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# Salman Schocken and the Schocken Verlag: A Jewish Publisher in Weimar and Nazi Germany

*Stephen M. Poppel\**

## I

**H**ITLER'S triumph in 1933 marked the beginning of a progressive, systematic exclusion of Jews from German affairs. Not the least of the problems that this exclusion posed was an individual, psychological one: the isolation of German Jews from the culture and life around them to which they had deeply attached themselves. The loss of contact was painful; it was especially bewildering for those Jews who had imagined themselves to have merged completely into the non-Jewish populace, and who were now identified as Jewish against their will.

Excluded from non-Jewish affairs, the Jews responded by affirming their own culture and identity. For many, products of assimilation, Judaism was a strange thing, of which they now wanted to know more. Others, who were still close to Judaism, turned all the more readily to their heritage for support in their new predicament. From both these groups came the same demand — the call for Jewish books. But here, as in many other areas, Jewry's resources were not at first equal to the challenge. To be sure, a good many Jewish books had been printed in Germany before 1933. But, setting aside the books that had been published for religious use, most Jewish book production in Germany had been limited either in quality, scope, or volume. In short, there was need for a kind of literature that German Jews were accustomed to from their general reading, but which would also be rooted in Judaism.

\* I wish to acknowledge the help given me by Dr. H. J. Katzenstein, Mrs. Miriam Gabbay and other members of the staff of the Schocken Library, Dr. Moritz Spitzer, the late Mr. Lambert Schneider, Mrs. Marion Schneider, and by Mr. Theodore Schocken, without whose encouragement and assistance the project would not have been possible.

It was here that the publishing house founded by Salman Schocken made its entry. In the five years between 1933 and 1938 the Schocken Verlag published just under two hundred titles. Their overwhelming popularity testified to the success of the Verlag's contribution.<sup>1</sup>

The Schocken Verlag was the personal creation of Salman Schocken, a prosperous German Jewish businessman, active Zionist, and bibliophile.<sup>2</sup> Schocken had made his fortune in a chain of department stores that he and a brother had built up from a single establishment opened in 1901. His Zionist activity began about a decade later when his reading of Martin Buber's collection of Hasidic tales reawakened Schocken's interest in Judaism.<sup>3</sup> Critical of the assimilationist trend in

<sup>1</sup> For a measure of the Verlag's success see the publishing statistics given in the Appendix.

<sup>2</sup> There are two published accounts of the life and activities of Salman Schocken (1877-1959): one by his lawyer, Siegfried Moses, "Salman Schocken—His Economic and Zionist Activities," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book*, V (1960), 73-104; and a second by his eldest son, Gershom Schocken, "Ich werde seinesgleichen nicht mehr sehen," *Der Monat*, XX (Nov. 1968), 13-30. (An earlier Hebrew version of this second article was printed in *Haaretz*, 18 October 1967.)

The reader is referred to these accounts for a fuller picture of Schocken himself than is presented here.

The title of the *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* is henceforth abbreviated as *LBIYB*.

<sup>3</sup> See Gershom Schocken, *op. cit.*, 21.

In 1914 Schocken sent Buber a copy of a speech he had given with the following covering letter:

"Several years ago I was greatly moved by your book on Rabbi Nachman [*Die Geschichten des Rabbi Nachman*]. Since then I have pursued your work with admiration, and I have again become an active Jew." (SA 312: S. Schocken to Buber, 4.2.1914) This number indicates the file in the Schocken Archives (abbreviated SA) in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem. Dates are given in the form: (date). (month). (year).

The Schocken Library, designed by the German architect Erich Mendelsohn, was built by Schocken in 1936 to house his extensive personal collection of books. These reflected his interest in both Jewish and general topics, and included important and valuable holding in both areas. The Library also housed the Research Institutes for Medieval Hebrew Poetry and for Jewish Mysticism. Since 1961 the Library has been the home of the Schocken Institute for Jewish Research, a part of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

The Archives contain Schocken's personal papers. In addition to material on the Verlag, there are sections on Schocken's business activities, his involvement in Jewish and Zionist affairs, and his work for the Hebrew University, as well as personalia. The original records of the Verlag perished in Germany, and what is now preserved in Jerusalem remains only because of Schocken's insistence that he be kept fully informed of the Verlag's activities after he had emigrated to Palestine.

German Jewry, Schocken took his stand with the still small Zionist movement, and in 1912 organized a local branch of the German Zionist organization in Zwickau, where he was then living.<sup>4</sup>

Schocken first came to notice on the national level at the 1914 convention of German Zionists, where he presented a copy of a special edition of Herzl's Zionist Congress speeches to each of the delegates.<sup>5</sup> Schocken's intention was clear: he criticized the Zionists for not learning the lessons of their own doctrine and hoped that putting the text into their hands would help.

If the Zionist delegates had any cognizance of the history of German Judaism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and any knowledge of major German literature, they would know that they can plant their feet only lightly in Germany. Printing Herzl's Congress speeches will possibly do more for his influence than all the ceremonious anniversary speeches, which apparently fade away unheard.<sup>6</sup>

But Schocken also thought that the texts then available were not of the quality that was wanted. He regretted the lack of a major Zionist document that would spark the movement, and deplored the fact that Zionism was initiated and carried on "only by a few pamphlets."<sup>7</sup> Convinced that the problem of Jewish existence was not a political one but cultural and social instead, he discounted the writings of Herzl and Nordau, whom he regarded as superficial journalists.<sup>8</sup> Two years after the 1914 convention Schocken was ready to present his own program for the future of German Zionism.

In 1916 Schocken was invited by the Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland to address a special convention on Jewish cultural work during the war. (Schocken had been involved in a program to provide reading material for Jewish prisoners-of-war and internees in Germany.) To his report on current affairs he added his recommendations for the future.<sup>9</sup> Schocken proposed a reorganization that would

<sup>4</sup> SA 532/1: correspondence for 1911-1912.

<sup>5</sup> Theodor Herzl, *Sechs Kongressreden* (Leipzig, 1914). The volume was printed by the firm of Drugulin in Leipzig, which did much of the Schocken Verlag's printing later on.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Kurt Blumenfeld in *Erlebte Judenfrage; ein Vierteljahrhundert deutscher Zionismus* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1962), pp. 93-94.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>8</sup> See Gershom Schocken, *op. cit.* (note 2), 21.

<sup>9</sup> S. Schocken, "Referat," 25.12.1916, reported in "Bericht über den ausserordentlichen Delegiertentag der Zionistischen Vereinigung für Deutschland," *Jüdische Rundschau*, XXII: 1 (5.1.1917), 2-4.

establish two main working groups in the movement, one dealing with Zionist organizational activities and the other with Jewish cultural affairs. For this second group Schocken outlined a program that he would take up on his own more than a decade later.

The heart of the plan was a broad Jewish educational movement, which would be enriched by a reactivated Jewish *Wissenschaft* and propagated through new publishing ventures. As a Zionist program, it would stress the national aspects of Judaism and promote training in Hebrew. Schocken described it thus:

We have to . . . create a new Jewish *Wissenschaft* that will attempt to reconstruct our past, our nationhood, our whole spiritual outlook, from the vantage of our position and our attitude.

The reconstruction of our *Wissenschaft* will have to be accompanied by the publication of scholarly works for a wide audience. Our effort will be effective only if we can put into the hands of every Jewish reader a good presentation of our people's past and of its present persistence. . . . We shall publish books for the use of youth. . . . The committee will have particularly important tasks to perform for the Hebrew language in the realm of book publishing.<sup>10</sup>

As for the problem of Jewish publishing in Germany, it was true that a number of serious and worthwhile scholarly publications had been produced. But there was a lack of the *kind* of scholarship that Schocken thought was necessary. Jewish publishing for a wide readership was wanting both in quality and in extent. The founding of the Jüdischer Verlag, a Zionist publishing house, in 1902 had done disappointingly little to improve the situation.<sup>11</sup> Schocken's proposed remedy was a direct one — that the Zionist organization establish its own publishing venture and be willing to provide it with the funds necessary for its success.

A publication society has to be founded whose task it will be to: underwrite scholarly work; stimulate and pay for worthwhile scholarly endeavors; encourage and subsidize the publication of scholarly works; and publish books under its own imprint that might otherwise not be published commercially because of the scanty prospect of financial success.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>11</sup> The *Almanach* of the Jüdischer Verlag includes a short history of the firm, with an account of Zionist publishing in Germany. (*Almanach, 1902-1964* [Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1964].) Between 1920 and 1938 the Jüdischer Verlag published 74 titles. (See the "Verlagsverzeichnis," pp. 159-167.) Inadequate allocations had been one of the Jüdischer Verlag's main handicaps.

<sup>12</sup> S. Schocken, *op. cit.* (note 9), 3.

The delegates were convinced and voted the next day to establish a Committee for Jewish Cultural Work (Ausschuss für jüdische Kulturarbeit) including Hugo Bergmann, Kurt Blumenfeld, Max Brod, Martin Buber, and Moses Calvary, with Salman Schocken as Chairman.<sup>13</sup>

From its founding at the end of 1916 the Committee survived about a decade.<sup>14</sup> In that time it produced a series of eight children's books,<sup>15</sup> a Hebrew textbook, a volume of Eastern European Jewish melodies,<sup>16</sup> and the text of a Hebrew phrase book that remained unbound and that finally appeared in 1932 under a different imprint.<sup>17</sup>

The Hebrew textbook that the Committee produced occupied its attention for almost its entire ten-year existence. Negotiations were begun with one author in the beginning of 1917, and a contract was signed a year later. His death shortly thereafter brought the project to a halt until 1919, when a new contract was signed with D. J. Bornstein. Two years later, in 1921, Bornstein completed the manuscript, but it proved to be bulkier than expected, and the German inflation presented insurmountable financial difficulties. At the end of 1924, discussions were reopened with Bornstein for a shorter, reworked version of the book — which was completed in 1926 and published in 1927.<sup>18</sup>

The work of the Committee was certainly hampered by postwar economic difficulties. But even allowing for that, its achievements fell disappointingly short of the program that Schocken had outlined in 1916. By nature impatient with committee work, Schocken finally re-

<sup>13</sup> The resolution, passed on 26.12.1916, is reported in *Jüdische Rundschau*, XXII: 1 (5.1.1917), 9. Schocken later recalled that of the members, Buber and Calvary were the especially active ones. (SA 303: S. Schocken to Theodore Schocken, 10.12.1945, p. 1.)

<sup>14</sup> The material in the Schocken Archive relating to the origins of the Schocken Verlag has been summarized in a typescript survey, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Schocken Verlages" (SA 303).

<sup>15</sup> These were drawn from a competition held in 1917. The series was edited by Moses Calvary, and published by the Jüdischer Verlag in 1920.

<sup>16</sup> Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann, *Die schönsten Lieder der Ostjuden; 47 ausgewählte Volkslieder* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920). This was preceded the year before by a small introductory volume, *Das jüdische Volkslied, ein Merkblatt* ("Schriften des Ausschusses für jüdische Kulturarbeit"; Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1919).

<sup>17</sup> Baruch Krupnik, *Hebräische Phrasologie; dreitausend Redewendungen, deutsch-hebräisch, hebräisch-deutsch* (Berlin: Rubin Mass, 1932).

<sup>18</sup> David Josef Bornstein, *Einführung in das Hebräisch der Gegenwart; Methodische Texte und Erläuterungen* ("Hrsg. durch die Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland"; Berlin: Verlag der "Jüdischen Rundschau," 1927.)

solved to take matters into his own hands. In name, the Committee survived into 1927, but by that time Schocken had assumed personal responsibility for its program. After Bornstein's textbook had appeared, Schocken remarked (in the spring of 1927) that "the subsidies that I granted [for the book] . . . lay entirely outside the finances of the Committee, which by then was defunct."<sup>19</sup> Bornstein's book was not the Committee's last project, however. That final venture would provide the decisive transition to the Schocken Verlag.

At the beginning of 1927 plans had been projected for an anthology of Jewish material drawn from German literature.<sup>20</sup> Negotiations were opened with Ludwig Strauss (the son-in-law of Martin Buber) to edit the book, and in November 1927 Strauss signed a contract for a manuscript to be completed by the following summer.<sup>21</sup> Formally the contract was concluded with Schocken in his capacity as chairman of the Committee. He stipulated, however, that "in case this position lapses, the rights and obligations that pertain to the Committee . . . will devolve to me personally."<sup>22</sup> In January 1928, Strauss was notified that "the contingency provided for in the contract has occurred, inasmuch as Mr. Schocken has resigned the chairmanship of the Committee . . . on 24 December 1927."<sup>23</sup> Strauss's reply, that "if I understand correctly . . . my employer is Mr. Schocken himself," was not contradicted.<sup>24</sup>

In June 1928, shortly before Strauss's deadline, Schocken agreed to extend the project for another year to include a second volume drawn from Hebrew and Yiddish sources. At this point, Strauss was joined by Nahum Glatzer, first as a translator, and then as a full collaborator in the editorship. The manuscript for this second volume was completed in 1929, and the *Lesebuch* appeared in 1931. It closed with this Postscript:<sup>25</sup>

In the winter of 1926-27 the Committee for Jewish Cultural Work decided to publish a series of Jewish readers. After the Committee had been dissolved,

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in "Entstehungsgeschichte," p. 3.

<sup>20</sup> See SA 303: S. Schocken to T. Schocken, 10.12.1925, p. 2.

<sup>21</sup> SA 313. The contract is dated 14.11.1927.

<sup>22</sup> SA 313: S. Schocken to L. Strauss, 14.11.1927.

<sup>23</sup> SA 313: [Dr. Mayer?] to L. Strauss, 13.1.1928.

<sup>24</sup> SA 313: L. Strauss to Dr. Mayer, 17.1.1928.

<sup>25</sup> *Ein jüdisches Lesebuch: Sendung und Schicksal*; aus dem Schrifttum des nachbiblischen Judentums mitgeteilt von Nahum Norbert Glatzer und Ludwig Strauss (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1931), p. 347.

Mr. Salman Schocken, its Chairman, continued the project that it had begun. We are glad to be able to offer this volume as the first publication of the newly founded Schocken Verlag.

Plans to publish the volume of selections from German literature were dropped because of "doubts about its general construction."<sup>26</sup>

The publication of the *Lesebuch* provided the background for Schocken's first meeting with Lambert Schneider, the Schocken Verlag's managing editor. Schneider was the publisher who had initiated the Buber-Rosenzweig translation of the Bible, one of the central projects of the publishing house that he had founded in 1925.<sup>27</sup> The crash of 1929 put him in a financially impossible situation and even after cutting back his Verlag's program he was still unable to muster the funds necessary to continue work on the Bible translation. Faced with the project's collapse, he was advised by Leo Baeck to turn to Schocken for help.

Schneider reports that Schocken greeted him with the words, "I have been waiting for you for a long time."<sup>28</sup> The account rings true. Between 1926 and 1931 the Schocken department store chain had expanded rapidly, leaving Schocken little leisure to pursue his interest in publishing.<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, he had acquired the *Lesebuch* manuscript and needed someone to attend to the practical details of its publication. For his part, Schneider had distinguished himself during four years of publishing by the quality and substance of his work. And although not Jewish himself, he was keenly interested in Judaism and Jewish literature.

Long weekends of conversation ensued during which it became increasingly clear that Schneider was indeed the man for whom Schocken was looking. Schocken agreed to take over Schneider's Judaica list, as well as to finance the continuation of the Bible translation, on the condition that Schneider come to work for him as the managing editor of the Schocken Verlag. Schneider was unable to continue on his own, and he was fascinated by the prospect of publishing books without any financial risk. But he was unwilling to abandon the Lambert Schneider Verlag completely. In the end an agreement was reached that allowed

<sup>26</sup> SA 303: S. Schocken to T. Schocken, 10.12.1945, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup> Schneider has given a good account of his own life in *Rechenschaft, 1925-1965; ein Almanach* (Heidelberg: Verlag Lambert Schneider, [1965]). For his association with Salman Schocken and the Schocken Verlag, see especially pp. 18-25, 39-51.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>29</sup> SA 303: S. Schocken to T. Schocken, 10.12.1945, p. 2.



Schneider to join with Schocken while he continued his own work on a reduced scale.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, by one telling of it, the Schocken Verlag came into being — *via* Herzl's Congress speeches, Schocken's 1916 convention address, the Committee for Jewish Cultural Work, and the *Lesebuch*. But even though the *Lesebuch* was the first volume to bear the imprint of the Schocken Verlag, it was not the project that had been undertaken earliest. That place was held by the collected Hebrew works of S. Y. Agnon. The origins of the set, which appeared in 1931, go back to 1914.

Agnon, a Galician Jew, arrived in Berlin late in 1913.<sup>31</sup> Mutual friends in the Zionist movement had recommended him to Schocken, and the two met in 1914. Schocken found Agnon at work on a volume of Hasidic literature. Convinced of the young writer's importance for the development of Hebrew literature, Schocken began regular contributions toward his support.<sup>32</sup> In 1916 Schocken confirmed his patronage in an agreement that gave Agnon a monthly stipend in return for the publication rights to a manuscript to be delivered at the end of five years. As time passed, the original arrangement was progressively broadened and extended.<sup>33</sup> Schocken continued his support and Agnon's literary output mounted. By 1925 Schocken's plans for a collected edition of Agnon's work had crystallized, and he wrote to Agnon affirming his intention to carry out the project as soon as pos-

<sup>30</sup> There is some confusion about the date of these negotiations. Schneider assigns them to the years 1931 and 1932 (*Rechenschaft*, p. 21). But the Verlag Archive catalogue lists a contract dated 17.9.1929 between Liga A. G. (a Schocken subsidiary) and Verlag Lambert Schneider that provides for monthly payments by Liga in return for the rights for the Bible translation. This document is missing from the Archive in Jerusalem, but there is a photocopy in the files of the Schocken Publishing House, Ltd., in Tel Aviv. "Entstehungsgeschichte" (p. 3) gives November 1930 as the date of Schneider's receipt of the *Lesebuch* manuscript and the commission to prepare it for publication.

<sup>31</sup> There is a short biography of Agnon in Arnold J. Band, *Nostalgia and Nightmare; a Study in the Fiction of S. Y. Agnon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968). This book includes a full listing of Agnon's works with publication information and an extensive bibliography.

<sup>32</sup> See SA 311/1: Leo Motzkin to S. Schocken, 2.11.1914. Kurt Blumenfeld recalled Schocken's judgment that "I would like to do everything to encourage Agnon. He is a great epic writer. I believe that one can do nothing better for the Hebrew language than to enrich it with works of epic prose." (Quoted in Kurt Blumenfeld, *Erlebte Judenfrage*, p. 95.)

<sup>33</sup> For the first agreement with Agnon, see SA 331/1: S. Schocken to Agnon, 6.3.1916. *Ibid.*, 15.7.1917 is the first revised version.

sible.<sup>34</sup> There was some delay however, and only in the spring of 1927 did Schocken open negotiations with printers for issuing the work in Germany. In September 1928 he signed a contract with the printing firm of Haag-Drugulin in Leipzig.<sup>35</sup>

Schocken supervised the publication of the collected works personally, and the Schocken Archive preserves his lengthy correspondence with Drugulin regarding details of typography. Routine matters were handled by the head of the print shop at the Zwickau headquarters of the Schocken chain. (This was before Lambert Schneider joined Schocken. Even after 1929 Schneider was not involved with this first edition of Agnon.) A. M. Habermann, the curator of Schocken's private library (and later the director of the Schocken Library in Jerusalem) assisted in matters concerning the Hebrew text. Agnon himself journeyed from his home in Jerusalem to Leipzig in order to oversee the final proofreading. By the summer of 1931 printing of the first four volumes was completed. But distribution was delayed for three months while Schocken settled copyright difficulties with Agnon's former publisher, the Jüdischer Verlag.<sup>36</sup> The collected works finally appeared in the autumn, bearing the imprint "Schocken Kommandit-Gesellschaft auf Aktien, Abteilung Verlag, Berlin."<sup>37</sup> Two additional volumes were added to the set in 1935.

<sup>34</sup> "Entstehungsgeschichte," p. 6 (8.7.1925).

<sup>35</sup> See SA 311/211. Drugulin had printed the volume of Herzl's speeches that Schocken had distributed in 1914 at the German Zionist convention.

<sup>36</sup> See the correspondence with the Jüdischer Verlag in SA 311/83. There is a short account of these difficulties in SA 311/55; letter to *Davar* ca. Dec. 1931.

During the twenties, Agnon had entered into agreements with the Jüdischer Verlag for publication rights to his works, which apparently conflicted with Schocken's intention to publish Agnon in his own Verlag. It is not clear why the resolution of this difficulty was left for the last. Perhaps Schocken assumed that he had established a proprietary interest in Agnon's writings. For besides paying a stipend directly to Agnon, Schocken had subsidized the publication of some of his individual works; and in 1924 he had purchased from the Jüdischer Verlag the sizable remainder of a German edition of *Vehaya he'akov lenishor* (*Und das Krumme wird gerade*). Perhaps Schocken was impatient with the Jüdischer Verlag's handling of Agnon and thought that it was not promoting Agnon's books with sufficient energy; sales had not been very large. Thus he may have taken matters into his own hands because he felt that the Jüdischer Verlag had violated its obligation to bring Agnon's work to the public. In any case, he was challenged for infringement of copyright. To settle the affair, Schocken agreed to buy out the Jüdischer Verlag's stocks of Agnon's works. (See the material in SA 311/1 between December 1923 and Spring 1924, and SA 311/83.)

<sup>37</sup> *Kol sipurav shel Sh.Y. 'Agnon, 1931.*

One other publishing project occupied Schocken's attention at this time. In honor of the Goethe centennial, he assembled a selection of poems that he issued as *Goethe Gedichte, Eine Auswahl; Leben und Welt*.<sup>38</sup> Essentially a private venture, the volume did not enter the general book trade.

Seventeen years had passed since Schocken first met Agnon, and fifteen years since he had set out his proposals for Jewish cultural activity in Germany. The first volumes of the Schocken Verlag marked the beginning of a comprehensive program of Jewish publishing that Schocken had long contemplated and that he had finally come to realize. As Schneider described the Verlag's plans at the end of 1932, the Buber-Rosenzweig Bible translation was the central effort in a project to issue standard editions and translations of Jewish and general Semitic works. Likewise, the *Lesebuch* was offered as the first in a series of similar anthologies designed to make selections from post-Biblical Jewish literature available to a wide public. The Agnon edition was included in a Hebrew-language division, intended to publish standard editions of both medieval Hebrew poetry (in cooperation with the Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry that Schocken had founded) and modern Hebrew poetry.<sup>39</sup>

## II

During the early months of 1933 Schocken had been abroad convalescing from an illness. On his return to Germany in May 1933 he resolved to expand the Verlag along the lines that had already been set, but toward a more direct response to the immediate needs of the community.<sup>40</sup> The first of the Verlag's ventures were the Schocken *Almanach* and the *Bücherei* ("Library"). Almanacs were standard promotional devices of German publishing houses, and generally included

<sup>38</sup> Zwickau: Schocken Verlag, 1932.

<sup>39</sup> SA 331/511: Schneider to Wolff, 14.12.32. Copy of publicity release for the *Gemeindezeitung für die israelitischen Gemeinden Württembergs*.

In 1929 Schocken began making plans to publish the researches of the *Forschungsinstitut für hebräische Dichtung*, including editions of several rare and important manuscripts that he had purchased the year before. Their acquisition had been one of the main motives for Schocken's founding this Institute. See Schocken's Introduction to Volume I of the *Mitteilungen* of the *Forschungsinstitut* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1933) in which he traces the history of the Institute and of his own interest in Jewish literature and bibliography.

<sup>40</sup> See Schocken's account in SA 303: S. Schocken to T. Schocken, 10.12.1945, p. 3.

selections from new and forthcoming books along with the firm's catalogue. Aside from their advertising value, such almanacs had relatively little significance. In this regard, the Schocken *Almanach* proved to be a distinct exception, as it was taken up by the public as an independently worthwhile publication. The *Almanach* was also distinctive in that it contained a good deal of material written for it especially. The first *Almanach* was published to coincide with Rosh ha-Shanah, 5694, the first Jewish New Year under the Nazis.<sup>41</sup> The volume's success was immense, requiring a second printing — unusual for an almanac. The *Almanach* continued to appear at Rosh ha-Shanah, ending with its sixth volume in 1938 (5699).

The Verlag's second venture, The Schocken Bücherei, was a series of small volumes (each averaging a hundred pages in length) intended to appear at regular intervals. The prospectus that Schocken issued for the Bücherei was as much a broad statement of the Verlag's special purpose after 1933 as a specific outline of the series' contents:

From the immense and often inaccessible Jewish literature of all countries and ages, the Schocken Library presents . . . a careful selection of what will be of immediate appeal to today's searching reader. Ancient Hebrew literature, whose vitality has proven itself especially in critical times, is being made accessible to the present-day reader in significant selections and appropriate translations, as well as in bilingual editions. Contemporary Jewish writings — poetry and prose — with something worthwhile to convey, will also be included, along with reprints of forgotten or not properly recognized works from the recent past. . . .<sup>42</sup>

To secure the success of this program Schocken arranged matters so that the Verlag could operate free of any financial constraint. Origin-

<sup>41</sup> *Almanach des Schocken Verlags auf das Jahr 5694* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1933).

<sup>42</sup> The prospectus (Figure 2) appeared in the annual catalogues and at the head of the list of the Bücherei that was appended to each volume in the series. The carefully worded German read:

Die Bücherei des Schocken Verlags will in alnählichem Aufbau aus dem fast unübersehbaren und häufig unzugänglichen jüdischen Schrifttum aller Länder und Zeiten in sorgfältiger Auswahl dasjenige darbieten, was den suchenden Leser unserer Tage unmittelbar anzusprechen vermag. Die alte hebräische Literatur, deren Lebendigkeit sich gerade in kritischen Zeiten bewährt, soll durch sinnvolle Auszüge und angemessene Übertragungen, sowie durch zweisprachige Ausgaben dem heutigen Leser erschlossen werden. Aus dem zeitgenössischen jüdischen Schrifttum werden dichterische und erörternde Arbeiten aufgenommen, die in gedrängter Form Gültiges mitzuteilen haben. Verschollene oder nicht gebührend bekannte Werke der

nally — as the title page of the Agnon edition indicated — the Verlag had been organized as a division of the Schocken department store chain. This step may have been taken at first as a matter of administrative convenience, but it offered great fiscal advantages as well — advantages that were decisively important after 1933. As long as the Verlag was just another division of the concern, its profits and expenses were reckoned in with the whole. As it happened, the expenses of the Verlag far outweighed its receipts, and in effect the Verlag operated on the surplus funds produced by the profit-making divisions of the firm. Furthermore, despite Nazi attacks on Jewish businesses, and on department stores in general, whatever their ownership, the Schocken firm continued to prosper. As far as the Verlag was concerned, the funds that were available were unlimited. Moreover, the diminution of the firm's profits by the amount of the Verlag's expenditures reduced its taxable surplus. To a certain extent, then, the Verlag ran at the expense of Nazi tax receipts. After Schocken's emigration to Palestine (he left Germany in December 1933 and arrived in Palestine the next month after a short stay in Switzerland) there was the additional consideration that money spent in Germany would not be reduced by the heavily disadvantageous rates that governed the exchange of blocked German funds into foreign currency.

Nevertheless, these factors do not detract from the magnitude of Schocken's personal generosity. The money that he assigned to the Verlag came out of his own income — or, what was the same, was never added to it. This consideration stands despite Nazi restrictions on capital export, since Schocken did continue to transfer funds abroad, and these were reduced by expenditures for the Verlag. Furthermore, Schocken's financial basis in Germany was increasingly jeopardized, and he faced further drains on his capital in the future. Therefore, his outlay at this time was all the more striking in view of the fact that ordinary business sense would have dictated thrift.

In fact, Schocken's support of the Verlag was only one aspect of his larger philanthropic commitment to Jewish culture. He had devoted large amounts of his personal wealth to support a variety of projects;

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jüngerer Vergangenheit werden in Neudruck herausgegeben. Hinzu kommen in wachsendem Mass Bücher belehrenden Inhalts.

The first five volumes in the Bücherei appeared by Chanukah, 1933. (See SA 303; S. Schocken to T. Schocken, 10.12.1945, p. 3; and advertisement in *Jüdische Rundschau*, 8.12.1933, p. 928.

his patronage of Agnon was just one example. Throughout the thirties he continued to spend large sums of money not only for his own cultural interests but for such pressing practical needs of German Jewry as emigration assistance and vocational retraining. When the Schocken concern was finally sold to "Aryan" buyers in 1938 and the money-losing Verlag had to be separated from it, Schocken funded a separate bureau to cover the Verlag's finances.<sup>43</sup>

The final step in the Verlag's expansion was Schocken's appointment of Moritz Spitzer as editor. Spitzer had completed a doctorate in Indology but lacked the independent financial means that would have allowed him to continue in his field. Late in 1930, Schocken engaged Spitzer to tutor his children in Jewish subjects at the family home in Berlin.<sup>44</sup> (At the time Spitzer had been working as the editor of the youth supplement to the *Jüdische Rundschau*. He also directed the *Schule der jüdischen Jugend*, a free evening college in Berlin.) As the Verlag grew, it became increasingly clear that it required an editor with specific knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish literature. (Schneider's responsibility was limited to the technical and business aspects of the Verlag.) The choice fell naturally on Spitzer. In 1932 Spitzer was dispatched to Heppenheim to assist Buber in his work on the Bible translation.<sup>45</sup> While still in Heppenheim, he began work as full-time editor for the Schocken Verlag. (It was at this point that Spitzer was assigned the task of assembling the first *Almanach*.) The next year he returned to Berlin.

Schocken's deliberateness was one of the dominant features of his personality. It was evident in the long and careful consideration that underlay his judgments, and in the intentional, purposeful way that he moved from insight to design and from design to action. Schocken was a perfectionist — a characteristic that he could afford to indulge — and he deliberated longest about the things that he regarded as most important.

There was something of the same tendency to deliberate — and delay — in Spitzer, and it surfaced noticeably in his handling of the *Bücherei*, which was placed under his editorship. Schocken wanted

<sup>43</sup> This "Abwicklungsstelle" also administered Schocken's other Jewish interests — which included Jewish pensioners and charities.

<sup>44</sup> See the correspondence between Spitzer and Schocken in SA. 331/43: November 1930.

<sup>45</sup> Rosenzweig, who had collaborated on the earlier volumes, had died in December 1929.



FIGURE 1  
SALMAN SCHOCKEN (1877-1959)  
IN 1937 AT AGE 60

**BÜCHEREI DES SCHOCKEN VERLAGS**

**D**ie Bucherei des Schocken Verlags um 1920. Die Bücher des Schocken Verlags sind durchweg sorgfältig und in jeder Hinsicht von hoher Qualität. Die Bücher des Schocken Verlags sind durchweg sorgfältig und in jeder Hinsicht von hoher Qualität.

**1 Die Tröstung Israels.** Von David Ben-Gurion. Ein Buch, das die Tröstung Israels behandelt. Ein Buch, das die Tröstung Israels behandelt.

**2 Jehuda Halevi: Zinnlieder.** Ein Buch über die Zinnlieder von Jehuda Halevi. Ein Buch über die Zinnlieder von Jehuda Halevi.

**3 Joseph und seine Brüder.** Ein Buch über Joseph und seine Brüder. Ein Buch über Joseph und seine Brüder.

**4 Martin Duber: 100 Chasidische Geschichten.** Ein Buch über 100 chasidische Geschichten. Ein Buch über 100 chasidische Geschichten.

In Papp M 1.30 / Doppelnummer in Colonn M 2.30

**BÜCHEREI DES SCHOCKEN VERLAGS**

**5 S. J. Agnon: In der Gemeinschaft der Frommen.** Ein Buch über S. J. Agnon. Ein Buch über S. J. Agnon.

**6 Leo Baeck: Die Pharisäer.** Ein Buch über Leo Baeck. Ein Buch über Leo Baeck.

**7 Aron David Bernstein: Vögel der Maggid.** Ein Buch über Aron David Bernstein. Ein Buch über Aron David Bernstein.

**8 Das Haus Israel.** Ein Buch über das Haus Israel. Ein Buch über das Haus Israel.

**9 Das Leben des Flavius Josephus.** Ein Buch über das Leben des Flavius Josephus. Ein Buch über das Leben des Flavius Josephus.

**10 Sprichwörter und Redensarten.** Ein Buch über Sprichwörter und Redensarten. Ein Buch über Sprichwörter und Redensarten.

In Papp M 1.35 / Doppelnummer in Colonn M 2.30

FIGURE 2

**SCHOCKEN BÜCHEREI:**

**PROSPECTUS AND INITIAL CATALOGUE LISTINGS**

(NOTE THE SYMMETRY OF THE DESIGN;

EACH ENTRY FILLS EXACTLY SEVEN LINES)

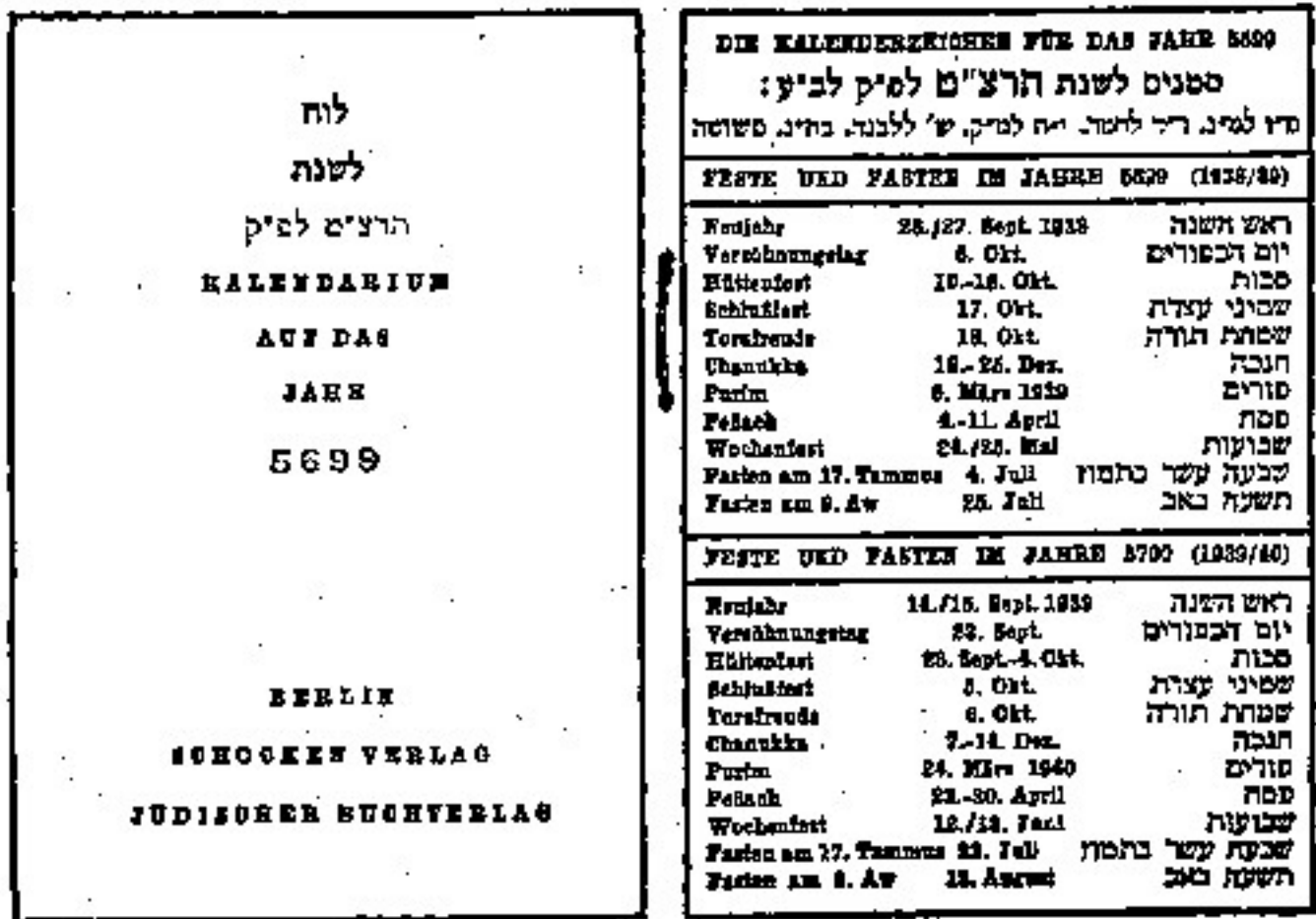


FIGURE 3

**POCKET CALENDAR FOR 5699 (1938/39)**

**FRONT AND BACK COVERS**

(NOTE THE REQUIRED IDENTIFICATION: "JÜDISCHER BUCHVERLAG")



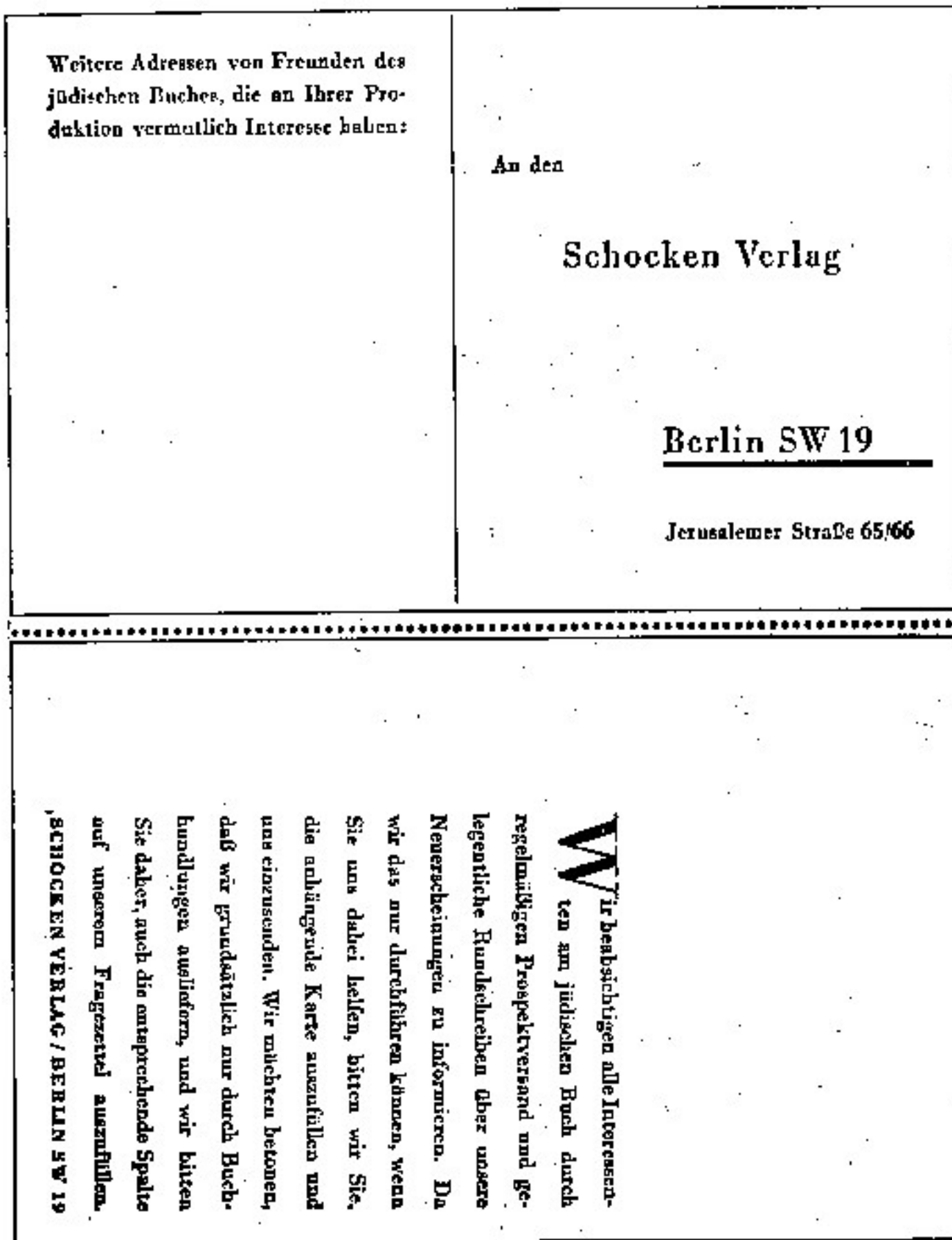


FIGURE 4  
 INVITATION TO READERS  
 TO ADD THEIR NAMES TO THE MAILING LIST  
 (THE STRIKING FORMAT IS CHARACTERISTIC)

**DIE SCHRIFT**  
 In verdieschten Uebersetzungen von  
**MARTIN BUBER** gemeinsam mit **FRANZ ROSENZWEIG**  
 Das Werk erscheint in 20 Bänden

*Inhalt der Bände:*  
**DIE FÜNF BÜCHER DER WEISUNG**  
 1. Das Buch Im Anfang / 2. Das Buch Namen / 3. Das Buch Er  
 rüht / 4. Das Buch In der Weite / 5. Das Buch Reden

**KINDER**  
*Bücher der Geschichte:*  
 6. Das Buch Jehoshua / 7. Das Buch Richter / 8. Das Buch  
 Samuel / 9. Das Buch Könige  
*Bücher der Nibelung:*  
 10. Das Buch Josthahub / 11. Das Buch Himejahu / 12. Das Buch  
 Jechiel / 13. Die Zwölf Kämder

**SCHRIFTWERKE**  
 14. Das Buch der Psalmen / 15. Das Buch der Gleichnisse /  
 16. Das Buch Ijob / 17. Die fünf Rollen: Der Sang der Sänge,  
 Das Buch Rut, Das Buch Wehe, Das Buch Koheler, Das Buch  
 Ester / 18. Das Buch Daniel / 19. Das Buch Esra / Das Buch  
 Nehemia / 20. Denkwürdigkeiten der Tage.

**ERSCHINUNGSTERMIN**  
 Mehrere sind Band I bis Band II erschienen,  
 Band XII und Band XIII erscheinen bis Ende des Jahres 1972.

**PREIS**  
 Band I bis VII in Pappe je 4.—, in Halb-leinen je 6.—, in Ganz-  
 pergament je 20.—, Band VIII bis XI in Pappe je 3.—, in Halb-  
 leinen je 7.—, in Ganzpergament je 22.— M.

**SUBSKRIPTION**  
 Die Subskribenten auf das ganze Werk erhalten alle Bände in  
 Pappe zu je 4.—, in Leinen zu je 6.— und im Pergament zu  
 je 10.— M.

**SCHOCKEN VERLAG · BERLIN**

MARTIN BUBER  
 DIE  
 CHASSIDISCHEN  
 BÜCHER

**MARTIN BUBER**  
**DIE CHASSIDISCHEN**  
**BÜCHER**

*Leinen M 7.50*

Man darf wohl sagen, daß dieser  
 Band, Kern und Kleinod von Bu-  
 bers Lebensarbeit, ein klassisches  
 und unvergängliches Werk ist.  
*HERMANN HESSE*

**SCHOCKEN VERLAG · BERLIN**

FIGURE 5  
 DUST JACKET  
 FOR BUBER'S COLLECTION OF ESSAYS ON HASIDISM.

the volumes in the Bücherei to appear regularly, as a quasi-periodical, at the rate of two a month. But the plan ran up against difficulties in securing suitable material, and against Spitzer's thorough and time-consuming editing.<sup>40</sup> (Schneider described Spitzer as constitutionally averse to deadline work in any case.<sup>47</sup>) This led to some tension, since Schocken could be very impatient with others, despite his own tendency to procrastinate. Schneider wrote that each new month loomed ahead "like the Sword of Damocles."<sup>48</sup> But despite delays and setbacks, the Bücherei reached number 92, eight short of the goal of 100, before the Nazis forced the Verlag to close in 1938.<sup>49</sup>

The *Almanach* and the Bücherei were only the first additions in the Verlag's post-1933 expansion. The Verlag's final catalogue, issued in the fall of 1938, listed a total of 194 titles, including the Bücherei.<sup>50</sup> The stories behind some of these publications deserve telling, as they reveal much about the workings of the Verlag and the conditions under which it operated.

One of the projects that Schocken proposed for the expanded Verlag in the summer of 1933 was a series that he called *Gastgeschenk der Juden an Deutschland* ("a gift to Germany from Jewish guests"). (The concept that in their Diaspora the Jews were everywhere guests of foreign host nations was central to Zionist ideology.) Here he in-

<sup>40</sup> For reference to the intended periodical publication of the Bücherei, see SA 303; S. Schocken to T. Schocken, 10.12.1945, p. 3.

With regard to editorial work Schneider wrote to Schocken: "My only concern now is how to relieve Spitzer. He has more to do than is reasonable. Even a good manuscript like Ernst Simon's [book on Bialik; Bücherei 37/38] can not be set in type without a careful reading and numerous stylistic changes. . . . Other manuscripts have to be almost rewritten. To be sure I scold Spitzer about his corrections and the great amount of time that is lost in making them. But when he shows me the passages I must agree with him. Certainly this problem will be solved, even if I do not see any way out just now." (SA 331/42: L. Schneider to S. Schocken, 28.6.1935, p. 2.)

<sup>41</sup> For this and other details about Spitzer and the Bücherei, see Lambert Schneider's recollections in *Rechenschaft*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>42</sup> SA 331/42: L. Schneider to S. Schocken, 24.3.1935, p. 2.

<sup>43</sup> The last volume was number 92, but there were ten double-volumes, which were substantially longer than the average length of 100 pages, and which bore a double-number. Therefore there were actually only 87 volumes in the series. With regard to the intention of stopping with number 100, see SA 331/13: Spitzer to S. Schocken, 6.7.1938.

<sup>44</sup> Several of these works, such as the Bible translation, were sets of several volumes. The list in *Almanach*, VI, does not include books confiscated by the Gestapo before 1938. (See Part IV, below.)

tended to publish Jewish authors who had made a significant contribution to Germany, and whose membership in the German people the Nazis denied — such men as Heinrich Heine, Franz Kafka, Alfred Mombert, Franz Werfel, Sigmund Freud, Karl Wolfskehl, and Karl Kraus.<sup>51</sup> The series never appeared under a separate title, but as the Verlag's catalogue indicates, Schocken's goal was achieved in part.

The major effort in this "Gastgeschenk" project was the collected edition of Kafka's works. Kafka, who died in 1924, had permitted publication of only some of his shorter stories during his lifetime. After his death his three novels — *The Trial*, *The Castle*, and *America* — were published by general German publishers. But in 1933 Kafka — a Jewish author — could no longer appear on the list of a non-Jewish publisher, and the Schocken Verlag moved to acquire his works.

I was not able to determine precisely who initiated the Verlag's acquisition of Kafka, or to what extent Schocken himself was involved. Kafka's first appearance in a Schocken publication was in the *Almanach* of 1933. There he was represented by a short passage on Kierkegaard's *Fear and Trembling*, excerpted from a letter to his friend and physician, Dr. Robert Klopstock.<sup>52</sup> The introductory note in the *Almanach* identifies the source as a manuscript in the possession of Kafka's literary executor, Max Brod. Spitzer recalls, however, that he had copied the passage directly from the original letter in Klopstock's possession, and that he had this copy on hand in 1933 when he was called on to assemble the first *Almanach*.<sup>53</sup> (Spitzer had made Klopstock's acquaintance during his university days in Kiel, after Kafka's death. Kafka himself he had met only briefly.)

Whatever the origin of that first selection from Kafka, it was with Brod (representing the Kafka family) that the Verlag signed a contract in 1934 for a collected edition of Kafka's works.<sup>54</sup> Although it may seem strange, in view of the "Kafkaesque" nature of existence — especially for the Jews — in Nazi Germany, Kafka's writing had not

<sup>51</sup> See Gerstom Schocken, *op. cit.* (note 2), 28; and SA 331/12: Notiz über ein Telefongespräch zwischen Herrn S. Schocken und den Herrn Dr. Schneider und Dr. Spitzer am 26.3.1936 (Zürich/Berlin), p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> Franz Kafka, "Über Kierkegaards *Furcht und Zittern* und den Erzvater Abraham," *Almanach*, I, 40-43.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with M. Spitzer, 7.7.1969; and SA 303: M. Spitzer, "Vorwort," 25.6.1957, p. 16.

<sup>54</sup> There are copies of Brod's agreement with the Kafka family (11.7.1924) and his later agreement with the Schocken Verlag (22/26.2.1934) in SA 374/313.

yet achieved the wide popularity that it later enjoyed. Spitzer attributed the initial success of the new edition to the fact that the work issued from the Schocken Verlag, which had already secured a loyal readership.<sup>55</sup> In any case, the response was overwhelmingly favorable. One review — written in 1935 by Klaus Mann in the émigré monthly *Die Sammlung* — is particularly worth quoting, since its praise almost brought the venture to disaster.<sup>56</sup>

The collected edition of Franz Kafka's work that the Schocken Verlag is issuing is the finest and most significant publication to come out of Germany these days. It has not been banned by the Propaganda Ministry [Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry supervised "non-Aryan" cultural affairs]; for this intellectual event is occurring in a complete "splendid isolation," entirely apart from the Reich's Chamber of Culture — in a ghetto that really has no need to regret its exclusion from the new German "culture" mill. . . .

Are there still readers ready and able to appreciate these sublime, arduous, and very fresh delights? — to stand in reverence before the grotesque and moving vision, the profound, awesome, and blessed dream of a religious genius? Such readers — if they still exist anywhere — will share my gratefulness for the Schocken Verlag's edition of Kafka.

Mann's praise of this Nazi oversight was enough to bring it to an end, and the Gestapo intervened to prohibit further publication. Fortunately, it was possible to circumvent the ban by transferring the printing to the Heinrich Mercy Verlag in Prague, which served as a front for Schocken and completed the printing of the remaining two volumes in the set.<sup>57</sup> Schneider remarked that the episode revealed that the Nazis paid more attention to the émigré press than to the Schocken Verlag's activities within Germany.<sup>58</sup> Evidently, however, Nazi sur-

<sup>55</sup> Interview with M. Spitzer, 7.7.1969.

<sup>56</sup> Klaus Mann, "Dank für die Kafka-Ausgabe," *Die Sammlung* (Amsterdam: Querido Verlag), II: 11 (July 1935), 664.

<sup>57</sup> The Schocken Verlag agreed to subsidize Mercy Verlag for any losses that it might incur if sales did not cover expenses. (Interview with M. Spitzer, 22.7.1969.) One of the first projects of Schocken Books in New York after the war was the re-issue of the collected works of Kafka in German. Schocken at first refused to allow Kafka to be published in Germany and undertook the difficult task of issuing these German volumes in New York. Eventually the German-language publication of Kafka was transferred to the S. Fischer Verlag in Germany.

<sup>58</sup> *Rechenschaft*, p. 41. Schneider errs in identifying *Europäische Hefte*, another émigré periodical, as the source of Klaus Mann's review. As Mann noted, the Nazi's lack of awareness of the Verlag's activities may have been a consequence of the policy of "dissimilation" and partial autonomy for the Jewish community that was operative at this time.

veillance was either not consistent, or not thorough, since the Schocken Verlag continued to publish Kafka's *Vor dem Gesetz* in the Bücherei without being challenged.

Perhaps the most timely of the Schocken publications, in the light of current events, was the *Bericht über Palästina*. This volume was a German translation of the *Report* of the Palestine Royal Commission under Earl Peel that had been appointed in the wake of the serious disturbances in Palestine in 1936.<sup>59</sup> Zionists hailed as a victory the Commission's acceptance of the idea of a separate Jewish state and its recommendation of a plan for partition. Interest in the *Report* was especially intense among Jews anxious to emigrate from Germany, and Schocken decided to make the entire text available in German. The translation was made under extreme pressures of time, as Schocken intended the volume for distribution at the oncoming Zionist Congress in Zurich. On 12 July 1937 Schocken cabled from his home in Jerusalem instructing the Verlag in Berlin to begin the translation. Spitzer divided a copy of the *Report* among ten translators and set them to work simultaneously.<sup>60</sup> The project succeeded, and the books came off the press in time for the Congress, bearing the date of its opening session, 3 August 1937.

Schocken had a second motive in issuing the *Report* in translation, namely to secure publicity for the Verlag abroad.<sup>61</sup> The consideration, if over-optimistic, was nevertheless apt in view of deteriorating conditions in Germany and the impending necessity of transferring the Verlag elsewhere. It was with this same thought in mind that Schocken published a volume of essays by Arthur Ruppin in German, Hebrew, and English editions.<sup>62</sup> A third similarly motivated project was a series of standard Hebrew works offered in 1937 as the "Ossef Sifre Mofet."

<sup>59</sup> *Palestine Royal Commission Report presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by command of His Majesty, July, 1937* (Cmd. 5479; London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1937).

<sup>60</sup> Information from interviews with Theodore Schocken (22.12.1969), Moritz Spitzer (22.8.1969), and Gershom Schocken (28.7.1969).

<sup>61</sup> See SA 338/6: Theodore Schocken to Spitzer, 12.7.1937.

<sup>62</sup> Artur Ruppin, *Dreissig Jahre Aufbau in Palästina* (Berlin: Schocken Verlag, 1937); Dr. A. Ruppin, *Sheloshim Shenot Binyan be-Eretz Yisrael* (Jerusalem: Schocken Publishing House, [1937]); and Dr. Arthur Ruppin, *Three Decades of Palestine: Speeches and Papers on the Upbuilding of the Jewish National Home* (Jerusalem: Schocken, 1936). For Schocken's plans for the Ruppin volume and for the eventual transfer of the Verlag from Germany, see SA 941: S. Schocken to Hans Kohn, 12.6.1936.

The series included titles that had already been issued by the Verlag — editions of the *Mishna*, the *Siddur*, traditional Biblical commentaries, and Mandelkern's *Concordance* of the Bible — and promised future inexpensive reprints of outstanding editions of major Hebrew works.<sup>63</sup> (The project exploited a new photo-offset process developed by the Zwickau printing firm of Ullmann ["Manuldruck"].) Schocken wanted to build up a list of standard Hebrew titles that would provide a stable sales base in case the Verlag were cut off from its German readership.<sup>64</sup> There was an additional concern with assuring the preservation of vital works that might be destroyed in the threatening European conflagration. To this end Schocken also had photographic copies made of important Jewish manuscripts in Europe.

With the exception of the Peel Commission *Bericht*, the Ruppin essays, and some other material that could be regarded as Zionist by implication, the Schocken Verlag published nothing that was overtly Zionist in the sense of fostering emigration to Palestine.<sup>65</sup> Although this may seem out of character for a publishing house that was the creation of a committed and active Zionist, the policy was an accurate reflection of Schocken's own attitudes. In the first place, Schocken was generally not interested in straightforward political work.<sup>66</sup> His attention was centered on economic and cultural affairs, and he founded the Verlag to publish material of literary, rather than political merit. To the extent that partisan Zionist literature was regarded as below the Verlag's standards of literary quality, it was absent from its catalogue. In any case, publishers like the Jüdischer Verlag served the immediate wants of the community for Zionist material.

<sup>63</sup> Verlag catalogue in *Almanach*, V. Schocken had also proposed to include in the series an edition of the *Machsor*, the special prayer book for Rosh ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur. (SA 331/12: Verlagsbesprechung/Zürich, S. Schocken and L. Schneider, 5/6.3.1936, p. 2.)

<sup>64</sup> SA 303: M. Spitzer, "Vorwort," 25.6.1957, p. 60.

<sup>65</sup> One example of Palestine-directed material is the section of statistical information about Palestine that was included in the first *Almanach*. But Gershom Schocken (Salman Schocken's eldest son, who emigrated to Palestine in 1933) recalls that he had compiled these tables for the *Almanach* to give it more of a Palestine-orientation, and that Spitzer accepted them only grudgingly. Nevertheless, Spitzer did have a statistician in Berlin compile similar tables (with the addition of information about German and world Jewry) for later volumes of the *Almanach* (III, IV, and VI). (Interviews with G. Schocken, 28.7.1969; and M. Spitzer, 22.8.1969.)

<sup>66</sup> See Siegfried Moses, "Salman Schocken," *LBIYB*, V (1960), 83 and the note there.

As for the practical necessity of moving Jews out of Germany, Schocken — who remarked in 1935 that he could not imagine any Jew remaining in Germany who had the chance to leave — organized an extensive program for the emigration of the Jewish employees of his department-store chain.<sup>67</sup> To equip people with skills that would assure their employment in a new country, Schocken offered vocational retraining at the firm's expense. He also provided for the maintenance of the employee and his family during the period of retraining and furnished the equivalent of fifty pounds sterling for the employee's initial expenses at his destination. With the declining exchange rates, providing this last sum required increasingly large amounts of German currency. Schocken particularly urged younger people to emigrate to Palestine, and to qualify them for admission as trained workers he established a program for *bachsharab* (Zionist-oriented agricultural training) at Gut Winkel, a farm owned by the family.<sup>68</sup>

### III

The correspondence that Salman Schocken had initiated with Mar-

<sup>67</sup> See SA 179/522: "Referat des Herrn Salman Schocken bei der Besprechung am 23.10.1935 in Berlin" [delivered to a conference of Jewish members of the management of the Schocken firm], p. 2. Schocken's decision to initiate this full-scale emigration program came during his visit to Germany in the autumn of 1935, when he had been particularly impressed by the deterioration of the Jews' situation. (Interview with T. Schocken, 15.9.1969.)

Other sources of information about the emigration program for Schocken's Jewish employees were an interview with Georg Spiro (30.7.1969) and a memoir by Dr. Ernst Markowicz, "Warenprüfung und Auswanderungshilfe; Erinnerungen an meine Tätigkeit für Salman Schocken" (9 pp.; n.d. [1960], typescript in possession of Gershom Schocken). Both Spiro and Markowicz were involved in the organization and administration of the emigration program.

Schocken's judgment about the advisability of emigrating was not generally shared by his employees. Theodore Schocken reported to his father that as of December 1935 the firm's Jewish employees preferred to remain in Germany, given the fact that no immediate change was expected in the firm's management:

"During my visit I also spoke with a number of Jewish employees about emigrating. The inclination in that direction is generally slight. I was almost always asked whether a change in the ownership or management was expected in the near future. When I said that there was not, the immediate reply was 'So then I don't really have to decide yet.'" (SA 942/2: T. Schocken to S. Schocken, 3.1.1936, p. 5.)

Thus the paradoxical situation developed that the better a Jew was protected from Nazi anti-Jewish measures in the short run (e.g. through employment by a Jewish firm that remained in business), the less likely he was to emigrate — and survive.

<sup>68</sup> See SA 179/522: Referat des S. Schocken, 23.10.1935, p. 4.



tin Buber in 1914 developed into a close personal association that was evident in the Schocken Verlag as well. Not only was Buber the leading figure on the Verlag's booklist (twenty-seven of the titles were his) — he was also the dominant influence on the Verlag itself.<sup>68</sup> Buber had left his mark on both Spitzer and Schneider even before they were associated in the Verlag, and once it was in operation there were frequent consultations at Buber's home in Heppenheim or at the Verlag in Berlin.

This influence of Buber's was an important element in the broad consensus that Schocken, Schneider, and Spitzer shared about Jewish matters, and that provided a stable basis for their collaboration in the Verlag. This common understanding enabled Schneider and Spitzer to manage the Verlag in a way that Schocken approved of, even though he generally did not participate directly in editorial decisions. In his work with the Verlag, Schocken's long deliberations proved to be something of a handicap, as they hampered his ability to resolve the numerous small problems that book production raised. Faced with Schocken's indecisiveness and hesitation, Spitzer and Schneider would act on their own, and Schocken's approval usually followed.

After Schocken left Germany at the end of 1933 the danger arose that the Schocken Verlag would become his in name only. This never really came about. Schneider and Spitzer may have had to circumvent Schocken's indecisiveness, but they did not depart from his broader intentions. Given their common purpose, there was no call for much conflict. Schocken might chafe at their independence of action, but he rarely found cause to criticize the substance of their decisions.<sup>70</sup> He did insist, however, on being kept informed of the Verlag's functioning and on being consulted in connection with its operations. Although Schocken continued to confer with Schneider and Spitzer during his periodic visits to Europe, his growing involvement in affairs in Palestine after 1935 somewhat reduced his active influence on the Verlag.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Spitzer reports that Schocken felt ambivalent about Buber's mentorship and was concerned lest Buber's influence become overwhelming. Spitzer recalls that at one point Schocken protested, "What have I? Have I a Buber Verlag or a Schocken Verlag?" (Interview with M. Spitzer, 14.8.1969.)

<sup>69</sup> Schneider described the cooperation among himself, Spitzer, and Schocken as "teamwork." (Interview with L. Schneider, 8.9.1969.) In 1936 Schneider wrote to Schocken that he had an "instinctive" understanding of Schocken's intentions (SA 331/42: Schneider to S. Schocken, 4.2.1936, p. 3.)

<sup>70</sup> Until 1935 Schocken met with Schneider and Spitzer in Germany; afterwards

Unquestionably Schocken's absence made matters more difficult for the Verlag's editors. Schocken wanted to continue his active role in the Verlag, but practical necessity dictated that Schneider and Spitzer carry out most of the Verlag's operations on their own. The contradiction that this situation implied was never entirely resolved. The Verlag provided Schocken with copies of its correspondence and periodical reports of its activities, and Schocken replied with letters of his own;<sup>72</sup> but these means could not compensate for the long distance that separated Berlin from Jerusalem. The occasional conferences that Schocken had in Europe were no substitute for his regular presence — and it is not clear how significant they were in terms of specific results.

Spitzer later discounted the importance of these conferences, as well as Schocken's influence on the Verlag once he had left Germany.<sup>73</sup> As far as the day-to-day workings of the Verlag were concerned, this evaluation seems to be a fair one. Schneider was also skeptical about the substantive accomplishments of these conferences, but valued them for the personal contact with Schocken. After one such meeting in the summer of 1936 he wrote to Schocken,

You must have had the impression that not much positive came out of our conversation in Zurich. Under the circumstances anything else was really impossible. For me the conversation itself was the essential thing. Even such an occasional talk gives the whole operation a much more intensive continuity, and this personal contact apparently means more than ever so many important technical clarifications.<sup>74</sup>

Schneider struck a similar note earlier that year, when he asked Schocken to

arrange some free time this summer to get together with Buber, Spitzer and me. . . . Planning . . . is not actually the main thing. You would get much more pleasure out of the Verlag if you spent a few days here from time to time — and we would work with greater enjoyment as well. It is really not pleasant when one has so little idea of where one stands with regard to every-

they met in European cities outside Germany. There were also consultations by telephone between European cities and Berlin. In 1935 Schocken purchased the newspaper *Haaretz*. The same year he was named Chairman of the Executive Council of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, after which time University affairs increasingly absorbed his attention.

<sup>72</sup> This correspondence is the basis of the Verlag section of the Schocken Archive in Jerusalem (SA 3).

<sup>73</sup> Interview with M. Spitzer, 22.7.1969.

<sup>74</sup> SA 331/42: Schneider to S. Schocken, 10.8.1936.

thing. This feeling of working in isolation is often almost unbearable, and I frequently wish for the return of our weekends in Berlin and Zwickau.<sup>75</sup>

The tension in this situation of working for an absentee publisher was evident in a poignant letter that Schneider wrote to Schocken in 1935:

I am making things difficult for you as a publisher without meaning to—and you are doing likewise. It is not good this way, and I believe that neither of us would have it so. But I know of no way out and I am often quite despondent. Think about your last visit to Germany. There was time only for immediate problems. I had to take pains to discuss everything as briefly as possible because I knew how much you are taken up in important negotiations.

Perhaps I am in error about our arrangement. Before, when you came to Berlin on weekends everything went so simply. I came with my problems and in a short while everything was settled. I sat across from you and could explain the pros and cons of a matter, argue, take up your suggestions—in short, it was fun to be a publisher with Salman Schocken. Beautiful things came out of it, and beyond the work I learned to admire and respect you.

Now the arrangement has become sluggish and awkward. The Bücherei bears a good deal of the blame for this situation. You demand, with full justice, that punctually every month two books appear. But two Bücherei volumes are a lot of work—both in terms of editing and production. The first of every month hangs over us like the Sword of Damocles. One closes one's eyes and plunges forward. Every question, whatever its source, is felt as a disturbance; decisions have to be made hastily . . . we have no time. Unquestionably this is wrong. Doubtless things will improve in the course of time, as I hope to build up a reservoir of manuscripts that will give us a chance to catch our breath. Then it is likely that our arrangement will once again become more self-evident and intense.

So have patience and believe me that I am serious about working with you, that you have helped me a great deal, and that your judgment is important for me and that I admire you. This, after all, is the only basis for intellectual cooperation.

But there is something else I must tell you. I must compel you to put yourself in my situation and Spitzer's so that you can understand our state of affairs. For two years we have been living and working in a permanent state of nervous tension. Nowhere else in the world does anyone work in such a situation. We are not putting our heads on the block, which would not be difficult—but yours. Our responsibility is not limited just to what we are doing; it is much greater. At the same time the Verlag is growing with breakneck speed, always with the most intense regard for quality. Our whole being is charged with this task; every conversation, every thought concerns it, even our entire private life.

So is it any wonder if not everything is working out as it should? . . .

<sup>75</sup> SA 331/13; Schneider to S. Schocken, 17.4.1936, pp. 2-3.

In a few weeks the Roscnzweig *Letters* will appear, bearing your name on the title page. I envy you that. There are few books that are as beautiful or fine as this one. Generations to come will wonder at the life of this man as documented in these letters. Not only Jews, to whom it is addressed, but all men. Whatever irritation and trouble you have had on my account and Spitzer's will surely be transcended by the joy of being the publisher of this book.<sup>76</sup>

## IV

Shortly after the Nazis came to power, Martin Buber told Lambert Schneider that authors and publishers would have to "learn to live in the catacombs." He explained that "we writers will have to write so cleverly that the powers-that-be will not detect our opposition right off and collar us; to write so cleverly that many people will have read us before we can be called to account."<sup>77</sup> Buber's strategy proved to be exceedingly apt. The "dissimilated" Jewish community had been granted a partial autonomy in the conduct of its own affairs. Since the Jews were accounted to be unassimilable.—the justification for their segregation in the first place—they were spared "coordination" (*Gleichschaltung*) into the totalitarian Nazi state.<sup>78</sup> The curious consequence of this Nazi policy was to provide the Jews with a readymade catacomb where in some respects they were freer than non-Jews on the outside.

For example, until the public sale of Jewish newspapers was prohibited in 1935, the semi-weekly Zionist paper *Jüdische Rundschau* enjoyed a large newsstand circulation as the only surviving opposition paper in Germany.<sup>79</sup> As for the Schocken Verlag, even after it was required to add the words "Jüdischer Buchverlag" to its imprint (to warn away unsuspecting "Aryan" readers) its books continued to be sold to non-Jews through a network of cooperative booksellers that

<sup>76</sup> SA 331/42; Schneider to S. Schocken, 24.3.1935.

<sup>77</sup> Quoted in L. Schneider, *Rechenschaft*, p. 38.

<sup>78</sup> To some Jews this autonomy seemed more stable and secure than it later proved to be. For example see Herbert Freedman's description in "A Jewish Theatre under the Swastika," *LBIB*, I (1956), 142-143.

<sup>79</sup> Robert Weltsch, the editor of the *Jüdische Rundschau* recalled that "in the first period of Nazi rule it was even possible to argue with Nazi officials on the lines that Jews . . . must be allowed to express themselves in liberal terms"—since it was as alien liberals that the Jews were held to be ideologically unassimilable into the German people. (R. Weltsch, interview, 7.8.1969; and "Introduction," *LBIB*, I (1956), xxxi.)

Schneider's wife had established.<sup>80</sup> In fact, until 1937 the Verlag operated with relatively little direct Nazi interference. Censorship was capricious and haphazard. *Die Judenbuche* by Annette von Droste-Hülshoff was confiscated by the Gestapo, but five other books written by non-Jews escaped any action.<sup>81</sup> The edition of Kafka's collected works was banned — apparently because Klaus Mann expressed his surprise that it had not been — but the volume by Kafka in the Bücherei was not withdrawn and was never challenged. In 1938 the Verlag's publications seem to have come under a more systematic scrutiny, and the Gestapo confiscated all works by Fritz Baer and Selma Stern and a demographic study by Heinrich Silbergleit.<sup>82</sup> But other similar historical works escaped a like fate.

Despite the Verlag's success in securing a relative freedom for its operations within the Jewish "ghetto" — and even circumventing Nazi prohibitions against commerce with the non-Jewish world — inevitably it also felt the force of the Nazi regime. At the end of July 1937 the Schocken Verlag was notified that its membership in the Reichsschriftumskammer had been terminated, and that henceforth it would be entirely under the jurisdiction of Reich Cultural Administrator Hans Hinkel, the Propaganda Ministry's special officer for Jewish cultural affairs.<sup>83</sup> Appended to the notice was a set of regula-

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Lambert and Marion Schneider (8.9.1969), and M. Spitzer (22.7.1969). Also see Schneider, *Rechenschaft*, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup> *Die Judenbuche* appeared as Number 68 in the Bücherei but was confiscated so soon after it appeared that its number was assigned to another volume. The other works by non-Jewish authors (all of which appeared in the Bücherei) were:

*Von der Francksfurter Juden Vergangenheit*. Aus Johann Jacob Schudts "Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten" (1714), ausgewählt und mit einem Nachwort versehen von E. Frisch. (Bücherei, 12.)

*Ahdias*. Eine Erzählung von Adalbert Stifter, mit einem Nachwort von Margarete Susman. (31)

Ferdinand Gregorovius. *Der Ghetto und die Juden in Rom*. Mit einem Geleitwort von Leo Baeck. (46)

J. G. Herder. *Blätter der Vorzeit*. Mit einem Nachwort von Fritz Bamberger. (60)

Theodor Mommsen. *Judaea und die Juden*. Mit einem Nachwort von Eugen Täubler. (70)

<sup>82</sup> Heinrich Silbergleit, *Die Bevölkerungs- und Berufsverhältnisse der Juden im Deutschen Reich*. Originally published in 1930 by the Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in the Akademie Verlag. This was one of a number of the Academy's publications that were acquired by the Schocken Verlag.

<sup>83</sup> Hinkel held the post of Reichskulturwalter in the Reichskulturkammer, whose president was Joseph Goebbels. Goebbels also held the office of Reichsminister für

tions for the Verlag's future operations, which required that the Verlag limit itself strictly to Jewish works (defined as works by Jewish authors) and that it distribute its books only to Jewish readers. (This was the order that required the Schocken Verlag to identify itself as a "Jüdischer Buchverlag.")<sup>81</sup>

Hinkel had interpreted his appointment as Goebbels' special assistant for Jewish cultural affairs in a constructive sense. Rather than ministering over the liquidation of such activities, he took it upon himself to expand them. This was more a matter of bureaucratic zeal than of any special Jewish sympathies. Hinkel's main function was to serve as the official Nazi counterpart and supervisor of the Kulturbund deutscher Juden, after 1933 the general Jewish organization for theater and music.<sup>85</sup>

In August 1937 Spitzer arranged a conference at the Propaganda Ministry to clarify the details of the new regulations, where he was met by an assistant to Hinkel named Kochanowsky. Kochanowsky was typical of a number of young Nazis who had read certain Jewish authors of a Zionist bent and discovered apparent similarities between Nazi racial theories and the exposition of Judaism in terms of a Jewish *Volk*. He explained to Spitzer that as a convinced National Socialist he favored the separation of the Jews from the German people — but he rejected the vulgar anti-Semitism of *Der Stürmer* and insisted that "dissimilation" did not necessarily imply discrimination against the Jews. Kochanowsky expressed his sympathy for the writings of Buber and Rosenzweig, and extended his respect for the Schocken Verlag's authors to the Verlag itself. As Schneider described the interview to Schocken:

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Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. It was in connection with this second post of Goebbels' that Hinkel was further designated "Der Sonderbeauftragte des Reichministers für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda für die Ueberwachung der im Deutschen Reichsgebiet geistig und kulturell tätigen Nichtarier." See Hans Hinkel (ed.), *Handbuch der Reichskulturkammer* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft, 1937), pp. 13, 15. There is a copy of Hinkel's notice to the Schocken Verlag in SA 331/91, dated 31.7.1937.

<sup>81</sup> These regulations are given in a "Rundschreiben an die zum jüdischen Buchhandel gehörenden Personen und Unternehmen," dated 30.7.1937. (SA 331/91.) Note the addition of this identifying legend in the calendar reproduced in Figure 3.

<sup>85</sup> Hinkel's activities in this connection are described in Herbert Freedon, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland*. See especially Chapter 5, "Advocatus Diaboli." Also in the shorter, English version of Freedon's book, "A Jewish Theatre under the Swastika," *LBIYB*, I (1956), 153-155, 161.

The work until now was regarded with respect and appears to be thoroughly desirable. It came out that Buber's work and Buber himself are highly regarded, and that there is no hesitation about any of his books. At this point Spitzer broke in to make sure of Rosenzweig. He depicted Rosenzweig's development and life and found more than attentive listeners. . . .

Schneider concluded that "fundamentally our output can continue as before."<sup>86</sup>

Despite any rhetoric of "dissimilation," most Nazis pursued a program of outright repression and were not influenced by any putative affinity between Nazi and Zionist ideologies. The fact that the surveillance of the Schocken Verlag fell to someone with Kochanowsky's attitude made a crucial difference for its continued operation. To the extent that he was able, Kochanowsky shielded the Verlag from interference and attempted to intervene on its behalf in its dealings with other Nazi authorities. But the protection that a Kochanowsky could offer was meager, and the deterioration of the general Jewish situation in Germany unavoidably bore in on the Schocken Verlag as well.

The end came swiftly. In June 1938 Spitzer estimated in a letter to Schocken that the Verlag might be able to continue its normal operations for one more year.<sup>87</sup> A month later, in the middle of July, Theodore Schocken reported to his father that Spitzer now hoped to be able to leave Germany by the end of 1938. Schocken's son also discussed the possible necessity of terminating the Verlag's activities when Spitzer departed.<sup>88</sup> Hitler's aggressive stance toward Czechoslovakia made Spitzer, a Czech citizen, increasingly anxious to leave Germany, and in September he began making final plans to emigrate to Palestine.<sup>89</sup> Toward the end of the month he reported to Schocken that he had begun to make arrangements for the transfer of the Verlag's book

<sup>86</sup> SA 331/13: Schneider to S. Schocken, 22.8.1937.

The existence of this curious admiration for certain Jewish writers by a few younger Nazis was confirmed in interviews with M. Spitzer (7.7.1969), Siegfried Moses (23.7.1969), Robert Weltch — who as editor of the *Jüdische Rundschau* also dealt with Kochanowsky (7.8.1969), and Lambert Schneider (8.9.1969). All these people stressed that the number of such Nazis was very small, and Dr. Moses emphasized that this ideological tendency was never the basis for any significantly influential, coherent policy.

<sup>87</sup> SA 331/43: Spitzer to S. Schocken, 17.6.1938, p. 1.

<sup>88</sup> SA 331/43: T. Schocken to S. Schocken, 14.7.1938. Also see *ibid.*: T. Schocken to S. Schocken, 15.7.1938.

<sup>89</sup> SA 331/43: Spitzer to S. Schocken, 16.9.1938.

stocks to Palestine, and added the news that Schneider had been called up for military service a few days before.<sup>90</sup>

As it happened, Spitzer's attempts to liquidate the Verlag in an orderly way were anticipated by events. On 9 November 1938, "*Kristallnacht*," whatever was still left of a catacomb caved in. Synagogues were burned, offices raided, and large numbers of Jews arrested.<sup>91</sup> The Schocken Verlag ceased publishing.<sup>92</sup>

After *Kristallnacht* Spitzer attempted to salvage as much as possible of the Verlag's unsold stocks of books. Officially, Jewish publishers were required to transfer their stocks to the Kulturbund deutscher Juden, now under immediate Nazi control. Nevertheless, Spitzer persuaded Kochanowsky to allow the sale of a large part of the Verlag's books to a foreign buyer. Evidently Kochanowsky cooperated because he was unwilling to see the Verlag's stocks simply confiscated *via* the Kulturbund, and because the sale would bring payment in hard currency to the Nazis. At first Schocken hesitated to make the purchase. He doubted whether there would be a market for the Verlag's German books in Palestine, and he was reluctant to pay the sum that the Nazis demanded. Nevertheless in the end he agreed to the transaction, in effect buying his own books from himself.<sup>93</sup> Spitzer finally left for Palestine in March 1939.<sup>94</sup>

The Schocken Verlag is today survived by offspring that Schocken established in Israel and America. In 1935, a year after taking up

<sup>90</sup> SA 331/43: Spitzer to S. Schocken, 26.9.1938.

Schneider returned by the end of October. During the war he was able to continue publishing in the Lambert Schneider Verlag. In 1945 he moved his Verlag to Heidelberg, its present location. See L. Schneider, *Rechenschaft, passim*. Schneider died in 1970.

<sup>91</sup> By some quirk, the Schocken Verlag office was overlooked and it was one of the few major Jewish offices to remain open. It was used by other organizations, and served as a central communications point. (M. Spitzer, interview, 22.7.1969.)

<sup>92</sup> Although Hermann Cohen's *Briefe*, the last volume in the Bücherei (number 92), was dated 1939, it actually appeared in the fall of 1938.

<sup>93</sup> Interviews with G. Spiro, 30.7.1969; M. Spitzer, 7.7.1969 and 22.7.1969; also see M. Spitzer, "Die Novembertage 1938 im Schocken-Verlag," *MB* [Mitteilungsblatt], *Wochenzeitung des Irgun Oley Merkaz Europa* (Tel Aviv), XXXI: 45 (8.II.1963), 3.

<sup>94</sup> Spitzer settled in Jerusalem, and opened his own publishing house, Tarshish Books, which is still in operation. From 1945 to 1960 he worked as Director of the publishing department of the Jewish Agency. See Israel Soifer, "Dr. Maurice Spitzer: Pioneer of the Judaic Book Art," *Publishers' Weekly*, 4 September 1967.



residence in Palestine, Schocken purchased the Hebrew daily *Haaretz* in Tel Aviv, and within the next few years established the Schocken Publishing House in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. In 1940 a fund-raising mission for the Hebrew University brought Schocken, the Chairman of the University's Executive Council, to the United States.<sup>85</sup> His experience there convinced him that much of the Verlag's program would be appropriate in America, and in 1945 he established the publishing house of Schocken Books in New York.<sup>86</sup>

At least initially the publications of the Berlin Verlag provided a core of titles for the lists of both the Israeli and American houses. In each case, however, there has since been a great deal of expansion, and while Judaica still forms an important part of both firms' output, each has developed extensive publication programs in other areas. Nevertheless, both still bear the imprint of their origins in the Verlag, and continue to the present the tradition established by its founder. Salman Schocken died in 1959, after a distinguished career of singular importance. The memory and the heritage of his achievement survive him.

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#### APPENDIX: PUBLISHING STATISTICS

There is no systematic or complete record of sales figures for the Verlag's publications in the Verlag Archive in Jerusalem. However, at the time that the Verlag was placed under the jurisdiction of the Propaganda Ministry it was required to compile a list of the books that it had published, with the number of copies printed. (SA 331/91: Spitzer to Hinkel, 9.8.1937, Anlage 1.) This list is the basis for the information given here.

In cases where a second or third printing of a volume was ordered, it can be assumed that the earlier printings had been sold out. For series publications — the *Bücherei* volumes and *Almanachs* — it can be assumed that the size of the printing of one volume reflected the sales of previous ones.

The data for the *Almanach* are:

<u>Volume</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of copies printed</u>
I	5694/1933	8,000
II	5695/1934	10,000

<sup>85</sup> See S. Moses, "Salman Schocken," pp. 88-89, 96-98.

<sup>86</sup> See SA 303: S. Schocken to T. Schocken, 10.12.1945, pp. 4-5. A short account of the history of the New York firm may be found in Theodore Schocken, "Schocken Books; Twenty-five Years of Judaica Publishing in America," *Judaica Book News*, Fall/Winter, 1971/5732, pp. 30-33.

III	5696/1935	8,000
IV	5697/1936	7,500
V	5698/1937	7,000
VI	5699/1938	8,000

(Information for 1938 from SA 331/13: Verlag to S. Schocken, 4.10.1938. "Wir haben von der Gesamtauflage (8000 Expl.) bisher 4000 Exemplare fest verkauft.")

The declining sales of the *Almanach* may reflect the decrease in the Jewish population in Germany in these years, from about 500,000 in 1933 to about 350,000 in mid-1938. To some extent, increased export sales compensated for this decline in readership.

First printings of volumes in the Bücherei usually ran to 4,000 or 5,000 copies. Only eight of the books in this series went to a second printing, and only one went to a third. (This was Buber's *100 Chassidische Geschichten*, Number 4 in the series, which had a total printing of about 10,000 copies.) The latest volume in the Bücherei to be reprinted was an edition of the *Passover Haggadah* (Number 54), which first appeared in 1936 and was reprinted in 1937.

The *Strauss-Glatzer Lesebuch* was printed in about 5,500 copies, and the *Peel Bericht* was printed in about 4,500 copies. In general, printings of books of less popular interest ran to one or two thousand copies. Two small Hebrew volumes were printed in 250 copies each.

To judge the relative significance of these numbers the following figures are of some help:

As of October 1935, the press runs for the three leading Jewish newspapers in Germany were:

<i>C.V.-Zeitung</i>	(weekly)	40,000
<i>Jüdische Rundschau</i>	(semi-weekly)	34,200
<i>Gemeinde-Blatt der jüdischen Gemeinde, Berlin</i>	(weekly)	46,000

(The *C.V.-Zeitung*, the organ of the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens, and the *Jüdische Rundschau*, the organ of the Zionistische Vereinigung für Deutschland, would have appealed largely to separate sets of readers and their combined circulation would be a closer indication of total possible national newspaper sales than either one's taken separately.)

Data from *Philo Lexikon* (1937). Also see Margaret T. Edelheim-Muchsam, "The Jewish Press in Germany," *LBIYB*, I (1956), 163-176. The circulation figures given there (on pp. 175-176) differ slightly from those listed in the 1937 *Philo Lexikon*.

Probably the best index for the Schocken Verlag's publication figures is provided by the printing history of the *Philo Lexikon*. This "handbook of Jewish knowledge" was published by the Philo Verlag, the publishing agency

of the Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens. The Foreword to the fourth edition gives the following data:

First printing	(1-15 thousand)	November, 1934
Second printing	(16-21 thousand)	March, 1935
Third printing	(22-26 thousand)	December, 1935
Fourth printing	(27-31 thousand)	March, 1937

In view of the popular nature of the *Philo Lexikon* it seems reasonable to suppose that book sales in the neighborhood of 30,000 copies would represent a near-saturation of the market for Jewish books. Against this figure, sales of 5,000 to 10,000 (as in the case of the *Almanachs* and some of the *Bücherei* volumes) compare quite favorably.

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### CORRIGENDUM

In the October 1972 issue (XX:4, 436 — "Browning's 'Sicilian Pastoral,'" by John Maynard), the original manuscript of Browning's "Sicilian Pastoral" should have been described as a part of the Amy Lowell Collection, which is now housed in a special room in the Houghton Library.