it will also move translation away from problematic notions of faithfulness by reframing the act as a localised strategy of adaptation.

ii. Judaization and adaptation

A model of adaptation that incorporates translation and is suited to Yiddish texts based on Gentile narratives must account for the presence of judaizing elements. These judaizing elements are articulated responses to the specific challenges posed by a transfer across cultures, religions, and languages. Attempts to render a text 'more Jewish' vary in frequency

[121] Bastin, 'Adaptation', p. 7.

and range, but can be found in all types of adaptations from Gentile material, from transcription to complete reworking. The presence of Jewish references in such texts is predominantly but, I shall argue, erroneously read as a necessary condition for the successful transfer of material from one audience to another. Behind this reading lies the implication, which has been discussed earlier in this chapter, that Jewish audiences were not able to relate to stories that depicted worlds that were not their own. Aside from the questionable undercurrent of essentialism at the heart of such pronouncements, this view of judaization can also be rejected for a variety of reasons. First, Jewish audiences consumed foreign narratives in unmediated fashion, as evidenced by the variety of foreign titles (by which I mean non-Jewish and non-Hebrew literature) present in the 1595 Mantuan census of the Jewish libraries.[122] This access to foreign narratives in the sixteenth century was facilitated by an established familiarity with the local vernacular, in this case, Italian.[123] Second, as chapter IV will argue, narratives such as the ZWM that contained both Christian references and few Jewish elements were popular, further lying to rest the claim that Jews could not enjoy a good story if it was not Jewish enough. Additionally, as Katz has demonstrated in his edition of the *Sefer Mesholim*, Moses Wallich removed some of the Jewish specific elements in both the language and the narrative from his re-edition of the KB.[124] In this particular case then, we have a process of reversing some of the judaizing aspects of the KB in an edition that was still very much destined for a Jewish audience.

In order to move away from this view of judaization as a precondition to acceptance by its new audience, one sub-section of judaization can be viewed within the context of

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[122] Amongst others, the list comprise *Orlando furioso*, *Paris e Vienna*, the *Iliad*, *Amadis de Gaula*, *Celestina,* the *Decameron*, Aesop's *Fables*, *Florio e Biancifiore* etc. The list contains a wealth of fables, poetry, drama, Greek myths etc. 2.4% of all titles listed in the Mantuan census were in a foreign language. Shifra Baruchson-Arbib, *La culture livresque des juifs d'Italie à la fin de la Renaissance* (Paris: CNRS, 2001), pp. 168-174.

[123] Sandra Debenedetti Stow, 'A Judeo-Italian Version of Selected Passages from Cecco D'Ascoli's *Acerba*' in *Communication in the Jewish Diaspora: The Pre-Modern World* ed. by Sophia Menache (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 285.

[124] Eli Katz*, Book of Fables: The Yiddish fable collection of Reb Moshe Wallich, Frankfurt am Main, 1697* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994), p. 12.

domesticating strategies of translation.[125] This would have the advantage of viewing judaization as an articulated translation principle. A domesticising, as opposed to foreignising, translation seeks to erase the foreign elements of the source text by replacing them with more contextually understandable equivalents. Venuti writes:

> A translation project may conform to values currently dominating the target-language culture, taking a conservative and openly assimilationist approach to the foreign text, appropriating it to support domestic canons, publishing trends, political alignments.[126]

If we accept the presence of judaization strategies as the results of a domesticating strategy of translation, we are still able to acknowledge the cultural specificity of Yiddish texts, whilst simultaneously moving away from essentialising Jewish readership. Furthermore, viewing judaizing strategies as a subset of domesticating translation strategies also supports the notion that the range of Yiddish adaptations of German material is in response to a lack of secular entertainment in the emerging Yiddish literature. The high level of translation of foreign texts into increasingly dominant vernaculars is a recognised strategy to make up for a lack of vernacular national literature:

> Moreover, the selection process, in other words canon-formation, that forms the basis of literary traditions, is – unless we are working strictly within national borders – dependent upon translations, which secure the 'survival' if the work and attend to its 'ripening' process (...).[127]

Stanton, for example, highlights the ways in which Old English literature included very few texts that were not adaptations (and translations) from Latin works. In the same way that Old English literature developed mostly out of translation from Latin, Middle English initially emerged as a literary language because of the drive to translate French material.[128] Palmer notes that the German adaptation of French narrative models in the 12th century

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[125] For an overview on domesticating strategies of translation, see Lawrence Venuti's article 'Strategies of Translation' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, pp. 240-244.
[126] Venuti, 'Strategies of Translation', p. 240.
[127] *Translation – Theory and Practice*, ed. by Daniel Weissbort and Astradur Eysteinsson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 3.
[128] Robert Stanton, 'The (M)other Tongue: Translation Theory and Old English', in *Translation theory and practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), p. 34.

took place within a German-Latin literary culture.[129] The adaptation from another vernacular literature, rather than from Latin, is mirrored in the adaptation into Yiddish (at a time of an existing bilingual Hebrew-Yiddish culture) of popular German narratives. Foreign vernacular literatures seem to have provided better avenues for entertainment than the existing narratives from 'higher' literary languages. Furthermore, foreign narrative models leant a certain amount of cachet to the texts based on them. Martina Backes, for example, discusses early modern German printed editions that falsely boasted of their foreign origin.[130]

Although we owe the concept of domesticating strategies to translation studies, this is not to say, however, that all texts that display judaizing trends are translations. A second type of judaization is the result of adaptation strategies that can be applied across a broad spectrum of adaptations that involve the addition of completely new Jewish material at both a localised and/or general level of the new narrrative.[131] While equivalence-based judaization is an articulation of a domesticating translation principle, the wholesale addition of judaizing material is an adaptation strategy independent of translation. Both types of judaizing strategies are discussed in greater detail throughout the rest thesis since both the KB and the ZWM display one of these types. Whilst the KB employs judaizing material in order to build a cohesive moral framework for its new audience, judaization in the ZWM occurs almost exclusively as a result of establishing translational equivalence with the original German content.

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129 Nigel F. Palmer, 'The High and Later Middle Ages' in *The Cambridge History of German Literature*. 1st ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 48.

130 Martina Backes, 'Ich buwe doch die strazzen / die sie hant gelazzen: Überlegungen zu Selbstverständnis und Textkonzept deutscher Bearbeiter französischer Werke im Mittelalter', in *Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, p. 352.

131 For an overview of the typologies of equivalence in translation, see Dorothy Kenny's article on 'Equivalence' in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, pp. 77-80 and Susan Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, pp. 30-36.

Appropriation of a text through translation should not solely be perceived negatively. In *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages*, Copeland demonstrates that the displacement of Latin texts by their vernacular translations enabled vernacular culture to gain the authority and legitimacy the Latin texts originally possessed. Although Copeland does emphasise that appropriation does not automatically guarantee access to privilege, in the case of Yiddish translation the erasure of culturally specific elements of German literary text enabling a minority culture to appropriate mainstream culture on their own terms is productive rather than problematic since it allows for an expansion of the emerging Yiddish secular literature.[132]

a. Moving away from reactive analyses of Jewishness

By viewing judaizing methods as productive canon-building strategies of adaptation that encompass both equivalence-based domesticating translation principles and the wholesale addition of specifically Jewish material, we should be able to move away from reactive analyses of Yiddish texts that list these elements as 'evidence' of Jewishness. The judaizing elements of a narrative have always attracted the attention of those who discuss Yiddish in relation to its German source. This is not surprising, considering that these judaizing elements are often the most apparent forms of deviation from a German counterpart. They function as 'markers' of a Jewish text, especially if there is a conflict as to whether a particular narrative is a Yiddish text or a Hebrew-lettered transcription of a German story. Fritz Peter Knapp's article '*Dukus Horant* und die deutsche Epik des 13./14. Jh.' not only continues to frame the analysis of this text within the constraints of the German or Yiddish debate discussed in greater detail above, but it also contains a list of the 'wenige

[132] Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages* , pp. 224-225.

Anzeichen der Assimilation an das neue Publikum'.[133] This usage of judaizing strategies as a measure of whether or not a text is Jewish enough is problematic because it has been given complete precedence in the act of determining a text's identity. The use of the Hebrew alphabet and the production of texts within a Jewish cultural and social framework should be sufficient statements concerning the intended readership.

A consequence of this flawed measure is that it not only validates ideological arguments for Yiddish texts being potentially German if they do not display certain criteria; but, more importantly, it forces scholars into a reactive process of analysis. This is evident when looking at scholarship on Yiddish literature: very often, there is a section listing the Jewish elements of a particular Yiddish adaptation. The listing of Jewish references is useful, but not, I would argue, a sufficient tool for analysis. The interested reader is usually left with little idea of how (or even if) these particular Jewish additions have a wider function or impact on the narrative. This dearth of deeper analysis leads us to think that these changes are purely cosmetic, and this reductive listing may even contribute to the upheld prejudices of Yiddish adaptations being of poor quality. Additionally, this particular approach to Jewish references in a text suggests that a text can be quantifiably more Jewish than another if it displays more judaizing strategies which further feeds into notions of qualitative textual hierarchies established on the premise that narratives from Hebrew source material are better than others because they are more Jewish. In order to achieve more rigorous analyses of judaization, the next section of this chapter will offer a brief categorisation of available judaizing strategies.

b. Categories of judaizing strategies

[133] Fritz Peter Knapp, '*Dukus Horant* und die deutsche Epik des 13./14. Jh.', *Aschkenaz* 14/1 (2004), p. 103

Judaizing strategies, of both equivalence-achieving and wholesale addition varieties, can be divided in the following ways: (i) complete removal of problematic (usually explicitly theologically Christian) references, (ii) attenuation of problematic references by using more neutral turns of phrases, (iii) replacement of problematic references with Jewish equivalents, (iv) wholesale addition of Jewish material unprompted by reaction to problematic references, and (v) survival of the original Christian reference.

These broad categories allow for overlap, interdependence and variety of function. For example, (iii) the replacement of problematic references with Jewish equivalents also entails the (i) removal of problematic Christian references. Equally, a Christian reference can be handled in a variety of ways: (i) complete removal, (ii) attenuation, or (iii) replacement with Jewish equivalents. In practice, this means that a reference to a specific Christian prayer to Mary could either be deleted with little impact on the narrative; or the Christian aspect of the prayer could be removed whilst the more neutral act of prayer remained. Failing that, the Christian prayer could be altogether replaced with a specifically Jewish prayer. In the same vein, the survival of a Christian reference should not automatically be read as a mistake on the part of the adaptor. Indeed, the surviving reference could indicate either that a certain Christian reference did not pose a problem, or even, that the adaptor had an interest in dissociating particular characters from Judaism, or even of constructing a veiled criticism of Christians through a Christian character. Not all Christian references have the same impact on the narrative, and, furthermore, their impact is entirely context dependent. References to churches could speak to the institutional and administrative organisation of mainstream society, such as the presence of Christian holidays marking the calendar of the Arthurian court in *Artushof*. Their survival in Yiddish texts functions as an acknowledgment of the status quo. Characters in the ZWM, as chapter IV will show, were not de-Christianised, probably as a result of their flawed behaviour. The refusal to judaize

them may have marked the reluctance to associate Jews with immoral types of behaviour. On the flip-side, the KB author further judaizes already Jewish tales in order to expound in great length on the virtues of the Jewish curriculum, and adds explicitly Jewish moral dimensions to certain tales in order to heighten their relevance to his audience.

iii. Adaptation as a flexible model

In light of the nuanced issues at the heart of translation and judaizing methods this chapter has already touched on, I would like to propose a model for literary adaptation that encompasses a range of adaptation strategies along a continuum, without limiting analysis by dogmatic rigidity or implied hierarchies of value. This view of adaptation builds on existing theories of adaptation that have advocated for a flexible and nuanced approach.

Linda Hutcheon's theory of adaptation provides a definition that is remarkable for both its flexibility and its view of adaptation as a fruitful engagement between two cultural products. Hutcheon defines adaptation by three criteria: an acknowledged transposition of a recognisable other work or works, a creative and interpretative act of appropriation/salvaging, and an extended intertextual engagement with the adapted work.[134] This theory of adaptation makes no qualitative or hierarchical judgements: "adaptation is a derivation that is not derivative – a work that is second without being secondary. It is its own palimpsestic thing."[135]

Although Hutcheon's theory encompasses a wide spectrum of media, from films to fan fiction, it is still a model that works for the narrower field of literary adaptation. Aspects such as acknowledgement and recognisable work may need to be applied with caution, especially in the context of intercultural transfers in the pre-modern period. Indeed,

[134] Linda Hutcheon, *A Theory of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 8.
[135] Ibid., p. 8.

although authors as adaptors may be in a position to both acknowledge and recognise their literary source (either through flagging their sources in prologues, referring to previous authors as authoritative figures, or referring to the process of adaptation itself), this is not a necessarily explicit feature of the adaptation. Furthermore, and this is all the more relevant in intercultural transfers, the audience of an adaptation may not be familiar or even aware of the existence of a specific model. The preface of the ZWM, for example, does not address its German origins: the text is adapted and mediated drily.

Hutcheon's theory of adaptation works within a literary context, and can be further combined with Bumke's notion of retextualisation (*Retextualisierung)* which is an attempt to reclaim the processes of literary adaptation from other lexically loaded terms: "'Retextualisierung' soll hier wertungsfrei alle Prozesse der textlichen Bearbeitung bezeichnen."[136] Bumke also refers to retextualisation as 'productive reception' which aligns with Hutcheon's conception of adaptation. If we view retextualisation as an encompassing term for literary adaptations, then we must consider the various levels of adaptation possible. For this, I have used Thomas Klein's notion of 'Transfertypen', which are different levels of adaptation that can be applied to a source text in order to produce a new one. Klein's levels of adaptation are transcription, translation, reworking and rewriting (Wiedererzählung).[137] In both Klein and Bumke's models, translation features as a type of adaptation, echoing this chapter's earlier discussion of translation as adaptation.

Klein's model is effective because it highlights the relationship between types of adaptation, and what levels of the text (graphemes, words, sentences, passages, etc.) they affect. Additionally, the physical representation of his model emphasises the fluidity of the relationship between the level of adaptation and its effect on the text: reworkings can

[136] Bumke, 'Rextextualisierungen', p. 10.
[137] Thomas Klein, 'Umschrift – Übersetzung – Wiedererzählung. Texttransfer im westgermanischen Bereich' in *Der Schreiber als Dolmetsch: sprachliche Umsetzungstechniken beim binnensprachlichen Texttransfer in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. by Werner Besch and Thomas Klein (Berlin: Schmidt, 2008) p. 226.

operate on entire passages of text, or just sentences, transcriptions can be limited to morphemes and graphemes, but can also affect words etc.

By highlighting the levels in the text at which the levels of adaptation operate, Klein also touches upon the distinction Worstbrock makes between the *artificium* and the *materia.* Worstbrock distinguishes between the *materia*, the essential narrative matter, and *artificium*, the form resulting from the individual characteristics of the author.[138] Rewriting, or *Wiedererzählen*, of the *materia* is made possible through the *artificium*. *Wiedererzählen* therefore occurs when the *artificium* is reinvented and reworked to such an extent that the *materia* is affected. The extent to which a work has been adapted is directly related to whether or not it is the *materia* or the *artificium* that has been reworked. Consequently, if the *materia* has been reworked extensively, this would mean that the *artificium* has been reworked as a result, speaking for a higher level of adaptation. If the *materia* remains untouched and the *artificium* has experienced only localised changes then we can talk of transcription. If the *materia* is preserved, but the *artificium* has undergone some more extensive changes, then it will probably end up being a translation, a free translation, or a loose form of rewriting.

The notion that a text possesses two different levels at which changes can be effected, central to Worstbrock's distinction between *materia* and *artificium*, is also at the heart of Steinmetz's typological classification of reworkings in medieval literature.[139] In order to categorize different textual reworkings, Steinmetz proposes to assess changes in a text on two different gradients: an 'Adaptionsgrad' and an 'Intentionsgrad' which can be very broadly equated with Worstbrock's *artificium* and *materia*, respectively. The 'Adaptionsgrad' charts the extent to which surface features are changed, whilst the 'Intentionsgrad' indicates the extent to which the text is changed in order to serve different conditions of

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138 Franz Josef Worstbrock, 'Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen' in *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit*, ed. Walter Haug (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999), pp.128-142.

139 Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, 'Bearbeitungstypen in der Literatur des Mittelalters: Vorschläge für eine Klärung der Begriffe' in *Texttyp und Textproduktion in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. by Elizabeth Andersen, Manfred Eikelmann and Anne Simon (Berlin: De Gruyer, 2005), pp. 41-61.

use.[140] Although Steinmetz's model is helpful in its attempt to methodologically assess varying types of reworkings, it does possess certain limitations due to which this thesis will propose an alternative model. First, Steinmetz does relate back to concepts of originality and authorship, especially problematic considering his categories establish hierarchies between the 'eigenständige Werk' and the 'Fassung'.[141] Additionally, Steinmetz' conceptualisation obscures the interdependence between the *artificium* and the *materia*: changes in a text's intention are directly related to (and enabled by) the presence or lack of surface changes.

The model proposed by this thesis is able to account for all changes at all levels of the text, while at the same time offering a lot of flexibility in its analysis. Furthermore, it supports the idea that adaptation is made possible through a range of adaptation processes and strategies. The following representation of adaptation as a scale aims to highlight not only the fluidity of these categories, but the extent to which the levels in the text at which changes occur directly impact the type of adaptation put into place.

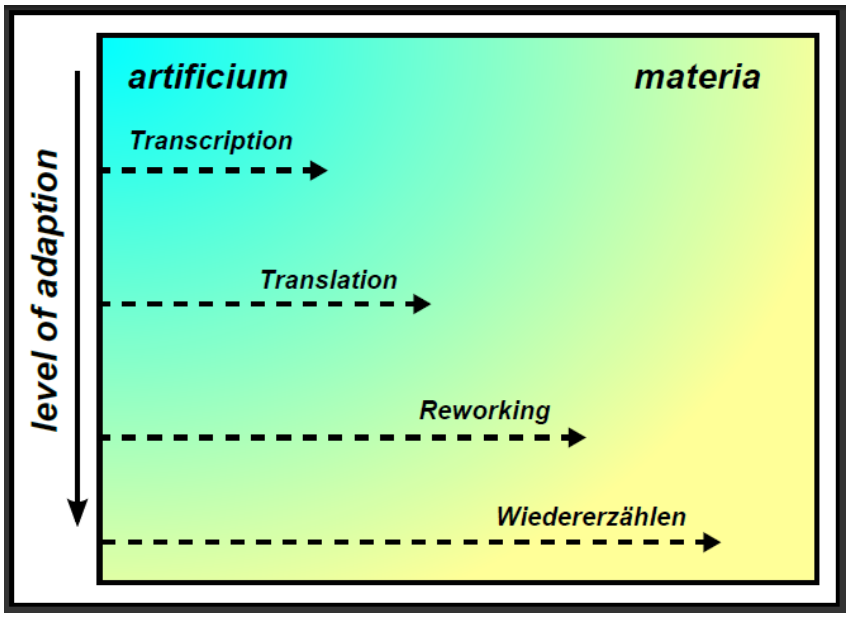

Fig. I: A flexible model of adaptation

[140] Steinmetz, 'Bearbeitungstypen', p. 51.
[141] Ibid., p. 52.

Considering adaptation as a flexible scale of literary production should lead to a reconsideration of the many dogmatic statements made about Yiddish literature based on Gentile sources and the acceptance that one statement on Yiddish does not fit all of its literary production. Although this thesis will focus on two specific Yiddish texts, these two texts demonstrate the broad range of adaptation that was available to those who produced early Yiddish literature. While the KB is an example of the highest levels of adaptation, the ZWM exists on the opposite side of the scale, where changes exist on a more localised level. Additionally, as chapter IV will show, the ZWM displays elements of both transcription and translation, a mixture that again highlights the deficiency of rigid labels.

Rather than lumping all Yiddish adaptations of foreign narratives in one category, this new system of analysis should move towards rehabilitating individual texts that have either been overlooked or unsatisfactorily analysed. Viewing adaptation as a spectrum should also provide us with a better understanding of Jewish cultural interaction with the mainstream. The adaptation of mainstream European literary models very much argues for a Jewish cultural dialogue with the majority culture. Additionally, since this scale demonstrates that Jewish audiences were capable of reading Gentile narratives with very little mediation, we can argue against the often-touted Jewish suspicion of 'dangerous' mainstream culture.

The following chapters are structured around a bipartite model. Chapter I will focus on the KB's context and sources. It will also present an overview of the scholarship on the KB, as well as highlighting aspects of its transmission that are relevant to discussions of adaptation. Chapter II will present a literary analysis of the KB in light of its relationship to Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein*. It will detail the strategies used by the KB's author to move away from the German original and situate these strategies within a discussion of Worstbrock's

concept of *Wiedererzählung*. Chapter II will then consider how these particular strategies allowed for the KB to function independently of the *Edelstein* by creating its own programmatic agenda. Chapter III will move on to the ZWM and its place in the Seven Sages narrative tradition. It will seek to clarify the relationship between the German and Yiddish versions in the context of a widely circulated text that enjoyed a constant stream of editions over an extensive period of time. Chapter IV will analyse the relationship between the German and Yiddish versions and establish that the labels of transcription and translation are not straightforward, as they obscure the complexities of this particular adaptation.

While this thesis is centred on Yiddish approaches to adapting German narrative material, this should not be read as support for reductive notions that conceive of Yiddish as solely interesting due to its relationship to German, nor should it be seen as upholding dichotomies of superior vs. lesser source material. Rather, my aim is to use methods from German medieval studies, where processes of adaptation and cultural transfer have been the subject of analysis, as frameworks of analysis for early Yiddish literature adapted from German literary models. It is my hope that the extensive analysis present in the subsequent chapters will assuage any conscious and unconscious ideological tendencies by providing the reader not only with evidence for the arguments I make, but also with a straightforward discussion of the methodological basis for this gathering of evidence.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCING THE *KUHBUKH*
Sources, Transmission, Issues

The *Kuhbukh,* a Yiddish book of fables printed in Verona,[142] Italy, in 1595 by Abraham ben Mattiya Bat-Sheva was known, until recently, only through a handful of references to its existence in Yiddish literature and scholarship.[143] It was briefly mentioned in the preface of the 1602 edition of the *Mayse-bukh*, an extraordinarily popular Yiddish text published in Basel.[144] It was also referenced in Sabbatai Bass' extensive bibliography *Sifte Yeshenim* published in 1680, and containing a list of over two thousand Hebrew and Yiddish books. The *Sefer Mesholim* (SM), by Moses Wallich, a 1697 book of fables printed in Frankfurt am Main which referred to itself as the *Kuhbukh* in its preface, was demonstrated to be derived from the 1595 edition.[145] Any further attempts to qualify the nature of the relationship between the 1595 *Kuhbukh* and the 1697 *Sefer Mesholim* were entirely speculative until the discovery by Moses N. Rosenfeld of the only known surviving copy of the 1595 edition, which led to a renewal of interest in the *Kuhbukh.*[146] Rosenfeld was adamantly secretive about the method by which he had procured the extant copy, referring to it only once as the "Original" when thanking his wife for her support.[147] The copy's whereabouts are now

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142 For histories of Jews in early modern Italy see: *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* ed. Robert C. Davis and Benjamin Ravid (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2001) ; *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* by David B. Ruderman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010) ; *Jewish life in Renaissance Italy* by Robert Bonfil, trans. by Anthony Oldcorn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994) ; *Love Work and Death: Jewish Life in Medieval Umbria* by Ariel Toaff, trans. by Judith Landry (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1996).

143 Katz, *Book of Fables*, p. 10.

144 *Eyn shön Mayse bukh*, ed. Astrid Starck, vol. I (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2004), pp. 4-5.

145 Katz points out in his *Book of Fables* that this theory was the result of the presence of Italianisms in the language, the mention of northern Italian geographical places, and the fact that the preface of the 1697 edition refers to itself as the 'Ku bukh', p.10

146 Moshe N. Rosenfeld, *The book of cows: a facsimile edition of the famed Kuhbuch, Verona 1595, from a unique copy in a private collection*, (London: Hebraica Books, 1984)

147 Chava Turniansky, Erika Timm and Israel Adler's catalogue of Yiddish texts from Italy, *Yiddish in Italia: Manuscripts and Printed Books* (Milan: Associazione italiana Amici dell'Università di Gerusalemme, 2003), simply note it as being in a private collection, p. 138.

unknown. Rosenfeld writes that the KB "measures 137 by 185mm, printed on watermarked paper (two similar types and very difficult to identify since they all occur near the spine). The book has been handled a great deal and is occassionally (sic) badly stained."[148]

This chapter will present a discussion of existing scholarship on the KB, a brief overview of its three sources and the literary and printing context in which it was published. The final sections of this chapter will detail particular aspects of the KB's unresolved transmission process, as well as assess whether or not the putative 1555 edition of the KB could have been possible. Although the transmission of Boner material into sixteenth century Italy may always remain a mystery, this will not impact chapter II's analysis of the Yiddish fables' relationship to their German counterparts.

I. Scholarship on the *Kuhbukh*

Erika Timm published two articles in 1981 that mentioned the *Kuhbukh* in the context of Yiddish fable collections of the sixteenth century and the Cambridge manuscript of 1382.[149] Both articles were written before the 1595 edition was discovered, which means that her comparative analyses are based on Moses Wallich's SM. 'Zur Jiddischen Fabelliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts' compares the fables of the *Sefer Mesholim* and Jakob Koppelmann's translation into Yiddish of the *Mishle Shualim* and presents a brief overview and classification of the two strands of fable traditions in early Yiddish literature. Timm's

[148] Rosenfeld, *The book of cows*, p. 136.
[149] Timm, 'Die Fabel vom alten Löwen in jiddistischer und Komparatistischer Sicht' in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 100 (1981), 109-169, and 'Zur Jiddischen Fabelliteratur des 16. Jahrhunderts' in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies -Division C: Talmud and Midrash, Philosophy and Mysticism, Hebrew and Yiddish Literature*, (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1981), 159-164.

second article 'Die Fabel vom Alten Löwen' looks at the different influences in Yiddish fable traditions, from Latin, French and Hebrew literature to Arabic influences by analysing the different variants of the old lion fable. Since this fable is also found in the *Kuhbukh,* this second article integrates an extensive discussion of the *Kuhbukh/Sefer Mesholim* and its relationship to its sources, as well as implies the influence of a long oral tradition.

Wulf-Otto Dreeßen's short article from 1989 looks at one specific Boner fable ('von einem Pfaffen und von einem Esel') and its reception in two examples of Yiddish literature, the *Kuhbukh* and the Anshel Levi manuscript of 1579.[150] Dreeßen argues that the reception of Boner material into Yiddish should be considered in its Jewish context, rather than a medieval German one. His article provides the reader with romanised transcriptions of the Yiddish variants of this Boner fable, as well as sections of the *Kuhbukh*'s preface. Furthermore, Dreeßen's successfully addresses the Jewish specificities of the text. Dreeßen aligns with Timm's argument that the Italian Ashkenazic community had access to a better version of the *Edelstein* than the version printed in Bamberg, since lines in Anshel Levi's fables can be found in the Boner manuscript tradition, but not in the Bamberg editions.[151] He also argues that the Christian references in the KB survive because they form the basis of the protagonist's satirical portrayal. The presence of 'productive' Christian elements is further aided by the fact that the Boner material is able to fit in rather seamlessly with the KB's other Hebrew sources.

Eli Katz's 1994 edition of the *Sefer Mesholim* stands out.[152] His facsimile edition of the 1697 *Sefer Mesholim* is translated into English and contains an extensive critical apparatus that

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150 Wulf-Otto Dreeßen, 'Edelstein – Splitter', in *Ist zwîvel herzen nâchgebûr. Günther Schweikle zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Rüdiger Krüger, Jürgen Kühnel and Joachim Kuolt (Stuttgart: Helfant Edition, 1989), pp. 241-253. The Anshel Levi manuscript is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, héb. 589.

151 Dreeßen, 'Edelstein – Splitter', p. 244.

152 Eli Katz, 'Das "*Kuhbukh*" und das "Sefer Mesolim". Die Überlieferung eines Mitteljiddischen Textes', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 112 (1990), 81-95, and *Book of Fables: the Yiddish fable collection of Reb Moses Wallich* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1994).

catalogues each deviation of the 1697 text from the 1595 *Kuhbukh* edition. His introduction also contains analysis of both the *Kuhbukh* and the *Sefer Mesholim*, as well as analysis of the relationship between the two texts and the strategies put into place by the editor of the 1697 edition to distance itself from the Italian and, at times, vulgar content of the 1595 text. Katz also provides the reader with a classification of the sources of each fable, and lists, fable by fable, each instance of similarity of the fable with its source. Because of the restricted access to the 1595 facsimile edition (of which only three hundred copies were printed), Katz's work provides invaluable help and insight on the *Kuhbukh*.

Maria Mayer Modena's article in *Il Mondo Yiddish: Saggi*, published in 1996, focuses entirely on the numerous references to food in the *Kuhbukh*. Her analysis suggests that the food mentioned throughout the collection of fables speaks for a high degree of gastronomical assimilation.[153] The Ashkenazic Jewish communities of northern Italy, she argues, ate like northern Italians.

Marvin Heller's article, published in 2000, discusses the *Kuhbukh* in a couple of paragraphs within his wider focus on Jewish-Italian cooperation in the Verona printing press of Francesco dalle Donne.[154] This article details the history of Christian and Jewish printing in Verona, highlights the legal difficulties faced by the Jewish communities when trying to establish a printing industry of their own and the ensuing cooperation between Jewish editors and Christian printing presses. Heller specifically looks at the cooperation between the dalle Donne printing press and the Jewish editor Abraham b. Sabbatai Mattathias Bat-Sheva, their production of both Hebrew and Yiddish books, and the infrastructural limitations they encountered. He provides the reader with short biographies of the two

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153 Maria Mayer Modena, 'Leggi in yiddish ma mangia all'italiana: assimilazione gastronomica degli ashkenaziti nell'Italia rinascimentale' in *Il Mondo Yiddish: Saggi*, ed. by Elena Mortara Di Veroli and Laura Quercioli Mincer (Rome: Unione della Comunità Ebraiche Italiane, 1996), 125-136.

154 Marvin Heller, 'A Little-Known Chapter in Hebrew Printing: Francesco dalle Donne and the Beginning of Hebrew Printing in Verona in the Sixteenth Century', in *Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 151-164.

men, as well as a short description of each work that was published under the auspices of that partnership.

Diane Wolfthal's discussion of the *Kuhbukh* occupies an entire chapter of her *Picturing Yiddish: Gender, Identity, and Memory in the Illustrated Books of Renaissance Italy* (2004) and focuses specifically on the KB's woodcut illustrations.[155] Wolfthal's analysis distinguishes between the illustrations of religious and secular books and her treatment of the *Kuhbukh* is more than thorough. She discusses the general context of the *Kuhbukh*, provides a detailed history of its title page illustration, a substantial analysis of the woodcuts used and their relationship to the text. Furthermore, she links her discussion of the *Kuhbukh* with a chapter on *Paris und Viena*, an illustrated Yiddish romance printed in the same dalle Donne printing house a year earlier, which provides the reader with substantial background information on early modern Yiddish printing.[156] Wolfthal analyses the KB within a framework that considers printed books as hybrid products of a multicultural Europe.[157]

The third chapter of Jeremy Dauber's 2010 *In the Demon's Bedroom: Yiddish Literature and the Early Modern*[158] is an analysis of Moses Wallich's re-edition of the *Kuhbukh*, the *Sefer Mesholim*. Dauber's views the *Sefer Mesholim* as an attempt by Wallich to enhance the pious and moralistic aspects of the collection. Although thoughtful and well-rounded, Dauber's analysis often confuses what is original to the *Kuhbukh* with what can be found in the *Sefer Mesholim*. As a result of this confusion, his analysis is greatly weakened by his attribution of original KB material to Wallich's supposed intent. This is apparent in his discussion of Wallich's judaizing features: "If Judaization was, as many critics have argued, a response to commercial considerations (concerns that audiences would reject it as alien or that it would

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155 Diane Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish: gender, identity and memory in the illustrated Yiddish books of the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2004)

156 For an overview of Yiddish *Paris und Viena* narrative, see Jerold C. Frakes, 'Pariz and Viene' in *Early Yiddish Texts 1100-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 393-414.

157 Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish*, p. xxvii.

158 Jeremy Dauber, *In the Demon's Bedroom: Yiddish Literature and the Early Modern* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), pp. 87-139.

transgress rabbinic standards), then the Hebraization here can be seen as a continuation of the Judaizing, pietistic strategies we have seen Wallich adopt by other means."[159] This claim is questionable because Katz has meticulously shown that Wallich privileged universalisation over judaization, a fact that Dauber does not address. Judaizing elements are mostly the result of their presence in the original Hebrew source material or of the original KB language and content.[160] Dauber's analysis of Wallich's editorial principles gets inextricably tangled with a discussion of the original text's features. The result is at times confusing to the reader: he looks at rhymes, narration and illustrations within the context of 'Wallich's work', which is problematic since all these elements are original to the *Kuhbukh* rather than Wallich. There is no acknowledgement that the SM illustrations are all taken from the KB edition which seems disingenuous since Dauber cites Wolfthal in his bibliography, but not in the actual chapter.[161] Additionally, in his discussion of the relationship between text and image, he does not address the fact that it was financially unlikely that illustrations would have been produced for a Yiddish text, and that it is more likely that they would have been recycled from another text altogether. This particular misrepresentation of the SM illustrations is a real shame, since it completely undermines what could have been an interesting analysis of the discrepancies between caption, text, and illustration. The lack of reference when mentioning "recent scholarship on early modern Yiddish literature, influenced by the last several decades' revolutions in narratology, has stressed the conventional nature of narratorial comments rather than attempt to read them for nuggets of authorial biography"[162] does not help assuage the reader's feeling that Dauber wilfully misrepresents the actual state of scholarship on early modern Yiddish scholarship. Dauber's claim that the narrator's "constant emphases on

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[159] Dauber, *In the Demon's Bedroom*, p. 95.
[160] Ibid., p. 95.
[161] "Among the *Seyfer Mesholim*'s most striking features are the numerous woodcuts illustrating its various fables, making it one of the most heavily illustrated early modern Yiddish texts." Ibid., p. 99.
[162] Ibid., p. 96.

truth-telling, conventional or no, reflect his concern that the stories' truth will not be accepted" rather than simply the result of literary tropes of legitimacy is guilty of over-analysis but remains of interest.[163] His chapter does contain a good discussion of representations of gender, and his analysis of the ideological framework in the SM is of great interest. It is unfortunate that this conflation of the KB and the SM calls into question his methodology and oversells Wallich's role in the shaping of the collection of fables into a coherent structure. Because Dauber's main interest is the literary scene of the seventeenth century, he overestimates the extent of Wallich's contribution to the adaptation of the KB. However, his findings related to literary analysis do apply to the KB and are of great interest.

Claudia Rosenzweig's 2012 article discusses a variety of Yiddish literary texts and the ways in which the Christian other is constructed.[164] Elia Levita's *Bovo d'Antona* "offers a perfect example of the tension between an assimilation of external models and patterns, and the concomitant Jewish modification of the material."[165] Rosenzweig also considers a Venetian Yiddish song composed in the winter of 1553-1554. Of interest to this chapter is her discussion of the KB fable VI (Singing Cleric). The crux of Rosenzweig's argument is that the KB heightens the disparaging portrayal of the cleric, precisely because he is constructed as the Christian other. This emphasis on the Christianity of the ridiculous protagonist is effectively toned down in Wallich's 1697 re-edition by the removal of every reference to Christianity, aside from the two candles.[166] Rosenzweig also argues that the lack of references to Christianity in the version of this fable found in the Anshel Levi manuscript

163 Dauber, *In the Demon's Bedroom*, p. 97.
164 Claudia Rosenzweig, 'Saladin the Crusader, the Christian Haman, and the Off-Key Priest: Some Reflections on Christians and Christianity in Yiddish Literary Texts from the Italian Renaissance' in *Rabbi Judah Moscato and the Jewish Intellectual World of Mantua in the 16th-17th centuries*, ed. by Giuseppe Veltri and Gianfranco Miletto (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 227-246.
165 Ibid., p. 230.
166 Ibid., p. 242.

is due to a desire to not expose its female owner to external Christian culture.[167] Furthermore, she argues that because the Anshel Levi fable contains a proverb that is also found in another epimyth in the *Kuhbukh*, Anshel Levi may have reworked the fable from the potential 1555 *Kuhbukh* edition.[168] However, it may be more plausible to assume that the version of the ur-*Kuhbukh* used by Anshel Levi must have been closer to the original Boner text than to the 1555/1595 text. Indeed, a close comparison of all three versions of the fable (Boner, Anshel Levi, KB) immediately shows that the Anshel Levi contains many close textual similarities to the Boner text that are not present in the KB. The opening lines are strikingly similar, as well as a few other rhymed couplets that do not exist in the KB, a selection of which can be found below:

Boner, LXXXII	**Anshel Levi**
Ein pfaf was jung un dâ bî kluog, als noch pfaffen ist genuog. er war stolz und hôch gemuot, sîn stimme dûcht in harte guot. ûf singen er gevlizzen was: (...)	ain melech der war stolz un der bei klug, as ir hören wert sein genug. jung war er un wol gemut, sein stim dünkt in von herzen gut. ouf singen hat er erbait(...)
nu kam ez von geschicht also (...)	nun kan von geschicht aso (...)
'sagent, vrowe, was meinet daz. daz iuwer ougen sint sô naz?' (...)	'sagt ,vrau, was maint das, daß ir aso an öueren augen seit naß?' (...)
und sprach: 'sol ich iu singen mê?' 'nein ir, hêrre; ez tuot mir wê.' 'wâ von? daz solt ir mir nu sagen.' 'gern, hêr' sprach si: 'ich muoz iu klagen (...)	er sprach: 'sol ich singen mê?' si sprach: 'her , mir ist ser we!' si sagt: 'ich mus öuch klagen (...)
den hânt die wolf verezzen: des mag ich nicht vergezzen. wenn ir singent sô gar hêrlich (...)	den haben mir di welf gevreßen, den kan ich nit ver geßen. wen ir singt aso herlich (...)

Rosenzweig also views Ashkenazic Jewry as a secure cultural community capable of engaging with mainstream culture without feeling overly threatened:

[167] Rosenzweig, 'Some Reflections', p. 243.
[168] Ibid., p. 244. The potential 1555 edition of the *Kuhbukh* will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

> It remains a fact that Jews accommodated a surprisingly substantial and complex portion of the Italian literature of this period into their Yiddish texts, even though it was undoubtedly perceived as linked to the Christian faith. This suggests that in literary texts reflecting an imagined world, Jews felt relatively secure: Ashkenazi Jewry does not seem to see itself as a vulnerable minority, defending itself against the intrusion of external elements. The tension with the Christian world is always there, as a matter of fact, but appears to be reworked and transformed through literary creativity.[169]

This positive view of Yiddish interaction with Gentile models is crucial to analyses of Yiddish literature, especially in light of scholarship that has historically denigrated Yiddish literature in a variety of ways, as outlined in this thesis' introduction.

Two recent (and yet unpublished) articles move away from questions of transmission and address how individual fables from the KB portray societal issues. In the short "Hätt der Esel Hörner", Dreeßen analyses the KB fable XXII (Donkey in Lion's Skin) and its problematising of order and disorder.[170] Dreeßen reads the fable as discussion on the legitimacy of rulership within a wider context of order and hierarchy. Kristin Rheinwald's "Der geschundene Esel" compares three versions of the Prostitute and Donkey fable found in Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein,* the *Kuhbukh* and Meister Ingold's.[171] The focus of the article is on the transgressive nature of flayed skin and its associations with taboos. Rheinwald points to the KB's additions to the fable: the woman protagonist is referred to as a whore outright, and she displays further criminal behaviour by stealing a donkey, rather than using her own.

II. The *Kuhbukh* and its sources

The *Kuhbukh* collection is constituted of fables from both the Hebrew and the German

[169] Rosenzweig, 'Some Reflections', p. 245.
[170] Wulf-Otto Dreeßen, 'Hätt' der Esel Hörner', 57-67 [forthcoming]
[171] Kristin Rheinwald, 'Der geschundene Esel', 71-100 [forthcoming]

tradition.[172] Fables derived from the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* (MK) are transmitted in succession, from fable XXVI to fable XXXIII. The *Mishle Shualim* (MSH) is the only source for fables II, III, IX, XV. However, the MSH and the fables from Boner's *Edelstein* are the combined sources of fables I, IV, V, X, XI, XIII, XVII, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXV and XXXV. Fables VI, VII, XII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXIV and XXXIV are derived exclusively from the *Edelstein*, whilst fable VIII remains unaccounted for. Eli Katz provides details as to the motif classification of each fable in his extensive appendix.

a. The *Meshal ha-kadmoni*

The *Meshal ha-kadmoni* is a Hebrew rhymed prose narrative completed in 1281 by Isaac Ibn Sahula, a Sephardic poet and Kabbalist.[173] The *Meshal ha-kadmoni* is counted amongst the Hebrew *mahberot*, a literary genre derived from the Arabic *maqama*. The *maqama* is a "rhymed prose interrupted and enhanced by metric interludes as the journeying poet recounts encounters, meditations, verbal duels and exchanges."[174] It emerged as a literary genre in tenth century Baghdad, moved to al-Andalus by the first half of the twelfth century, and entered the Iberian Hebrew literary canon in the beginning of the thirteenth century.[175] The *mahberot*, however, does not necessarily follow the classic Arabic model too closely, although al-Harizi did return to the classical structure.[176] Reflecting on the difficulty of defining the *maqama* as a literary form, Schippers writes:

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[172] For a list of the *Kuhbukh* fables according to the Dicke/Grubmüller classification, see Gerd Dicke and Klaus Grubmüller, *Katalog der Fabeln des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1987), p. 838. Parallel variants of the *Kuhbukh* fables can be found in this volume.

[173] On the *Meshal ha-kadmoni* as a kabbalistic work, see Harley Lachter 'Spreading Secrets: Kabbalah and Esotericism in Isaac ibn Sahula's *Meshal ha-kadmoni*', *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 100 (Winter 2010), 111-138.

[174] Allen Mandelbaum, 'A millenium of Hebrew Poetry in Italy' in *Gardens and Ghettos: The Art of Jewish Life in Italy*, edited by Vivian B.Mann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 197.

[175] David A. Wacks, *Framing Iberia: Maqamat and Frametale Narratives in Medieval Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 42. For further reading on the relationship between Arabic and Jewish *maqamat*, see Nina Drory's *Models and Contacts: Arabic Literature and its Impact on Medieval Jewish Culture* (Brill: Leiden, 2000).

[176] See III.iii.a of this thesis for a discussion of al-Harizi. For an overview of the Hebrew *maqama*, see Arie Schippers chapter 'The Hebrew maqama' in Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2002), pp. 302-327.

> The general problem with defining the maqama, which in the case of the Arabic could often be limited only to the fictitious, often picaresque story with the narrator-protagonist model, is that it would exclude many rhymed prose texts which in Hebrew literature would be called maqamas. In Hebrew literature, narrative rhymed prose texts interspersed with poems are generally called maqamas. Thus also animal fables in a collection of rhymed prose narratives may be called maqamas.[177]

The MK is divided into five fable cycles, each cycle discussing a specific virtue. The cycles are structured as discourses between a cynic and a moralist who take turns to attack and defend each virtue. In the same vein as Al-Harizi's desire to enhance the literary status of Hebrew (as discussed in the introduction), one of Ibn Sahula's stated goals was to demonstrate the superiority of Hebrew poetry and aestheticism, and lead Jewish readers away from foreign literary works:

> The reason it [the MK] appears, I now recount
> To mark its coming out: God's sacred mount
> Is its foundation, for it will declare
> The quality of holiness, so rare
> Its purity, the beauty it will teach
> And the nobility of Hebrew speech,
> It's ornate splendour setting forth in praise
> That on it prince and commoner may gaze;
> For I observed its golden rhetoric
> Was dulled for many folks, who are so quick
> To con the works of heretics, and seek
> Philosophy dependent on the Greek,
> Arabic saws, tags from each several part.
> I was appalled. In bitterness of heart
> I spoke: 'I judged you touched by the divine,
> Hewn from a holy quarry, light your mine.
> Wherefore this mutiny? Through your neglect
> My chosen people's treasured gift is wrecked (...).[178]

There are seven extant manuscripts of the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*, spanning the last twenty years of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth.[179] Of particular interest is the Rothschild Miscellany, a manuscript from Northern Italy dated 1479-1480. The illustrations of this manuscript are argued to have been the model for Soncino's woodcut

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[177] Schippers, 'The Hebrew Maqama', p. 302.
[178] *Meshal Haqadmoni: Fables from the Distant Past. Isaac ibn Sahula. A Parallel Hebrew-English Text*, volume I, edited and translated by Raphael Loewe (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004), p. 8.
[179] For a description and discussion of these manuscripts, see *Meshal Haqadmoni: Fables from the Distant Past,* vol.I, pp. cxi-cxxii.

edition.[180] The *editio princeps* was printed by in 1491 by Gershom Soncino in Brescia, northern Italy. This edition contained woodcut illustrations. The *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* was then published by Parenzoni in Venice (1547) with woodcuts designed independently of Soncino's edition. The book was subsequently published again in Venice by Di Gara in 1610 and printed twice in Frankfurt an der Oder, once by Joseph Christoff Beckmann in 1693 and once by Elsner in 1799. The MK made an appearance in the eighteenth-century rabbi Pinhas Katzenellenbogen's autobiographical work *Yesh manhilin*, composed between 1758 and 1764 in which he lists his private book collection.[181] The ownership of the MK by this rabbi of high standing points not only to its longevity, but also to its value as an edificatory work. Indeed, there is no doubt that a self-declared list of book titles couched in an autobiographical work for posterity would involve some level of curating.

The success of the MK as a popular literary text is further attested by the existence of several Yiddish prints dating from 1629 to 1850. First published in Yiddish by Gershon Wiener in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1629, this first Yiddish printing had the same illustrations as the subsequent Hebrew edition of 1693. The MK was once again published in Frankfurt an der Oder in 1749 by Mordecai b. Joseph and Aaron Zeli b. Samuel. This edition also boasted the same illustrations as the 1629 edition. The *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* was then published by David Jakob Kroner in Frankfurt am Main in 1764, this time with a new series of engraved illustrations; subsequently by Katz in Prague in 1764, by Johann Jesienski in Grodno in 1797, by an unknown publisher in Ostrakh in 1805, by Menahem b. Barukh in Vilna in 1816, and by another unknown printer in Lvov in 1850. Gries also lists

[180] *Meshal Haqadmoni: Fables from the Distant Past*, p.cxxiv
[181] Zeev Gries, *The Book in the Jewish World 1700-1900* (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007), p. 59. Interestingly, Katzenellenbogen also possessed a Yiddish version of the MK, as well as the *Kuhbukh*'s re-edition as *Sefer Mesholim* (Frankfurt am Main, 1697), and an edition of the *Mayse bukh*, p. 65

a Yiddish edition of the MK in the Katzenellenbogen collection, but does not provide the publication date or location.[182]

The fables from the *Meshal ha-kadmoni* stand out in the KB as a result of their significant length in comparison to the remaining corpus. This increase in length does mean that these eight MK fables read more as short stories than fables, especially since they detail in great length the wiles and deceptions perpetuated by both men and women over stretches of time. Additionally, of the eight KB fables of MK origin, only two are fables depicting animals (XVII Mouse and Weasel, XXVIII Dog and Cow). The six other fables depict exclusively human interaction. This is a much higher proportion of human portrayal (75%) than in the remaining fables not derived from the MK. Of the remaining 27 fables, eleven fables portray humans either exclusively, or interacting with animals (41%).

b. Mishle Shualim

The KB's second source is Berechiah ha-Nakdan's *Mishle Shualim,* a collection of Aesopian fables composed towards the end of the 12th century. Tovi Bibring argues that this Hebrew collection is not a translation from another European vernacular; rather, Berechiah's work reflects a personal engagement with the fables that produces a different moral framework reflecting his Jewish cultural and ethical heritage.[183] Berechiah's fables are a prime example of the interconnectedness of Jewish literature with Christian material during the Middle Ages, as one of his direct sources was Marie de France's *Fabliaux.*[184]

The most recent discussion of the Berechiah manuscript tradition can be found in Erika Timm's seminal article "Die 'Fabel vom Alten Löwen' in jiddistischer und

182 Gries, *The Book in the Jewish World*, p. 65.
183 Tovi Bibring, 'Vengeance, Justice et Repentir dans la Fable *Le Riche et le Serpent* de Berekiah bar (Ben Rabi) Natronaï Hanaqdan' in *Les Fables avant La Fontaine* ed. by Jeanne-Marie Boivin, Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, Laurence Harf-Lancner (Geneva: Droz, 2011), p. 248.
184 For an analysis of Berechiah's fables and his sources see Haim Schwarzbaum*, The Mishle Shu'Alim (Fox Fables) Rabbi Berechiah Ha-Nakdan*, (Kiron: Institute for Jewish and Arab Folklore Research, 1979). For variants of the Berechiah fables, refer also to Dicke and Grubmüller*, Katalog der Fabeln.* A list of Berechiah's fables according to the Dicke/Grubmüller classification can be found on p. 841.

komparatistischer Sicht."[185] Timm lists ten manuscripts, written in Ashkenazic, Italian, English and French handwritings, with the earliest dating to the thirteenth century.[186] Jutta Schumacher does not expand on the Berechiah printed tradition, but does mention the *editio princeps*, printed in Mantua in 1559. Although the title page indicates that it was first produced in 1557, Schumacher argues that its production was interrupted by the confiscation of Hebrew books in May 1557.[187] A bilingual edition of the MSH was printed in Prague in 1661 and translated by Melchior Hanel into Latin.[188] The preface to this edition indicates that it should be useful to those who wish to learn Hebrew. Gries also reproduces the title page of an edition of the *Mishle Shualim* which he describes as being published in Berlin in 1756.[189]

A Yiddish version of the *Mishle Shualim* was compiled and printed by Jacob Koppelmann in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1583.[190] This Yiddish adaptation was based on the Mantuan edition of 1559. Timm has established that the Koppelmann and KB collections bear no traces of a relationship. Another Yiddish translation independent of Koppelmann's was printed in Prague in 1766/7 in a Hebrew/Yiddish bilingual edition.[191] Further Yiddish editions were printed in Vilnius in 1824/5, and Lemberg in 1862/3, both also independent from the Koppelmann compilation.

As mentioned above, the Berechiah fables in the KB regularly overlap with the Boner fables as a result of their similar Aesopian source. As a result of this thesis' scope it has not been possible to include a thorough analysis of the MK and MSH fables and their counterparts in the KB. Of interest would have been an assessment of whether or not the

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185 Erika Timm, 'Die "Fabel vom Alten Löwen" in jiddistischer und komparatistischer Sicht', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 100 (Sonderheft 1981), 109-170.
186 Timm, 'Die Fabel', pp. 140-143.
187 Schumacher, *Sefer Misle Suolim,* p. xxvii.
188 *Parabolae Vulpium*, London, British Library 1980.c.7
189 Gries, *The Book in the Jewish World*, p. 64.
190 For a classification of the Koppelmann fables, see Dicke and Grubmüller, *Katalog der Fabeln*, p. 856.
191 Timm, 'Zur Jiddischen Fabelliteratur', p. 160.

KB fables present additional judaizing elements than those found in its Hebrew sources. Additionally, a comparison between Koppelmann's Yiddish adaptation of the Berechiah fables and their KB equivalents would shed further light on different methods of adaptation available to Yiddish authors.

c. *Der Edelstein*

The KB's third source is Ulrich Boner's *Edelstein*, a German collection of a hundred Aesopian fables derived from Neveleti and Avian.[192] Boner was a Dominican monk from Bern and lived in the first half of the fourteenth century.[193] The *Edelstein* is thought to have been written around 1350 and is the first collection of Aesopian fables attributable to a known author in the German language.[194] Boner adapted his source material freely, expanding it widely in order to combine both edification and entertainment.[195] His collection is noteworthy for its overarching moralising stance which is articulated through the opening and concluding fables, as well as the presence of a prologue and epilogue.[196]

The widespread popularity of the original German source would have been a determining factor in the transmission process of the material to Jewish audiences. Ulrich Boner's *Der Edelstein* was an extremely popular German text, as witnessed by its widely disseminated manuscript tradition. We know of at least thirty six manuscripts and two printed editions, spanning a period from 1411 to 1462.[197] The majority of the surviving manuscripts date

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[192] Klaus Grubmüller, 'Boner' in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1978), vol.I, p. 949. For a classification of the *Edelstein* fables, see Dicke and Grubmüller, *Katalog der Fabeln,* p. 842.
[193] Ibid., p. 947.
[194] Ibid., p. 949.
[195] *Der Edelstein: Faksimile der ersten Druckausgabe Bamberg 1461*, ed. and with an introduction by Doris Fouquet (Stuttgart: Müller and Schindler, 1972), vol I., p. 8.
[196] Grubmüller, 'Boner', pp. 949-950.
[197] Ulrike Bodemann and Gerd Dicke, 'Grundzüge einer Überlieferungs- und Textgeschichte von Boners Edelstein' in *Deutsche Handschriften 1100-1400*, ed. Volker Honemann and Nigel Palmer, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1988), p. 436.

back to the second third of the fifteenth century. It is also during this period of time that the manuscript transmission of *Der Edelstein* spanned the widest geographical area.[198] The *Edelstein* was printed in Bamberg by Albrecht Pfister in 1461.[199] Reprinted in 1463/4, Boner's *Edelstein* was the first German printed book popular enough for a second printing.[200] Such popularity would have increased the potential for moments of contact between the German text and Jews living in Germany. Despite its great popularity however, it is generally accepted that transmission of Boner's text did not continue beyond 1462 as a result of the increasing popularity of Steinhöwel's *Esopus* - first printed in Ulm in 1476.[201] Gerd Dicke has listed at least sixty three printed editions of the *Esopus*, spanning a period of time from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century,[202] which established the *Esopus* as a literary presence against which the rather more archaic *Edelstein* could no longer compete.[203]

III. Jewish printing in sixteenth century Italy

By the sixteenth century, Italy was at the centre of the Hebrew printing world. [204] Compared to the rest of Europe at the time, Northern Italy in general, and Venice in particular, boasted a significant amount of religious tolerance, which appealed to printers of Hebrew books from all over Europe and consequently encouraged the development of printing houses.[205] Heller lists Bologna, Cremona, Fano, Ferrara, Genoa, Mantua, Ortona, Padua, Pesaro, Rimini, Riva di Trento, Rome, Sabbioneta, Venice and Verona as Italian

198 Bodemann and Dicke, 'Grundzüge', p. 436.
199 See introduction to the facsimile edition for an analysis of the *Edelstein*'s printing history, as well as Sabine Häussermann, *Die Bamberger Pfisterdrucke: Frühe Inkunabelillustration und Medienwandel* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 2008).
200 A.E Wright, *'Hie lert uns der meister' – Latin Commentary and the German Fable 1350-1500*, (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), p. 107.
201 On the success of Steinhöwel's *Esopus*, see 'Vom Erfolg des Esopus' in Gerd Dicke, *Heinrich Steinhöwels 'Esopus' und seine Fortsetzer*, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994), 116-125.
202 Ibid., p. 369.
203 On the *Edelstein*'s inability to compete with Steinhöwel's *Esopus*, see Dicke, *Steinhöwels 'Esopus',* p. 122.
204 For an introduction to Hebrew printing see *The Hebrew Book: An Historical Survey*, ed. Raphael Posner and Israel Ta-Shema (Keter Publishing House Jerusalem: Jerusalem, 1975)
205 Marvin Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book: an Abridged Thesaurus* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), vol. I, p. xiv.

places of publication of Hebrew books in the sixteenth century.[206] Unfortunately, it has proved difficult to find a list or number of actual printing houses in Italy that did publish Hebrew books. Although Heller gives an extensive overview of the Hebrew printing industry in sixteenth century Italy, he does not provide us with a definitive number of printing houses. This is probably because it would be difficult to account for them considering the extensive movements across Italy and the rest of Europe printers underwent, as well as the fact that the main producers of Hebrew books in Italy were Christian printing presses that worked in association with Hebrew printers.[207]

Hacker and Sheer estimate the number of Hebrew editions printed in Italy between 1540 and 1639 to be 5630.[208] Heller, narrowing his chronology to the sixteenth century only but widening the geographical span to everywhere, lists approximately 2700, although he focuses his thesaurus on 455 entries only.[209] This number does not include Yiddish works, works in the vernacular set in Hebrew type, or works by Christian Hebraists.[210]

The Italian ban on Jewish typesetters further enforced the need for Christian/Jewish partnerships in Jewish book production. Typesetters would work from a copy book prepared earlier. Ideally, a Jewish corrector would then check the type before the print was run. If the run was already underway, the Jewish corrector would have to resort to stop press corrections, which would account for variations within one same printed edition. The use of Christian typesetters who may not have understood what they were setting in type was a problem during Jewish holy days and the Sabbath: if the Jewish corrector was not available at the time of printing, the uncorrected pages were printed. This elicited

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[206] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book,* vol. II, pp. 923-926.
[207] *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy* ed. by Joseph R. Hacker and Adam Shear (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), p. 6.
[208] Ibid., p. 2.
[209] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol.I, p. xiii.
[210] Stephen Burnett estimates around two thousand Christian Hebrew imprints to have been printed between 1501 and 1660 in *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era (1500-1660): Authors, Books, and the Transmission of Jewish Learning* (Brill: Leiden, 2012), p. 6.

frustration in Jewish editors, as evidenced by the presence in thirty two prefaces of complaints that errors in the editions were due to uncircumcised workers.[211]

Against the backdrop of the Counter Reformation, it is not surprising that Hebrew and Yiddish printing were also subject to censorship in the Italian states.[212] Although the banning of problematic material started off with the burning of the Talmud in Rome on the 9th September 1553,[213] the progressive institutionalisation of censorship meant that both internal and external forms of censorship occurred through the expurgation of printed books, and the removal of sensitive material prior to the printing process.[214] Although it would be easy to read the censorship of Hebrew books solely in terms of majority oppression of a minority, Raz-Krakotzkin successfully examines the complex nuances of this censorship by emphasising that it was levelled at all types of (non-Jewish) book production. Raz-Krakotzkin also discusses two additional points of interest: first, that the boundary between editing and censoring was often blurred by the collaborative process between Jews, Christians, and converts in the printing press. Second, the institutionalisation of censorship effectively allowed for the authorisation and legitimisation of the production and dissemination of Jewish knowledge. Indeed, Raz-Krakotzkin lists

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211 Marvin J. Heller, *Studies in the Making of the Early Hebrew Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 267 ; Burnett speculates that Johannes Buxtorf the Elder was probably the anonymous Jew responsible for correcting galley proofs on Saturdays who was criticized in the prefaces of some of the Waldkirch editions in Stephen G. Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564-1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 40.

212 Although it is important to note that censorship of Hebrew manuscripts existed, as evidenced by one censor's signature on seventeen Hebrew manuscripts. See Nurit Pasternak, 'Marchion in Hebrew Manuscripts: State Censorship in Florence, 1472' in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, 26-55.

213 On the Church and censorship of the Talmud in sixteenth century Italy, see Fausto Parente's "The Index, The Holy Office, The Condemnation of the Talmud and Publication of Clement VIII's Index" in *Church , Censorship and Culture in Early Modern Italy* ed. by Gigliola Fragnito, trans. by Adrian Belton (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001), 163-193.

214 The Roman Jewish community appointed five rabbis to oversee the expurgation of sensitive material in 1553 and communal authorities of Ferrara decided in 1554 that the prior approval of three rabbis was needed before publication of books that had heretofore not been published, Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin, *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*, translated by Jackie Feldman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 90,117. See also "Sixteenth-Century Jewish Internal Censorship of Hebrew Books" by Joseph R. Hacker in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, 109-120.

examples of communities seeking out censors in order to ensure that both their production and possession of books was given an official mark of approval.

The scale of Yiddish production in Italy is difficult to establish for certain. Very little recent scholarship has dealt with the printing of Yiddish books in early modern Italy. Shmeruk argues that there is surviving information on 33 Yiddish books printed in Italy between 1545-1609.[215] Since a total of 120 Yiddish books are known to have been printed from 1530-1609, Italy accounts for 27% of Yiddish book production. Shmeruk also notes that since Yiddish books were not preserved as carefully as Hebrew ones, many titles are lost and are known only as references in secondary literature.[216] This also means that we may never know the true extent of Yiddish printing in sixteenth century Italy. However, Ashkenazic (and therefore presumably Yiddish-speaking) printers were already involved in Hebrew printing in fifteenth century Italy.[217]

As with Hebrew, establishing how many printing houses in Italy published books in Yiddish is not without its problems. Indeed, since it is likely that we will never know the full extent of the Yiddish catalogue printed in sixteenth century Italy, it follows that we may never be certain of the exact number of printing houses involved in the printing of Yiddish books. However, a look at the catalogue of extant manuscripts and printed editions originating from Italy found in *Yiddish in Italia* gives a number of at least four in Venice, one in Cremona, two in Mantua, and one in Verona.[218]

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[215] Chone Shmeruk, "Yiddish Printing in Italy" in *Yiddish in Italia*, p. 171.
[216] Ibid., p. 171.
[217] *The Hebrew Book: An Historical Survey*, pp. 87-96.
[218] Venice: printing houses of Giovanni di Gara, Giovanni Calleoni, Daniel Zanetti, Lorenzo Pradotto (?), and Daniel Adelkind) ; Cremona: Vincenzo Conti printing house ; Mantua: Filippone's printing house as well as Venturino Ruffinelli's ; Verona: Francesco dalle Donne.

The case of the *Kuhbukh*'s printing exemplifies the co-operation between Christian and Jews in the printing industry of Italy. The *Kuhbukh* was printed in 1595 at the printing house of the Gentile Francesco dalle Donne, the first printing house in Verona to issue Hebrew books, active since 1592.[219] Dalle Donne's press printed Hebrew books over three years and only in partnership with Jewish publishers. Two of his known associates were Abraham Bat-Sheva and Jacob Bak. Heller suggests that the true number of Hebrew and Yiddish books produced by the dalle Donne press may remain unknown.[220] Dalle Donne's printing press, however, remains a unique instance of an Italian printing house producing more Yiddish titles than Hebrew ones. A noteworthy title published by the dalle Donne and Bat-Sheva pair was the Yiddish adaptation of *Paris und Viena* in 1594. Shmeruk has argued convincingly that Bat-Sheva's role in the KB was as publisher only. Having required the services of Joseph Heilperin to translate the *Ma'amadot* into Yiddish (1592), it is unlikely that Bat-Sheva would have been in any position to translate, let alone compose, the KB.[221] The printing of Hebrew and Yiddish books in the dalle Donne press came to an end once Bat-Sheva left for Salonika in 1595.

IV. The *Kuhbukh*'s literary context

The presence of the *Kuhbukh* on the sixteenth century Yiddish literary scene was the culmination of three main factors: the widespread popularity of the fable as a literary form in both Jewish and Gentile communities, the subsequent acceptability of the German material, as well as the further availability of its two other Hebrew sources.

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219 Heller, 'A Little-Known Chapter', p. 335. Heller's article provides a detailed history of Bat-Sheva's life in the printing industry.
220 Ibid., p. 336.
221 Shmeruk, 'Yiddish Printing in Italy', p. 176.

The receptivity of Jewish audiences to the fable in sixteenth-century Italy can be explained by the prominence of the *genre* in Hebrew literary tradition. Along with the *mayse*, a short form of prose akin to the *exemplum*,[222] the fable – or *beispil* in Yiddish – constituted a significant part of Hebrew didactic fiction and aimed to combine the entertaining with the edifying.[223] Both the *mayse* and the *beispil* combine a short tale followed by a shorter epilogue that usually admonishes the reader and serves as a didactic lesson. However, an important distinction must be made between the didactic claims of the *mayse* and the *beispil*. Whereas the *mayse* tended to constitute an essential component of the homiletic discourse on the Sabbath and other Jewish holy days, provided a basis for religious instruction, was used as an illustration for the teachings of the day, and served as the starting point for interpretations of the biblical texts; the early modern *beispil* had fewer claims to such edification.[224] Indeed, the preface of the *Mayse-bukh*, printed in Basel in 1602, censures the *Kuhbukh* and refers to it as an impious work of fiction.[225] This censure must however be understood in terms of commercial competition: by criticizing the KB, the publisher of the MB hoped to displace it. Nevertheless, the preface of the *Kuhbukh* does hint at its own entertainment factor. By referring to the culinary excesses of festivities, it presents itself as another item to be consumed whilst feasting:

> wu man est un trinkt mein ru do schaft
> un wu man tut tanzen un springen
> bei di bröuleft leit wu man tut singen
> un tragen gute fükßen un marderen schouben
> ach eßen si öpel biren nüs un trouben
> hüner wachtlen mit kapone

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[222] On the *exemplum* in the Middle Ages, see Nigel F. Palmer, 'Exempla', *Medieval Latin. An Introduction and Bibliographical guide*, ed. Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and Athur George Rigg, (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 582-588 and Monika Studer, *Exempla im Kontext: Studien zu deutschen Prosaexempla des Spätmittelalters und zu einer Handschrift der Straßburger Reuerinnen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).
[223] Jean Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, trans. by Jerold C. Frakes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 296.
[224] For a concise introduction to the *mayse* in Jewish literature, see Jacob Meitlis, *The Ma'aseh in the Yiddish Ethical Literature*, (London: Shapiro Valentine & Co, 1958)
[225] *Eyn shön Mayse bukh*, pp. 4-5.

gale de indjje türtel-touben un melone
kü un kelber un gais
schof un rinder un alerlaih flaisch
karpfen troute un karpjoni
far-zis lokschen markaroni
oljjade mit gesalzene pfisch
un guten wein genung ouf den tisch
er seit rot oder weis
das man ach nit für-gest das dür-vlaisch (...) (KB, 3v)

Reflecting the contemporary Jewish interest in fables was the print circulation of the KB's two additional Hebrew sources. As noted earlier in this chapter, the MK's Hebrew edition was printed in Brescia (1491) and Venice (1547), whilst Berechiah's fables were first printed in Mantua in 1559. This availability paved the way for the KB's author to merge fables from three distinct traditions into one cohesive collection. The attested popularity of the fable in both Hebrew and Yiddish during the sixteenth century would have provided the ideal backdrop for the transmission of German narrative material that fell within the parameters of such a well-received literary form in Jewish communities.

However, the reception of Boner material into the Jewish literary canon was not solely the result of a predetermined Jewish interest in fables. Indeed, Yiddish literature should also be understood as part and parcel of wider European literary trends. While the fable as a didactic rhetorical form was consistently prominent in Jewish literature, the appearance of the *Kuhbukh* in the second half of the sixteenth century also tied in with the continuing popularity of fable and *exempla* in literature in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. This period witnessed the publication of some of the most notable German collections of fables and *exempla* such as Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Esopus* (1476), Johannes Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* (1522)[226] and Burkhart Waldis's *Esopus* (1548).[227] The fable, in both German and Latin, was a flexible narrative format that lent itself to a variety of confessional, rhetorical and political

[226] Yumiko Takahashi, *Die Komik der Schimpf-Exempel von Johannes Pauli: eine textpragmatische Analyse frühneuhochdeutscher Predigterzählungen*, (Freiburg: Hochschulverlag, 1994) p. 1.
[227] Burkhart Waldis' *Esopus* was also published in Frankfurt am Main in 1555, 1557, 1560, 1565 and 1584. Ludger Lieb, *Erzählen an den Grenzen der Fabel*, (Frankfurt: Lang, 1996), p. 244.

uses.[228] Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that the Aesopic fable had gone through a revival in Renaissance Italy, starting with new Latin translations of Greek texts in the fifteenth century. This led to the emergence of the philosophical fable written by Leon Battista Alberti, Bartolomeo Scala, Leonardo da Vinci etc.[229] This Italian interest effectively ensured that the fable genre permeated every cultural and geographical sphere key to the production of the KB.

V. Issues of transmission

Even in light of the fables' pervasive popularity throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, there is nevertheless something rather puzzling about the sudden appearance of fourteenth century German literary material in northern Italian Jewish printing of the sixteenth century. However, its appearance may potentially be explained when looking at the immigration patterns of German Jews in the Middle Ages. Communities of Yiddish-speaking Jews emigrated from Germany to Italy as early as the fourteenth century and this immigration continued into the 16th century and the defeat of Venice by the league of Cambrai in 1509.[230] The Ashkenazic communities who moved from Germany to Italy spoke and read in Yiddish well into the seventeenth century.[231] It is therefore not inconceivable that the Ashkenazic Jews who moved to Italy from Germany took with them the popular culture of their country of origin. The difficulty in assessing the transmission of Boner material is further compounded by the fact that it would not have been possible

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228 See Adalbert Elschenbroich's *Die deutsche und lateinische Fabel in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1990) for an overview of the fable's different usages during the early modern period.
229 See *Renaissance Fables: Aesopic Prose by Leon Battista Alberti, Bartolomeo Scala, Leonardo da Vinci, Bernardino Baldi*, translated with an introduction and notes by David Marsh (Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies: Tempe, 2004).
230 For an analysis of immigration patterns of Jews to Italy, see Robert Bonfil*, Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, pp.19-79.
231 Katz, *Book of Fables*, p. 16.

for the KB to have been based on the Bamberg editions of the *Edelstein*. Timm has successfully demonstrated that the KB contains certain verses and whole fables from the Boner manuscript tradition that are not found in the Bamberg print edition.[232]

i. Potential transmission scenarios for the Boner material

Two broad scenarios for the transmission of the material from Germany to Italy can be outlined, which, although entirely hypothetical, would have been possible in the context of German and Italian links in the middle of the 16th century.

1) **An exclusively Jewish transmission from Germany to Italy**
   Considering the patterns of Jewish immigration from Germany to Italy, it is possible that a German Jew migrating to Italy could be responsible for the transmission of Boner material to Italy.[233] The 1595 Mantuan census of Jewish libraries is a testimony to Jewish book and manuscript ownership in sixteenth century Italy over a spectrum of professions and classes. Additionally, this census shows that Jews were in possession of a variety of Gentile secular literature. Federica Francesconi cites the examples of the banker Moses Modena who submitted three different lists of his books. Modena declared 145 Hebrew books, but more startlingly, he also listed a hundred other non-Hebrew titles. They comprised "forbidden or censored classics, including a folio Bible in Spanish, *De Vanitate* by Cornelius Agrippa 'in lingua italica', a book by Raymond Lull, a *Lexicon Greco* printed in Basel in 1548, and Boccaccio's *Decameron*."[234] Francesconi also discusses case from 1636, during which the inquisitor Giacomo da Lodi found books belonging to the Jewish Allegra Poggetti which had been hidden in a cupboard. Amongst these hidden titles were Boccaccio's *Genealogia degli Dei*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Dante's *Divina Commedia*.[235] Allegra's reading habits were

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[232] Timm, 'Die Fabel', p. 161

[233] "Jewish migration long preceded the end of the fifteenth century in both western and eastern Europe. From as early as 1348, large numbers of Jews moved eastward to Poland and Lithuania and southward to Italy. They arrived in Italy and primarily settled in the regions of Piedmont and the Veneto. They were followed by Jewish immigrants from southern France at the end of the fourteenth century, by Italian Jews moving into central and northern Italian cities from the South, and eventually by the exiles from Spain and Portugal, from the papal territories in 1569 and from the duchy of Milan in 1597. Given the instability of Jewish economic life in northern and central Italy, internal migrations of usurers and other Jews were commonplace, thus creating a relatively mobile Jewish population long before the establishment of the ghetto system throughout the Italian Peninsula in the second half of the sixteenth century." Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, p. 26.

[234] Francesconi, 'Dangerous Readings', p. 138.

[235] Ibid., p. 152.

not out of place: the introduction to *Sefer mizvot nashim* printed in Padua in 1625 warns of the harm done to women who read Ariosto, the *Decameron*, *Amadis de Gaula*, etc.[236] This exclusively Jewish transmission could have also occurred through Jewish printers. Their travel across the Alps with printing materials and book stocks is well documented, as discussed below.

2) Christian to Jewish transmission from Germany to Italy

There were strong communities of German Gentiles who moved to Italy in the same areas as German Jews. The mobility that resulted from constant immigration "produced less enduring, more sporadic and chance encounters among Jews of various ethnic and religious backgrounds and between Jews and non-Jews. Jews and Christians regularly engaged each other in commerce and other casual exchanges in Italian cities when the ghetto gates were open during the day."[237]

However, given both the levels of interaction between Gentile and Jewish printers and the presence of German printers in Italy, it is more likely for a Christian to Jew transmission to have occurred through the printing industry, either in Germany or in Italy. Marvin Heller lists German towns that printed Hebrew books for the use of Christian-Hebraists in the early sixteenth century amongst which were: Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, Hagenau, Hamburg, Wittenberg, Augsburg and Isny.[238] These printers would have worked in conjunction with a Jewish typesetter, proof reader or publisher on a short-term contract as established by Burnett in his study of German printing centres producing Hebrew books.[239] Heller also mentions Anshelm, a German engraver and printer who was the first German printer to successfully use Hebrew types, which were probably based on Italian models.[240] Ruderman characterises the print shop as "an intimate space of non-belligerent encounter between Jews and Christians."[241] Heller hypothesises that Hayyim Schwarz must have worked in conjunction with a non-Jewish printer during his first stay in Augsburg in 1533,[242] and Hans-Jörg Künast argues, based on correspondence to the town's mayor, that he would have actually lived in the house of the preacher and theologian Boniface Wolfart.[243] Künast also points out that the lack of Jewish communities in both Augsburg and Isny would have meant a high level of interaction between Jewish and Christian

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236 Francesconi, 'Dangerous Readings', p. 153.
237 Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, p. 40.
238 Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol.I, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.
239 For an analysis of German and Jewish printer interactions in Germany see: Stephen G. Burnett, 'German Jewish Printing in the Reformation Era (1530-1633)' in *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth Century Germany*, ed. by Dean Phillip Bell and Stephen Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 503-527 ; and Hans-Jörg Künast, 'Hebräisch-jüdischer Buchdruck in Schwaben' in *Landjudentum im deutschen Südwesten während der Frühen Neuzeit* ed. Rolf Kießling and Sabine Ullmann, (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1999), 277-299.
240 Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol.I p. xxxiv.
241 Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry*, p. 109.
242 Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, p. xxxv
243 Künast, 'Hebräisch-jüdischer Buchdruck in Schwaben', p. 283.

> printers working in the presses.[244] Another famous example of a Gentile-Jewish printing partnership was Elijah Levita who worked in Paulus Fagius' Isny press as well as Daniel Bomberg's press in Venice.[245] Around the same time, in Italy, Jewish printers worked in the printing presses of the Christians Daniel Bomberg, Venturin Rufinelli, Vincenzo Conti, Carlo Quirino, Alvise Bragadin etc., further highlighting the extent to which interaction between Gentiles and Jews was facilitated by – and central to – the printing industry.

Both scenarios of transmission rely greatly on high levels of interaction and mobility between countries and men. It is difficult to assess which scenario may have been more likely, especially given these high levels of contact. However, it is possible to argue that the earlier the transmission of Boner material from Germany to Italy occurred, the likelier it would have happened outside of the printing industry via manuscript form. An early transmission could explain why only twenty two out of the hundred known Boner fables made it to Italy.

i. Anshel Levi

Attempts to account for the transmission of the Boner material into Yiddish through the KB are further complicated by the existence of another Yiddish version of Boner's fable LXXXII in a Lombard manuscript dating from 1579 and ascribed to Anshel Levi.[246] The existence of this manuscript also informs any discussion concerning the Boner fable 'von einem Pfaffen und von einem Esel' which is instantly recognisable through the preservation of the opening rhyming couplets and further surviving passages throughout the entire Anshel Levi fable. In this fable, a vain cleric is convinced his singing is beautiful until a woman starts weeping when she hears him sing. When prompted, she explains to the priest that his voice reminds her of her beloved donkey, who was recently eaten by

[244] Künast, 'Hebräisch-jüdischer Buchdruck', p. 299.
[245] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, p. xxxvi.
[246] Dreeßen, 'Edelstein – Splitter', p. 241.

wolves. The cleric is shamed, and never sings again. Below are the two versions of this fable. The bold script in this table highlights close parallels between the two texts.

Boner, LXXXII	**Anshel Levi**[247]
Ein pfaf was jung un dâ bî kluog,	**ain melech der war stolz un der bei klug,**
als noch pfaffen ist **genuog.**	as ir hören wert sein **genug.**
er war stolz und hôch **gemuot,**	jung war er un wol **gemut,**
sîn stimme dûcht in harte guot.	**sein stim dünkt in von herzen gut.**
ûf singen er gevlizzen was:	**ouf singen hat er erbait,**
er wand, daz nieman sunge baz	doch was er ouf singen berait
den er: des was er gar gemeit.	**un er went, es seng nimant baß.**
mit singen hât er erebeit;	ouf das singen er gevlißen was.
iedoch was er gesanges vol.	was er al ding tet wol,
wie ez doch nicht geviele wol	noch gevil sein singen niemant wol.
den liuten, doch er dickesang;	darüber er vil den sang,
des in sîn narrekeit betwang.	**des in sein natouer bezwang.**
nu kam ez von geschicht also,	**nun kan von geschicht aso,**
daz er sang âne maze hô	das er sang ain lid aso.
ûf dem altar. **Dô stuont dâ bî**	**do bei was ain edele vrauen,**
ein vrowe, diu hât er esellî	**di hat ain eselen ver loren.**
verlorn vor an dem dritten tage.	**ir wainen was groß**
si wênde vast, **grôz was ir klage.**	on zal un on moß
dô si der pfaffe weinen sach,	un ach ir klag,
vil güetlich er dô zuozir sprach;	var wor ich das sag.
'sagent, vrowe, was meinet daz.	do der melech si wainen sach,
daz iuwer ougen sint sô naz?'	gütig lichen er zu ir sprach:
er wând , ir waer gevallen în	**'sagt ,vrau, was maint das,**
ein andâcht von der stimme sin,	**daß ir aso an öueren augen seit naß?'**
und sprach: 'sol ich iu singen mê?'	er maint, ir wer aso wol gevalen sein.
'nein ir, hêrre; ez tuot mir wê.'	er sprach: 'sol ich singen mê?'
'wâ von? daz solt ir mir nu sagen.'	si sprach: 'her , mir ist ser we!'
'gern, hêr' sprach si: **'ich muoz iu klagen**	si sagt: **'ich mus öuch klagen,**
wâ von ich geweinet hân.	warum si sein naß, mein augen,
mîn esel, der mir vil wol kan,	warum ich gewaint hon:
den hânt die wolf verezzen:	ain esel is mir kumen von dan,
des mag ich nicht vergezzen.	**den haben mir di welf gevreßen,**
wenn ir singent sô gar hêrlich,	**den kan ich nit ver geßen.**
so ist iuwer stimme gelîch	**wen ir singt aso herlich,**
der stimme, die mîn esel hât:	an mein esel der mant ir mich,
sô manent ir mich ûf der stât	ouf der stat schrei ich: ô du esel mein!
an minen esel. hêrre min,	**mich ver wundert ser, wi das möcht gesein,**
mich wundert, wie daz müge sin,	**daß öuer stim is aso gleich**
daz iuwer stimme sô gelîch	meinem esel, her aso reich.'
mîs esels ist; daz wundert mich.'	**der melech wurd geschent,**
der üppig pfaffe wart geschant:	**as ain esel stim wurd er der kent.**
sîn eselstimme wart erkant,	**doch gevil er im selbert wol,**
doch er geviel im selber wol,	**as bilig ain esel sol.**
als billich noch ein esel sol.	as das sprich wort sagt: an tanzen un an oren

[247] For reasons of accessibility, I have used Dreeßen's transcription of the Anshel Levi version of the fable, as found in 'Edelstein – Splitter'.

Boner, LXXXII	**Anshel Levi[247]**
Wer waent, daz er der beste sî, dem wont ein gouch vil nâhen bî. mich wundert, daz daz ôre stât sô stat nâch dem munde, und nicht vervât, daz ieman welle erkennen sich und sîne stimme; des wundert mich. ez waenet manger singen wol, des stimmehert ist unde hol, und brieschet als der esel tuot. hôrt er sich selben (daz waer guot) mit vrömder liuten ôren, er würd nicht zeinem tôren; als disem pfaffen ist geschehen. ouch hoer ich vil der liuten jehen: der übel singt, der singet vil; menglîchen er ertouben wil.	do der kent man di toren. darum is schweigen ain kunst, reden bringt un gunst. do mit wil ich des machen ain enden. got sol uns Moschiah bald senden! do welen mir in loben mit süßer stimen, daß es in den wolken wert der klingen. das wert hören al di welt un weren sagen: 'das gesang uns werlich wol gevelt!' das sol sein bald in unseren tagen. darouf sol iderman omen sagen!'

The existence of this Yiddish version indicates that the transmission of Boner material to northern Italian Jewish communities must have occurred at least some time before 1579. The Anshel Levi version's reference to a king rather than a cleric, coupled with the likelihood of a 1555 edition, means that it is unlikely that the 1579 manuscript version would have been a source for the KB version. This is further compounded by the fact that twenty two fables from the KB are derived partly or entirely from Boner. It would not make sense for the author of the KB to use one particular source for a Boner fable, and then another for the twenty one remaining fables.

The Anshel Levi fable cannot conclusively inform us as to how the transmission – either written or oral – of the Boner material occurred. Indeed, as the above comparative table shows, the textual similarities between the two versions are fragmentary and intermittent. A few sentences have survived in their entirety and a few rhyming pairs survive without the rest of the original sentence. This is simply not enough to ascertain that the transmission of Boner material occurred in written form. As the next chapter will show, the survival of phrases from the Boner fables is not uncommon. Where the Anshel Levi fable does differ from the KB fables is the amount of surviving Boner fragments. An argument could be potentially be made that considering the Boner fragments that have survived in both the

KB and the Anshel Levi fable over a span of twenty two fables, it is more likely that the Yiddish adaptors had access to a written version rather than relying on an individual committing to memory over twenty German fables. However, in the face of inconclusive evidence, this argument remains entirely speculative.

The difficulty in assessing the relationship between Anshel's fable and the KB is further compounded by the proverb concluding Anshel's fable which also occures in the KB fable V. Anshel Levi's fable corresponds to the KB fable VI. The proverb 'an tanzen un an oren do der kent man di toren' that concludes Anshel's fable is found in the KB story of a fox tricking a crow into dropping his cheese: 'an tanzen un an oren/ kent man fil menchen naren un toren.'(KB V, 9^{v}) The KB recognises that the story of the crow tricked out of his cheese as a result of his vanity presents similar themes to the vain singing cleric by stating at the beginning and end of fable VI that the moral of the previous fable is applicable to the cleric's tale: 'also gleich in sölchen gedon/ wil ich eich ain ander bei-spil wißen lon' (KB, 9^{v}), 'das bei-spil is nun gleich as das erst is gewesen/ das ir hot für disem gelesen.' (KB, 10^{r})

The reoccurrence of the same proverb within the context of similarly themed fables in both Anshel Levi and the KB speaks for a possible close connection between the two. However, it would not have been possible for the Anshel Levi version to be derived from a putative 1555 edition of the *Kuhbukh*, since the Anshel Levi version displays textual similarities with the original Boner fable that are not found in the existing 1595 version (see earlier discussion of Rosenzweig's article). It seems possible that a Yiddish collection of some of the Boner fables, preserving many textual similarities with the Boner fables, but already framed by Jewish specific epimyths existed pre-1555. This putative Yiddish version, or *ur-Kuhbukh*, would have been the source of both the 1579 Anshel Levi and the KB fables derived from Boner and would account for both the textual similarities to Boner, as

well as the presence of the proverb contained in Anshel Levi's manuscript and the 1595 edition.

ii. Dürer or not Dürer

A quote in one of the KB fables attributed to an existing Dürer design in the Nuremberg town hall would seem to provide additional information regarding the time frame of adaptation of the KB from its German source. Fable XVIII refers to a proverb that, the sheep protagonist informs us, can be found in the town hall of Nuremberg: 'aines mans red is ain halbe red / ous-genumen man hört si bed/ aso stet zu Nürnberg am rot-house geschriben.' (KB, XVIII, 25ᵛ). In his critical apparatus, Eli Katz notes that 'the inscription forms part of a fresco in the main hall of the *Rathaus* painted in 1520 after a design by Dürer.'[248] The Nuremberg town hall proverb reads as follows: 'eins manns red ist eine halbe red. Man soll die Teyl verhören bed.' To support the statement that this proverb is found in a Dürer fresco, Katz references Headlam's *The Story of Nuremberg*, specifically pages 155 and 156.[249]

This attribution to Dürer initially seems propitious as it would narrow down the timeline of the *Kuhbukh*'s composition. However, upon further research, it becomes apparent that Katz has misinterpreted Headlam and wrongly associated the proverb with Dürer.

Headlam mentioned Dürer's designs on two accounts:

> In 1514 new rooms were added. They were mostly by Hans Behaim and are very good specimens of late Gothic. In 1520 the Rathaus Hall was renovated and altered and the side walls were painted after Dürer's designs, by Georg Pencz and other pupils of the master. The hall was again restored and adorned with new pictures in 1613.[250]
>
> The principal staircase leads to the Great Hall or Council Chamber already referred to. The arched wooden ceiling dates from 1521. The hall is 130 feet long and 40 feet wide and contains the chandeliers and the paintings after Dürer's designs mentioned above. The latter, on the north wall, have been much spoiled by the effects of time and of

[248] Katz, *Book of Fables*, p. 286.
[249] Cecil Headlam, *The Story of Nuremberg* (J.M Dent & Sons: London, 1911)
[250] Ibid., p. 155.

> incompetent restoration. The first of them represents the Triumphal Car of Maximilian I. drawn by twelve horses. Victory holds a laurel wreath over the Emperor, who is attended by the various Virtues. Behind the car follows an animated procession of Nuremberg town musicians. The second design is on the well-worn subject of Calumny – Midas with his long ears sitting in judgement on Innocence who is accused by Calumny, Fraud, Envy, and so forth, whilst in the background appear Punishment, Penitence, and Truth. On the right of the judge (our left) who sits between Ignorance and Suspicion, are the words: *Nemo unquam sententiam ferat priusquam cuncta ad amussim perpenderit*, on the left the same sentiment in German: Ein Richter soll kein Urtheil geben / Er soll die Sach erforschen eben. Over the little door is written 'Eins mann red ist eine halbe red. Man soll die Teyl verhören bed.[251]

Headlam specifies the extent of Dürer's contributions to the Rathaussaal renovation: the frescoes situated on the side walls representing Maximilian I.'s Triumphal Car and the allegorical representation of Justice. Headlam does mention the integration of a proverb in Dürer's designs, however he refers to a different proverb than the one mentioned in Fable XVIII: 'Ein Richter soll kein Urtheil geben / Er soll die Sach erforschen eben.' The proverb that does concern us is not located on the side walls, but rather above a little door. It seems then, that Katz interpreted what was in fact a continuous description of the totality of the Rathaussaal to be an inventory of Dürer's contributions. As a result, he ascribed the inscription above the door to Dürer, which in turn constituted an erroneous basis for a timeline of the *Kuhbukh*'s composition.

The rush to establish this timeline of transmission should therefore be tempered in light of Katz's misunderstanding of Headlam. However, further research on the subject does bring some additional information concerning the proverb which could be of interest. Ernst Mummenhoff provides us with a photograph of the bronze inscription above the door in his study of the Nuremberg town hall.[252] He dates this particular inscription back to the restoration of the town hall in 1520. However, Mummenhoff goes on to argue that the 1520 bronze relief was most likely a replacement for the original inscription:

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[251] Headlam*, The Story of Nuremberg,* p. 156.
[252] Ernst Mummenhoff, *Das Rathaus in Nürnberg,* (Nuremberg: J.L Schrag, 1891), p. 47.

> Die vorgeschrittene gotische Schrift mit den verschlungenen Initialen, die sich in scharfem und schönen Gusse vom Grunde abhebt, sowie das fliessende Blattornament, das sie oben einfasst, lässt auf das erste Viertel des 16. Jahrhunderts; warscheinlich ist sie bei der grossen Saalrestauration 1520/1521 an Stelle einer älteren eingesetzt worden.[253]

Mummenhoff's argument that the inscription in the Nuremberg town hall dates back to earlier than 1520 is consistent with what we know of the proverb's provenance and the extent to which it seems to have been widespread both chronologically and geographically.[254] It seems to have been particularly popular in town halls, such as in Frankfurt[255], Goslar[256], St Veit[257] etc.

VI. A Potential 1555 edition

However unaccountable the sudden appearance of medieval German literary material in northern Italy may be, the greatest bibliographical issue is the possibility that the KB edition of 1595 may have been a re-edition of an earlier print from 1555. There is a strong possibility that there was a prior edition to the KB edition of 1595. This initially stems from the presence on the KB titlepage of the year 1555: "nöu gedrukt woren das iderman wert gefelen gedrukt hi' in der stat Bern [Verona]: in jor das man zelt tousent un fünf hundert un füm un füfzig" (KB, 1ᵛ).

Katz lists a few of the structural flaws in the 1595 edition, arguing that they may have occurred in the process of re-edition and that they reflect the initial order of the 1555

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[253] Mummenhoff, *Das Rathaus in Nürnberg*, p. 37.
[254] For an overview of the many occurrences of this proverb, see Samuel Singer, *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1995-2002) vol. II, p. 420- 421 and *Deutsche Rechtsregeln und Rechtssprichwörter: ein Lexikon*, ed. Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand and Ulrike Schowe (Munich: Beck, 1996), p. 235.
[255] Singer, *Thesaurus Proverbiorum Medii Aevi*, vol II, p. 421.
[256] http://www.inschriften.net/goslar/inschrift/nr/di045-0059.html
[257] http://www.stveit.carinthia.at/stveit/info_englisch/sehenswuerdigkeiten.php

edition. Katz cites the 'questionable sequences' of the two Aesopian fables XXXIV and XXXV, arguing that it is more likely that the compilation was intended to finish on the MK fables.[258] Additionally, the jarring presence of the lines "ainer sol e ain jung weib un hüpsch nemen / wen ain alte di do macht den man für-schemen" (KB, X, 15ᵛ) at the end of fable X relates in no way to the fable of the town and country mice, nor does it fit with any other fable in the collection. Katz sees the presence of this odd proverb as the "relic of an intentionally or inadvertently omitted item in an earlier version."[259]

Katz also argues that although Moses Wallich definitely used the 1595 edition as a basis for his 1697 re-edition as the *Sefer Mesholim* since he reused the illustrations, he may have also had access to the earlier edition.[260] This scenario, for Katz, would explain both how Wallich could have identified the Hebrew sources of the fables, as well as account for the corrections Wallich added to the *Sefer Mesholim* which could only have been possible through another version supplying him with a better alternative reading.[261] The presence of incomplete rhymed couplets in the KB that have been subsequently filled in the SM could also be evidence of a better and earlier edition of the KB.

The existence of a possible first edition of the *Kuhbukh* dating back to 1555 has not been settled and may never be fully resolved. However, in order to entertain the notion that the *Kuhbukh* could date back to earlier than 1595, one must assess whether or not the printing of a Yiddish book of fables could have been possible around the mid sixteenth century. I would argue that the conditions for the printing of an earlier edition in Italy were met, and set out the reasons in the following paragraphs.

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[258] Katz, *Book of Fables*, p. 11.
[259] Ibid., p. 11.
[260] Ibid., p. 13.
[261] Ibid., p. 13.

i. Conditions needed for a 1555 edition

a. Existing printing centres

Jean Baumgarten argues that Yiddish printing was only possible in geographical centres and cities where Jews had been granted the right to print Hebrew books, where communities of Jews had emigrated to and where printing had already been established.[262] The first occurrence of Yiddish printing was the *Mirkevet ha-Mishneh,* a bilingual biblical concordance published in Cracow by Asher Anshel in 1534. Yiddish printing in 1555, therefore, would not have been atypical and would have had to take place in established Hebrew printing centres.

In 1555, Northern Italy provided a strong environment for the printing of Hebrew books. At first glance, Venice would constitute an ideal candidate for the location of the *Kuhbukh*'s first edition since it was the most prominent centre of Hebrew printing. However, the printing of Hebrew books in Venice ceased temporarily between the years 1554-1563 as a result of the burning of the Talmud in 1553 under the direction of Cardinal Carafa.[263] The lull in Venetian printing meant that the smaller presses of four neighbouring northern Italian towns flourished. Printing in the towns of Ferrara, Cremona, Sabbionetta and Riva di Trento prospered as a result of the lack of Venetian competition. Of these four towns, only three are of interest to the discussion since printing in Riva di Trento only started in 1558. The Ferrara presses were active from 1551-1558, the Sabbionetta ones from 1551-1559 and the Cremona press was active from 1556-1567.[264] All three of these towns are also situated in the vicinity of Verona, the location of the 1595 edition of the *Kuhbukh*. This geographical proximity is important to note since the movement of proofreaders, editors

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[262] Baumgarten, *Introduction to Old Yiddish Literature*, p. 40.
[263] Cardinal Carafa later became Pope Paul IV, during which time he penned *Cum nimis absurdum* (14th July 1555), which marked an abrupt change in papal policy towards Jews and the beginning of Jewish segregation in ghettos.
[264] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol. II, pp. 923-925.

and printers between the various important printing centres of Italy account for the reprinting of Hebrew books in a variety of neighbouring printing towns. Sabbionetta is located 53km away from Verona, and both Cremona and Ferrara are located 83km away from Verona. The infrastructure for the printing of a Yiddish book was therefore available in mid-sixteenth century Northern Italy.

b. Jewish-Gentile interactions

Furthermore, the printing industry by 1555 was already characterised by constant movement and interaction of Jews and Gentiles from Germany and Italy, to the extent that Marvin Heller described the industry as 'peripatetic'.[265] Künast lists men of both Italian and German origin working in the Venetian book industry who had documented commercial relationships with the Augsburg printing industry between 1476-1555: Peter Liechtenstein (c.a 1500), Jacob Pencius (1502), and Lucantonio Giunta (1502).[266] The network of routes linking Germany and Italy enabling the circulation of prints, printers, and type is evidenced by Jörg Gail's *Raißbüchlin* (Augsburg: Othmar, 1563) which detailed available routes linking cities throughout Europe.[267]

Israel b. Daniel Zifroni functions as a typical example of a Hebrew printer constantly on the move: a master printer working in Basel for the Christian printer Froben in 1578, he had previously worked in Cremona and Sabbionetta and subsequently worked in Venice after his stint in Basel was over.[268] Hayyim ben David Shahor, a pioneer of Hebrew printing outside Italy, started his printing career in Prague, as early as 1512, worked in Silesia in 1530, arrived in Augsburg in 1533 and left for Italy in 1536 where he explored the

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[265] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol. I p. xiv.
[266] Künast also notes the vital role played by the Austrian book industry which functioned as a transit between German and Italian markets. Hans-Jorg Künast, *Getruckt zu Augsburg: Buchdruck und Buchhandel in Augsburg zwischen 1468 und 1555* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997), pp. 140-149; p. 156.
[267] For a detail of the routes linking Germany and northern Italy, see maps I and IV in Herbert Krüger, *Das Älteste Deutsche Routenhandbuch: Jörg Gails 'Raißbüchlin'* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1974).
[268] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol. I, p. xxxii.

possibility of printing in the town of Ferrara. He printed in Augsburg in 1540, then in Ichenhausen in 1544 and finally in Heddernheim in 1546 where he died. Shahor's death also illustrates the extent to which printing materials circulated between printing centres and printers: his fonts from Augsburg passed on to Elijah Levita (in Augsburg at the time), who subsequently used them in his own prints in Isny.[269]

c. The commercial feasibility of printed short-form prose

Additionally, there was also a documented interest in the printing of short-prose forms around the time of 1555. Aside from the contemporary printing of the *Kuhbukh's* two Hebrew sources, fable and short-prose collections were a popular feature of the Hebrew printing of the time. Erika Timm lists a 1544 Venetian print of the *Hiderot Isopeto*, a collection of Aesopic fables translated into Hebrew. The *Hibbur Yafeh me-ha Yeshu'ah* by Nissim ben Jacob Ibn Shahin was printed in 1557 in Ferrara by Abraham ibn Usque. The book is composed of stories and fables drawn "from the Babylonian and Jerusalem Talmuds, Midrashim and Arabic sources, although here all are entirely Jewish in character, about Divine Providence and the reward of the righteous."[270] It was a popular work, previously published in Constantinople in 1519, and published again in Venice in 1599. The *Iggeret Ba'alei Hayyim* by Kalonymus ben Kalonymus, an ethical work based on animal tales translated from the Arabic, was published in Mantua in 1557 by Joseph b. Jacob Shalit Ashkenazi.

d. Availability of the KB sources

Furthermore, both Hebrew sources of the *Kuhbukh* were readily available in the geographic area during this period of time. The *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* had first been published in Brescia in 1490 and again in Venice in 1547. The *Mishle Shualim* was printed in 1559 in Mantua, a

[269] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol.I, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
[270] Ibid., p. 441.

town only 34km away from Verona. Even though the dating of the *Mishle Shualim editio princeps* to 1559 may be seen as throwing a spanner in the works of a 1555 KB edition, it does not entirely scupper the hypothesis. Indeed, the print run for the MSH had started earlier in 1557, but had been put on hold as a result of restrictions on Hebrew printing in Mantua. In order to prepare for the first printed edition, at least one manuscript version of the Berechiah fables must have been in circulation in Northern Italy around 1555. Additionally, the lack of a Berechiah edition may account for why the KB fables derived from both Boner and Berechiah traditions tend to follow Boner over Berechiah: it is entirely possible that the author of the KB had knowledge of the Berechiah fables, but no hard copy from which to adapt his collection.

The necessary conditions for the printing of the *Kuhbukh* in 1555 were met: a strong printing industry in relevant geographical locations, high levels of interaction between Jews and Gentiles from Italy and Germany, a documented interest in the fable genre and the availability of the Hebrew sources of the *Kuhbukh*.

ii. Potential printers

Although it may not be possible to positively establish the identity of the man behind the first edition of the *Kuhbukh*, there is no dearth of possible candidates. As such, three men who made a mark on the world of Jewish printing and were geographically and chronologically close to a potential 1555 edition of *Kuhbukh* will be looked at in closer detail: Samuel b. Isaac Boehm, Meir b. Jacob Parenzo and Joseph b. Jacob Shalit Ashkenazi. All three of these men were active in Italy around 1555. However, what is known of them is limited to references found either on title pages of the books they printed, or in the prefaces and epilogues of the books they edited.

Samuel b. Isaac Boehm was the grandson of Hebrew and Yiddish scholar and printer Elijah Levita. To some extent, his illustrious pedigree and Ashkenazic heritage would most probably ensure that he was capable of reading and writing Yiddish. He was active as an editor at the Conti press in Cremona from 1556. His work as an editor can be found in the *Amudei Semak* (1556), in which he also wrote the preface. He edited and corrected the *Derekh Emunah* in Padua in 1562 at the Pasquato printing house. He later moved to Cracow with Prostitz in 1568. He took with him printing materials: the title page used in his *Derasho ha-Torah* (Padua, 1567) was also used in Cremona, Venice and Cracow, which would argue for Samuel Boehm's role in the circulation of Hebrew printing material throughout Europe.

Meir b. Jacob Parenzo was active in Venice at the print shop of Daniel Bomberg until he started working for the Venetian printing house of Carlo Quirino from 1546-1549. He then joined forces with the Christian printer Alvise Bragadin from 1550-1554. He resumed work in Venice in 1563, once again with Bragadin. His whereabouts during the cessation of Venetian printing are undocumented, although it seems unlikely that he would have left northern Italy considering his long stint in Venice. This would leave a window of time for him to have been active in the presses of Cremona, Ferrara and Sabbionetta. I have not been able to establish whether or not Meir Parenzo spoke Yiddish or was interested in Yiddish printing. Nevertheless, Parenzo did print the *Meshal ha-Kadmoni* in Venice in 1547, which would suggest a level of familiarity with part of the *Kuhbukh* material.

Joseph b. Jacob Shalit Ashkenazi's German origin would suggest a close association with Yiddish. Shalit was active in Sabbionetta and in Mantua and has a printing record that reflects an interest in short-form ethical prose. In Mantua of 1557, he edited the *Ben ha-Melekh ve-ha Nazir,* a story based on the Indian romance of Buddha becoming an ascetic, derived from the Arabic *Kitab Balahua wa-Budasaphar* and better known as *Barlaam and*

Josaphat. The Hebrew book is a mixture of tales, fables, maxims and proverbs in both prose and verse.[271] Shalit also printed the *Iggeret Ba'alei Hayyim* (1557), an ethical work based on animal tales. He also printed and edited the *Mishle Shualim* (Mantua, 1557-58). His printing and editing history would therefore support the idea that his printing interests potentially aligned with a putative 1555 edition of the *Kuhbukh*. With access to both Hebrew sources of the KB, as well as an interest in fables and an Ashkenazi heritage, Shalit seems a strong contender.

Without being able to determine whether any of these three men were in any way active in a potential 1555 edition of the *Kuhbukh*, this section has shown that there were no shortages of Hebrew printing presses and editors around 1555 in Italy and that an earlier edition of the KB is by no means unconceivable in light of these few paragraphs.

As this short introduction to the *Kuhbukh* has demonstrated, questions regarding the transmission of Boner material from Germany to Italy and its appearance late into the sixteenth century may never be resolved. However, this chapter has suggested a variety of potential scenarios to account for this transmission, as well as highlighted that the high levels of interaction and mobility characteristic of the printing industry in the sixteenth century would have facilitated this transmission. Furthermore, a discussion of printers and printing centres active in 1555 has demonstrated that the literary and infrastructural conditions necessary for the putative *Kuhbukh* edition of 1555 were met. A lack of resolution does not impede further study of the *Kuhbukh*; rather it may even impart it with a degree of freedom.

[271] Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, p. 119.

This thesis' focus on the KB will align with both Rosenzweig and Francesconi's criticism of the marginalisation of secular Jewish literary activity in Italy.[272] This marginalisation can be found in Bonfil's work, in which he claims that Jewish cultural activity was exclusively modelled on religious literature[273] and that the "language of cultural communication of Italian Jewish society was Hebrew and Hebrew alone."[274] Bonfil's only mention of Yiddish is within the context of its emerging literature, but fails to acknowledge the relevance of this literary production to the overall cultural activity of Jews in early modern Italy.[275] Additionally, I have yet to come across any meaningful discussion of Yiddish and Yiddish literature in the histories of Jews in Early Modern Italy that I have encountered.

The recent, yet brief, studies outlined discussed earlier in this chapter suggest that an investigation of the KB as an example of an adaptation shaped to address a different cultural context than its original model is timely. The next chapter will not only seek to fill some of the void in the *Kuhbukh*'s scholarship by providing an in-depth literary analysis of the fables derived from Boner; it will simultaneously consider the extent of the Yiddish's relationship to its German source and explore how this level of adaptation enabled the KB's author to shape his own moral framework.

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272 "Moreover, this research allows for a reconsideration of the recent claim that Italian Jewish cultural activity was based almost exclusively in texts written in Hebrew and was unquestionably modeled on religious literature." Francesconi, 'Dangerous Readings', p. 134.

273 Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, p. 147.

274 Ibid., p. 148.

275 "It is worth mentioning that the first literary monuments in Yiddish come from Italy. Venetian and Mantuan printers published the first volumes in Yiddish, destined no doubt for other European markets, but some of the Jews of Italy were certainly capable of appreciating them. Perhaps they did not speak the same variety of Yiddish as their brethren in Prague, since they would tend to interpolate words in Italian and Hebrew, just as they mingled Hebrew and Yiddish words with their Italian.", Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, p. 240.

CHAPTER TWO: A LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE *KUHBUKH*

Having discussed the *Kuhbukh's* transmission and its place in wider European contexts in the previous chapter, this next chapter will analyse the relationship between the Yiddish fables and their Ulrich Boner counterparts in order to assess the levels of adaptation put into place in the 1595 collection of fables. There are twenty-two fables in the *Kuhbukh* that have *Edelstein* material as a source, nine of which are derived exclusively from *Der Edelstein*, and thirteen of which are derived from both the Berechiah fables and the Boner corpus. The *Kuhbukh* fable XIX, a variant of the *Widow of Ephesus* fable, has been excluded from subsequent analysis as it is missing from Rosenfeld's facsimile edition of the *Kuhbukh*.[276] As a result of this exclusion, this chapter will analyse twenty-one of the *Kuhbukh* fables in light of their relationship with their German source material.

This chapter will first assess the relationship of the Yiddish fables and their German counterparts, and will follow this with a discussion of amplification and how this relates to the most extensive form of adaptation, *Wiedererzählen*. In a third section, this chapter will establish how expansion is achieved throughout the KB, at what levels of the narrative, and to what end. The fourth and final section will explore the ways in which expansion has enabled the *Kuhbukh* to shape a cohesive moral framework made relevant to its readership by the application of judaizing strategies.

[276] Rather than producing a facsimile edition of the *Kuhbukh* copy as it exists, Rosenfeld opted for continuity of the text and inserted copies of the corresponding story from Wallich's 1697 edition. As discussed in chapter I, Rosenfeld's facsimile edition is the only edition of the *Kuhbukh*. There are no other alternatives to using Rosenfeld's edition since the only extant copy of the *Kuhbukh* is missing.

I. Establishing the relationship between the *Edelstein* corpus and the *Kuhbukh*

A comparison of the Boner material with its Yiddish counterpart highlights the increase in length of the Yiddish compared to the German fables. When directly comparing the Yiddish fables to their German counterparts, the *Kuhbukh* fables are on average 90% longer than the German fables. Fable XXIV is an exception to this trend, although this is as a result of missing text rather than an attempt at shortening the fable. Interestingly, the nine fables derived exclusively from *Der Edelstein* are 63% longer than their German counterpart, but the twelve fables derived from both Berechiah and Boner are on average 118% longer than the German. This may be as a result of the presence of two parallel traditions offering wider possibilities for variation. The following table details the percentage of each fable's increase.

Fable	**Increased length of the Yiddish compared to the German (%)**
Fable I (Dog's reflection)	17.8
Fable IV (Fox and stork)	148.5
Fable V (Fox, crow and cheese)	169.4
Fable VI (Singing cleric)	**12.5**
Fable VII (Lion and thorn)	**17.2**
Fable X (Town and country mice)	203.6
Fable XI (Old lion)	92.9
Fable XII (Donkey in partnership)	**204.2**
Fable XIII (Clever doves)	17.9
Fable XIV (Belling the cat)	**39.0**
Fable XVI (Father, son and donkey)	**30.2**
Fable XVIII (Wolf as judge)	**53.5**
Fable XX (Prostitute and donkey)	**41.3**
Fable XVII (Lion and mouse)	277.3
Fable XXI (Raven in borrowed plumage)	111.0

FABLE XXII (DONKEY IN LION'S SKIN)	101.4
FABLE XXIII (DONKEY AND LAPDOG)	104.0
FABLE XXIV (JEW AND PARTRIDGE)	**175.7**
FABLE XXV (FAITHFUL WATCHDOG)	122.3
FABLE XXXIV (DONKEY MOCKS HORSE)	**-3.1**
FABLE XXXV (FIR TREE AND THORN BUSH)	50.3

Table I. Increased length of the Yiddish fable compared to its German counterpart (In %). Fables derived exclusively from *Der Edelstein* are in bold.

A caveat must be noted when looking at these numbers. These percentages do not address or account for the fact that languages work differently, which could result in a greater, or smaller, use of words when comparing to another language. Ulrike Bodemann, for example, argues that grammatical forms and the compressed syntax exclusive to Latin were difficult to translate into German. Translators of Latin texts such as Ulrich von Pottenstein relied on circumlocution and inserted explanations to translate difficult Latin words without immediate lexical German counterpart. In the same vein, some specifically Latin grammatical constructions could only be translated with the help of paraphrase and conjunctions.[277] Translation from Latin to German therefore involved syntactical and lexical pressures to expand. However, even if we allow for a linguistic component to account for some of the inflation in word number from German to Yiddish, this in itself is not sufficient to account for such a degree of expansion.

Since medieval German fable collections are often transmitted in close contact with a (Latin) source, analyses of these fables are often circumscribed by issues of translation and wider

[277] Ulrike Bodemann, *Die Cyrillusfabeln und ihre deutsche Übersetzung durch Ulrich von Pottenstein* (München: Artemis Verlag, 1988), pp. 181-182.

discussions of medieval translation principles.[278] However, the significant expansion of the Yiddish fables compared to their German counterpart is a strong indicator that the *Kuhbukh* is not a translation of some of the fables in the *Edelstein* corpus. In order to assess whether or not the *Kuhbukh* should be viewed within the framework of translation, one must establish a careful comparison of the source text and the new one. Since the 1579 Anshel Levi manuscript (detailed in chapter I) displayed undeniably close textual similarities to Boner's *Edelstein*, it would not be improbable to anticipate the presence of passages in the *Kuhbukh* that preserved entire sections of the *Edelstein.* A close comparison of the overlapping *Edelstein* and *Kuhbukh* fables would shed light on where exactly the KB could be situated on the scale of adaptation.

Katz's comparison can be used as a starting point. The critical apparatus to his edition of the *Sefer Mesholim* records a substantial number of textual similarities between the German and the Yiddish collections.[279] This, however, would not be sufficient, because Katz does not discuss his methodology for comparing the texts, and does not make explicit what he considers a similarity. Moreover, although Katz does succeed in listing an impressive amount of textual similarities between both texts, some instances (listed below) have been omitted. However, it is important to note that while Katz' work may not be a sufficient enough basis for more in-depth comparison between the German and Yiddish fables, this is because his work had a different purpose. Katz' wanted to establish the evidence of a link (whatever its nature) through strong analogies.

The limitations of Katz' collation for in-depth comparative analysis between the Boner fables and the KB emphasised the need for a renewed comparison underpinned by a stronger

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[278] On the relationship between German fables and the Latin tradition, see Klaus Grubmüller, *Meister Esopus: Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Funktion der Fabel im Mittelalter* (Artemis Verlag: München, 1977), pp.48-86 and pp.411-433. For a concise overview of early modern German discussions of translation principles in the context of fables, see Franziska Küenzlen*, Verwandlungen eines Esels: Apuleius' Metamorphoses im frühen 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2005), pp. 152-160.
[279] Katz, *Book of Fables,* pp. 271-302.

methodology. Katz' work highlighted that passages from Boner which had survived in the KB tended to be entire lines rather than clusters of words, which meant that the Boner rhyme survived alongside the rest of the sentence. A close comparison of the rhyming couplets of the two sets of fables was therefore the most efficient way to collate textual similarities. For example, when comparing Boner's fable IX to the *Kuhbukh* fable I, rhyming couplets found in Boner IX (such as grôz/verdroz, weg/steg, bach/sach) were searched for in its *Kuhbukh* counterpart, fable I. The presence of recurring rhyming couplets would help locate potential textual similarities.

However, not all rhyming couplets found in both the German and Yiddish fable can be explained by the survival of Boner lines. Some pairs are found in both the German and the Yiddish as a result of the rhymes' simplicity and the linguistic proximity of Yiddish to German. The pairs guot/muot, wol/sol, geben/leben were particularly frequent in both German and Yiddish, but were not automatically the result of source material survival. Due to the narrative content of fable I (Dog's Reflection), the rhyme hunt/munt is inevitable in both the German and the Yiddish versions. The presence of this particular rhyming couplet in both the German and Yiddish is not evidence of textual overlap between the two fables: the use of the rhyming pair in both fables is merely the result of narrative context and linguistic similarity. Textually similar passages were instances where half or all of the rhyming pair as well as the general content have survived. Below is a list of additional instances of the Boner text having survived the transmission process omitted by Katz.

	Edelstein	*Kuhbukh*
Fox and Stork	'vil lieber vriunt min, noch hiute solt du bî mir sîn wol süllen wir noch hiute leben: ein grôz wirtschaft wil ich uns geben' (l.3-6)[280]	'du guter gesel mein hout solstu nun bei mir sein mir welen gar wol mit-anander leben un gute speis wil ich dir geben' (7r)[281]

[280] Quotations for Ulrich Boner's *Der Edelstein* are from Franz Pfeiffer's edition (Leipzig: G.J.G Verlag, 1844).

Lion and Shepherd	ze sînem siechtag möchte wesen, daz er möcht an dem vuoz genesen. (l.23-24) 'und faste daz im sînen muot wi er vergelten möcht daz guot.' (l.55-56) 'zuozim gegangen, ûf der stunt kust er den hirt an sinen munt:' (l.89-90)	'un was im nüz was gewesen das er möcht genesen' (10^{v}) 'das er im möcht für-gelten das gut das dicht im der leb in seinem mut' (10^{v}) 'do kam der leb zu im ouf der selbig stund un kust im für seinem mund' (11^{r})
Father, Son and Donkey	'der eine zuo dem andern sprach, do er den knaben rîten sach' (l.23.-24)	'der ainer zu dem anderen sprach do er den knaben reiten sach' (21^{v})
Flayed Donkey	'hiez si ein esel schinden (daz solt nieman bevinden) ' (l.35-36) 'daz er doch lebende beleip. an der margt man in dô treip' 'waz munt hât und ouch reden kan, die scheltent iuch, wîp unde man.' (l.27-28)	'wi gern si wolt ain esel irgenz pfinden un wolt in schinden' (28^{r}) 'das nimant men in hous blab si den esel zu mark trab' (28^{r}) 'far-wor ich eich nit als sagen kan fun frau bis man' (SM 24^{r})[282]

Table II. Additional textual similarities between Boner and the *Kuhbukh*

Other instances also absent in Katz's appendix are more indirect and include cases which contain echoes of the original fable. Their discovery was made possible either by their proximity to surviving rhyming couplets, or by the survival of half of a rhyming couplet. Generally, the German content has only partially survived and the rhyming pair is at times incomplete.

	Edelstein	*Kuhbukh*
Flayed Donkey	'von einer vrouwen seit man daz' (l.1)	'man sagt fun ainer huren' (SM 24^{r})
Evergreen and Thorn	'wer dich anrüert: er wirt verwunt, dîn strelen ist gar ungesunt' (l.15-16)	'der dich an-rürt nöuert er blut an dich man sich sticht' (65^{r})
Horse and Donkey	'wie bald sîn schoeni was verkêrt. l.29	'wi hot sich nun di sach für-kert' (64^{v})
Donkey and Lap Dog	'daz der hunt sô grôz gemach hâte durch sîn kluogkeit' (l.18-19)	'das es seine speis aso wol möcht gewinen mit seinen klugen sinen' (30^{v})

[281] Quotations from the *Kuhbukh* in this chapter are from Professor Neuberg's unpublished working transcription. I would like to thank Professor Neuberg for his generosity in giving me permission to use his transcription. I have omitted diacritical marks from the quoted passages as this chapter deals with the literary, rather than linguistic, aspect of the Yiddish text. Since the transcription is yet to be published, I have elected to refer to folio numbers.

[282] The first section of this fable is missing from the 1595 edition. Rosenfeld inserts the *Sefer Mesholim* text instead.

Raven in Borrowed Plumage	‘er was geschant, wand er stuont blôz (l.31) ‘und zôch im ûz al sîn gevider; daz wuochs dem ruoste nie sît wider.’ (l.29-30) ‘haet der ruost nicht mê begert, denn sîn natûr in hât gewert’ (l.49-50)	‘nakt un aich blos sein schand di ward gros.’ (29^{r}) ‘bald nam er sein alt gefider er klaidet si an sein leib wider.’ (29^{r}) ‘drum sol es nimant sicher nit begeren.’ (29^{r})
Lion and Mouse	si sprach: ‘hêr, ich hânz gern getân’ (l.48)	‘ich hon nit gern wider öuch geton‘ (23^{v})
Fox, Crow and Cheese	‘ez ist noch billich, samir got! daz er hab schaden unde spot’ (l.33-34)	‘der rab hot den spot mit den schaden’ (9^{r})

Table III. Fragmentary textual similarities between Boner and the *Kuhbukh*.

Only one instance flagged up by Katz seems to be an overreach. It may be that he based his decision on the existence of the rhyming words in the *Kuhbukh* version. However, as detailed above, it is not uncommon for rhyming pairs to appear in both versions. I would argue that the reoccurrence of this particular pair in the *Kuhbukh* is simply the result of the ease of the rhyme, especially since the contents of the passages do not mirror each other.

Lion and Mouse	‘waz êren mag ein künig bejagen, üb von im wirt ein knecht erslagen’ (l.9-10)	‘wen ir mich schon het zu tot geschlagen kain er kent ir nit an mir der-jjagen‘ (23^{v})

The close analysis of the surviving rhyming couplets establishes that – except for a limited number of lines and fragments - the twenty-one Yiddish fables were entirely rewritten during the course of their adaptation from their German source. The Yiddish stories bear virtually no linguistic resemblance to Boner’s work, aside from the occasional textual fragment that has survived both transmission and adaptation. This indicates that the KB displays high levels of adaptation. Any discussion of deviation, changes or additions from the *Edelstein* fables in this chapter therefore refer to differences that occur at the narrative level, rather than at the localised linguistic one.

In general, instances where the twenty-one Yiddish fables asserted their independence from the German storyline are found in passages that have been significantly expanded. Whereas very few moments in the Yiddish narrative follow the German source closely,[283] the rest of this chapter will demonstrate that other passages are greatly expanded and rewritten in comparison to the German fable. In some instances, parts of the narrative are entirely original to the Yiddish and do not have a counterpart in the German original.[284]

II. Dilatatio Materiae and amplification

In light of its independence from Boner, the *Kuhbukh* should be understood within the context of *Wiedererzählen*, that is, an overarching poetic principle in the medieval period privileging the continuous rewriting of existing narrative material.[285] Worstbrock's distinction between *artificium* and *materia*, discussed in greater detail in the introduction is at the centre of discussions of *Wiedererzählen*. His model, however, has been critiqued by Ludger Lieb, who argues that the Worstbrock dichotomy of *artificium* and *materia* is unsatisfactory. [286] He suggests an alternative model based on the potency of the material, and distinguishes between *prima materia* or 'reine Potenz' and *secunda materia*: "das bereits Geformte, jene Potenz, die bereits eine Verwirklichung erfahren hat, aber dennoch weitere Möglichkeiten in sich trägt, die verwirklicht werden können."[287] Whereas Worstbrock saw the reworking of the *materia* as providing space and legitimacy for individual authorial creative endeavours, Lieb argues that it was the need to fulfill and reactualize the 'potency' of the material that provided the space and legitimacy. Lieb does point out that although Worstbrock's model is insufficient for courtly romances, it is appropriate for fables, where the *materia* is easily

[283] KB XVI follows the Boner narrative sequence extremely closely, which would in turn explain the extraordinary amount of textual similarities that have survived in the Yiddish.
[284] In KB X, for example, the town-mouse hears that food in the country is abundant and varied. The mouse decides to assess the situation by visiting the country-mouse. The reasoning behind the town-mouse's visit to the country-mouse in Boner is that they are relatives.

distinguishable.[288] Consequently, for the purpose of this discussion, Worstbrock's model will be used in order to assess the extent and type of retextualisation in the KB.

Worstbrock outlined two changes in the text that are central to *Wiedererzählen*: *dilatatio* and *abbreviatio*.[289] The case for using notions of *dilatatio materiae* is compelling when considering that the *Kuhbukh*'s relationship to the Boner material is one that privileges extensive narrative expansion. Discussions of *dilatatio materiae* provide a focused and relevant starting point to establishing the localised ways by which the author enabled narrative expansion and the subsequent deviation from the German source material. The methods by which this amplification can be charted and analysed, however, differ. Whereas amplification, for medieval Latin rhetoricians, was enabled by the application of rhetorical strategies such as *interpretatio*, *expolitio*, periphrasis, *comparatio*, *similitudo*, apostrophe, prosopopea, *digressio* and *descriptio,* these rhetorical devices are not fully adequate as a framework of analysis for the *Kuhbukh*.[290] First, the rhetorical processes themselves may not fully account for levels of expansion as significant as those displayed in the *Kuhbukh*. Additionally, a catalogue of rhetorical processes would only inform us as to changes on a localised level of the text and would not constitute adequate analysis. More recent discussions of expansion of narrative material in courtly romances that focus on how expansion is both enabled and functionalised provide a stronger methodological approach to an analysis of the *Kuhbukh*'s expansion. Bauschke suggests categories through which to view the expansion in German courtly

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285 For a discussion of *Wiedererzählen*, see Franz Josef Worstbrock 'Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen', in *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit*, ed. by Walter Haug (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999), pp.128-142, as well as the essays contributed in *Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, ed. by Joachim Bumke and Ursula Peters for the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 124 (2005).

286 Ludger Lieb, 'Die Potenz des Stoffes: Eine kleine Metaphysik des 'Wiedererzählens'', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 124 (Sonderheft 2005), pp. 356-379.

287 Ibid., p. 368.

288 Lieb, 'Die Potenz des Stoffes', p. 362.

289 Franz-Josef Worstbrock, 'Dilatatio materiae. Zur Poetik des 'Erec' Hartmanns von Aue', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 19 (1985), 1-30.

290 For a discussion of medieval rhetorical processes of amplification in Medieval Latin handbooks, see Edmond Faral, Les arts poétiques du douxième et treizième siècle: recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge (Paris: Champion, 1924). For a discussion of *descriptio*, see Douglas Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion: Description, Rewriting and Authorship from Macrobius to Medieval Romance* (Leiden: Brill, 1999).

romances adapted from the French. Bauschke's move towards analysing the modes and function of expansion is a response to prevailing views of 'adaptation courtoise' that see German courtly romances as translations of French narratives.[291] By providing a framework through which to analyse the expansion, Bauschke successfully formalises the level of adaptation undergone in the German courtly romances she focuses on. Bauschke demonstrates that one of the most significant differences between the French and German narratives is that the German courtly romances have a slower narrative pace. This is enabled through a combination of added description and explanation, expanded dialogue, narratorial intervention, and a more thorough characterisation of the protagonists.

By highlighting the modes and functions of expansion in the *Kuhbukh* fables derived from Ulrich Boner, this chapter will argue that the KB has undergone the highest levels of adaptation. Using the framework of analysis developed by Bauschke, the following section of this chapter will analyse the levels of the text at which the expansion occurs, the impact these expansions have on the narrative, as well as the ways in which they are functionalised throughout the entire collection of fables.

III. Expansion in the *Kuhbukh*

A close comparative reading of the KB fables and their Berechiah and Boner counterparts demonstrates that the Yiddish fable book displays a wide variety of strategies of expansion. The expansion of the KB fables takes place on two levels of the story that I have termed narrator-spaces and character-spaces. The term narrator-space refers to the elements transmitted directly to the reader through the fictionalised voice of the narrator. This is in opposition to the moments in the fable that I define as character-spaces, in which the

[291] Bauschke, '*adaptation courtoise',* pp. 65-84.

narrator's presence is mitigated either as the acknowledged intermediary between reported instances of thought and speech stemming from the story's protagonists and the reader; or is effaced behind instances of the characters' direct speech. This distinction is appropriate in the case of the fable genre, since this is a narrative form which relies heavily both on setting up a scene that will capture the reader's attention; and on voicing, either directly or indirectly, the motivations of flawed characters in order to spell out to the reader the characters' limitations. This next section will demonstrate that expansion in the KB occurs at both levels of the narrative, although through different means.

i. Amplification of the narrator-spaces

The KB's amplification of narrator-spaces is ensured by the extensive deployment of description throughout its fables. While this sub-section will list examples of these instances of description, it will primarily focus on the explanatory slant of much of this added material which results in a cohesive streamlining of individual fables.

Description, a popular rhetorical device that ensured expansion of the material, was traditionally perceived in classical and medieval rhetoric as the locus for authorial invention.[292] Kelly argues that the use of *descriptio* is a sign that the material has undergone a process of rewriting since it is based on topical invention: "In classical and medieval rhetoric and poetics, description is anchored in topical invention. That is, the author identifies (invention) those places (topoi) which he or she can elaborate upon (amplification) in order to represent persons, things, and actions as he or she intends for them to appear."[293]

[292] See for example Joanne Rittey's *Amplification as Gloss in Two Twelfth-Century Texts: Robert de Boron's Joseph D'Aramathie and Renaut de Beaujeu's Li Biaus Descouneüs* (Peter Lang Publishing: New York, 2002).
[293] Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion*, p. 38.

Description enables the classical and medieval author to find space for both ethos and pathos in his text.[294]

Similarly to the use of description as defined by classical and medieval rhetoric, the KB's author uses moments of description to flesh out the Yiddish fables, assert the independence of the new text from its model, as well as enhance both the ethos and pathos of his collection in order to support his normative moral agenda. An example of topical invention can be found in fable IV, in which a fox and a stork invite each other to dinner and trick the other into not being able to eat any of the food. The *Kuhbukh* positively relishes the opportunity to showcase an extravagant description of food including but not limited to poultry, fish, stuffed and seasoned geese, kreplech, almond rice, Purim food, wine, milk, porridge etc. The extravagant description of food in this fable echoes the lavish descriptions of food in the collection's prologue. The Boner version, on the other hand, refers only to 'wirtschaft' (ll.6, 8, 14, 29) and 'spîse' (ll.10, 12, 24, 33, 35). The description of food is functionalised in that the culinary abundance further highlights the extent to which both characters are willing to go in order to best one another, thereby underscoring their stubborness and disregard of social values. In the following fable V (Fox, Crow and Cheese), the KB author continues to use descriptions of food to emphasise salient aspects of the fable. In this particular instance, the fox's delight in tricking the crow is further underscored by his appreciative assessment and description of the coveted cheese: 'er nam den kes in sein munt/ er wug wol zwanzig pfund' and 'in disen kes is gewis kain schimel/noch der-zu kain maden' (9^{r}).

In the *Kuhbukh* fable XVII, the author inserts an extensive description of the hunting and trapping of the lion, going as far as narrating the lion's physical reaction to his dream:

> es geschach nit lang der-noch

[294] Kelly, *The Conspiracy of Allusion*, p. 41.

das der leb vloch
do er ain menschen in den wald
wi eilt er aso bald
do er den jjeger hort mit sein horn un hunden
er var-barg sich das si in nit funden
in ainer große höl er do schlof
der jjeger im do noch-lof
seine hunt vurt er bald mit
wu er sach des leben schrit
er spürt im noch über-al
über berg un über tal
durch schne un regen
der jjeger hot sich der-wegen
er wolt sein leben dran wogen
oder er wolt dem leben schißen mit seinem bougen
un wolt in süchen bis er in mocht vinden
do in docht wi er war do-niden
in ainer hölen was geseßen
der jjeger hat es auch nit für-geßen
ain garn pflag er mit im zu tragen
al-mol wen er ous-ging jagen
er gedocht di höl wil ich wol bewaren
der-für spraitet er sein garn
un er knüpft es wol an mit ain diken sal
[...] do-mit der jeger vun danen ging
un do es nun um miter-nacht kam
der traumt ain traum
das in docht aso in seinem schlof
wi er het gehört ain große hert mit schof
in den wald um-gen
wi bald begunt er ouf-zu-sten
er nam im nit vil der weil
do-hin lif er mit großer eil
di schof wolt er gar bald arlangen
vil-leicht do wurd er gefangen
in das garn das do war ouf-gesprait
drum gedocht er im gros laid
er schrai vil menche gros geschrai
gern het er gerißen das garn in zwai
mit seine pfoten aber er nit kunt
wen es war ser ver-bunden mit ainem bund
un was ach gar dik geweben
er hot sich ver-wegen sein leben (KB, XVII, 24^{r})

The hunter's skill is hinted at by the references to a variety of hunting equipment: hunting horn, hunting dogs, bow and arrow, rope, and snare. His hunting knowledge is elaborated upon: the hunter can track the lion over long distances, and knows a variety of ways to kill it. The hunter's persistency is evidenced by his determination in all terrains and weathers 'er spürt im noch über-al/über berg un über tal/ durch schne un regen', as well as through the repetition of the verb 'wolt'. The climactic build up of the hunt and the lion's ensuing

captivity further emphasises what is at stake when the mouse does end up saving the lion's life. The dream sequence described from 'der traumt ain traum' onwards functions in two ways: not only does it account for how the lion was caught off-guard; it also highlights the quasi-fated nature of the capture by showing that it was entirely beyond the lion's control. The episode culminates in the lion's capture and his ensuing terror. The references to his 'gros laid' and his 'gros geschrai' echo the lion's new-found helplessness and vulnerability. In this particular fable, the added description allows the author to create tension culminating in the lion's capture. Additionally, the added descriptive sequence fleshes out the lion's fall from grace, thereby strengthening the fable's moral commentary on the transience of fortune and the importance of every member of society.

The explanatory slant of some of the added description in the *Kuhbukh* indicates that its author attempted to streamline individual fables into more coherent narratives. The emphasis on coherence is a feature of both medieval and early modern fable transmission. The transmission of Aesopic fables in the medieval period, especially within the context of Latin commentary, did typically involve narrative additions that worked towards creating more coherence in otherwise terse Latin fables.[295] A.E Wright's discussion of Latin commentary and German fables cites an example of this: Latin commentaries on the Anonymous Neveleti fable of the dog carrying a piece of meat tended to add changes to the original fable. These changes usually helped clarify the motivation for the dog's relinquishing of his initial piece of meat.[296] The KB follows this approach in its own version of this fable (fable I). In this particular iteration of the fable, we are told that the dog did not want to share his bounty with the other dogs, and therefore deviated from his normal route in order to avoid them:

[295] For a discussion of the evolving function of the fable commentary in the Middle Ages, see Almut Suerbaum, 'Litterae et mores: Zur Textgeschichte der mittelalterlichen Avian-Kommentare' in *Schulliteratur im Späten Mittelalter*, ed. Klaus Grubmüller (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2000), 383-434.
[296] Wright, *Hie lert uns der meister,* pp. 31-33.

er ging gar bald fun den anderen hunden
er gedocht si misen eßen di düre bain
das vlaisch wolt er eßen alain.
do-hin lof er mit den selbigen stük
über ain lange brük (KB, I, 4v)

This deviation meant that he had to cross a river. His lack of experience with the treacherousness of reflections is therefore implied by the fact that we are told this is an unusual route for him.

Bodemann and Küenzlen both also detail examples of German translations of Latin fables that strive to create a more accessibly coherent text for the German reader. Ulrich von Pottenstein privileges the spelling out of what the Latin only implies, details logical connections that may escape the reader, repeats key elements, and overall inserts and reasserts information for the reader in ways the Latin source does not.[297] Sieder's *Gulden Esel* removes frivolous and obscene features and some overt references to classical religion present in the Latin original whilst also adding explanations of classical features that may have been beyond the reader's comprehension.[298] Steinhöwel's translating principles aimed to clarify the promythion and epimythion of the Latin source and expanded sections of the fables that spelt out who the fable addressed.[299] He also ensured that the fable was as coherent as possible by adding (and repeating) information he deemed lacking. Steinhöwel's "Übersetzungsverfahren der Informationssättigung und –redundanz, seine Unterbreitung kleinster Handlungssegmente und die Überführung impliziter in explizite, handlungslogisch verabfolgte Information [...]" are common translating principles of the early modern period, indicating that the drive for coherence extends further than just the Middle Ages.[300]

Inconsistencies present in the original Boner material are ironed out by adding details to the Yiddish narrative. In fable XXII, in which a donkey finds a lion's skin and adopts the lion's

[297] Peters, *Die Cyrillusfabeln*, pp. 193-195.
[298] Küenzlen, *Verwandlungen eines Esels*, pp. 163-164.
[299] For a detailed analysis of Steinhöwel's translation principles, see Dicke, *Steinhöwel*, pp. 77-115.
[300] Ibid., p. 106.

behaviour, the author explains how the donkey managed to find a lion's skin in the first place.[301] Boner is terse in his lack of detail. The lion's skin was simply there to be found:

> da er ein hût eis löwen vant.
> diu hût geviel im harte wol. (Boner, LXVII, ll.14-15)

The *Kuhbukh*, on the other hand, is rather tongue in cheek. The lion's skin is at the donkey's disposal simply because the lion left it there for the duration of his bathing regimen. The narrative may have explained how it came to pass that a donkey got hold of a lion's skin, but the explanation is laughably extravagant. Explanation is not merely a matter of logic; it can serve comic purposes by going against the reader's expectations of coherence:

> der esel was sich ains für-iren
> er kam in ain wald ain großen
> do nun ain leb sein hout hat geloßen
> bis das er was öus dem bad kumen
> der-weil hot im si der esel genumen (KB, XXII, 29^{v})

Another striking example of this cohesive trend can be found in fable V, in which a fox tricks a crow into dropping a cheese. Whereas in the Berechiah version the crow holds the cheese in its mouth and only opens it to sing, thereby dropping the cheese; the Boner version of the fable has the crow speak directly to the fox whilst still holding the cheese in its mouth, only dropping it when attempting to sing. The combination of a full mouth and unhindered speech but no dropping of the cheese does not make much sense. Consequently the *Kuhbukh* resolves the illogical Boner situation by having the crow carry the cheese in his claws: "den kes hilt er do ouf vest zwischen seine pfoten" (KB, V, 8^{v}). Because of the crow's stronger grip on the cheese, the fox is understood to have to work harder in order to flatter the crow's vanity, a vanity that is problematised by the fable's opening reference to the crow's refusal to share the cheese with any of his friends.

[301] Dreeßen, "Hätt' der Esel Hörner", p. 62 [forthcoming]

Fable VII depicts a shepherd and a lion taking turns to help each other out. This fable is a striking example of an explanatory drive, as the author inserts two passages that account for how a shepherd and a lion would encounter each other whilst in captivity. First, the shepherd's criminal behaviour is elaborated upon. Boner refers vaguely to the shepherd's misdemeanours:

> [...] der selbe man
> hat grôzes schaden vil getân;
> dar umb verteilet wart sîn leben (Boner, XLVII, ll.77-79)

However, in the Yiddish, the shepherd's criminal career is described in great detail. He has no qualms stealing a variety of animals. His thieving is slightly tempered by the need for sustenance: "do-mit pflag er sich der-neren." However, the shepherd's attitude is rather cavalier and immoderate. He does not limit himself to cattle theft and will happily steal anything that he can carry:

> der selbig hirt pflag nun ba'av'h zu stoßen
> als was er nöuert an-kam
> das stal er un nam
> do-mit pflag er sich der-neren
> was er nöuert kunt der-beren
> pferd kü un kelber
> un was do nit kunt gen selber
> er es gar wol mit im trug
> was er nöuert möcht tun mit fug
> das trib er nun an fil menche jor
> es ging im übel ous zu wor
> er ward aldo zu Fjorenz gefangen
> an ainem galgen wolt man in haben gehangen
> oder wolt im ab-geschniten haben ain or
> do lag er nun gefangen ain ganz jor (KB, VII, 11^{r})

A yearly tradition of lion-hunting in Florence is added to the *Kuhbukh* fable in order to account for why a lion would be caught during the shepherd's captivity.

> dar nâch nicht lange wart gespart,
> wan daz der löwe gevangen wart;
> in viengen Roemer, als man seit. (Boner, XLVII, ll.63-65)

nun was zu Fjorenz für joren der siten
das si al jor noch gejeg riten
um vingen ale jor ain großen leben
wen er sich nöuert an in tet pfügen
un wer in der-wischt gewint drei hundert pfund
do riten si aber ous der selbig stund
un vingen gleich den leben der den dorn was in pfus gewesen
do mir for der-fun haben gelesen (KB, VII, 11[r])

The use of added description in the narrator-spaces is one of the ways in which the KB achieves expansion. Furthermore, the descriptions are at times further functionalised in order to create a more coherent narrative. This interest in erasing inconsistencies and incoherence echoes both medieval and early modern approaches to the transmission of fables.

ii. Amplification of character-spaces through instances of speech

In addition to the insertion of description, the *Kuhbukh* is further lengthened by the expansion of speech-acts already found in Boner and the creation of additional speeches when the opportunity presents itself. In Fable VII, the *Kuhbukh* author inserts a speech from the shepherd explaining to the surprised onlookers why he has not been eaten by the lion:

er sag ich wil öuch sagen was das betöut
di sach ich eich gar leicht beschad
worum er mir tut kain laid
den ich wol um in für-dint hon
das er mit mir begint an sölchen lon
das er mir ging in wald noch
ich im ain dorn ous sein pfus zoch
der in hot ser gewont
wi-bald macht ich in gesund
di selbig vröuntschaft hot er mir izunder gedocht
do man mich hot zu im das gegiter gebrocht
dor hot er mich es machen genißen. (KB, VII, 11[v])

This particular instance of speech works on two levels: the shepherd explains to the surprised onlookers (acting as surrogates for the reader) what happened and helps them

make sense of the unexpected outcome; his speech also serves to instruct the reader as to the moral quality of his previous actions. The shepherd's speech is not a feature of the Boner version of this fable, in which the surprise of the onlookers leads straight to the moral epilogue.

In the Yiddish fable XVII, in which a lion spares a mouse's life only to be later saved by the mouse, the instances of dialogue between the mouse and the lion are greatly expanded. Lamenting his fate whilst stuck in a net, the lion's speech in Boner is concise: 'ich bin gevangen ûf den tôt' (Boner, XXI, l.36). The *Kuhbukh*'s expanded speech, on the other hand, presents the reader with the reduced and pitiful figure of the lion:

> der leb sait vor-wor ich dir klagen
> es is mir heint gar übel gefangen
> in dem großen strik
> es is mir laider zu dik
> das ich in nit zu-reißen kan
> es hot mirs geton ain böser man
> mit seinem argen list
> ich dank got das du kumen bist
> ob du mir könst helfen ous diser not
> wen ich fürcht mich für den tot
> den mir der mensch wert an-tun
> kanstu mir nöu'ert helfen der-fun
> so wil ich dir ain gut stüch kes schenken (KB, XVII, 24^{r}-24^{v})

This expansion of dialogue emphasises the lion's pitiful change of circumstances. His physical size now a hinderance, his earlier arrogant discourse is now peppered with an emotional register connoting weakness and fear: 'klagen', 'übel', 'laider', 'böser man', 'argen list', 'not', 'tot'. The mouse's reply in the *Kuhbukh* serves to remind the reader of the lion's earlier leniency and spells out the reciprocal nature of the mouse's help to the lion. The fable's moral message is voiced by one of its protagonists independently of the epimyth:

> das möuselen sait ich mus auch gedenken
> das gut das ir mir hot geton
> drum wil ich öuch geben öueren lon
> das ir mir hot leben loßen
> ich wil öuchs bezalen mit sölcher moußen
> wen ich gedenk nun wol do-heran
> nun will ich tun öuch was ich kan (KB, XVII, 24^{v})

Fable XVI, in which a father and son attempt to take their donkey to market but are continually faced with the criticism of passers-by, showcases an extraordinary amount of dialogue between father and son and one passer-by to another. Its Boner source, fable LII, is equally rife with dialogue, with no less than nine instances of speech, all of which are preserved in the KB. The Yiddish version of the fable is only 30% longer than its German counterpart, a rather small increase compared to the higher percentages of most fables. Since the skeleton of the fable is mainly structured around the interplay between the mocking criticism of the passers-by and the father and son's reaction to their criticism, expansion of the Yiddish naturally occurred within the framework of these speeches. If we compare the father's decision to carry the donkey in Boner to the same moment in the *Kuhbukh*, it becomes apparent that these instances of speech are the locus of expansion:

> sun, wol har!
> wir sullen nemen beide war,
> üb wir den esel mügin tragen,
> lâ sehen, waz die liute sagen. (Boner, LII, ll.57-60)

> un der vater hub zum sun zu sagen
> hör mir zu du magstu mir wolen glaben
> mir welen das reiten loßen sten
> un welen in di leiten augen kain spot sein men
> den ich sich wol un kan gedenken
> das mir weren den esel der-krenken
> drum ich kain beßeren rot pfind
> das mir den armen esel di pfüs zu-asamen bind
> un ich un du welen in an ainer stangen tragen
> so wert nimant fun unseren reiten haben zu sagen
> un der esel wert sein berut
> un wert nit haim-kumen wider müd
> das mir in ain ander mol kenen genißen
> liber sun nun tragen mir in do-hin. un lost es uns nit für-drißen (KB, XVI, 22^{r})

The comparison of both passages is interesting. In this particular example, the *Kuhbukh* version appears almost pedantic as it spells out the issues at hand more emphatically than the Boner speech. The father's fear of gossip is voiced twice: 'un welen in di leiten augen kain

spot sein men' and 'so wert nimant fun unseren reiten haben zu sagen.' The donkey's wellbeing as the paramount concern is insisted upon on two occasions: 'das mir weren den esel der-krenken' and 'un der esel wert sein berut/ un wert nit haim-kumen wider müd'. Furthermore, the detail with which the donkey's transportation is discussed is surprising, especially considering that the reader would have had a visual cue from the woodcut illustration depicting the situation.

Fable X of the *Kuhbukh*, in which a country-mouse discovers that city life is not as idyllic as the town-mouse describes, is an excellent example of the *Kuhbukh* inserting new instances of dialogue whilst at the same time expanding existing instances of speech. In the Boner fable XV, once the landlord of the house exits the kitchen, the town-mouse exhorts the country-mouse to keep enjoying the available food:

> Trut gespiele min,
> froew dich, und las din truren sin!
> Is, und trink, und lebe wol!
> Dirre keller ist suosser spise vol. (Boner, XV, ll.41-44)

In the face of this appeal to keep eating, the country-mouse launches into an argument for the benefits of poverty and safety:

> si sprach: 'und kom ich nun hin us,
> ich woeld ein bonen lieber nagen,
> den ich die vorchte wolde tragen,
> dur diner spise suossekeit,
> die mit der gallen bitterkeit
> vermischet ist. die hab du dir!' (Boner, XV, ll.47-51)

In the *Kuhbukh*, however, the town-mouse's exhortation to continue eating has disappeared and it is the country mouse who speaks immediately after the landlord has left. This entire speech is found neither in Berechiah nor in Boner, and is exclusive to the *Kuhbukh*. This addition of an entire speech is used effectively, as it enables the country-mouse to articulate

his reproach of the town-mouse's perceived disloyal abandonment, an issue that is not thematised in either Boner or Berechiah:

> si sait du aler-libst gespile mein
> wi hostu dich herein
> in disem loch gestoßen
> un host mich alain geloßen
> in aso großen noten
> der bös man hot mich welen töten
> gar übel es is mir der-gangen
> kain gest sach is aso men antfangen
> er hot gar ser ouf mich geschlogen
> in ale meine tagen
> is mirs kain sölches wider-pfaren
> ich getrou mich wol zu bewarnen
> ich hof der man sol mich nit men strofen
> ich wil ouf ganzer hout schlofen
> un mit den bletern wil ich mich wol zu-deken
> mein speis wert mir fil bas schmeken
> fun meinum düren blat
> es ich mich vol sat
> un gar wol es mir schmekt
> das mich nöuert nimanz der-shrekt
> un do ich es in meiner ru
> wen ich hi es ain ganze ku
> doch geb es mir kain vraid. (KB, X, 14^{v})

This added instance of speech in turn provides the adequate backdrop for the Yiddish town-mouse's new speech. Whereas in the Boner version of the tale, he only spoke in order to encourage the country-mouse to keep eating, in the *Kuhbukh*, the town-mouse is afforded a defence of his lifestyle, in which he explains that his ancestors have lived like this for as long as he can remember, that he does not know any better way to live, and that there are only a few tricks to learn in order to avoid further encounters with the landlord or the house-cat. This particular line of argument makes sense if we consider the fact that the *Kuhbkukh* in general (discussed in greater detail later in this chapter), and this fable in particular, argue for the importance of being content with one's allotted fate. Through this speech, the town-mouse's lifestyle is shown to be of equal moral value to that of the country-mouse; precisely because that was the fate he was born to:

> di stat-mous sagt bei meinem ad

du magst mir wol drum glaben
das genes wil streich haben
doch wil ichs gern als wogen
den in disem hous bin ich woren ouf-gezogen
un do-inen senen al mein eltern geseßen
fil gute speis hon ich ouft hinen geßen
un du wen du nöuert den bösen man sichst
do acht das du bald vlichst
un lauf nöuert bald un gring
un as ain hirz der-fun spring
das er dich nit wurd der-krazen
un hüt dich öuch für di kazen
si haben ain großen langen bart
du libe gespil zart
do waren ich dich mit güten
du magst dich wol für in hüten
das si dich nit tunen der-langen
un sich das du nit werst gefangen (KB, X, 14^{v} -15^{r})

This defence of the urban lifestyle further rouses the country-mouse's spirits and leads him to voice a second tirade on the benefits of rural safety and poverty which mirrors the country mouse's speech found in Boner:

si sait dein speis is biter as ain gal
un wer es doch eitel ma'edane-melech
so sein mir vil liber di schelech[302]
fun den öfel un fun den biren
do-heran kan ich nischt für-liren
ich bedarf mich nit um ain hor zu besorgen
un ob mir der wirt nit wolt borgen
wen nimanz haist mir nischt drum an
ich fürcht mich ach nit für den bösen man
un für den ladigen kazen
was magstu mir nöuert as vil für-schwazen
das ich nun bei dir blib
man sol mich nit men ous-schlogen as ain dib
ich wil nöuert haim wider zu hous
do-inen hon ich sicher kain grous
un nimanz tut mir zu-mol an kain inpaz
öuch fürcht ich mich nit für kainer kaz
noch for-schwert noch für meßer
wi-wol is mein herberig fil beßer (KB, X, 15^{r})

The expansion of the tale through the addition and extension of dialogue allows for the striking speech by the town-mouse in defence of his lifestyle. The appearance of this speech in the Yiddish version of the fable makes sense if we take a closer look at its moral epilogue.

[302] "and were it even a tidbit fit for a king /I would much prefer the peelings of apples and pears"

Both the German and the Yiddish fables emphasise the importance of living without fear even if in poverty. However, the Boner version consistently builds a dichotomy between rich and poor, continuously emphasising the false satisfaction wealth enduces. The *Kuhbukh*, on the other hand, does not systematically reject wealth and fortune, rather it emphasises the importance of being satisfied with one's lot, even if it does consist of a diet of hard bread and leaves. This change in the articulation of the moral message of both fables explains why the Yiddish fable contains a defence of the town mouse's lifestyle: this is the life he was allotted, he knows none better. The thematisation of being content with one's fate runs throughout the entirety of the KB and will be discussed in greater detail below.

The various instances of added and expanded dialogue function in different ways. Whereas the expansion of the lion's speech helps underscore the pathos of his situation, the mouse's response spells out the moral framework of the tale. By having the supposedly insignificant animal become the moral authority, the KB author further emphasises the point that all individuals have a place in society. In the same vein, the mice of fable X are given the opportunity to voice a defence of their lifestyle, and by extension, a defence of established social distribution. In contrast to the mouse's gravitas, the expanded speech-acts from fable XVI are used to heighten the ridiculousness of the father and son's behaviour.

iii. Amplification of character-spaces through interior monologue and reported speech

In the same vein as the use of dialogue, the *Kuhbukh* uses interior monologue to further expand the Yiddish fable. For the purpose of this discussion, interior monologue is understood as a section of speech introduced by a verb of thought, such as 'er ducht', and containing a first person singular pronoun. This next subsection will show that the use of interior monologue is used for animal characters almost exclusively. The use of interior monologues for animals is particularly effective in fables that involve animal/human

interaction, in which the use of interior monologues and reported thought processes are the only means by which the animals' motivations can be articulated. However, the use of interior monologue and reported thought processes are not exclusive to animal/human fables, they are also found in fables depicting exclusively animal characters.

Fable V (Fox, Crow and Cheese) is an example of a fable with only animal protagonists that uses both reported thought processes as well as interior monologue:

> der rab dücht sich der-mit gar vro sein
> das er was aso hüpsch un fein
> das docht er sich gar gut
> un hot gar ain hochen mut.
> er gedocht der pfuks wert mich über-al preisen
> al mein kunst wil ich im beweisen
> so wert man sagen fun mir gar feren
> iderman wert den sicher meiner begeren. (KB, V, 8^{v})

This is an effective strategy since it allows the reader to gauge the effect of the fox's flattery on the crow. It also emphasises the crow's excessive vanity by voicing his desire to be known and praised by all and sundry.

Fable XXIII, in which a donkey envies the fate of his master's lapdog who gets to eat the finest foods from his table in exchange for performing a handful of endearing tricks, is a case of animal and human interaction in which the animal's motivations are known to the reader through the use of interior monologue. Boner's fable only refers to the donkey's toil cursorily: "ein ander muoz die secke tragen" (Boner, XX, l.24). In the *Kuhbukh*, the donkey's interior monologue usefully highlights the iniquity he perceives between his fate and the dog's and reminds the reader of his motivation to start acting like a dog in order to benefit from the rewards canine behaviour seems to imply:

> gedocht worum sol ich aso un-selig sein
> das das hüntel mus aso gut leben haben
> un ich mus stez laufen un draben
> aso stund der esel betracht
> ain gute speis der ander man her-brocht

das hüntlen as gar souberlich mit
fun der speis gab den esel nit
er sach aldo gar jemerlich un gar söuer
er gedocht was sol ich dinen disem pouer
der mir ouf-legt menschen sek
un gibt mir der-zu vil schlek
noch nacht noch tag hon ich kain ru
es wer wol beßer ich mach mich aich zu
mit dem edelen heren
leicht wert er mich aich generen
er wert mir auch sein gute speis geben
so wer ich aich wol leben
ich woltes wol liber es wen hei oder stro (KB, XXIII, 30^{v})

Just as the donkey's interior monologue in fable XXIII was used to highlight the misery of his daily toil, fable XI also employs the same device to describe the lion's fall from grace as a result of his age. The use of interior monologue renders the fable doubly poignant, in that the dimension of interority echoes his social isolation, whilst also emphasising his awareness of his demise. The repetition of the phrase "wu sein nun di diner mein?" coupled with the lion's repeated references to his pain and suffering all work towards creating the fable's pathos. Additionally, the lion's interior monologue constitutes the greater part of the fable:

er gedocht, wi bin ich geworden aso zam
das si kumen zu mir on ale sorgen,
di sich far haben für mir für-borgen
un sein al var unter mir gewesen.
ach wer ich nöuert wider genesen,
ich wolt wol ines wider für-gelten.
di mir woren al selten
unter meine augen woren kumen,
si haben sich nun herschaft über mir an-genumen
un der-fun mus ich leiden pein.
wu sein nun di diner mein?
di mir waren nun zu aler zeit berait
den vreint kent man nöu'ert in laid
wen er im di vröuntschaft tut schein,
wu sein nu ale diner mein?
si hon mich gleich in noten geloßen
un welen mich selbst zu tot stoßen.
si sein mir al zu pfeint geworen,
unter in bin ich ganz für-loren.
doch mus ichs leiden bis ouf mein zil,
as lang as es got wil.
al di weil das es got hot geben,
wider in wil ich nit streben. (KB, XI, 16^{r} -16^{v})

The use of extensive interior monologue is very much a defining characteristic of the animal protagonists of the *Kuhbukh* and is not only found in fables derived from Boner. For example, Fable II (Monkey and Favourite Child, Berechiah) reports the mother's thoughts in order to inform the reader of her decision to sacrifice her least favourite child to the lion. Similarly, Fable XXVIII (Dog and Cow) uses the dog's interior monologue to detail his jealousy of the cow's better treatment, and thereby account for his murderous actions. The application of interior monologues is almost always restricted to animals, aside from its appearance in fable XXIX to report the inner turmoil of the cheated merchant. In this fable, a merchant entrusts his money to a seemingly pious old man for the duration of his travels abroad. Upon his return, the old man refuses to give him his money back. The merchant is only able to get his money back when one of his colleagues tricks the old man into giving him the money back. In this fable, the merchant's interior monologues reveal his decision to trust the old man in the face of his piety, as well as his anguish at having lost his money. The decision to use interior monologue in this particular fable, and with a human protagonist at that, is rather puzzling in light of its different use elsewhere in the KB. However, interior monologue is used in this fable's source in the MK to reveal the false guardian's decision to give the merchant his gold back in order to convince his next victim of his honesty:

> The old man, feeling he had no choice,
> Thinking , 'Should I deny him, and his voice
> is heard in protest raised, this other will
> revoke, cured in advance of any ill,
> for he would never this greater sum
> On trust with me, but straightaway will become
> A trap, my doom.[303]

The use of interior monologue for a human in the KB XXIX may therefore have been a simple throwback to the fable's original source. The almost exclusive use of interior monologues for animals throughout the collection of fables indicates that the KB does

[303] *Meshal Haqadmoni*, vol.II, p. 528.

present a unified authorial theory of what types of speech acts are acceptable for animals within fictionality.

Although the problematic aspect of animal speech in the presence of humans is circumvented in the KB by the use of interior monologue, its author was faced with a difficult scene in fable XXV, in which a dog thwarts a thief's attempt at bribing him. The fable would have remained dry if the author had not chosen to expand on the dog's refusal of the bribe. Additionally, the scene would have been rather odd if the dog simply engaged in extensive interior monologue rather than engaging with the thief. In order to remedy this without transgressing the fictionalised reality of animal speech acts, the KB author relied on an interesting circumvention.

> er bilt in gar ser an
> er sprach ge' nöuert hin-dan
> du wilst alhi meinem heren stelen
> wi wenig wil ichs im für-helen
> ich wil in gar bald ouf-weken (KB XXIX, 34^{r})
>
> der hunt der sait ümetar nain nain
> es is mir sicher nit lib
> ach du unseliger böser dib
> du wilst mein hern jo' beraben
> er het zu mir ain guten glaben
> un hot mir nun ale zeit getrot
> ich wil bald schrei'en hoch un lout
> un wil dir wol bald machen weren
> das du im nischt solst der-beren
> der hunt schrai gar pfeintlich hoch (KB, XXIX, 34^{r})

These two instances of speech are direct, thereby initially requiring the reader to suspend his or her disbelief in the face of such a transgression of accepted and believable fictionalised animal speech acts. However, the use of 'er bilt in gar ser an' prior to the dog's speech suggests that it came across as barking to the human ear. The narrator then acts as a mediator, translating the barking's meaning. This interpretation would situate this particular

speech act within the same boundaries of fictionalised realism the KB author adheres to throughout the rest of his collection of fables.

These interior monologues successfully enable insight into the reasons behind an animal's flawed behaviour, such as the donkey in fable XXII who expresses relief at being free from physical beatings and heavy work. These insights into the animals' motivations for going against accepted forms of behaviour enables the KB author to further portray them as unnatural and problematic for social hierarchies, a moralising strategy which will be discussed in greater detail below. By allowing the animals to voice their desire to change their status in society, the KB can problematise their behaviour more effectively: these are not merely the actions of silly thoughtless animals; these are actions that stem from immoral yearnings. The insight into the animals' thought processes also further anthropomorphises the characters, allowing the reader to identify (or not) with the animal.

The expansion of the KB in both narrator and character spaces accounts for the general increase in length of the *Kuhbukh* fables compared to *der Edelstein*. Expansion in narrator-spaces is achieved through description. These instances of description can have a variety of functions. Lavish descriptions of food can mirror the protagonist's greed, while descriptions of narrative events work towards creating a more coherent fable. Expansion in character-spaces occurs the addition and amplification speech-acts. Dialogue can be used to underscore moral outcomes of a fable or to emphasise certain features of a flawed character. Interior monologues and reported thought processes inform us as to the protagonists' motivations. The expansion of speech-acts also has the overall function of further developing the characterisation of the animals and humans that people the KB fables. No

matter the mode in which expansion is achieved, it provides the necessary narrative space for the author to insert features unique to the Yiddish that help the Boner corpus of fables integrate the *Kuhbukh*'s overarching framework.

IV. The functionalisation of expansion

As the previous section of this chapter has demonstrated, expansion in the KB is achieved at a variety of levels and in a variety of ways. These moments of expansion provide a space within the narrative for the author to add and heighten features of the collection of fables such as comedy and violence. Comedy and violence in turn help shape a universalising moral message that seeks to uphold strict social hierarchies. The moral message of the collection of fables is made all the more relevant to its readership by the presence of elements of judaization.

i. Comedy

a. Comedy as an exclusive and inclusive force

Comic features are abundant in the *Kuhbukh* and essential to the shaping of its identity and relationship to its audience. Laughter, be it exclusive or inclusive laughter, helps strengthen social cohesion by creating communities of laughter and highlighting shared values, shared taboos, and shared resentments.[304] The laughter produced by the *Kuhbukh* functions both in this exclusionary and inclusive way. The reader laughs at behaviour that deviates from the

[304] On laughter as both an exclusionary and inclusive cohesive force, see Sebastian Coxon, *Laughter and Narrative in the Later Middle Ages: German Comic Tales 1350-1525* (London: Legenda, 2008), p. 8. For further scholarship on communities of laughter in medieval and early modern literature, see the essays collected in *Lachgemeinschaften: Kulturelle Inszenierungen und soziale Wirkungen von Gelächter im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Werner Röcke and Hans Rudolf Velten (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005).

(Jewish) norm and the security of the status quo. This laughter is exclusionary in that it laughs out those that stray from what is acceptable behaviour, while at the same time being inclusive, in that it relies on a shared community of values and ideals that acts as a common point of reference.[305]

The *Kuhbukh* also features what Grubmüller terms negative laughter, that is, a laughter that no longer merely laughs at certain types of flaws and characteristics displayed by individuals, but rather laughs at a thoroughly disordered world.[306] Of the thirty five fables in the KB, only five are geared towards displaying positive behaviour as the central message of the fable. These five fables are not concerned with highlighting the rewards positive behaviour may garner: indeed, all five characters displaying 'good' behaviour are simply rewarded with survival. There are no promises of lavish material rewards or even of a bettering of social status; the *Kuhbukh* is exceedingly conservative in its reward scheme. Because of such a dearth of positive examples of behaviour, the prevalence in the KB of flawed behaviour, fable after fable, helps create the picture of an overall disordered world in which humans and animals forget their place. Fables XVIII, XX, and XXVI are explicit examples of a disordered world. Fable XVIII is a world in which the judicial system is corrupt, fable XX rewards a whore's cunning by shifting the village gossip unto a flayed donkey, and fable XXVI (derived from the MK) ends with a foolish man undeservedly making a fortune out of his own stupidity.

In order to illustrate the ways in which the KB was able to heighten pre-existing comic elements and fit them within his overall aesthetic without having to catalog the entirety of the KB's comic features, the following section will use the fable of the singing cleric to exemplify such strategies.

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[305] This is a feature of two German literary forms, the *fabliau* and the *Märe*, wherein "im Lachen über das Ungehörige wird die Ordnung des Gehörigen befestigt." Klaus Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos; Eine Geschichte der europäischen Novellistik im Mittelalter: Fabliau – Märe –Novelle* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2006), p. 193.
[306] Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos*, p. 201.

b. Heightened comedy

Fable VI is a striking example of a Yiddish text emancipating itself from its German source. The main feature of the *Kuhbukh* fable is the accentuated level of comedy compared to its Boner counterpart. This drive to increase the fable's comic pedigree is not found in the 1579 version, which points to the *Kuhbukh*'s independently articulated strategy of increasing pre-existing comic moments of the fable.

The *Kuhbukh's* depicts Malgrete as a woman driven to extremes because of the loss of her donkey. Death is used on two occasions to create an element of exaggeration in the fable, which functions on a comic level. Malgrete expresses surprise that she has not yet died of sorrow: 'mich nemt gros wunder das ich nit stirb für großen lad." (KB, VI, 10[r]) She later voices hyperbolical suicidal thoughts as a result of her terrible grief: "laider mir ich möcht mich wol trenken fun großen laid das ich hon in meinem herzen." (KB, VI, 10[r]) Furthermore, the delayed reference to her lost donkey in the *Kuhbukh* accentuates the disproportionate response to her loss: the reader is left to determine what the cause of such lamentations could be, only to be informed by Malgrete that she is mourning her donkey. In contrast, the Boner version of the tale introduces the reason for her tears as soon as she enters the picture: "ein vrowe, diu hât ir esellî/ verlorn vor an dem dritten tage./ si wênde vast, grôz was ir klage" (Boner, LXXXII, ll.16-18). The delay in the reader's awareness of the situation strengthens the element of disproportion and exaggeration which are at the core of the *Kuhbukh's* comic strength.

Whereas the priest's vanity seems to be excused in Boner by the opening reference to his youth: "Ein pfaf was jung un dâ bî kluog" (Boner, LXXXII, l.1), the KB makes no excuses for the main character's flaws – even emphasising his erroneous thought process: "er docht

sich gar klug un weis sein." (KB VI, 9[v]) The KB strengthens the priest's vanity by introducing elements absent from the German version. For example, we are told that the priest's prized possession is a robe made of rich material: "an hot er ain langen rok do er dinen pflag al teglich tag er war gemacht ous eitel lindes tuch." (KB VI, 9[v]) This addition further highlights his vain attachment to the mundane.

The tonal features of the fable are accentuated in the *Kuhbukh*. The negative comparisons the priest is subject to evoke loud and less-than-melodic sounds: "gleich as ain hölze schel un as ain zu-brochene glok" (KB VI, 9[v]) and "er tet do ouf sein munt gleich as ain großer prak-hunt" (KB VI, 9[v]). Furthermore, the references to the woman's actual crying is increased: "un gar ser si schrai un wanet" (KB VI, 9[v]), "er schrai fil ser di malgrete schrai fil mer" (KB VI, 10[r]) , "un zu wainen ich mich nit ouf-halten kan" (KB VI, 10[r]), and "oder ir macht mich wainen men un um mein esel klagen." (KB VI, 10[r]) In comparison, the Boner version mentions her actively crying only twice: "grôz was ir klage. / dô si der pfaffe wainen sach" (ll.18-19).

The ridicule aimed at the priest in the *Kuhbukh* fable is topped off by Malgrete's offer to pay him to keep silent, a feature that does not appear in either Boner or the 1579 version: "ich wil öuch do schenken zwai lange kerzen un lost nöuert öuer singen an-sten." (KB VI, 10[r]) Furthermore, Rosenzweig argues that the reference to the donkey's tail can be read as a vulgar double-entendre which helps reinforce the comic parallel between the priest and the donkey.[307]

Because the *Kuhbukh* version of this tale recycled the moral epilogue of the previous tale in the collection, a comparison of the Boner and the *Kuhbukh* morals of this story is not straightforward. However, both versions emphasise the importance of self-awareness as an antidote to vanity:

[307] Rosenzweig, 'Some reflections', p. 242.

> Wer waent, daz er der beste sî,
> dem wont ein gouch vil nâhen bî.
> mich wundert, daz daz ôre stât
> sô nâch dem munde, und nicht vervât,
> daz ieman welle erkennen sich
> und sîne stimme; des wundert mich. (Boner, LXXXII, ll.45-50)

> das bei-spil sicher geraicht
> ouf ainem der sich selbert laicht
> un docht sich sein gar gut
> er maint als was er tut
> das zimt im als wol an
> er is wol ain törichter man
> ainer der sich selberet nit kent
> er wert gar bald geschent
> un iderman seiner spot
> ain sprich-wort man ümer gesagt hot
> an tanzen un an oren
> kent man fil menchen naren un toren
> un drum sag ich das der-bei
> ainer sol sich al-mol bedenken wer er sei
> un sol sich selbert in spigel an-sehen (KB, V, 9v)[308]

The comic elements of this fable create an exclusionary laughter in two ways. First, the reader laughs at the ridiculous behaviour of the two characters. Second, through the reference to a cleric the Jewish reader laughs at an obvious display of flawed behaviour by two Gentiles. The many Christian references in the fable, such as the priest, the candles, the bell and the *compieta* do suggest that the *Kuhbukh*'s author was comfortable mocking the priest. Even though the figure of the priest is already present in the Boner original, and exists within a trend of Christian anti-clerical laughter,[309] Rosenzweig argues convincingly that the survival and emphasis of the Christian elements adds a dimension of specifically Jewish mockery:

> Although the Christian terms are not couched in any denigrating or taboo-like formulations – as was often the case in Jewish texts – the story cannot remain 'neutral' because it becomes part of the Yiddish literary system, and the humour will be at the expense of the Christians, the external dominant culture.[310]

[308] This moral epilogue is from the preceding fable V, in which a crow is tricked into dropping his cheese by a fox. The reader is told to associate this epilogue with the singing cleric tale at the beginning and at the end of fable VI 'also gleich in sölchen gedon wil ich eich ain ainder bei-spil wißen lon' and 'das bei-spil is nun gleich as das erst is gewesen das ir hot für disem gelesen.'
[309] Coxon, *Laughter and Narrative,* pp. 159-164.
[310] Rosenzweig, 'Some reflections', p. 242.

This subtle anti-clerical laughter disappears from the later version of this fable as Wallich's later re-edition omits every reference to Christianity.[311] Although initially the comedy of the core fable material arises from the juxtaposition of religious authority figures with negative behaviour, in the KB the laughter becomes a communal act mocking Christianity specifically.

ii. Violence

A significant portion of the *Kuhbukh's* moments of comic entertainment revolve around a level of violence that is found neither in Berechiah nor in Boner. This comic element has wider implications than simple entertainment: it functions on a punitive level by emphasising the negative impact of socially disruptive behaviour. Brewer notes that "all humour depends on some limitation, as well as extension of sympathy, and there is little pity for physical pain (...)."[312] This notion of limiting and extending sympathy that Brewer touches on briefly is central to how violence functions as a source of comedy in the KB. By presenting us with characters (both human and animal) breaching the accepted social contract that we are implicated in, the KB's author allows us to withdraw feelings of sympathy. Instead, we are even given the opportunity to relish the violent physical punishment met out to those characters we have been given leave to mock. By withdrawing sympathy, the reader condemns the character's behaviour, implicitly affirming his or her own superiority in remaining within the accepted confines of the social hierarchy. This effectively cements the reader's acquiescence to real-life structures of social control and transforms violence into an opportunity for guilt-free laughter. Coxon terms this type of group-laughter 'disciplinary' as it serves to strengthen the moral and social expectations of the audience.[313]

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311 On the cultural-religious despecification of the *Sefer Mesholim*, see Katz, *Book of Fables*, pp. 262-264.
312 Derek S. Brewer, *Medieval Comic Tales*, (D.S Brewer: Cambridge, 2008), p. xviii.
313 Coxon, *Laughter and Narrative,* p.182

The enactment of violence as a means of policing wrong behaviour generally helps restore traditional social structures.[314] This functionalising of violence in the *Kuhbukh* ties in with trends in German short literary forms of the time. Grubmüller, in the context of the *fabliau* and the *Märe*, argues that order is symbolically restored through violence to the body.[315] Through the body, he argues, social norms are imposed, human impulses are controlled, and order is disrupted and re-established: "Der Verletzung der Ordnung korrespondiert die Verletzung des Körpers. Gewalt induziert Gewalt."[316]

Examples of corrective violence abound in the Yiddish fables. Fable X depicts a town-mouse and a country-mouse temporarily relinquishing their normal habitat in order to access better food supplies. The attempt to better their existing living conditions is unequivocally punished, thereby indicating that their dissatisfaction was problematic. In the course of the narrative, the country mouse is beaten violently by the owner of the well-stocked urban pantry they are pilfering from:

> gar bald wolt er si zu tot schlagen
> ain großen steken er do nam
> un zu dem schank er do kam
> un do er di möus ale baid sach sizen
> wi gar bald begunt er ser ouf si zu schmizen
> er schlug ouf si mit ganzer kraft
> [...] un drum müst si ein-nemen vil böser schleg
> der man eilet ir gar bald noch
> wi koum si im atfloch
> doch hot si vil mechtige schleg ein-genumen (KB, X,14^{v})

This particular episode of violence stands out since it has no precedent in either the Berechiah or the Boner versions of the same story. Both previous versions depict the country mouse severely frightened by a man simply walking into the pantry while they are feasting. The fear of something happening is enough to spur the country mouse into returning to its safer environment.

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[314] Coxon, *Laughter and Narrative*., p. 146.
[315] Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos*, p. 201.
[316] Ibid., p. 217.

Another character attempting to better his situation is found in fable XXI, in which a raven, unhappy with its appearance, steals colourful feathers from other birds to pass off as his own. The *Kuhbukh* version of this fable emphasises the raven's vanity by describing its arrogance and desire to be put ahead of every other bird once it has acquired a borrowed plumage. The opening description of his rather pitiful attempts at ridding himself of his black feathers further increase the raven's ridiculous trait:

> er zwaiget sich mit vil saf noch alum fleis
> das er wer aich gern gewesen weis
> und das kont jo nit gesein
> noch al das waßer noch al den wein
> kunt im nit nun ab-brengen di schwerz
> das tet in we in seinem herz. (KB XXI, 28^{v})

The incongruousness of a raven using soap, water and wine to attempt to wash itself white highlights the raven's vanity. The conflation of his pitiful self-hatred and newfound vanity does increase the poignancy of his downfall, but more importantly, it gives the audience the opportunity to distance itself from the bird and the licence to revel in his (perceived) deserved fall from grace. In Boner, his punishment is swift, both in actual and narrative length: "und zôch im ûz sîn gevider" (Boner, XXXIX, l. 29). The *Kuhbukh*, on the other hand, positively luxuriates in the opportunity to describe his violent fall from grace. The raven is pecked and scratched by a multitude of birds, bereft of his borrowed feathers, bald and bleeding. The reference to biting is telling: as a form of violence it usually connotes the most animalistic, and therefore degrading, behaviour.[317]

> der rab ward gar jjemerlich zu-pflukt
> al di pfederen waren im ous-gerißen
> di höut haten si im aich zu-bißen
> das im das blut her-ab ran
> gar jjermerlich ging er do-hin an dan
> si traiben in ous ale heken
> im blib nirgenz kain ganzen pfleken
> an seinem leib ganz
> si röuften im ganz di pfedern ous seinem schwanz
> ous den vlügel un ous den leib über-al

[317] Coxon, *Laughter and Narrative,* p. 148.

das er war ganz kal
as gleich as ain beschorene mous. (KB XXI, 29r)

The violence to which the raven is subjected to echoes the incongruity of his initial disruption of the world order. The preposterousness of his claim to another plumage is mirrored by the preposterousness of his subsequent baldness.

In a literary universe in which violence is perceived as a restorative and punitive force, the use of violence when there is no flawed behaviour to punish is simply aggression.[318] In the *Kuhbukh*, unconstructive violence underscores a character's lack of morality. The three brothers who overwork and beat their donkey in fable XII are characterised by their selfishness and lack of respect for their father's dying wishes. The manservant's murderous violence against the Jew in fable XXIV is symptomatic of his lack of loyalty to his liege.

Acts of violence pervade the *Kuhbukh*. Violence is perpetrated by animals and men alike, and it is endured by animals and men alike. There does not seem to be a difference in function according to whether the perpetrator of violence is animal or human. Human on human violence is rare: the sole example is of the murdered Jew's violent demise. Human on animal violence has two purposes: either it highlights flawed human behaviour, as in fable XII, and signals a disordered world such as in fable XX when the prostitute flays the donkey; or it is justifiably punitive, such as in fables XXII (Ass in Lion's Skin) and XXIII (Donkey and Lapdog) where in both cases the donkeys' flawed behaviour is corrected by a brutal beating. The same goes for animal on animal violence: punitive when the raven illicitly borrows feathers; or the symptom of a disordered world when the sheep is shorn in fable XVIII. Punitive violence tends to be more comic than violence symbolising the aggressor's flawed morality. It is a violence that is acceptable to the audience who does not identify with the deviant behaviour deserving of chastising.

[318] Grubmüller, *Die Ordnung, der Witz und das Chaos*, p. 219.

iii. The preservation of *status quo* as the overarching moral message

The repeated violence and the punitive laughter it engenders help to underscore the *Kuhbukh*'s programmatic moral world-view which is supported by detailed and prolonged discussions of morality and moral behaviour in the fable epilogues. As a cohesive entity, the thirty five fables of the *Kuhbukh* call for a maintaining of social order and hierarchical status quo.[319] This is achieved through the promotion, mostly to those at the bottom of social hierarchies, of virtues rooted in passivity and acceptance that do not challenge the existing social order. Deviation from the norm, in the display of problematic characteristics such as lack of self-awareness, vanity, arrogance or excessive pious behaviour that prevent the individual from satisfying his or her social duties, are portrayed throughout the book of fables as moral transgressions that threaten the wider fabric of society.

These transgressions are even equated with unnatural leanings through the irrevocable association of dissatisfaction with unnaturalness in fable VIII (Crow and Peacock). In this particular fable, a crow decides to emulate a peacock's gait. The imitation takes over to the extent that the crow no longer remembers how to walk naturally and ends up hopping around in a ridiculous fashion. The fable condemns the crow's mimicry by highlighting that it was acting against natural instinct: "si wolt tun was ir di natu'er nit brocht / un was an-geboren / un drum hot si ains mit dem anderen für-loren" (KB, VIII, 12ᶜ). By spelling out what is natural and what is not, the *Kuhbukh* effectively cements the vision of social order it espouses.

Additionally, the reader is dissuaded from engaging in problematic behaviours by repeated instances of violent punishment. The more a character affects the status quo by impacting a large number of other animals or people, the more violent the punishment. Punishment is

[319] This section is expanded on in greater detail in my forthcoming article 'Ainer sol sich al-mol bedenken wer er sei: social order, status, and class stratification in the *Kuhbukh*.' (Oxford: Legenda)

the most common outcome of the *Kuhbukh*: out of the thirty five fables, twenty-four culminate in punishment. Of these twenty-four, three culminate in the character being shamed, three with characters getting their comeuppance, six with loss, six with physical violence, and six with death.

The prominence of punishment as an outcome in the *Kuhbukh* is further reflected in the fact that only five fables culminate in truly positive outcomes: VII (Lion and Shepherd), IX (Fox and Chick), XIII (Clever Doves), XVII (Lion and Mouse), and XXV (Faithful Watchdog). However, the positive outcomes are limited to survival: the lion from VII lets the shepherd survive, the chick from IX is able to scare off the fox, and the clever dove from XIII is able to outwit the farmer's trap. The end of fable XXV underscores the *Kuhbukh*'s moral programme by equating the faithtful watchdog's loyalty with menial subservience in its closing description of ideal servant behaviour. The author lists the duties to be performed in great detail. By equating the dog's positive behaviour with a servant's daily chores, the *Kuhbukh* author effectively demonstrates that the moral responsibility to uphold social order portrayed in the collection of fables is very much *de rigueur* in the reader's non-fictional world.

The space provided through the use of rhetorical processes enabling narrative amplification has allowed for the *Kuhbukh* to shape a prescriptive, and rather conservative, world-view that equates behaviours threatening to social order with moral transgression, as well as with unnaturalness. The final section of this chapter will discuss the judaizing elements of the *Kuhbukh* and argue that their presence further heightens the *Kuhbukh*'s moral stakes.

iv. Judaization

The presence of judaizing material in the KB fables derived from the Boner functions in two ways: the use of Jewish-specific vocabulary, with localised impact on the narrative, and a more extensive deployment of Jewish-specific themes that anchor the moral programme of

the collection into firmly Jewish contexts. Both of these levels of judaization are the result of adaptation strategies, as discussed in the introduction. They are new additions to the text and were added in order to align the text with its new audience, rather than in order to provide equivalence with content from the original.

Although this chapter focuses solely on the fables derived from Boner, it is important to note that Jewish references are not limited to the fables of German origin, but are found in fables from both Berechiah and the MK. The fables derived from the *Meshal ha-kadmoni*, for example, display extensive usage of Hebrew words and references to specifically Jewish elements such as holy days, religious objects, Jewish institutions, Jewish beliefs and liturgy.[320] These fables also contain detailed discussions of issues at the heart of Jewish society. Fable XXVI, a rather odd pronouncement on the importance of luck, contains an extensive discussion of the ideal Jewish education a melamed should provide, from good synagogal behaviour, to proficiency in Torah reading. Fable XXIX discusses the insidious dangers of false piety in its portrayal of an untrustworthy Jewish banker who performs his religious duties very publicly in order to gain trustees. Fable XXX inserts a discourse on ideal wifely behaviour while also commenting on the dangers of neglecting real life in favour of unrealistic piety. Some of the Jewish material found in the fables derived from the MK mirrors the judaizing process found in the Boner fables. Fable XXVI, for example, contains an entirely original excursus on the ideal Jewish curriculum taught to children. Although fable XXVIII follows the MK closely (except for a deleted discussion of digestion), the references to the Jewish marriage contract are new to the KB. The man and wife from fable XXX are Muslim in the MK, but explicitly referred to as Jewish in the KB.

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[320] A non-exhaustive list of Jewish references found in the fables derived from the *Meshal ha-kadmoni*: KB XXVI: Tzizit, melamed, Siddur, Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashone, synagogue, Torah; KB XXVIII: Ketubah (marriage contract) and Jewish departure from Egypt ; KB XXIX: Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashone, Tallit, phylacteries, synagogue, etrog and lulav of Sukkot, kosher ; KB XXX: Siddur, synagogue, Torah, Purim, circumcision, Kaddish.

a. Localised insertion of Jewish references

The localised addition of linguistic and cultural components specific to Judaism does not fundamentally alter the narrative, although it can imbue it with comic effect. These additions are also part of an articulated strategy of adaptation that enhances the relevance of the KB moral programme to its Jewish readership.

Jewish-specific vocabulary is found throughout the *Kuhbukh*, from the title-page to the closing moral epilogue. In the case of the fables derived partly and exclusively from *Der Edelstein*, the presence of Jewish specific vocabulary constitutes a clear addition to the original material, rather than an attempt to achieve equivalence. There does not seem to be a pattern behind the dissemination of Hebrew words and Jewish terminology within the fables themselves. Their use is continuous and frequent, but not systematic. They are not limited to certain parts of the text and can be found at various points of a fable. The presence of Jewish-specific vocabulary is in some case linguistically motivated, reflecting the Hebrew component of the Yiddish language. In other cases, the word choice is culturally motivated, indicating a desire to anchor a story context firmly into a Jewish context by flagging up that a certain character (animal or human) is Jewish.

Whether linguistically or culturally motivated, word-choices reflecting Jewish specificity do more than simply reflect the reader's religious beliefs. These word-choices can become a source of comedy, especially when vocabulary denoting rituals and customs is applied to animals. This is apparent in the *Kuhbukh* fable XII, in which the death of an overworked donkey is mourned by its abusive owners who recite Kaddish, a prayer central to Jewish mourning rituals. The comedy that stems from this contrast is a continuation of the previous scene in the fable, in which no expenses were spared to find a medical remedy to the donkey's exhaustion. In fable IV of the *Kuhbukh*, the Jewish elements inserted into the narration function differently, albeit still on a comic level. In this particular fable, a fox and a

stork attempt to out-cook and trick each other. Here, the specifically Jewish elements (kreplech and Purim food) are of the culinary kind and fit well within a long description of food prepared for the occasion. The contrast between the lavishness of the culinary offerings and the animals' physical limitations when the time comes to eat is a comical one.

In the same vein, the presence of Jewish vocabulary in the speeches or thoughts of animals in the fables becomes comical. In fable V, in which a crow is tricked by a fox into dropping the cheese from its mouth, the fox's flattering speech involves substantial Jewish elements: "er sach do do über sich gegen den steren / as wolt er sein mekades di levone/ er sait morgen is es Rosh-hashone/ lost mich hören wi ir di nigunim kent sagen." (9ʳ)[321] In this particular instance, the reference to Rosh Hashanah provides the fox with even greater means of persuasion and a seemingly disingenuous reason for the crow to sing.

Use of specifically Jewish vocabulary in dialogues between humans is a common occurrence, even if the characters are not usually portrayed as explicitly Jewish.[322] This could be the result of the role of Hebrew in Yiddish, as mentioned above. In fable XII, the dying miller reiterates his hope that his sons will respect his dying wishes with the words 'un achtet das ir mein zavo'e helt' (17ʳ). In this particular case, the use of the Hebrew word emphasises the weight and importance of the miller's last words, which, in turn, highlights the immoral behaviour of the three sons. Not only is their behaviour the result of selfishness and greed, their misdeeds are doubly reprehensible since they are in opposition to their father's wishes. In this same fable, one of the sons is explicitly characterised as a Jew by the phrase: 'as ich bin ain frumer jud' (17ʳ). Such usage, along with 'frum un bider', throughout the *Kuhbukh* is striking. It is used both by human characters in the fable and the narrator to connote an ideal

321 "He looked up at the stars above as though he were about to perform a blessing of the moon. He said, tomorrow is Rosh Hashone. Let me hear how you can sing the prayer melodies." Translation from Katz, *Book of Fables,* p. 46.

322 The murdered Jew in fable XXIV is not a Yiddish addition; rather he is a consistent feature of this particular fable's tradition. See Esther Zago, Janice Owen and Michael Serwarka, 'The Jew and the King's Cup-Bearer: A Tale of Jewish Life in Medieval Europe', in *Fabula*, 42 3/4 (2001), pp. 213-242.

standard of behaviour from which one has deviated from or that one aspires to. This ideal standard of behaviour, as the phrase 'frumer jud' indicates, is undeniably Jewish. The son, however, by referring to himself as a pious Jew, is guilty of cognitive dissonance: the fable works towards illustrating that his behaviour is flawed.

The Jewish vocabulary in the moral epilogues of the fables function differently to the other instances mentioned above, in that it ties more strongly to the author's attempts to thematise the moral issues of the *Kuhbukh* within a Jewish context. The moral epilogue of fable I exhorts the readers to be satisfied with their god-given possessions. The narrator ends the fable with the lines "do sol er frölich sein al tag sein leben/ do is es eitel masel un broche der-bei/ glabt mir das on das ich schwer öuch bei aboneih (5ᵛ)." Here 'masel' and 'broche' reinforce the reader's quasi-religious duty to be content. The macaronic rhyme der-bei/aboneih not only demonstrates the author's literary capabilities, but also functions as an additional reference to Judaism, since Aboneih is a thinly veiled reference to Adonai. The use of Jewish vocabulary to further strengthen the moral message of the *Kuhbukh* fables also works towards the thematising of overall Jewish issues, the second main type of judaization of the *Kuhbukh*.

b. Thematising of specifically Jewish issues

Beyond the straightforward addition of Jewish-specific word choices, the KB also thematises issues that have a particular resonance to Jewish readers. This type of judaization is mainly achieved through a departure from the *Edelstein* moral epilogue. Two pertinent examples can be found in fables XIV and XVIII, which respectively emphasise the importance of strong Jewish communities and the perceived iniquity of Christian courts.

Fable XIV tells the story of a group of mice terrorized by the house cat. They finally decide to take action and establish a plan that will put an end to the feline's reign of terror. The plan

is to purchase a bell and hang it around the cat's neck, thereby providing them with an adequate warning system. However, once the matter has been thoroughly discussed, it quickly becomes apparent that no one is prepared to risk their life hanging the bell around the cat's neck. The Boner version of this fable displays a rather straightforward epilogue that highlights the uselessness of speeches if they are not followed by action: "das kraft ân wîsheit nicht enschaft. / daz tuot wol wîsheit âne kraft" (Boner, LXX, ll.51-52). The *Kuhbukh* counterpart's epilogue initially builds on the lessons drawn from Boner:

> das bei-spil uns nun sicher betöut
> ouf menche gute löut
> di sich mit-anander beroten
> si welen zu mansters kumen den Soten
> das si manen wol für im zu antrinen
> un wen si sich doch gar wol besinen
> ainer wil den anderen nischt zu geben
> drum verliren si al mit-anander ir leben
> öuch as den möusen is geschehen
> wi' i aine di' ander tet an-sehen (KB, XIV, 19^{v})

The epilogue, however, also goes further in its discussion by highlighting the importance of strong and united communities:

> do-her-fun hon ich ain gleichnes genumen
> un bin mit meinem bei-spil gekumen
> ouf ain kohol di do bei-anander sizen
> mit sinen un mit wizen
> un wen si sich nit mit tröuen manen
> so kenen si sich nümer recht ainen
> drum mag es in übel ous-gen
> wen si solen mencher-lai unter-sten
> so könen si sich nit mit-anander gleichen
> di armen mit den reichen
> das is sicher gar übel geton
> as ich öuch aldo hon wißen lon
> dorum is vil beßer sich zu ainen
> di großen mit den klainen
> di manen mit den zimlichen pülzes un vrauen
> un al-zeit recht ouf-schouen (KB, XIV, 19^{v})

The use of the word 'kohol' is striking. It means much more than just 'society' or 'community'. 'Kehile' is used to describe the religious community of the Jews, an association between Jews based on shared religious duties (prayer quorum), shared religious spaces

(ritual baths, the sacred burial grounds) and shared institutions (the courts, synagogue) that are only possible within the framework of a social group.[323] It is a word that indicates the necessary social and religious cohesion of Jews living together in order for their traditions, customs and religious identity to survive.[324] The Yiddish word for a secular society or community is 'gemain'. By using the word 'kehile', the author of the *Kuhbukh* ensured that the fable functioned primarily as warning to Jews, highlighting the need for cohesion between all individuals of the community. The further reference to different social categories and to both genders strengthens the plea for a strong communal bond.

Fable XVIII thematises the iniquity of Christian courts, a particular grievance of Jewish communities. Whereas fable VI of the *Kuhbukh* functionalised Christian elements as comic value, fable XVIII uses Christian elements to voice frustrations concerning the Gentile judicial system. According to Wolfthal, the scene reminds the reader of a Gentile court rather than a Jewish one through its illustration.[325] Wolfthal argues that the Yiddish version of this fable is very much aligned with the Boner tradition, both in content and in illustration. In the Boner tradition, the wolf is consistently depicted with a staff, sitting higher up than the plaintiffs. This composition is preserved in the Yiddish illustration, where we have a wolf positioned on a throne, with a staff that looks uncannily like a sceptre. The text also mentions the staff: "sein stab hot er nun aldo in sein hant" (25r). There is therefore a clear concordance between text and illustration, nothing is accidental. In contrast, Jewish courts

323 For an analysis of Jewish communal organisation in the early modern period, see Dean Phillip Bell 'Jewish Communities in Central Europe in the Sixteenth Century' in *Defining Community in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Michael J. Halvorson and Karen E. Spierling (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 143-162 and Bonfil's *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*, pp. 179-212.
324 For a discussion of the importance of Jewish infrastructures and institutions to the Jewish community, see Bonfil, *Jewish Life,* p. 55; as well as Bell's 'Jewish Communities', pp. 158-159.
325 Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish,* p. 176.

operated differently. Instead of one person pronouncing judgements, there were three.[326] Although Wolfthal argues that Jewish courts did not have staffs, sceptres, or anything resembling a throne, I would approach this particular line of Wolfthal's argument with caution.[327] Bonfil's *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy* contains an illustration from a 1535 Mantuan manuscript that depicts a Jewish court in session.[328] In this illustration, an undeniable throne-like seating arrangement indicates the prominence of one of the presiding judges, presumably the rabbi. The Yiddish text further strengthens the Gentile aspects of the wolf's court by quoting a saying inscribed on the Town Hall at Nuremberg which, according to the tale, reads: "aines mans red is ain halbe red/ ous-genumen man hört si bed" (25[r]). This explicit reference to a Gentile municipal authority, combined with the fact that the wolf ignores the advice contained in the inscription, seem to constitute a direct criticism of Gentile courts perceived as biased in their judgements against Jews. In Boner, the focus of the fable is on the invalidity of coerced testimony. The fable explicitly describes the sheep's coercion:

> ich muost iu sweren einen eit,
> des ich valschlîch wart angeseit.
> haet ich den eit dô nicht gesworn,
> der wolf haet mir den lîp zerzorn,
> unde haete mich verezzen. (Boner, XXXV, ll.51-55)

Additionally, the German epimythion strongly condemns the dangers of false testimonies:

> Betwungen eit sol binden nicht
> der von rechter vorcht beschicht.
> wer durch vorcht gelübde tuot
> âne sinne und âne muot,
> ân laster mag er dâ von gân,
> als ouch diz schaeflîn hât getân.
> rechtiu vorchte ein staeten man
> von sölkem eide enschulgen kan. (Boner, XXXV, ll.57-64)

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[326] The *beth-din* of Padua was headed by a rabbi and two council members on a two-year term who acted as judges. Bell, 'Jewish Communities', p. 158.
[327] Wolfthal, *Picturing Yiddish,* p. 176.
[328] Bonfil, *Jewish Life*, p. 206.

In contrast, the Yiddish version chooses to emphasise the prevalence of injustice over justice. The sheep maintains its innocence throughout the entire fable. Furthermore, the author uses the fable's epilogue to further thematize the pervasiveness of violence and injustice throughout the world:

> das bei-spil is mir gar wol bekant
> ain rot-her un ain richter des land
> wi vil mencher sizt an dem gericht
> un das recht is for im gar kügelicht
> noch al seinem wilen er es um-kert
> al der-noch das ainer begert
> das nun oft der-gelten mus
> valsch-haid hot iren vus
> aso gestelt in dise welt
> un hot ouf-geschlogen sein gezelt
> vast gestrekt iren grund
> di worhaid hot beschloßen iren mund
> wen di valsch-haid is di welt über-zohen
> das recht mus nun ganz antflohen
> man kan schir kain wor-haid men gefinden
> di lügen di macht di löut blinden
> do man nun nit wil das recht an-sehen
> wi kan nun recht in der welt geschehen
> wen gewalt get for recht
> das klag ich armer knecht (KB, XVIII, 25v)

The personification of 'valsch-haid' and 'worhaid' enables the author to construct a depiction of a world rife with falsity. The struggle between both forces is all the more poignant as a result of this personification: falsity has set foot on the world, raised a tent that connotes images of battlefields and encampments and helps envision the territorial gains it has made over the world of men. Truth, on the other hand, has been rendered speechless and is increasingly difficult to find. In this particular passage, the moral epilogue is given more weight as a result of the appearance of the narrator's voice, embodied by the 'mir' present in the opening sentence. The narrator's intervention is then followed up with a personal anecdote ('ain rot-her un ain richter des land') which enables him to speak with authority once he has moved on to the discussion of the universality of the problem at hand. As Jeremy Dauber points out, the narrator's use of experiental proof is a regular feature of the

whole *Kuhbukh*.[329]

A subtle parallel between the innocent sheep and the persecuted Jewish communities can be found in the fable. Through the voice of the sheep, the author describes the wretched animal as an 'armen knecht.' A few lines later, in the epilogue, the author also refers to himself in the same manner in the line 'das klag ich armer knecht'. By using the same phrase to describe both the sheep and himself, the author cleverly compares his (Jewish) existence to the sheep's persecuted existence. The wretchedness of the sheep's fate is further highlighted by the use of repeated use of the noun *nebech*. As in the previous example of the singing cleric, the Christian elements have been preserved, but functionalised in a way that enabled the Yiddish version to voice certain criticisms of the mainstream Christian society that surrounded Jewish communities. This critical view of the perceived injustices perpetrated by Christian courts is anchored in the historically evidenced communal leaders' distaste at being legislated by non-Jewish courts. In disputes involving two Jews it was not uncommon for one party to resort to the Christian court in order to bypass a prior communal judgement, which communities sought to prevent through the threat of sanctions.[330] A Venetian statute of 1617, for example, banned individuals from appearing before the city's magistrates on their own volition.[331]

The localised insertion of Jewish vocabulary and the overarching thematisation of Jewish issues work on a cohesive level. They address the audience specificity of the text, whilst at the same time emphasising the relevance of the fables to aspects of Jewish life. This in turn spells out the relevance of its overall moral framework. This focus on the KB's judaizing elements not only reflects the various levels at which Jewish specific references can work, but

[329] Dauber, *In the Demon's Bedroom,* p. 97.
[330] Bell, 'Jewish Communities', p. 160.
[331] Dean Phillip Bell, *Jews in the Early Modern World* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), p. 108.

it also demonstrates the importance of providing a meaningful framework for analyses when documenting the presence of judaizing strategies in order to fully account for their function.

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This analysis of the twenty one fables of the *Kuhbukh* derived partly or exclusively from Ulrich Boner's *Der Edelstein* assessed the relationship between the German text and its Yiddish counterpart. The emancipation of the Yiddish text from its German original was apparent when looking at the surviving textual fragments of the Boner text. Although some sentences survived in their entirety, most of the similarities between the two are fragmented and sporadic. The author of the *Kuhbukh* may have retained some of the original language and phrasing, but the great majority of his rhyming pairs are entirely original. The relationship between the two texts is one informed by the expansion of the fables in the Yiddish *Kuhbukh*. This expansion occurred at both character and narrator levels of the text and was achieved by the addition and amplification of description, dialogue and interior monologue. The narrative expansion provided the author with the space to create inclusive and exclusionary moments of laughter, and insert moments of violence to further strengthen the moral messages at the heart of the *Kuhbukh*. The collection of fables was shaped into an overarching argument for the importance of social cohesion and boundaries. It also ensured the readers' acquiescence and participation in this particular moral program by anchoring its fables within a specifically Jewish context by the addition of culturally specific vocabulary, as well as by the thematisation of issues relevant to a Jewish readership.

CHAPTER THREE: THE PRINTED TRADITION OF THE *SIEBEN WEISEN MEISTER* AND *THE SIBEN WEISEN MAINSTER BICHEL*

The Seven Sages of Rome is one of the most widely transmitted narratives of the medieval and early modern period. [332] The story in its most basic iteration is the tale of a young prince sent away to learn with seven wise men at the behest of his dying mother. During his learned exile, the prince's father remarries. Upon his return to court after the mandated years have gone by, the prince is the victim of his stepmother's advances. Rebuffed, the stepmother accuses her stepson of attempted rape. Unfortunately for the prince, a prophecy that came to him before his return to court states that he must remain silent for the first seven days of his return at court. If he breaks this imposed silence, he will die. Thus unable to defend himself, the prince is sentenced to death the next morning. One of the sages tells the emperor a story in the hope of convincing the ruler that his wife's words should not be trusted. The sage secures a stay of execution. The rest of the narrative is built around each of the seven sages' tales and the interspersed rebuttal stories of the stepmother. Once the seven days have passed, the prince is once again able to talk, and exposes his stepmother for the wanton liar that she is.

I. The Seven Sages of Rome

It would be beyond the scope of this chapter to enter into a detailed discussion of its dissemination and transmission from the Eastern to the Western literary worlds, nevertheless

[332] By 'Seven Sages' I mean the wider narrative material that is at the heart of both Eastern and Western traditions. The abbreviation SWM refers to the German Seven Sages material derived from the *Historia septem sapientum*. The abbreviation ZWM refers to the Yiddish literary material that is derived from the SWM in the early seventeenth century.

a short overview of this literary tradition is necessary in order to situate the Yiddish version in its wider cultural context.[333]

i. Eastern tradition

Runte, Wikeley and Farrell's *The Seven Sages of Rome and the Book of Sindbad*: *An Analytical Bibliography* contains a succinct summary of the history of the Seven Sages literary material:

> *The Seven Sages of Rome* has its ultimate roots in the East where it is usually known as *The Book of Sindbad*. The Eastern parent version may go back as far as the fifth century B.C, but the earliest extant mention of *The Book of Sindbad* and its probably oldest extant version, the Syriac *Sindban*, date from the tenth century A.D. *The Book of Sindbad* originated most likely in India, although Persia and the Jewish Near East have also been advanced as possible birthplaces.[334]

As a result of its minimal impact on the Western tradition, the Eastern branch of the Seven Sages tradition is not of great relevance to this chapter. Additionally, the *Book of Sindbad* has not attracted much modern academic interest. Steinmetz offers a succinct overview of the Oriental branch in his study *Exempel und Auslegung* and excuses the cursory nature of his analysis: "Da die innere Geschichte des 'Sindbad-buchs' im folgenden von geringerem Interesse ist, beschränke ich mich auf eine Skizze des derzeitigen Forschungsstandes."[335] Steinmetz refers his readers to Campbell's monograph for further information on the oriental versions. Of note, however, is the presence of a Spanish version of the Eastern branch dating from 1253 titled *Libro de los engaños et los asayamientos de las mugeres.*[336] The *Mishle Sendebar* (c.1316), a Hebrew version of the Seven Sages material, also belonged to the Eastern branch, and just as *Libro de los engaños*, co-existed with the Western tradition on the European continent.

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[333] For a brief overview of the Seven Sages tradition, see Udo Gerdes, 'Sieben weise Meister', in *Verfasser lexikon*, vol. VIII, pp. 1174-1189.

[334] Hans R. Runte, J. Keith Wikeley, Anthony J. Farrell, *The Seven Sages of Rome and the Book of Sindbad: An Analytical Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1984), p. xiii. Although published in 1984, Hans Runte regularly updates an online version of this bibliography at http://myweb.dal.ca/hrunte/seven_sages.html

[335] Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, *Exempel und Auslegung: Studien zu den 'Sieben weisen Meistern'* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 2000), pp. 8-10.

[336] *Es libro de los engaños*, ed. by John Esten Keller (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1953).

ii. Western tradition

Runte et al. summarize the link between the Eastern and Western traditions as follows:

> From *The Book of Sindbad* are derived two distinct, though not unrelated, Western narrative traditions: The *Dolopathos* and *The Seven Sages of Rome*. The *Dolopathos* has replaced all but one story from *The Book of Sindbad* (*canis*) by other material; and, like *The Book of Sindbad*, it assigns only one teacher to the prince. *The Seven Sages of Rome* shares four stories (*canis*, *aper*, *senescalus*, *avis*) with *The Book of Sindbad*, but the sages tell only one story each instead of the two or more in the Eastern tradition; *The Seven Sages of Rome* also has four stories (*canis*, *gaza*, *puteus*, *inclusa*) in common with the *Dolopathos*.[337]

The exact nature of the transmission from East to West has not yet been established conclusively, and existing transmission theories are outlined adequately in Runte et al. Steinmetz also provides a detailed overview of theories of transmission,[338] but goes further in his analysis by outlining the shift from an interest in the Seven Sages tradition from a purely folkloristic and motif-orientated perspective to an increasing interest in critical analysis of its content.[339]

The literary history of the *Seven Sages* material is characterised by a complex dissemination in Western Europe. The textual tradition of the *Seven Sages* is initially divided into two branches: Version S, as seen in the *Scala celi*; and the more important branch, represented by versions K (French), C (represented by a single French m.s from Chartres dated around the end of the 13th century), D (single extant French m.s dating from the 15th century),[340] and A (first quarter of the 13th century, twenty nine known manuscripts over a broad spectrum of languages: French, English, Italian, Swedish, Welsh).[341] The oldest extant Western text,

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337 Runte et al.: *The Seven Sages of Rome*, p. xiii. It is important to note that sources for the *Dolopathos,* whose only link to the Eastern material is via the story *canis*, are not known.
338 Steinmetz, *Exempel und Auslegung*, pp. 10-19.
339 Ibid., pp. 19-24.
340 Gaston Paris, *Deux rédactions du roman des Sept Sages de Rome* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1876), p. v.
341 Runte et al.: *The Seven Sages of Rome*, p. xiv ; Steinmetz, *Exempel und Auslegung*, pp. 15-16 ; Detlef Roth, *Historia septem sapientum*, p. 1.

referred to as French Version K, is believed to have been written circa 1155.[342] Version A is the source of (i) Latin version H and all its variants, (ii) version I (Italian) and its variants and translations, (iii) Versions L and M (French), (iv) and the French Continuations of the cycle.[343]

It is the Latin Version H and some of its variants that are of relevant to the Yiddish version. Referred to as *Historia septem sapientum* (HSS), Latin Version H was translated from French Version A.[344] The oldest known manuscript of Latin Version H is dated to 1342, and Roth lists a further seventy one manuscripts.[345] Latin Version H is the source of most European versions of the Seven Sages story. Most remarkably, Latin Version H was translated back into French as French Version H, a rare case of double translation that was all the more meaningful because Latin H's subsequent translation back into French ensured that its innovations endured in the many vernaculars of Europe. The Latin Version H was innovative in many aspects, the most important of which is the establishing of a new order in which the tales are structured within the main frame-tale. The order found in Latin Version H differs from the organisation of French Version A.[346] As the table below illustrates, the Latin Version H is distinguished by the combination of the *senescalus* and *Roma* stories into one tale, the combination of the *vaticinium* and *amici* stories into the prince's closing story, and the introduction of *amatores*, a story which had previously not been part of the Seven Sages of Rome tradition:[347]

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342 Runte et al: *The Seven Sages of Rome*, p. xiii.
343 Ibid., p. xiv.
344 Paris, *Deux rédactions*, pp. xxviii-xliii. For an extensive and recent analysis of the HSS, see Detlef Roth's *Historia septem sapientum: Überlieferung und textgeschichtliche Edition* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004).
345 Roth, *Historia septem sapientum*, pp. 7; 16-18.
346 On the impact of this re-organisation as well as other aspects of Latin Version H's innovations through narrative amplification, see Hans Runte, 'From the Vernacular to Latin and Back: the Case of *the Seven Sages of Rome*' in *Medieval Translators and their Craft*, ed. by Jeanette Beer (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1989), 93-133.
347 This table is adapted from Runte, 'From the Vernacular', p. 95.

	Narrator	Name of the tale
1	Empress	arbor
2	Sage	canis
3	Empress	aper
4	Sage	puteus
5	Empress	gaza
6	Sage	avis
7	Empress	sapientes
8	Sage	tentamina
9	Empress	Virgilius
10	Sage	medicus
11	Empress	senescalus + Roma
12	Sage	amatores
13	Empress	inclusa
14	Sage	vidua
15	Prince	vaticinium + amici

Table III. Narrative order in Latin Version H

The European variants of the Seven Sages material which are derived from Latin Version H all possess this characteristic ordering of the stories. The narrative structure originating from Latin Version H is a crucial starting place when assessing the origin of a particular *Seven Sages* variant, as evidenced by the discussion of the ZWM's origin later in this chapter. If a particular variant does present this order, then it is possible to determine that it stems from a vernacular version derived from Latin Version H.

II. The 1602 edition in the context of the printed Seven Sages tradition

A Yiddish version of the western Seven Sages of Rome narrative was first published in 1602 in the printing house of Konrad Waldkirch in Basel. Listed as n°174 in Prijs' catalogue, the ZWM is an octavo with dimensions of 11.8*6.6 cm.[348]

[348] Joseph Prijs, *Die Basler Hebräischen Drucke (1492-1866)* (Olten; Freiburg i. Br: Urs Graf, 1964), pp. 282-283. The only extant copy of the ZWM is located in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, FA VIII.

i. The *Mishle Sendebar* as a relatively contemporary text

The appearance of the Seven Sages of Rome narrative in early modern Yiddish literature is especially interesting when considering that the Yiddish 1602 edition and all other subsequent ZWM editions are derived from the Western tradition. However, Jewish audiences of the sixteenth century were also familiar with the narrative's eastern counterpart, in the form of the *Mishle Sendebar* (MS). It is immediately apparent that the MS could not have been the source of the 1602 edition of the ZWM since it has only three stories in common with it, specifically *avis*, *canis*, and *aper*. The *Mishle Sendebar* had first been printed within *Divre ha-Yamim shel Moshe Rabbenu* in Constantinople in 1516. The tale of Sendebar is printed amongst a number of small *midrashim* and traveller's tales. Of note is the inclusion within the collection of the *Hidot Isopeto*, a collection of Aesopic fables.[349] The subsequent Venice edition of 1544 was a reprint of the Constantinople edition. A further Venetian edition was printed in 1605, a mere three years after the 1602 printing of the *Siben weisen mainster bichel*, further attesting its contempary parallel existence to the ZWM.

The early modern Jewish familiarity with both eastern and western traditions of this frame-work narrative seems to be a feature unique to European Jewish audiences. It is remarkable that even though the *Mishle Sendebar* did enjoy significant popularity (according to Epstein, there are eighteen extant manuscripts of the MS), the great popularity of the *Historia septem sapientum* and its many variants led the Yiddish printing industry to favour its Gentile counterpart.[350] This particular example of Jewish literature encompassing two differing strands of the same narrative material would seem to highlight the extent to which secular Yiddish literature was shaped by popular mainstream literature. Whereas the *Mishle Sendebar*, on the evidence of extant editions, is not reprinted after the beginning of the seventeenth

[349] For a description of the 1516 edition, see Heller, *The Sixteenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol. I, pp. 90-91.
[350] Morris Epstein, *Tales of Sendebar: Mishle Sendabar* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1967), pp. 340-362.

century, the Yiddish ZWM editions endured well into the eighteenth, thus ensuring the popularity of the Western tradition over the Eastern branch.

ii. Early modern popularity of the medieval text

The number of printed editions of the SWM material in the German language is a testament to the popularity of the literary material during the early modern period. From the beginnings of the print industry until 1602, Gotzkowsky records more than forty known German printed editions.[351] Furthermore, Gotzkowsky argues that the number of printed copies of the SWM would be much higher than the number of known copies.[352]

Michael Harder's *Meßmemorial* from the Frankfurt book fair of 1569 is witness to the SWM's enduring popularity in the early modern period.[353] Harder kept a detailed account of which books he sold, and to whom he sold them, over the period of 29th March to 13th April 1569. Tasked to sell off the remaining inventory of the publisher Gülfferich, he sold 5,918 books. The transaction records he kept provide us with a detailed picture of the SWM's commercial success. With 233 sold copies, the SWM was Harder's bestselling title. Harder sold the 1556 Wiegand Han edition printed in Frankfurt, which also happened to be the cheapest book in Harder's inventory, selling for a mere eleven shillings a copy. Aside from the SWM's undeniable popularity at the book fair of 1569, Harder's records also paint a clearer picture of German readership habits. When Harder sold copies of the SWM to other booksellers this was generally in conjunction with other similar books such as *Fortunatus*, *Magelone*, *Melusine*, *Octavianus*, *Schimpf und Ernst*, *Eulenspiegel, Wigalois* etc. Additionally, through these records, we

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351 See Bodo Gotzkowsky, '*Volksbücher', Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwaankbücher: Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1991-1994), 2 vols.
352 Gotzkowsky, *Volksbücher*, vol. I, p. 281.
353 *Mess-Memorial des Frankfurter Buchhändlers Michael Harder, Fastenmesse 1569*, ed. by Ernst Kelchner and Richard Wülker (Frankfurt a.M; Paris: Joseph Baer & Co, 1873).

can also see the extent to which, because of its popularity, the SWM benefited from a wide network of distribution. Selling to a number of booksellers, including the famous Sigmund Feyerabend, Handler recorded where these booksellers were from. As a result, we have an idea of the potential geographical span of the SWM's distribution: Leipzig, Nürnberg, Magdeburg, Groningen, Köln, Fulda, Tübingen, Braunschweig, Kassel, Halberstadt, and Gräfenberg. Handler did sell to a bookseller from Basel, although unfortunately the SWM was not one of the titles sold. Nevertheless, this transaction does show that the Basel book industry was very much connected to Frankfurt. It would not be impossible for another (later) edition of the SWM to be sold at the Frankfurt book fair to a member of the book trade working in Basel. This could work as a potential route of access for a Yiddish edition of the SWM.

iii. A flexible narrative material

The enduring popularity of the SWM (and Seven Sages material by extension) over an astounding period of time and a number of languages was enabled by the flexibility of its narrative material. The combination of embedded stories within a wider frame tale leaves room for their various interpretations at different levels of the narrative. The SWM explicitly codes narrative spaces at the end of each embedded tale as interpretative moments by having either the wise master or the step-mother ask the emperor if he has understood the story. The question is then followed up by the master/step-mother detailing who the emperor should identify with in the relevant story. The emperor becomes a stand-in for the reader, whilst the embedded narrator becomes the mouthpiece for the author's interpretative decisions.

Wacks touches upon this narrative space dedicated to spelling out intepretations of a specific story in his discussion of the frametale narrative in Hebrew and Arabic tales from Al-Andalus. He discusses what he terms the 'literary mobility' of this particular narrative structure:

> This literary mobility changes the relationship of the encoded performances to the community in which they are performed and received; once encoded into the frametale text, such performances are less dependent on a specific community for their meaning, yet the community of each encoder (author) leaves its mark on the encoded performance. As the frametale crosses cultural boundaries and gains popularity and authority in different linguistic, religious, and cultural communities, it serves to transmit the narrative aesthetics, techniques, and sensibilities across communities of practice, and in doing so redefines the boundaries between them.[354]

Runte also acknowledges the flexibility of the Seven Sages material, arguing that as long as the 'inner logic of the frame story and the basic principle of alternating argumentation' were preserved, adaptors of the narrative had a lot of freedom to make the story their own.[355]

In more concrete terms, the material's flexibility is also attested by the frequent reception of the *Historia septem sapientum* with eleven moralisations functioning as glosses for the embedded stories. This shows the extent to which this frame narrative could be received either as a purely entertaining or as edificatory. The transmission of the HSS in conjunction with religious moralisations occurred in both manuscript and printed form.[356] Moralisations corresponding to each embedded story, as well as to the wider frame-narrative directed the reader to the 'correct' interpretation. In some cases, the moralisations were interwoven with the story, in other cases they were found in one block at the end of the narrative. Roth notes that a particular grouping of HSS manuscripts that placed the moralisations at the end of the tale repeat the beginning of each embedded story so as to remind the reader to which story the moralisation corresponds.[357] Some manuscipts even flagged up the suitability of the

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[354] Wacks, *Framing Iberia,* p. 11
[355] Runte, 'From the Vernacular', p. 94
[356] For the presence of moralisations in HSS manuscripts, see Roth, *Historia septem sapientum*, pp.176-204. Roth argues that the HSS and the moralisations should be conceived of as unit, p. 188
[357] Roth, *Historia septem sapientum*, p. 178.

moralisations for sermons.[358] These moralisations and their interpretations sometimes varied as a result of the scribe's intent.[359] The printed editions of the HSS follow a variety of the manuscript redactions, and follow the layout of the moralisations as found in the manuscript they are based upon.[360] This also speaks for the continued edificatory claims of some of the early printed editions. Additionally, as the list of printed editions found later in this chapter will show, the SWM was also transmitted in print alongside stories from the *Gesta Romanorum* well into the sixteenth century.

III. Overview of the Yiddish ZWM tradition

i. Scholarship on the ZWM

Aside from references in library catalogues and remarks in passing on the existence of a Yiddish tradition in Runte and Steinmetz, little has been written about the Yiddish tradition of the *Siben weisen mainster bichel*.

In his overview of what he terms 'Übersetzungsliteratur', Meier Schüler discusses the ZWM.[361] Since the 1602 edition was not known to him, Schüler focuses on the ZWM version found in a manuscript now in Munich.[362] This manuscript contains another two Yiddish versions of German Volksbücher, specifically *Kaiser Octaviano* and *Till Eulenspiegel*. All three of these Yiddish versions are written by the same scribe, Isaac b. Juda Reutlingen. The composition date of the ZWM remains unknown. However, we know from various dates in

358 Roth, *Historia septem sapientum*, pp. 179; 181.
359 Ibid., p. 180.
360 Ibid., pp. 182-3.
361 Meier Schüler, 'Beiträge zur Kenntnis der alten jüdisch-deutschen Profanliteratur' in *Festschrift zum 75 jährigen Bestehen der Realschule mit Lyzeum der Isr. Religionsgesellschaft Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt am Main: Hermon, 1928), 79–132.
362 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 100.

the manuscript that *Kaiser Octaviano* was written in 1580, and that the entire codex was finished in 1600.[363] Acknowledging the close similarities between the codex version and German printed version, Schüler surmises that the Jewish scribe must have used a German edition dating from the second half of the century as a source.[364] Considering the prevalence of SWM editions (see below), even within the second half of the sixteenth century, this is not surprising. Schüler refers in passing and rather judgementally, to the level of adaptation of the manuscript version: "Der jüdische Übersetzer – wenn wir ihn so nennen dürfen (...)."[365] He briefly touches on the fact that the Jewish scribe left the more lascivious passages intact, but removed Christian references. The earliest Yiddish printed edition he is aware of is the Maarssen edition of 1677, so the article contains no discussion of our 1602 edition and focuses briefly instead on the later editions.

To my knowledge, Arnold Paucker's 'Das Volksbuch von den Sieben Weisen Meistern in der jiddischen Literatur' from 1961 remains the most detailed secondary literature available on the Yiddish tradition. Paucker lists two extant Yiddish manuscripts from the end of the sixteenth century as containing the ZWM material, which he argues were translated independently from one another from contemporary German editions.[366] Paucker's discussion of the 1602 edition is frustrating in its lack of detail and references. He initially states in his opening remarks that 'auf einer dritten Handschrift beruht die älteste Druckausgabe aus dem Jahre 1602', but fails to list this particular manuscript in the rest of his article.[367] Paucker further writes: 'Diese älteste uns bekannte Druckausgabe ist in enger Anlehnung an eine zeitgenössische deutsche Ausgabe entstanden, aber sie enthählt eine

363 Friderichs-Müller, *Die 'Historie von dem Kaiser Octaviano'*, pp. 12-13.
364 Schüler, 'Beiträge', p. 108.
365 Ibid., p. 108.
366 Arnold Paucker, 'Das Volksbuch von den Sieben Weisen Meistern in der jiddischen Literatur', *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 57 (1961), p.180.
367 Paucker, *Das Volksbuch*, p. 179.

Anzahl von bemerkenswerten Abweichungen und Zugaben."[368] However, Paucker does not list which German edition he is referring to. Additional extant editions of the ZWM include Jakob Maarssen's Amsterdam edition from 1677. Paucker argues that this reworking of the SWM material into the Yiddish is the only one that removed any references to Christianity out of the Yiddish.[369] A Berlin edition from 1707 is briefly listed, which was subsequently reprinted in Offenbach in 1714. Another edition was printed in Amsterdam in 1776. Paucker argues that the 1677, 1707, 1714 and 1776 editions all have a contemporary Dutch edition as a source, but does not give details of any such edition. Paucker's earlier remark concerning a potential third Yiddish manuscript as a source for the 1602 edition directly contradicts his later claim of a close relationship between the Yiddish edition and a contemporary German edition and leaves the question of the Yiddish edition's source unresolved. However, chapter IV will clarify the nature of the relationship between the Yiddish edition and its source.

ii. The ZWM and Yiddish *Volksbücher*

The ZWM has been briefly mentioned in a variety of monographs and articles relating to Yiddish versions of German *Volksbücher*. This type of scholarship has produced a consensus of opinion on the Yiddish *Volksbuch* being of little literary value. As the introduction to this thesis has shown, the assumption that Yiddish secular literature is of little value needs to be challenged. These negative assessments of the Yiddish *Volksbuch* should also be seen as a throwback of more critical perceptions of the German *Volksbuch* compared to more high-brow medieval literary models. The subsequent re-evaluation of the German *Volksbuch* as a literary product of interest bypassed the Yiddish *Volksbuch*, perhaps because it was further mired by traditional attitudes towards adaptation.[370]

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[368] Paucker, *Das Volksbuch*, p.184.
[369] Ibid., p. 185.
[370] See Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: a critical history of a late-medieval genre* (Lewiston: Edwin Meller Press, 1995) for a re-appraisal of the Volksbuch in recent times.

Friderichs-Müller notes that the Yiddish *Volksbücher* have been largely ignored.[371] This lack of attention is concerning, especially considering that the popularity of the *Volksbuch* in early modern Yiddish literature is further evidenced by the existence of Yiddish versions of a variety of other *Volksbücher*. We currently know of the existence of Yiddish versions of *Siegenot* (1597), *Herzog Ernst* (no longer extant), *Floris und Blancheflur* (no longer extant), *Kaiser Octavian* (Munich Codex), *Fortunatus* (1699), *Til Eulenspiegel* (Munich Codex), *Schönen Magelona* (1698), and *Schildbürger* (170?).[372]

A statement by Joseph Perles in his "Bibliografische Mittheilungen aus München" illustrates the tendency to label a Yiddish text's relationship to its German source without providing the reader with any evidence.[373] Perles writes:

> Eine genaue Prüfung des Inhaltes erweist, daß die jüdisch-deutsche Ausgabe nicht bloß in Bezug auf die Strophenzahl 196, sondern auch auf Wortlauf und Schreibung mit der alten Nürnberger Ausgabe vollkommen übereinstimmt oder daß beide auf eine und dieselbe ältere Quelle zurückgehen.[374]

A hundred years later, Howard still echoes such sentiments:

> Moreover, the Hebrew letter 'Til Eulenspiegel', of all such 'Volksbuch' adaptations, remains the most faithful to the contents of its source: that is, from a Jewish perspective, it is the least altered.[375]

Howard provides no explanation as to why the passages he uses for comparison were selected, leaving him vulnerable to criticisms of selection bias. A more detailed discussion of Howard's article can be found in the introduction to this thesis.

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371 Friderichs-Müller, *Die 'Historie von dem Kaiser Octaviano'*, pp. 9-11.
372 Arnold Paucker, 'Das deutsche Volksbuch bei den Juden', *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 80 (1961), 302-317.
373 Joseph Perles, 'Bibliografische Mittheilungen aus München', in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* 25 (1876), 350-375.
374 Ibid., p. 354.
375 Howard, 'A Little Known', pp. 130-131.

Equally problematic is Meier Schüler's article on the Yiddish *Magelone*, in which he argues that the German and Yiddish texts are close on the basis of a handful of spurious examples.[376] The three passages Schüler chooses for his demonstration are only four lines long and do not actually demonstrate that the Yiddish is a translation of the German. This lack of methodology makes it difficult to accept any of his other pronouncements on the text. Schüler further betrays his poor opinion of this early modern secular *genre* in his article on secular Yiddish literature, in which he expresses surprise that such objectionable material (in this particular case, from the SWM) was so popular amongst Jewish audiences:

> Es ist bemerkenswert, daß '*die Sieben weisen Meister*', die, wie kaum eine andere jüdisch-deutsche Erzählung, Geschichten anstößigen Inhalts umfassen, sich offenbar einer gewissen Beliebtheit erfreuten; die mehrfache Drucklegung beweist das.[377]

Such statements demonstrate the extent to which *Volksbücher* were deemed vulgar, and the frequency of stereotypical assessments of what Jews would have traditionally enjoyed reading. The idea that Jewish readers were immune to the joys of popular and lascivious literary production is problematic. This view not only permeates literary analyses, but they also influence historical assessments of Jewish life. Daxelmüller in his article on Jewish popular culture writes:

> Since the beginning of early modern times, the most popular literature among the Jews was non-Jewish. But here we face a peculiar contradiction: the Jews, who were not permitted to wear weapons and whose ethics did not know the he-man heroism of late medieval epic poetry and the *Volksbuch*, loved chivalric romances.[378]

The essentialising of Jewish readership has been discussed in detail in this thesis' introduction, and its problems need not be repeated here. However, Daxelmüller's use of the Yiddish *Volksbuch* to illustrate close cultural contacts between Jews and mainstream literature is weakened by a poor understanding of the Yiddish adaptations:

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376 "Wie eng sich unsere Bearbeitung an das deutsche Original hält, mögen einige Zeilen beweisen." Meier Schüler, 'Die schöne Magelone, eine jüdisch-deutsche Erzählung', *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie* 22 (1919), p. 24.

377 Schüler, 'Beiträge', p. 110.

378 Christoph Daxelmüller, 'Jewish Popular Culture since the Middle Ages', in *In and Out of the Ghetto*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 36.

> Nearly all German *Volksbücher* were translated into Jewish-German, including *Till Eulenspiegel,* the *Schildbürger*, and the *Sigenot.* Jewish-German versions of the 'Seven Sages' (*Die sieven weisen Meister*) were published in Amsterdam (1663), Berlin (1707), and Offenbach (1717). Furthermore, the *Historie von dem Kaiser Octaviano* (Homburg, 1730), the *Historie von Ritter Siegmund und Magdalena* (e.g., Prague [after 1704]; Offenbach, 1714), *Florio und Bianceffora* (e.g. Offenbach, 1714), the *Fortunatus* (Frankfurt/Main, 1699), and the *Schöne Magelone* (Offenbach, 1714) were also translated into the Jewish-German dialect. A final example is Elijahu ben Ascher ha-Levi's *Bovo-bukh*, published in many editions into the nineteenth century.
> The Jewish translators and editors of this popular literature had a difficult time eliminating the much too Christian and non-Jewish character of these epics.[379]

This particular passage is rife with misrepresentation and misunderstanding of Yiddish literature. Daxelmüller's claim that nearly all German *Volksbücher* were adapted into Yiddish is not referenced. There are no references to any of the scholarship available to Daxelmüller at the time of writing (1995), and the dates he gives for the ZWM reflect those given by Meier Schüler rather than the more 'up-to-date' ones given by Paucker that would have been available. Additionally, the reference to the *Bovo-bukh* within the context of adaptations of German material is laughable, as is the dubious pronouncement on the 'difficulty' the Jewish editors had dealing with Christian references. In one fell-swoop Daxelmüller obscures the complexities of this particular aspect of Yiddish literary adaptation by presenting them as one unified mass.

Statements such as Paucker's "(t)hey [Yiddish Volksbücher] take their place on the lowest level, that of popular mass entertainment" are problematic, as is his claim that the reading experiences of the masses are still deserving of interest because they show Jewish interaction with German mainstream.[380] The conflation of the German *Volksbücher* with the popular masses has increasingly been questioned, which indicates that a re-appraisal of the Yiddish situation is timely.[381] The idea that popular culture is not as worthy as the cultural consumption of social elites is a prejudice further compounded in Yiddish as a result of its

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[379] Daxelmüller, 'Jewish Popular Culture since the Middle Ages', pp. 36-37.
[380] Arnold Paucker, 'Yiddish Versions of Early German Prose Novels' in *The Journal of Jewish Studies*, Vol. X, Nos. 3 and 4, 1959, p. 167.
[381] See Classen's summary of this criticism in *The German Volksbuch*, pp. 52-54.

position vis-à-vis Hebrew which has affected the scholarly analysis of the Yiddish *Volksbücher*.

First steps towards a reassessment of the Yiddish *Volksbücher* have been taken by Friderichs-Müller who rejects statements such as Dinse's dismissal of Yiddish versions of German *Volksbücher* as 'Raubdrucke' that merely transpose the German 'Schriftchen' into Hebrew letters. [382] Friderichs-Müller's short article on the Yiddish *Flere Blankeflere* (1977) argues that not all Yiddish adaptations of *Volksbücher* were derived from German material.[383] The second Yiddish edition of the ZWM, for example, was derived from a Dutch edition. Secondly, even though some Yiddish editions do have German counterparts, this does not automatically mean that the Yiddish is based on the German. Friderichs uses the Yiddish *Magelone* as an example of a Yiddish *Volksbuch*, with many German counterparts, none of which have been shown to be the source of the Yiddish version. Questions remain however, as to whether or not the content of Yiddish *Volksbücher* that were adapted from German editions did essentially replicate the content found in the originals? This thesis will constitute a step towards dismissing labels such as 'Raubdrucke' and offer an evidence-based literary analysis of the ZWM.

IV. Yiddish printing in early 17th century Basel

There is no mention of a printing house in the ZWM text of the 1602 Basel edition. Only its editors, Jacob b. David Weil from Brest-Litovsk and Jacob b. Abraham Pollack from Meseritsch in Lithuania (also known as Jacob Buchhändler), are referred to in the title page.

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[382] Dinse, *Die Entwicklung*, p. 100.
[383] Theresia Friderichs 'Zu Flere Blankeflere' in *Fragen des ältern Jiddisch: Kolloquium in Trier 1976. Vorträge* ed. by Hermann-Josef Müller and Walter Röll (Trier: Universität Trier, 1977), pp. 68-73.

In his bibliography of Hebrew books printed in Basel from 1492-1866, Prijs attributes the ZWM (n°174) to the printing house of Konrad Waldkirch.[384] Prijs' arguments for this are twofold: (i) the type, decorative border on the title page and the paper used are all identical to those used in Waldkirch editions; (ii) the named Jacob ben Abraham Meseritsch is known to have contributed to other works issued by the Waldkirch printing house. Meseritsch is named as editor and/or corrector in at least seven other printed books.[385]

Hebrew printing in Basel was more often aimed at Christian Hebraists than at Jews.[386] Prijs argues that this was a defininig characteristic of the Basel printing industry:

> Vielmehr bleibt der christliche Hebraismus der reformierten Theologen ein Charakteristikum des Basler hebräischen Buchdrucks bis zu seinem Ende in dieser Form in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Auch während der zwei letzten Dezennien des 16. und der zwei ersten des 17. Jahrhunderts, als beachtliche jüdisch-hebräische gelehrte Werke und Laienliteratur in Basler Offizinen erschienen, wurden gleichzeitig Werke christlicher Hebraisten in Basel publiziert, um in der darauffolgenden Periode fast ausschließlich, in der letzten Periode wiederum neben einer Reihe rein jüdischer Publikationen in Erscheinung zu treten.[387]

Yiddish printing in Basel was therefore conditional on the strength of Christian Hebraism as a profitable commercial endeavour, as well as dependent on the availability of Yiddish editors at the printing houses involved in the publication of Hebrew books.

During the end of the sixteenth century and the first decade of the seventeenth, Konrad Waldkirch's printing house was one of the printing houses involved in the printing of Christian Hebraist works that also catered to Jewish audiences by printing books of customs and rites, prayer books for a variety of situations (mealtime prayers and songs, protection against the plague etc.), instructions for the slaughter of animals and the correct preparation of meat, kabbalistic commentary, *Hiddushim*, and fiction. According to Prijs' catalogue, Waldkirch's printing house produced seventy five titles in the span of 1598-1615. Of these

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384 Prijs, *Die Basler Hebraeischen Drucke*, p. 283.
385 See Prijs n°153a, n°157, n°159, n°167, n°169 and n°178. The most famous of Meseritsch's contributions, n°178, was the *Mayse-bukh*, a Yiddish collection of over two hundred stories, also printed in Basel in 1602.
386 Heller, *The Seventeenth Century Hebrew Book*, vol.I, p. xv.
387 Prijs, *Die Basler Hebraeischen Drucke*, p. xv.

seventy five titles, at least eleven were either fully in Yiddish, or contained Yiddish translations accompanying Hebrew texts. A further twenty four titles are produced for Christian-Hebraists. They consist of Latin translations, grammars with Latin translations, lexicons etc. The remaining titles are in Hebrew, primarily for Jewish audiences.[388]

There is little doubt that the Christian Hebraist Johannes Buxdorf the Elder came across the ZWM. As a result of his position as professor of Hebrew at the University of Basel from 1590 to his death in 1629, Buxtorf was required to act as the city's official censor of Hebrew books printed in Basel.[389] This role as censor proved a boon to Buxtorf: it enabled him to acquire copies of books he censored for his extensive collection of Hebraica, promoted a professional relationship with the Waldkirch press which gave him the opportunity to not only earn money on the side as editor and censor, but also meant that he was able to closely supervise the printing of his own work. Throughout his years of work with the Waldkirch press, Buxtorf acted as a commercial go-between, entering into correspondence with Jews and Gentiles who wished to contract print work at the Waldirch press.[390] Erika Timm has proven that Buxtorf was in close contact with Jacob Buchhändler, one of the editors of the ZWM.[391] Buchhändler came to work in the Waldkirch printing press between 1598-1603, editing numerous works in both Hebrew and Yiddish. [392] Additionally, Buxtorf was also a regular visitor of the Frankfurt book fair, at which he acted as a representative for the Waldkirch press whilst also purchasing volumes for his own private collection.[393] Burnett argues that Buxtorf's representation of the Waldkirch press at book fairs were important because it ensured the sale of Waldkirch books printed for Jewish buyers. Since books for

[388] See Prijs, *Die Basler Hebraeischen Drucke*, pp. 245-328.
[389] Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, pp. 23;37.
[390] Writing in 1599 to his friend and fellow Christian Hebraist Kaspar Waser, Buxtorf explained that he received "numerous letters from Jews in various places, even Poland, but the Waldkirch printing firm is the reason. [It is for] the same [reason] that they repeatedly send works to be printed." Ibid., p. 43.
[391] Erika Timm, 'Abraham ibn Ezra und das Maisebuch' in *Leket: Yiddish Studies Today*, vol.I, ed. by Marion Aptroot, Efrat Gal-Ed, Roland Gruschka, and Simon Neuberg (Düsseldorf: Düsseldorf University Press, 2012), p. 303.
[392] Ibid., p. 48.
[393] Burnett, *Christian Hebraism in the Reformation Era*, p. 218.

Jews were not advertised in the catalogues of book fairs, Buxtorf's network of Jewish contacts provided a vital selling opportunity.[394]

Unfortunately, there are no references to the ZWM in Buxtorf's list of Yiddish books he deemed worth reading in his introduction 'Lectionis Hebrao-Germanicae Usus et exercitatio' found in his *Thesaurus Grammaticus Linguae Sanctae Hebraeae* (1609).[395] Buxtorf's musings on the Yiddish literature produced during his time are noteworthy:

> Thus they [the Jews] not only write among themselves in this German common to them all, but they also have many books that have been translated into German, and they are day by day translating more. I will append several of them in order to demonstrate the method, if perhaps there should be anyone who would be amused by reading them. [396]

Since the focus of his list was on the edificatory potential of reading in Yiddish it is not surprising that the ZWM did not appear on this list. Buxtorf does list the *Mayse-bukh*, another Waldkirch print from 1602, which he describes as containing "numerous, pleasant stories drawn from numerous Jewish books, most of them, however, from the Talmud itself."[397] Additionally, the *Mayse-bukh* also features in the list of books owned by the Buxtorf family in 1613, whereas the ZWM does not.[398] Buxtorf's distinction between books worthy of interest, and those that were not, as reflected in the curation of his own personal collection, is interesting because it shows that even at the time of the emergence of a Yiddish literature, notions of varied levels of prestige in Yiddish books were already in existence.

V. Establishing the source of the 1602 Yiddish edition

394 Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, p. 44.
395 For a translation of this work, see Frakes, *The Cultural Study of Yiddish in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 156-183.
396 Ibid., p. 157.
397 Ibid., p. 159.
398 For the catalogue of the Buxtorf family library, see Burnett, *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies*, pp. 272-283.

The appearance of a Yiddish edition of the SWM in a Basel printing house of 1602 makes sense considering the factors outlined above. However, there are still questions about the source of the Yiddish edition. Since the 1602 edition of the ZWM presents the same narrative order characteristic of the *Historia septem sapientum* (Latin Version H) and its subsequent translations, it can be safely surmised that the Yiddish edition is derived from the same tradition that produced these European translations. In the search for a possible source for the 1602 ZWM print, I will consider both German and Dutch editions of this branch, since these editions would be close enough linguistically and geographically to have a possible link to the Yiddish printing industry in Basel. Additionally, both these printed vernacular traditions possess the characteristic order of Latin Version H. The decision to include Dutch editions in the search for a source was based on Paucker's listing of Dutch editions as the sources for the later Yiddish ZWM editions, as well as his conflicting statements concerning the 1602's source discussed earlier. Since an existing relationship between later Yiddish editions of the ZWM and a Dutch source was posited, it was not possible to immediately rule out a similar type of Dutch-Yiddish transmission for the 1602 edition.

i. German editions

There are eight known prose German versions of the *Historia septem sapientum*.[399] These eight German versions all emerged in the course of the 15th century, of which 24 manuscripts and 67 printed editions are extant.[400] Only one of these prose translations, which Steinmetz refers to as the *Vulgatfassung*, has enjoyed a widespread dissemination through printed editions. The remaining seven versions have not known such enduring popularity. Of particular relevance

[399] Ralf-Henning Steinmetz*, Die Historia von den sieben weisen Meistern und dem Kaiser Diocletianus: nach der Giessener Handschrift 104 mit einer Einleitung und Erlaüterungen* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), p. xii.
[400] Steinmetz, *Exempel und Auslegung*, p.5. Steinmetz also lists the three German verse versions and the additional three German prose versions that contain different stories than the *Historia septem sapientum.*

to this chapter are versions g and h. Version g, the *Vulgatfassung*, was first printed in Augsburg in 1473. Neither Steinmetz nor Gotzkowsky explicitly confirm which of the numerous printed editions of the SWM material are related to version g. However, Steinmetz does mention that sixty editions of the *Vulgatfassung* dating from 1470-1620 have survived. Version h is also of interest, since Steinmetz claims that it is extant only as the Antwerp edition of 1488 printed by Niclaes de Leeu.[401] The relationship between the 1479 Dutch editio princeps and the subsequent Dutch editions has not been established, neither has the relationship between the Dutch *editio princeps* and any German versions.

The German printed editions of the SMW material are divided into two groups. The first group is much smaller and follows the manuscript tradition in parts.[402] This group of editions also contains the additional eleven moralisations in the frame-narrative, as well as thirty-one stories of the *Gesta Romanorum.*[403] The earliest known edition of this particular grouping was the c.1470 incunable (date and year of publication unknown) which was subsequently lost in the war. Due to close textual similarities, the c.1484 Strasburg edition by Johannes Prüß is thought to follow this incunable closely and contains both the SWM and the *Gesta Romanorum*.[404]

The second group of editions has not been linked to any of the known SWM manuscripts. Schmitz indicates that this could mean either this group is related to a lost manuscript, or was the result of a translation of the HSS written specifically for an edition.[405] A small number of editions in this group do add on the eleven moralisations at the end of the story and the tales from the *Gesta Romanorum*. However, the earliest known edition of this group

401 Steinmetz, *Die Historia von den sieben weisen Meistern*, p. xiii.
402 Gotzkowsky, *Volksbücher*, vol. I, p. 279.
403 For an analysis of the *HSS*'s relationship with the *Gesta Romanorum*, see Roth, *Historia septem sapientum*, pp. 176-204. For an analysis of the SWM material in relation to the *Gesta Romanorum* groupings, see Brigitte Weiske, *Gesta Romanorum*, vol. I (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992), pp.16-22.
404 Günter Schmitz*, Die sieben weisen Meister* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1974), p.139.
405 Schmitz, *Die sieben weisen Meister*, p. 139.

(Augsburg: Bämler, 1473), as found in Schmitz' facsimile edition, does not contain those additions.[406] It is this particular version of the SWM narrative material that was dominant in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The definitive list of known editions of the SWM divided along the lines of these two groups has not yet been established. I have compiled a provisional list of editions by groups by adapting from Gotzkowsky's *'Volksbücher', Prosaromane, Renaissancenovellen, Versdichtungen und Schwankbücher: Bibliographie der deutschen Drucke*.

Group I (including moralisations and *Gesta Romanorum*)[407]

(1.) *Hie nach volget ein gar schoen Cronick und histori ausz den geschichten der Roemern.* Date and place of publication unknown, thought to be c.1470

(4.) *Hir henet sik an een boek unde heth in deme dudeschen de historia van den souen wysen meisteren.* Lübeck: Lukas Brandis, 1478

(7.) *Hie nach volget ein gar schoen Cronick und histori auss den geschichten der Roemern*. Strasburg: Heinrich Knoblochtzer, c.1483-1485

(8.) *Hie nach volget ein gar schoen Cronick und histori ausz den geschichten der Roemern*. Strasburg: Johann Prüß, c. 1484

(11.) *Das buoch Gesta Romanorum.* Augsburg: Johann Schobser, 1489

(12.) *Eyne schone Cronica und historia van den souen wisen meisteren getogen uth den geschichten di Romere.* Magdeburg: Moritz Brandis, 1494

(17.) *Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick und hystori auss den geschichten der Römern.* Strasburg: Matthias Hupfuff, 1512

(19.) *Hie nach volget ein gar schone Cronick und Hystori auss den geschichten der Roemer.* Strasburg: Johann Knobloch, 1520

(20.) *Eyn schone Hystory und Cronick ausz den geschichten der Roemer.* Köln: Johann von Aich (Lupuspresse), c.1530

(22.) *Die alten Roemer.* Strasburg: Jakob Cammerlander, 1538

Group II (as a rule without the *Gesta Romanorum,* although some editions may contain it)

(2). *Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick und hystori auss den geschichten der Römern.* Augsburg: Johann Bämler, 1473

(3). *Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick und hystori auss den geschichten der Römern.* Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1478

(5.) *Hyenach volget ein gar schöne Cronick und hystori auss den geschichten der Römern.* Augsburg: Anton Sorg 1480

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[406] The facsimile edition of this *editio princeps* was published in the *Deutsche Volksbücher in Faksimiledrucken* series with an introduction by Günter Schmitz (Hildesheim ; New York: Georg Olms, 1974)

[407] Gotzkowsky writes "Zu dieser Gruppe gehören bis 1538 acht Ausgaben, darunter die beiden niederdeutschen Frühdrucke." *Volksbücher*, vol. I, p. 280.

(6.) *Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick und hystori auss den geschichten der Römern*. Augsburg: Johannes Schönsperger, 1481

(9.) *Hienach volget ein gar schoene Cronick und histori auss den geschichten der Roemern*. Augsburg: Johannes Schönsperger, 1486

(10.) *Die syben weisen maister*. Augsburg: Johannes Schönsperger, 1488

(13.) *Die sieben weisen Meister*. Augsburg: Johannes Schönsperger, 1494

(14.) *Die sieben weisen Meister*. Augsburg: Johannes Schönsperger, 1497

(15.) *Die history der süben wisen meister*. Kirchheim: Matthias Hupfuff, 1497

(16.) *Die syben weysen maister*. Augsburg: Johannes Froschauer, 1511

(18.) *Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick und hystori auss den geschichten der Römern*. Strasburg: Johannes Froschauer, 1515

(21.) *Hienach volget ein gar schöne Cronick und hystori auss den geschichten der Römern*. Strasburg: Jakob Cammerlander 1537

(23.) *Die siben weisen Meister*. Augsburg: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1540

(24.) *Die siben weisen Meister*. Ingolstadt: Alexander Weißenhorn, 1541

(25.) *Die sieben weisen Meister*. Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1546

(26.) *Von untrew der Weyber schoene gleichnussen der sieben Weisen Meyster*. Strasburg: Jakob Cammerlander, 1546

(27.) *Von untrew der weyber schoene gleichnussen der sieben Weisen Meyster*. Strasburg: Wendelin Rihel, 1549

(28.) *Die siben weisen Meyster*. Ingolstadt: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1551

(29.) *Die siben weisen Meyster*. Frankfurt am Main: Hermann Gülfferich, 1554

(30.) *Die Siben weisein Meister*. Frankfurt am Main: Wiegand Han, 1556

(31.) *Die Siben weisen Meister*. Frankfurt am Main: Wiegand Han, c.1558

(32.) *History der syben Weisen Meister*. Strasburg: Christian Müller, 1558

(33.) *Die Siben weisen Meister*. Frankfurt am Main: Wiegand Han and Georg Rab, c. 1560

(34.) *Die Siben weisen Meister*. Frankfurt am Main: Georg Rab und Weigand Hans Erben, 1565

(35.) *Ein gar schone History und Cronick ausz den geschichten der Roemer*. Köln or Strasburg, 1565

(36.) *Die Siben weysen Meyster*. Augsburg: Matthäus Franck, c. 1565

(37.) *Die Siben weisen Meister*. Frankfurt am Main: Thomas Rebart und Kilian Han, 1570

(38.) *Die Siben weisen Meister*. Frankfurt am Main: Paul Reffeler for Kilian Han, 1577

(39.) *Histori der siben Weisen Meister*. Strasburg: Christian Müller, 1577

(40.) *Die syben weysen Meyster*. Augsburg: Michael Manger, c. 1580

(41.) *Die Siben weysen Meyster*. Augsburg: Michael Manger, after 1580

(42.) *Die syben weysen Meyster*. Augsburg: Michael Manger, after 1580

(43.) *Die siben weisen Meister*. Köln: Heinrich Nettesheim, c. 1590.

This provisional division of known editions may subsequently help locate the possible source of the Yiddish 1602 edition. As outlined below, group II may be subdivided into additional categories that would distinguish variations between different editions. If a subgroup of German editions from group II displayed a list of variations and deviations which matched

the Yiddish 1602 edition, then it might be possible to locate either the exact source for the Yiddish book, or at least the subgroup to which the Yiddish edition of 1602 is the closest.

ii. Dutch editions

As in the German speaking world, the Seven Sages material that appeared in the Dutch printing houses prior to 1602 was a Dutch translation of the *Historia septem sapientum*. The first known edition was printed by Gheraert Leeu in Gouda in 1479. Further editions were printed in c.1480 (Gouda), 1483 (Delft), 1488 (Delft: Nicolas de Leeu), 1493 (Delft), c.1498 (Delft: Henrick Eckert van Homberch), and 1595 (Amsterdam: Wilhelm Janszoon). Just as the printing of the Yiddish ZWM continued well into the 17th century, Dutch editions of the Seven Sages material were printed all through the 17th and 18th century and as late as 1819.[408]

iii. Comparison of potential sources

In order to assess what possible source could have been used for the ZWM edition of 1602, I have compared the opening lines of the Yiddish edition with editions from German Group I (Strasburg: Prüß, 1484),[409] German Group II (Augsburg: Bämler, 1473) [410] and – in light of Paucker's comments regarding a potential Dutch source for later ZWM editions – I have also included the Dutch *editio princeps* of 1479,[411] and the Amsterdam edition of 1595.[412] The table of comparison of these opening lines can be found in appendix I.

A closer comparison of the opening pages of each edition immediately sheds some light on the editions and their relationships with one another. The Dutch edition of 1479 is extremely

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408 For a complete list of known Dutch printed editions, see Runte et al.'s *The Seven Sages of Rome*, pp. 35-37.
409 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 4 Q.12.
410 Facsimile edition by Günter Schmitz, *Die sieben weisen Meister* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1974).
411 Antonie J. Botermans' facsimile edition of the *editio princeps* : *Die hystorie van die seven wijse mannen van Romen... Tekst (Herdruk naar het eenig bekende exemplaar der edition princeps, Ao. 1479)* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1898).
412 London, British Library, C.57.e.22.

close to the Dutch edition of 1595, in terms of narrative content, language and syntax. Differences between the Bämler 1473 and Prüß 1484 editions are to be expected, since they are representatives of the two different groups of edition. Since both groups are originally descended from the *Historia septem sapientum* tradition, as evidenced by the presence of *amatores* and the combination of *senescalus* + *Roma* and *vaticinium* + *amici*, the narratives do not differ wildly. However, both editions do present localised variations in the narrative. The Prüß edition contains additional description of the son's physical attributes, as well as his education. The references to the fruitless attempts at curing the mother are interesting: whereas the Bämler edition rather drily notes that the mother felt unwell and laid herself down in her death-bed, the Prüß edition does attempt to create a more fleshed out description of her turn for the worse.

It is, however, the relationship between the Yiddish and Bämler editions that are striking. A close look at both opening passages of both editions in the table below leaves us with no doubt that the author of the 1602 edition had access to a German printed edition related to the Bämler edition. I have highlighted in bold passages variations between editions that are due to changes in word order and word choice. Underlined passages flag up German phrases that have not survived in the Yiddish, while phrases in italics are additions that have no counterpart in the edition of 1473.

Augsburg 1473 (German)	**Basel 1602 (Yiddish)**
Hie vor beÿ alten zeiten was ein keyser der regieret zuo Rom **und der selb hieß** poncianus und waz gar ein weiser man	es war bei alten zeiten ain keiser zu Rom **mit namen** Pontionus gar ain weiser man
und er nam zuo einen elichen weib eins roemischen künigs tochter. und die waz schoen un mÿnniclich. und er haet sie gar lieb	un er nam zu ainem weib aines remeschen kinegs tochter, di war gar schen un gar menichlich un er hat si **ser** lib
die ward schwanger und sÿ gebar im einen sun **der ward dÿoclecianus genant.**	**un si word tragen un gewan** ainen sun **der war genant Dikletianus**
Das selb kind das wuochs vast und wart di welt gar lieb. Da nun daz kind siben iar alt ward. da legt sich sein muoter die keyserin in das todbett.	das sölbeg kint woks ser un word der welt gar lib. do nun der **jung** siben jor alt war legt sich di muter di keiserin *nider* in das totbet

Augsburg 1473 (German)	Basel 1602 (Yiddish)
und als sÿ nun sach und vermercket das sÿ nicht genesen mocht Da beschicket sÿ iren man den keÿser das er zuo ir kaeme.	**aber** als si nun sach un markt das si nit **gesund** mocht **werden** schikt si noch irem man dem keiser das er zu ir kem.
das selb taet er und als er nun zuo ir kam. da sprach sÿ zuo im Mein hercz lieber herr Ich enpfind nun wol das ich nit genesen mag und will euch mit diemuot bitten eines gebets ee das ich sterbe	als er nun zu ir kam do sprach si zu im mein herzerger liber man un her ich antfint nun *gar* wol das ich *das mol* nit **wider kan gesunt werden** *un sterben mus* dorum wil ich eich demutig biten ain bit, e ich sterb
Der keÿser sprach ach fraw nun bitten was ir woelt und ist es uns müglich zethuon so woellen wir euch gewern	der keiser sprach *mein libe* vrau, nun **begert** was ir welt. ist es uns miglich zu tun so welen mir eich geweren
Die keÿserin sprach Ich enpfind nun vast wol das ich sterben muoß und so ich nun gestirb do nemmpt ir ein ander weib als dann eüch wol bequaemlich ist So bitt ich eüch das ir die nicht lassen gewaltig sein über meinen sun. und das er verne von ir erzogen werde also daz er weißheit und kunst gelernen müge	*do hub di gut keseren an in irer krankait* un sprach ich befind nur wol *in mir das meines lebens nit mer ist* so ich sterben **sol** nemet ir den ain ander weib als eich nun wol *zu glaben ist, das ir on weib nit wert bleiben* so bit ich das ir do nit lost gewaltigen *das sölbeg weib* iber meinen sun un das er **weit** fun eich ar-zogen wert, domit das er weishait un kunst lernen mag.
Das ist ein dingk das euch nymmer leid würdt und durch meinen sun wol stumpt. auch in beÿ dem leben behelt. Ist aber daz er in iren gewalt kommpt so muoß er sterben	das ist **ains**, das eich nimer leit wert ach meinem sun wol *kan helfen* un ach in bei dem leben ar-halten. ist es aber das er in iren gewalt *tut* kumen, so mus er sterben.
Der keÿser sprach Fraw keÿserin des söllent ir gewert sein Und als nun der keÿser das geredt haet da keret sich die fraw von im und verschied	der keiser sprach *libe* vrau keiseren das solt ir gewert sein. als das geschehen was wendet sich di keiseren fun im *hinumen* un var-schid.
Des selben gehuob sich der keyser vil zeitt vast übel und haett ein grosse klag um sein liebe frawen. und hieß sÿ gar erlich und schon zuo di erden bestaetten als dann einer keÿserin wol gezam und zuo gehoert. und haett grosses leid und wolt in langer zeit kein weib nemen.	un der keiser aber gehub sich gar ibel um sein lib **weib gar langen zeit** un klagt sein weib *gar veintlich* un lis si gar schen un erlichen **zu grab tragen** als nun ainer keiseren wol gezimt un zu gehert unt *der keiser trag* gros leid, wolt in lange zeiten kain weib nemen *noch irem tot*.
und als er nun eins mals an seinem pett lag da gedacht er inniclichen an seinen sun und sprach in im selbst Nun hab ich nit mer dann einen sun der mein erbe ist und duncket mich guot die weil das er iung seÿ das er kunst und weißheit lern da mit er nach meinem tod das reich müge regieren	als er nun ain mol in seinem bet lag gedocht er an seinen sun un sprach zu **im selpst** nun hab ich niks mer *numen ain aineges kint* den sun der mich erben sol un dunket mich wol gut sein di-weil er *noch* jung ist das er kunst un auch weishait lernt do-mit er noch meinem tot das reich mag *richten* un regniren
Und als es nun morgen ward und er auff gestund da beschickt er di lands herren und auch sein ratte und haett iren rat darinn und die sprachen herr es seind zuo rom sÿben gar weiser meÿster die alle dise welt an weißheit und kunst über treffen der selben einen soellent ir ewren sun enpfelchen das er in zieh und ler. auch in allen weltlichen dingen undter weÿß	wi es nun tag word un er ouf-stunt, schikt er noch seinen lant-heren un noch al sein **jo'ezim** un **begert ir rot in diser sach**. do sprachen di heren es sein zu Rom siben weisen mainster, di al di welt an **weisen** un kunst iber-trefen, den selbegen ainem solt ir eier sun **befelen**, das er in *wol* lernt, auch in weltlichen **sachen** unter-weist.

Table IV. Comparison of the 1473 and 1602 editions.

Phrases in bold indicate passages which differ from the German edition of 1473 in terms of word order or choice of vocabulary. I have not flagged variations on the same root-word, such as beschickt/shickt, vermercket/markt, enpfind/befind since these slight variations have little impact on the transmitted material. This category has the least impact on the Yiddish edition because these syntactical and lexical changes preserve the overall content of the German editions. The equivalence (eg. zuo di erden bestaetten/ zu grab tragen) between both editions is preserved, signalling that the change was due to a linguistic shift. Underlined passages are phrases from the German that do not have any equivalent in the Yiddish text. This could be due to a variety of scenarios, all of which are elaborated upon in the next chapter. This particular category is of interest, precisely because it is not prevalent. It seems that the Yiddish does not tend to fully remove material present in the German text. This is seen in the third category of deviations I have decided to flag up in bold italics. These phrases are passages in the Yiddish that do not have a counterpart in the German edition of 1473, and they are more numerous than those German passages with no Yiddish counterpart. We can thus see that where the Yiddish deviates from its German source for reasons other than linguistic updates, it privileges wholesale addition, rather than removal of German material.

It is important to note, however, that these flagged variations between the 1473 and 1602 editions are not automatically indicative of changes that are exclusive to the Yiddish edition. Indeed, some of the variations found in the Yiddish, such as the clarifying addition of 'un sterben mus', 'nider', the switch in syntax in 'der war genant Dikletianus' are found in later German editions. Chapter IV will address these methodological issues and suggest the use of a control edition in order to account for the variations in the Yiddish edition.

The comparison of the German Group I, German Group II, Dutch and Yiddish editions has demonstrated that the Basel edition of 1602 is related to the German Group II branch of editions. However, considering the extensive number of German Group II editions printed before 1602, and the possibility that not all editions of this group are extant, it was not feasible to establish which of the Group II editions was the source of the Yiddish. In light of this difficulty, this next section will demonstrate that the Group II text was remarkably stable over a large period of time. This demonstrated stability will allow us to base our comparison of the SWM and ZWM from chapter IV on the 1473 edition.

iv. Stability of the Group II text

Comparisons between German editions belonging to Group II demonstrate that the SWM remains a remarkably stable printed text. The table found in Appendix II compares the opening lines of the 1473 edition, Johannes Schönsperger's Augsburg edition of 1488,[413] the Froschauer edition of 1511 also printed in Augsburg,[414] Alexander Weissenhorn's Augsburg edition fom 1540,[415] Wendelin Rihel's Strasburg edition of 1549,[416] Weissenhorn's edition of 1551 printed in Ingolstadt,[417] and Herman Gülfferich's edition of 1554 printed in Frankfurt a. M.[418] I have also added to this comparative table the corresponding passage from ZWM found in the Munich Codex. This additional comparison with a late sixteenth century Yiddish manuscript version emphasises the stability of the text from its earliest editions through the entire sixteenth century. The comparison between the German editions and the Yiddish manuscript also shows that whatever German edition the Jewish scribe used as a

[413] London, British Library, IB.6300.
[414] Available online at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/maister1511
[415] Available online at http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00025950/image_1
[416] London, British Library, 12410 F 24.
[417] London, British Library, 12403.aaa.22.
[418] London, British Library, 12411 a. 9.

basis for his Yiddish version, it was an edition available towards the end of the sixteenth century that replicated the text found in the editions of Group II.

The table of comparison found in appendix II flags up changes between editions in bold. As becomes apparent upon a close analysis of the table, variations between editions in the opening lines of the SWM are minimal. These changes have no impact on the narrative and can be categorized straightforwardly. Additionally, the table does also show that changes between editions occur in clusters: a particular formulation found in the 1473, 1499 and 1511 editions will not be found in group of editions printed in 1540, 1549, 1551 and 1554. Both the Munich Codex and the Yiddish edition of 1602 tend to follow the 1540-1554 group. These clustered changes indicate that small variations occurred over time and would most probably have been replicated as a result of the linear fashion in which these editions were printed. Considering that the SWM editions from group II are printed almost exclusively (aside from one Kirchheim and one Cologne edition) in the towns of Augsburg, Strasburg, Frankfurt am Main and Ingolstadt, further study may determine whether or not later Augsburg editions, for example, were based on earlier Augsburg prints, or if they were based on chronologically closer editions. This would not only help determine the relationships between the numerous German editions of the SWM, but it would also potentially help narrow down which edition would have served as a basis for the subsequent Yiddish edition of 1602.

The changes flagged up in the table from Appendix II can be grouped into the following categories: syntactic changes, lexical changes, and wholesale addition of phrases. Syntactic changes are straightforward: an example of this can be found in the opening line of the text, in which 'ein keyser der regiert zuo Rom und der selb hieß poncianus' (1473, 1488, 1511) becomes 'ein keyser mit namen Pontianus der regiert zuo Rom' (1540, 1549, 1551, 1554,

Munich ms., 1602). Another example is the switch from 'einen sun der ward dÿloclecianus genant' (1473, 1488, 1511) to 'einen sun der war genannt Diocletianus' (1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, Munich ms., 1602).

Lexical changes may take shape in a variety of forms. The adjective in the phrase 'elichen weib' (1473, 1488, 1511) becomes part of the noun 'eheweib' (1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, Munich ms.), although 1602 keeps only 'weib' and thereby loses the connubial dimension of the relationship. The adverbial 'mit diemuot bitten' (1473, 1488, 1511) is transformed into the adjective 'demuetiglich' (1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, Munich ms.), while 1602 has 'demutig'. The switch from 'daz kind' (1473, 1488, 1511) to 'der knab' (1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, Munich ms.) and then 'jung' in 1602 functions in the same way even though it involves a complete replacement rather than a grammatical conversion: equivalence is preserved. The change in adverb of quantity from 'gar lieb' (1473, 1488, 1511) to 'vast/fast lieb' (1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, Munich ms.) also retains the essential reference to the emperor's love for his wife. Whereas all above cases of lexical change divide so that the versions of 1473/1488/1511 display different variations from the 1540/1549/1551/1554/Munich ms. group, the change in wording of the opening phrase is delineated differently. 'Hie vor bey alten zeiten' occurs in 1473 and 1511, 'Bey alten zeiten' is found in 1488, 1540, 1549 and 1551, while 1554/Munich ms. use the construction 'es was'. This is of particular interest not only because it illustrates the fact that editions were still varying slightly after eighty years of existence, but also because the Yiddish edition of 1602 follows the 'es was' formulation. This would indicate that the Yiddish *editio princeps* may have followed a post-1554 edition that was related to the Frankfurt 1554 edition.

There are only three instances of wholesale addition. The insertion of 'nider' in the sentence 'do legt sich sein muoter die keyserin nider in das todtbeth' (1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, 1602)

seems to help clarify the action. In the same vein, the addition of 'ich sterben muoß' in 1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, Munich ms. and 1602 to the queen's acknowledgement that she will not get better spells out in greater detail the outcome (and the queen's awareness) of her illness. The qualifier 'gar gern' in the emperor's acquiescence to the queen's demands found in 1540, 1549, 1551, 1554, Munich ms. and 1602 underscores the emperor's attachment to his wife.

This short discussion of the small variations between some of Group II editions demonstrates that the SWM text from group II remained stable over at least a hundred years. The table found in appendix II demonstrates that within the course of over a hundred years, the SWM text remains strikingly close to the 1473 edition. Overall, the vocabulary, content, and syntax remain quasi-identical between the 1478 and 1554 editions.

*

This chapter has shown that the printed 1473 SWM text or a variation thereof from the 1540-1554 group of editions was the source of the ZWM edition of 1602. The presence of the Western branch of the Seven Sages narrative in early modern Yiddish literature is not surprising given the widespread popularity of this particular branch throughout Europe in general and Germany in particular. Even though the exact German edition used as a basis for the ZWM may never be established, this should not be an obstacle for a comparative analysis of both German and Yiddish editions. Indeed, the SWM as a printed text remained remarkably stable over the course of the sixteenth century. Considering the generally derogatory and unsubstantiated claims made concerning the Yiddish *Volksbücher* and their relationship to German editions outlined above, the following chapter will propose a method for assessing the ZWM's level of adaptation from the SWM based on the work presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: A COMPARATIVE LITERARY ANALYSIS OF THE SWM AND ZWM

This chapter will build on Chapter III and propose a framework of analysis with which to compare the Yiddish ZWM edition of 1602 and two German editions of 1473 and 1554. The aim of this chapter will be to assess the relationship between the German and Yiddish editions, in order to establish what level of adaptation the ZWM underwent. This particular focus on establishing the level of adaptation in the ZWM should be understood in the context, outlined in chapter III, of a dismissive perception of Yiddish adaptations of German *Volksbücher* that is often based on flawed (or even non-existent) methodology. This chapter will counter these assessments by expanding on a methodology developed by Thomas Klein to measure the levels of transcription and translation found in intra- and interlingual literary adaptations. In this context, the assessment of the ZWM as a transcription or a translation is not an indication of lower status. Rather, the ZWM simply illustrates one of the many ways through which Yiddish literature was produced. Additionally, the ZWM also attests to the fact that high levels of judaization are not a necessary condition for transmission and adaptation, giving short shrift to unsubstantiated pronouncements concerning the inability of Jewish readership to consume unmediated types of text that have been discussed in this thesis' introduction.

I. Methodology for comparison

The previous chapter has shown that the German SWM text remained stable over the first eighty years of its published existence. This textual stability means that the likelihood of the

Yiddish's putative German source (referred to throughout this chapter as SZ) being different from the text as it existed over various point in time since 1473 is not great.[419] It is therefore possible to use two different German editions to compare the Yiddish ZWM to, and expect the results to coincide with the results of a comparison between the surmised SZ source and the Yiddish. The lack of an established German edition as the source of the ZWM is therefore not an obstacle to this chapter's close analysis of the levels of adaptation found in the Yiddish 1602 edition, as long as the methodological parameters of comparison remain transparent.

I have chosen to compare the 1602 Yiddish edition with the earliest extant edition of the SWM, printed in 1473, using the Frankfurt edition of 1554 as a further control. By using these two, it will be possible to assess whether or not deviations from the German 1473 edition in the Yiddish 1602 edition were more likely attributable to changes over time in German or if these changes were probably down to the Yiddish edition. As seen in chapter III's discussion accompanying table IV, some variations between 1473 and 1602 are attributable to changes in the German text over time. The choice of the 1554 edition for the control was based on a variety of factors: (i) there is no evidence to suggest that the Yiddish editors would have been in possession of the most recent German edition; and even if they had, given the textual stability of the SWM editions over time, the results would not be strikingly different. (ii) The version of the ZWM found in the Munich manuscript displays very few variations from the 1554 edition, which means that whatever version the Jewish scribe had access to towards the end of the sixteenth century could not have greatly differed from a mid-century edition from group II. (iii) The 1554 edition was printed eighty one years after the 1473 edition, a difference in time that both allowed for the appearance of

[419] This is not to say that it would be fruitless to pursue the issue of ZWM's original source further. Given, however, the constraints of the doctoral project, the fact that not all known editions of the SWM are extant and that the existing list of SWM editions as found in Gotzkowsky is by no means definitive, there would have been no guarantee that this quest would have been possible within three years.

deviations, and highlighted the text's stability over the course of time which suited its purpose as a control edition. Finally, (iv), the decision to use the 1554 edition was also influenced by its accessibility.[420]

The first step of the comparative process is to read the 1473 edition in close parallel to the Yiddish edition and flag up any variations in content and vocabulary. A second step uses the 1554 edition as a control from which to assess whether or not deviations from 1473 found in the Yiddish edition could be attributed to a Jewish editorial decision, or if it was more likely that the deviation was the result of a change found in later German editions. The following table illustrates ways in which this three-way comparison sheds some light on variations in the Yiddish ZWM of 1602.

	If phrase is found in			What can be deduced
Scenario	1473	1554	1602	
A	X	X	X	The German source (SZ) is close to the earlier German editions and the Yiddish faithfully follows SZ.
B	X	X		Either: - the SZ was faithful to older editions, in which case the Yiddish has omitted (purposefully or accidentally) the phrase. - or, the SZ differed from earlier editions, and changes can't be automatically attributed to a Jewish decision. This particular scenario highlights the difficulties encountered when attempting to account for the changes found in the Yiddish. Some changes, such as the removal of some references to Christianity, may be attributed to Yiddish editorial principles; other changes, however, may prove impossible to account for.
C	X			Element of the German text has changed over time.
D		X	X	Yiddish follows SZ and any changes in the German text that have been made over time.
E	X		X	SZ may have been an edition that was derived from an edition that was independent of the Augsburg 1554 edition, and remained closer to the *editio princeps*.
F		X		Element of the German text has changed over time.
G			X	Either: - SZ included later additions that are reproduced in the Yiddish. - Additions are attributable to the Jewish printing. As in scenario B, some changes, such as the addition of Hebrew vocabulary, may be directly attributed to the Jewish editor. Others may never be accounted for.

[420] I see no point in obfuscating a valid reason since questionable *a posteriori* justifications would compromise the transparency of my methodology. The constraints of time as well as money that characterise the doctoral thesis in the Humanities should not be glossed over, nor should we collude in the sanitisation and fictionalisation of the realities of research.

Table V. Scenarios accounting for changes between the German and Yiddish editions

The use of a control edition, in this case 1554, allowed for an additional test in determining if a change should be attributed to the Yiddish by flagging up instances in which phrases found in 1473 but absent from 1602 were present in 1554. As scenario B in the above table demonstrates, deviations from 1473 found in 1602 should not be automatically chalked up to decisions made by the Jewish editor. The use of a control edition therefore provided an additional lens through which to measure if a change was of interest, or not.

This method should be approached with a few caveats. First, it is vital to stress that since the German edition used by the Jewish editor to produce his Yiddish text is not known, any assumptions made with regards to the contents of the SZ and whether or not it follows older editions closely remain partly speculative. We can only assume, with the Munich manuscript as a reasonable basis for speculation, that the textual stability of the German edition that can be found between 1473 and 1554 is also present in the period 1554-1602. Second, as scenarios B and G in table I demonstrate, certain types of change may be the result of two different scenarios. Even variations that can be broadly described as the removal of Christian material cannot be attributed to Jewish editorial principles with complete authority: indeed, this chapter will later list examples of Christian references found in 1473 that did not survive in 1554. The only changes that are undoubtedly exclusive to the Yiddish edition are the additions of Jewish material, dealt in greater detail below. This table of scenarios, therefore, should be taken as guide to explaining the relationship of the three editions used in this chapter's comparison as well as a preliminary test to ascertain if changes between editions are noteworthy and accountable for, rather than as definitive and quantifying summary of their relationship.

Despite such drawbacks, the method described is useful. Indeed, as this chapter will elaborate at a later stage, the changes that have been flagged between the Yiddish edition and the German ones are on the whole very minor. The narrative is never truly affected, as most of the changes made remain at a localised level. Had we been dealing with substantial changes in narrative, language and literary expression, an analysis would have been to a certain extent impeded when trying to establish if these were later German changes, or Yiddish ones. Deviations in the Yiddish from the German text, even though they may not be entirely accounted for, are therefore of interest for two reasons: first, they may, at a later date, help establish the original German source; and, second these changes will help situate the Yiddish edition on the scale of literary adaptation available to those who mediated narratives from one audience to another.

As mentioned in the paragraph above, the changes and variations from the German text found in the Yiddish edition of 1602 are not usually substantial. In the course of the comparison, I have flagged changes in vocabulary, changes in syntax, instances where the Yiddish has rephrased the original German sentence but preserved its meaning, sections from the German editions that do not appear in the Yiddish and sections in the Yiddish edition that do not have a counterpart in the two German editions. I have discounted variations that were limited, such as the switch from 'ein' to 'der', the very few occasions where direct speech was switched to indirect speech (and vice versa), and variations in the spelling of proper nouns since they affect neither the meaning of the text nor the narrative itself. In general, I have listed changes that affected either the meaning of a particular sentence, and changes that could be perceived as a conscious attempt to successfully mediate information, either by clarifying or supplementing information.

The variations between the German and Yiddish editions can be categorised in two broad types of changes: audience-led and printing-led changes. These broad categories highlight the fact that whilst some changes in the Yiddish 1602 edition were the direct result of its new Jewish audience, other changes were the due mostly to the act of printing.

Audience-led changes found in the ZWM	- deletion of some Christian material - addition of some Hebrew vocabulary to replace certain German words - switch to Yiddish expressions and words to replace certain German phrases - very occasional instances of added explanation to clarify some passages - changes in syntax and vocabulary - prologue and epilogue that reference Jewish topoi
Printing-led changes found in the ZWM	- poor editorial principles: the variations in spelling of Christian names, the misunderstanding of the German text which obscures the meaning of certain Yiddish passages - the poor quality of the edition would also explain why the ZWM finishes abruptly mid-sentence: "aber nit lang dor-noch word im in-gegeben ain gift, das er sturben sein k-" (108^{v})

Table VI. Audience-led and printing-led changes in the ZWM.

The table below lists noteworthy examples of variation between the German editions and the Yiddish edition of 1602. Instances of removed Christian material and addition of Jewish references are excluded as they will be discussed later in this chapter. The examples have been grouped into three main types: rephrasing through changes in syntax and vocabulary that maintains equivalence with the original German, the addition of material without a counterpart in the two German editions, and sections that seem to have been misunderstood by the Jewish editors and have therefore been corrupted. This list is by no means exhaustive; it serves to illustrate the types of variations that are found in the ZWM. It is important to note that this list only contains variations where the Yiddish differs from both the 1473 and 1554 editions, since as scenarios B and G from table V demonstrate, these are the changes that are most likely attributable to Yiddish editorial decisions.

Rephrasing (changes in syntax and vocabulary) involving addition or removal.	
1473 & 1554	**1602**
'ein schöne ewirdige iunckfrawen'	'jung un fun guten geschlecht' (6^{v})
No reference to 'natur'. 'wann du solt wissen das kein kreatur undter dem hÿmel ist die ich lieber habe dann dich'	'den du solst wißen, das kain natouer oder kretouer unter dem himel ist, di ich liber hab [...].' (7^{r})
'sachent klaerlich an dem gestirn' (1473) 'sahen klar am Gestirn' (1554)	'di sachen in den stern un planeten' (8^{r})
' mit purpur und mit köstlichen gewand' (1473) 'mit Purpur und kostlichen Gewand' (1554)	'unt klaided im mit kestlichem gewant' (9^{r}) This omission of purpur reoccurs in 45^{v}, where the phrase 'eitel kostlichen teken' removes the reference to 'purpur' found in the equivalent passages of both 1473 and 1554.
'noch daran frauel begang' (1473, 1554)	'noch doran mis-greif' (11^{v})
The reference to the second *galgen* is not found in either of the German editions.	'das si seinen sun zum galgen furten unt *an galgen* henken' (12^{v})
'der edel baum all ding bloß daz gestund' (1473, 1554)	'unt der edel bam der word zwaiglos' (14^{r})
'schimpf'(1473, 1554)	'turniren' This switch occurs throughout. 'Schimpf' is used in the Yiddish text (22^{v}) to mean copulation.
'nun was der schlang vast ungeheuer und groß, un wolt nicht er winden' (1473, 1554)	'di schlang walt nit ab-losen un wolt das kint getet haben' (18^{r})
'sper' (1473) Gespeer' (1554)	'schwert' (19^{v})
'ich will mir selbs buoße darüber geben' (1473, 1554)	'ich mus ach noch selbert dorum leiden' (19^{v})
'daz nam in vast fremd'(1473, 1554)	'das nam in nun gar gros wonder' (23^{v})
'zuo deinen hurn' (1473, 1554)	'bei andere weiber' (25^{r})
Instead of 'das geschach', both 1473 and 1554 have 'das taett aber er nit wann er verzochs biß auff die nacht darumb daz in nyemant sähe.'	'do schickt das weib noch irem bulen, das er zu ir kem; das geschach; ouf den obent, do es vinster wart, kam der bulen unt kloft an [...]' (33^{r})
'misshellung' (1473, 1554)	'veindschaft' (34^{v} and 35^{r})
'begird' (1473, 1554)	'var-langen' (39a)
'offenbaren' (1473, 1554)	'nimant sagen' (43^{r})
'unordenliche liebe' (1473, 1554 40b)	'un-redlichen sachen un lib' (64^{v})
'und der begert ir über alle ding zegleich weiß alz ob er sy mit seinen leiplichen augen seche' (1473) 'und er begert ihr uberl alle ding zu gleicher weiß/ als sehe er sie mit	'wi er di keiseren sech un begert ir; un in dunkt, wi er si sech un wol darkent, als wer er vil bei ir gewesen' (68^{v})

seinen Leiplichen Augen/ das er sie wol erkente/ unnd viel mit ihr gehandelt het.' (1554, 42b)	
'vil guoter und manlich ding' (1473) 'viel guter und Mannlicher ding' (1554, 43a)	'vilarlai' (69^{v})
'wenn ir seind die aller liebste von deren mir getraumt hat bey allen meinen zeiten' (1473; 1554, 43b)	'den ir seit di aler-libes ouf erden' (70^{r})
New additional material	
1473 & 1554	**1602**
The Yiddish occurs straight after the Emperor's statement that he loves his new wife more than anything (listed above). The corresponding German section does not have the king mention his son, rather, it is the queen who initially brings him up in conversation.	'un er sagt ir, wi er ain veinen sun het in vremden landen' (7^{r})
No equivalent	'der sun schwaig als stil un naigt sich gegen dem vater sein heipt un gab im niks zu entwert, den er wost sein wesen.' (10^{r})
This particular section of direct speech is found neither in 1473, nor in 1554, both simply stating 'un sprach also'.	'mit der sölbegen hub si an zu reden un sprach: 'her keiser, hert mir zu ain klain bei-spil!' (13^{v})
'des alten baum sampt die sunnen und der reggen da von daz bömlin wachsen solt.' (1473) 'die Höhe des alten baums hindert die Sonnen und den Regen davon das klein Beumlin wachssen solt.' (1554)	'den di sun kan nit zum bemlein kumen un der regen kan auch nit der-zu kumen; un wen den ain bam kain sun un kain regen hot, wor-fun sol er den wakßen?' (14^{v}) This particular addition has an explanatory purpose.
The German editions of 1473 and 1554 do not include the curse specific to the King, and focus only on the cursing of the son's followers: 'so gett armmer leüt fluoch über alle die die ewrnn sun wol möchten haben verderbt und es nicht haben gethan.'	'so get armer leit vlucht iber eich un iber di öueren , das ir in hot wol megen varderben un es nit getun hot.' (15^{r})
'Sie schloß ihren Schrein baldt auff und ließ ihn das fingerlein sehen.' (1473; 1554,44a)	'si kam bald mit ire schlisel unt tet di kist ouf *un such das vingerlein, als ob si es lange zeit nit in den henden het gehoben*.' (71^{v}) This addition helps portray the Queen in a more cunning light.
Absent from 1473 and 1554 This added reference to sexual intercourse belies ideas that Jewish versions sought to sanitize the German original.	The Yiddish adds the king's sexual desire to the story: 'unt wolt auch ain weil kurz-weil treiben mit seiner kinegin' (75^{r}) to justify his return to the Queen's tower.
The exclamation of the disguised man is completely absent from both 1473 and 1554. The second half of this section also differs from 1473 which has the rather crude 'da sÿ nun abzogen was unnd nichtz mer an hatt da stuond sÿ da als ein man / und hat den zeug zwischen den beÿnen als ein man und nicht als ein fraw / und was auch ein man und nicht ein fraw.' 1554 49b has removed the crude aspects of 1473: 'Da sie nun abgezogen was / und nichts an hatt / stund sie da als ein Mann / und nicht als ein Fraw (...)'. The presence of 'mordio' in the Yiddish is noteworthy, presumably from the French 'mordieu'.	In the Yiddish frame-narrative, the undressing of the stepmother's male lady-in-waiting is different to from its German counterpart: 'wi nun das geschehen solt [the undressing in public], schrai di junk-vrau mordio, was das var ain schand solt sein, man solt si ous-zihen in ainem haimlichen gemach; aber man zog si mit großem gewalt ous; wi man si nun ous-zog, stund si do wi ain mans-bild unt nit wi ain vrau-bild!'(82^{v})

'Geydon hort das murmlen im Hof / und fieng an wieder ihn zu sein'(1473; 1554 55b)	Yiddish clarifies the rumour Geydon/Gidjon hears: 'der Gidjon hort das murmlen im hov vun Ludwig, wi er das kinegs tochter beschlif' (93^{v}-94^{r})
'Sie nam dessen wunder / und redt doch nicht darwider/ also lagen sie bey einander als lang Alexander auß was beim Keiser.' (1473; 1554, 56b) Again, the Yiddish text does not shy away from going into greater detail concerning the sexual behaviour of its characters. Here, the Yiddish reminds the reader that Alexander had been in a position to perform sexually.	The Yiddish seems to have clarified why the Queen is surprised that her husband (but really Ludwig) does not seek to have sex with her. 'das nam sein weib gros wonder das di lib mit irem man schon ous war; dor-zu wont si nit anders, den es wer der Alensander [should be Ludwig], den der Alensander hot im wor-zaichen genugen geben, das er bei ir bei-sten kunt; aber di gut kinegin reded doch niks der-wider.' (97^{r})
No equivalent Once again, the Yiddish increases the lasciviousness of the original text. It appears that these rhymes are a spontaneous addition to story, since Florentina tends to address Alexander in the second person singular throughout the Yiddish narrative.	Once Alexander explains the deception to Florentina, the Yiddish adds a sexual interlude which does not have a counterpart in either 1473 and 1554. The addition is even more puzzling because of its rhymes: 'si sprach: haben gros dank! un lis sich vun im auch ein weil legen iber di bank, do war in di weil nit lank.' (97^{v})
Again in the frame story, the Yiddish adds an explicit condemnation of Florentina's sexual behaviour and labels her a whore, an epithet (and outright judgement) absent from both 1473 and 1554	'aber er [Alexander] war nit so vrum als Ludwig, ursach er wust wol, das si ain hur war'. (97^{v})
Note the loaded sexual reference, again with no equivalent in 1473 and 1554.	'er solt bald wider-kumen, domit di broche gemacht wert; aber Alensandres hot ach bru'e bei ir gemacht' (99^{r})
No equivalent	Added explanation of customs: 'wi nun do der brauch ist, wen man zu hov geßen hat, brengt man den leiten ach das ibrig gar herous zu eßen un tailt es unter den armen ous.' (100^{r})
No equivalent	'aber das lant-volk kunt nit varsten, was das beteit, das der keiser di zwai leit so gar ser ert un mit solchen leiten eßen wolt; aber si durften doch niks reden.' (106^{r})
Misunderstood material that affects the reading of the narrative	
1473 & 1554	**1602**
'so gewinnen ir grossen nuez davon' (1473) 'so gewinnen ir ouß der massen grossen nuß darvon' (1554,14a)	'denoch so wil ich eich das ach sagen, das ir ain lust gewint'. (20^{v}) Lust should maybe be read as the German 'nuez'
'da gieng des mones schein enweg' (1473)	'un wi si nun ain gut weil mit-ain-andern geret haten, do ging di vrau

'unnd da sie also mit einander redten gieng des Mons schein hinweg' (1554, 17a)	hin-wek, do sagt si aber '[...]'. (24^{v}) This reference to the wife leaving does not make sense in this particular scenario, since she continues to speak with her husband for a while. Initial meaning present in both 1473 and 1554 is that they spoke for so long that the moonlight has faded (ie this is an indicator of time passing by).
'schandendeckerin'	'stain-tekerin' (35^{r})
'ich hab sein liebin tewer genuog gekauft' (1473) 'ich hab sein lieb thewer kaufft' (1554, 29b)	'ich hab sein trei gekauft' (46^{r})
'Der starck un vest ritter haet und gewan den preyß in allen streyten' (1473) 'Der Starck und fest Ritter' (1554, 43b)	'das ir der keiser gab zu ainem zaichen der lib der sterk; nun gewan der riter vast in alen streiten (..)' (70^{v})
'wirtschaft'	'winerschafer' (72^{r})
'schlif' should be 'spielt' as in the two German editions.	'als sein weib schlif schlug si un-geferlich ir hant in das meßer' (76^{v})
	'di weiber sein gar' (99^{r}-99^{v}). The rest of the sentence is missing, but should be something along the lines of the German editions of 1473 and 1554 'bloeder Natur'

Table VII. Examples of deviations from the German found in the ZWM.

As the above table demonstrates, the variations found between the German and the Yiddish are minimal and generally limited to word substitutions and rephrasing, usually with an aim to either update or clarify the original German. Wholesale additions also fit within this explanatory trend. Interestingly, some of the additions have an explicitly sexualised slant to them, thereby heightening the more lascivious aspects of the original SWM narrative. Ultimately though, none of the featured variations have a demonstrable impact on the narrative. The judgement voiced by the narrator in instances where the word whore is added merely emphasises the pre-existing misogynist tendencies of the narrative. Variations due to editorial misunderstanding and the wholesale addition of material may influence the reader's

(mis)understanding of the story, but these variations have a merely localised effect due to their infrequency. Klein sees these types of misunderstanding as the cost of transcription.[421]

The minimal impact of these variations is not surprising considering that the Yiddish edition remains extremely faithful to the German text, at times even replicating the narrative word for word. The correlation between types of variation present in the text and the level of adaptation from the original is worth examining since they are both inextricably linked to one another. Since this chapter has discussed types of variations from the *SWM* in the *ZWM*, a discussion of the relationship between both texts with a specific focus on adaptation is the next step.

II. ZWM as a transcription

Since the changes that have occurred in the Yiddish edition are limited to minor interventions to the *artificium* of the new text, the level of adaptation in the ZWM differs greatly from the adaptation in the *Kuhbukh*. As a result of these more localised changes at word and sentence levels, the ZWM situates itself on the less extensive side of the spectrum, as opposed to the *Kuhbukh*, a manifestation of *Wiedererzählung*. However, even though it is possible to quickly ascertain on what side of the spectrum the ZWM is situated, it is not as straightforward to ascertain what type of adaptation the ZWM actually is. To a certain extent, the fewer changes involved, the harder it is to ascertain the level of adaptation. The established faithfulness of a new text to its original counterpart is too broad a standard by which to measure the relationship of two texts. Indeed, faithfulness to the original is a marker of both transcription and translation. Attempts to define the exact nature of the

421 Klein, 'Umschrift', p. 228.

textual transfer occurring between the German and Yiddish editions are complicated by a series of methodological problems.

i. Methodological problems and approaches

In order to establish the level of adaptation the ZWM has undergone during the transfer of material, I have built upon the methodology developed by Klein in his 'Umschrift' article in which he closely compared short passages from a variety of manuscripts adapted into different languages and dialects. The nine examples of transfer he analyses encompass both religious and secular texts, and span interdialectal, intralingual and interlingual transfers between Latin, Old English, Ripuarian, Middle High German, Franconian, Old Dutch, Medieval Dutch, etc. Klein's selection of texts shows that his methodology is applicable to a wide spectrum of genres, as well as a variety of transfer scenarios. It is worth mentioning that Runte undertook a similar type of close textual analysis in order to assess the faithfulness of French Version A's translation into Latin Version H.[422] Unfortunately, Runte does not explain his methodology, forcing the reader to accept his results at face value and without any opportunity to replicate his analysis.

There are three difficulties in assessing whether or not a text is a transcription or a translation: first, these types of adaptation can be applied at various levels of the text; second, texts do present characteristics of more than one level of adaptation, especially in cases of close transfer, where it is not uncommon to see combinations of copying, transcription and translation; third, in cases of linguistic proximity, the boundaries between transcription and translation are even harder to establish.[423]

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[422] Runte, 'From the Vernacular', p. 104.
[423] Klein, 'Umschrift', p. 228.

In order to account for these difficulties, Thomas Klein presents an admirably succinct and comprehensive table detailing the existing spectrum of possible types of adaptation available, from the simple copy of material to 'Wiedererzählung'.[424] He refers to the levels in the text where changes occur as 'Transferebenen'. Klein argues that if changes occur at the most local level of graphemes and morphemes, the type of adaptive transfer that has occurred will be either a copy or a transcription. Similarly, changes at the level of words, phrases, and sentences are the remit of translation. If entire passages of the text have been transformed, then Klein refers to the transfer type as a 'freie Bearbeitung'. Changes in the narrative material, the *materia*, are indicative of the new text's status as a 'Wiedererzählung', as discussed in earlier chapters of this thesis. Klein's table successfully highlights the extent to which changes in one text can take place on a variety of levels.

In the case of the SWM/ZWM transfer, the types of changes found are situated at more localised areas of the text, as detailed earlier in this chapter. The fact that the German edition is instantly recognisable as a model for the Yiddish edition speaks for a transfer of material with little to no impact on the content. However, with so little impact on the content of the narrative, and considering the close links between the German and Yiddish languages, assessing whether or not the ZWM is a transcription or a translation of a SWM edition has not been entirely straightforward. Klein's article, however, is a helpful starting point. The focus of his article is on transfer between languages that possess high levels of similarity to another language, in particular Middle High German, Low German, and Dutch. In light of the close linguistic ties between German and Yiddish, the transfer of German material to Yiddish fits in with this type of transfer scenario. Klein's overarching argument is that although transfers between these languages would be categorized as intra-lingual, they would mirror intra-dialect strategies by privileging transcription as the primary mode of adaptation.

[424] Klein, 'Umschrift', p.226.

The problem with automatically assuming that intra-lingual transfer mainly revolves around transcription is that texts usually display combinations of levels of adaptation, especially in the case of close source and target languages. Klein addresses this major difficulty in assessing methods of adaptation put into place between neighbouring languages:

> Abschrift, Umschrift und Übersetzung treten bei naher Verwandschaft von Vorlagen und Zielsprache fast nie in Reinform, sondern in aller Regel gemischt auf: Abschriften sind fast nie so buchstäblich genau, dass sie nicht auch hie und da umschriftliche Züge trügen. Umschriften enthalten auch Fälle von Wort-und Phrasenersatz, und selbst ganze Sätze können ersetzt sein. Umgekehrt gibt es in Übersetzungen bei enger Verwandtschaft von Vorlagen und Zielsprache immer auch einen gewissen Anteil von umschriftlich übernommenen Vorlagenformen.[425]

One text may display a variety of types of adaptation, alternating between passages that have been transcribed, and passages that have been translated, for example. Even though Klein does expect closely related languages to behave along the lines of transcription, this may in fact be too simplistic a way to look at individual texts. In addition, Klein suggests that 'word for word' translation principles may have permeated transfer choices at localised levels and therefore pushed writers towards transcription, which would further confuse the distinction between transcription and translation:

> Die Parallelen zwischen dem *verbum-e-verbo* Übersetzungsverfahren und dem umschriftlichen Texttransfer sind so augenfällig, dass man einen Zusammenhang vermuten könnte. Möglicherweise hat sich das am Latein und am lateinischen-deutschen Transfer eingeübte Reproduktions – bzw. Übersetzungsverhalten unbewusst auch auf den volkssprachigen Bereich übertragen, wobei den dortigen Gegebenheiten mit einer gewissen Zwangsläufigkeit auch zu einem *littera e littera reddere* führen musste.[426]

Klein's methodology does have limitations, the first of which being mostly methodological: he fails to explain how he chose those particular passages for comparison, which might risk selection bias. A second limitation is that he does not provide a scale with which to measure whether or not a passage is a transcription or a translation. Klein does offer a vague method of assessment:

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[425] Klein, 'Umschrift', p. 228.
[426] Ibid., p. 258.

> Der Übergang von der Umschrift zur Übersetzung ist also fließend: Solange aber Wortumschrift das vorherrschende Transferverfahren ist, wird man noch von Umschrift sprechen; dominiert dagegen Ersatz von Wörtern, Phrasen und Sätzen, so handelt es sich um eine Übersetzung.[427]

This lack of quantifiable methods of assessment could be because the passages he compares all contain a high percentage of transcribed material and a scale is therefore unnecessary. Of the nine samples of the manuscripts analysed in Klein's article, two have a percentage of transcribed material situated below 10% and are categorized respectively as *Wiedererzählung* and *Bearbeitung*. The remaining seven samples span a scale of transcribed material between 62.9% and 97.5%, with an overall average of roughly 85%. All of the remaining seven are categorized as transcription. Although unnecessary in Klein's case, the lack of discussion as to how to interpret results render his methodology difficult to replicate. The third limitation of Klein's methodology, a limitation he does address, is that findings for each passage cannot be extrapolated to the rest of the text.[428]

Nevertheless, Klein's methodology does have its advantages: it enables us to look at localised passages in greater depth and grounds the analysis on a much more achievable scale. Rather than evasive statements backed up by 'evidence' that just so happens to meet the criteria we are looking for (as found for example in Howard's analysis of the Yiddish version of *Til Eulenspiegel*), this method provides a good starting point to look and think of the ZWM on the scale of adaptation. Futhermore, Klein's selection of texts has shown that his methodology is applicable to a variety of genres and inter/intralingual transfer scenarios. It is therefore particularly suited to the complexities of the German to Yiddish transfer, a scenario of transmission and adaptation characterized by a close linguistic proximity found in Klein's

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[427] Klein, 'Umschrift', p. 228.

[428] "Die Prozentzahlen umgeschriebener Wortformen, die sich für diese Textproben ergeben, können natürlich nicht für den Gesamttext verallgemeinert werden. Dennoch geben die Textproben mit ihrem Umschriftanteil einen hinlänglichen Eindruck von verschiedenen Abstufungen von Textumschriften, die sich bei abnehmenden Umschrift-und zunehmenden Ersetzungsanteilen mehr und mehr einer Übersetzung annähern." Klein, 'Umschrift', p. 229.

example of German to Dutch transfer, as well as by a cultural shift. Additionally, such a method has the advantage of producing more concrete results that can be checked by others.

ii. Assessing levels of change in the ZWM

Given the suitability of Klein's framework of analysis, both in terms of methodology and contextual fit, this section will expand on Klein's system in order to assess the types of change present in the ZWM. To avoid accusations of selection bias, the first five lines of every tenth folio of the ZWM will be used as samples and compared to their counterparts from the 1473 edition. Although I have replicated Klein's tabular layout, I have modified the categories of analysis. The reason for this addition of new categories was that I wanted to observe in greater detail what types of changes occurred in the adaptation process. Klein's decision to flag only word count and words that survived did not provide information for the discrepancies between German and Yiddish word counts. For example, I wanted to see if it was possible to attribute word count discrepancies to outright addition rather than rephrasing, since this would provide us with a better picture of the adaptation processes the Yiddish editor engaged with. If there is no word count discrepancy, this was not necessarily a sign that original words had survived, especially considering the linguistic similarities between German and Yiddish. If switched words are the most prominent type of deviation then it is entirely possible that the translation principles the Jewish editor followed aligned with the traditional 'meaning for meaning' translation principles popular at the time. On the other hand, if the percentage of words added is significant, then this would signal that the adaptation process included some 'freie Bearbeitung' as well. Whichever scenario plays out, this analysis will help situate the Yiddish, as precisely as possible, on the scale of adaptation.

When comparing sections of text, I have decided to flag up words that have survived from the German (variations on spelling and conjugation are acceptable, provided the root word is still recognisable), words added (sections of the Yiddish that do not have a counterpart in the German), and words replaced (a Yiddish word or phrase used to replace a German word or phrase of similar meaning). In the following table, W.C stands for word count. S.W stands for the number of surviving German words. W.A calculates the number of words that have been added to the Yiddish and W.R stands for German words that have been replaced by a more appropriate Yiddish wording, but where the equivalence has been preserved.

			W.C	S.W	W.A	W.R
10r	G	'Er neiget dem vatter sein haupt und gab in kein antwurt.'	11			
	Y	'er naigt dem vater aber das heipt un gab im gar kain entwert.'	13	10	2	1
	G	'Der keÿser verwundert das über alle maß und sprach aber'	10			
	Y	'der keiser var-wondert sich das iber di mos. nun sprach der keiser aber mol'	14	8	4	2
20r	G	'herr thuond ir daz so thuond ir weißlich und ich danck ewren gnaden zuo mal vast'	16			
	Y	'her keiser, wen ir das tut, so tut ir gar weislich unt wal doran, unt ich dank ouer keiserlich genoden'	20	13	7	
	G	'das ir ewren sun gefristet habt von meiner sag wegen und da mit empfilch ich eüch gott'	17			
	Y	das ir oueren sun der-leset hot fun dem tot fun meinet-wegen un befel eich got dem heren'	17	9	6	2
30r	G	'und verwarff es in ein hülin und gieng schnell enweg und saget es seinen schwesteren wie es in ergangen was.'	20			
	Y	'unt warf es in ain hel unt ging er geschwint hin-wek unt sagt es bald seinen schwesteren, wi es im ar-gangan wer.'	22	19	2	1
	G	'Als nun die schwesteren das horten da weinten und klagten sÿ iren vatter kläglich.'	14			
	Y	'als nun di schwesteren das horten, klagten si iren vater kleglich'	11	11		
40r	G	'das ist nun in einen weg zuo besechen.'	8			
	Y	'her keiser, das ist zum al-wegen wol besehen'	9	4	5	
	G	'Der keÿser sprach nun sag mir wie und was sol ich thuon da mit ich sÿ vertreib das will ich alles geren volbringen.'	23			

			W.C	S.W	W.A	W.R
	Y	‘der keiser sprach: liber sun, sag mir wo unt wen unt was sol ich tun, das ich si hin-wek breng?’	20	13	7	
50^{r}	G	der sun muest sterben und lebt noch darumb so mag und will ich eweren worten fürbaß nicht mer gelauben noch getrawen.	21			
	Y	eier sun mus heit sterben, un er lebt noch; dorum glab ich eich nit mer!	15	11	2	2
	G	Der keÿser sprach es gehört einem keiser zuo das er ÿederman verhoere und das er die sachen wol erfar ee das er recht spreche.	24			
	Y	der keiser sprach, es gehert ainem keiser zu, ainem iklichen zu vorheren, un das er di sach wol for her, e er das recht driber spricht.	26	20	5	1
60^{r}	G	Er sprach mein herr der künig haett gar auß der massen geren ein hübsche frawen auff dise nacht dÿe beÿ im leg und schlieff.	24			
	Y	der marschalk antwort unt sprach: mein her kineg, der het gar gern ain schene vrau, di disen nacht bei im schlif	21	16	3	2
	G	Aber so er ser geswollen ist und so unreyn so vindt gar kain ein frawen dÿe zuo im gen wölte	20			
	Y	aber di weil er so gar geschwolen unt unrain ist, do kan er nit bald ainen vinden, di bei im ligt	21	11	8	2
70^{r}	G	da die künigin inne was, und da das beschach da redt er mit einen maurer daz er im heimlich ein loch machte durch die mauer die burg	27			
	Y	do di kinegin inen war un do das geschach, red er mit ainem mouerer, das er im machte loch in di mouer	22	21		1
	G	der maurer macht daz loch als in der ritter hieß und da daz loch gemacht ward da tott der ritten den maurer.	22			
	Y	der mourer tet das, als er in his, unt do das loch gemacht war, tet der riter den mourer.	19	17		2
80^{r}	G	hercz lieber mein man so nÿm ein stein und schlag im die zen auß.’	14			
	Y	mein liber vokt, so nem ain stein unt schlag im oben zwen zen ous seinem munt, so sicht man es nit, maint man, es wer der voreg dib.	28	11	16	1
	G	er sprach : O liebe mein fraw des über heb mich da er leb das was er mein fast guoter gesell.	20			
	Y	er sprach: libe vrau, das tun ich nit gern, den do er noch gelebt, ist ain guter zech-bruder gewesen	19	9	1	9
90^{r}	G	er neÿgt sein haupt und gieng von ir, wann als er da mit vor den tisch was da was nÿemant der dem keÿser diente mit dem kopff	27			
	Y	si naigt sich zu im un sprach: dir sol wol sein. er dankt ir un ging vun danen; in dem war nimant do, der dem keiser ein-schenkt	27	11	14	2
	G	daz ersach allexander wann er kommen was/ und verwas seinen gesellen.	11			
	Y	das ar-sach Alecsander, den er wider kumen war, un er var-sach bald sein geselen.	14	9	3	2
100^{r}	G	auch über seins vaters reich reichßnet und geweltig ward. Da das künig allexander erhort	14			

			W.C	S.W	W.A	W.R
	Y	un her war iber das ganz lant weit un breit	10	2	8	
	G	da sprach er zuo im selber Ludwig mein gesell der ist keÿser worden zuo dem will ich mich fügen	19			
	Y	geducht er: ich wil mich zu dem Ludwig vorögen, den ich hab im jo mein tag vil gutes getun, das tut er mir vileicht bezalen	25	3	22	

Table VIII: Analysis of ZWM samples in relation to the SWM

In order to achieve greater clarity, the following table summarizes the findings from table VIII in percentage form:

Folio number	Percentage of the Yiddish that has survived from the German	Percentage of the Yiddish that is additional material not found in the German	Percentage of the Yiddish that preserves some of the German text but changes the vocabulary
10^{r} I	77%	15%	8%
10^{r} II	57%	29%	14%
20^{r} I	65%	35%	
20^{r} II	53%	35%	12%
30^{r} I	86%	9%	5%
30^{r} II	100%		
40^{r} I	44%	56%	
40^{r} II	65%	35%	
50^{r} I	74%	13%	13%
50^{r} II	77%	19%	4%
60^{r} I	76%	14%	10%
60^{r} II	52%	38%	10%
70^{r} I	95%		4%
70^{r} II	89%		11%
80^{r} I	39%	57%	4%
80^{r} II	47%	6%	47%
90^{r} I	41%	52%	7%
90^{r} II	64%	22%	14%
100^{r} I	20%	80%	
100^{r} II	12%	88%	

Table IX: Percentage distribution of text in the ZWM samples

The figures from table IX paint an interesting picture. Of the twenty sections analysed, only four Yiddish phrases have a percentage of surviving German words that exceeds 80. Thirteen out of twenty phrases include some form of rewriting of the original German material, while

preserving some form of equivalence. Seventeen out of the twenty contain an overall average of 35% of additional material not found in the German. Furthermore, although the percentages do vary, it is possible to identify the beginnings of a trend: the earlier pages of the ZWM contain higher percentages of surviving German words, whereas from 80^{r} there is a noticeable diminution of surviving German material, combined with a marked increase in the percentages of added words. This trend outlined in the above table does align with a noticeable difference in how the narrative is treated throughout the ZWM: the prince's return to speech and his subsequent tale of Alexander and Ludwig deviate more strongly from the German model than the earlier parts of the ZWM. The table demonstrates that even though the Yiddish text has preserved a significant amount of the German, it cannot simply be categorized as simple transcription. Indeed, on average, the twenty samples contain only 62% of the original German wording. If we compare this figure with the average percentage of Klein's seven samples categorised as transcription, which stood at approximately 85%, it becomes apparent that it may not be reasonable to label the ZWM uncritically as a transcription. Considering also the close linguistic ties between German and Yiddish, which would mean that vocabulary available in German was also available in Yiddish, and would therefore automatically fall under the category of transcription, then one could argue that the level of surviving (and therefore flagged as) transcribed material in the Yiddish is unsurprising. Equally, the presence of additional material in the Yiddish that has no counterpart in the German is, on occasion, significantly high. Whether or not this is a high enough percentage to view the ZWM as a translation may be methodologically impossible to ascertain. The next section of this chapter, however, will argue that, though the close linguistic ties between German and Yiddish may not be enough to substantiate a call for the ZWM to be unequivocally considered a translation, certain components of the additional material found in the ZWM could be seen as the direct result of principles of translation.

III. ZWM as a translation

Considering the results of the Kleinesque table of analysis that highlighted the relatively lower level of transcribed material in the ZWM, this section of the chapter will argue that the ZWM is a mixture of both translation and transcription. The elements of translation present in the ZWM are made explicit when discussing the judaizing elements of the narrative.

i. Lack of articulated translational aims in the ZWM

The difficulty in viewing the ZWM as a translation, to some extent understandable because of the linguistic proximity discussed in detail earlier in this chapter, is further compounded by the lack of explicit statements in the ZWM's preface addressing its relationship to its German source. This could be related to the ZWM's balance of transcription and translation. With material being transcribed directly from the German there may not have been any pressure to address the ethics of translation. However, the expectation that a translator should address his principles is unjustified. Not all translations occur within the same parameters: "Literary translation, as much as any other translation activity, takes place in concrete socio-cultural contexts, where sufficient need has been felt to transport a linguistic product from one language to another."[429] Concerns over religious authority and legitimacy that push for a justification of translation were definitely not present in the context within which the SWM/ZWM process of adaptation occurred. In the case of the transfer of the Seven Sages narrative, the 'sufficient need' was the desire to replicate a commercial success from the Gentile literary world in a Yiddish environment.

[429] Bassnett, *Translation: Theory and Practice*, p. 2.

This commercial drive behind the translation process is not restricted to Yiddish literary production, indeed Caxton, the fifteenth century printer, articulated the financial advantages of a translation in his preface of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy* (ca.1475):

> (...) following the said counsel took a French book, and read therein many strange and marvellous histories, wherein I had great pleasure and delight (...). And for so much as this book was new and late made and drawn into French, and never had seen it in our English tongue, I thought in myself it should be good business to translate it into our English (...).[430]

The use of translation to produce popular narrative content was also a feature of the early Basel printing industry. Romy Günthart argues that the early production of German-language literature in Basel relied heavily on the translation and copying of pre-existing editions and manuscripts in order to generate literary content.[431] The reliance on closely reproducing established German literary models is therefore not exclusive to Yiddish printed literary production, and should be seen more as a reflection of commercial pressures on an emerging literary market rather than as a reflection of literary ability.

Another factor that could account for the lack of discussion of translation principles in the ZWM is Venuti's notion of the 'translator's invisibility'. This notion is exemplified by the ZWM, in which the adaptor remains conspicuously silent in the preface concerning the process of adaptation put into place in order to produce the 1602 edition. Venuti argues that translation aesthetics have required that the translator be subsumed in order to preserve the author's presence:

> The translator's invisibility is also partly determined by the individualistic conception of authorship that continues to prevail in Anglo-American culture. According to this conception, the author freely expresses his thoughts and feelings in writing, which is thus viewed as an original and transparent self-representation, unmediated by transindividual determinants (linguistic, cultural, social), that might complicate authorial originality. This view of authorship carries two disadvantageous implications for the translator. On the one hand, translation is defined as a second-order representation: only the foreign text can be

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[430] Bassnett, *Translation: Theory and Practice,* p. 51.
[431] Romy Günthart, *Deutschsprachige Literatur im frühen Basler Buchdruck (ca. 1470-1510)* (Munich; New York: Waxmann, 2007).

> original, an authentic copy, true to the author's personality or intention, whereas the translation is derivative, fake, potentially a false copy. On the other hand, translation is required to efface its second-order status with transparent discourse, producing the illusion of authorial presence whereby the translated text can be taken as the original.[432]

The unacknowledged relationship between the Yiddish edition and its German counterpart could be read as the enactment of this translator's invisibilty. However, Venuti's conception of the translator's lack of marked presence should not be applied uncritically to this particular context since the modern conception of authorship does not fit the reality of 'authorless' German and Yiddish printed editions. Nevertheless, the lack of editorial musings on the difficulty of the task undergone is particularly striking if we compare it to references in other Yiddish works that paint adaptation as a laborious process.

In the preface of the Yiddish *Mishlei Shualim*, Koppelmann is unapologetic about the work he has put into his printed collection. He acknowledges the act of mediation involved in turning stories from 'goyish' books into Yiddish fables, and emphasises the creative act of putting stories into rhymes: "vil gefunden in anderen seforim, ach vil hab ich ir getracht, vil hab ich genumen ous der gojm bicher un hab si gereimt gemacht."[433] His adaptation is also referred to in terms of a transformative process: "das deitsch [Yiddish] buch is Misle Suolim genant, ous dem ivre hab ich es ouf das deitsch gewant."

Although the author of the *Kuhbukh* does not explicitly refer to the sources of his fables, he does hint at the creative effort behind his printed endeavour. He does not hesitate to associate his writing with a semi-herculean ascetic achievement: "bei tag un bei nacht, mit al mein kraft hot mir mein herz gelacht di sach zu begreifen/ regen noch wind, noch weiber noch kind, taber oder blind, noch gesang noch feifen / haben mich nit für-stort." (KB, 3ᵛ)

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[432] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, pp. 6-7.
[433] Schumacher, *Sefer Misle Suolim*, p. 3.

Unlike Koppelmann and the KB author, the translator of the ZWM does not refer to the act of translating from the German source, nor does he refer to the effort involved in his work aside from the act of printing. The preface of the ZWM is short and gets straight to the point. The reader is exhorted to buy this book now, as this may be their only chance to get their hands on it before the bookseller goes east to sell his wares: "tut es bald ab-kaufen/ aber ich wil/ in fremden land der-mit laufen/ in Reisen un in Polen / drum tut ir si bald/ bei mir holen." (ZWM, 1[r]) The focus of these prefacing remarks is very much on the commercial transaction, rather than on any symbolic value such as its educative and didactic potential.

Just as there are varying levels of adaptation from text to text, so there are equally varying levels of an author or translator's evaluation of their creative output. Considering the irregular statements of authorship, it may be difficult to determine a direct correlation between levels of adaptation and levels of self-appraisal. However, this is an aspect of the Yiddish preface's rhetorical exercise that deserves further attention.[434] Could it be established that the more work an individual put into the adaptation process, the greater the tendency to underscore his personal effort in one way or another? Anonymity should not affect this trend, as the *Kuhbukh*'s anonymous author has shown. Additionally, it would be of great interest to further enquire as to whether or not an author/translator's self-appraisal or devaluation of labour have an impact on how their work is regarded posthumously. Is it possible that there could be a correlation between how a text publicizes its value, and how academics will subsequently respond to that self-assessment? It may be that the quasi-mechanical descriptions of the adaptation process in some prefaces have percolated into some scholarship. The attribution or non-attribution of value and its equation with personal

[434] In a similar vein, Martina Backes has discussed the terminology used by medieval German authors to refer to their work in order to assess how they viewed the relationships between the source and target texts. Backes has argued that the vocabulary used to discuss the transfer and adaptation of narratives in these prefaces suggests that the adaptors viewed the process as a dynamic and creative one. Backes, 'Ich buwe doch die strazzen', pp. 347-8.

labour also speaks for an already internalised qualitative assessment of different types of adaptation. It might be that an author of a reworking like the *Kuhbukh* would know that his creative output would be recognised as precisely that – a creative endeavour. On the other hand, an individual producing a translation for commercial purposes may be aware that this would not garner any praise and refrain from extolling his own efforts.

ii. Judaizing strategies as principles of translation

Assessing whether or not translation from German to Yiddish occurred is not a straightforward process considering the linguistic proximity of both languages at this period in time. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the linguistic shift can easily be construed as transcription, especially if the cultural shift is not always enacted aside from the (sometimes infrequent) use of Hebrew words. Considering the lower levels of adaptation used in the ZWM, the enactement of the cultural shift through the use of judaizing strategies is all the more crucial to this discussion of translation. The introduction to this thesis has argued that judaizing strategies can be both processes of adaptation enacted in order to signal a text's shift to a new audience, as well as the result of translation strategies under the umbrella of translation theory's domesticising processes. The key to the distinction is if these judaizing elements are present as a result of wholesale addition, or if they are used to establish equivalence with components of the source text.

In order to assess whether or not the judaizing strategies found in the ZWM can be related to specific translation strategies rather than generalised processes of adaptation, all instances of judaizing strategies in the ZWM have been listed below. These strategies include the attenuation and deletion of Christian material, as well as the addition of Jewish specific material either to replace existing material, or as wholesale addition without a German

counterpart. I have also included all instances of surviving Christian material in order to highlight both the inconsistency of these Judaizing strategies, and the fact that the survival of Christian material was not deemed problematic *per se*.

a. Attenuation and removal of Christian references

The comparison of the 1473 and 1554 German editions with the Yiddish edition of 1602 helps flag up instances where Christian references have been removed from the Yiddish text. These removals follow three broad categories: the despecification of geographical locations with a Christian slant, the removal of references to Christian theology, and the removal of references to Christian organisational structures.

The despecification of geographical locations occurs only twice throughout, due to the small number of religious geographical references in the original text. A garden is described as close to a church in the German editions: 'ist ein gart bey Sant Martin' (1473), 'das ist ein Garten bey S.Martin' (1554). The Yiddish edition, however, removes the reference to the church and expresses its location with a numerical value: 'nit weit fun Rom, zwai meil, do ist ain schener garten.' (5^{v}) The Yiddish ZWM also replaces a reference to the holy land 'und für von ir in das heÿlig land' (1473, 1554) with the vaguer 'un zog in ain vremd land' (35^{v}). Although the religious connotation of these locations has not been preserved, one could argue that equivalence has been maintained in both cases: the garden's point of reference remains, and the move to the foreign land still connotes distance and enstrangement from a previous life.

A type of removal of references to Christianity that does occur more regularly is the attenuation and deletion of references to Christian beliefs and theology. A reference to purgatory found in both 1473 ('fegfeuer') and 1554 ('Fegfewr') is replaced with the less theologically specific 'in der hel' (23^{v}). This particular strategy of removal and replacement is

also found again in 26[r]. A reference to Mary is understandably removed. The phrase 'Fraw Sancta Maria, das weib ist so gar geleich meinen weip' (1473, 1554) is found in the ZWM but without the reference to Mary: 'sprach er in im selbert: dein weib ist gar gleich meinem liben weib' (72[v]). When Ludwig's murdered sons are miraculously found to be alive, they sing *Ave Maria* in 1473, but sing *Te Deum Laudamus* in 1554. In the Yiddish however, the reference to a specifically Christian song is omitted and we only have the more neutral 'tanzen un singen' (104[v]). In the same story, the children's mother is referred to as leaving to go to church (allowing Ludwig the time to kill his children) in both 1473 and 1554: 'die keÿserin mit iren iunckfrawen zuo dem kirchen gieng.' However, the 1602 removes the reference to her churchgoing habits and instead has her go for a walk: 'do di keiserin spaziren ging mit junk-vrauen' (103[r]). A reference to the relics of saints found in both German editions does not survive in the Yiddish edition. The emperor, we are told, 'wolt dÿe leichnam von sant peters und sant pauls mynster zerom mit gewalt nemen' (1473, 1554). The Yiddish version tones down the reference to the objects of Christian veneration as well as to the saints, but does however substitute them with a more acceptable reference to a church: 'diser kinig wolt di kirchen gezirt ous dem minster zu Rom hin nemen.' (59[v]) This type of Christian reference has not been thoroughly excised. Later in the story, the Yiddish editor failed to remove further references to the relics and the saints: 'di kerpor der vorgenamten hailegen' (61[v]), and 'noch mißen mir si loßen fun das Peter un Palus halben' (61[v]). A few lines later, still in 61[v], the relics are now twice referred to by the Hebrew *pesilim* which replaces the German phrase 'leichnam der heyligen'. This case emphasises identifiable trends in the ZMW's attitude to Christian material, in particular, its rather erratic treatment of similar material, deleted in one folio, but allowed to remain, and even referencing earlier deletions, in the next. In these examples, equivalence is often maintained through simple attenuation or despecification (hell for purgatory for example, the children still sing, the king still wishes to desecrate religious ground even though it no longer contains saints' relics etc.). The expression 'Fraw Sancta

Maria' used to denote surprise and internal thought in the German may have no counterpart in the Yiddish, but the editor does add the explicit reference to the king's thought-process.

Other regularly removed and replaced Christian references are those that reflect Christianity as a social and organisational structure. Church bells used to signal prayer times, and by extension, the time of day, have been removed in 67^{r}, where 'zu morgen vri' replaces 'und solt morgens ze preim zeyt da sein' from 1473 and 'un solt des morgens zu Prim zeit da sein' found in 1554. In the same vein, Geydon and Alexander fight 'bis an den abent' (98^{r}) rather than 'bis auff die Vesper zeit' as found in 1473 and 1554. The physical space in the *vidua* story is coded as Christian in the 1473 and 1554 editions since the story takes place in the cemetery where the widow's husband is buried. Where the German editions refer to the widow's hovel built 'auf den kirchhoff' (1473, 1554) is replaced by 'iber das grab' (77^{v}). The *vidua* narrative also has two references to alms that are subsequently removed in the Yiddish edition. The phrases 'was ist seiner sel nücz das ir hie seyt euch und seiner sel ist vil weger ir gebent ein spend und almuosen den dz ir hie also verderbent' (1473) and "das ist seiner Seel viel besser ir geben Almusen denn das ir hie also verderbend' (1554) become 'es ist seiner selen vil beßer, ir gebt armen leiten um gotes wilen, den das ir hi ouf dem grab also ver-derbt' (77^{v}). It seems that the Yiddish editor removed the reference to alms without providing an alternative. The subsequent reference to alms that is also removed is replaced with the vaguer 'etwas': 'almuosen durch ewrs mans see' (1473) and 'und geben Allmusen umb Gottes willen ewern mann zu trost' (1554) becomes 'und gebt al-zeit etwas um gotes wilen, dormit eieren man zu tresten' (78^{v}).

It is important to note that the later German editions of the SWM also deleted some specific references to Christian practices. For example, in 31^{r} we are told that 'er seinem vater das

heibt nit wolt begraben.'[435] 1473 specifies that he does not want to bury it 'in die kirchen', which underscores effectively that the son has no time to bury his father's head properly. This reference to the church is missing from 1554 (20^{b}), which means that the absence of the reference to the church in the Yiddish is a reflection of its closeness to a later edition of the SWM, rather than a result of judaizing editorial decisions. In the same vein, 1554 and the Yiddish both have 'in ain vremd land' (35^{v} and 23^{b} respectively) instead of the 1473's reference to 'das heylig lant'.

Overall, the limited amount of deleted Christian material is not entirely surprising if we consider the inconsistent and often erratic editing principles of the ZWM which is evidenced by the survival of a great many Christian references, listed below, some of which have occasionally been removed only to survive further down the page. The removal of Christian references tends to involve attenuation and the preservation of equivalence, rather than outright removal without substitution. Where elements are changed or deleted, they are replaced in such a way as to preserve the coherence of the narrative, especially where such references clarify a character's motivation. As a result, the narrative is never compromised for the sake of these deletions.

b. Survival of Christian references

The survival of many references to Christianity may be the result of both a tolerance of Christianity as a mainstream institution that shaped the social landscape irrevocably, and the lax editorial principles at work in the ZWM edition.

Although some references to Christian structures of organisation have been deleted (as discussed above), others have survived. In the same way that references to Prime and

[435] Since his father got stuck in a hole while stealing from the king, the son had to behead him in order to avoid identification.

Vespers were used to flag up time, references to Whitsun marked the time of year. A reference to Whitsun survives in 7^{v}: 'das si bei irem leben ouf di finkstain seinen sun berichten zu im.' References to the church and its administration also survive in the Yiddish edition. In the climactic scene of *inclusa*, the queen's wedding to the knight takes place under the benevolent eyes of her unsuspecting husband and in the palace church: 'der kineg kam zu der kirchen, do kam der pfaf un wolt si ein-segnen' (74^{r}). Here, the Yiddish follows 1554 (45^{a}): 'der Koenig kame zu der Kirchen da kame der Priester unnd wolt sie Insegen.' 1554 has deviated from 1473, which has 'nach den geseczt der kirchen zesamen geben.' There could be a variety of reasons why the Yiddish editor did not seek to remove the references to Christian matrimonial ceremony: a lack of interest in judaizing flawed characters, an acceptance of the mainstream institutional functions of the church, a subtle calling out of the powerlessness of the church unable to prevent bigamy etc. Later, on the same page and in the same story, the Yiddish does temper some of the Christian reference. Where 1554 (45^{a}) has: 'der Priester gab sie zusamen nach ordnung der Christlichen Kirchen'; the Yiddish edition has 'noch dem gab der pfaf si baid zu-ander noch ordnung un gebrauch' instead. A further reference to a priest, 'dem pfafen', is also present in 77^{r} in vidua, which makes sense since this story is set in a cemetery (as discussed above). Again, this could potentially be the result of a combined disinterest in judaizing morally corrupt characters and a tolerance for references to majority culture. This tolerance, however, does not extend to references to alms and the church cemetery found in the same story, as listed above.

Some references to geographical locations with distinct Christian connotations, similar to those discussed above, have not been replaced. A Christian euphemism used to signify Jerusalem is preserved in 19^{v}: "un als-bald zu-brach er sein gar gut schwert in drei stuken, ging zum hailegen grab unt dint got un tet sich ale wol-lust ab un word ain got-seliger man." This reference exists in both 1473 and 1554, with 'üppigkeit' instead of 'wol-lust'. A specific

church name also survives in the Yiddish edition: "do sagt si aber: e ich mich solbert der-trenk, so wil ich mein sel in gotes hant befelen in ain kirch, di haist Peters kirch, nu eich sol gelont werden noch eierem var-dinst." (24[v]) Here, the Yiddish follows the 1554 text more closely than it does the text of the 1473 edition. Interestingly, the 1554 edition has removed some religious references present in the editio princeps. 1473 states "Das ersten so schaff und gib ich mein sel got und unser lieber Frawen, und den leib zuo begraben in sant peters kirchen ze Rom." The 1554 edition has removed the reference to Mary: "so wil ich mein Seel gered seßen, vonn ersten mein Seel Gott, dem Leib zu begraben zu S.Peters Kirch zu Rom [...]."

Only one mention of Christian belief remains in the Yiddish, presumably because of its euphemistic quality. In *vidua* a husband is dying because he accidentally injured his wife and we are told: "als sein knecht das horten, lofen si bald zu dem pfafen, das er den mit-brecht, was dorzu gehert, so ainer fun diser welt schait". (77[r]) The reference to what is needed for when someone leaves this world is euphemistic, and looking at 1554 (47[a]), we can see that the explicit reference to the sacrament has been removed: "Als die knecht das horten lieff einer nach dem anderz zu den Pfaffen das er das Sacrament brecht." 1473 does not directly refer to the last rites: "da lieff einer nach den andern zuo der kirchen nach dem pfaffen. das er im unsern herzen prechte." It is therefore entirely possible that the German edition the Yiddish was ultimately based on did not contain a direct reference to last rites. Nevertheless, the insistence of the Yiddish text on customs necessary at the time of death would indicate otherwise.

Some additional surviving references to Christianity have been listed further below since they exist in conjunction with attempts to replace them with Jewish specific references. The overall pattern of these deletions and attenuations suggest that the Yiddish adaptor was

concerned primarily with the preservation of narrative coherence rather than with ideological structures. There are no examples of changes which distort motivational structures. On the other hand, as the next few paragraphs will show, changes that include a Jewish cultural slant are chosen in such a way to preserve the integrity of the narrative.

c. Addition of Jewish references

The ZWM relies on localised addition of Jewish material: the most common format for these additions is the replacement of a word of German origin with a word of Hebrew origin. Unlike the KB, there are no added references to specifically Jewish customs or religious rites, except for the one reference to a synagogue, a substitution for the church of the SWM text. This means that the characters and the world they inhabit are not perceivable as essentially Jewish. This particular effect (or, rather, lack thereof), not only marks the very real difference between material treated in the course of a rewriting and material treated in the course of a translation; but it also positions the translator of the ZWM as a mediator between cultures.

The main features of the addition of Jewish material in the ZWM are that they are limited to individual words, and that they almost exclusively provide equivalence. I have distinguished three types of addition of Jewish material: replacement of German words with Yiddish equivalents, replacement of Christian vocabulary with Jewish equivalents, and the wholesale addition of Jewish material. As in the case of the removal of Christian material, the addition of Jewish elements is sporadic and often inconsistent.

The most frequent use for Jewish material in the ZWM is to create equivalence with a German word that is either outdated or for which there is a better Yiddish word. The Hebrew 'Jo□ezim' is used instead of 'ratte' on 3[r]. However, this seems to be the only time this particular word was replaced. Throughout the rest of the text, the original German word

was preserved. 'Heder' (room) in 10^{r} replaces the German 'gemach'. Later in the same story, 'gemach' is replaced with 'kamer' (12^{r}). The use of 'kamer' instead of 'gemach' may be the result of a German dialectal variant present in the SZ and not necessarily a result of Yiddish editorial principles. The German 'eber' is replaced by the Hebrew 'hasir' (20^{r}). This switch is sustained throughout the tale *aper*. In 33^{v}, the Hebrew for revenge, 'nekome' is used as 'mir welen dise nacht ain nekome tun an der agelster', which replaces the phrase 'wir werdent auff dise nacht an der aglasternn gerochen' found in both 1473 and 1554. Interestingly, further down the same page, the Yiddish uses the verb 'rachen': 'mir welen noch heit ain rocheng an der agelster ar-leben' which has as its German counterparts the sentence: 'wir woellen in diser nacht an der aglaster gerochen werden.' In 96^{v}, the German phrase 'un da es nacht ward da fueret man ludwigen nider di künigin ward zuo im gelegt' is shortened to 'unt wi es nacht war, legt man hossen vecale [bride and groom] schlofen.'

Jewish specific vocabulary can be used to simplify the original German construction. This is the case of the phrase "got derken wi du mich hosed gewesen [to suspect], das ich unschuldig bin dor-zu gewesen." (25^{v}). This particular construction simplifies the convoluted wording found in both German editions: 1473 has 'got der erken wol das ich soeliche ding nye gethan hab der du mich nun zeichest' and 1554 has 'Gott erkennt wol das ich des du mich zeihest unschuldig binn.' The German 'gesegnet' is replaced consistently throughout the ZWM with 'gebenscht' in 53^{v}, 84^{r}, 97^{v}, and 103^{v}. In 103^{v}, 'gebenscht' is also used in conjunction with a shortening of the German phrase. The German "nun erkenn ich dich, erst dÿe stund muoß gelobt und ewiglichen sälig sein in der ich meine kindt getoedt hab umb deiner gesundheit willen" (1473, 1554) is replaced with 'gebenscht di stunt, do du geboren bist!' which effectively removes the problematic rejoicing over infanticide. The most frequent (and consistent) word-switch is the substitution of 'etwas' with 'epes', as found in 17^{r}, 23^{r}, 45^{r} (this one is a complete addition, there is no German counterpart), 50^{v}, 65^{r}, 66^{v}, 71^{v}. 17^{r} is

notable because the use of 'epes' may also have had an additional role of simplifying the narrative, by replacing the phrase "so vieng er alle mal das er nymmer ler kam" (1473, 1554). The switch in vocabulary can occasionally be a source of humour: in *vidua*, the Yiddish edition, the Yiddish edition uses the Hebrew word for egg 'bezim' (80^{r}) as a euphemism for the corpse's testicles, rather than the German word 'gemecht'.

In conjunction with the attenuation and removal of references to the Christian religion discussed earlier, the ZWM editor also attempted to replace them with Jewish equivalents, although this was not a consistent endeavour. A reference to church found in both 1473 and 1554 is replaced with a synagogue in 'dor-noch ging di vrau aines mol in di schul' (42^{v}). The same story, however, does not have a problem with the daughter's desired lover being a priest, 'ain pfafen in diser stat' and is actually rather inconsistent throughout about its policy towards Christian references: in 43^{v}, the daughter tells her husband that she has been to church: 'in der kirchen, hab gotes wort gehert' to explain her absence. In 44^{r}, a reference to vespers, a liturgical marker of time, is removed: the German 'um vesper zeit' found in 1473 and 1554 is replaced by 'ouf den abent'. A page later, on 44^{v}, the woman goes back to the 'kirchen'. The switch to a synagogue was very short lived, since the 'kirch' is mentioned again in 46^{r}. This particular example of an inconsistent replacement does highlight the fact that it is more important for the narrative to motivate the wife's absence than it is to have a consistently Jewish setting. Within the same story however, the religious rhetoric has been toned down: when the wife lies to her husband about her church-going activities, her husband enthusiastically commends her behaviour: 'das gevelt mir wol, du solst das ale tag tun' (43^{v}), but omits the religious rhetoric found in the German editions: 'du solt all tag das reich gottes von ersten suochen' (1473, 1554). A rather interesting substitution of Christian material can be found in 62^{v}. The people of Rome are worried that they will be punished for their king's greed. The 1473 edition details their fears: "es ist villeicht der cristen got und ist

von hÿmel her ab kommen und will uns mit den swerten und mit seinem zoren all toetten" and the 1554 edition follows suit. The Yiddish however, replaces the Christian god with a Hebrew demon: "es ist vilecht der sed, der kumen wal uns mit der schwerter ale zu teten." (62[v)] The switch from god to demon leads the Yiddish editor to removing the later line 'das uns ir got nit erschlachen' (as found in 1473 and 1554).

The only instance of added Jewish material that does not act as an equivalent for original German material is in 56[v], in which the German phrase 'der chind' is clarified by the qualifying Hebrew for king: "des melech kind." The fact that Jewish material is almost exclusively there for equivalence reflects that the Judaizing processes in the ZWM are the result of translation principles rather than adaptation strategies that seek to anchor the narrative into a Jewish setting.

This overview of the judaizing strategies in the ZWM demonstrates that the adaptor was concerned with narrative first and foremost. Changes that are made do not have a detrimental effect on the overall coherence of the text. Where meaning may be compromised, the adaptor opts for attenuation rather than outright removal of Christian references. The survival of a variety of Christian references may point to some inconsistent editorial principles, but this survival also highlights the extent to which this type of material was not deemed problematic enough to warrant a more thorough attempt at deletion. Jewish specific elements are limited to the replacement of German and Christian vocabulary with a Jewish counterpart. Again, these changes seem to work towards facilitating the reader's comprehension and work towards preserving equivalence with the original German reference.

iii. The ZWM as translation and transcription

Attempts to mediate (to a certain extent) the presence of one culture through the deletion of some references to Christianity and the simultaneous addition of more Jewish-specific language and vocabulary fit within a wider discussion of translation principles. Indeed, this next section of the chapter will argue that the presence of these additions and deletions should establish the ZWM as a translation with some elements of transcription, rather than simply as a transcription.

In viewing the additions and deletions present in the Yiddish text, the concepts of 'domesticising ' and 'foreignising' coined by Lawrence Venuti discussed earlier in the introduction are of use. They illustrate the tensions present when mediating literary information from one culture to another. Venuti summarises the domesticating method as 'an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values', as opposed to the foreignising method which is the 'ethnodeviant pressure on those values to register the linguistic and cultural difference of the foreign text'.[436] Viewing the judaizing strategies listed above within the framework of domesticising principles of translation is useful in the specific context of the ZWM because it is able to account for perceived cultural differences despite the linguistic proximity of German and Yiddish as well as the textual proximity of the two editions.

The strongest evidence for a domesticising attitude in the ZWM is the choice to match the removed Christian references with neutral equivalents, as well as the fact that almost all the Jewish-specific material in the ZWM is added in order to preserve equivalence. Equivalence in translation is achieved when an "SL [source language] phrase is replaced by a TL [target

[436] Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*, p. 20.

language] phrase that serves the same purpose on the TL culture."[437] The catalogue of judaizing strategies (both attenuation of Christian references as well as added Jewish material) listed above demonstrates that most of these instances achieve equivalence. This means that the judaizing in the ZWM did not occur as an independent adaptative process aiming to create a Jewish-specific narrative of its own volition (as is the case with the KB), rather it reflects that the judaizing process was purely reactive to existing German content. Furthermore, the inconsistencies in the removal and replacement of certain features also indicate that these judaizing strategies were not at the forefront of the editor's aims. Indeed, the earlier discussion of these strategies has demonstrated that the adaptor's primary focus was on the preservation of coherence which ties in to explanatory additions listed in table VII.

The position of Yiddish as a minority culture embedded within a larger majority culture does, however, mean that domesticating (and in this context, judaizing) strategies attributable to translation principles in the ZWM should be applied with some degree of caution. The modern translation theory behind domesticating strategies posits that a translator usually needs to mediate between the source language (SL), and the target language (TL), and find a balance between conveying intricacies of the cultural elements of the SL without jeopardizing the coherence in the TL. To illustrate this, Bassnett uses the example of the Russian naming system (first name, patronymic name, and surname) and the general tendency to assign a variety of nicknames to one individual. Whereas this cultural aspect is understood within the framework of the SL system, translation into a TL without a similar or comparable reference point renders the original cultural phenomenon difficult to comprehend. Bassnett argues that

[437] Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, p. 31.

faced with such a situation, a translation should seek to "first determine the *function* of the SL system and then to find a TL system that will adequately render that function."[438]

However, considering that European Jewish culture existed within mainstream Christian culture, the need to mediate Christian cultural references from one text to another may not have been pressing since there is a relatively low chance of misunderstanding it. Indeed, since the foremost aim of most of the changes discussed throughout this chapter was the preservation of coherence and the facilitation of comprehension, it is clear that the move towards domestication came second to this aim. This would explain the rather loose application of some of the translation principles involving the removal of Christian references. While some references to central tenets of the Christian faith, such as Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary, may have been deemed too problematic and consequently erased from the Yiddish, other Christian references were not subject to such consistent attenuation or removal. References to Christian markers of time that framed daily life were either replaced consistently such a Prime and Vespers; or could be left such as the opening reference to Whitsun. Overtly Christian institutions such as the church and the priest remained, maybe as a result of a twofold thought process: first, the common features of daily life did not have to be given a cultural counterpart in order to be understood; second, considering the negative behaviour the characters engage in, it is unsurprising that there would have been little interest in judaizing them. Tellingly, one attempt to replace the church with a synagogue did not endure. It could be that the short-lived decision to replace 'kirche' with 'shul' was more of an automatic reflex rather than the result of a concerted effort to domesticise this particular instance. More neutral references to religion, such as blessings and prayers only needed some attenuation in order to remain relevant to the new audiences.

[438] Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, p. 119.

Overall, we can establish some of the translation principles in the ZWM: (i) removal of references to problematic elements of Christian theology; (ii) domesticising of certain Christian references by replacing them with Jewish or neutral equivalents, although this was done inconsistently, (iii) survival of references to mainstream Christian culture that are understood and accessible to a Jewish audience, either as a result of a lack of interest in judaizing problematic characters, or simply because of the acceptance of Christianity as a mainstream framework, and finally (iv), the use of Yiddish syntax, vocabulary and phrases in order to render the German text more comprehensible. These principles speak for an editor/translator whose primary concerns in mediating the transition from German to Yiddish were clarity and avoidance of cultural conflict. This emphasis on clarity and comprehension is further seen in some of the examples listed in table VII, such as the clarification of the poors' begging at court.

In conjunction with the analysis from the earlier sections of this chapter, and in line with Klein's argument that texts may possess varying levels of adaptation, it is therefore possible to consider the ZWM as an adaptation displaying both elements of translation and transcription. The adaptor did not mediate the text thoughtlessly; his adaptation displays some clearly articulated aims: the accommodation of the comprehension needs of his new audience through clarifying additions and lexical replacements and a primary interest in preserving the original narrative plot, aside for the occasional insertion of more lascivious material.

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This chapter has shown that the *ZWM* displays characteristics of both transcription and translation. Although this may be seen as aligning with previous assessments that Yiddish *Volksbücher* were no more than translations of German *Volksbücher*, this chapter has presented as factual and methodological an analysis as possible which had been missing from earlier scholarly engagements with the *genre*. Furthermore, this chapter has demonstrated that judaizing methods present in a text should not automatically be understood as the frenetic attempt by an editor to render his text acceptable to a Jewish audience, but rather can be the result of (admittedly inconsistent) translation principles aiming to preserve equivalence and coherence.

The ZWM's combination of both transcription and translation has demonstrated that Yiddish *Volksbücher* can display a range of levels of adaptations. The methodologies presented in this chapter therefore constitute a good basis for the analysis of further Yiddish *Volksbücher*. The outcome of this chapter's analysis is not a value-judgement of the ZWM. Even though in the case of the ZWM we are aware of its close relationship to a German edition, this does not lessen the objection to modern ideas of faithfulness to the original being applied to the literary production of a time that did not recognise them. Moving away from dismissive modern views of translation as 'lower status', we should instead focus on the crucial role of the Yiddish translator as both a mediator between two cultures and an essential contributor to literary production. This is aptly summarised by Bassnett's conception of the translator as both receiver and emitter, a combination of roles that is particularly apt to the medieval and early modern translation.[439]

[439] Bassnett, *Translation Studies*, p. 43.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has highlighted the ways in which the analyses of Yiddish literature adapted from German narrative models have been weighed down by a variety of prejudices, from the distrust of *variance*, the low opinion of translation (and adaptation), the unfortunate dichotomies built around notions of high and low literatures and cultures, the close proximity of German and Yiddish, as well as the gendering of its readership. The introduction and chapter III have also demonstrated the lack of methodologies in analyses of these early modern Yiddish texts and shown that statements concerning levels of adaptation in Yiddish literature have often been unsubstantiated or even completely unaddressed in order to avoid the stigma of these labels.

This thesis has also demonstrated the problems behind standard reactive analyses of a Yiddish text's judaizing elements. These judaizing elements are either used as a measure to assert a text's Jewishness, or used as proof that they are purely superficial changes that cannot mask the fact that the Yiddish text is a copy of existing German material. They have also been seen as further proof that Jews were incapable of consuming literary products that did not reflect their lived experience as Jews, thereby furthering ideas espoused by Jacob Katz of irretrievable differences between Jews and Christians that led to limited sets of interaction. This isolationist perspective of Jews in relationship to mainstream society has progressively been laid to rest in recent Jewish histories and the results of this thesis will support this renewed perception.

In order to move away from traditional attitudes towards Yiddish literature based on German narratives, this thesis has proposed a flexible theory of adaptation that views

adaptation as a creative interaction between two texts. It has sought to avoid associating different levels of adaptation with qualitative assessments, in order to move away from ideas that the usage of transcriptions and translations in the process of canon-building was symptomatic of literary poverty. By using theories of adaptation derived from the relationship of Middle High German texts with Latin and French models, as well as methodologies developed in the course of the analysis of Middle High German literature, this thesis has proposed a new way of assessing the textual strategies used in adapting narratives for a Jewish audience.

Throughout, this thesis has argued that judaization could either be part of overall processes of adaptation aimed at coding the text as Jewish within an overarching framework of renewed cultural specificity, or of translation principles achieving equivalence with the original model. In both cases, they are a thoughtful process, used either to shape a text in a different cultural and ethical direction, or to preserve meaning and equivalence in the translational shift from one language to another. In both cases, however, they are not frenetic additions on which Jewish readership and acceptance are conditional.

Chapter I of this thesis has focused on the transmission issues of the *Kuhbukh*. It has provided additional support for the argument that an earlier edition of 1555 of the KB existed by showing that the conditions for its production in mid-sixteenth century Italy were met. It also laid to rest a misunderstanding concerning the Dürer mural and its impact on the KB transmission timeline, highlighting the difficulty of actually ascertaining the transmission of the Boner material to Yiddish audiences of the sixteenth century. It offered a discussion of the available scholarship on the *Kuhbukh* and flagged issues that remained to be analysed.

Chapter II is an extensive literary analysis of the *Kuhbukh* through the lens of the twenty two fables adapted from Boner's *Edelstein*. It argued that the KB exemplifies one side of the scale of adaptation by displaying levels of *Wiedererzählen*. This chapter demonstrated the ways in

which expansion was achieved through the use of added description and speech-acts on two differing levels of the text. It argued that the *Kuhbukh* presents a unified and cohesive argument against social mobility and the disruption of social order through a moral framework underpinned by exclusionary and inclusionary laughter, as well as punitive violence. The judaizing elements found in the *Kuhbukh* further enabled its author to anchor his collection of fables, and, by extension, his moral framework, within a Jewish context which in turn highlighted the relevance and urgency of his moral vision.

Chapter III provided an overview of both Western and Eastern branches of the Seven Sages narrative, as well as discussed the printing and literary context of the Yiddish *Volksbuch*. It established beyond any doubt that the 1602 Yiddish edition of the ZWM printed in Basel had as a source an edition related to the 1473 *editio princeps*. It demonstrated that the SWM text remained stable throughout its print run in the sixteenth century. This in turn showed that the German edition used as a source for the ZWM would have resembled the 1473 closely enough for the absence of a definite source to not be an obstacle to a comparative analysis of the SWM and ZWM. Chapter III also suggested further ways in which the source of the Yiddish edition could be identified, but acknowledged that this was beyond the scope of the thesis' time span.

Chapter IV developed a methodology adapted from Thomas Klein in order to assess the levels of variation between the SWM and ZWM at the localised level of sentences. This new and improved methodology also enabled us to see what types of variation were present, from replacement to the addition of new material. This extension of Klein's methodology ensured that it was possible to determine levels of adaptation beyond the more simplistic measure of surviving word count. The results of this approach showed that the ten selected ZWM passages contained elements of transcription, but that these levels of transcription were not as high as those found in Klein's own article. This meant that while the ZWM did contain

levels of transcription, this was not the only level of adaptation present. In order to establish if it was possible to view the ZWM as a mixture of both transcription and translation, chapter IV then went on to demonstrate that the judaizing strategies found in the ZWM almost exclusively achieved equivalence. This was in line with domesticating principles of translation, and showed that the ZWM did present levels of adaptation coinciding with translation. Overall, however, the ZWM adaptor privileged the coherence and clarity of the narrative over any desire to anchor his text in Jewish specificity, thus demonstrating a clear adaptative aim.

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In light of the above, this conclusion pushes for a future reassessment of other popular Yiddish narratives adapted from German models at the same level found in chapters II and IV. This could ideally be achieved by a positioning of each individual Yiddish text based on German narratives on the proposed scale of adaptation. This should be backed by verifiable methodologies and analyses devoid of unjustifiable denigratory opinions. This would consequently move scholarship towards structured, methodological analyses of early Yiddish secular literature.

This thesis also hopes to push for a reassessment of statements made in histories of Jews concerning their level of interaction with mainstream Gentile cultures. Indeed, both the ZWM and KB exemplify the variety of ways in which Jews mediated popular mainstream culture and sought to better the narratives they adapted. The ZWM, for example, shows that its editor did not find the German original lascivious enough and sought to remedy the situation. The KB used a combination of both Hebrew and German sources to build a coherent moral framework through which to edify and entertain its Jewish audience.

Ultimately, this thesis has sought to highlight the fruitlessness of essentialising the Yiddish reader and advocates for an end to qualitative views concerning good and bad adaptations. A good read is a good read – and this thesis has demonstrated that contemporary readers of the Yiddish KB and ZWM shared the same view.

APPENDICES

I. Opening lines of the Dutch, German, and Yiddish printed editions

Dutch editions	
Gouda: Leeu, 1479	Amsterdam: Janszoon, 1595
Ze romen was een keyser ghehieten poncianus die seer wijs was ende nam eens conincs dochter tot sÿnre huusvrouwe. die schoen ende allen menschen seer gracioes was. welcke hi seer lief hadde Dese ontfinck van hem ende wan enen soen die seer schoen was ende gaf hem enen naem te hieten dyoclesianus Dat kint wort goot. ende van allen menschen ghemint Ende alst out gheworden was seuen iaren wort die coninghinne sÿn moeder sieck ter doot toe Ende als si sach dat si den doot niet ontgaen en mochte soe seynde si enen bode tot den keyser dat hi haestelÿcken tot haer comen soude om haer te visiteren inder siecten Ende als hi haesteliken tot haer quam so seide si tot hem O heer coninck want ic dese siecte nz ont gaen en mach. soe bidde ick u een cleyne bede mit oetmoedicheyt dat ghi mi die ghunnenwilt eer ic sterue Daer toe antwoerde die keyser ende seide Biddet wat ghi wilt want ic u niet en sel weygheren wat ghi oec biddet	Ze Romen was een keyser geheten Pontianus die seer wijs was ek troude eens Conincks. Dochter tot sijn huys vrouwe die seer schone ende allen menschen seer gratieus was. ende die hi seer lief hadde. Dese ontfinc van hem eenen sone die seer schone was ende ghaf hen eenen naem te heten dyoclesianus ende dit kint wert groot ende van allen menschen see ghemint. Als dit kint seuen jaer oudt geworden was. so wert die keyserinne zÿn moeder ter doodt toe sieck. Ende als zy sach dat si den doot niet ontgaen en mochte. so sant st enenen bode tot den keyser dat hy haestelÿck tot haer comen sonde om haer te visite zen inder sieckten. Ende als hy tot haer quam so seide zi tot hem. O lieue heer keyser want ick dese siecte niet ontgaen en mach. so bidde ich u een cleyn bede met ootmoedicheydt dat gyp my die gonnen wilt eer ich sterve. Doen antwoorde die keyser. Bidt wat ghi wilt want ick en sal u niet weygeren was ghy bidt.

German editions	
Strasburg: Prüß, 1484 (Group I)	Augsburg: Bämler, 1473 (Group II)
Poncianus der keiser richsnet in der stat zuo rom der nam zuo eyner zeit ein frowe eines künigs tochter die was gar schoen und gnaden reiche in aller menschen augen die gewan er vaste liep. und die gebar einen knaben by im zuomole schoen und wol geschaffen den hieß er Dyoclecianum. der nam zuo an kuensten und an tugeden gegen armen und reichen an allen sinnen und geberden. und do der knab wart siben jerig do wart die lieb frow sein muoter siech auff den todt und viel in etkum und mocht ir nieman gehelffen mit moenschlicher hilff und seytent ir die artzat das sy sterben mueste. do besant sy den keyser fuer sich und sprach mein herre Ich mercke wol daz ich sterben muß und mag nit genesen. hie von so beger ich einer bett zuo euch das ir mich des wellent geweren Er sprach mitt grosser betriepniße Bitte fraw waz du wellest das solstu alles geweret sein	Hie vor beÿ alten zeiten was ein keyser der regieret zuo Rom und der selb hieß poncianus und waz gar ein weiser man und er nam zuo einen elichen weib eins roemischen künigs tochter. und die waz schoen un mÿnniclich. und er haet sie gar lieb die ward schwanger und sÿ gebar im einen sun der ward dÿoclecianus genant. Das selb kind das wuochs vast und wart di welt gar lieb. Da nun daz kind siben iar alt ward. da legt sich sein muoter die keyserin in das todbett. und als sÿ nun sach und vermercket das sÿ nicht genesen mocht Da beschicket sÿ iren man den keÿser das er zuo ir kaeme. das selb taet er und als er nun zuo ir kam. da sprach sÿ zuo im Mein hercz lieber herr Ich enpfind nun wol das ich nit genesen mag und will euch mit diemuot bitten eines gebets ee das ich sterbe Der keÿser sprach ach fraw nun bitten was ir woelt und ist es uns müglich zethuon so woellen wir euch gewern

Yiddish edition
Basel: Waldkirch, 1602
es war bei alten zeiten ain keiser zu Rom mit namen Pontionus gar ain weiser man un er nam zu ainem weib aines remeschen kinegs tochter, di war gar schen un gar menichlich un er hat si ser lib *un si word tragen un gewan* ainen sun der war genant Dikletianus das sölbeg kint woks ser un word der welt gar lib. do nun der jung siben jor alt war legt sich di muter di keiserin *nider* in das totbet aber als si nun sach un markt das si nit gesund mocht werden schikt si noch irem man dem keiser das er zu ir kem. als er nun zu ir kam do sprach si zu im mein herzerger liber man un her ich antfint nun *gar* wol das ich *das mol* nit wider kan gesunt werden *un sterben mus* dorum wil ich eich demutig biten ain bit, e ich sterb der keiser sprach mein libe vrau, nun begert was ir welt. ist es uns miglich zu tun so welen mir eich geweren

II. Comparison of the German Group II editions of the SWM

Bämler: Augsburg, 1473	Augsburg: Schönsperger, 1488	Augsburg: Froschauer, 1511	Augsburg: Weissenhorn, 1540
Hie vor beÿ alten zeiten was ein keyser der regieret zuo Rom und **der selb hieß** poncianus und waz gar ein weiser man und er nam zuo einen **elichen weib** eins roemischen künigs tochter. und die waz schoen un mÿnniclich. und er haet sie **gar** lieb die ward schwanger und sÿ gebar im einen sun **der ward dÿoclecianus genant**. Das selb kind das wuochs vast und wart di welt gar lieb. Da nun daz **kind** siben iar alt ward. da legt sich sein muoter die keyserin in das todbett.und als sÿ nun sach und vermercket das sÿ nicht genesen mocht Da beschicket sÿ iren man den keÿser das er zuo ir kaeme. das selb taet er und als er nun zuo ir kam. da sprach sÿ zuo im Mein hercz lieber herr Ich enpfind nun wol das ich nit genesen mag und will euch **mit diemuot** bitten eines gebets ee das ich sterbe Der keÿser sprach ach fraw nun bitten was ir woelt und ist es uns müglich zethuon so woellen wir euch gewern	**Beÿ alten** zeiten was ein keiser der regieret zuo rome und **der selb hieß** poncianus und gar ein weiser man und nam zuo einen **eelichen weib** eines roemischen künigs tochter. und die was schoen und mÿnnigklich. und er hett sÿ **gar** lieb. die ward schwanger und die gebar im einen sun **der ward dÿoclecianus genant.** Das selb kind wuochß fast unnd ward der welt gar lieb. Do nun das **kind** sÿben jar alt do legt sich sein muoter die keÿserin in daz todbetd. und als sÿ nun sahe und vermercket das sÿ nit genesen mocht. Do beschicket sÿ iren man den keÿser daz er zuo ir kaeme dz selb thet er. Und als er nun zuo ir kam. do sprach sÿ czuo im. Mein hercz lieber herre. ich empfinde nun wol das ich nit genesen mag und wil eüch **mit die muot** bitten eÿnes gebetes ee das ich stirbe. Der keÿser sprach Ach fraw nun bittendt war ir woelt und ist es uns müglich zetuon so woellen wir eüch geweren.	**Hie vor bey** alten zeyten was ain kayser der regieret zuo rom. unnd der **selb hieß** Ponicanus. unnd was gar ain weyserman. unnd er nam zuo ainem **eelichen weybe** ains Roemischen künigs tochter. und die was schoen und mynnigklich. unnd er hette sy **gar** liebe. die ward schwanger unnd gebar im ainen sun. **der ward Dyoclecianus gennant**. Das selb kind wuochs vast unnd ward der welt gar lieb. Do nun das **kind** syben iar alt ward do leget sich sein muoter die kayserin in das todpedt. unnd als sy nun sahe unnd vermercket das sy nit genesen mocht. Do beschicket sy iren man den kayser das er zuo ir kaeme. das selb thet er. Unnd als er nun zuo ir kam do sprach sy zuo im. Mein hertz lieber herre ich empfinde nun wol das ich nit genesen mag. unnd wil euch **mit diemuot** bitten aines gebetes ee das ich stirb. Der kayser sprach. Ach fraw nun bittend was ir woelt unnd ist es uns müglich zethuon so woellen wir euch geweren	**Bey** alten zeiten was ein keiser. **mit namen Pontianus**. der regiert zuo Rom. gar ein weiß man. und name zuo ein **eheweib** eyns Roemischen koenigs tochter. die waz gar schoen und minniglich. er hatt sie **vast** lieb. die warde schwanger unnd gebar einen sun. **der ward genant Diocletianus**. dasselbig kindt wuchß vast. unnd warde der welt gar lieb. Da nun der **knab** siben iar alt war. da legt sich sein muoter die Keiserin **nider** in das todtbeth. aber als sie nun sahe und vermerckt das sie nit genesen mocht. da beschickt sie iren man den Keiser das er zuo ir kem. dasselb thet er. Und als er nun zuo ir kame. da sprach sie zuo im. Mein hertzlieber herr. ich entpfind nu wol das ich nit genesen mag**. und ich sterben muoß**. darumb will ich euch **demuetiglich** bitten eins gebets ehe das ich sterbe. Der Keyser sprach. Ach fraw nun begeren was ir woellent. ist es uns moeglich zuo thuon. so woellent wir es euch **gar gern** geweren.

Strasburg: Rihel, 1549	Ingolstadt: Weissenhorn, 1551	Frankfurt a.M: Gülfferich, 1554	Munich Codex[440]
Bey alten zeiten was ein Keyser. **mit namen Pontianus.** der regiert zuo Rom. gar ein weiß man. und name zuo ein **ehes weib** eins Roemischen Künigs tochter. die was gar schon und minniglich. er hatt sie **vast** lieb. die warde schwanger und gebar einen sun. **der war genannt Diocletianus** dasselbig kind wuchß vast. und warde der welt gar lieb Da nun der **knab** sieben jar alt war. da legt sich sein muoter die keyserin **nider** in das todtbeth. aber als sie nun sahe und vermeckt das sie nit genesen moecht. da beschickt sie iren man den keyser das er zuo ir kem. dasselb thet er. Und als er nun zuo ir kame. da sprach sie zuo im. Mein hertz lieber her. ich entpfind nun wol das ich nit genesen mag und **ich sterben muoß**. darumb will ich euch **demuetiglich** bitten eines gebets ehe das ich sterbe. Der keyser sprach. Ach fraw nu begeren was ir woellent. ist es uns müglich zuothuon. so woellent wir es euch **gar gern** geweren.	**Bey** alten zeiten was ain keiser. **mit namen Pontianus**. der regiert zuo Rom. gar ain weiß man. unnd name zuo ain **eheweib** ains Roemischen Kuonigstochter. die wz gar schoen und minniglich. er hat sie **vast** lieb.die warde schwanger und gebar ainen sun. **der ward genant Diocletianus.** dasselbig kind wuochß vast und warde der welt gar lieb. Da nun der **knab** sieben jar alt war. da legt sich sein muoter die Kaiserin **nider** in dz todtbeth . aber als sie nun sahe und vermerckt das sie nit genesen mocht. da beschickt sie ihren man den Kaiser das er zuo ihm kam.dasselb thet er. Unnd als er nun zuo ihr kame da sprach sie zuo ihm. Mein hertz lieber herr. ich entpfind nun wol das ich nit genesen mag. und **ich sterben muoß**. darumb will ich euch **demuetigklich** bitten eins gebets ehe das ich sterbe. Der kaiser sprach. Ach fraw nun begeren was ihr woellent. ist es uns mueglich zuothuon. so woellent wir es euch **gar gern** geweren.	**Es was bey** alten zeiten ein Keiser. **mit namen Pontianus**. der regiert zu Rom. gar ein weiß Mann und name zu ein **Eheweib** eins Roemischen Koenigs Tochter. die was gar schoen und minniglich. er hat sie **fast** lieb. die warde schwanger und gebar einen Son. **der ward genant Diocletianus.** dasselbige Kind wuchß fast un warde der Welt gar lieb. Da nun der **Knab** sieben Jar alt war da legt sich sein Muter die Keiserin **nider** in das Todtbeth . aber als sie nun sahe und vermerckt das sie nicht genesen mocht. da beschickt sie iren mann den Keiser das er zur ir kem. dasselb thet er. Und als er nun zu ihr kam. da sprach sie zu ihm. mein herz lieber herr ich entpfind nun wol das ich nicht genesen kan. unnd **ich sterben muß**. darumb wil ich euch **demuetiglich** bitten eines gebet eh das ich sterbe. Der Keiser sprach. Ach fraw nun begeren was ir woellend. ist es uns mueglich zuthun so woellend wir es euch **gar gern** geweren.	**Es was** in alten Zeiten ein kaiser **mit bontiones** der regirt zu rom gar ein weis man un nam zu einem **eeweib** eines remischen koenigs tochter an die was gar schen un meniklich er hat si **vest** lib. un wurd schwangr un geburd einen son **der war genent die joklezionis**. das selbig wuchs vest unt war der welt gar lib. da nun der **knab** sibn jar alt war da legt sich sein muter in das tot bet. ales si nun sach un vermerkt das sie net genesn moht beschikt sie irn man den kaisr das er zu ir kem. das selbig tet er und ales as er nun zu ir kam so sprach sie zu im. mein herznlib her ich **befind** nik wol das ich niks genesn kan un **ich sterben** drum wil ich euch bitn **temitueglich** eines gebet ee das ich sterb, der kaiser sprach ach vrau nun begert was ir wolt. ist es uns moeglich zu tun so weln mir es auch **gar gern** gewern.

[440] Transcription taken from Meier Schüler's 'Beiträge', p.107

ABBREVIATIONS

DH *Dukus Horant*
KB *Kuhbukh*
KO *Kaiser Octaviano*
HSS *Historia septem sapientum*
MS *Mishle Sendabar*
MK *Meshal ha-Kadmoni*
MSH *Mishle Shualim*
SM *Sefer Mesholim*
SWM *Sieben weisen Meister*
SZ The putative German edition used as a source for the ZWM
TE *Til Eulenspiegel*
ZWM *Siben weisen mainster bichel*

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