The well-known poem ‘Prinzessin Sabbat’ by Heinrich Heine opens the cycle ‘Hebräische Melodien’ (after Byron’s ‘Hebrew Melodies’), which forms the third part of Heine’s Romanzero, first published in 1851. This part of the Romanzero is considered as both ‘the result and the expression of Heine’s re-awakening interest in the Jewish tradition’. 1

In the poem ‘Prinzessin Sabbat’, as in the two other works included in ‘Hebräische Melodien’, ‘Jehuda ben Halevy’ and ‘Disputation’, contradictory and ambivalent elements find expression which are characteristic of Heine’s sentiments and opinions with regard to the various manifestations of Judaism. In ‘Prinzessin Sabbat’ the traditional Jew is presented as he might seem to a modern outsider. 2 The poem fuses ‘caricature, realistically observed detail, allegory and symbolism into a complex whole; to show how the poetic and the prosaic [...] exist together [...]’. 3 Revulsion expressed by mockery and emotional attachment based on sympathetic appreciation are here interwoven in the attempt to create an equilibrium between the detested weekday existence of the Jew and the admirable solemnity of the Sabbath which embraces him week after week. Yet irony, even sarcasm, are not absent even from the descriptions of the Jewish Sabbath.

Bialik’s initiative in translating Heine’s poem, or at least his willingness to undertake this work, can be interpreted as demonstrating his identification with the poem and the contradictory elements of which it is constituted, even though a certain measure of reservation about the original can be detected in his translation. 4 At the same time, one has to recognize in the Yiddish translation an indication of the great popularity enjoyed by the ‘Prinzessin Sabbat’ among those Eastern European Jews who, in the course of the modernization process, had come to relate ambivalently to their own Jewish experience. The poem represented their identification with the complexities of this experience.

The first translation of Heine’s poem into Russian was published in the first Jewish periodical in the Russian language—Razsvet (no. 18, 23
September 1860). This weekly was published in Odessa and edited by Osip (Joseph) Rabinovich who was one of the first Jewish writers in the Russian language. But more instructive than the publication of this translation, as well as several other Russian translations of Heine's poems, were the direct and indirect echoes of the poem in Jewish literature in various languages throughout Eastern Europe. It is almost certain that the first reaction of this kind appeared in a Russian novel entitled *Kaleidoscope* by the same Osip Rabinovich. Like the first Russian translation of the poem, the book was first published in 1860. In this novel the themes of Heine's poem are transplanted into a contemporaneous Eastern European Jewish environment in the region of Odessa, through the description of the Sabbath in a Jewish inn. The brusque change from the profane to the sacred is presented here in direct reference to a legend 'which has been adapted into a poem by a well known German poet', without mentioning Heine explicitly.

We have no proof that Bialik was acquainted with the novel by Rabinovich, but there can be no doubt that he knew well the works of Shalom Jacob Abramowitsch (Mendele Moykher Sforim). From the 1860s on Mendele's Yiddish as well as his Hebrew writings contain both direct and indirect references to Heine's poem. They occur, for example, in the 1868 version of the Hebrew novel *Fathers and Sons*:

You my afflicted people are an enigma to the Gentiles who knew you not! You are all riddles to them with your sadness of heart as you labour throughout the six days of Creation, and as you rejoice on the Sabbath and festivals, which you call a delight and which you honour by refraining from your daily tasks and not speaking of them! You puzzle them with your filthy clothes, your weekday rags, and with your splendid garments, silk and fineries on festivals! You puzzle them with the way you earn your livelihood, with your scant and inferior food on weekdays, and your pleasant bread—meat, fish and delicacies, with nuts and sweetmeats on the Sabbath, the day of delights! You puzzle them with the neglect of your homes [the loathsomeness] and the dirt which prevails in them during the working days, and with the purity of your dwellings and the pleasantness of your laid tables on the festivals and Sabbaths; [the kindling of your lights, the laying of your beds, your sons like olive saplings around your table, your wife sits by your side like a matron dressed in splendidour with the scarf of purity on her head.] You are both slave and King! You are poor and rich! Your are naked and robed in splendidour! You are starving and feasting! You are loathsome and beautiful, like the black tents of the desert dwellers or the tapestries of Solomon!

You, my people, bewilder the nations who knew you not [. . .] On weekdays the Jew is a maggot, not a man, a caterpillar in its chrysalis, but on every Sabbath eve the caterpillar breaks out and the worm of Jacob is
suddenly transformed and turns into a man with a new soul and new feelings; he acquires a noble spirit. Then he sings to his bride, his beloved Sabbath, the hymn ‘Come, bridegroom’, and the dark spirit is passed and gone—this is his power unto his God'.

The parallel with Heine’s poem is quite obvious, even though the poet and his poem are not mentioned at all, and of the magic transformation only a faint echo remains in the reference to ‘the worm of Jacob’ which ‘is suddenly transformed and turns into a man’. Lachover has pointed out that Bialik may have derived the same echoes of Heine’s poem from Di kliatshe (The Nag) and Dos vintshfingerl (In the Valley of Tears), Mendele’s later works in which the references to Heine’s poem are more explicit. Di kliatshe is based on the idea of the Jewish prince’s reincarnation as an animal, in this case a horse. More directly—although again, without mentioning Heine’s name—the same transformation occurs in Mendele’s description of the Sabbath in the home of Shmulik the rag-and-bone man of Dos vintshfingerl. In a famous chapter of this book he contrasts the dog on weekdays with the prince on Sabbath days. Here the ‘Princess Sabbath’ in Yiddish and ‘Sabbath the queen’ in Hebrew are explicitly mentioned. Above all, we have to remember that the Hebrew versions of Fathers and Sons, The Nag and In the Valley of Tears were all included in the three-volume edition of Mendele’s collected works, which was produced by the ‘Jubilee Committee’ and published in Odessa between the years 1909 and 1912. Bialik was actively involved in the preparation of this edition and even wrote his famous article ‘Mendele and the three volumes’ as a preface to Volume 3. Moreover, Volume 3 also contained the story entitled ‘For the Sabbath Day’ where, towards the end, Mendele highlights the same contrasting features of traditional Jewish existence.

What is common to Mendele’s treatment of this subject and all the other literary echoes of Heine’s poem is the transposition of the hero into an Eastern European reality, with the unequivocally positive evaluation of his Sabbath experience. This approach is marked by the evident inclination to pathos.

It appears, then, that Mendele was providing Bialik with reminders and echoes of Heine’s poem and its subject-matter over a considerable number of years. Even if we consider as immediately relevant only the final compilation of all these reminders and echoes—the three-volume Hebrew edition of Mendele’s works which had been prepared for publication shortly before Bialik’s translation of Heine’s poem into Yiddish—there is no doubt, as is evident in a number of expressions which occur in this translation, that Bialik had direct access to at least some of the earlier Yiddish versions of Mendele’s works.
Heine's works were translated into Hebrew and Yiddish relatively late. We know of no Yiddish translation of the poem before Bialik's. But two translations of 'Prinzessin Sabbat' into Hebrew had appeared earlier. One, by Solomon Mandelkern, was published in 1890, and the other in 1901 by Asaf Feferman. The absence of a Yiddish translation may have prompted Bialik to respond to an invitation to translate the poem.

Bialik's is neither an exact nor an adequate translation, attempting to create in the language of translation exact equivalents of the language of the original; it is fairly free, following the conventional standards of poetic translation which prevailed during the nineteenth century. Bialik's Yiddish version is close in character to the Hebrew translations of the poem, where both alterations and cuts can be detected of which some occur in Bialik's translation as well. In any case, one can discern in Bialik's Yiddish translation an intentional toning down or even elimination of all the elements of caricature and mockery which characterize the German original. The same tendency had been displayed earlier by the Hebrew translators of the poem, especially Feferman. Lachover has already observed that Bialik left out certain sections of the poem. In the German original there are 38 strophes of four trochaic, unrhymed lines, a total of 152 lines; 30 strophes, similar in construction, make up 120 lines in Bialik's translation. This discrepancy is highlighted by the fact that most of the strophes which are present in the translation are parallel in content with the original strophes. A similar abridgement occurred earlier in both Hebrew translations of the poem: Mandelkern's translation contains 34 strophes, Feferman's 39. Even though he occasionally widens the scope of one strophe in the original to two strophes in the translation, Feferman clearly skips over at least some of the same subject-matter which is later omitted by Bialik.

Heine devotes twelve lines to the figure of the cantor at the Sabbath eve service in the synagogue. The cantor is vain and affected in his clothes and gestures:

\[\ldots\] Schmuckes Männchen, das sein schwarzes Mäntelchen kokett geachselt. Um die weisse Hand zu zeigen, Haspelt er am Halse \[\ldots\] \((51-4)\)

In Mandelkern's Hebrew version we find nearly all the components of this original section. Its purpose is to emphasize the hollow vanity of the cantor, who is eager to impress with both his clothes and his good looks. To be sure, Mandelkern translates 'and with his prayer-shawl on his shoulder he endeavours to look handsome' and also 'to show his
snow white hand he fidgets at his neck.’ He makes changes only within the limits of accepted usage, and so instead of ‘the little black coat’ of Heine we find ‘his prayer-shawl on his shoulder’ with the word ‘prayer-shawl’ stressed in the translation, most likely in order to draw attention to the translator’s emendation. Feferman retains the ‘black coat’ but leaves out the dandyism of the original, and he also omits the cantor’s gestures.

In Bialik’s translation the entire section is compressed into only one strophe\(^\text{15}\) which sums up the cantor’s appearance in a distinctly positive vein:

\[
\text{ 사람은 זעקה לבושה ... אס קומת דuerdo חוף}
\]

Instead of the black coat ‘a white prayer-shawl’ makes its appearance, perhaps following Mandelkern’s rendering of this line. The cantor’s dandyish manners are left out altogether, perhaps following Feferman, and clearly in order to avoid disrespect towards the cantor. As D. Sadan has pointed out,\(^\text{16}\) this is an elimination of ‘the Jewish Reform Movement (Temple, Cantor)’ and an effective transposition of the synagogue to an East European Jewish setting.

A further example will demonstrate with greater cogency the likelihood that Bialik was dependent on the two Hebrew translations, and at the same time bring to the fore the tendentiousness of his translation. Heine dedicated lines 97–127, seven strophes of the poem, to the Sabbath dish \textit{tsholent} (\textit{schalet}). His words of esteem for the dish are mingled with hyperbolical irony. Mandelkern reduces this section to two strophes, but he includes in them the comparison of the \textit{schalet} to ‘ambrosia, the delicacy of the Greek gods’ and, as in Heine’s original, the ambrosia compares unfavourably with the \textit{tsholent} ... Feferman dedicates eight strophes to the \textit{tsholent} theme, but even here he omits a few points such as the reference to Schiller in line 103 of Heine, which Mandelkern similarly leaves out. In Bialik’s translation of this section only three strophes remain:

\[
\text{אריך ונעל רך וטריפהר באליהוות,}
\]

\[
\text{מטא מקול-סולם-זען,}
\]

\[
\text{טסאלום הים ער-אף יכם מקול}
\]

\[
\text{האמ נrending כלים אליין מטעיבין}
\]

\[
\text{若您 חכם פנים ים נמם,}
\]

\[
\text{מסלום מבשלים מידי חים טעם}
\]

\[
\text{דרר דרונר ודורת ביילצין...}
\]

383
Only a splash of Heine’s irony has remained here. Like his predecessors, Bialik leaves out the reference to Schiller, but he omits also the comparison with the ambrosia of the Greek gods. Once again, however, a direct link to the Hebrew translations is uncertain. Bialik could have decided independently to leave out names and subject-matter which would not have been comprehensible to the ordinary Yiddish reader without further explanations. Sadan has already remarked that ‘as a result of this twofold omission, Heine’s work has been left deficient, for what remains is all glorification, while the element of irony is totally lacking. This is an organic element in Heine’s poetry which Bialik, himself under Heine’s influence, employs quite liberally in his own poems.’ At the same time, it must be stressed that in this Yiddish translation of Heine’s poem, Bialik was adhering to what had become an established practice among Jewish writers in Eastern Europe, from Osip Rabinovich to Mendele, and to a certain extent also to the Hebrew translators of the same poem. All had read Heine selectively, consciously ignoring some or all of the scorn and mockery of the original. To this tendentious practice belongs also the transposition of the scenery from a West European to an East European setting, in the cases of both Rabinovich and Mendele. The same transposition is even more striking in Bialik’s translation of the poem into the language of the Jews of Eastern Europe.

In spite of all probable links with the Hebrew translations which were available to him, there can be no doubt that in his Yiddish translation of the ‘Prinzessin Sabbat’, Bialik relied on Heine’s German original. This is borne out by a number of German expressions which were taken over from the original into the translation, even in those instances where Yiddish could have provided perfectly adequate equivalents. Bialik translates the word Hirt (l. 132) as pastekh, shepherd (l. 103), but he leaves Herdenglockchen as herden-gleklekh (ll. 129 in the German and 101 in the translation) even though the word stade, herd, would have been more appropriate in the Yiddish text. However, cases such as these are few and they do not affect the quality of the translation.

The popular Jewish character of Bialik’s translation is determined from the beginning of the poem, where Heine cites a tale from the *Arabiens Märchenbuch* (‘Book of Arabian fairy tales’), as well as the story of a prince who had been turned into a hairy monster. Bialik substitutes
these legendary sources with *Alte Bovo mayse* (l. 1), a phrase whose original source is the Italian chivalric romance *Buovo d'Antona* which, thanks to the translation and adaptation by Elijah Levita Bakhur at the beginning of the sixteenth century, became immensely popular among Yiddish readers until the nineteenth century, first as *Bovo D'Antona* and eventually as *Bove bukh* or *Bove mayse*. This is also the origin of the expression *bobe mayse*, whose literary origin has been obscured through the reading of the hero’s name Bovo or Bove as *bobe*—grandmother in Yiddish. 

The spelling *Bovo* occurs consistently since the first edition of Bialik’s translation of the poem, and points to the fact that Bialik was well aware of the source of the expression and exploited its double meaning. In line with the Judaization of the original story, instead of the hairy monster of the German version, we find in Bialik’s translation the *volkulak*, a werewolf (l. 5, 12), which is known through the Hasidic hagiographical tradition as preserved in *Shivkhei ha-Besht*, a creature whose source is to be found in Slavonic folklore. This was also recognized by Lachover and it is no accident that the *volkulak* occurs in Mendele’s *Di kliatshe* as well.

Indeed, the very first strophes of Bialik’s translation determine its intended popular character. The tales of Bovo and the *volkulak* place the text in a completely different tradition from the one to which Heine’s poem belongs. References to Schiller, to Greek gods and their ambrosia become superfluous and even out of place in a translation whose character is determined from the start by memories of Bovo and the *volkulak*. In tune with this approach, Bialik leaves out also the *Minnesinger*, troubadour (l. 67), the title which Heine had given to the author of ‘Come, bridegroom’.

The popular quality of Bialik’s translation is articulated through expressions and idioms such as *beynashmoshes*, twilight (l. 86), and *di reynikeyt*, scroll of the Torah (l. 44), as well as *tam ganeydn*, luscious heavenly taste (l. 86) with reference to the *tsholent*, that takes the place of the ironic comparison with the pagan ambrosia. Most revealing is Bialik’s utilization of the Yiddish translation of the Bible (*taytsh*) where Heine’s text leads him in the Jew’s dreams (ll. 97–100) to the biblical landscape of Jordan and Beyt-El:

\[
\text{הנה אלע יונס דהע ירווי רישן}
\text{אא דועס דהע א קלאנפן קראיל}
\text{אא דועס סאלאמענטל פאן בּיינ איו}
\text{וז סע "וייריסניך" די קגעלקֿען}
\]

From the first publication of the Yiddish poem in 1913, the word *hayern* appears here, which is unusual in common Yiddish speech and is used only in *taytsh*, meaning ‘to crouch’. Bialik must have sensed the
Chone Shmeruk

oddity of the word in spoken Yiddish, and from the edition of 1922 he enclosed it in inverted commas.

The cuts which intentionally change the character of the poem, the leanings on Yiddish conventions and traditions, the popular and idiomatic language, all these together have turned what is commonly referred to as Bialik's translation of Heine's poem into a conscious, calculated and tendentious adaptation. This adaptation is in tune with the prevailing attitude to Heine's poem in the Jewish literature of various Eastern European languages. Yiddish, the language of Bialik's translation, opened up additional and new possibilities, yet at the same time it prevented Bialik from reproducing directly certain parts of the original which were alien to the potential readers of the poem in Yiddish.

At the same time, it appears that Bialik's most immediate motivation for preparing this translation-adaptation of the 'Prinzessin Sabbat' was not his consciousness of the translation tradition and possible literary echoes of the poem in Eastern Europe, as discussed above. His adaptation appeared in an anthology entitled *Lekoved shabes un yontev*. The contents of the anthology suggest that it was published in Odessa before Passover 1907. It served as one of the means by which the Jews were protesting against the law making Sunday the compulsory rest-day throughout Russia. The Jews feared that the law would have an adverse effect on Jewish traders and artisans who observed the Sabbath on Saturday. Either they would be forced to close their businesses on both Saturdays and Sundays or, it was feared, such an economic sanction would prompt Jews to desecrate the Sabbath by opening their businesses.

The law was promulgated on 15 November 1906, together with another law restricting the number of daily working hours of all employees. Both laws were regarded as a step calculated to generate support for the government among the labouring masses in Russia, in anticipation of the imminent elections to the Duma.24

It seems that only at the beginning of 1907 were the Jews of Russia alerted to this threat. They embarked on a campaign against the law of compulsory Sunday rest: articles directed against it appeared in the Jewish press, the Jewish public was called to protest meetings and intense political agitation in the Duma was initiated.25 The Central Zionist Bureau in Poland published a special proclamation on 'The Question of Sabbath Rest', and it invited all Polish Jews to sign a protest petition.26

The anthology in which Bialik's adaptation of Heine's famous poem appeared must be seen, therefore, as one of the expressions of protest against this law. On page 3 of *Lekoved shabes un yontev* was printed the
statement that this was only the first collection of its type, and that the second would include 'protocols of all the meetings and sessions of the Sabbath Committee [in Odessa] as well as several articles'. It has not been possible to establish whether or not the second collection ever appeared. But even the first, which we do possess, indicates clearly by its contents that the aim and purpose of the booklet was to protest against the compulsory rest-day which interfered with Jewish tradition and all those who observed it. In addition to Bialik's adaptation of Heine's poem, it included a poem by B. Shafir entitled 'Pessah', and the first instalment of a story by Yona Rosenfeld, *Der farshterter shabes* ('The broken Sabbath'), with the next instalment promised in the forthcoming second issue. The main point of the collection was expressed in indignant and outspoken articles against the law, written by Y. H. R. (Y. H. Rawnitzki), Chaim Tchernowitz, Moses Leib Lilienblum and E. L. Lewinsky. Some of these articles refer to Heine's poem explicitly or allude to it. The following are Lilienblum's explicit remarks:

Our ancient sages have said that on the Sabbath all Jews acquire an additional soul (a new soul, in addition to the one which dwells within the body permanently). It is true that young Jewish rebels have begun to make light of the words of our sages, and it is not difficult to find in Odessa a Jew who knows nothing of this new soul; but such a soul truly inhabits the body of any Jew who knows the flavour of the Sabbath. Even the poet Heine, famous throughout the world and a freethinker, sensed this with his whole being. Otherwise he would not have been able to write his famous poem, the 'Prinzessin Sabbat'.

The publication of the Yiddish adaptation of Heine's poem in this collection points clearly to Bialik's motivation. It is immaterial whether he undertook the task of translation at his own initiative or in response to an invitation by the editors of the volume, one of whom must have been his close friend Y. H. Rawnitzki, who launched the collection with an article entitled 'Kheyrus' ('Liberty'). In this context, Bialik's adaptation acquires the significance of a national-political act, which highlights also the programmatic nature of his adaptation as a response to a topical issue. This explains the peculiarities of the adaptation beyond the influence of literary convention and the earlier references to the poem in the literature of Eastern European Jewry.
Notes


4. Bialik's abridged (see below) Yiddish translation of Heine's poem, 'Die Prinzessin Sabbat (Heine)' was first published in the collection *Lekoved shabes un yontev* (Odessa, 1907), pp. 2–3. The booklet was produced in the printing press of H. N. Bialik and S. Borishkin, and it contains eight pages altogether. The poem is followed by the statement in Yiddish: 'Translated by B... ' Bialik included it in the 'Translations' section of his own collections of Yiddish poetry starting with the first: H. N. Bialik, *Poezye (Lider un poemen)*, *Ferlag "Progress"* (Warsaw, 1913), pp. 49–55. Since then, the translation has appeared, with minor alterations only, in all the subsequent editions of Bialik's Yiddish poems published both during his lifetime and after his death. Concerning Bialik's response to the invitation to translate the poem, see below. I am grateful to Mr Nathan Cohen for locating the earliest publication of this translation, and for his valuable help in other bibliographical searches connected with it.

5. Генрих Гейне, *Библиография русских переводов и критической литературы на русском языке* (Moscow, 1958), стр. 457.

6. «Калейдоскоп», *Сочинения О. А. Рабиновича*, vol. II (Odessa, 1888), pp. 93–5. The novel was first published in 1860 in the Russian periodical *Русское слово*.


9. In the second chapter of Book 3, the final version in Hebrew and in Yiddish. The text was first published in Yiddish in 1888, in the first volume of *Di yidshe folks bibliyotek*, edited by Sholem Aleykhem, pp. 56–66 according to the special pagination at the end of the volume. The Hebrew version was first published in *ha-Shiloah*, vol. 4 (1897), pp. 300–3.


12. On these translations, see Zweig (note 11 above).


14. See the text in Heine (note 1 above), vol. 11: *Schriften* 1851–1855, pp. 125–9.

15. The text is quoted here from the version I have prepared for the critical edition of Bialik's poems, edited by Dan Mirson, which is currently being published by the Katz Research Institute for Hebrew Literature, Tel Aviv University, Dvir Publishing House, vol. 3, forthcoming.


17. *ibid*.

18. See also *hoheit*—line 129 of the original, line 101 of the translation.
‘Prinzessin Sabbat’ in Translation by Bialik

19 On this, see C. Shmeruk, Yiddish Literature: Aspects of its History (Hebrew) (Tel Aviv, 1978), pp. 92–104.
20 Lachover (note 8 above), p. 723
21 p. 47 of the Jubilee edition of his works in Yiddish, and the parallels in all earlier versions. In the Hebrew version Mendele omitted the volckulak altogether.
22 In Heine’s original (I. 68), erroneously, Judah Halevi. Bialik has Velt-barimter zinger—the world-famous poet—without mentioning his name.
23 S. Noble, Khimesh-Taytch. The Traditional Language of the Yiddish Pentateuch Translation (Yiddish) (New York, 1943), no. 168, p. 60
24 A summary of this law, its significance and ramifications is to be found in Еврейская энциклопедия, vol. 14, pp. 597–9; cf. notes 25–6 below.
25 I have not been able to find a comprehensive treatment of this issue.
26 An examination of the central organ of Russian Jewry, Der fraynd, published in St Petersburg, has suggested that the first item on the rest-day law appeared in issue no. 21, dated 26 January (8 February) 1907. Only in issue no. 37 of 14 (27) February did the paper carry the article entitled ‘Zuntik ru’ (Sabbath Rest) which was signed by ‘a soykher’ (‘a trader’), and in issue no. 52 dated 5 (18) March 1907, the programmatic article ‘Dos gezets fun Zuntik ru’ (‘The Law of Sunday Rest’) appeared unsigned, reporting the details of the affair up to that date.
27 The proclamation by the Central Zionist Bureau in Poland was printed in the Zionist weekly Dos yidishe folk which was published in Vilna. It appeared in issue no. 8 dated 28 February 1907, and was accompanied by a list of Warsaw addresses at which it was possible to sign the petition against the law. The petition itself was published in the same weekly, in issue no. 15 dated 26 April 1907: Petitsye vegn shabes-ru’ (‘A petition against the Sabbath Rest’). The text was preceded by the statement that the Central Zionist Bureau in the state of Poland had presented the petition to the chairman of the committee for freedom of conscience in the Duma, together with 16,287 signatures of Jewish traders and trade employees in Poland.
28 M. Lilienblum, ‘Shabes ru’, Lekoved shabes un yontev, p. 7. Heine’s name is stressed in the original.