'Choose a Language Like a Wedding Ring': Polysystems, Norms and Pseudotranslation in Lea Goldberg's Poetry & Prose

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‘Choose a Language Like a Wedding Ring’: Polysystems, Norms and Pseudotranslation in
Lea Goldberg’s Poetry & Prose

A Thesis Presented
by
BENJAMIN RANGELL

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

September 2019

Comparative Literature
‘Choose a Language Like a Wedding Ring’: Polysystems, Norms and Pseudotranslation in Lea Goldberg’s Poetry & Prose

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ABSTRACT

‘CHOOSE A LANGUAGE LIKE A WEDDING RING’: POLYSYSTEMS, NORMS AND PSEUDOTRANSLATION IN LEA GOLDBERG’S POETRY & PROSE

SEPTEMBER 2019

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Lea Goldberg [1911-1970] is one of modern Hebrew literature’s most significant poet/translators. This thesis approaches her early poetry and prose from the perspective of three theories of translation. ‘Polysystems’, ‘norms’, and ‘pseudotranslation’ grew from the scholarly and translation-lineage in Hebrew literary studies that Goldberg herself contributed to. Utilizing these three methods of reading, this thesis argues that translation’s thematization in Goldberg’s creative work is evidence for the poet’s ideal for a cosmopolitan, multilingual national literature in the new Jewish State. This receptive stance to previous and concurrent literary traditions was met with much skepticism and criticism from Goldberg’s colleagues, and as a result, Goldberg’s oeuvre occupies a more peripheral position than several of her contemporaries.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Vhho- Ve-hu ha-or (Goldberg)

Atil- And This is the Light (Goldberg trans. Harshav)
NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

When transliterating Hebrew proper names (for which the options are numerous), I deferred to the most common spellings. Where this is difficult to determine, I chose the simplest. In general, I opted to leave out the final h when transliterating Hebrew’s he sofit. Similarly, I did not include e when representing shva nach (e.g. tdaber!, not tedaber!) Aside from these deviations, my choices are in accordance with the stipulations for Hebrew and Yiddish transliteration by the Library of Congress.

English renderings of Hebrew text in this thesis are the author’s original translation unless otherwise noted.
INTRODUCTION

GOLDBERG’S SEARCH FOR HEBREW LITERATURE

In Lea Goldberg’s poem-cycle “From Songs of the River” (Me-shirei ha-nachal, 1948), the poet’s epigraph states, “A choir of small voices... Paul Verlaine” (1965, 226). Goldberg’s literary language was Hebrew, so such an inscription is of course, a translation from the French original. In the context of the poem itself, these “small voices” are different speakers in nature: first, a Stone and a River, then a Tree and the Moon. Additionally, the Verlaine quotation is a suitable entry point to the present study because it shows that Goldberg considered translation in her work, making it a reflective feature in her poetics. The cycle’s title describes the sounds of a multifarious subject; a river moves and flows and has no discernable center or governing force. Similarly, this epigraph evokes a choral atmosphere, not the articulations of a single entity or soloist. Considering its historical context, Goldberg’s opening line of multiplicity is a plea against the fascist dictators whose single voices tore the world apart during the Second World War. The quotation can also be read as encouraging an openness to the variety of cultural lineages that preceded modern Hebrew literature, the nascent corpus to which Goldberg contributed. In this master’s thesis, I argue that translation as a literary device in Goldberg’s early poems and prose is evidence for this receptivity, this open posture to ‘multiple voices.’

A towering figure in twentieth century Hebrew letters, dozens of scholars have dedicated their efforts to understanding Goldberg’s work. In this thesis, I use italicized, transliterated Hebrew to refer to Goldberg’s source texts. When a work is referred to by its English name, I am referring to a specific English translation of that text. When I offer both the Hebrew transliteration and the English, I am remarking about features common to both the Hebrew and English versions.

Thank you to my advisor Dr. Yehudit Heller, without whom this thesis would never have come to fruition. Professor Heller’s enthusiasm for Goldberg and Hebrew modernism has been a sustaining force since the inception of this project, and it is because of her suggestion that I directed my inquiry to translation as a theme within Goldberg’s original oeuvre in the first place. Our many hours of meeting and correspondence are greatly appreciated.

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themselves to the task of interpreting Goldberg’s work, but this study focuses on her relationship to place, and translation’s thematization in her creative work- an approach in Goldberg Studies not previously taken. To draw my conclusions, I treat Lea Goldberg’s poetry and longform fiction as my primary sources, using theories of translation proposed by Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury to elucidate my findings. I also engage with scholarship on modern Hebrew literature more generally.

It is well known that Goldberg was conversant with a wide range of literary traditions—she translated texts from French, English, Italian, German and Russian, as well as from other European and non-Western languages into Hebrew. This thesis posits a connection between Goldberg’s work as a translator to the way translation itself is thematized in her creative output; that is, translation surfaces as a distinct literary device in her poems and narratives. It is with this reciprocal relationship in mind: between translation the interlingual process, and translation’s implementation in her original work, that I will demonstrate how her identities of ‘translator’ and ‘aesthete’ were related. The idea that translation might be considered an aesthetic process, and not just an exercise in linguistic precision and fidelity, is due in large part to the development of Translation Studies as a field of academic inquiry. Recognizing form and content from translated texts in her original work would be one method for assessing the connection between these identities. But another, the method of this thesis, is examining how she utilizes and challenges the mechanics of translation within the worlds of her original texts themselves. Assessing the proximity between Goldberg’s overlapping identities of ‘poet’ and ‘creative translator’ is the incentive for this thesis project, so that Translation Studies scholars might have a broader, more inclusive definition of translation and how it, as a process, operates and affects other phenomena.
Goldberg, Hebrew’s “queen of translation” (Rübner 1975, 244) predated the Tel Aviv School of Poetics- an essential cluster of scholars that contributed significantly to Translation Theory in the 1970s and 1980s. From this group, Gideon Toury collected data on Hebrew translation in the Statehood Period\(^3\), and he found that translations from other languages into Hebrew were highly representative of Jewish writers (Gentzler 2001, 124). Yet when Goldberg set out to translate, her source texts\(^4\) were culled from a wide range of Jewish and non-Jewish authors, and reading her poetry as utilizing (and hence affirming) the practice of translation, reveals an embrace of non-Jewish literary traditions into her own. When Goldberg implements translation as a device in her work, translation becomes a means for reconciling with a world that many of her associates wanted to turn away from, and Goldberg was even subject to great criticism during her career for her receptivity to (non-Jewish) European traditions. Coming into her own as one of Hebrew’s foremost writers precisely at the time when Nazi Germany began to actualize an agenda of erasing the Jews of central and eastern Europe, Goldberg did not seek a succinct rupture with Europe. Despite the murderous dehumanization of the Jewish people there, she sought a cosmopolitan literature, ‘a chorus of voices’ so that perhaps such a disaster, such a complete dismissal of humanity, may never happen again.\(^5\)

Lauded by scholar Dan Miron as a model for interwar aestheticism (Miron 2010a, 169-170), Goldberg worked persistently throughout the ominous 1940s, and her contribution was critical during Hebrew’s transition from the literature of a dispersed people to that of a modern nation-state. If a national literature is a reference point for the citizens therein, Goldberg’s

\(^3\) ‘Statehood Period’ refers to the 1940s-1950s- the years immediately preceding and following the establishment of Israel. In this thesis, I also use the term ‘Statehood Generation’ which refers to individuals who came of age in this time period and geographical context.

\(^4\) Here, and throughout this thesis, I use ‘source’ text and culture to mean an original work and its context, and ‘target’ to mean a translated work and context.

\(^5\) For a detailed discussion of translation’s thematization in “From Songs of the River” (Me-Shirei ha-nachal), see chapter two, part one.
itinerant and impressionable Nora serves as a metaphor for Goldberg’s vision for Hebrew literature more generally: it must be flexible and palimpsestic, grafting many traditions together, and only then will it serve the needs of its practitioners. Interlingual translation played an important role in maintaining this attitude of mutability to other literatures, and translation as a theme within source texts shows the permeable and reciprocal cycles of influence between original and translated literature. But even more importantly, it validates cosmopolitanism as a veritable feature of the new national poetics. Speaking of translation as a literary device alongside other creative techniques adds credibility to the practice. It also shows the great importance that ‘many voices’ had in Goldberg’s original oeuvre while her country’s voice(s) became some of the most significant in the new national traditions of the post-War literary landscape. Perhaps beyond the geo-political stakes of creating an eclectic national literature lie Goldberg’s personal incentives; Goldberg was an erudite scholar of several European literatures and could not bear to see this cultural legacy forgotten.

Chapter one introduces the poet and her chosen language of literature. I sketch the intellectual context in which she participated and describe the link between mid-century Hebrew letters and an important strand of Translation Theory that emerged from Goldberg’s contemporaries but matured after her death. Chapter one concludes with a descriptive study of two English versions of one of Goldberg’s most well-known works about the experience of harboring two homelands concurrently. Chapter two examines the poems “From Songs of the

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6 Nora Krieger- the protagonist of Goldberg’s 1946 semi-autobiographical novel, And This is the Light (Ve-hu ha-or).

7 When this introductory chapter was written in November 2018, I had Shmuel Yosef Agnon’s Nobel Prize for Literature in mind (1966), or perhaps Yehuda Amichai, who participated in global poetry festivals such as “Spoleto” in the same year. But the death of Amos Oz on December 27th, 2018 has spurred new interest in Israeli letters of the 1960s and 1970s, and one journalist’s estimation is that Oz was the not only the ‘conscious of Israel’, but a spokesperson for Judaism itself. Cohen, Roger. 2019. “Amos Oz’s Rebuke to Cowardice.” https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/04/opinion/amos-oz-novelist-israel-judaism.html (accessed January 28, 2019).
River” (*Me-shirei ha-nachal*, 1948) and “The Love of Teresa de Meun” (*Ahavata shel Tereza di Mon*, 1955) as case studies for translation’s thematization in Goldberg’s original poetry. It draws on ‘polysystem’ theory and notions of ‘interference,’ ‘norms’ and ‘pseudotranslation’ to explicate my reading. Goldberg did not imagine that modern Hebrew literature coalesced ex nihilo, without precedent. Her subject, Teresa de Meun, represents the long and variegated European literature that Goldberg hoped to preserve, and reading the cycle as a translation of the historical di Mon’s testimony adds credibility to this view.

The final chapter identifies several instances of translation’s appearance as a literary device in the novel, *And This is the Light* (*Ve-hu ha-or*, 1946). Here, in Goldberg’s prose, the theoretical concepts previously mentioned also prove to be useful for ascertaining moments of translation and multilingualism within the text. I also apply Carol Maier’s notion of the translator as *theòros* to Nora, the novel’s protagonist; as Nora moves across spaces, she is an ambassador to several Jewish and non-Jewish cultures simultaneously. *Ve-hu ha-or* is a narrative precedent to a later Goldberg poem-cycle which speaks of being ‘caught between two lands’ (1972, 182). Both the poetic text (discussed in chapter one) and the novel articulate the experience of movement and migration, and I argue that for Goldberg, translation is a means within her work to explore this condition. All three chapters conduct close readings of Goldberg’s original work, which yield to reading translation as a critical device for conveying Verlaine’s message of multiplicity, or Goldberg’s own championing of aesthetic pluralism.
CHAPTER 1
BEGINNINGS & PLANTINGS

This chapter describes Goldberg’s chosen language of literature and cultural moment in broad strokes. It also briefly discusses translation’s role in Hebrew’s re-vernacularization, or modernization. Then, I explicate Itamar Even-Zohar’s theory of polysystems, using Goldberg’s literary milieu as a convenient case study. I also introduce several other Translation Theory terms including ‘norms’ and ‘pseudotranslation’. In this middle section, Even-Zohar and Toury’s terms are illustrated by some of Goldberg’s works of translation from English to Hebrew. The chapter concludes with a descriptive study of two English translations from the 1955 Hebrew source text, “Oren” (Pine). I find that both translators (Adriana Jacobs and Rachel Tzvia Back) are positioned at the seam of the Hebrew and English systems, and inscribe their own histories into the translated texts accordingly. In the source text, Goldberg speaks of a relationship to two simultaneous Homelands- a condition that relates to the experience of many immigrants, beyond the ʿolim to Israel or to the Yishuv. In so doing, the poet introduces her unique aspiration for infusing into Hebrew a distinctly European poetics, all while living in Israel, the unequivocal center of Hebrew literary production.

A. Modern Hebrew Poetry, Translation in the Yishuv & Goldberg Studies

By the First World War, the Jewish community in Mandatory Palestine numbered less than a half-million, and very few individuals spoke Hebrew natively. In this period, the culmination of

8 ʿAliyah (pl. ʿaliyot) or ‘ascension’ refers to person’s immigration to the Land of Israel. The term has currency for migrants to Israel today, and the migrants themselves are often called ʿolim or ‘ascenders.’
9 Jewish communities in Ottoman and Mandatory Palestine between the turn of the century and Israel’s declaration of independence. ‘Old Yishuv’ generally indicates nineteenth century communities with a discernably more religious character.
10 The present study uses the terms “Mandatory Palestine” and “British Mandate of Palestine” (often shortened to “British Palestine”) synonymously to refer to the geo-political entity administered by the British Empire from 1920-1948 after the partition of Ottoman Palestine. I use “Palestine” as a general referent, applicable to the land before
the Second ‘Aliya [1904-1914], eastern European Jews fled their homeland by the thousands due to the dramatic spike in lethal pogroms initiated by Russian Imperial authorities. Benjamin Harshav contends that Hebrew became “modern” between 1900-1910 when the Jews of Ottoman Palestine began to conduct the “frame of their lives”- their economic and private modes of communication- in Hebrew (1993, 85). That said, the New Yishuv was an inherently multilingual environment, and translation was a necessity that worked in tandem with Hebrew’s growth. Hebrew was the collective target of a wide variety of source languages, representing the diversity of the national and sub-national idioms that the immigrants spoke (primarily Russian, Yiddish, Hungarian and Polish). Due to translation’s generative properties- its capacity to increase a language’s range and breadth- the Yishuv’s multilingualism radically expanded modern literary and vernacular Hebrew. Unlike these earlier ‘aliot, movements imbued first with religious, and then agricultural motivations, Goldberg’s ‘aliyah is associated with immigration precipitated by increasing levels of hostility in the migrant’s country of origin. Called the Fourth ‘Aliyah [approx. 1924-1931] by historians of Mandatory Palestine, Goldberg’s migration was spurred by the rise of fascism and modern anti-Semitism in Europe. Goldberg arrived at the New Yishuv when she was twenty-four years old, and already had great familiarity with Hebrew philology and literature from her studies in Germany. Her biography reveals that her interest in Hebrew letters was so acute, that her peripatetic movements around the globe were often influenced by the promise and possibility of literary and scholarly pursuits in that language.

The primary locus of Hebrew literary production shifted to Ottoman Palestine in the 1910s, though Hebrew’s first generation of lyricists (often called nusach11 poets) had already

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11 Hebrew writers of the late nineteenth century that relied on previously existing literary models from earlier stages in the language’s non-vernacular history. For an in-depth discussion of the term nusach, see Alter, Robert. 1988.
established their careers by the turn-of-the century. These European-born writers spoke a host of languages at home and in public, and this multilingualism was a result of the prevalence of domestic, public, professional and literary languages. For example, the Ukrainian Sha‘ul Tchernichovsky [1875-1943] used German in his medical practice, spoke Russian on the street, and wrote poetry in Hebrew— he also read and translated literature from several other European languages. Poets belonging to this first movement in modern Hebrew literature were intent on looking within the Jewish textual tradition for inspiration; nusach poets had great familiarity with the Holy Books (sifrei ha-kodesh), as well as the lineages of Jewish disputation from Talmud to Maimonides and beyond, while the poets of the Third ‘Aliyah often had more familiarity with non-Jewish modernist traditions. As European anti-Semitism reached new heights in the fin-de-siècle, nusach verse often dealt with shilat ha-galut, the negation of the Jewish diasporic condition. In the spirit of reversing the statehood/exile binary, this literature is almost unilaterally politically motivated, but a more eclectic and functional current arose in the second phase of pre-WWII verse. This next phase in poetry is especially significant because it featured the first women to write in Hebrew in the modern era. Poets like Rachel Bluvstein, Esther Ra‘ab, and Elisheva were marginalized by a highly patriarchal, masculinist Hebrew literary system, but proved to be indispensable for creating a Hebrew modernism based on everyday language. By the interwar years, the foremost voices in Hebrew poetry implemented the modernist prosody and imagery that had spread through most of the major traditions on the Continent. As a whole, Hebrew modernism was cosmopolitan, but there was a rift between those

who drew on Jewish texts for inspiration and those who were seen as too influenced by European (non-Jewish) lineages. If a Hebrew writer’s sensibility was too European, this could present harsh criticism and even ostracization.\textsuperscript{13}

Today, the idea of an indelibly Jewish Hebrew is unmoored by the proliferation of non-Jewish Hebrew authors, but in the 1930s, the continuity between ‘Jew’ and ‘Hebrew-creativity’ was much more solvent. In the Pale of Settlement, the binary between ‘Europeanness’ and ‘Jewishness’ was also a significant cultural phenomenon, one that was rooted in the history of Jewish exclusion, Christian misrepresentations of Jewish tradition, and violent anti-Semitism. However, Goldberg refused to subscribe to this narrative of division, acting unrestrainedly against this societal construction. Goldberg was a master Hebraist, and one of the most significant contributors to the language’s fraught modernist corpus. But, her virtuosity in the language did not come at the expense of rejecting European literature; rather than relinquishing this intellectual heritage, she sought to fuse Hebrew and high European culture through prodigious translation and original literary production. Goldberg maintained this position in spite of the near complete decimation of European Jewry in the early and mid-1940s—a trauma that many of her contemporaries associated with European literary traditions.\textsuperscript{14}

Born in Kaunas to a Lithuanian Jewish family in 1911, Lea Goldberg’s childhood in eastern European evinces the type of dangers posed to Jews that the nusach poets referenced in their work. At the outbreak of WWI, the Goldbergs sought refuge in Russia, but Lea’s father

\textsuperscript{13} The dichotomy between European and Jewish identities is explored in more detail in chapter three. Goldberg, who was herself a target of antipathy for her diverse translation projects, called this stringent reaction a form of “cultural fascism.” (qtd. in Jacobs 2018, 4).

\textsuperscript{14} For information on Goldberg’s resilient commitment to literary production during the late 1930s and early 1940s, see, Weisman, Anat. 2013. “After All of This, I Will Have to Muster All of My ‘Courage for the Mundane’: On Leah Goldberg’s Paradigmatic Temperament.” \textit{Prooftexts: A Journal of Jewish Literary History}, no. 2: 222.
Avraham Goldberg, was apprehended and tortured by Prussian soldiers embittered by the German Empire’s defeat. Due to resulting mental trauma, Avraham was absent in raising his daughter. But young Goldberg, against the odds posed by this early tragedy, was a promising scholar, gaining great exposure to German and Russian literature, all while studying at a secular Gymnasium-style Hebrew Secondary School. She earned a doctorate in Semitic philology from Bonn University (1933), and her experience there is exemplary of the Weimar tradition in Oriental Studies at its apogee before its abrupt decline. In 1935, she left Germany for Mandatory Palestine where her arrival was greatly anticipated by the yachdav poets. Hitler had become chancellor of Germany in 1933, and though the Nuremburg Laws were not officially passed until two years later, it was clear that Germany was no place to pursue a life of Hebrew letters. Goldberg would not return to Europe until after the War, when she toured Europe before settling permanently in Jerusalem (Qedar 2011, 29:39).

Upon her arrival to Mandatory Palestine in 1935, Avraham Shlonski surprised Goldberg with a publication of her first anthology, Smoke Rings (Taba’ot a’shan), and she soon became a vital contributor to Hebrew intellectual and cultural production in the decade preceding the establishment of Israel in 1948. Her semi-autobiographical novel And This in the Light (Ve-hu ha-or, 1946) exhibits her mastery over narrative prose, and her play Lady of the Castle (Ba’alat ha-armon, 1955) is a text that stands out among mid-century Hebrew literature because it voices the victory and optimism of the Jewish State, while simultaneously provoking doubts and

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15 Lea Goldberg’s mother on the other hand, supported her daughter’s academic and literary endeavors wholeheartedly; living together in Jerusalem and in Tel Aviv, Goldberg’s mother provided essential support for the aspiring poet.
17 This ambiguous question of how to regard the European canon in the wake of the Shoah is explored in the poem “Book of the Dead” (Sefer ha-mavet, 1948). In the poem, Goldberg wonders if reconciliation, ‘forgiveness’ or ‘grace’ will ever come not only to the perpetrators of the Final Solution but to all ‘humankind’ (Back 2005, 76).
ambivalences in her reader. Goldberg is a canonical New Yishuv author and one of modern Hebrew’s most productive translators. Hers are the most widely read Hebrew translations of Tolstoy, Petrarch, Ibsen and Molier-and this is but a brief representation of the authors she translated.¹⁸ Not wanting her career to be circumscribed by the expectations of the yachdav circle, she moved from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 1952, launching the department of Comparative Literature at the Hebrew University wherein she quickly became a core faculty member. Her critical writing with the widest recognition today is “Russian Literature of the Nineteenth Century” (Ha-sifrut ha-rusit ba-meah ha-tsh’a asre, 1968), and her poetry toward the end of her life became more fractured, visual and personal (Back 2017, xvii). Goldberg died of cancer in 1970, being awarded for her only Israel Prize for literature posthumously.

Goldberg’s singular legacy is based on her collective achievements- her “literary empire” (ma’atsema sifruit) (Hirschfeld qtd. in Qedar, 19:04), but some scholars see Goldberg’s earliest poetry as more influential than her work from later in her career. Though her contribution is often measured in relation to other interwar modernist poets like Avraham Shlonski and Natan Alterman, it is possible that her work is even more fundamental to modern Hebrew poetry than those of her contemporaries.¹⁹ Synthesizing form and content from the richest traditions of European Christendom,²⁰ her control over the high register of poetic Hebrew was inimitable, yet her oeuvre contains essential, touchstone texts in Israeli academic and popular culture alike. The primary label of Goldberg’s professional-identity never stayed the same for long. Goldberg was

¹⁸ Friend and fellow translator Tuvya Rübner [1924-] edited a volume compiling over fifty of the best-known texts that Goldberg translated, and a partial list is included in the appendix (i).
forever reticent to let others define her and as soon as she gained notoriety with the yachdav group, she shifted to a career as a scholar, not wanting her creativity to be reduced to a maternal emblem for statehood.\(^{21}\) Her ability to reinvent herself based on new geographic and professional circumstances mirrors translation’s capacity to give new life and complexion to an old text.

Goldberg’s belletristic contribution began in the epoch often called “revival-era Hebrew,” but literature scholar Shachar Pinsker is careful to note the ‘teleological’ implications of such a term (2011, 19). Hebrew was not ‘revived’ at the turn-of-the-century; it had been used as a transnational Jewish lingua-franca since antiquity, and the Hebrew textual tradition never ceased to be studied in Orthodox communities. Hebrew’s emergence as a vernacular language is related to social and political momentum for a Jewish nation in Ottoman Palestine, but modern Hebrew literary production was never fully dependent on the success of national aspirations there.\(^ {22}\)

Translating source texts from non-Jewish languages (about mostly non-Jewish topics) into Hebrew texts was not a decline of maskilic\(^ {23}\) values at the fin-de-siècle, nor was it a detraction from the Zionist movement. Indeed, if the ‘worldly’ Jewish reader had a broad variety of non-Jewish texts available to her in Hebrew, this would be a realization of Haskala-era universalism.\(^ {24}\) Pinsker is especially concerned with the Zionist underpinnings of the term

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\(^{21}\) Thanks to Dr. Heller for alerting me to this tension between Goldberg and the yachdav group, and the historical precedent for this conflation of statehood and motherhood in the career of Rachel Bluvstein [1890-1931].

\(^{22}\) Though Hebrew literature in the mid-nineteenth century does predate modern, political Zionism’s formal origins, scholarship is not unanimous about separating the two phenomena. For example, Robert Alter maintains, “only Hebrew [opposed to other languages] was associated with Jewish political autonomy, and the awareness of this association played a crucial role in Hebrew literature long before, and beyond the emergence of political Zionism” (1988, 12). Shai P. Ginsburg takes a more nuanced, middle-ground position, “…close reading would show that each [Hebrew] text presents its own logic…the discourse of the [Jewish] nation should thus be not read as a “common thread” that runs through the divergent texts that comprise it but, rather as an aggregate of discrete moments” (2014, 7).

\(^{23}\) Maskilim, or practitioners of Haskala, “Jewish Enlightenment.” The Haskala is a period spanning the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when Pale of Settlement Jewry integrated many precepts from the European Enlightenment into Jewish philosophy.

\(^{24}\) I thank Dr. Tali Artman of King’s College UK for bringing this idea to my attention.
“revival Hebrew” as it is suggestive of other phenomena namely, the “revival of the Jewish/Hebrew nation” (ibid.: 19), but to assess Goldberg’s involvement with the myriad Zionist platforms emerging in her lifetime, and the vestiges of maskilic values therein is by no means the topic at hand. Though the likes of Goldberg’s *Milchama ve-shalom* (War and Peace, trans. 1956) and *Ca-tov ba-eiynechem* (As You Like It, trans. 1957) may seem far removed from supporting the Zionist agenda, translating the European canon into Hebrew may have actually added stability and identity to the nascent Jewish national literature. But Zionism’s intersection with modern Hebrew’s tradition of translating literary Classics is a topic for another project.

Though translation always contains moments of incongruities, losses and gains, translating into Hebrew in the first decades of the twentieth century was especially approximate because a full generation had not yet lived using Hebrew as its primary language. The norms of the language were unsteady, and parallel to this uncertainty was the question of physical permanence for Jewish communities in Palestine. How can a language hope to gain durability without a perpetual group of native speakers? Intellectuals in Goldberg’s milieu sought to abet this anxiety by translating profusely, working to fulfill the aforementioned maskilic prophecy, and in so doing, they stabilized their chosen literary language by virtue of their great productivity. Hebrew coalesced into a fully-fledged modern language, replete with register distinctions, prescriptive grammar, and regional idiosyncrasies precisely in the years when Goldberg began writing and translating in it. Hebrew was the fourth vernacular that Goldberg learned, though she began honing her skills in her literary idiom while still living in Europe. In the first half of the twentieth century, Hebrew was in the process of being freed from the
misnomer ‘dead language,’ and men and women of letters like Goldberg did not ‘exhume’ Hebrew; they made it more durable and fortified by translating into it, producing original work in accordance with the cultural and technological trends of the day. Notably, the languages that they translated away from were the ones in which the translators had ‘lived in,’ not the other way around. The bloom in mid-Century Hebrew literary translation is an example of translation’s generative and restorative properties- its ability to create new capacities for language and strengthen the old ones. It is worth reiterating that the present study does not rely on the archival record to situate ‘biographical Goldberg’ within the broad narrative of Hebrew literary translation and New Yishuv history. Rather, it deals with the ingratiation of translation into the poet’s literature production itself, treating the historical record as ancillary information to the even more complex worlds that she created in her texts.

Perhaps translated literature is an integral component to any emergent language, intrinsic as prescriptive syntax and morphology. However, the ‘moving target metaphor’ that often describes the process of translation is acutely or even doubly present when the features of the target language are as mutable as Hebrew was in the 1930s-1950s. In the spirit of this manifold volatility, Harshav likened the first decades of modern Hebrew to assembling a ship while floating in water (1993, 114). If this sensation is accurate for language construction, the act of translating into Hebrew must have been more like boat-building in the shallows after nightfall. Mid-century translation into Hebrew is especially peculiar because the translators had no way of knowing how their readership would respond to their work. These individuals had not yet lived in their target language and could imagine with very little precision how their renderings would

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25 Hebrew has never been static or ‘dead’, and for this reason I use the single quotation marks above. On the contrary, Hebrew was a dynamic literary language in the medieval and early-modern periods and was highly responsive to the language backgrounds of its practitioners, but it did not become a vernacular until the ‘aliyot of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
come across in a language which was familiar to most readers only in the narrow context of liturgy and scripture. The contribution of this coterie of translators to the language’s growth through neologism and new linguistic scenarios presented in the texts is unprecedented, and I argue that this commitment is intimately connected to a receptive position toward non-Jewish literatures, as national Hebrew literature coalesced through translation and creative production.

In Goldberg Studies, no single effort has been devoted to translation’s appearance in the poet’s original work, though Giddon Ticotsky recently wrote on the poet’s receptive posture toward European literature.\(^{26}\) In fact, few book-length studies have dealt in their entirety with modern Hebrew translation in general, and translation was not a topic of great interest in Jewish Studies until the early 1970s.\(^{27}\) Manachem Dagut’s *Hebrew-English Translation* (1978) stayed within the area of linguistic issues and was of course, limited to Hebrew: English translation, however Zohar Shavit’s work on translation and children’s literature found a large readership by the early 1980s. Shavit made contributions not only to studies in Hebrew literary translation, but to applications of polysystems theory to children’s literature in general.

Alan Mintz’s *Translating Israel: Contemporary Hebrew Literature and its Reception in America* (2001) activates decades of theory on translation and reception, and applies it to Hebrew texts mainly from the Statehood Generation. A pivotal contribution, Mintz’s work is mostly concerned with the reception of Israeli texts in American audiences, and as the title suggests, does not focus on translation into Hebrew. Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury’s


\(^{27}\) It was in the 1971 edition of the *Encyclopedia Judaica* that ‘Translation and Translators’ became an indexed item in its own right, but Abraham S. Halkin’s entry is limited to medieval topics and does not address modern or even maskilic traditions of Hebrew translation.
work (which will be discussed at length in the following section) is groundbreaking in terms of Translation Theory, and both scholars wrote on Hebrew translation into other national literatures. Shimon Sandbank is one of the most prolific scholars on issues of translation in the Hebrew literary tradition, though most of his work is in Hebrew. Nitsa Ben-Ari’s *Suppression of the Erotic in Modern Hebrew Literature* (2001) suggests the possibility of translation acting as a censor in Hebrew’s “revival era,” preserving puritan sensibilities into the interwar years and beyond, and historian Kenneth Moss provides an important survey of the material conditions for Hebrew print culture and the translation of periodicals in the years surrounding the First World War.28

Despite this paucity of book-length comprehensive studies, the second half of the 2010s has witnessed a significant growth in scholarship that uses translation as a critical mode in Hebrew Studies- especially as it relates to poetry in the interwar era. *Lingering Bilingualism: Modern Hebrew and Yiddish Literature in Contact* (2016) by Naomi Brenner evaluates the multilingualism of New Yishuv literature in light of recent developments in Translation Theory, and Adriana Jacobs’ cutting-edge study *Strange Cocktail: Translation and the Making of Modern Hebrew Poetry* (2018) tells the story of modern Hebrew poetry from the perspective of translation itself, and is of utmost importance and relevance to my current work. Natasha Gordinsky’s *Ba-shloshah nafim: yetsiratah ha-mukdemet shel lea goldberg* (In Three Landscapes: Lea Goldberg’s Early Writings, 2016) is a vital resource, and I relay some of Gordinsky’s ideas to an Anglophone readership in the present work. I am grateful for these

timely publications and view them as catalysts, leading the way for future scholarship on Goldberg, modern Hebrew literature, migration and translation.

**B. Polysystems, Norms and Pseudotranslation**

Though Goldberg’s scholarship was instrumental in promoting Comparative Literature disciplinarily in Israel, Translation Studies as an adjacent field, or a field within it, had not matured enough during her lifetime for her to incorporate its findings into her own research. Goldberg supervised Itamar Even-Zohar’s [1939-] master’s thesis on dramatist August Strindberg in 1967, and the younger scholar’s work subsequently became fundamental to the theory of translation. This section introduces three key concepts that Even-Zohar and his own advisee and colleague Gideon Toury [1942-2016] developed over the course of their careers: ‘polysystems’, ‘norms’ and ‘pseudotranslation’. By the late 1960s, Goldberg was translating less, and this newest generation of Hebrew translators continued her cosmopolitan legacy in the face of a divisive intellectual landscape during the Cold War. Together, Even-Zohar and Toury’s work became integral to the Tel Aviv School of Poetics, what Dan Miron calls the leading school of Hebrew literary criticism in the Statehood Period (2010a, 20). Miron also identifies the WWI years as the first nadir in modern Hebrew literature (ibid.: 134), only to be followed by a second period of scarcity by the outbreak of WWII. Though the modern Hebrew literary system was soon to be debilitated just as Goldberg began being a participant in it, her persistent output contributed greatly to its survival, and she eventually stewarded the scholar to whom we attribute the term ‘polysystem’ today.

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Conducting literature studies in the mode of polysystem theory shifts attention away from the individual texts that compose a system, and focuses on the characteristics of the literary system. Addressing the broadest parameters of the definition, Even Zohar calls a polysystem:

…a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structural whole, whose members are independent (1990, 11).

Polysystems have ‘repertoires’ (the actual texts that compose the system) and ‘models’ (the norms that govern acceptability in the polysystem), as well as ‘centers’ and ‘peripheries’ - the most and least canonized or prestigious repertoires within the system respectively. For example, within the polysystem of a given language, children’s literature is connected to literature for adults, just as highly prestigious works are related to less prestigious ones. It is in this situation of presenting contrasting groups that translated literature and non-translated literature fit into this schema (ibid.: 13). Despite the intra-systemic co-reliance described, Even-Zohar also recognizes the individualistic nature of cultural productions. As the quotation states, texts within a system operate ‘independently’ because their relationships are always fluctuating, and this mutability over time is essential to polysystem theory. Challengers, or texts resistant to the canonized repertoire, help sustain the longevity of a system, as without these sub-canonical materials, the system would stagnate (ibid.: 14).

My reading of Goldberg’s original literary work in chapters two and three suggests that the poet’s European-inflected poetics exerted pressure on the center of a Hebrew literary system. This system was fixated on cultivating an authentically Jewish aesthetic, one disengaged from Anglo-Continental modernisms. Incidentally, Even-Zohar argues that the polysystem of his own native language, Hebrew, is a ‘defective system’, and Chana Kronfeld has supported this view by pointing to the artificial feel of conversational episodes in Hebrew prose of the pre-vernacular
era (Kronfeld 1996, 70). Kronfeld posits that the mimetic features of dialogue are such, that modern prose polysystems require a spoken corpus to rely on (ibid.: 90). In chapter three, I argue that Goldberg, aware of Hebrew literature’s position of atrophy during the Second World War, makes one of the most significant Hebrew prose contributions of the 1940s with *And This is the Light* (*Ve-hu ha-or*, 1946). In the novel, dialogic sections are marked with a broad variety of international languages, and this notion of restoring the Hebrew literary system by way of multiculturalism is explored more in chapter three. This vernacular-deficiency in the non-conforming Hebrew system would be called a ‘vacuum’ within the theory’s terminology, but Edwin Gentzler critiques the theory because of its Platonic view that culture is predicated on perfection (2001, 123). By the same token, Even-Zohar suggests that ‘young literatures’, by virtue of their recent establishment, are especially likely for translated literature to assume a position of prestige therein (1990, 40). He does classify the Hebrew polysystem as such, however Goldberg’s prolific career as a translator is evidence that for her, Hebrew in its modern iteration, benefitted from translated material.

For Even-Zohar, canonicity is based on ‘texts’ and ‘models’; he delineates between ‘Static Canonicity’ which resides in the arbitration of individually prestigious texts, and ‘Dynamic Canonicity’ derived by a text’s relationship to a system’s preferred models. This latter type is most crucial in generating the dynamics of a canon (ibid.: 19). In the turn of the century Hebrew poetry system, writers of the *nusach* mode (Bialik, Tchernichovsky, Berdichevsky et. all) would be considered ‘dynamically canonical.’ These poets utilized formal and prosodic conventions that were derived from the Hebrew Bible (the most enduringly canonical text in the Hebrew literary polysystem), while inserting topical content that encapsulated the Romantic and emancipatory spirit of the day. The imitators of the *nusach* group in the interwar years however,
Figure 1. Polysystem of Hebrew Poets (1935-1948)

*1935 is the year of Goldberg’s arrival in Palestine, and 1948 marks the first year of Jewish Statehood.

*refers to the date of the poet’s aliyah. Unless otherwise noted, the location of the poet’s death is Israel.
would quickly become ‘epigones’, or “those who still try to adhere to a displaced canonized repertoire” (ibid.: 17). As the most productive locus of Hebrew literary production shifted from Europe to Palestine after the Third ‘Aliyah, Goldberg and her yachdav contemporaries were at the center of the interwar Hebrew modernist polysystem. Goldberg tried to affect the complexion of the system’s ‘dynamic canonicity’ through repeatedly contributing timelessly poetic topics that were not chronologically or geographically determined; Alterman on the other hand contributed more localized and topical material such as war poetry, and this ended up becoming the most prestigious mode moving into the Statehood Period (Miron 2010a, 170). Even-Zohar’s theory is concerned not only with the contents or models of a polysystem’s repertoire, but with the material conditions that provided for the text’s production. Considering that British Palestine had the greatest number of Hebrew publishing houses internationally in the late interwar years, I find ‘location’ to be a logical variable around which to organize a mapping of the Polysystem of Hebrew Poetry (1935-1948). In fig. (1.1), the x-axis measures the date for each poet’s a ’liyah, or immigration to Palestine, and the y-axis indicates each poet’s peripheral or central position within the system.

It is important to contextualize Even-Zohar’s theory of polysystemic cultural production within the lineage of Jewish multilingualism in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, so fundamental to pre-War Jewish life. Speaking only of Jewish society in eastern Europe, Benjamin Harshav explains, “Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic, Russian, German, perhaps Polish [were all in use], all in the same community and even in the same family, but not known by all individuals” (2007, 26). This scenario of stratified, overlapping languages is the historical context from which Even-Zohar and Goldberg’s heritage is derived. The system of European Jewish multilingualism was threatened existentially by the ghettoization of thousands of Jews
after the establishment of the Soviet Union, and then shattered entirely by the Holocaust. As per Even-Zohar’s conception, the constituent principles of a system’s center are variable, but rather than conforming to the prestigious models of the day, Goldberg held steadfast to her own methods of production, heavily influenced by European (non-Jewish) systems as they were. Though slight in length, Ve-hu ha-or is Goldberg’s effort to stabilize a system in decline, and the dialogic sections present instances of translation into Hebrew from a variety of languages even as a Hebrew vernacular was still coming into fruition.

In fig (1.1), Nathan Alterman emerges as the most canonical Hebrew poet writing between 1935 and 1948, as per Miron’s observation about his poetics in the late 1940s presaging the Stage Generation’s dominant predilection for war poetry. If this mapping described production from ten years earlier, then Tchernichovsky and Bialik would surely occupy this position of prestige. As such, Tchernichovsky, the last living nusach poet, fulfills the position of ‘epigone’. Also, had fig (1.1) encompassed an earlier chronology, there would be more entries for authors who, like David Fogel, never immigrated to Palestine. The map roughly attests to the trend that the earlier a poet immigrated (the further toward zero their x-value), the more central his or her contribution became. Esther Ra’ab was born in Petach Tikva, and so evading the a’liyah schema altogether, her entry has an x-value of zero. Though these poets differ greatly in terms of style and geography, they all constitute one polysystem of Hebrew poetry; notably, polysystem theory does not take into account taste or aesthetic value qualitatively- it is concerned with the historical, social and cultural dynamics that influence a repertoire’s centrality and peripherality.

One Alterman poem in particular, “Silver Tray” (Magash kesef, 1947) became the “quintessential ritualistic Israeli text” (Miron 2010b, 434), and the basis for the euphemistic
tropo *noflim* (fallen soldiers) as a sustaining feature of Israeli bellicose ideology (ibid.: 434). Like Goldberg in the poem-cycle discussed in the Introduction, Alterman uses an epigraph, but his citation is from the political Zionist Chaim Weizman [1874-1952], “there is no state given to the people on a tray of silver.” In the world of the text, the speaker is a nation that asks the *noflim*, a young couple, “who are you,” and the youth reply, “we are the silver tray on which the Jewish State was given” (Alterman 1977, 155). This young man and woman embody a liminal status of life and death and their sacrifice for the State is an influential paradigm for the development of a militant, state-building ethos in the first decades after 1948. Laments and eulogies being already established in pre-modern Hebrew literature, “*Magash kesef*”’s central position in the polysystem is also due to this internally supported precedent. Goldberg on the other hand, incorporated formal models as well as content-choices that were not previously seen in the Hebrew polysystem, and so she occupied a more peripheral position than did Alterman.

Gideon Toury utilized polysystems in his descriptive-oriented theory of translation, and one useful addition to his colleague’s work is his conceptualization of norms. The power of Toury’s norms reside in the ‘rules’ and ‘idiosyncrasies’ of cultural arbitration: norms are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities (2012, 55). Serving a descriptive purpose, norms help determine a polysystem’s repertoire- dictating which texts are located in the center and which are relegated to the periphery. ‘Preliminary norms’ concern the policies and practices of translation- dictating which languages are permitted to translate away from, as well as which are prohibited, and what methods to use. These norms also affect the selection of texts that are available to a translator within a literary system. ‘Operational

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30 Descriptive Translation Studies or DTS is a target-based approach that treats the translated text as an empirical fact of target systems (Toury, 1985).
norms’ on the other hand are a second, less easily identified group of norms. These constitute the decisions made during the translation process itself. Questions such as which segments the translator omits and which she includes would be relevant to students of ‘operational norms’ (ibid.: 59) Outlining the operational modes in a specific translation scenario is mostly conjectural and is often more hypothetical than reflective of empirical data (ibid).

Be that as it may, dealing with a specific translation can yield insight into norms of both kinds. In Goldberg’s translation of John Keats’ “To Autumn” (El ha-stav) from the volume Kolot krovim u-rehokim (Voices Near and Far, 1975), editor Tuvya Rübner notes that Goldberg likely used the German version when dealing with a language in which she did not have a high proficiency (1975, 243). Keats’ source text contains the noun-construct ‘fruit the vines…’ which Hebrew readers recognize immediately as the oft-used phrase in Jewish liturgy, pri ha-gafen (fruit of the vine). The idea that Goldberg might have used a German relay or helping-translation when rendering the text is a ‘preliminary norm,’ and the correspondence between the Biblical ‘fruit of the vine’ and pri ha-gafen is an ‘operational norm’- a condition that relates to the linguistic relationship between English and Hebrew specifically. The position of the Anglophone Bible in nineteenth century literature can scarcely be overstated, and whether Goldberg perceived of her translation as a process of uncovering a latent ‘source-text within the source text’ is unknowable, but that she included pri ha-gafen in her rendition of the text remains an unequivocal, descriptive operation.

‘Interference’ is yet another concept from Even-Zohar that is useful for reading Goldberg’s original and translated work. “Interference can be defined as a relation(ship) between

literatures, whereby a certain literature A (a source literature) may become a source of direct or indirect loans for another literature B (a target literature)” (Even-Zohar 1990, 54). Goldberg’s Keats translation is an example of reciprocal or ‘bilateral’ interference whereby Anglophone literature (B) ‘took loans’ from the Hebrew Bible (A), which is then rendered back into the original, albeit modernized Hebrew idiom. Another example of ‘interference’ is the Petrarchan sonnet’s significant bearing on cycles like “Ahavata shel Tereza di Mon” a moment of inference between Italian and Hebrew literary systems. Goldberg was in the process of translating the early-modern Italian source text (A) into modern Hebrew (B), which resulted in ‘loans’ or ramifications on her original content from ‘another literature’ for her 1955 poem-cycle.

Goldberg’s translation of W.H Auden’s “As I Walked Out One Evening” from the same 1975 volume aptly illustrates Toury’s notion of acceptability. For this particular translation, it was more important for Goldberg to fit Auden’s work into the norms of Hebrew literature in translation than it was to exercise utmost fidelity to the source text. For example, Goldberg preserves the appealing ABAB rhyme scheme, but forsakes Auden’s local referents, substituting her own toponyms, ones more relevant to her Hebrew readership in Palestine. Goldberg’s translation leaves out some stanzas in their entirety, especially those that have intertextual relationships to Anglophone folklore and literary works. These decisions indicate ‘preliminary norms’ that favor the ease of Goldberg’s readability for her text’s audience, at the expense of rigorous fidelity to Auden.

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32 “… subscription to norms originating in the target culture determine [a text’s] acceptability” (Toury 2012, 56-57).

33 Lines two and four of stanza three reads, “Till China and Africa meet…And salmon sing in the street (Auden 111). Goldberg uses cūsh (son of the biblical Ham) in place of the more congruent Afrika- the former term did however signify the African continent in mid-century Hebrew culture. Line Four reads, ad she-sheleg yeret be-chamsin (until snow falls in a sand-storm). The Arabic term chamsin is, of course, more applicable to Middle Eastern ecosystems than ‘salmon.’

34 Stanza nine, eleven, and twelve- the last of which refers to Jack and Jill, referencing the British folktale.
Of all the European traditions that new immigrants to Palestine in Goldberg’s generation would have read, Anglophone literature was under-represented because English-speaking Jewry did not migrate to Israel in large scale until the middle and late 1960s. In accordance with Goldberg’s strategy in the Keats translation, she selects a well-known quotation from the Hebrew Bible when approaching Auden despondent gesture to the Gospel of Mark, “You shall love your crooked neighbor with all your crooked heart” (Auden 1995, 112). Goldberg’s Hebrew line reads, *lit.* “And you shall love (*ve-ahavta*) the abomination of your friend/neighbor with all your abominable heart (*be-kol levavcha*)” (175, 116).” Here, the translator’s phrasing evokes Deuteronomy 6:5, a common passage in Jewish liturgy, not the familiar Christian adage which acts as the pivot for Auden’s irreverence in the source text.35 This decision to foreground a textual resonance with the Hebrew Bible over the intertext from the Anglophone Bible or New Testament that Auden was originally referencing, is indicative of ‘operational norms’, as it relates to English and Hebrew’s relationship specifically.

According to Christina Shäffner’s commentary on Toury’s work, the goal of studying norms is not to define them, but to “account for translators’ choices and thus to explore translation in terms of cultural expectations” (2010, 240) of the target culture. Shäffner’s observation calls attention to the need to study translation as a cultural, rather than a linguistic phenomenon. Though students of Goldberg’s work cannot account for all of her (or any translator’s) ‘operational norms’, it can be ascertained that Goldberg was trying to raise the status of translated literature categorically within the system of Hebrew literature at the mid-century as Hebrew transitioned from the system of an ‘*am* (people) to that of a *leʾum* (nation).

35 “‘You shall love your neighbor as yourself.’ There is no other commandment greater than these.” (Mark 12:31)
This attention to the policy and practice of translation itself is exemplary of ‘preliminary norms’ in the Tourian sense.

One method for determining Shäffner’s ‘cultural expectations’ is presenting a text as if it were a translation even though it is not, or pseudo-translating the testimony of fictitious authors. At its most basic form, Toury conceives of pseudotranslation scenarios as a way for inserting novel forms and aesthetics into a cultural system (2012, 41). His most compact definition of pseudotranslation is, “a target language text which is regarded in the target culture as a translation though no genuine source text exists for it” (ibid.: 31). The phrase ‘regarded in the target culture’ is integral for understanding Toury’s thinking about translation in general. For Toury, translation itself operates on the willingness of a target audience to believe a text is indeed translated. More than simply a means for intervening new material, it also can provide revealing information about how one system views another. One of Toury’s primary examples of this is the German novella Papa Hamlet (1889) in which the authors posed as translators of the supposed Norwegian ‘source text’. The authors took advantage of how relatively ill-equipped a system can be when it comes to evaluating the fidelity of translated literature to its source. But more than that, it allows students of pseudotranslation to assemble the German vision of Scandinavian culture in finer detail. Here, pseudotranslations yield information about a system’s disposition vis-à-vis other systems synchronically. According to Toury, “the way [pseudotranslations] function within a culture is no different from the way genuine translations do” (ibid.: 34). Toury selects Joseph Smith’s The Book of Mormon: Another Testament of Jesus Christ (1830) to illustrate this matter of ‘function’. Within the logic of The Book, Smith transcribed the accounts of several source authors from disparate times and places and made a single, conglomerate target text. Toury takes no evaluative stance toward the authenticity of a
pseudotranslation; what is more salient for him is a readership’s acceptance of the text’s validity, and its subsequent ‘function’ within that system. Within this framework, pseudo and ‘genuine’ translations are equally likely to affect the values of a literary system, and the absence or presence of an historical source text is irrelevant. Moreover, in Toury’s words, translated literature is often perceived as “less-menacing” than source literature because the blame for any seditious content is shouldered by the fictitious source author (ibid.: 42). He argues that a system will be more lenient towards a risk-taking text when it is perceived as a translation, and not an indigenous production of the system. Toury also claims that a cultural milieu has more of a bearing on the production of a fictitious text than an individual author’s reasoning for pseudotranslating: “such a decision [to pseudotranslate] will inevitably have been made within the particular cultural setup which is either conducive to pseudotranslating or else may hinder recourse to it” (2005, 8). For Toury, studying pseudotranslation involves examining the interaction between literary systems in a particular place and time, with particular attention granted to the target text and culture. In chapter two, I discuss how Goldberg’s pseudotranslation of a text attributed to a non-existent late-medieval French poet, Tereza di Mon, reveals much about the elements of French cultural heritage Goldberg wanted to import into Hebrew culture. In the following section, I expand on the matter of translator’s decisions in the target text, using one of Goldberg’s best-known source texts as a case study.

C. “Pine”: Negotiating Homelands

In 1955, Goldberg published Lightning in the Morning (Barak ba-voker), a collection of poems in which the three-verse cycle “Trees” (ʾIlanot) deals plainly with issues of Homeland and
Natasha Gordinsky sums up the importance of the poem’s first verse, “Pine” (Oren): “Not only did the poem deal with the emotional toll of immigration; it also offers an existential solution to the loss that accompanies leaving home” (emphasis added 2013, 1).

Goldberg used translation as an antidote or ‘solution’ to abet this in-between condition of two simultaneous Homelands. Though the poem does evoke nostalgia for Goldberg’s European childhood, the final stanza is not necessarily about ‘loss’ as much as suspension or in-betweenness, and Jacobs defines the latter term:

the term “in-between” not only addresses translation as a movement between languages, cultures, histories, and so on, but also acknowledges positions and articulations of in-betweenness within linguistic, geographic, and cultural texts and contexts (2018, 16).

Studying two English translations of Goldberg’s “Oren,” (a poem about in-betweenness) sheds light on the ‘cultural contexts’ of each translator, and how they treat Goldberg’s articulation of a widely shared experience by Jewish migrants to Palestine from Europe. Goldberg’s poems have been translated into many languages and continue to be nearly fifty years after her death.

Conducting a descriptive study between two English Goldberg texts is productive in part because it affirms Toury’s view that target texts are indeed, viable subjects of inquiry. Also, bringing to light the discrepancies between two translations affords attention to the translator herself. But most importantly, even though the following texts are valid entries in Anglophone literary ‘systems’, they, in Toury’s words, ‘function’ differently. The first is a more rigorous attempt at following the details of Hebrew grammatical structures, while the second is a freer, more poignant version. Below are the English translations of the verse, “Pine” by Adriana Jacobs and Rachel Tzvia Back.


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36 See appendix ch.1 (i) for source citation.
Here I will not hear the cuckoo’s voice.
Here the tree will not don a turban of snow,
But in the shade of these pines
My entire childhood comes alive

The chiming of the needles: Once upon a time-
I will call the distance of snow homeland,
The greenish ice that fetters the brook,
The poem’s language in a foreign land.

Perhaps only the birds of travel know-
When they hang between land and sky-
This pain of the two homelands.

With you I was planted twice,
With you I grew, pines,
And my roots are in two different landscapes.

Jacobs’ translation functions within the broader context of her scholarly purposes, and comes a decade after Back’s “Pine,” which was already disseminated into Anglophone literature, with the poem’s inclusion in Leah Goldberg: Selected Poetry and Drama, Toby Press’ 2005 publication. Back’s simple, and hence more desperate and plaintive text is in keeping with the contours of the translator’s own biography. For Back, ‘capes of snow’ might resonate with her own childhood in upstate New York: after living between Israel and the United States as a child, she moved to Israel more permanently in the 1980s.\(^{37}\) In this vein, she engages in positive translations- adding prefixes to terms (heartache and transplant) that do not exist in the source text.\(^{38}\) The adverb ‘here’ (kan) requires the reader to consider the text’s deixis from the very first line. Since the reader knows that the speaker is caught or ‘suspended’ between the two Homelands, on second reading, this line would attest to a speaker located in Israel. ‘Here’ the


\(^{38}\) ‘Positive Translation’ is the practice of adding components to the target text that are absent in the source.
trees do not wear the cape of snow, nor does the speaker feel the shade of the pine forests. Looking at the poem in relief- the details not given about the speaker and her experience- the reader wonders, “what does the speaker hear if not the cuckoo?” “Which type of cape might the tree wear if not snow?” In addition to adverbs like ‘here,’ linguist Tania Notarius notes that in Semitic languages, deixis can be established by emphasizing the speaker’s selfhood through the use of first person verb conjugations and suffixes.\(^{39}\) This ‘egocentrism’ of the speaker is confirmed in the first line after the initial adverbial deixis, ‘I cannot/will not hear the voice…’, (lo ‘eshma’a ‘et kol ha-kookiyah) and this is reflected in Back’s text where the reader can trace the contours of the speaker (and the translator’s) own life in movement.

American Jewish readers are often drawn to Israeli literature in translation by way of heroic plots and nationalist war tales (Mintz 2001, 41), and so this primarily Anglophone readership would have been alienated by more contemplative, non-belligerent works like Goldberg’s “Pine”. Jacobs and Back sought to bring an alternative State-era Hebrew text into English, but the two translators had very different prerogatives. An associate professor at the University of Oxford, Jacobs is the inheritor of an important tradition of studies in Hebrew modernism there, and her translations are integrated into her prestigious academic portfolio. Back on the other hand, is known more for her creative work than for her scholarship, inscribing her personal life more palpably into the target text, and these disparate identities- professor and poet- condition the operational norms of their work. Alan Mintz finds that twenty-first century American and Israeli Jewish sensibilities are separating in, “what seems to be an irreversible tectonic process” (ibid.: 41), and the translators are both working to negate this ‘irreversibility,’

\(^{39}\)”Another way to create deictic time is the egocentric character of the speech, produced by first and second person pronominal elements” (Notarius 2011, 282).
though their efforts are, of course, not confined to Americans. Their work is indicative of literary systems estranged from one another, and in their meeting, two strikingly different translations emerge.

One marked variation lies in the translator’s treatment of the verbs ‘I hear’ (ʾeshmaʿa) and ‘wear’ (yachbosh) where Back engages in several significant ‘positive translations’. The verbal category in the source text is a negated perfect-tense, and while Jacobs is more steadfast in her parallel renderings ‘will not,’ Back is more emphatic (‘cannot’, and then ‘never’). By the third line, in keeping with this forcefulness, Back adds another deictic marker, ‘here’ for good measure, where Jacobs’ -and the source text- does not. This contrast in the two texts, determined by precision and emotional wallop respectively, is evidence for the multifarious nature of target texts. Both versions should be regarded with equal seriousness and influence in the system of ‘Israeli-poetry-in-English’ as they provide their readership access not just to a poet that would be otherwise obscured, but to new original entries in Anglophone literature.

The second stanza begins with ‘chiming of the needles’ (tsiltsul ha-mechatim) which signals to Goldberg’s reader a temporal shift, as the ringing of a bell heralds a new event. But Goldberg’s time break is cleverly reconnected to the poem’s arboreal subject because the chiming objects are (tree) needles. Both English texts state that in the pine’s shade, the speaker’s ‘childhood comes alive,’ and according to the temporal shift, it is logical to believe that when the speaker is not in forests of eastern Europe, her childhood is dead. But Goldberg uses the same ‘perfect’ mode of verbal declension as she does in the previous stanza with the new verb, ‘call’ (ʾekra), creating a continuity before and after the temporal marking of needle-chiming. The form of ʾekra, the prefix-style conjugation, can have a present, future, or past implication depending on what period of Hebrew it was written. So here, the days of cherishing Lithuania’s evergreen
splendor are not so securely located in the speaker’s past. In other words, the wintry ‘capes of snow’ are Goldberg’s home just as much as the Mandate of Palestine is. As to be expected, the English translators render ʾekra according to their own, unique orientation. Jacobs continues where she began with ‘I will call,’ but Back uses the preterite aspect, ‘I called.’ This disjuncture is further evidence that Back’s vision of Goldberg’s relationship to Homeland is more mutually exclusive than Jacobs’. That is, one must choose which land to call Home in Back’s translation, and two places cannot be Home simultaneously. Using the preterite tense, ‘I called,’ also constructs a parallel to the proceeding image about the ‘poem’s language/tongue in a foreign land’- a contiguity that Jacobs opts away from.

Like many languages, Hebrew has one word -lashon- that corresponds to both ‘language’ and ‘tongue.’ The clause hiyah hiyah, artfully rendered by both translators as ‘once upon a time,’ adds a note of nostalgia to Goldberg’s reminiscences about the land of her childhood, and in this before-time, “the poet’s tongue [was] in a foreign land.” This means that the poet’s (Goldberg’s) language was incongruous with the land of her childhood. This observation aligns with Goldberg’s migration to Mandatory Palestine being motivated by the great opportunities in Hebrew literature available there. But Lithuania’s ‘foreignness’ is in relation to Hebrew, not the speaker of the poem in general. When imagining Goldberg writing in a ‘foreign’ Hebrew while living in Europe, it evokes the notion that Goldberg’s earliest work, though composed in Hebrew, could have been a translation of sorts from one source language (Russian) into the target (Hebrew).\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{40} The prospect of Goldberg as an autotranslator is discussed in chapter three, pgs. 66 & 78.
Elaborating on this discussion of language and migration, Gordinsky writes: ““Pine” achieved a special position within the canon of modern Hebrew Poetry because it was a lyrical summation of the immigration experience comprised of physical and cultural transfer- an experience shared with her readers for whom Hebrew was not their first language” (2018, 1). By moving to Palestine, where Hebrew was not foreign, Goldberg no longer felt she had to mitigate her literary production in Hebrew by the façade of a Russian source text; her chosen literary language could finally come to fruition as a source, not the target translation of a ‘foreign tongue.’ This idea of Hebrew’s inherent attenuation on European soil is supported by Back’s rendering of kobel ‘enchains’, and she lets the verb’s meaning spill over to the next line’s image too- that of the poem’s language/tongue. Alternatively, Jacobs chooses the lighter ‘fetters’ as kobel’s correspondent, limiting the verb’s descriptive breadth to the body of water. Without Back’s conjunction ‘and’, Jacobs’ ‘fetters’ is contained by an intervening comma, and is thus separate altogether from the following line about the poem’s ‘language/tongue’. While Back’s ‘enchaíned tongue’ evokes a pained, dislocated language, Jacobs works methodically, choosing a more constrained and subdued approach.

By the final stanza, Back’s speaker clarifies some of the reader’s questions left previously unanswered about agency as the reader passes through two Homelands, “With you I was transplanted twice, with you, pine trees, I grew.” Lehitnatesh means ‘to be planted,’ its verbal category nearly always expressing a passive action, but Back sensitively opts for ‘was transplanted,’ to communicate to the English reader the series of ruptures that Goldberg experienced during her lifetime. In contrast to this nifa‘al (passive) paradigm, the next line uses the kal (simple), form and tsamachti glosses to ‘I sprouted’ or as Back writes, ‘I grew.’ In the source text, ‘etchem (with you ‘common-plural’) is the preposition that precedes these
proclamations, and this plurality adds to the sensation that the speaker is addressing an audience of members from her two Homelands. Of the word ‘shorshay’ in “Oren’s” final line, Jacobs and Back are in accord with, ‘my roots.’ The term, ‘roots’ (shoresh) is related to the poem’s subject of trees, but also speaks to the simultaneously immediate and distant notions of European Jewish identity before its near complete decimation. Jews of the Pale of Settlement before the World Wars had distant ‘roots’ in the Land of Israel based on the biblical and archeological record, with immediate ‘roots’ or cultural legacy in Europe by virtue of the more recent, historical record. The poem was published some twenty years after Goldberg’s ʾaliyah, so in her case, this combination of distance and immediacy is reversed- it is Israel that is nearby, and Europe that is faraway. But even so, her ‘roots’ have a bifurcated starting place, and the way the translators handle the source text’s final word, nofim is indicative of their desperate treatments of Goldberg’s proximity to Israel and Europe respectively.

Jacobs’ ‘landscapes’ more rigorously resembles the source texts’ nofim, but Back’s ‘land’ is similarly plausible, even though it strays far away from the semantic import fundamental to the term.41 In Back’s version, the reader acutely feels the speaker’s experience of being stretched and pulled; the speaker’s physical or deictic position once again becomes crucial to the visceral and emotional tenor of Back’s piece. Jacobs’ ‘landscape’, a more all-encompassing and holistic term, collocates with aesthetics, and as a result, her closing image evokes not an image of painful rupture, but the possibility of the expanded artistic capacities that ‘two different landscapes’ can present. Within Toury’s descriptive framework, Goldberg’s source, and the two target texts ‘function’ differently but are not qualitatively better or worse. With an emphasis on cultural context rather than linguistic fidelity, Goldberg’s English translations serve both aesthetic and

41 The core meaning of the trilateral root nun, vav, fey (nof) is about ‘overlooking’ (Brown et al, 1996, 426).
scholarly purposes and Goldberg’s thematization of translation in her own work can only be understood as such if the reader adopts the lens of Toury’s descriptive approach.

Of the Hebrew language as it relates to Jewish culture in the New Yishuv, Zohar Shavit writes:

[there were] immigrants from numerous cultures, speaking a panoply of languages, to become a united national community with a distinctive and bonding culture. It was the project of Hebraization that created a common language and culture and enabled Jewish society in the Yishuv to become a community of shared values, willing to fight for those values against enemies both internal and abroad—to become, in short, a community ready for the transition from Yishuv to statehood. (2016, 133)

The characteristics of Shavit’s ‘Hebraized State’ will be discussed in the following chapter and its aversion to Goldberg’s translation-based vision for the transitional State Generation. Just as Back and Jacobs negotiate Goldberg’s ‘betweenness’ differently, Goldberg believed that the more translated voices that gained recognition in Hebrew, the more likely the new Jewish State could evade the geopolitical mistakes of the first half of the twentieth century. Lea Goldberg begins by lending the translation-device utility in her early work, and then adds cultural dimensions to her innovation, wielding it as a critical tool to represent an array of social and political agendas.
CHAPTER 2

TRANSLATING THE ‘HEART MADE MUTE’

Several scenarios in Lea Goldberg’s cycle “From Songs of the River” (Me-shirei ha-nachal, 1948) illustrate interference\textsuperscript{42} between literary systems. The cycle personifies inanimate phenomena as translators, showing that translated stories often stray far from their source.

Goldberg’s language probes the dubiousness attendant to translation and creates an elaborate allegory for translation in a praying believer, transmitting a message to God. The second part of this chapter examines translation’s appearance in the poet’s original work that functions as social commentary. Drawing heavily from Toury’s work on pseudotranslation, I read “The Love of Teresa de Meun” (Ahavata shel Tereza di Mon, 1955) as an alternative and transgressive representation of femininity in the State-era, and the cycle is an example of Goldberg’s efforts to inflect the burgeoning Hebrew canon with other literatures from the past and present, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

A. Thematizing Translation in “From Songs of the River”

In “Me-shirei ha-nachal” Goldberg animates several natural phenomena, assuming their voice as a speaker, and presenting their testimony to similarly inanimate addressees. The cycle contains several ‘characters’ each with their own verse- the Stone, the River, the Tree, the Moon, the Girl, and the Blade of Grass. Using the poetic logic of the piece, Goldberg becomes the outlet, the translator of each of these character’s story. As the elements of nature ‘tell’ one another’s tales, Goldberg creates the impression that the verses correspond to translations that are becoming increasingly distant from the source text as the cycle transpires. The poem relies on the

\textsuperscript{42} For Even-Zohar’s definition of ‘interference’ see chapter one pg. 24; of the ‘loans’ attendant to interference, the theorist asserts that they can be either unilateral or bilateral, which means that they may function for one of the literary systems or for both of them (ibid.: 55).
act of animation or ‘singing’ between nature’s interlocutors, and the literary lives of Goldberg’s characters comprise their own polysystems, while the mutual exchange between them demonstrates Even-Zohar’s ‘bilateral interference’. Within the theorist’s schema of culture and literature, systems can be either unilaterally or reciprocally influential upon one another, and situations within Goldberg’s poem-cycle suggest the latter type. I will limit my discussion to the first three verses because they are most pertinent to systems theory, and they also illustrate Toury’s notion of ‘operational norms’. As intimated in my introduction, the power of verbal-aural communication and the multiplicity of interpretation are recurrent in the cycle, and Goldberg, by way of her Verlaine translation (and the subsequent thematization of translation within the world of the poem) becomes a translator in her own right, even in the context of her original work. Verlaine’s *chœur* becomes the Hebrew *makhela* (chorus)- and so Goldberg introduces to her reader the idea of a single text’s multiplicity from before the poem’s body-text even begins.

In Hebrew, ‘poem’ and ‘song’ are expressed by the same word *shir*, and the title “From Songs of the River” suggests that these texts were culled from a larger selection, and that Goldberg only partially translated the River’s oeuvre. The preposition ‘from’ allows for Goldberg’s poem-cycle to be read as synchronic snapshots of a larger phenomenon. Her verses are several momentary impressions of a changing entity- a river- and this incompleteness aligns with the idea that a target text is always only a partial representation of its source. When the reader’s attachment to realism is suspended- when she believes that these could indeed be the testimonies of inanimate objects, Goldberg’s chorus-like vision for Hebrew literature becomes

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43 See chapter one, pg. 18 for a discussion of operational norms.
44 See introduction, pg. 1 for information on the possible historical implications Goldberg’s epigraph.
evident. My reading of the poem-cycle affirms Even-Zohar’s observation that polysystems are not articulated univocally, but have several centers and peripheries (1990, 14), and that this is evidence for Goldberg’s position that national Hebrew literature ought to draw from multifarious and eclectic sources. Rachel Tzvia Back’s English translation of the first three verses is as follows:

From Songs of the River
“*A Chorus of Small Voices*”

*Paul Verlaine*

1. The *River Sings to the Stone*
   I kissed the stone in the chill of her dream,  
   for I am the song and she is the silence,  
   she is the riddle and I the riddler,  
   both of us fashioned from one eternity

   I kissed the stone, her lonely flesh  
   She the vow of devotion and I the betrayer,  
   I am the evanescent and she the existence  
   She creation’s secret, and I- their exposure.

   And I knew I touched a heart made mute:  
   I am the poet and she- the world

2. The *Tree Sings to the River*
   The one who bore my golden autumn,  
   swept away my blood with the falling leaves,  
   the one who sees my spring when it returns  
   each year in the season’s turning.

   my brother the river, lost forever,  
   new each day, and different and one,  
   my brother the current between two shores  
   flowing as I do between spring and fall.

   For I am the bud and I am the fruit,  
   I am my future and I am my past,  
   I am the tree-trunk, barren, alone,  
   and you-my time and my song.

3. The *Moon Sings to the River*
   I am the one on high,  
   I am the many in the deep.  
   My image, my doubled image,  
   from the river looks back at me.

   I am the truth on high,  
   I am the deceit of the deep.  
   My image in the lie of its destiny  
   from the river looks back at me.

   Above- wrapped in silence,  
   In the deep I murmur and sing.  
   I, on high- am God;  
   in the river I am litanies.

In order to approach this text as containing themes of translation, the reader’s attachment to realism must be suspended, and she must acquiescence to Goldberg’s fantastic notion that a river can transcribe a stone’s story. Hebrew’s system of gendering non-human nouns is essential to this process in the opening line. The River’s (*nachal*) grammatical gender is masculine, and the Stone’s (*ʾeven*) is feminine, and so the scene of the lover-river speaking in the first person

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45 See appendix ch. 2 (i) for source citation.
about his stone-beloved is construed. This interaction between acoustic and silent subjects itself resembles translation’s mechanics, because source texts are usually obscure and incomprehensible from the perspective of the reader of translated texts. In the opening stanza, non-auditory signs are rendered (“I am the song and she is the silence”), and this illustrates Even-Zohar’s notion of translation as a means of arbitrating which repertoire will be expressed, “the polysystem constraints turn out to be relevant for the procedures of selection, manipulation, amplification, deletion, etc.” (ibid.: 15). Goldberg does not reveal exactly what the River ‘exposes’ of the Stone’s; the reader is left to imagine what original material or repertoire the Stone may withhold. What is most important is that the Stone remains silent, and thus Goldberg creates a scenario in which an ‘amplification’, and an inevitable ‘manipulation’ of the Stone’s testimony occurs within the world of the poem. When these processes occur, Goldberg makes translation a theme, and this communicates to her reader that such a generative process of adding new voices to the national literature is worthwhile.

A translator enlivens her source text into something distinguishable to her intended audience, and the verse’s final lines reinforce this idea of magnifying, or ‘amplifying’ silence into something altogether comprehensible, “…I knew I touched a heart made mute: I am the poet and she- the world.” Goldberg’s imaginative scenario calls to mind Even-Zohar’s notion of ‘bilateral interference,’ where the orator-River’s translation comes at the cost of ‘touch[ing]’ or impacting the mute-Stone’s ‘world,’ and though the River’s literary system is the one most obviously being affected because he is presenting new repertoires in his language, the Stone’s system is not left undisturbed. The characters in the poem serve as an opportunity to exemplify the process of renewal that comes when setting out to ‘voice’ or translate other literatures. As a source text is inevitably changed or ‘touched’ in its new form, the process requires reassessment
about which texts are vital for, (in Goldberg’s case), an international Hebrew canon. The ‘heart made mute’ is symbolic for the riches of international literature that remains untranslated for the Hebrew readership. Goldberg’s speaker announces that ‘I [the River] am the poet’ which is logical considering that like the vicissitudes of a poet’s expressive powers, a River is in constant ebb and flow. This poet-speaker is translating the ‘world’ of his lover the Stone, who stays still and motionless. The material that the poet has translated represents world literature in Hebrew translation, along with the strength that comes with this reciprocity of experience and the inevitability of change and adaptation.

The verse’s final line reiterates the scenario of a male lover’s overture to a female beloved. In an overture, a creative lover speaks uninterruptedly, and the beloved remains attentively silent, listening. Problematic as this imagery predicated on heteronormative gender roles may be, the River and the Stone’s respective male and female grammatical genders in Hebrew make the situation of voicing the silent feminine muse seem plausible within the dynamic created between the two. Goldberg’s scene of a male verbal poet animating an inaudible female exhibits Even-Zohar’s concept of bilateral interference. It also allows for approaching the River as a translator, and his text to be construed as a translation, allowing for the possibility of translation to be a theme in the subsequent verses of the cycle.

If the River presents the Stone’s stories to the world, in verse two, “The Tree Sings to the River,” the Tree’s oration lends credence to the notion that the Tree’s world is almost identical to the Stone’s, albeit mitigated by the River’s relay translation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A) Stone source text</th>
<th>B) River target text (relay)</th>
<th>C) Tree animation of the River (or indirect translation of (A))</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Figure. 2. Relay Translation in “The Tree Sings to the River”
The Tree’s image of the River (C) differs sharply from what is put forward in the River’s own testimony in Verse One (B). Even-Zohar writes, “the systemic position of particular items in the source is not necessarily of consequence to the target” (ibid.: 71), and Goldberg voices these characters in such a way as to suggest that the interference running between them is not mutually contingent. The Tree speaks in the masculine first person of “his brother” the River, and according to the Tree, the River is actually ‘forever lost’ (ʾoved le-ʿad) which aligns the latter figure more with the Stone’s muteness than with the independence and orality that the previous verse reports. This moment of discord in terms of the River’s characterization from verse to verse is reminiscent of the divergent narratives and testimonies a text in translation can present to a reader. Conducting a descriptive study of the River’s characterizations reveals the multifarious and sometimes contradictory results that emerge when examining several translations side-by-side.

True to the rhetorical form already established in verse one, the Tree switches to confirming the River’s tale when he turns to second person direct speech, ‘and you- my time and my song,’ (ve-ata zmani ve-shiri). Here, the River’s properties as a vocal agent are restored as in the former verse, but the River is described as the text itself, not the author or creator that he was before. This polyphony of reportage is consonant with a source text’s immeasurable capacity for divergent meanings and manifestations in translation. Goldberg, the translator of all her characters, treats each of their accounts with equal seriousness as she renders them legible into Hebrew, since within Goldberg’s poetics, “translated texts and their constitutive elements are observational facts” (Toury 1985, 18), and so the reader must in kind, treat each version with an equal measure of reliability. However, the emphasis on validity and empiricism in Toury’s descriptive approach becomes problematized in the third verse.
Verse three, “The Moon Sings to the River” introduces a new character, the Moon and his accompanying Reflected Image- itself a metaphor for texts in translation. The Moon states that his “image, doubled image from the river looks back” and here, the River and the Moon are not equivalents, nor is this ‘doubled image’ equal to either entity. English’s ‘moon’ has two Hebrew correlates, one male and one female, and Goldberg’s decision to use the masculine-gendered yareach, reinforces the sameness between the speaker (the Moon) and his third-person subject (the River). In the source text, the beginning of the line cited above reads, “dmuti, dmuti ha-cfula.” Here, dmuti (my image) appears twice in a row, and although the adjective cfula (doubled) clearly modifies the second dmuti because of the intervening comma, the successive placement of this word creates a continuity between the Moon and the River as it appears on the page. This point of contact between content and form by the consecutive implementation of dmuti is challenged in the following stanza, presenting issues not only of translation’s multiplicity, but also its dubiousness. Here, dmuti biczav gorala (my image’s deceptive destiny) disrupts dmuti, dmuti’s previous rhythmical symmetry. This ‘deceptiveness’ is indicative of the impossibility of sameness, and the Reflected Image has its own goral or ‘destiny’, quite apart from the fate of the original entity (the Moon). Though a target text is dependent on a source text as a moon’s reflection in a river is upon the moon itself, a translated text will have its own ‘fate’ standing independently from its correspondent source which reiterates Even-Zohar’s statement about the lack of ‘consequence’ that the systemic materials of a source will bear on its target text and vice versa.

In the verse’s final stanza, the Moon extols, ‘I am the only, the sole in the high sky’ (ani ba-maron- ha-el) which provides the components for a metaphorically liturgical dynamic between the Moon, his Reflection, and the River. Goldberg concludes the cycle with, ba-nachal
ani ha-tfilah (in the river I am the prayer). The first term of the metaphor, ba-nachal (in the river), refers to the Moon’s Reflection in the River, not the Moon himself. The line’s second term, tfilah (prayer) is related etymologically to ‘intercessors’ and ‘interventions’ (Brown et. al 1996, 813), so the watery reflection ‘I’, becomes a middle-space as a prayer is located between a supplicating believer and the arbiter of the message’s resulting action. The Moon being located spatially above the River coincides with popular notions of praying upwards to God. But regardless of physical positioning, the comparison that Goldberg makes between the Moon, his Reflection, the River, and a genuflect believer parallels the process of translating a source to a target text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source (A)</th>
<th>Process/Intermediary (B)</th>
<th>Result/Action (C)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Moon</td>
<td>(Moon’s) Reflection in the River</td>
<td>River’s flow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Believer Sending Prayer</td>
<td>Prayer’s Arbiter (God)</td>
<td>Resulting Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Original Author/Text</td>
<td>Translator/Translation</td>
<td>Target Audience/Text</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3. Translation & Prayer Comparison in “The Moon Sings to the River”

Naomi Seidman notes that heightened alterity is at the core of the Jewish tradition of translation, and Goldberg’s induction of theology into the cycle reinforces this special awareness of Jewish otherness during the translation process. In Back’s English translation, she chooses ‘litanies’ for tfilah instead of ‘prayer’, and this confirms the idea of multiplicity repeated throughout the poem and how liturgy, though sealed and canonized, is actually inimitable and distinct during a believer’s time of prayer. On the issue of repentance and prayer, the River’s fallibility and being in need of moral correction, is actually introduced in verse one. Goldberg

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46 “Jewish approaches to translation are, I believe best understood not as purely philosophical or religious stances but rather as an expression of how the translators saw themselves vis-à-vis ‘others’” (2006, 30).
writes, “she [the Stone] is the vow of devotion and I [the River] the betrayer.” This ‘vow of devotion’ (shivʿ at ʾomanim) is not only a pledge of fidelity to God, but also a promise for creativity. ʾOman is connected morphologically to terms related to art and creation, as well as belief and training (both physical and spiritual). Thus, the Stone’s stability is related to God’s powers of creativity and omniscience, while the River is an erring, but devoted believer.

If the River is destitute in his treason and searching for convalescence through prayer, the next line (again from verse one) corroborates this depravity and draws into further relief the Stone’s immutability and the River’s fluctuation. Back translates ʿani ha-cholef ve-he ha-kiyam as, “I am the evanescent, and she the existence.” Cholef (evanescent) has to do with change, movement and instability, and in the most literal sense, a river is cholef because it is moving and multiple, without a discernable center. Kayam (existence) collocates with the Creation Story because it is related to anything that exists, is sustained, or realized by God. Of course, not everything kayam is benevolent; the Stone is also sodot habria (creation’s secrets). Secrets or sodot evokes a nefariousness contradictory to the previous lines, but in the context of bria (creation), these secrets are not sinister, but simply the mysteries that only God knows of. The River concludes with the proposition that he is in fact, gluyam (“their [the secrets’] exposure”).

Returning to verse two, the phrase, “I am the tree-trunk, barren…” evokes questions of transferring heritage over successive generations of inanimate beings. Goldberg’s ʿariri (barren) collocates with Avram’s initial infertility (ʿariri) in Genesis 15:2. The scriptural passage details the patrimony of generations over indefinite periods of time, and likewise, Goldberg’s Tree speaks of temporal fluidity, ‘I am my future, and I am my past’ (ʿani ʿavri ve-ani ʿatidi). The Tree’s impotence aside, his material record will live on in the River, as occasionally a translation outlives a source text whose relevance and readership expires. For Dan Miron, the two most
fundamental aspects to proto-Modernist Hebrew poetry are its metonymic properties for nation and Jewish textual tradition, and its relationship to scripture. Goldberg’s text illustrates Miron’s notion of ‘textual depth and resonances’ with her collocations of biblical genealogy, but where the nusach poets constructed these poetics internally from within the Jewish literary system, Goldberg thematizes translation showing Hebrew’s capacity to acquire new characteristics, external to the Jewish textual corpus.

Verse one, “The River Sings to the Stone” establishes the poet-muse dynamic, alluding to the possibilities of unfaithfulness between a source and its animation. The second verse, “The Tree Sings to the River” continues the idea of translation’s multiplicity and proposes translation’s likeness to kinship traits lost and gained over successive generations. A metaphor for translation used by Walter Benjamin, the theorist introduced the concept of different languages having ‘intentions’ that refer to the ‘same object.’ Verse three, “The Moon Sings to the River” likens the relationship between the Moon, his Reflection and the River to a genuflect believer, God and the resulting action. Both schemas can be thought of as allegorical for author, translator, and target audience, or likewise, source text, translation-process and target text. For Toury, it was imperative to “look at translations without reference to their corresponding source texts or rather, irrespective of the very question of the existence of those texts…looking at them from the viewpoint of their acceptability in their respective ‘home systems’” (1985, 21). The independent ‘fate’ or goral between source and target text in the “From Songs of the River” cycle, evokes Benjamin’s notion of independent ‘intentions’, and is indicative of Toury’s

47 “a [nusach] poem must relay private/personal experience as it also contained national/universalist content, and springs from a literary textual depth and resonance (2010b, 319).”
48 “Rather, all suprahistorical kinship of language rests in the intention underlying each language as a whole- an intention, however which no single language can attain by itself, but which is realized only by the totality of their intentions supplementing each other: pure language” (1923, 74).
insistence on the experience of reading a target text being unrelated to its source. While Goldberg thematizes translation in “Meshirei ha-nachal” without ‘intentions’ other than lending credibility to the act, the following section discusses a poem-cycle that adds a notably social and political orientation to the theme of translation, and likewise suggests the independent ‘fate’ of target texts (with ‘genuine’ and ‘pseudo’ sources alike).

B. Pseudotranslating “The Love of Teresa de Meun”

In this section, I analyze “The Love of Teresa De Meun” (Ahavata shel Tereza di Mon), a cycle of twelve sonnets, from Goldberg’s Lightning in the Morning (Barak ba-voker, 1955). First, I offer some expository remarks about the cycle. Then, I approach the poem using Toury’s conception of pseudotranslation discussed in the previous chapter, granting special attention to the historical context in which “Tereza di Mon” was written. I argue that by inscribing an ahistorical personage into the nascent Hebrew national corpus (the fictional Tereza di Mon), pseudotranslation becomes a means for Goldberg to make her chosen literature more representative of non-belligerent femininities, and more cosmopolitan. More than simply a description of Goldberg’s attempted subterfuge, reading “Tereza di Mon” as a pseudotranslation brings to light several components of European culture Goldberg wanted to bring into her own. Thus, the proposed scenario of pseudotranslating the protagonist’s experience provides a momentary account of Goldberg’s vision of early modern European literature; much in the same way that Papa Hamlet yields information about the German assemblage of Norwegian culture in the late nineteenth century. The poetic voice is a female

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49 I use “Tereza di Mon” as an abbreviation of the Hebrew source text’s title. “Teresa de Meun” refers to Rachel Tzvia Back’s English translation (2005). The former is a direct transcription of the Hebrew, while the latter is a spelling that takes French orthography into consideration.
character-archetype that is extant in the French literary heritage but painfully absent in the Hebrew.

Adriana Jacobs suggests that “Tereza di Mon” “camouflage(s) a personal narrative to assert, create and continue alternative lines of influence and circulation in Hebrew poetry through highly charged intertextuality, much of it mediated through and in translation” (2018, 121). This section addresses these ‘alternative lines of influence and circulation’ by applying Toury’s definition of pseudotranslation to a selection of “Tereza di Mon’s” verses, taking into special consideration the conservative and militant nature of Goldberg’s mid-century readership. Goldberg’s work is especially important because the mid-century was a critical period in the trajectory of Hebrew literature’s self-definition in general, the first decade of the State Generation. In the poem, Goldberg critiques the dominantly militant status quo for women and in doing so, offers her own vision for the new Israeli national literature. These poetics are surprising considering that her readership struggled to disentangle the riches Goldberg brought to Hebrew literature from associations with the epitome of European evil- the Shoah. Her pseudotranslation of di Mon’s testimony addresses the larger question, ‘how should Hebrew literature of the Statehood period be?’ The boundaries of acceptability being more permeable for translated literature, Goldberg’s imaginary source text allowed her to impact her chosen literature with the greatest possible magnitude.

“Tereza di Mon” was published just two years after Goldberg completed Francesco Petrarch, A Collection of Poetry (Francesco Petrarca, machber shirim, 1953)- the only project of single-author translations Goldberg ever accepted. The influence of Goldberg’s Petrarca translation on her original poems from this period is easily noticeable in cycles like “Tereza di Mon,” because aside from its three-sentence prose epigraph, it was composed in Petrarchan
sonnet meter. According to the cycle’s prose epigraph, di Mon was a sixteenth century French noblewoman who fell in love with the Italian tutor of her children. She composed and dedicated forty-one poems to the object of her affection, but when he spurns her love, she burns her writing, and joins a convent. Within this tautly drawn narrative, the reader is lead to believe that the cycle’s quatrains and tercets are the actualization of the lost sonnets- a Hebrew translation of di Mon’s legacy. The cycle’s twelve verses explore the interior life of the titular lover, her unrequited overtures, and her colorful, albeit pained expressions of longing. Since the norms of Hebrew literature were so unsteady during the time of its publication, Goldberg could take risks in her work that other national traditions would not tolerate, and pseudotranslation is just one among many methods she utilized to do so. Rachel Tzvia Back partially translated “Tereza di Mon” into English in the 2005 volume Leah Goldberg Selected Poetry and Drama.

Below, the epigraph and Verse Twelve are her English translations, and Verse Five is my own.

from The Love of Teresa De Meun
Teresa de Meun was a late 16th century French noblewoman. When she was about 40 years of age, she fell in love with a young Italian tutor of her children, and wrote 41 sonnets to him. When the young Italian left her house, she burned the poems and entered a nunnery. Only the memory of her poems remains - a legend told by generations to come.

V
Maybe you are not so beautiful, a second inquisitive look, indifferent and sober, the charm of your majesty is deciphered, which signs are parsed to shame.

Perhaps a stern pettiness will come over you a waste of nature’s wayward hand that your age is adorned by the innocence of a child growing forever more beautiful.

So too if I were to compare you to the bluish radiance, shivering gently in the heart of the flame? In my eyes, you are more beautiful than any parable.

XII
What will remain? Words, words like the ash of this fire which consumes my heart of my shame, of all my meager bliss-only letters sealed in a book

Once the wave vanishes, who will believe in its mighty force which does not return-even if on the sand’s pale surface one can still see a sign of its touch, feeble and feathery.

My love cast ashore its corals and fishermen who happened along collected them and carried them far away-

50 See appendix ch.2 (i) for the source text of the epigraph and verses one, five and twelve.
If I were to compare you to the pine, it would be futile, as only the hand of the lovely wind knows how soft the young branch is above.

a bored stranger now touches them, and in a harried and fleeting world Time will toy with them like a small boy.

Toury defines pseudotranslation as, “texts which have been presented as translations with no corresponding source texts in other languages ever having existed- hence no factual ‘transfer operations’ and translation relationships” (2012, 45). In the case of “Tereza di Mon,” some of Goldberg’s readers may have interpreted the text’s epigraph at face value, believing in the historicity of the fabricated heroine. Considering that Goldberg was in fact a translator of medieval and early-modern European literature, it is logical that the public might have come to such a conclusion. What would be most significant about “Tereza di Mon” for Toury however, is that the text ‘presents itself’ as a translation, rather than as a source text. “Tereza di Mon”’s ‘presentation’ as such is meta-textual; Goldberg never attested in any expository writing to have translated the sonnets of an historical Tereza di Mon- the epigraph is symbolic. Pseudotranslation within the poem is metaphorical, and with this in mind, Goldberg becomes the perceived translator of an imaginary Latin or French source text. Similarly, within the world of the poem, the story of burning or erasing the record of a collection of texts in the epigraph becomes a foil for the possibly negative repercussions the historical di Mon could have faced by putting forward such a narrative without a pseudo-source.

In terms of the poem’s critical reception, the mid-1950s in Israel was a period concerned more with the country’s survival and the exertion of national identity than with cultivating the literary treasures of a non-Jewish past. The new Israeli Jewish man was a metonymy for the trans-historical Jewish experience, and a ‘national symbolic drama par excellence’ (Miron 2010b, 320), so women’s narratives were often relegated to the periphery of the new national
system, if they were expressed at all. In this period of strictly prescribed norms of cultural production, engagement with canonical European literature aroused suspicion about fraternizing with the instigators of the *Shoah*, and overt expressions of sexuality are hardly discernable in media from this time because they did not add to the Zionist project (Ben-Ari 1999, 131). Yael Feldman notes that after 1948, the image of female soldiers was projected profusely to international, Anglophone audiences (1999, 8), and this image diverges markedly from Goldberg’s di Mon. Instead of women brandishing firearms, di Mon wields a pen, “attesting to [Goldberg’s] desire to lend a voice to the lost women of the past” (Zierler 2004, 121). Encoded in Goldberg’s transcription of di Mon’s experience is a message that recalls the theme of Petrarch’s *Rime Sparse*- that earthly love is impossible and that after death, all love (and poetry) can flourish. This is contrary to the spirit of the time which emphasized physical survival and military assertion.

In “Tereza di Mon,” the sonnets pose as di Mon’s own, impelling the reader to consider the feasibility of granting a voice to an invented member of Goldberg’s real European literary heritage. Since non-indigenous texts pose less of a threat for criticism and censorship, Goldberg’s di Mon could be effervescent and irrational, which was a contrary representation to the idealized woman of the State-generation: steadfast and militant. The cycle’s verses present as a ‘memory of legends for generations to come’, and this openness to preserving the cultural legacy of the past is directly at odds with the historical moment in which it was produced. Published at the peak of Goldberg’s career as a translator of international classics, the pseudotranslation of “Tereza di Mon” was, like Goldberg’s efforts, an act of dialogue with disparate voices and traditions. In accordance with Goldberg’s alternative vision for women in the Statehood-period, “Tereza di Mon” exhibits a variety of literary influences- an idea Goldberg
hoped would be taken up by her peers in this crucial stage of the Jewish State’s first decade of self-definition.

Verse twelve opens with an allusion to the destruction of di Mon’s poems in the epigraph, “What will remain? Words, words like the ash of this fire which consumes my heart.” Here, di Mon’s romantic impulses are on full display, as logos forms the insignificant biproduct ‘ash’ of the more enduring eros- the ‘fire’ of a love-struck heart. By the cycle’s second stanza, Goldberg turns to an ocean scene, which Back translates:

Once the wave vanishes, who will believe in its mighty force which does not return- even if on the sand’s pale surface one can still see a sign of its touch, feeble and feathery.

This line is a metaphor for the good faith that the reader of a translated text must have in the validity of a target text’s relationship to its source. Though an ocean-observer cannot see the crest of a wave after it has broken on the shore, the wet sand bears witness to its memory just as a translation bears resemblance (though not equivalence to) a source text. In this stanza, the wave’s breaking along the shore and its wet imprints on the sand represent the vestiges of form and content that a source text imparts on a translation. Back renders b’etsmato ‘asher ‘eina chozeret as “its mighty force which does not return” but ‘etsmato is also the referential pronoun ‘etsem (itself). If this second meaning were substituted, it would read “in itself [the wave] does not return” (‘eina chozeret). With this reading, the line’s subject, the wave, is never replicated exactly as it once was, but its mark can be discerned on the sand’s surface. This ‘sign of its touch, feeble and feathery’ corresponds with Toury’s view that translations often take a non-menacing, and enervated position within a polysystem (see chapter 1 pg. 21). However, positing that wet sand perennially bears testimony to the ‘sign of [the wave’s] touch’ verifies the
inescapable connection between target and source texts, affirming the viability and efficacy of translation as a process.

The cycle closes with the discovery of a conch shell by new, strange interlocutors unaware of the shell’s before-life. The fishermen do not plan their catch; rather, they ‘happen along’ (*nizdamen*) unknowingly. In this final stanza, Goldberg’s “my love” does not denote the Italian, but rather ‘love’ the concept, or abstract noun. This establishes the conditions for the coral standing for di Mon’s oeuvre that is ‘between changing’ (*ben-cholef*). The shell finds its way to a stranger who has not the faintest idea about its life in the sea, sordid and fraught, nor of its time in the fisherman’s nets. The innocence that imbues this final image is indicative of Goldberg’s pseudotranslated scenario holistically. Rather than exercising the rigorous fidelity that accompanies ‘genuine’ translation, Goldberg does away with the historical source text and uses pseudotranslation as a critical device. The scenario of the coral presents the possibility that source texts are arbitrary and every new readership might have the opportunity to engage with texts irrespective of their reception in the past, just as a boy might regard a shell that (unbeknownst to him) has circumambulated the globe before being washed upon his beach.

Unlike the widely proliferated image of bellicose women in Israel, “Tereza di Mon” has scarcely been translated or transmitted in any form to an audience outside of Israel. Verse nine has emerged as the most iconic of the cycle due in large part to its being set to music by the popular Hebrew singer Ilanit. But again, despite the relative notoriety or ‘centrality’ that this cycle has enjoyed in Israel, few non-Hebrew readers have had exposure to it. Not restricted to themes of nation-building or militarization, Goldberg portrays a female experience in a markedly

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52 Jacobs writes of this metaphor, “…these poems [di Mon’s] are not irrevocably lost. Instead, they are recast into a space from which “later generations” can revive, that is translate, Teresa’s poetry, which is to say, Goldberg’s poetry” (2018, 134).
non-modern, European (non-Jewish) context. This international setting and history resisted the pervasive trend in Hebrew literature of the Statehood Period because it drew inspiration from beyond, or outside of the Jewish tradition, rather than from within it. Pseudotranslating di Mon’s lost sonnets attests to Goldberg’s belief that such stories of the past have a place in Hebrew culture, even though her readership was more concerned with topics that looked to the future for inspiration, the future of Israel and not Europe at that.

Since Toury’s initial definition of the term, scholars such as Emily Apter and Duncan Large have enlarged the scholarly conversation on pseudotranslation. The former’s contribution has expanded the term into discussions of plagiarism and intellectual-property law, while the latter is concerned with pseudotranslation’s capacity to reconstitute or salvage the past. Of this reassembled temporality, Large writes:

Translations always ‘come after’ their originals: they salvage the message from a medium which is (or threatens to become) outdated; they freshen it up and give it new life. Ultimately, the fate from which all translations rescue texts is obscurity, the potential oblivion of neglectful indifference (2018, 13).

Large’s rescue-narrative, bringing texts out of ‘obscurity’, speaks simultaneously to the salvage of a cosmopolitan European literary heritage, and to Harshav’s model of pre-War Jewish multilingualism. After the Holocaust, both models were rapidly becoming a part of Goldberg’s past, and translation serves as a way to engage with both of these variegated, but related, historical phenomena.

Several years after “Tereza di Mon’s” publication, Goldberg translated the medieval French chantefable Aucassain and Nicolette (Aucassain et Nocolette, 1962). In her translator’s preface, Goldberg calls the text a shir-sipur or poetic-prose, and this inter-lingual translation project attests unequivocally to Goldberg’s belief that the past, albeit not a Jewish one, is

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53 See chapter one, pg. 21 for a discussion of Harshav’s model of pre-War Jewish multilingualism.
important to consider in the new national literature. Using Large’s term, Goldberg ‘salvages’ this medieval romance by bringing it into a modern Hebrew, not an archaic form. This latter approach was an operational strategy that some of her contemporaries opted for when rendering non-modern texts, but Goldberg chose a language for the chantefable that was suitable to her contemporary moment. Like di Mon, Nicolette is resourceful and cunning, though not militant. Large continues, “Pseudotranslation thus covers for the original and substitutes for it (surreptitiously occluding the fact that no original actually exists)” (ibid.: 7). Whether or not Goldberg imagined that her epigraph was believed in earnest by her readership is less important than her effort to ‘salvage’ obsolete literary topography such as Aucassain et Nocolette. Pseudotranslating the lost sonnets in “Tereza di Mon” is a stunt in subterfuge that allowed the poet to represent the experience of European female creativity from within Israeli literature, despite that system’s aversion to such cosmopolitan, historical narratives of individualism, intellect and passion. The body-text further thematizes the transmission of texts over time, creating an urgent message to her readers that a complete Hebrew literary system requires a broad palate of narratives, even if those stories come from times and places that the cultural center was trying to forget.

Popular literary historiographies of the Jewish State’s first decade tend to either romanticize the austere conditions in which texts were produced or identify a latent belligerence within the very fabric of Israeli society, evinced unmistakably by the Six Day War (1967). “Tereza di Mon” undermines both the historically-deterministic as well as the teleologically derived narrative, as Goldberg’s protagonist does not represent Zionist labor, nor is she an icon

54 Sha’ul Tchernichovsky famously utilized a medieval stratum of Hebrew to approach the Greek and Latin Classics. Considering that Hebrew in late Antiquity is most associated with the Iberian and Mediterranean world in general, Tchernichovsky’s ahistorical approach was non-indigenous to both the source and target texts in such productions.
for martial aggression. The cycle’s syntax is ornate, and its lexicon is varied - a true celebration of the high European literary tradition. But despite the cycle’s rich intertexts and tremendous contribution to the literary corpus, using direct interference, or presenting “Tereza di Mon” as an original work in the conventional sense, without an epigraph, would have been in Even-Zohar’s words, a ‘threat to national integrity.’ Even-Zohar writes, “interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself” (2012, 69), and “Tereza di Mon” was Goldberg’s covert solution to this insufficiency. If “Tereza di Mon” ‘salvages’ an increasingly obscure European literary tradition, pseudotranslation under Toury’s definition allowed Goldberg to perform this act with the least likelihood for censure. She had used translation as a theme some ten years prior in “Me-shirei ha-nachal,” but Goldberg used this thematization technique in the Statehood Era to critique the status quo of national Hebrew literature with the poem-cycle, “Tereza di Mon.” In the following chapter, I discuss how Goldberg thematized translation and multilingualism in her prose, exploring her experience of maintaining two simultaneous Homelands.

55 “Sometimes highly nationalistic societies reject an interference, because it is felt to be a threat to national integrity” (Even-Zohar 2012, 64).
CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE NORMS AND TRANSFORMATIONS

Multilingualism as it is governed by norms is crucial for reading And This is the Light (Ve-hu ha-or, 1946). Hebrew occupies the highest position of prestige within the narrative’s many languages, and Goldberg provokes scenarios of translation within the text- especially during dialogues- creating complicity between the author and the reader, and ultimately expanding Hebrew’s descriptive capacity for contemporary life. From rewordings across language registers and class distinctions, to orating for the illiterate, translation is a highly visible theme in Ve-hu ha-or. For Nora, the novel’s protagonist, moving between several European settings affords her the opportunity to translate herself to others, and to interpret the people she meets in accordance with her shifting landscape. Nora’s perpetual locomotion lends itself to successive translation scenarios and her character grows and develops because of them. This chapter begins by discussing general features of the novel and its social and historical context. Then, I examine the language norms within the text, and Hebrew’s position of high-status vis-à-vis other languages in Nora and Goldberg’s worlds respectively. The third and fourth sections engage with the work of contemporary translation theorists, Carol Maier and Moira Inghilleri. Here, I continue my discussion of Goldberg’s migrant identity introduced in chapter one (part three), and the connection between the awareness of several homelands and translation’s appearance in the author’s original works. Translation’s thematization in Goldberg’s work mirrors this openness to many cultural lineages simultaneously. By implementing multilingualism and translation in the novel, she is opting away from a monolithic, singular conception of modern Hebrew literature in the State Generation, and towards a more eclectic and multifarious one.
A. Division and Authenticity in Interwar Lithuania: Nora’s World

*And This is the Light (Ve-hu ha-or)*\(^{56}\) chronicles Nora Krieger’s visit home from university in Berlin during the summer of 1931, and the emotional tumult of unrequited love and family dysfunction that ensues. The object of Nora’s affection is Albert Arin, a widower some thirty years her senior, himself a friend of Nora’s ailing father Yakov Krieger. Both men are traumatized from the horrors of the First World War, and separation from their families has been prescribed to them as a means for convalescence.\(^{57}\) The Kriegers are members of the Jewish bourgeoisie and Nora develops a class-consciousness over the summer as she befriends Tekla, the family’s maid of Russian peasantry stock. The story concludes with Arin abandoning the Krieger women at an opera house, and Nora returning to university after a partial reconciliation with her absent father. The text uses a ‘close third-person’ narration style; Goldberg calls Nora by name, but in the passages that explore Nora’s interior life, the narrator’s point of view is aligned with the protagonist’s, creating a closely-knit likeness between these entities and the author herself.

In the world of the text, the term ‘Jewish’ does not overlap with titles of European national identity. For instance, during Nora’s nightmare when she first arrives home, a “Russian beggar woman,” *qavtsanit russiah*, is found among the logs of the woodpile (*Vhho*, 24/ATIL, 15). Despite Nora’s desperate efforts, the woman is added to the hearth and Nora exclaims, “Don’t light it, don’t light it…she [the Russian] begs for Jesus the Savior” (*ATIL*, 15). This image of human immolation must be considered in relation to the chronological and cultural proximity of the text’s publication (1946) and the gas-chambers of Auschwitz and Treblinka. But to

\(^{56}\) Throughout this chapter, the Hebrew text, *Ve-hu ha-or* is abbreviated as “*Vhho*” for citations. Barbara Harshav’s English translation, *And This is the Light*, is abbreviated as “*ATIL*.”

momentarily evaluate the citation apart away from its historical context, it is noteworthy that the European national appellation that Goldberg uses, *russiah*, is mutually exclusive with Jewishness. When Goldberg writes *russiyah* (Russian woman), *russiyah* signifies a Russian citizen that is specifically not Jewish. This formulation is lent further credence when the *russiyah* makes a plea to ‘Jesus the Savior’, confirming her Christian, and therefore non-Jewish *Russian* identity.

The passage above highlights the great importance of national and religious affiliation for eastern Europeans in the 1930s and 1940s, and the question of Jewish recovery after the *Shoah* is very much at the heart of Goldberg’s writing and publication of *Ve-hu ha-or*. The Final Solution obliterated the chances of Hebrew literary production in Europe, and so, as is mentioned in chapter one, the mid-1940s were a low-point for Hebrew literature internationally. Anxieties about the future of European Jewry abound in the text, and Nora’s personal and professional uncertainty reflects this apprehension. As if in response to these questions, Goldberg offers a text that reifies and modernizes the language, increasing Hebrew’s chances of survival. For Robert Alter, the language of a novel in the ‘revival-era’ had to be immersive, containing the ‘illusion of reality,’ (1988, 44) and Goldberg succeeds in making a consuming and contemporary diegesis, replete with steam trains and influenza, current fashion trends, and relevant technological developments- all important and realistic features of life in 1940s Palestine and abroad. Nora seeks Jewish authenticity as she orbits between Jewish and non-Jewish spaces, but Goldberg’s prose contains recurrent (non-Jewish) European cultural reference points with which her characters eagerly engage- notably *The Barber of Seville*, Jane Austen novels, and the symphonies of Tchaikovsky and Brahms spinning constantly on the gramophone.
Even Nora’s recollections of her childhood games in the forests of pre-WWI Prussia reveal an inadequate repository for Jewish cultural memory— one that must be augmented by a myriad of other cultural referents: “How here we walked, a big gang of “Indians,” armed with bows and arrows (ATIL, 11).” Though these ‘bows’ (keshet) and ‘arrows’ (chetsim) have a precedent in the Jewish textual lineage, the game itself has a distinctly American character. Indeed, what could possibly be authentically ‘Jewish’ for a secular girl who, sequestered in the hinterlands, is systemically excluded from European national culture? Nora muses, “and the eternal danger that always lay in wait for me in those [childhood] days, the flu was also “traditional.” I can get over a sore throat in one night” (Vhho, 19/ATIL, 11). Here, Nora finds nothing to be ‘traditionally’ (masorti) or authentically ‘Jewish’ in her girlhood except for getting a sore throat. As if to ward her reader away from the hackneyed archetype of the sickly Jew in the Diaspora, Goldberg adds that Nora could recover in just one night– a testament to the strength and resilience of her body. Nora’s complex characterization resists stereotypical representations of diasporic Jews, as her curiosity roams hungrily over both European and Jewish cultural productions, and this flexibility is indicative of Goldberg’s own viewpoints on the merits of eclecticism. In interwar Europe, by virtue of her Jewishness, Goldberg could never be considered a Russian or a German in the full sense of the word. But despite this hostility, Goldberg used translation to infuse into Hebrew, the treasures of the very national literatures that excluded her. This bitter irony surfaces often for Nora often in the text, and the next section examines Goldberg’s exploration of norms of language-use in the Tourian sense, and the privileging of Hebrew, all while encouraging engagement with non-Jewish languages and cultures.

**B. ‘A Human Language’: Multilingualism, Dialogue & the Primacy of Hebrew**
Many non-Jewish languages were spoken in the Yishuv during the interwar period, but during Hebrew’s ‘revival’ there, other Jewish languages- namely Ladino and Yiddish- vied for prominence in Jewish spaces. One arena that exhibited a tendency for monolingualism in the Yishuv was education (Novershtern 2010, 23), but leisure and travel were areas that were highly marked by multilingual competition. Liora Halperin calls the “leisure-time space of the Yishuv…the most evident and widely publicized realm over Hebrew hegemony” (2015, 20). Reading literature is of course, connected to this domain of ‘leisure-time’ language-use, but if Goldberg’s decision to write in Hebrew is a public expression of ‘hegemony’, it created an opportunity to voice other languages as well. This section deals with language used in private and recreation-spaces as it is presented in Ve-hu ha-or, a language “in which immigrants tended to use more familiar spoken tongues” (ibid.: 20). Though Nora’s setting is eastern Europe, the text Ve-hu ha-or emerged from the historical context that Halperin describes, and is relevant to migration within Europe, and to new immigrants in Mandatory Palestine. When Nora and Albert Arin first meet, Nora’s schoolmates goad the protagonist about the whereabouts of her mysterious inquirer, and their tone quickly becomes patronizing. These friends, Giltman and Globus, make a smattering of Anglophone referents transcribed into the Hebrew alphabet for comedic effect, and the English accentuates the gaudiness of Arin’s reported overtures. Goldberg transcribes או יייס (oh yes!) and מיסוס קריגר! (Missus Kreiger!) (Vhho, 39) to represent Nora’s peers’ taunting speech, and this communicates to the reader that the characters actually spoke those words in English. Other European vernaculars were much more widespread than English in the Yishuv, but the following discussion of transcription will be limited to English phrases.

Using Even-Zohar’s definition elaborated in chapter one, Ve-hu ha-or is located within the ‘structural whole’ of the Hebrew polysystem, and these childish exclamations are examples
of the overlap between a ‘concurrently different option’- the English literary system- in contact with the Hebrew. Goldberg even implements a hybrid phrase of Hebrew and English transcription, לא מי ליידי loh my lady (no, my lady) in which vernacular Hebrew and gentile English meet in a single utterance (ibid.: 39). Spoken Hebrew of the 1940s certainly had indigenous materials for the scenario of mockery described above, but what it lacked was the subtle collocations in tone that Goldberg sought for this passage. Given her familiarity with European languages, she simply made use of unilateral ‘interference’, where English literature, as Even-Zohar suggests, ‘became a direct source for another,’ allotting a measure of absurdity to the already comedic scene. Goldberg’s readers are alerted to the foreignness of these words because of their orthography, as the Hebrew alphabet has two pairs of homophonous letters sin/samech and taf/tet. The latter options (samach ס and tet ט) are used when transcribing non-indigenous lexical entries. Surrounded by helpful punctuation, the reader is likely to comprehend transliterations like these, and due to the rules of samech and tet, Goldberg could hint to her reader that she was creating ‘interference’, or grafting speech from one textual-cultural system to another. Drawing from other languages to inflect her character’s speech is indicative of a Hebrew language bereft of vernacular experience. But more importantly, the act requires the reader to consider other languages when engaging with the text so that literacy in Hebrew becomes synonymous with literacy in several languages.

From this scene onward, Ve-hu ha-or becomes increasingly multilingual. As the reader learns of Arin’s journeys around the world, Goldberg selects phrases from Yiddish, Spanish and Italian to suggest the great contrast between the older, well-traveled man, and the younger, provincial protagonist. Though not an act of translation per say, Goldberg’s usage of disparate languages and alphabets on a single page can be understood as an example of Toury’s
conception of ‘preliminary norms’ regarding the availability of languages and texts within a literary system. As Nora recollects the letters she received from Arin as a girl about his exaggerated travels, Goldberg cites lines without hesitation or paratext, from three songs in Yiddish, Italian and Spanish respectively. The text reads as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yiddish</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>עס איי אבאל געווען פארלבילט אין שפאני</td>
<td>ובלשון רה</td>
<td>Siempre vago il mondo</td>
<td>Siempre vago adelante</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goldberg’s abrupt multilingual intervention presumes that her readership will have literacy in several languages, and the choice to open with a line of a Yiddish folksong is governed by the ‘preliminary norm’ that Hebrew readers will be able to decode this phrase (by way of Yiddish and Hebrew’s shared alphabet), if not fully comprehend its semantic import of nostalgia and familial comfort. Most likely, Goldberg’s audience had less comprehension over the Spanish and Italian interjections, as these languages were not well represented among Hebrew readers in the Yishuv or abroad. However, the norms that govern Hebrew’s relationship to Yiddish, Spanish and Italian respectively communicate Nora’s great awe about the exotic possibilities of travel. Simultaneously, the text presents a separation between her and Arin by way of the Spanish and Italian, with the concurrently shared, Ashkenazi Jewish cultural reservoir that draws them together (Yiddish). Precisely in this moment of marveling at the great rewards

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58 In fig (4), the bolded text is Yiddish, and the italicized text is Hebrew (bolding and italics not found in the original) (Vhho, 44).
that travel can provide, the non-Hebrew quotations are left unadorned and unexplained by the author. In this confluence of form and content, Goldberg invites the reader to regard the potential of cosmopolitanism, and the constraints of provincialism by wielding the norms that govern Hebrew’s position toward other languages. Goldberg leaves the specifics of Arin’s wandering unsaid, but Nora’s fascination with the mystery of his itineracy is an enduring feature of her imagination.

Though Goldberg emphasizes a receptivity to many languages, Hebrew is often regarded in the text as the center around which the other languages orbit. Nora’s friends Giltman and Globus, mention Arin’s speaking multilingually, in “seven tongues,” which anticipates the entire scene. Giltman states, “we said you weren’t on this planet at all” \(\text{(ATIL, 34)}\) interrogating the very axioms of Nora’s ontology, and making a gesture to the Origin Story in doing so. Nora retorts, “\text{tdabru atem ba-lashon bnei adam,}” or, “speak to me in a human tongue”- by which Nora means Hebrew \(\text{\text{(Vhho, 39/ATIL, 34). When Adam first speaks in the Garden of Eden (Genesis 2:23), it is in Hebrew or lashon bnei adam (lit. ‘the language of the children of Adam’). Nora’s intertextual reply evinces Hebrew’s primacy in the text vis-à-vis other languages, a position that runs parallel to Goldberg’s receptive posture to multilingualism. Hebrew occupies the highest rank of the multiple, concurrent languages in the Ve-hu ha-or, and its special status is referenced explicitly several times over the ensuing chapters.}}\

One such instance is when Nora, Giltman, and Globus joke about a Jewish professor who speaks Hebrew “on principle”, and the egregious mistakes he makes in his speech \(\text{(ATIL, 155). In another episode, Nora speaks longingly about her chosen vocation (archeologist of the Near East) and she dreams of “leafing through a book with square letters,” sefer she’otiotav meruba’ot. Imagining herself in the school library, the passage soon acquires religious valences, }\)
choose a language as you choose a ring. That right to choose a language like a wedding ring and make a blessing over it, ‘I thee wed’” (Vhho, 205/ibid.: 168). Both the professor’s errors, and Nora’s whimsical marriage to Hebrew call to mind the rarity, marginality and performance of Hebrew in Nora’s life. In And This is the Light, Barbara Harshav aptly translates the final, hari at mequdeshet from the quotation above as, ‘I thee wed;’ this phrase is uttered by the bridegroom to his bride under the canopy of a traditional Jewish wedding and the ring serves as a metaphor for Goldberg’s relationship to the Hebrew language. Since women are silent in this bridal ceremony, Goldberg positions ‘language’ lashon as the ring, taba’at (both of which are grammatically feminine), and this subject is described by ‘sacredness’.59 Here, Goldberg is drawing a corollary between the holy selection of Hebrew among all the languages of the world, to matrimony, and this ‘right to choose’ stands for Goldberg’s own relationship to her chosen language of literature. Goldberg’s Hebrew texts emerged in accordance with, not in opposition to the appreciation of other literatures. For Goldberg, Hebrew’s ‘sacredness’ was not contingent on preserving, or perpetuating its own, Jewish tradition. Like a groom performing the ritual of ring-choosing, Goldberg privileges Hebrew’s status, or in Toury’s words, ‘social relevance’ (2012, 55); but she also wanted to preserve and expand the tradition of literary production in general in so doing—just as newlyweds selecting one another in matrimony also affirm the tradition of marriage more generally.

In an effort to categorize and archive the great works of modern Hebrew literature, the scholar Gershon Shaked described Hebrew prose authors along the mutually exclusive variables of ‘Jewish’ and ‘European,’ and one of his primary criteria for distinction was the writer’s

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59 (Vhho, 205)
chosen language of dialogue (Schachter 2012, 138). For Shaked, Goldberg must be considered a European author because the languages that her characters speak are not Jewish. As mentioned in chapter one, modern Hebrew literature and the burgeoning Hebrew vernacular in Palestine were intimately related, and one domain across Hebrew literary genres to assess this relation is in dialogic episodes. It is well documented that even as late as the 1940s, Jews of the Yishuv spoke a variety of languages in public, even if Harshav’s “frame of life” theory is in fact true. Like many works of fiction with multi-lingual characters, the language of dialogue in Ve-hu ha-or is not clearly designated. There is almost no historical likelihood that Hebrew would have been spoken in the homes of middle-class Jews in interwar Lithuania, and Chana Kronfeld might call Ve-hu ha-or’s excursive passages a rare example of pre-WWII ‘ivrit beynonit’, middle Hebrew, the kind imperative for building a corpus of modernist Hebrew prose (1996, 91). Shaked is correct that the dialogic sections transpire in a register atypical of regular conversation, and Goldberg’s groundbreaking efforts help correct this notion of the ‘defective polysystem’.

Although Nora’s Hebrew vernacular would undoubtedly be considered stilted by today’s terms, Goldberg’s dialogues present implicit opportunities for the reader to decide for herself about the matter of what language the speech would have taken place. These moments of ambiguity present an alternative to the more transparent moments for engagement with non-Jewish languages in the discussion above. In an autobiographical text, the reader knows that the author speaks a certain set of languages because the text itself is written in a defined set of categorical languages. Accordingly, she will intuitively project a continuity between the text’s

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60 Of this distinction, Schachter writes, “Shaked imagines that [Goldberg] dreamed up some novels in Russian or German and in some sense “translated them” into Hebrew” (2012, 139).
62 For information on the “frame of life theory,” and the “defective polysystem,” see chapter one pgs. 2 & 13 respectively.
language, and the languages in which the narrator, author and even the characters speak. The scholar Alison Schachter believes several portions of Ve-hu ha-or’s dialogue to have taken place in Yiddish, and that the astute reader should simply discern the categorical language of each speech-act on a case-by-case basis, anticipating the language based on sentence structure and diegetic clues (2012, 130). For example, in the novel’s opening train scene, Schachter notes that the syntax is more Slavic, and the lexicon is more parochial. This, compounded with the information that Nora’s interlocutor is provincial and Jewish, makes a strong case for Yiddish. Goldberg knew Russian, German, and Hebrew by the time she was twenty (Nora’s age), but by the time she was writing the text, she had studied a host of other languages. Schacter introduces the idea of dialogue as an important site to observe Goldberg’s linguistic diversity in the text, but she limits her discussion to the train scene, and does not examine the ramifications of multilingualism and translation more holistically as operative devices therein.

In another moment of dialogue, Nora inadvertently encounters a clandestine affair between Tekla (the maid) and the postman. Eager to atone for her behavior, Tekla stammers,

“I young lady, I really…it’s he who was cheeky…and I…”

“Those are your private affairs, Tekla” said Nora considerately and seriously, wanting to hide her embarrassment behind emphatic maturity. Tekla apparently didn’t grasp the meaning of the words, but their tone calmed her (ATIL, 137).

In this scene of covert allegiance, Goldberg acts as a translator for what would be a Russian dialogue, considering the historical circumstances that stand outside of the world of the text.

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64 For a discussion on Goldberg’s proficiency in English and other European languages see Weiss, Yfaat. 2009. “A Small Town in Germany: Leah Goldberg and German Orientalism in 1932.” The Jewish Quarterly Review no. 2, p. 200.
65 "אניصلا...אני באמה...אניعلا...אניعلا...אניعلا...אניعلا...אניعلا...אני...</div>
Thus, translation becomes thematized in Goldberg’s original Hebrew, stilted as it maybe. This speech is one of ‘inyanech pratiyim (private affairs) and bagrut mudgeshet (lit. accentuated precocity), and as if to comment on the strange idiom of their conversation, Goldberg adds that Tekla did not grasp the full meaning of Nora’s words. Within the world of the text, every interaction between Nora and the maid is ‘translated’ by Goldberg from Russian into Hebrew for the reader, and this is a proactive mode of reading that the reader must take. Though the cited speech is language that scarcely resembles today’s vernacular Hebrew, the unnatural register marks the section of dialogue as a translation from the Russian. Here, ‘translated’ dialogue is implemented to describe the drama of domestic infidelity, and a budding friendship across the barriers of age, nationality and class. Despite its growing pains, Goldberg’s work in these uncharted areas of language-use generated new areas of modern life that Hebrew could now describe. Without texts such as these, Hebrew would have been ill-equipped to describe the pressing issues of Goldberg’s contemporary moment.

What the reader would expect to be a strained relationship between the Jewish protagonist, and the Russian maid is abetted by Nora’s rewordings during these scenes of communication. In addition to the distinct language profiles that two women like the characters in the novel would have had, they must use cultural translation to account for moments of extra-linguistic incomprehension. In recent years, Translation Studies scholars have moved beyond literature as a medium to pursue the subject of their inquiry, expanding the field to non-written forms of communication. Moira Inghilleri draws from literary, as well as visual and expository sources in her book Translation And Migration (2017), distinguishing between translation that is ‘cultural’ and ‘social’.
‘cultural’ translation as migrants translate themselves into the local terrain…and translation in a ‘social’ sense, the frequent acts of translation embedded in ongoing systems of social relations performed by all members of society as they go about their daily lives, moving, perceiving, and attempting to understand the diversity of the social and physical environments of which they are a part (2017, 34).

These final attributes of, moving, perceiving, and attempting to understand the diversity of their environments appropriately describes the experience of the ʿolim chadashim (new immigrants) in the New Yishuv. The society hosting the ʿolim was itself in flux, and Goldberg’s poetry, translations and prose are revealing testaments to these ‘perceptions’ and ‘understandings.’ In the Tel Aviv of the 1930s and 1940s, the migrants were themselves the architects of the host country’s relevance of societal activities or norms, so translating themselves into the ‘local terrain’ meant both a forfeit of past identities, and a collective invention of the present. British Palestine was contingent upon an arcane world-order based on an empire that was soon to be changed indelibly by the outbreak of the Second World War; this meant that identity markers were constantly being re-defined locally due to the vicissitudes of Imperial policy in the Mandate. By the end of Goldberg’s first decade in Tel Aviv, the vast majority of Lithuanian Jewry had been killed in Europe and the once marginal community in Palestine to which she was a part (the New Yishuv) was launched into nationhood. As if in reaction to these inexplicable, seemingly impossible changes, Goldberg produced texts like Ve-hu ha-or that contain timeless literary themes that transcended the topical moment of unconceivable devastation. But rather than opting for a univocal Hebraic culture as an antidote to this devastation, Goldberg’s texts were multilingual and multicultural.

Conversations like the one between Nora and Tekla are vivid examples of Inghilleri’s observations on ‘social translation’ as it relates to the migrant’s experience; though the characters speak Russian natively, Nora’s lexicon is much richer than the servant’s due to the girl’s education and exposure to urban, cosmopolitan environments. In Inghilleri’s words, Tekla
‘attempts to understand’ the younger woman’s statement, and although Nora does not decline her speech to a register that Tekla fully comprehends, she does succeed in adjusting her tone, so the girl’s sympathy for the maid’s actions is ascertained (‘but their tone calmed her’). Considering that Ve-hu ha-or was published in a context of language discrepancies along the axes of class, education and country of origin, Nora’s ‘social translation’ speaks to the experience of migration within Europe, and to immigration to the Yishuv in British Palestine.

In another moment of dialogue between the two, the illiterate Tekla brings Nora a letter to read aloud. Marking a distinct departure from Goldberg’s description of the Hebrew alphabet’s clarity in the matrimonial library scene, Nora perceives the Russian text to be, “Twisted and forced, words blurred heartbreakingly” (ATIL, 138). Nora orates the letter to Tekla:

“Bad news in the letter. They write you that your brother is very sick. And he…” Nora searched for words that wouldn’t be cruel. “He…that is, he is no more.” And since she didn’t think Tekla understood her, she was forced to explain. “He’s dead”’’ (ibid).66

As Nora begins to read the text for her addressee, this time, her disposition toward the Russian-national becomes terse. At first, she retains the pretentious loftiness of the previous citation of ‘einenu ‘od (he is no more), but then refashioning her own statement, she declines her register, hu met (he’s dead). Nora’s laconic sentences relay a message of grief in her oration to Tekla, and through her practice of intralingual translation, a trust is born between them. As in the previous dialogue, Goldberg proposes the idea of mutual incomprehension between the interlocutors, suggesting to her reader that the conversation contains moments of misunderstanding (‘…she didn’t think Tekla understood her’). Though both women speak Russian natively, Nora must navigate class divisions in her speech, and Goldberg demonstrates this in Nora’s translation, or

rephrasing of her own language. As Nora is forced to lower her register, the English word in *And This is The Light* ‘explain’ corresponds to Goldberg’s *lefaresh* (to interpret) in *Ve-hu ha-or*. The text’s spoken sections are tasked with describing the broad gamut of modern life: the neighborhood trysts, the delicate words that a bourgeois girl must find to relay a tragedy to someone from a subordinate class. *Ve-hu ha-or*’s readers must actively assign a source language in these moments of dialogic translation, and this schema positions Goldberg as the translator of these dialogues, within the logic of the text. The theme of translation is even more salient to these dialogic episodes, because Nora is forced to *lefaresh* (interpret) her own Russian speech for her less-educated friend. Considering the novel’s setting, the Lithuanian countryside in 1931, such an interaction between a Jew and a Russian national would be laden with shades of suspicion and mistrust, and the progression of textual transmutation, moving from (A) through (D) depicted in *fig. (5)* shows how Goldberg resisted this prevailing notion.

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<tr>
<td>A) Nora and Tekla’s Russian speech <em>source</em></td>
<td>B) Nora’s rewording or intralingual translation</td>
<td>C) Goldberg’s Russ &gt; Heb interlingual ‘translation’</td>
<td>D) <em>Ve-hu ha-or</em>, the Hebrew ‘target text’</td>
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Figure 5. Dialogic Translation Between Nora and Tekla

This movement of language is indicative of movement as a theme in *Ve-hu ha-or* in general, and as Inghilleri notes, “migration is a crucial site where the local meets/confronts the global and translation is a crucial component of this encounter” (2017, 31). In this letter-reading scene, Nora animates a text that otherwise, would be incomprehensible for Tekla. Here, Nora is providing Tekla a lens outward away from the ‘local’ and into the ‘global’ through her act in translation. Goldberg’s reader becomes more aware of translation’s capacity for this because the text is written in Hebrew, indeed a separate language altogether from the one transpiring in conversation. Arin and Nora’s ferry-meeting, the catalyst for the rising action in the plot, prompts a new layer of linguistic complexity in the text. The multilingualism of *fig. (5)* in
tandem with Nora’s statement about Hebrew as the primal language of man (Adam) shows Goldberg’s uniquely receptive posture to many cultures, all while prioritizing the Hebraic, Jewish experience. While the 1948 cycle “Me-shêirei ha-nachal” enlivens inanimate objects, translation as a literary device functions to unite across several identity-divisions in Goldberg’s novel including class, age, nationality and religion. Considering the character Nora a translator aligns with Carol Maier’s interest in translator-characters and the scholar’s framework of translators as theôros, an idea more fully explored in the following section.

C. Nora as Theôros

Much of the tension in Ve-hu ha-or tension comes from Nora’s conflicted positionality between the provincial Lithuanian Capital and Berlin, an international metropole. It is in this context that Nora emerges as a theôros in Maier’s delineation of the term. Maier argues that “translation enables, if not requires, theorizing or witnessing, as in gaining knowledge by seeing things with one’s own eyes’ (2006, 176). In Classical Greece, theôroi were ambassadors or observers sent to gain information, as Maier writes, like these ancient envoys, the translator “risks rejection when the theôros return[s] home bearing information about ideas and customs that were alien and unwelcome…or if he [brings] back bad news” (ibid.: 169). The previous scene of Tekla’s bereavement illustrates this element of ‘bearing bad news’ where Nora plays the role of messenger and interpreter for the family’s maid; this notion of bringing information from culture to culture at the risk of alienation surfaces several times throughout Ve-hu ha-or.

One instance is found in the second chapter, “The Forest,” which takes place in a peansion, or rural vacation house, a ferry-ride from the family home. A scenario of increasing provincialism provides the backdrop for Nora and Arin’s ruminating conversations about nationality, vocation and the value of study. Arin proclaims, “But that Europe of yours is
walking on the brink of an abyss” (aval ‘eiropah zo shelachem mehalechet ‘al-‘ivri-pi-tahom) (Vhho, 86/ATIL, 68). Like the language of division that the Jews of Nora and Arin’s milieu employ when describing non-Jews, Arin’s claim implies that even the land upon which the two currently inhabit is somehow non-European. Here, in the desolation of a vacation cabin, Arin is clearly referencing the impending geopolitical collapse in Germany and western Europe. But his use of the preposition shel (yours), declined for the second-person plural, marks a distinction between himself and Nora’s people (students abroad on the Continent). In a world where Jewishness is a mutually exclusive national identity marker, Arin’s statement proposes that Nora’s decision to study in Berlin (i.e. become European) comes at the total cost of relinquishing her Jewish identity. It is useful to imagine this ‘loss of identity’ in light of the theôros translator, the “[theôros] theorist [is] one who travels, observes and contemplates…but also becomes estranged, ridiculed, rejected” from their home community (Maier 2006, 163). Thus, because of Nora’s travels, and engagement with non-Jewish thought on the Continent, Arin ‘estranges’ her from her original people.

Nora makes a two-pronged response to Arin’s pronouncement. She simultaneously defends the prospect of Jewish humanities, and affirms her connection to peers who live and study more locally:

“Maybe only here in these small towns in Eastern Europe is there still that kind of youth…from the last generation. We believe, we believe there is real value in what we study, in the possibility of study and knowledge. We’re exiled to a place of learning [tora], as in the Enlightenment [Haskala] period like Solomon Maimon in his day” (ATIL, 69). 67

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67 Bold emphasis, and italic translations to the Hebrew are my addition.

“אולי רק כאן בערים הללו שבמזרח אירופה נותר עדיין סוג של נוער…נוער מן הדור שחלף. אנחנו מאמינים, אנחנו מאמינים כי יש ערך של ממש בעצם הדברים שאנחנו לומדים באפשרות ללמוד בדעת. אנחנו גולים למקום תורה כבתקופת ההשכלה כשלומה מימון במאהו.” (Vhho, 87)
Though only removed from Berlin for a few weeks, she already feels a kinship between her position and the great exiled intellectuals of Jewish history. Her experience during the school year of studying in European, non-Jewish society is momentarily forgotten, and she affiliates easily with members of the more rural society from which she came. Nora’s search for self-definition vis-à-vis great Jewish minds of the past supports Maier’s idea that “translation involves a confrontation that…can prove to be a catalyst for transformation in one’s work with language and in oneself” (2006, 176). This process of selective affiliation with two supposedly antithetical cultures is one notable feature of the quotation, but so too, is the implication that true Jewish study and knowledge is only tenable in exile. Goldberg highlights the Jewishness of Nora’s account by using specifically Jewish terms like tora and haskala.68 The quotation establishes a continuity with other time periods in Jewish exile, namely the expulsion of Spanish Jewry from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, collapsing regional and chronological distinctions. Nora’s position is representative of Goldberg’s view that the Jewish tradition can be studied and promulgated alongside, and not at the expense of, textual lineages from diasporic environments.

Despite Arin’s efforts to distance Nora from the provincial Lithuanian Jewry to which she was born, Nora finds virtue in her Homeland, as if she were discovering its merits for the first time. She uses the plural pronoun ‘we’ (ʾanachnu), celebrating the ‘exile’ (galut) as a site of perennial Jewish intellectual achievement and production. Like a delegate reporting on foreign cultures, Nora’s realization that Jewish history of dislocation is intrinsically related to its intellectual tradition is evidence of this Maierian ‘transformation’. Removed from the metropole, Nora inscribes herself into the intellectual achievements of her diasporic forebearers, yet her

68 The first of these terms tora, has a lexical alternative, limudim ([secular] learning) that does not make reference to Jewish topics, Goldberg clearly refrains from. The term for ‘non-Jewish Enlightenment’ however, e’idan ha-naorut, may not have been a codified term by the time of the text’s publication.
transformation is not a zero-sum affiliation. Like Goldberg’s choice of Hebrew alongside other literatures, Nora, the theòros translator, finds merit and criticism in the cultural productions wherever she goes, regardless of which nation or people produces them. Within the world of the text, these spontaneous dialogues transpire in the leisure-space of the Lithuanian peansion. Such a scene does not connect explicitly to the topical issues of the author’s historical context—Mandatory Palestine, two years before Jewish Statehood. But, like the “Tereza di Mon” cycle written ten years later, Ve-hu ha-or incorporates past experiences from disparate lands into the burgeoning modern Hebrew corpus of literature. Nora acts as a conduit between these places as she translates intralingually between speech-registers and culturally, between the rural and urban spaces of her homeland.

D. ‘Odysseus of the Prairie and Pampa,’ Representing Itineracy

Inghilleri’s notion of ‘local’ and ‘global’ is illustrated by Goldberg’s efforts to infuse an international sensibility into a literature that was becoming increasingly associated with a single place—Mandatory Palestine/Israel. If Hebrew literary production must be territorialized, Goldberg’s vision for it was translation-based; that is, it included the aesthetics of a conglomerate of national literatures. Goldberg’s awareness of shlilat ha-galut, the negation of Diaspora, is explored with Nora’s movements back and forth between her home and Berlin. Here, Goldberg is creating a parallel between Nora’s move from the shtetl to the cosmopolitan city and the author’s own migration from Lithuania to the British Mandate. Both the character Nora and the historical Goldberg constantly mitigate the ‘local’ and the ‘global’ by translating, as they move between a variety of places.

Of diasporas in general, James Clifford claims they must have a:
history of dispersal, myths/memories of the homeland, alienation in the host country, desire for eventual return, ongoing support of the homeland, and a collective identity importantly defined by this relationship (1994, 305).

Though many of these features are relevant to the mid-Century Jewish experience in the Diaspora, it is the final aspect that is most salient to biographical Goldberg and the contents of her texts. Yes, her migration was part and parcel of a broader movement of eastern European migrants to Palestine before the War. But her literary production transcends the reductionist binaries of Homeland: Diaspora or Yishuv: Eastern Europe. She engaged with literary traditions that overlapped with her personal history, but she also directed her attention to a broad array of time periods and geographies. In Ve-hu ha-or, a text based on Goldberg’s experiences, Nora’s Homeland is the Lithuanian countryside, not Mandatory Palestine/Israel. However, Clifford’s statement holds as true for the character as it does for her author; Nora is preoccupied with childhood memories, feels alienated in her hometown, and her rural Jewishness as it is defined by European culture in the metropole is a crucial element of her identity that is repeatedly contested as she moves from place to place.

The ferry-scene where Arin is exposed as a charlatan for the tales he wrote in his letters, contains several essential insights about Goldberg’s orientation towards itineracy and Homeland. Arin assuages Nora’s disappointment about the falsity of his epistolary stories with self-effacement, “did you think I was some sort of Child Harold, Odysseus of the prairie and Pampa?” (ATIL, 59). Here, Goldberg creates the ironic scenario of a character vouching for his own provincialism, while simultaneously listing a torrent of diverse literary and regional references with which he is familiar. Nora’s mother Esther is less impressed with Arin’s wanderings and takes a firm stance that men ultimately surround themselves with those who
share their birthplace, especially when seeking a wife. She explains to her daughter that the women Arin met abroad were mere strangers (zarot) and Esther asks rhetorically,

“And do you think that twenty-five years in a foreign country can erase from a man’s heart that he’s from a certain milieu? And those lovely things become acquaintance, a brief pleasure, even love. But when a man thinks of a woman he will have to live with day after day, it’s good that that woman, well how to put it- is a piece of homeland” (ATIL, 65).

Esther’s explanation emphasizes the importance of land itself more than its native inhabitants’ penchant for travel. For Nora’s mother, a man can leave his homeland, but his relationships will be ephemeral, amounting to mere acquaintance. When a man ‘thinks of a woman he will have to live with day after day,’ or literally ‘immerse himself’ (shrui), it is best that she be a hatichat moledet, a ‘chunk’ of homeland. The clause, “well how to put it” nu ceytsad l’omar z’ot, delays the arrival of the sentence’s predicate, hatichat moledet (a piece of homeland). The interjection, nu is borrowed from Slavic languages, appearing frequently in Hebrew vernacular, and it functions as a reminder to the reader precisely where the Krieger’s Homeland is located spatially- in the parochial and Slavic Lithuanian countryside, not in the urban and German city.

Of translation as it relates to movement, Inghilleri writes, “Wherever and whenever cultural or linguistic translation occurs, the presence of diversity and the potential of unity of purpose are in evidence” (2017, 33). After navigating the jarring encounter with Arin and her peers, Nora has a primordial and ‘unifying’ experience that relates to her fellow, provincial Jews- “A crush. Bodies. Elbows. Sweaty Faces. A pungent, sticky smell of sweaty armpits. Bare arms. Freckles. I sit amid my people” (ATIL, 29). Goldberg’s staccato prose emphasizes the visceral, but also the fractured and disjunctured sensation of travel, and in this scene of movement, Nora,
amidst a variety of corporeal sensations, has a moment of larger self-affiliation. Unlike the heightened sense of alterity Nora faces at the urban university, she has a transcendent, ‘unified [feeling] of purpose’ one that exceeds beyond her own immediate experience. Here, locomotion is connected to the theôros translator having a positive ‘purpose’ or mission. Again, Goldberg’s ‘people’ (ʿam) is not a national appellation, but a unique term across Semitic languages that implies kinship, shared ritual and history.

For Schachter, “Goldberg’s novel [Ve-hu ha-or] envisions Hebrew as a language of Jewish culture that is neither rooted in the shtetl nor territorialized in Palestine…she resists the project of nationalizing Hebrew literature and the demand to locate Hebrew culture in the new Jewish home” (2012, 151). The instances of translation identified in this chapter exhibit resistance to Hebrew’s limitation to the Jewish State territorially. Goldberg’s Nora affiliates easily across class, linguistic, national, and religious lines, and ascribing to Nora the Maierian theôros draws attention to the larger transformations that Goldberg intended for the author’s soon-to-be national literature. Written in close proximity to the Shoah, Ve-hu ha-or’s European setting is a controversial decision for a longform Hebrew piece. But its message is less related to the dogmas of place and more directed at the importance of integrating, not separating, the Jewish and non-Jewish intellectual lineages. Ve-hu ha-or is a strident move toward cultural pluralism in the wake of post-WWII fascism, and translation is thematized to indicate a receptivity to other cultures, as the time drew nearer to when Hebrew itself would become a new national literature.

Ve-hu ha-or, (especially the dialogic sections) displays a marked awareness of translation, and as suggested by Shaked, the text presents as if it were the translation of Goldberg’s non-Hebraic native-language source text. For Montini et al, autotranslation
“escape[s] the binary categories of text theory and diverge[s] radically from literary norms” (2010, 308), but in Goldberg’s conservative Statehood Era, the preliminary norms regarding translation were hostile to the translation of non-Jewish texts, so Goldberg created a multilingual, translation-based mode of creative writing as an alternative. By way of her heroine Nora, Goldberg explores the Maierian possibility that a translator-character can have moments of identification and affiliation that are not constrained by geography and chronology. Nora’s itineracy encourages these moments of transformation as Goldberg enlarges Hebrew’s spoken capacity to embrace the colloquialisms of other languages, while at the same time, broadening Hebrew’s efficacy beyond the borders of the new Jewish State.
CONCLUSION

BEYOND GOLDBERG’S CHOICE

Goldberg’s career as a translator encouraged cosmopolitanism in an era more fixated on issues internal to Jews, and the construction of a national identity. Her career as an aesthete engaged with even more timeless issues like the representation of women in literature and humanizing the inanimate. Like any immigrant, Goldberg was subject to the losses and gains of traversing from one home to another, and she made choices about which aspects of the Diaspora to retell in her writing, and which to omit. Likewise a process of gain and loss, translation is a central theme in Goldberg’s creative work and as such, there is a cycle of mutual influence between the efficacy of translations as a literary device in original work, and an aesthetic creativity that manifested in her interlingual translation projects. Using the terms ‘polysystems,’ ‘norms,’ and ‘pseudotranslation’ as reference points, I have demonstrated how these concepts manifest in Goldberg’s creative work. In chapter three, the Tourian conception of ‘norms’ serves as a point of entry to a broader investigation about multilingualism and translator characters in fiction. I have repeatedly drawn attention to Goldberg’s international disposition in her original and translated work. The act of migration and the poet’s relationship to place served as a supporting, or secondary discussion in this thesis; this hierarchy is logical considering that Goldberg’s peripatetic movements was often influenced or informed by access for scholarly, or literary opportunities present at her destination. This predilection for physical change appears in her writing, as time’s progression is connected to the idea of receptiveness to a multitude of voices in “From Songs of the River’s” unique titling (pg. 38), and Nora’s justification for her provincial residency (pg. 73).

Even-Zohar and Toury’s theories have naturally supported my reading of translation within Goldberg’s work, and the ease of this mode of reading could be a product of overlapping
historical and scholarly conditions between Goldberg and the later scholars. Another, less empirically-based explanation is that a new nation-state, with a language never spoken in the modern era, requires a diverse array of translated literature. All three figures, Goldberg, Even-Zohar and Toury, were concerned with guiding this requirement into fruition, and if this second postulation is true, it is worthwhile to mention some of the developments in Hebrew translation since Goldberg’s death. Israel’s demographics have changed a great deal since 1970, and the languages spoken there reflect this. Israel’s official languages are Hebrew, English and Arabic, and of Hebrew: English translation, Chana Bloch and Chana Kronfeld emerged as the foremost translators of Yehuda Amichai [1924-2000], (Hebrew’s most important and prolific poet of the State Generation and beyond). Bloch and Kronfeld team-translated Amichai’s oeuvre almost in its entirety, and of the poems that they did not bring into English, Kronfeld and Robert Alter published the remainder in 2016. Alter, Amichai, Bloch and Kronfeld were in constant correspondence with one another over the course of the poet’s lifetime, and this translation project, spanning over four decades, provided the entryway to many Anglophone reader’s first experiences with modern Hebrew literature.

Of Hebrew translations from Arabic, Sasson Somekh, a literature scholar of Iraqi Jewish heritage, has earned acclaim for his translations of Mahmoud Darwish [1941-2008], the Palestinian national poet. Released in 2017, Somekh’s translations are the only comprehensive Darwish translations in Hebrew, second only to the efforts of Salman Mashala, the Druze essayist. The idea that Darwish’s Arabic work in Hebrew translation, or Darwish’s original Hebrew compositions might be included in the Hebrew literary system reflects some of the great changes about the conceptualization of the Hebrew polysystem. Darwish’s oeuvre in Arabic and in Hebrew is an instance of interference between the two overlapping systems; whether his
original work contains the poetics of translation in the way that Goldberg’s does is an open-ended question. The preliminary norms of ‘permission’ for Hebrew speakers to engage with Arabic has increased with the incorporation of Darwish into Israeli high school curriculums, but the conditions of Hebrew’s bilateral interference have broadened in other directions as well. Adriana Jacobs earned the PEN/Heim grant for her English translation of “The Truffle Eye” by Vaan Nguyen [1982-], an Israeli writer whose mother was granted asylum from Vietnam in the late 1970s. While in Goldberg’s lifetime, Hebrew speakers were most likely conversant with Indo-European languages (German, Polish, Russian, Persian), today, vernacular Hebrew exists alongside Amharic, Arabic and Vietnamese in many language-user’s repertoires, all of which offer important instances of interference. That said, due in part to large numbers of Israelis living abroad in Germany, German: Hebrew translation has increased in recent years.

Returning to the material discussed in this thesis, translation is clearly an important, and understudied current within Goldberg’s poetics. Chapter one sketched the contours of Hebrew literature in the ‘vernacularization’ period, situating Goldberg within that system, and fusing the intellectual lineage she created to the scholarship of Itamar Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury. I proceeded to utilize these theorists’ terminology throughout the thesis. As demonstrated in the subsequent chapters, Goldberg made translation and multilingualism vital themes in her original output. She achieves this in “Me-shirei ha-nachal” by chronicling a sequence of natural interlocutors that depend on one another in order to communicate. In the poem, each character is representative of literary systems that soon interfere with one another by way of translation. The

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image of water flowing over a stone reinforces the axiom that translated texts are always synchronic impressions of their source, and do not reflect their sources exhaustively or in their entirety. This state of perennial movement connects to the Latin etymology of the term ‘translation’: a flowing river ‘brings over’ (latus) its contents from place to place, ‘crossing’ (trans) boundaries of languages and cultures. Furthermore, the cycle contains allegories about the feasibility of duplication. Each character has its own fate or goral, and this precept coincides with Toury’s insistence that the history and reception of target texts vis-à-vis their sources is not mutually contingent.

Part two of the second chapter used the same method of analyzing Goldberg’s poetry as the previous part but added a discussion of the poem-cycle’s historical context. Outlining the norms of Goldberg’s literary system in the State Generation further developed this mode for interpreting Goldberg’s work; it allowed for reading “Tereza di Mon” as social commentary. In the piece, her criticism of the status quo has two parts: engaging with a non-Jewish literary tradition expanded the narrow view of European literature in the wake of the Shoah. Secondly, her heroine Terasa de Meun did not conform to prevailing ideas about femininity in the Statehood Era. The character enlarged the representation of Israeli women as a non-nationalistic and introspective visage of a poet-lover. Thus, pseudotranslation acted as a means within the text to explore this resistant, and marginalized characterization.

The final chapter of the thesis examined multilingualism in the dialogues between the characters Nora, her schoolmates, Albert Arin and Tekla. Analysis of these scenes of recreation were productive because they contain a multi-layered stratum of language: English, Italian, Spanish, Yiddish, and of course, Hebrew. Sometimes these languages appear on the pages of Ve-hu ha-or in their original alphabets and at other times, they are blended, inflecting Goldberg’s
innovative, international brand of Hebrew. Hebrew is allotted the highest position of prestige from this list, and this choice, or intentional commitment to Hebrew did not require the preclusion of other languages. As such, Goldberg’s vision for Hebrew literature was multi-vocal, which connects to her pronouncement of Verlaine’s *chaeur* in the epigraph of *Me-shirei ha-nachal*. This stance toward internationalism erodes the staunch divisions extant in Nora’s fictive world, and Goldberg’s real, historical circumstance. From the perspective of system’s theory, the novel’s *‘ivrit beynonit* fills Hebrew’s lacuna for modernist, vernacular prose in the interwar period. Since *Ve-hu ha-or* is a multilingual text, and the author does not always use different alphabets to neatly distinguish between this polyphony, the reader is impelled to proactively assign distinct languages to moments of dialogue, and this presents another scenario of thematized translation, wherein Goldberg is the translator of source speech-acts from her diegetic language to a supposed ‘target’ Hebrew.

Strands of Jewishness and Europeanness are intertwined with provincial and metropolitan sensibilities in the novel, and the second half of chapter three is devoted to *Ve-hu ha-or*’s themes of movement, relocation and self-discovery. I showed how Nora forges a uniquely eclectic, cosmopolitan Jewish authenticity in the forests of Lithuania- itself a diasporic location from Goldberg’s perspective in Mandatory Palestine. As Nora moves about central and eastern Europe, she undergoes a Maerian transformation; this renewal is related to Goldberg’s own itineracy and to the way migration and translation generate new capacities for language and experience. In “*Oren*”, Goldberg declares that she ‘holds two Homelands simultaneously’ and through my comparison of the English target texts “Pine,” I showed how different translators interpret this message based on their own orientations and biographies. Likewise, Goldberg’s Nora orbits between urban and rural spaces, studying Jewish and non-Jewish topics alike.
Goldberg’s integration of translation into her creative work is an important and rich topic that pushes the edges of translation’s definition, interrogates the distinction between ‘birthland’ and ‘(adopted) Homeland’, and makes both these spaces and the source/target text division more permeable and mutually inclusive.

Goldberg’s choice of Hebrew is analogous to a bride and groom’s decision to marry. Proposing a marital engagement represents a commitment to one person, and Goldberg was unrelentingly committed to developing Hebrew as a veritable, modern, language of literature. Like a marriage, Goldberg’s commitment was not contingent upon one place; rather it operated on actions and passionate feelings. As she moved about the globe, she wove together local referents with the far-fetched and the imaginary- places she had never been before. More salient to this thesis than the analogy of marriage is Goldberg’s choice of Hebrew. In the interwar years of her youth, choosing Hebrew, a language heretofore defunct and debilitated in terms of international literary status and everyday utility, Goldberg was committed to reifying and resurrecting her chosen idiom. In this modernization process, she proposed a means for Hebrew-users to choose aesthetics and beauty, opting away from the horrors and ugliness of their past. Hebrew was a common focal point around which Goldberg’s efforts rallied international Jewry to choose literature over death and persecution. This literature was not the provincial folktales of a diasporic past but a formidable, international idiom, one with the capacity to tell the great stories of human civilization.

Choosing a wedding ring at a jewelry shop is a ritual, one that initiates and metonymizes this powerful commitment. The choice of a ring for one’s partner in marriage also actualizes a couple’s commitment; what was before only theoretical suddenly becomes practical. Goldberg’s moment of actualizing her relationship to Hebrew letters was not Shlonski’s publication of her
first volume of poetry, nor was it Hakibbutz Hameuchad’s issuing of her Petrarch translations. The ritual was performed in her solitary, and singular scholarly and creative efforts that spanned over her entire life. The process of actualizing nuptial vows through the selection of a ring also contains an element of sacrifice- that is, by committing so singularly to his bride, a groom surrenders the many other potential connections he might have with others. Goldberg’s vow on the other hand, did not contain this type sacrifice; she continued to value other languages alongside Hebrew. Her sacrifice was more personal in that her wish for the flowering of modern Hebrew literature came at the expense of sustained, fulfilling, personal relationships. That said, Goldberg’s wish for Hebrew, her partner, came true: it is replete with vernacular and erudite registers, and represents a wide array of international literature in translation. More importantly, it came to express the human experience of thousands, and then millions of international citizens of the twentieth century. These Hebrew practitioners looked forward to the bright future of their simultaneously new and ancient language, and to the better future of human communication and interaction in general. And this result is in no small part due to due Goldberg’s tireless efforts in interlingual-translation, and the poetics of translation that she forged during her lifetime.
APPENDIX

CHAPTER ONE

(i)

| אֲוּלַי רַק צִפּוֹרֵי | אֲוּלַי רַק צִפּוֹרֵי
| מַסָּע יוֹדָע | מַסָּע יוֹדָע
| אֲתָקְבָּנִי נַשִּׁלְתַיְתִי | אֲתָקְבָּנִי נַשִּׁלְתַיְתִי
| אֲתָקְבָּנִי נַשִּׁלְתַיְתִי | אֲתָקְבָּנִי נַשִּׁלְתַיְתִי
| לְחֶרֶב נָשִּׁי עִבְרִיִּי | לְחֶרֶב נָשִּׁי עִבְרִיִּי

CHAPTER TWO

(i)

| אֲחִי הַנַחַל, הָּאוֹבֵד לָּעַד | אֲחִי הַנַחַל, הָּאוֹבֵד לָּעַד
| הֶּחָדָּש יוֹם | הֶּחָדָּש יוֹם
| אֲחִי הַזֶׁרֶם בֵּין שְנֵי חופיו | אֲחִי הַזֶׁרֶם בֵּין שְנֵי חופיו
| אֲנִי הַגְּזִין וַאֲנִי הַפְּרִי | אֲנִי הַגְּזִין וַאֲנִי הַפְּרִי
| אֲנִי עתִידִי וַאֲנִי עבְרִי | אֲנִי עתִידִי וַאֲנִי עבְרִי
| אֲנִי גֶזְע הַעִרִּי | אֲנִי גֶזְע הַעִרִּי
| ג. הַיְּרֵחַ שָּר לַנַחַל | ג. הַיְָרֵחַ שָּר לַנַחַל
| אֲנִי הַיִחוּד בַמָּרוֹם | אֲנִי הַיִחוּד בַמָּרוֹם
| אֲנִי הָּרִבוּי במצולה | אֲנִי הָּרִבוּי במצולה
| תַשְּׁקִיף מִן הַנַחַל אֵלַי | תַשְּׁקִיף מִן הַנַחַל אֵלַי
| דְמוּתִי בְכָז גּוֹרָלָה | דְמוּתִי בְכָז גּוֹרָלָה
| אֲנִי בְמָרוֹם | אֲנִי בְמָרוֹם
| הָּאֵל | הָּאֵל
| לְמַעְלָה | לְמַעְלָה
| עֹטֶה דומיות | עֹטֶה דומיות
| הוֹמֶה, מְזַמֵּר במצולה | הוֹמֶה, מְזַמֵּר במצולה
| אֲנִי בְמָרוֹם | אֲנִי בְמָרוֹם
| מִשִירִי הַנַחַל | מִשִירִי הַנַחַל
| מַקָּהָל קְוֹלוֹת קְטַנִים | מַקָּהָל קְוֹלוֹת קְטַנִים
| פּוֹל ורלן | פּוֹל ורלן
| א. הַנַחַל שָּר לָּאֶׁבֶן | א. הַנַחַל שָּר לָּאֶׁבֶן
| אֶׁת הָּאֶׁבֶן נָּשַקְתִי בַצַּנְתּ הָלוֹם | אֶׁת הָּאֶׁבֶן נָּשַקְתִי בַצַּנְתּ הָלוֹם
| כִּי אֲנִי הַמִּזְמוֹר וַאֲנִי הִיָּה | כִּי אֲנִי הַמִּזְמוֹר וַאֲנִי הִיָּה
| כִּי הִאֲוֹתִיתָנִי אֶחָּד | כִּי הִאֲוֹתִיתָנִי אֶחָּד
| אֶׁת הָּאֶׁבֶן נָּשַקְתִי, אֶׁת בְשָרָּה הַבוֹדֵד | אֶׁת הָּאֶׁבֶן נָּשַקְתִי, אֶׁת בְשָרָּה הַבוֹדֵד
| היא | היא
| שֶׁבֶוּשַּׁת אֱמוּנִים וַאֲנִי הַבוֹגֵד | שֶׁבֶוּשַּׁת אֱמוּנִים וַאֲנִי הַבוֹגֵד
| אֲנִי הַחוֹלֵף וְהִיא הֵקִים | אֲנִי הַחוֹלֵף וְהִיא הֵקִים
| היא סוֹדוֹת הַבְרִיאָּה, וַאֲנִי | היא סוֹدوֹת הַבְרִיאָּה, וַאֲנִי
| - גִּלוּיָּם | - גִּלוּיָּם
| וְאֵדַע כִּי נָּגַעְתִי בַלֵב נַעַל | וְאֵדַע כִּי נָּגַעְתִי בַלֵב נַעַל
| אֲנִי הַמְּשָׁפֵר וְהִיא - | אֲנִי הַמְּשָׁפֵר וְהִיא -
| הָּעוֹלָּם | הָּעוֹלָם
| ב. גִּשֵּׁה שֶׁל | ב. גִּשֵּׁה שֶׁל
| עֵץ | עֵץ
| אֲנִי הַנַחַל | אֲנִי הַנַחַל
| אֲשֶׁר נִשָּא אֶׁת סְתָּוִי | אֲשֶׁר נִשָּא אֶׁת סְתָּוִי
| הזָּה בַשֶלֶּכֶת גָּרוֹפָ | הזָּה בַשֶלֶּכֶת גָּרוֹפָ
הבנה של טור ע"ה מה מחקלי

88

טט

בְּנַחַל אֲנִי תְפִלָּה

טט

מחולוני וְגַם מְחֻנָּך

טט

אוֹתִי הֵגֵן נְשַקֵּף, אוֹתִי הַנוֹף,

טט

וְיוֹם תָּמִים מֻתָּר לִי לֶׁאֱה ב אֶׁת הַדְבָּרִים אֲשֶׁר לְטִפָּּה עֵינְךָ.

טט

מוּל חולונך וְגַם מוּל חַלוֹנִי

טט

בַלַיְלָּה (?) שָרֵוּ אוֹתוֹ זָּמִיר עָּצְמוּ

טט

וְעֵת יַרְטִיט לִבְךָ בַחֲלוֹמו

טט

אָּעִיר וְאַאֲזִין לוֹ גַּם אֲנִי

טט

הָּאֲרָּן הַזָּקָּן שָבוּ כָּל מַחַט

טט

אֶׁת נוֹשֵאת כְטַל טָּהוֹר

טט

עִם בָּקָּר יקדמני בַבְרָּכָּה-

רַבִּים מאד אָּהַבְנוּ יַחַד,

אַך ל א זָּרַח באשנבך הָּאוֹר

טט

עֵת בְדִידוּת נִגְעֶה בִבְדִידוּתֵך

טט

יב.

מָּה יִשָּאֵר? מִלִים, מִלִים כְאֵפֶׁר

מֵאֵש הַז את שֶׁבָּה לִבִי אָכַל,

מְחָּרֶׁפֶׁת, מִכָּל אַשְרֵי הַדַל

רַק אוֹתִיוֹת החתומות בַסֵפֶׁר

מִי יַאֲמִין בהעלם הַגַּל

בעצמתו אֲשֶׁר אֵינָּה חוֹזֶׁרֶׁה-

לִגְמוֹנָה נוֹתָּר בִכְסוּת

חוֹלוֹת חוֹרֵת

סִימָּּן שֶׁל מ געו, רָּפֶׁה וְ

קַל?

פְּלִיטָּה אָּהַבְתִי אֶׁת אלמגיה,

וְדַיָּגִים שנזדמנו בַחוֹף

אִסְפוּ אוֹתָּם וישאופ הַרְחֵק.

וְזֵר מִשְתַעֲמֵם בָּהֶׁם נוֹגֵעַ,

וּבָּעוֹלָּם חופז وּבֶן-

חוֹלֵף

הַזְמַן בָּהֶׁם כַיֶּלֶּד יִשְחַק.

אַהֲבָּתָּה שֶׁל תַרזֶׁה דַי מון

א.

קְלָלָּה נִמְרֶצֶׁת זוֹ שֶׁבָּה קִלְלָתִי

שֶׁהַתָּמִים קוֹרְאִים לָה אַהֲבָּה

הה לוֹ תֵדַע מָּה בְעֵינִי שפלתי

אֵיך מִתְבַזֶׁה נַפְשִי במכאובה.

בְתַלְתַלַי מכסיף כְבָר חוּט שִיבָּה

חָכַמְתָּ-

חַיִים רוממת וְגָּדַלְתִי

איכה יַשְלִים לִבִי שֶׁכ ה נואל

תי

בִגְלַל מַבָּט אֶׁחָּד לְל א תְשוּבָּה

הה, חֵן אֶׁת יוֹם-

סתיוי אֲשֶׁר הָּיָּה

צָּלוּל וְרָּם בְאוֹר הַצָּהֳרַיִם

הה חוס עַל בַגְרוּתִי וּתְבוּנָּתָּה.

שלות-

לֵילִי בוֹרַחַת כִצְבִיָּה

זוֹ הַחְרָּפָּה: אַך אֵעָּצֵם עֵינַיִם

יִזְעַק בְשָרִי הַמִּתְמָרֵד

: אַתָּה!

אורל אֵינְךָ יָּפֶׁה כָּל

כָּך, אוּלַי

מַבָּט אַחֵר, בוֹחֵן, אָדִיש, סכח

בַקֶּׁסֶׁם תֶּאֱרַך יְפַעַע

כַמָּּה אוֹתוֹת הַמִּתְפָּּרְשִים לַגְּנַאי.

ואֵין יִמְצָּא בְךָ קַפְּדָּן כִילַי

בִזְבוּז שֶׁל יָד הַטֶּבַע הנרשלמ

שֶׁבַגְרוּת

ךָ עֲטָּרָּה בַתָּם שֶׁל יֶלֶּד.

אַך עַד בְלִי דַי יָּפִית בְעֵינַי.

האמשילך לַז הַר הכחכל,

ע נֶׁג רוֹטֵט, בַלֵב שֶׁל הַשַלְהֶׁבֶׁת?

יפות בְעֵינֵי

מִכָּל מָ

שָּל.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

INTRODUCTION


CHAPTER ONE


CHAPTER TWO


CHAPTER THREE


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CONCLUSION


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