

SIMON-DUBNOW-INSTITUT

Jahrbuch · Yearbook

XII 2013

A large, elegant cursive signature in white ink, which appears to be 'S. Dubnow', is centered on the cover. The signature is fluid and stylized, with long, sweeping lines.

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

JAHRBUCH DES SIMON-DUBNOW-INSTITUTS (JBDI)
SIMON DUBNOW INSTITUTE YEARBOOK (DIYB)

2013

V&R

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JAHRBUCH DES SIMON-DUBNOW-INSTITUTS
SIMON DUBNOW INSTITUTE YEARBOOK



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Redaktionsanschrift:

Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts/Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook
Simon-Dubnow-Institut für jüdische Geschichte und Kultur an der Universität Leipzig,
Goldschmidtstraße 28, 04103 Leipzig

E-Mail: redaktion@dubnow.de
www.dubnow.de

Lektorat: Monika Heinker
Übersetzungen: Liliane Meilinger (aus dem Englischen ins Deutsche),
William Templer (aus dem Deutschen ins Englische)

**Bestellungen und Abonnementanfragen
sind zu richten an:**

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht
Abteilung Vertrieb
Robert-Bosch-Breite 6
D-37070 Göttingen

Tel. +49 551 5084-40
Fax +49 551 5084-454
E-Mail: order@v-r.de / abo@v-r.de
www.v-r.de

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten
sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

ISBN 978-3-525-36942-5
ISBN 978-3-647-36942-6 (E-Book)

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Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht LLC, Bristol, CT, U. S. A.
www.v-r.de

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schriftlichen Einwilligung des Verlages. – Printed in Germany.

Gesamtherstellung: ⊕ Hubert & Co, Göttingen

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

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Editorial

Der publizistischen Tradition nach erwachsen die Schwerpunkte des Jahrbuches des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts aus den laufenden Forschungen unserer Einrichtung – genauer: aus den von den Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeitern des Hauses zu den Gegenständen ihrer Expertise ausgerichteten Forschungskolloquien. In diesem Band präsentiert *Christhardt Henschel* (Leipzig) Beiträge zur neueren Militärgeschichte der Juden. Dabei handelt es sich um einen bislang verwaisten Bereich, zumal das Militärwesen in nur geringem Maß mit den diasporischen jüdischen Lebenswelten in Verbindung gebracht wird. Dies ist insofern erklärlich, als in weiter zurückliegender Vergangenheit die organisierte wie formierte Gewaltausübung die Prerogative traditioneller Herrschaft gewesen ist, an der Juden nicht teilhatten. Umso mehr mag es verwundern, dass die aufkommenden fundamentalen Fragen nach Emanzipation und Staatsbürgerlichkeit, nach der politischen und gesellschaftlichen Integration von Juden in die jeweiligen politischen Gemeinwesen, in engster Verbindung mit dem Wehrdienst stehen. Schließlich erfolgte die Anerkennung der Satisfaktionsfähigkeit, die in der Wehrhaftigkeit im Allgemeinen und in der Organisationsform des Militärischen ihren substanziellen Niederschlag fand. Das Verdienst der neueren militärhistorischen Forschung ist es, solche und verwandte Phänomene in kulturgeschichtlicher wie kulturanthropologischer Absicht mikrologisch zu rekonstruieren – der Gegenstand Juden im Militär kommt einer solchen Tendenz ebenso paradigmatisch wie exemplarisch entgegen.

Nicht weniger exemplarisch, wenn auch für ein anderes Phänomen der Moderne, nämlich die Säkularisierung, ist der von *Jan Eike Dunkhase* (Berlin, vormals Leipzig) ausgerichtete Schwerpunkt zur Profanierung des Hebräischen. Eine solche Verwandlung mutet allein schon deshalb dramatisch an, weil das Hebräische als eine heilige, vor einem archaischen, biblischen Hintergrund gewachsene Sprache eine relativ kurze Wegstrecke der Transformation zurückgelegt hat, um sich die Maßgaben der Moderne zu eigen zu machen. Zwar lassen sich schon zuvor und auch in den jeweiligen Zwischenzeiten bis zu ihrer profanierenden Erneuerung Metamorphosen feststellen. Doch macht das Drama des Hebräischen eigentlich erst in der Moderne auf sich aufmerksam, und zwar vor allem in dem Moment, da die heilige, vornehmlich zu liturgischen Zwecken verwendete Sprache säkularisierend zur Semantisierung profaner Lebenswelten herangezogen wurde. Dass das Profane dabei von Spuren des Sakralen in einer mehr als zuträglich erscheinenden Weise durchzogen wird, ist eine der großen Herausforderungen der Erforschung der hebräischen Sprachverwendung. Wie in jeder Aus-

gabe des Jahrbuches stehen die Herausgeber der Schwerpunkte für die Güte der Beiträge ein und führen in eigenen Einleitungen in das von ihnen betreute Thema ein.

Der *Allgemeine Teil* umfasst vier Beiträge. *Jörg Schulte* (London) beschäftigt sich mit der Rezeption und Hebraisierung der griechischen Antike bei dem hebräischen Dichter und Übersetzer Saul Tschernichowski. Auch hier steht ein literarisches Sprach- und Säkularisierungsphänomen im Zentrum der Darstellung, zumal der traditionell topische Gegensatz von Athen und Jerusalem bei Tschernichowski in einer geradezu revolutionären Weise synthetisiert wird. Letztendlich handelt es sich hierbei um eine Art Konversion in übertragenem Sinn. Konversionen in ihrer ursprünglichen Bedeutung hingegen hat der Aufsatz von *Yaakov Ariel* (Chapel Hill, N. C.) zum Inhalt. Als Historiker der Religionen und religiöser Praktiken in der Moderne hat er sich eines gravierenden Themas angenommen – der Konversion und Rekonversion von Juden angesichts des Holocaust. Dabei ist festzustellen, dass ein solcher Identitätswandel in unterschiedlich tief eingelagerte Schichten der Persönlichkeit eindringt. Die Spannbreite reicht von realem wie vorgeblichem Schutz durch die neue Religion sowie von Annahme bis Abstoßung der dabei vor sich gehenden Verwandlung. *Saul Friedländer* (Los Angeles, Calif.) präsentiert in einem Überblicksbeitrag die Veränderungen der Holocaustforschung besonders während der vergangenen zwei Jahrzehnte. Wie bei kaum einem anderen Gegenstand wird der Zusammenhang zwischen kollektiver Zugehörigkeit und den mit ihr verbundenen Erfahrungen in die Erforschung jenes Geschehens transformiert. Dies gilt vor allem für den deutschen Kontext. Bei dem vorliegenden Artikel handelt es sich um die verschriftlichte Fassung des Vortrags, den Friedländer im Rahmen der Simon-Dubnow-Vorlesungen im Jahr 2012 in Leipzig gehalten hat. – *Efrat Gal-Ed* (Düsseldorf) befasst sich in ihrem Beitrag mit dem poetischen Verfahren des jiddischsprachigen Dichters Itzik Manger, dessen neoromantisches Verständnis vornehmlich als Synthese der ästhetischen Merkmale der europäischen Ballade und denen jüdischer Folklore zu verstehen ist. Dabei kommt dem subversiven, durchaus antibourgeois Element des Bänkelsängertums bei Manger eine soziale Bedeutung zu, die mit mystischen Elementen einer untergründigen traditionellen Frömmigkeit verbunden ist.

In der Rubrik *Gelehrtenporträt* beschreibt *Maja Šćrbačić* (Leipzig) die Bedeutung des namhaften, durch Suizid 1944 jung aus dem Leben geschiedenen Orientalisten, Semitisten und Arabisten Paul Kraus. Dessen akademisches Wirken vor seinem Prager Hintergrund, dem seines Studiums in Berlin, seiner Forschungstätigkeit in Paris und seiner Lehr- und Forschungsjahre im Kairo der Dreißiger- und frühen Vierzigerjahre erlaubt einen tiefen Einblick in die Genesis einer außergewöhnlichen, indes dramatisch abgebrochenen Wissenschaftlerkarriere. Der Beitrag macht die Konturen des biografisch wie

auch wissenschaftlich angelegten Projektes sichtbar. In der Rubrik *Dubnowiana* beschreibt *Polly Zavadivker* (Swarthmore, Pa.) das der Vergessenheit anheimgefallene, von Simon Dubnow in den Kriegsjahren 1914–1915 als Archiv angelegte Schwarzbuch über das russische Judentum. Diese Dokumentation sollte Zeugnis ablegen von den durch die Kriegsereignisse und im Besonderen durch die russische Kriegsführung verursachten Leiden der Juden im Frontbereich. In der Abteilung *Aus der Forschung* erläutert *Stefan Hofmann* (Leipzig) anhand des Herrfeld-Theaters die ironisierende jüdische theatralische Selbstdarstellung, wie sie um die Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert anzutreffen war. Diese Performanz nimmt die antisemitisierende Wahrnehmung von Juden durch eine Übersteigerung vorgeblich habitueler jüdischer Eigenschaften ebenso auf wie diese durch sie auch zurückgewiesen werden – das Ergebnis ist ein gesellschaftlicher Spiegel in aufdringlicher Unmittelbarkeit. Im *Literaturbericht* lässt *Immanuel Clemens Schmidt* (Leipzig) die Forschung der letzten drei Jahrzehnte zur frühneuzeitlichen Hebraistik Revue passieren, indem er vor allem die Adaption jüdischer Textkultur für offenkundig christliche Zwecke, nicht zuletzt den der Mission, präsentiert. Die Ambivalenz dieser Textkultur, einerseits den jüdischen Kanon zu erschließen und damit die später eintretende textuelle jüdische Selbstdeutung anstoßend vorzubereiten und andererseits sich dieser christlich anzuverwandeln, ist die zentrale Frage dieses Forschungsvorhabens.

Am Ende dieses Vorwortes gilt es Dank zu sagen: an erster Stelle den Beiträgerinnen und Beiträgern sowie Christhardt Henschel und Jan Eike Dunkhase für die Gestaltung der beiden Schwerpunkte; im Weiteren Petra Klara Gamke-Breitschopf für die wissenschaftliche Redaktion und Monika Heinker für das Lektorat dieses Bandes, William Templer und Liliane Meilinger für die Übersetzungen aus dem Deutschen ins Englische beziehungsweise aus dem Englischen ins Deutsche und last, but not least Jana Duman für vielfältige Unterstützung während des gesamten Redaktionsprozesses sowie Ludwig Decke und Lina Bosbach zu dessen Ende hin. Dem Engagement und der Sorgfalt, zuweilen auch der Hartnäckigkeit aller Genannten verdankt der Herausgeber das rechtzeitige Erscheinen dieses Bandes in der vorliegenden Form.

Dan Diner

Leipzig/Jerusalem, Herbst 2013

Allgemeiner Teil

Jörg Schulte

From Greek to Hebrew: Saul Tchernikhovsky and the Translation of Classical Antiquity

Saul Tchernikhovsky (1875–1943) can be regarded as the first European poet who wrote in the Hebrew tongue – not only because he introduced more European genres and metres into Hebrew poetry¹ than any other Hebrew poet; his poetry is European in a sense in which Hebrew has always been a part of the European cultural heritage. When two of the first historians of modern Hebrew literature, who were among Tchernikhovsky's closest friends,² stressed the humanist element in modern Hebrew literature, they understood Hebrew humanism not only as a counterpart to the religious tradition in Jewish history but stressed at the same time that Hebrew

- 1 For the history of translation of classical texts into Hebrew, see Yaacov Shavit, *The Reception of Greek Mythology in Modern Hebrew Culture*, in: Asher Ovadia (ed.), *Hellenic and Jewish Arts. Interaction, Tradition, and Renewal*, Tel Aviv 1998, 431–448; idem, *Athens in Jerusalem. Classical Antiquity and Hellenism in the Making of the Modern Secular Jew*, London 1997; Salomon Dykman, *Athens and Jerusalem. Literary Relations between the Jews and the Greeks*, in: Ariel. *A Review of the Arts and Sciences in Israel* 12 (1965), no. 11, 5–18, and 94–96; Cyril Aslanov, *Les voies de la traduction des œuvres de l'Antiquité classique en hébreu*, in: *Études classiques* 65 (1997), 193–210; see Robert Singerman, *Jewish Translation History. A Bibliography of Bibliographies and Studies*, Amsterdam 2002; 'Aminadav Diḳman, *Targumim basifrut ha-'ivrit betekufat hamodernizim* [Translations into Hebrew Literature in the Period of Modernism], in: Yirmeyahu Yovel (ed.), *Zeman yehudi ḥadash* [New Jewish Time], 5 vols., Jerusalem 2007, vol. 3, 128–131; idem, *Targumim basifrut ha-'ivrit betekufat ha-teḥiyah* [Translations into Hebrew Literature in the Period of the Hebrew Renaissance], in: *ibid.*, 94–98; Zohar Shavit, *Fabriquer une culture nationale. Le rôle des traductions dans la constitution de la littérature hébraïque*, in: *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 144 (2002), no. 2, 21–32.
- 2 See Yosef Kloyzner, *Darke li-ker'at ha-teḥiyah v'ha-ge'ulah. 'Avtobiografyah 1874–1944* [Ways of Reading the Hebrew Renaissance and the Redemption. Autobiography, 1874–1944], Tel Aviv 1955, *passim*; Naḥum Slushts, *Leneshmat Sha'ul ben Toviyah Tsherniḥovski. Mebaser ha-teḥiyah* [On the Death of Saul ben Toviyah Tchernikhovsky, the Herald of the Renaissance], in: 'Am va-sefer, October 1944, no. 1, 3 f.; idem, *Raḥshe haver ne'orim* [Whisperings of a Childhood Friend], in: *Ha-'arets*, 8 July 1932, 5; idem, *Shiḥrur ha-'adam v'ha-'ezrah. Lehof'ato haḳeruv shel ha-kerekh ha-'ashiri v'ha'aḥron shel kol kitve Sha'ul Tsherniḥovski* [The Liberation of Man and the Citizen. Upon the Occasion of the Publication of the Tenth and Last Volume of Tchernikhovsky's Complete Works], in: *Ha-Tsiyoni haklali* [The General Zionist] 8, 1933.

JBDI / DIYB • Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook 12 (2013), 15–36.

humanism was yet to be discovered as an essential part of the European humanist heritage.³

Saul Tchernikhovsky sought for poetic answers to the question why Hebrew had always been a part of European history. In July 1921, he wrote the sonnet *Haniba'al* (Hannibal), which continued the sequence of *Sonetos 'akum* (Sonnets of Paganism) published in the previous year; in 1923, he included the sonnet in his *Maḥberet ha-sonetot* (Book of Sonnets) published in Berlin. The sonnet can illuminate some aspects of how Tchernikhovsky translated classical antiquity into Hebrew culture.

יום גדולות אַ וְיוֹם הַרְת עוֹלָמוֹת בָּאִים:
אִם רוֹמָא תְהִי הַכֹּל אוֹ קַרְתָּא-חַדְתָּא אֲפֹס?
בְּכַף הָאֶחָת – שֵׁם, בְּכַף הַשְּׁנִיָּה – יַפֶּת,
וּבְיַד הַגְּזֵרָה הִיא שְׁתֵּי כַפּוֹת הַמֵּאזָנִים.

תָּיִת אַתָּה שׁוֹר שֶׁל שֵׁם, נִץ גְּבֵה־עֵינִים
בֵּין תִּרְנַנְגוֹל־לֹוֹל וְשִׁכּוּיִם לְמוֹדֵי הַפֶּת,
הוּי בּוֹנֵה מְגִד־לְעֹז עַל מִסַּד חוֹל וְגֵפֶס:
הַכְּנַעֲנִי – תִּגְר־סֶתֶם וְשׂוֹרְאֵל – עִם תְּנָאִים!

בְּן־רוֹמָא, שׁוֹר הָהָר, הַסִּתְכַּל בְּעַרְפְּלִיו,
שֵׁם חֲנִיבֵעַל בָּא, פֶּרֶשׁ־לוֹב בְּחוֹל־עֵב?
אָמַר לְלִבְךָ הֵס, וְתִשְׁמַע נַחְרַת פִּילִיו...

אֵךְ עֵינֵי נִינְי־צוֹר בְּאֶשׁ־כִּילֵי מוֹצָאִים כְּפוֹרוֹת
לְהוֹן שֶׁל טַבְּעוֹת־פֶּז, – גְּבוּרָם מוֹדֵדִן בְּדִלְגִיו:
יָצוּ – וְעָרְיוּ הֵם וּנְחִילוּ שְׁמוֹ לְדוֹרוֹת – – –

It was a great day and a day pregnant with worlds to come:

Will Rome find its end or shall Carthage be nothing?

On the one side Shem – on the other Japhet.

And in the hands of fate – the two pans of the scale.

You were the leader of Shem, at eye-level with the hawk

between chicken in the chicken coop and grouse raised in the barn.

Woe to him who builds a strong tower on a ground of sand and clay:

The Canaanite is a simple trader, and Israel is a people of teachers!

Son of Rome, look at the mountain, observe its mists:

Does Hannibal come there, a Libyan horseman in a cloud of sand?

Tell your heart to be silent, and you will hear the snorting of his elephants ...

The eyes of the grandsons of Tyre were led by the fraudulent fire of
the uncountable wealth of golden rings – their hero measures them in buckets;

if he commands – his cities will leave his name as inheritance for future generations.

3 Nahum Slouschz, *La renaissance de la littérature hébraïque (1743–1885)*. Essai d'histoire littéraire, Paris 1903; idem, *Ḳorot ha-sifrut ha-'ivrit ha-ḥadashah* [History of Modern Hebrew Literature], Warsaw 1906; Iosif Klauzner, *Novo-evreiskaia literatura* [Modern Hebrew Literature], Odessa 1912.

Yom gdolot 'az veyom | harat 'olamot ba'im:
 'im Roma' thi hakol | 'o Qarta'-hadta' 'efes?
 Bakaf ha'hat Shem | bakaf ha-shniyah Yefet.⁴
 Uvyad hagzerah af | shte kapot hamo'znayim.

Hayita 'atah šar | shel Shem nets gvah 'cynayim
 bein tarnegole-lul | yeshekhyim Imude-refet.
 Hoy bonch migdal-'oz | 'al masad hul yegefes:
 ha-Kna'ni tagar stam. | Yisra'el 'am-tana'im.

Ben-romi, shur ha-har. | Histakel b'arpilay,
 sham Haniba'al ba', | parashe-luv bhul 'av?
 'Emor lelibkha: has. | Fen tishma' nahrat pilay ...

'Akh 'eine nine-tsur | b'esh-kilai mots'im sfortot
 lahon shel tab'ot-paz | giboram moddan bdalyay...⁵
 Yetsav – ye'aray hem | yanhilu shmo ledorot ---⁶

Qarta'-hadta', the New City, is, of course, Carthage, founded according to the legend by Phoenician colonists under the princess Elisa or Dido in the eighth century BC. Tchernikhovsky refers to the battle at Cannae on August 2 in 216 BC in which the army of Carthage under Hannibal defeated the numerically superior army of the Roman Republic. The end of the second line contains an echo of the fate of Edom (which had been identified by rabbinical commentaries with Rome) prophesied in the book of Isaiah (34:12): “yekol sareiha yehyu 'efes” (“and all its princes shall be nothing”), but the interesting connection is made in the following line: Carthage here is identified with the Semitic cultures of Phoenicia and Judea so that the battle at Cannae becomes a battle between the Roman world (personified by Japhet) and the Jewish world (personified by Shem). Hannibal is the leader of Shem.

Tchernikhovsky had learned from Livy's account on the Punic wars that Hannibal ordered the golden rings to be taken from all slain Roman noblemen and to be sent to Carthage as evidence of the number of Romans who perished during the battle.⁷ The sonnet's last line is a deliberation on what might have happened if Hannibal had marched against Rome after the victory of Cannae. However, there is no classical source stating that the gold of

4 “Yefet” and “refet” in line 6 were pronounced “Yefes” and “refes,” respectively, in the Ashkenazic accent, rhyming with “'efes” and “yegefes.”

5 The word “bdalyay” (in his buckets) is stressed on the first syllable and rhymes with “pilay,” whereas “b'arpilay” and “bhul 'av” are stressed on the last syllable.

6 Sha'ul Tshernihovskī, Maḥberet ha-sonetot [Book of Sonnets], Berlin 1922, 103; idem, Shirim [Songs], Tel Aviv 1955, 316; the transliteration reflects the poetic pronunciation which is governed by the poetic metre (i.e. *sheva* and *hataf* are transliterated only when they are pronounced as syllables for metrical reasons).

7 Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, XXIII, 12.

the rings had any influence on Hannibal's decision not to attack Rome in the aftermath of the battle.

Tchernikhovsky's most important source for *Hannibal* was another sonnet. In his collection *Les Trophées* (1893), the French poet José-Maria de Heredia, whom Tchernikhovsky acknowledged in the preface of his *Book of Sonnets* as the greatest sonneteer of all times, had published a sonnet with the title *Après Cannae* (After Cannae). This sonnet is part of the sequence *Rome et les barbares* (Rome and the Barbarians), which might even have inspired Tchernikhovsky's sequence *Sonnets of Paganism* as a whole.

Un des consuls tué, l'autre fuit vers Linterne
Ou Venuse. L'Aufide a débordé, trop plein
De morts et d'armes. La foudre au Capitolin
Tombe, le bronze sue et le ciel rouge est terne.

En vain le Grand Pontife a fait un lectisterne
Et consulté deux fois l'oracle sibyllin;
D'un long sanglot l'aïeul, la veuve, l'orphelin
Emplissent Rome en deuil que la terreur consterne.

Et chaque soir la foule allait aux aqueducs,
Plèbe, esclaves, enfants, femmes, vieillards caducs
Et tout ce que vomit Subure et l'ergastule;

Tous anxieux de voir surgir, au dos vermeil
Des monts Sabins où luit l'œil sanglant du soleil,
Le Chef borgne monté sur l'éléphant Gétule.⁸

Heredia describes the state of fear and disturbance which ruled Rome after the defeat at Cannae. The final tercet gives the same vision of Hannibal rising on a mount that can be found in Tchernikhovsky's *Hannibal* (the choice of words is dictated by the poetic metre): "All fear to see rising, on the red ridge of the Sabine Mounts where the bloody eye of the sun is shining, the one-eyed chief on the Getulian elephant." We can see how Tchernikhovsky perceives a theme of classical antiquity through the prism of European literature. Tchernikhovsky's Hebrew sonnet fulfills all formal requirements

8 José-Maria de Heredia, *Les trophées*, Paris 1893, 73; "After Cannæ: One consul killed; one to Venusia fled, / Or to Linternum; the Aufidus runs o'er / From dead and arms; lightning has struck full sore / The Capitol; the bronze sweats, and the heavens look dread. // Vainly the God's feast has the Pontiff spread, / And twice the Sibil's Oracle did implore, / The grandsire, widow, orphan, weep yet more, / Till Rome in consternation bows her head. // Each evening to the aqueducts they swarm: / Plebs, slaves, the women, children, the deform / All that the prison or the slum can spew // To see, on Sabine Mount of blood-hued dyes, / Seated on elephant Gaetulian, rise / The one-eyed Chieftain to their anxious view." *Sonnets from the Trophies of José-Maria de Heredia*. Rendered into English by Edward Robeson Taylor, San Francisco, Calif., 1906, 74.

both of the Russian and of the classical French alexandrine in which De Heredia wrote *Après Cannes*.

Some of the best Russian imitations of De Heredia were composed by the poet and translator Petr Buturlin.⁹ As De Heredia wrote on antique myths and deities, Buturlin (who also translated several of De Heredia's sonnets) often used pagan Slavonic myths. And just as Buturlin had turned to Slavonic myths, Tchernikhovsky turned to the Jewish past, in particular to that component which was connected to classical antiquity.

As for the content of the sonnet *Hannibal*, there are two obvious questions: What were the sources that prompted Tchernikhovsky to make Hannibal the leader of the Jews and Phoenicians (the grandsons of Tyre) alike? And why was this connection between Carthage and the Jewish world so alluring for the poet?

At the time the sonnet was written, the only person to have made a claim about an ancient Hebrew civilization which included Tyre and Sidon was the scholar and translator Nahum Slouschz.¹⁰ Nachum Slouschz was born in the early 1870s in the province of Vilna and moved to Odessa in 1881, where he belonged to a Hebrew-speaking group that included Joseph Klausner and Saul Tchernikhovsky. Slouschz published the results of his archeological research in numerous journals in Russian, Hebrew, and French. In 1921, he published a series of articles on Eber and Kanaan in *Ha-shiloah*,¹¹ the same journal in which Tchernikhovsky's sonnet was printed for the first time.¹² His interpretation of Hannibal can be found in a number of earlier articles¹³ that Tchernikhovsky might have read before he wrote the sonnet on 21 July 1921. I quote instead from Slouschz's English book *Travels in North Africa* (1927) that contains a summary of the hypothesis developed in several articles:

- 9 Tsherniĥovskĭ, Maĥberet ha-sonetot, 18.
- 10 Jörg Schulte, Nahum Slouschz (1872–1969) and his Contribution to the Hebrew Renaissance, in: idem/Olga Tabachnikova/Peter Wagstaff (eds.), *Russian Jewish Diaspora and European Culture (1917–1937)*, Boston, Mass., 2012, 109–126.
- 11 Naĥum Slushts, 'Ever uKna'an [Eber and Kanaan], in: *Ha-shiloah* 37 (5682), 237–242, 351–364, and 519–525; 38 (5682), 132–138, and 273–277; 39 (5682), 128–134, and 308–311; 41 (5682), 238–243, 346–352, 443–454, and 502–511.
- 12 Sha'ul Tsherniĥovskĭ, Ĥaniba'al, in: *Ha-shiloah* 40 (5682), 57 f.
- 13 Nahum Slouschz, La civilisation hébraïque et phénicienne à Carthage, in: *Revue tunisienne* 18 (1911), 213–239; Naĥum Slushts, 'Iyye Ha-Yam [Islands in the Sea], New York 1919; idem, 'Al ĥarbut Ķatargah [On the Ruins of Carthage], in: *Ha-mitspeh* [The Observation Point] (Cracow) 3 (20 January 1911), 5 f. Some Hebrew texts on Hannibal have been collected in Yosif 'Arikha', *Giborim ba-ma'arakhah. Parashiyot ĥaychem u-teĥufatam be-aspaĥlaryah sifrutit ĥe-hiĥorit* [Heroes in Battle. Chapters on Their Lives and Times in the Mirror of Literature and History], Tel Aviv 1978.

“Carthage!” – Slouschz exclaims here – “Kart Hadshat [...], the great city of Hannibal, which for centuries kept in check the might of Rome, and the fall of which precluded and perhaps determined the fall of the Hebraic sister-city – Jerusalem; Carthage! whose every vestige was destroyed by her Roman enemy – [...] nearly four thousand inscriptions in the ancient tongue of Canaan have been unearthed in the city of Carthage [...]. And we Hebrew writers, we who write and feel in our biblical tongue, have recognized at once that this so-called Phoenician language is nothing more nor less than Hebrew – a pure Hebrew dialect, nearly the same as was spoken in the country of Israel [...]. The population of Carthage was Palestinian in origin and Hebraic in civilization, and if, instead of succumbing, the city of Hannibal had triumphed over Rome, it is probable – nay, almost certain – that Hebrew, and not Latin, would have become the dominant language of the Mediterranean countries. It is certain, then, that it was in a Hebrew dialect that Hannibal commanded the troops which he led across the Alps.”¹⁴

The idea of a Hebrew-speaking Carthage became a reality when Slouschz’s Hebrew translation of Gustave Flaubert’s novel *Salammbô* was published in Warsaw in 1922 (which was later highly praised by Zalman Shneour and Leah Goldberg).¹⁵ The princess, her noblemen and mercenaries were – sixty years after the first publication of the novel – relieved of the burden of speaking a most elegant French and began to speak in their very own language. The translator explains as well that the goddess Astarte had been called “*harabt*” or “*rabatenu*,” as he had found in the inscriptions – a rare combination of translation and scholarship indeed.¹⁶ In 1943, the translation served Yitshak Katsenelson as inspiration for his drama *Haniba'al*.

Nachum Slouschz did not reduce the Phoenician- or Punic-Roman relationship to a conflict analogous to the conflict between Israel and Edom, but rather imagined it as a long lasting bond of mutual cultural influence. He undertook to write their common mythology in his short history of the Mediterranean under the title *Be'iyeha-yam* (On the Islands of the Sea), edited in New York in 1919 and later largely extended into *Sefer ha-yam* (The Book of the Sea), a history of the Mediterranean from the third millennium BC to the early modern period, published in Tel Aviv in 1948. The ideas of Slouschz and Tchernikhovsky were picked up by Adolph Gurevitch (Adayah Gur Kharon), one of the founders of the Canaanite movement.¹⁷ In

14 Nahum Slouschz, *Travels in North Africa*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1927, 228.

15 Gustav Flobert, *Şalambo*, trans. by Naħum Slushts, Warsaw 1922; see Le'ah Goldberg, *Sifrut yafah 'olamit be-targumeha le-'Ivrit. Hartsa'ot be-kurs le-safranin* [World Literature in Hebrew Translation. Lectures for a Course for Librarians], Tel Aviv 1951, 15; Zalman Shne'ur, H. N. Byalik u-vene doro [H. N. Bialik and his Contemporaries], Tel Aviv 1958, 91; Yitshak Katsenelson, *Haniba'al*, in: idem, *Ketavim aħaronim 5740–5744* [Posthumous Writings], Tel Aviv 1956, 241–297.

16 Flobert, *Şalambo*, 323 f.

17 See Ya'aqov Shavit, *Hebrews and Phoenicians. An Ancient Historical Image and its Usage*, in: *Studies in Zionism* 5 (1984), no. 2, 157–180; idem, *The New Hebrew Nation. A Study in Heresy and Fantasy*, London 1987.

the early 1930s, he published a series of articles in Vladimir Jabotinsky's journal *Razsvet* (Dawn). In one of them he described Hannibal as a "more than heroic figure, the Bar-Kochba of the West, the greatest of commanders," and claimed him for the history of the Hebrews.¹⁸ His interpretation, however, was a far cry from the humanistic idea of Tchernikhovskiy.

Tchernikhovskiy himself returned to the idea of Hebrew Carthage in 1939, when he wrote the sonnet *Hayehudim basha'ar* (The Jews in the Gate)¹⁹ which contains the Latin line "Heu ante portas! Heu!" alluding to the famous phrase "Hannibal ad portas."²⁰ The sonnet is written in the same metre (Hebrew alexandrine verse) as the first sonnet on Hannibal, but in the Sephardic accent (with the word stress on the ultimate syllable).

Heu, ante portas! Heu!
 הוא כְּבָר אֵל מוֹל הַשַּׁעַר!
 כָּאֵן חַנְיָבֵעַל, כָּאֵן! קְרוֹב מְאֹד כִּי בָא!
 (יּוֹם יוֹם פְּלִיטִים שְׁבִים... הַקּוֹנְסוּל מַה קֹּוֹה?)
 סוֹעֵר וּבְכֻבָּדוֹת, כְּעָב לְפָנֵי הַסָּעֵר.

!Heu, ante portas! Heu
 דִּרְךְ אַרְיָה שָׁם, נֵעֵר!
 חֵיל כְּנַעֲנִים, לוֹבִים, קְרִתְגָאִים וְשָׁבָא...
 וּבְדַמְדוּמֵי יוֹם בָּא כְּלוּם וְנוֹס זֶה זִינָה
 אֹו כְּבָר חֲדָרְקוֹבֵעוּ מְבָרִיק בְּקֶרְחַת יַעַר?
 עֲבָרוּ חֲלָפוֹ שְׁנַיִם, נָפְלוּ בְּנֵי־שָׁם בְּזָמָה,
 וּבְשַׁעֲרֵי טִיטוֹס כְּבָר גַּם יְהוּדָה נִדְמָה,
 גַּם רוּמָא נֶאֱלָמָה מְלָחָם וּקְרָבוֹת,
 וְרוּמָא חֲדָשָׁה קָמָה עַל חֲרָבוֹת, –
 וְהַפְחַד טָרֵם סוֹר, וְעוֹד גְּדוֹל הַשַּׁעַר:
 "שָׁמַיִם עֲלֶךְ, עִיר! וְהִיְהוּדִים בְּשַׁעַר!"

Heu, ante portas! Heu! He is already in front of the gate!
 Hannibal is here! He has come very close!
 (Every day refugees return home ... What does the consul hope for?)
 He rages heavily, as a cloud before the storm.

Heu, ante portas! Heu! The lion Shem marched and roared!
 An army of Canaanites, Libyians, Carthaginians, and Sabaeans ...
 Does Venus shine when the twilight comes,
 or is it already the edge of his helmet, that sparkles in the glade of the forest?

18 Alraïd [Adayah Gur Khoron], *Ierusalim i Karfagen* [Jerusalem and Carthage], in: *Razsvet*, 17 January 1932, 12; idem, *Finikiitsy* [Phoenicians], in: *ibid.*, 27 December 1931, 6; idem, *Evrei i Khanaan* [Jews and Canaan], in: *ibid.*, 20 November 1931, 6; idem, *Evrei i Rim* [Jews and Rome], in: *ibid.*, 17 January 1932, 9; idem: *Evreistvo nakanune stolknoveniia s Rimom* [Jews on the Eve of the Conflict with Rome], in: *ibid.*, 14 February 1932, 6.

19 Tshernikhovskiy, *Shirim*, 641.

20 Cicero, *Orationes Philippicae*, I.5.11.

Years went by, the sons of Shem fell in Zama,
and in the Gate of Titus Judah has become silent,
also Rome has fallen silent, from the fight and the battles.

A new Rome rose upon the ruins, –
but ere the fear vanished, the anxiety was still great:
“The Semites are near to you, city! The Jews are at the gate!”

Heu, ante portas! Heu! | Hu' kvar 'el mul hasha'ar!
Ka'n, Haniba'al, ka'n! | Qaruv me'od ki ba'
(Yom yom plit'ım shavim... | ha-ḳonsul mah ḳivah?)
So'er uvikhvedut, | ka'av lifnei hasa'ar.

Heu, ante portas! Heu! | Darakh 'aryeh Shem, na'ar!²¹
Heil kna'anım, luvim, | ḳartaga'im ushba'...
Uvdimdume yom ba' | klum yenus zeh ziyah
'o kvar ḥod-ḳova'o | mavriḳ bḳaraḥat ya'ar?

'Avru ḥalfu shanim, | naflu bne-Shem be-Zamah,
uvsha'ar Tiṭus kvar | gam Yudah nadamah,
gam Roma' ne'elmaḥ | milaḥem uḳravot,
veRoma' ḥadashah | ḳamah 'al ḥaravot, –
yḥapaḥad ṭerem sar | ye'od gadol hatsa'ar:
“Shemim 'alayikh, 'ir! | yḥayehudim basha'ar!”

Whereas the first sonnet referred to the battle of Cannae (which was victorious for Hannibal), the second sonnet highlights the battle of Zama in 202 BC which sealed the defeat of Carthage in the Second Punic war. The fall of Carthage is presented in one line with the siege of Jerusalem in 70 AD commemorated in the Arch of Titus.

But what does the idea of the Hebrew Carthage have to do with the reception of classical antiquity? If we look at the early history of vernacular poetry in Europe, we find that the humanists were searching for connections between their own legendary ancestors and the epics of Homer and Virgil; among the most famous works are Ronsard's *Françiad*e and Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*. A mythic national hero figuring in one of the marginal episodes of the *Iliad* would be the *carte d'entrée* into European literature, providing the point of departure for a national epic in imitation of Homer and Vergil. And who were Antenor, Francus, Astyanax or Brutus compared to Hannibal, the strongest opponent of the descendants of Troy? The idea of a Hebrew-speaking Hannibal accorded Hebrew literature a place in a broader European tradition. Tchernikhovsky was well aware of foundation myths: in his monograph on Immanuel of Rome he refers to Livy's account on the myth of Antenor.²²

21 Jer. 51:38.

22 Sha'ul Tsherniḥovski, 'Immanu'el ha-Romi. Monografiyah, Berlin 1925, 29.

Via Carthage, Hebrew culture had always been present in one of Europe's best works: it was now up to Europe to discover this unknown elements of a common cultural heritage. Nachum Slouschz and Saul Tchernikhovsky were well aware that any translation within a shared cultural heritage is essentially different from a translation which lacks this common sphere. Only a common shared bond will enable the search for common points of reference – in historical and mythological references as well as in the translator's search for an expression and its etymology.

A hypothesis concerning ancient Hebrew-Greek cultural contacts that was similar to the ideas of Nachum Slouschz was developed independently by the French classicist Victor Bérard. Tchernikhovsky quotes at length from his *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* (1927)²³ in the postface to his Hebrew translation of the *Odyssee*.²⁴ In a nutshell, Bérard's hypothesis was that Phoenician sailors kept their nautical secrets and produced some sort of encoded travel diary which later – via Hebrew and Greek intermediaries – became the source for the *Odyssee*.²⁵ Tchernikhovsky translated the following passage from Bérard's monumental study: "This masterpiece [i. e. the *Odyssee*] appeared through an interaction ['recouplement' in the original, '*mezigah mekhupelet*' in the Hebrew translation] of Greek tradition and Semitic influences."²⁶ It is noteworthy that Bérard's study served James Joyce as main inspiration for the Jewish-Greek epic *Ulysses*.²⁷ Following Bérard's interpretation, Tchernikhovsky rendered in his translation of the *Odyssee* *φοίνικες* (Phoenicians) as "*Kena 'anim*" or "*'anshei Kena 'an*." Josef Patai recalled (in an unpublished review to Nachum Slouschz's *Book of the Sea* how the poet read to him his translation of the *Odyssey* at the shore of the Baltic sea and suddenly exclaimed: "*Hari zo ke 'ein shirah 'ivrit maqorit mamash!*" ("Is this not an original Hebrew song!").²⁸ He also described the poet's joy to

23 Victor Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, 2 vols., Paris 1902–1903.

24 Sha'ul Tshernikhovski, 'Ahrít-davar [Afterword], in: idem, 'Odiseyah [The Odyssey], Tel Aviv 1991, 469–480.

25 "Il est donc possible que, du périple sémitique au poème grec, le passage ne se soit pas fait aussi directement qu'il nous semblait d'abord. Il put y avoir un intermédiaire, peut-être plusieurs intermédiaires, les uns sémitiques, les autres grecs. [...] On comprendrait que les Sémites aient communiqué aux Hellènes quelque poème ou conte terrifiant plus volontiers qu'un périple exact. De tout temps, les thalassocrates ont gardé secrets leurs renseignements de navigation." Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, vol. 2, 572.

26 Ibid., 577 ("Ce chef-d'œuvre apparut au 'recouplement', se je puis dire, de la tradition grecque et de l'influence sémitique: ainsi, dans presque tous les pays et presque tous les temps, les grandes œuvres d'art sont le double produit d'une tradition nationale et d'une influence étrangère").

27 Lynne D. Childress, Joyce and Bérard. "Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee" as a Source for "Ulysses" (unpublished PhD thesis, Oxford, 1993).

28 Gnazim Archive Tel Aviv, Nachum Slouschz, fond 3203–1.

have found Bérard's discoveries.²⁹ Tchernikhovsky's ideas renew the ancient humanist dream of an affinity between the vernacular and ancient Greek, maybe best known from the humanist and lexicographer Henricus Stephanus (Henri Estienne).³⁰ He had nurtured the dream of a Greek-Jewish connection from early on, when he wrote the poem *Bein ha-metsarim* (Between the Mountain Peaks)³¹ in Odessa in 1898. Here, the son of the rabbi dies as a volunteer for the "‘am 'olam," the "eternal people"³² (a common designation for the Jewish people but used by Tchernikhovsky for the Greeks). The Turkish suppressors trample on the "‘degel hatkhelet" (the blue flag)³³ – at the time a name for the newly created Jewish flag; Tchernikhovsky uses it for the flag of the Greek insurgents.

The sequence of *Sonnets of Paganism* also contains the sonnet *Vezot li-Yudah* (And This is for Judah)³⁴ written in June 1920. The subtitle *Mahzon ha-sibilah ha-romit* (A Vision of the Roman Sybil) refers to the so-called "Sibylline oracles," a collection of utterances that were composed or edited between the middle of the second century BC and the fifth century AD. Books 3 to 5 of the "Sibylline oracles" were composed by Alexandrian Jews. Written after the destruction of the Temple by Titus, they are imbued with an uncompromising hatred for Rome. Tchernikhovsky's friend Joseph Klausner had worked on the "Sibylline oracles" in 1906.³⁵ He returned to the topic when he prepared the book *Sefarim hitsonim* (The Outside Books, i. e. Pseudo-Epigrapha) in 1919, but their printing was interrupted at the end of the year.³⁶ Klausner had planned to recite the poetical Hebrew translation of Joshua Shteinberg which had first been published in the anthology *Me'asef* in Warsaw in 1887.³⁷

The subtitle of Tchernikhovsky's sonnet could suggest that it contains a poetic adaption of a passage of the "Sibylline oracles." However, the similarities are restricted to certain general topoi. The Sybil had warned the

29 Yosef Paṭai, *Yesodot datiyim bashirat Sha'ul Tsherniḥovskī* [The Religious Foundations of Tchernichovsky's Poetry], in: *Metsudah* [The Fortress] 3–4 (1944–1945), 249–270, here 263.

30 See Henri Estienne, *Conformité du langage françois avec le grec*, Paris 1853.

31 Tsherniḥovskī, *Shirim*, 63–69.

32 *Ibid.*, 66.

33 *Ibid.*, 68.

34 See Deut. 33:7.

35 Yosef Kloyzner, *Sefarim hitsonim*, in: 'Otsar ha-yahadut: Ḥoveret ledugma' [Treasure of Judaism. An Exemplary Volume], Warsaw 1906, 95–120.

36 Joseph Klausner, *The Messianic Idea in Israel. From its Beginning to the Completion of the Mishnah*, New York 1955, 371 f.

37 Yehoshu'a Shteinberg, *Maṣa' gey' ḥizayon*. *Sefer ḥazon ha-sibilot lemshoreret ha-yehudim ha-helenim* [Travail in the Valley of Vision. The Book of the Sibylline Oracles of the Hellenist Jews], in: *Sefer ha-me'asef* [Anthology], [Warsaw] 1886, 1–56.

“daughter of Latin Rome, clothed in gold and luxury, drunken full oft with thy wedding of many wooers, thou shalt be a slave-bride in dishonour.”³⁸ It should be noted that this passage is omitted in Shteinberg’s translation. Klauzner, who was working on a new and complete edition, might have shown it to his friend in Greek or even discussed a translation with him; Tchernikhovsky’s sonnet follows the topos of debauchery (V, 162–178, and 386–397) and predicts:

יַפֶּת אֱלֹהִים לָחֵם וְתַגֵּל בְּאַהֲל יִפּוֹת
וּלְמַחְרָאֵתֵיו יִטּוּ וּבְכַפְּיוֹ שִׁיר־וִרְגִיל,
וּבְצַהֲלַת פְּרִדְ-בָּר וּבְגִוְהוּק־שׁוֹבֵעַ וְגִיל
יִטְמָא נְדִיבוֹת־עַם כְּשִׁפְחוֹת נְחָרְפוֹת.

וּפָעַר פִּיו בְּשִׁיר וּפְרִיצוֹת וְחָרְפוֹת.
בְּמוֹשֵׁב מַחוּק־קִרְעִים עַל נְחֹשֶׁת וְעַל גְּוִיל,
וּבְהִיכַל־אֱלֹהִים פְּרַכְת־דְּבִיר וּכְלִיל
מֵעֲטָפוֹת יַעַשׂ לוֹ לְרַגְלָיו הַמְטַנְפוֹת.

וְרַעְשָׂה הָעִיר וְזַעֲקָה וְתִהְיֶה
בְּתֵרוֹמָה אִזְ כְּנַחֲל־הַדְּבוּרִים בְּכֹוֹרֶת.
כָּבֹא לְרֵדוֹת דְּבַשׁ הַמְגִדְלָן אֶל הַגְּדֵרֶת.

וּפְלִיטֵי־אֲוִגְטִין יְרִימוּ קוֹל־הַנְּחִי
וְנָסוּ נִכְחֵם מִקּוֹם שֵׁם צָר מִבְּצָרֵם מַחְתּוֹת,
וְשִׁיר־יְהוּדָה אַף עִמָּהֶם בְּשַׁעַר־טִיטוֹס.

And God multiplied Ham; and he denudes himself in the tent of the beauties,
bends himself over the latrines, and in his hands [he holds] the songs of Vergil,
whinnying like a wild mule, he belches from satiation and pleasure,
pollutes the noble women of the people as abused maidservants.

His mouth is open wide in song, promiscuity and insult.
In the seat of the legislators of the people, on copper and on parchment,
in the temple of God, he uses the holy curtain and the seam
of the garment for his dirty feet.

The city will be plunged in tumult, it will shout, and then
Rome will be like a swarm of bees in the beehive,
when the beekeeper comes to its gate in order to collect the honey.

The refugees at the Aventine hill will raise their voices in lamentation,
and they will flee to a place and their fortress will be narrow from the terrors,
And then will the rest of Judah be with them in the Arch of Titus.

38 Herbert Bate, *The Sibylline Oracles*. Books III–V, New York 1918, 62; see Shteinberg, *Maṣa’ gey’ hizayon*, 20 (the lines 336–572 of the third book are omitted). Tchernikhovsky must have been interested in Shteinberg’s translation as they belong to the first attempts to write Hebrew hexameters.

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

Das diesjährige Jahrbuch befasst sich in einem seiner Schwerpunkte mit jüdischer Militärgeschichte, die vornehmlich eine Geschichte der Integration der Juden in ihre europäischen Umgebungskulturen ist. Dabei stehen Fragen von Loyalität und Staatsangehörigkeit im Vordergrund. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt zur Säkularisierung des Hebräischen präsentiert Beiträge über die Verwandlung des Hebräischen als einer bis zum Anbruch der Moderne insbesondere in der religiösen Schriftkultur zur Geltung gekommenen »heiligen Sprache«, und dies unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen säkularisierenden Wandlungen. Im Allgemeinen Teil und in den Rubriken des Jahrbuchs finden sich Beiträge zur Holocaust-Historiografie, zur Orientalistik, zur christlichen Hebraistik, zur Wissenschaft des Judentums sowie Artikel, die unterschiedliche Verfahren der Aneignung, des Transfers und der Wiedergabe jüdischer Alltags- und Geschichtserfahrung in Literatur, Poetik und Theater thematisieren.

ISBN: 978-3-525-36942-5



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