

Claire Le Foll

CULTURAL TRANSFERS IN YIDDISH AND BELARUSIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE AND ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE BSSR (1921–1939)

The article offers an overview of the production of books for children in Yiddish and Belarusian in the BSSR between 1921 and 1939. While situating the study in the wider context of the development of Jewish and Russian/Soviet children's literature in the early 20th century, it analyses the creation of two corpuses of texts and images in parallel, taking into consideration the specificity of the Belarusian policy towards national minorities. The article evaluates the level of transfers between Belarusian, Jewish, Russian and other children's literature, through the number and choice of translations, the mobility of the artists that illustrated these books and the circulation of themes and styles. Although the number of translations between the Belarusian and Yiddish corpora was limited, the author argues that the cultural transfers were visible in the themes of the books and the style of the illustrations.

Keywords: Yiddish literature; Belarusian literature; children literature; book illustration; BSSR; Soviet history; Kultur-Lige; Belarusian history; Jewish history

Childhood studies in Russia and the Soviet Union have received increasing scholarly attention recently, becoming a subfield in the cultural and social history of Russia [Kelly 2007; Kirschenbaum 2013; Ball 1994; Pearson 1990; Tudge 1991; Kucherenko 2016; Winkler 2017]. Literature for children in the Russian/Soviet space, including book art have also gained more public and academic visibility, partly through exhibitions and associated catalogues [Steiner 1999; Children 2016; Inside 2013; Lévèque 1997; Fraser 2004; Balina 2013; Карасик 2010]. However this interest has often only revolved around two distinct "Golden Ages": the 1918–1920 Kiev Yiddish Kultur-Lige and Russia's Golden Twenties. The Kultur-Lige was a Yiddishist organisation that promoted the development of a modern secular Jewish culture and brought together young poets, artists and literary critics [Moss 2009, Kazovsky 2003, Modernism 2010]. As the project was aimed at creating a new culture

for the future, much attention was paid to education and schooling, in order to re-educate and “shape the taste” of children through literature and art. The child was seen either “as a vessel for national identity” or as a creative subject to be cultivated [Moss 2009, 202–203]. The books for children published by the Kultur-Lige, authored by renowned modernist poets such as Dovid Bergelson, Leyb Kvitko, Der Nister or Mani Leyb, and illustrated by avant-gardist artists such as Issahar Rybak, Iosif Chaikov or Lazar Lissitzky, have fascinated scholars [Hoge 2016; Koller 2016; Kazovsky 2003; Stommels Lemmens 2012]. The other “Golden Age”, Russian children’s literature of the 1920s, is personified by iconic authors such as Samuil Marshak and Kornei Chukovskij and constructivist artists such as Vladimir Lebedev and Natan Al’tman. Praise for, and interest in, avant-garde children’s book illustrations started as a consequence of the 1960s Thaw and the rediscovery of the things censored and repressed in the 1930s [Steiner 1999, 4]. If the challenge of the 1990s was to “approach the work of these artists more calmly”, as noted by Steiner in his reference book, today the urgency is to look beyond the work of the major artists of the capitals and extend the analysis beyond the 1920s. Although, Jewish-Russian transfers are well-studied [Hoge 2016; Matovan 2016; Shokolova 2016; Russian 2012], exchanges between other national groups have been neglected, especially in the peripheries. This article aims to change the focus and show that the rise of children’s literature was not limited chronologically to the 1920s and geographically to Kiev, Moscow and Leningrad. The article will focus on another centre of production of children literature — Belarus; will consider a wider period — up to the Second World War; and study works in two languages — Yiddish and Belarusian.

The cultural history of the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (BSSR) is not yet well-known, in spite of some recent interest in its history more broadly, both in Belarus and abroad. Aspects of Belarusian art and literature history have been analysed but literature for children has not yet become a serious research topic [Лыч 2012; Gimpelevich 2018; Le Foll 2002; Гісторыя 2011]. Similarly, scholarship on graphic art and book illustrations in Belarus has been limited [Шматаў 1975; Ганчароў 1987; Налівайка 1997]. The monographs on Jews in Soviet Belarus published recently have investigated the development of a Yiddish culture and of Jewish politics in Belarus, without tackling the specific question of children’s education and literature, understandably [Bemporad 2003; Shneer 2004, 179–213; Sloin 2017; Зельцер 2006]. Nonetheless, Soviet Belarus provides an interesting case study, not only to have a more complete picture of children’s literature and book illus-

trations in the Soviet Union, but also to open a reflection on the specific issues connected with the development of national literatures and art in non-Russian republics, and their implications for children's books.

Although many of the questions crucial to the development of children's literature in Kiev, Moscow and Leningrad were relevant to the Belarusian context (the quest for a national style and its relation to folk art and modern art, as in the case of the *Kultur-Lige*; the relation between illustrations and text, and between literature and art more generally; the creation of a modernist style suitable for children and education; ideological pressure from the Soviet authorities and move away from avant-gardist tendencies at the end of the 1920s; the creation of a New Man and the building of socialism through the invention of new forms), problems of a different nature also arose. In a multi-ethnic republic that recognized four official languages, the question of national identity and Sovietness was complex, involving and interweaving different cultural and national frames of references. The implementation of indigenization and the official promotion of multiculturalism in the 1920s BSSR, while participating in the building of socialism at the Soviet level, stimulated the publication of literature in a wide range of genres and in six languages (Belarusian, Yiddish, Polish, Russian, and Lithuanian and Latvian as well). It generated technical and material complexities that I will come back to, but also possibilities for contacts and transfers in various directions. The history of children's books in the 1920s-30s in the BSSR is therefore well suited to evaluate the extent of the cultural exchanges between national groups, firstly because they stimulated literary translations but also required the work of artists-illustrators who had a high level of mobility, on different levels: geographical (from periphery to periphery, or periphery to centre, or centre to periphery); artistic (borrowing from one group/style or another); national (illustrating for different cultures and languages). This genre, because little-developed in Belarus before 1918 and less controlled in the Soviet Union than political literature, periodicals or textbooks¹, allowed more plasticity and innovation. Writers and artists participated in the creation of a literary and visual culture suitable for children following a dual objective: strengthening nascent national identities and building a new Soviet society. This corpus of text and images in the making need therefore to be analysed against the background of the constraints imposed by Moscow but also of the local, ideological and material issues at stake, including the competition between different nationalities. Most notably, the purges and attacks against the national Belarusian intelligentsia in 1928-30 mark a rupture

in the cultural history of Belarus and had a deep impact on literary and artistic production in BSSR, in terms of content, style and cultural agents.

This article will then ask to what extent the multiculturalism of the BSSR shaped the new children's literature in terms of content, themes and images. Following Hoge's assertion that illustrations for children's books were an arena conducive to exchanges and communications between different national groups [Hoge 2016, 50] and questioning the largely held assumption that Belarus was a haven for minority groups, this article will scrutinize the level of transfers in children literature both in terms of text and images. It is based on material kept in various libraries and archival repositories. Unfortunately many documents and books have not survived, including Belgosizdat archives for the period 1925–1933, and many illustrations are anonymous, which makes an exhaustive study of Yiddish and Belarusian production in BSSR in the 1920-30s almost impossible.

Context

The immediate post-revolutionary years were a period of hopes for many national groups in Eastern Europe. Belarusian nationalists had gained independence in March 1918 with the proclamation of the Belarus People's Republic (BNR). While this period of independence was short-lived and chaotic because of the Brest-Litovsk Peace and the Polish-Soviet war that resulted in repeated invasions of the Minsk region, it also spurred increased political, diplomatic and cultural Belarusian activity. Jewish culture and politics were reinvigorated too after 1917. The already-mentioned Kultur-Lige in Kiev, founded in 1918, is the most visible and striking example of a Jewish, national, secular and modern cultural institution that flourished in spite of the anarchy of post-revolutionary Ukraine. The Bolshevik victory in the civil war and the creation of the BSSR in 1921 after the Treaty of Riga did not put an end to this national growth. Not only did the Bolsheviks adopt a policy of indigenization favourable to the development of the non-Russian nationalities, but the Belarusian local elite also favoured a nation-building model that integrated the multicultural past and make-up of Belarus. The role and significance of the Jewish population was particularly singled out, as demonstrated by the project of the BNR to build a state hand in hand with Jews². Many Belarusian and Jewish intellectuals who had fled the country during the civil war — the so-called *smenovehovtsy* intellectuals tolerated under the NEP — returned to Soviet

Belarus after 1924. They participated in the newly created cultural and intellectual institutions and publishing houses and contributed to the creation of the Belarusian and Jewish cultures that were meant to be both Soviet and national. They were however targeted a few years later in the anti-nationalist campaign triggered by the Zatonksyj report to the Executive Committee that denounced the excesses of the political and intellectual elite of the BSSR. In 1928–29 institutions were purged of “nationalist” elements and many intellectuals and political figures, mostly Belarusian, were bullied, arrested (e.g. Kupala) or driven to suicide (e.g. Ignatowski). Belarusian nationalism and the remaining forms of Jewish nationalism and Bundism were thereafter under suspicion, but the indigenization policy was not revoked. Publications in Belarusian and Yiddish therefore continued throughout the 1930s, but the number of Russian publications increased and content was affected by this repression against the “national-democrats”, that added itself to the ideological change that came with the Great Turn towards industrialization across the Soviet Union.

The development of a children’s literature in Yiddish and Belarusian comes relatively late. Although timidly emerging in the second half of the 19th century with stories by Mordkhe Spektor (*Yontefdike dertseylungen*³, 1888–9) and Sholem Aleykhem (*Dos meserl*, 1887), the former took off with the emergence of cultural nationalism and the Yiddishist’s concerns with schools and education in the first decade of the 20th century [Children 2016, 1]. The first school anthology of Yiddish literature, called *Dos yidishe vort* was published in three volumes in Vilna in 1912 and included a selection of texts by prominent Yiddish writers (Mendele Moykher Sforim, I. L. Pertz, Sholem Aleykhem, Sholem Asch) [Fishman 2005, 105–107]. Publishers such as Bikher Far Ale in Warsaw or Kletskin in Vilna published books for children. The first journal for children appeared in 1912–13 as a supplement to *Di yidishe vokh* (*Farn kleynem oylem*, Warsaw) while another magazine was published in Vilna from 1914 on (*Grininke beymelekh*)⁴. At this early stage, Yiddish literature for children was a combination of stories authored by classical writers and by the newer generation of Yiddish writers (Der Nister, D. Charney) as well as translations from world children’s literature (Anderson, Grimm, Kipling). Similarly, children’s literature in Belarusian emanated from the nationalist “nasha-niviste” literature (1906–1915), although some scholars refer to a longer tradition born at the time of the Great Duchy of Lithuania [Пікулік 2008]. Alaiza Pashkevich (Tsyotka) is considered the first Belarusian writer for children⁵. The journal for children in Belarusian *Zorka* was published between 1905 and 1912.

Both national literatures for children were therefore at an early stage by 1914, but underwent a boom during and following the First World War. Alongside the private publishing houses and periodicals that already existed in Belarus and survived the war, new ones appeared, connected to political parties or governments. This increase in the number of publishers in cities with Belarusian diasporas (Petrograd, Minsk, Smolensk, Vilna, Moscow, Kiev, Berlin, Orsha, Kovno or Grodno) resulted in an upsurge of publications, in spite of the political instability due to the civil war. The majority of these publications were in Russian, but some were also in Belarusian, Yiddish and Polish. The same liberation and revival characterized the post-revolutionary period for Yiddish culture. Kiev became the main centre of publication for Yiddish children's literature in the former Russian empire, with the Kultur-Lige publishing new books, translations and a periodical for children (*Freyd*). Belarus, in comparison, came out as a relatively new space for publication of modern Yiddish literature, unlike Ukraine and Russia⁶.

The systematic organization and support for publications in both Belarusian and Yiddish in Belarus came with the establishment of the BSSR in 1921 and the implementation of the *korenizatsia* policy (1923) in the multinational setting of the BSSR. The BSSR state publishing house (Дзяржаўнае выдавецтва БССР), created in December 1920 as a Belorussian section of the RSFSR Gosudarstvennoe Izdatelstvo, had the task of concentrating the editing and publication of all periodicals and books published in BSSR⁷. Reorganised in 1924 on the basis of the merger of Beltrestdruk (Белтрэстдрук) and the cooperative publisher Savetskaia Belarus (Савецкая Беларусь), Belaruskae Dziarzhau-nae Vydavetstva (Беларускае Дзяржаўнае Выдавецтва — abbreviated Belgosizdat in Russian and in this article) was meant to become the heart of all the publishing activities in BSSR, centralising the material sent by different national bureaus and overseeing the publication of textbooks, political works and belles-lettres (through journals such as *Uzvysycha* and *Maladnyak*). Ongoing material shortages and difficulties (lack of paper and even of tables and chairs in January 1921; obsolescence of printing machinery; difficulty of printing in six languages) however hindered the capacity of Belgosizdat, that had, in the beginning at least, to outsource some of its printing to Ukrainian and Russian printers⁸. As outlined in a memorandum to the SNK SSSR in December 1928, Belgosizdat claimed to have been created from scratch (which was not entirely true), using archaic and unpractical machines taken from private printers, and having no fonts for Belarusian or the languages of the national minorities. The machinery having been only marginally renewed

after 1924, production remained slow and expensive, the report continued. The assembly and binding of books was done manually and the production of textbooks for schools in six languages implied additional technical and editorial costs [Докладная, Л. 1–2]. Belgosizdat did not succeed in becoming the only publishing house until 1930, when the monopoly was established.

Following a period of slow growth between 1924 and 1927, Belgosizdat's production gained momentum between 1927 and 1930. The majority of the books published were in Belarusian, following the official requirement for 1926–27 of distributing the available resources according to languages: 70 % Belarusian; 15 % Yiddish, 8 % Russian, 5 % Polish and 2 % others [Докладная, Л. 101об]. In the early years, publications in Belarusian represented actually more than that (78 % in 1924–25, thereafter around 75%) with Yiddish publications representing only 9% of the overall number of publications [Отчёты, Л. 1 for 1926–27].

The review of Belgosizdat's activity in 1930 in the wake of the campaign against the “national-democrat” deviation resulted in the centralisation and tightening of its production planning; a redefinition of its priorities, with a shift of focus onto areas that had been neglected by the “deviants” (building of socialism, industrialisation, collectivisation, political education of workers); and a purge of its personnel [Постановления, Л. 146–150]. Censorship (Галоўліт), which existed since 1922, was hardened and used to repress Belarusian writers in particular, becoming harsher than in RSFSR according to some scholars⁹. Children's literature was one of the areas identified as needing progress both in terms of quantity and quality, and literature for national minorities remained among the key priorities. After this general overview of Belarus' book production, let's now turn to books for children published in Belarus between 1921 and 1929.

Corpus and themes

Children literature in post-revolutionary Belarus developed in three stages: the period 1917–1921 with the publication of a few collections for children in Belarusian and Yiddish; a “Golden Age” between 1927 and 1930; and a decline and sovietisation after 1930. Let's see how children's literature in Belarusian and Yiddish developed and whether the corpora differed from each other and from others.

The collections of stories published between 1918–1921 in Yiddish and Belarusian reflect the priorities of nations-in-the-making, torn be-

tween their quest for an authentic source of inspiration in folk culture and the aspiration of the young generation for modernism and universalism. *Dziczachaja chytanka*¹⁰ included stories based on popular motifs by major Belarusian writers: Yakub Kolas (under his pseudonym Taras Gushcha as well), Sh. Iadvigin and Zmitrok Byadulya. Similarly, the Belarusian journal for children *Zorki* published in 1921 in Minsk, included short stories, folk stories, plays and poems by “classical” Belarusian writers (Kolas, Byadulya, Kupala, Ramanowski, Charot). The collection of texts for children published by L. Haretskaya (Charnyawskaja) in 1921, *Rodny Krai* (Wilna: Zairas, 1921) was, on the other hand, an attempt to create an original literature for children in Belarusian, in Tsyotka’s footsteps.

Interestingly, one of the two books for children published in Yiddish in Minsk at this period was also based on Belarusian folk-culture. *Vaysrusishe liderlakh un mayselakh* (Minsk 1921) was a collection of Yiddish translations of six stories by Leyb Kvitko and B. Ki-n, including three stories also published in *Dziczachaja chytanka* (Kolas, “The grandad and the little hare”; Iadvigin, “Bread”; Gushcha, “Dudar”). The other three were two short folk songs and one poem by Yanka Kupala (“My house”). This interest in Slavic folklore among Jewish writers was not isolated, as demonstrated by the collection of stories published and translated by the same Leyb Kvitko and illustrated by Lissitzky, *Vaysrusishe folksmayses*. Published in Berlin in 1923 by the Jewish section of the Commissariat for nationalities, it contained some of the stories published in 1921 in Minsk (“Bread”; “Dudar”; “Two brothers” published in *Zorki*) but included another eight that Kvitko found in folklore collections published before the revolution by the ethnographers P. Shejn and E. Romanov. The other collection of stories, *Liderlakh (lekoved der kinder vokh)*¹¹ included poems by Leyb Kvitko, I. L. Peretz and Mani Leyb. We see therefore a shared pattern in Belarusian and Yiddish children’s literature of the period 1917–1921, very typical of the nation-building process at large: the use and adaption of the folk repertoire by the younger generation, alongside publication of original texts by “classical” and modern authors. Although published by Bolshevik institutions, they are to be understood in the context of this transitory period between the imperial/tsarist and the Soviet period.

The emergence of a Soviet children literature after the establishment of the BSSR took some time due to the material difficulties mentioned above, but also because the three areas of priority for Soviet publication were periodicals, agitation literature and textbooks¹². Children’s literature in the BSSR took off between 1927 and the early 1930s, with the

publication of hundreds of books, all languages combined. In the plan for a peak year such as 1928–29, children literature represented 9% of the overall production of books in Belarusian (which itself represented 75% of the overall publications in BSSR) [ЦК КПБ, Л. 10]. In the first years of the BSSR, publications in Yiddish struggled to take off. The weak development of publications in Yiddish, in particular for schools, was acknowledged by the Jewish section of the Narkompros [Еврейская, Л. 1]. To compensate, Belarusian organisations imported Yiddish literature and periodicals for children from Ukraine. The Kultur-Lige was the main provider of textbooks and children's literature in Yiddish (the journal *Freyd* in particular)¹³ but books edited in Moscow were also sold in Belarus [Культур-Лига, Л. 38]. This weakness of Yiddish publishing in Belarus was still noticeable in 1926 as shown by the slowness and incompleteness of the Jewish bureau's reply to Belgosizdat's pressing request to submit its publication plan for 1926–27 [Отчёты, Л. 4, 22].

Over a hundred and fifty books for children of different ages were published in Belarusian and Yiddish between 1927 and 1930. The body of Belarusian texts is more abundant but also more varied than the Yiddish one. It includes folk-like short stories for pre-school children written by Belarusian writers¹⁴. A new generation of Belarusian writers for children also emerged at this period and produced original books for children [Чарняўская 1928; Чарняўская 1929; Чарняўская 1930; Александрович 1930; Савёнак 1928; Колас 1925]. All these short books were richly illustrated by Belarusian graphic artists (E. Lapin, B. Malkin, A. Abramav), some of them using modernist features but more often in a realistic although colourful style. Very few translations from Russian were published for this age, the most notable exception being Chukovskij's *Myjdzir*, published with Anenkov's illustrations [Чукоўскі 1928]. For school-age children, the collection Biblioteka Shkolnika offered a variety of short stories, very often dedicated to themes connected with nature and animals, but also edifying, scientific or historical stories translated from Russian [Фортунатаў 1929; Даниэль 1929; Крыніцкі 1929; Громаў 1930]. Books by the Soviet writer, nature-lover and son of an ornithologist Vitalij Bianki appeared in this collection and were very popular in BSSR, hence often translated in several languages [Біянкі 1928a; Біянкі 1928b; Біянкі 1929]. A few stories from world literature, often also related to nature, were translated into Belarusian from Russian in this series [Вамба 1929]. This obvious bias towards books on nature is noticeable in the creation of another collection called *Malady Pryrodaznawtsa* (the young naturalist) edited

by Ivan Tsvikevich, a scientist and doctor, brother of the BNR prime-minister [Оранг-збаўца 1928; Тры лвы 1928; Апошні бізон 1928; Лісіца 1929; Хмарка 1928; Зіміонкі 1928]. Books for older children often had a stronger political and ideological content [Ліліна 1926; Першае 1927; Драздоў 1928; Маўр 1929]. The collections *Biblioteka Pionera* and *Biblioteka Pionerskaga Atradu* in particular focused on militaristic and political themes. Another popular genre was adventures and discovery of the world, well-represented by the Belarusian writer Ianka Mawr [Маўр 1927a; Маўр 1927b; Маўр 1928; Маўр 1930]. Books on technology, including trains, typical of Soviet literature for children [Steiner 1999, ch. 3] were also published by Belgosizdat, but in a smaller number than books on nature, and very often they were translations from Russian and world literature [Спрэг Мітчэль 1928; Чарнова і Дрот 1928; Амічыс 1928; Жыткоў 1928; Як робяць 1929; Александровіч 1930a]. So overall, although the specific concern of the BSSR with hygiene, morale education and the fight against backwardness in the campaign more generally was reflected in children literature, its main focus was on nature (35%), folk stories (13%) with characters who were often animals, and adventure or technology (22%), reflecting the republic's main focus on developing culture and national identity, rather than socialist construction¹⁵. It is therefore not surprising that political books represented a minority of the production.

The Yiddish repertoire was more limited in quantity and quality. The proportion of books on nature was identical according to my evaluation (around 35%), which is logical since the same books (by Bianki for example) were translated into Yiddish and Belarusian [Bianki 1928; Bianki 1929; Bianki 1929a]. The number of books on technology and science was however much lower [Chernov un Drat]. Folk-inspired stories were translations or adaptations [Aleksandrove 1929; Aleksandrove 1929a; Aleksandrove 1929b] and often involved animals as in the Belarusian literature [Suralski 1929, Fortunatov 1925, Budziak 1928]. The very few books written by Belarusian-Jewish writers in that period had a strong political content, confirming the proletarian bias of Yiddish literature in BSSR [Orshanski 1927, 1929; Zamlung 1927]¹⁶. The proletarian corpus was also enriched by translations from Soviet authors [Irkutov 1928; Drozdov 1928]. The genre of adventures or fantastic stories was limited, as Mawr's books were not yet translated into Yiddish, but included the collections of stories put together by Yoysef Ravin [1928]. Belgosizdat also published a few original books for children by Jewish writers from Ukraine [Kipnis 1929; Kipnis 1929a; Kipnis 1930]. The production in Yiddish in BSSR, especially in the early years, was therefore not original

and not local (with the exception of Orshanski's stories). It followed the Belarusian production, or was reliant on the Centre and other Yiddish literary centres to fill up its quota. The themes were mixed, with a majority of books about nature, due to the choices made in the BSSR of translating texts from Russian about animals. Unlike in Belarusian language, there were however fewer books on knowledge, science, world and adventures. Overall the Yiddish production in BSSR looks more ideological and proletarian than the Yiddish production in Ukraine for example.

After 1931 and the purge of Belgosizdat, the amount and variety of books published in Yiddish increased, while the number of books in Belarusian sharply decreased, to the benefit of books in Russian¹⁷. Following the simultaneous turn to rapid industrialization and collectivization and the brake put on indigenization, book production for children changed towards more uniformity, a Sovietization of themes and a stronger influence of Russian culture. A harsher censorship was applied to children's literature as well, including to books published before 1931. Many of them were withdrawn from libraries and public circulation [Пікулік 2015a, 76; Список]. This strict censorship of manuscripts and repression of authors resulted in a brutal decline of the numbers of books published for children. The amount of translated books increased through the initiative of the Yundzetsektar at Belgosizdat, and also because many Belarusian writers were victims of oppression. For instance, Leanida Charnyawskaja, who was popular and productive in the 1920s, stopped publishing after the arrest of her husband Maksim Haretski and their exile to Viatka. The Soviet classics continued to be published (e.g. Chukovskij). Many Russian classical texts were translated by the best Belarusian poets, and illustrated by Russian artists, notably on the occasion of the celebrations of Pushkin's anniversary [Пушкін 1937; Горкі 1936; Толстой 1937]. Translations from world literature increased and were popular [Андэрсен 1936, Дзісней, 1938; Твэн 1935]. The biggest success was the Belarusian translation of the *Gulliver's Travel* by J. Swift [Свіфт 1936]. Youth magazines such as *Iskry Il'icha* and *Belaruski pioner* enabled the indoctrination of young and older children. Military subjects, including airplanes, became popular in the 1930s through books on technology [Радзішчаў 1932, Заяцкі 1934]. Only a limited number of Belarusian writers continued to publish (Aleksandrovich; Kolas; Mawr who was even republished many times and won several prizes; A. Yakimovich). The number of books based on folk stories or animals/nature topics diminished in favour of books for political education [Якімовіч 1932, Дыла 1932]. Stories about spies

and masked enemies became common, while border agents and soldiers became the new heroes of this literature [Пікунік 2015a, 77].

The Yiddish corpus of books seemed less affected by the anti-nationalist campaign, perhaps because it was already quite proletarian before 1930. A similar process of Russification is noticeable in Yiddish production with the translation of Russian classical texts [Marshak 1936; Pushkin 1939; Barto 1935a] and the continued publication of Soviet Yiddish classics [Boymvol 1936; Pinchevsky 1933; Kipnis 1935]. An increasing number of books for children reflected the ideology of the 1930s focused on the building of socialism and internationalism [Medresh 1932; Shvedik 1935; Konstantinov 1936; Barto 1935]. As a symbol of this Sovietisation, the collection published in 1936 for pre-school children contained only Soviet classics (Kvitko, Chukovski, Marshak and Maltinski), in stark contrast to the first collection published in 1921 and based on Belarusian folklore [Zaltsman 1936; Vaysrusishe 1921]. Although the corpus mostly included translations from the Belarusian and Russian “authorised authors” [Maur 1935; Maur 1938; Aleksandrovich 1935; Kolas 1938; Iakimovich 1935; Linkov 1938; Pushkin 1939; Grim 1939; Swift 1937; Korolenko 1939], a slightly wider group of Yiddish writers based in Minsk authored books for older children with a political content [Teyf 1933; Tsusamen 1935; Platner 1938; Brokhes 1939; Maltinski 1934 and 1939].

Cultural transfers

This general picture of the production of books for children allows us to assess the level of cultural transfers between Jews and Belarusians. During the first period of independence and national renaissance, the cultural transfers took the form of translations from Belarusian to Yiddish which brought into the Yiddish corpus rural themes quite typical of Belarusian literature (stories about peasants or forest animals set in villages and peasant houses, involving magic but also some moral edification). During the Soviet period, transfers from Belarusian to Yiddish were very limited¹⁸, peaking only towards the end of the period under study, when a body of texts by established Belarusian writers (Mawr, Aleksandrovich, Linkov and Kolas) was published in Yiddish translations. In the other direction, translations were the exception and did not really pick up in the 1930s [Даніэль 1929; Шолам-Алейхем 1930]. The two children’s literatures in the making borrowed little from each other, and turned to Russian and world literature when needed to deliver publication plans. It seems that they translated more from Ukrainian

[Budziak 1928; Chernov un Drat 1928] than from each other. Russian cultural dominance over the minority national literatures and cultures still prevailed, as noticed by Hoge about illustrations for children's books [Hoge 2016, 69]. Nevertheless, it is interesting to notice that they shared a common programme of translation of writers interested in nature and entomology, and that towards the end of the 1930s the Yiddish corpus was a bit more belarusianized than at the end of the 1920s. A closer analysis of the texts would be necessary to understand how far they shared common tropes and literary patterns¹⁹.

Did cultural transfers happen more widely in the art for children's books? The majority of artists chose to be loyal to their nation of origin. Hence the Belarusian artists A. Abramav, V. Dvarakouski, V. Tsikhonovich, A. Tychyna, Ia. Kashkel or V. Volkov illustrated works written and published in Belarusian [Маўр 1927b; Маўр 1928; Як робяць 1929; Бя-дуля 1941; Заяіцкі 1934; Маўр 1927a; Маўр 1935; Колас 1928a; Колас 1928b and 1929b]. During this stage of formation of a national school, "in their search for style, many artists turned to the traditions of folk art and widely employed elements of Belarusian ornamentation in decorating books" [Шматаў 1978, 19]. This is particularly true for Tychyna who regularly went on ethnographic trips to the countryside [Удостоверія]. Similarly the artists of Jewish origin M. Akselrod, Ts. Kipnis, A. Krol, I. Milchin and L. Ran mostly illustrated works in Yiddish [Kharik 1928; Orshanski 1929; Platner 1933; Aleksandrove 1929; Teyf 1933]. There are however examples of Belarusian artists occasionally illustrating Yiddish books (Zmudzinski for [Orshanski 1927]; Malevich for [Sural'ski 1929]) while some Jewish artists did the same for Belarusian books (Eidelman for Tsurmjulen, *Syny Aishy*, 1929; Zhytnitski for Maur, *TVT* and Aleksandrovich, *Padarunak dzetkam malaletkam*, 1936). The circulation of illustrators between the two main national literatures was therefore limited but not non-existent.

If considering cultural transfers in artistic style, Russian footprint is still noticeable. While many Belarusian artists looked for a national style or tried to give their illustrations a distinctive national flavour by representing ethnographic types and including national symbols (see Dvarakouski, E. Lapin, V. Volkov), some gave a modern tone to their illustrations (see Tychyna's covers for *Спрэг Мітчэль* 1929), and used some of the constructivist patterns of geometrisation, simplification of forms or diagonal compositions (Tychyna, Davidovich). The cover for the book series *Malady Pryrodaznawtsa*, with its round dance of animals represented in a schematic way, reminds us directly of Lebedev's illustrations for *Slonjonok*. However cultural transfers took also place

between the Jewish and Belarusian visual cultures. Already in 1921, El Lissitzky when illustrating the Belarusian folk stories translated into Yiddish mentioned above used visual motifs he found on the ceilings of the Mogilev synagogue [Le Foll 2020]. In the Soviet context of the twenties and thirties, these transfers were multidirectional. Isaac Davidovich belongs to the generation of graphic artists of Jewish origin trained at the Vitebsk art tehnikum, who then joined the ranks of Belarusian graphic art. In his paintings and decorative panels, as well as in his book illustrations, he embraced Belarusian themes in a realistic style and contributed to the creation of a Belarusian style. His cover for *Maÿp* [1932], a schematically represented cityscape composed on a diagonal, also reflects wider Soviet modernist influence, OST in particular.

Another artist of Jewish origin, Boris Malkin, had an interesting trajectory that led him to BSSR. Born in Ukraine and trained at the Kiev school of art, he then worked for Yiddish theatres in Kiev as a decorator and became in 1929 artistic editor at the Belgosizdat, before returning to theatre decoration in 1937. Although not trained in Vitebsk, he used some of the distinctive visual markers developed there: the Vitebsk town hall, factories and workers are recognisable in his illustrations for *Horad Ranicoi* [Александровіч 1930b]. He modernised and Sovietised the visual imagery created by Pen and other Vitebsk artists. Furthermore, his use of red, black and white geometrical shapes to illustrate Aleksandrovich's *Kalyhanka* [Александровіч 1930] recalls works of the Unovis. In his illustrations for Belarusian folk stories [Александровіч 1930], he also imported some visual elements typical of Jewish graphic art (e. g. the merging of letters with illustrations) and adapted the Lebedvian style (plain figure, lack of detail, greyish areas, white background).

As well as being more limited than one might expect, especially in the domain of translations between Belarusian and Yiddish literatures for children, the cultural transfers were almost unnoticeable. On the one hand, they took the form of a “belorussization” of the themes of children’s literature through a strong focus on nature and animalism, and on the other hand translated into a rich and diverse body of illustrations, that reflected the cultural and geographical mobility of the Jewish artists active in the BSSR. Although the shadow of the still dominant Russian culture, the infancy of these children literatures and the necessity to produce in record time a viable corpus of texts for children hindered the extent of the exchanges between the two “small nations”, the interaction took place, slowly, at a more unconscious and deep level — that of the visual and literary imaginary world.

Notes

- ¹ Although the texts of children's books were censored by Galowlit from the beginning on, I have not found evidence of significant control over or attention to the illustrations in the archives. The fact, for example, that Belgosizdat did not have a precise list of the books for children to be published for the coming year (unlike for all other book categories) showed a lower level of concern for children's literature than for other more sensitive genres (political literature in particular) and also limited the possibility of preliminary censorship by Belgosizdat. In March 1923 for example Galowlit forbade dozens of books published before 1917 or abroad but only a couple of books for children (*Dziczachaja chytanka*, 1918 and Tsyotka, *Pershae chytan'ne dlja dzetak belarusow*, 1906) [Протоколы, Л. 31, 34].
- ² Project of agreement drafted by Samuil Zhitlovskij, BNR Minister for national minorities in 1921. See translation and analysis in Le Foll 2008. This translated in the BSSR by the second highest quotas for publication in Yiddish (after Belarusian language).
- ³ Transliterations from Yiddish are based on the YIVO system.
- ⁴ Then published by the Commissariat for education in Litbel, Volksbildung 1919 (see copy in electronic library of OLSAA, RNB).
- ⁵ *Гасцінец для малых дзяцей, Першае чытанне для дзетак беларусаў*. She also probably authored the first alphabet book in Belarusian («Беларускі лемантэр, або Пёршая навўка чытанья», 1906, St Petersburg). See Петрушкевіч 2008.
- ⁶ With the exception of the publishing house Ferlag Kultur in Minsk that existed since 1905 and published 38 items in Yiddish and Hebrew [Гісторыя 91, note 173].
- ⁷ [Распоряжения, Л. 16]. Eidelman, Belgosizdat's director, reiterated his plea for the concentration of the activities of edition, printing and diffusion in Belgosizdat in May 1921 [Распоряжения 2, Л. 5] but as he recognized a year later to the Chervjakov, the chair of TsIK Belorussij, private publishers had continued to exist [Тот же, Л. 66].
- ⁸ See correspondence with Ukrpoligrafunpravlenja in October-November 1921 [Отношения, Л. 70].
- ⁹ [Гісторыя, 214]. In 1935 Belgosizdat received a list of 1778 books published between 1921 and 1934 that had to be sent to the pestle (id, c. 215). After 1935 Galowlit published an annual list of books to be confiscated from libraries.
- ¹⁰ Published by Volnae Belarusi in Minsk in 1917, reedited by Grynblat in 1918 as the second cover indicates.
- ¹¹ Minsk, 1921, published by the Jewish section of the commissariat for education in BSSR.
- ¹² Some textbooks, readers and ABCs in Yiddish and Belorussian were published, for example S. Nekrashevich, *Belaruski Lemantar*, reedited many times, that became the main textbook of Belarusian language for children in

the 1920s. See [Пікулік 2015, 75] or *Program fun yidish un yidish literature* Minsk, 1925.

- ¹³ See list of publications sent to the Jewish section of the Narkompros [Переписка, Л. 2–6].
- ¹⁴ Yakub Kolas was particularly prolific: [Колас 1928a; Колас 1928b, Колас 1928c; Колас 1929a; Колас 1929b; Бядуля 1928; Александровіч 1929].
- ¹⁵ The percentages are based on the analysis of the database I have collected so far on the basis of the books kept at the National Library of Belarus, Russian State Library, National Library of Russia and Musée d'art et d'histoire du judaïsme Paris, and online.
- ¹⁶ Orshanski, Teyf or Osherovich were self-defined proletarian writers [Shneer 2004, 160; Estraiikh 2004].
- ¹⁷ The number of books published in Russian over the period 1931–1941 raised 10 times (from 38 to 362) [Пікулік 2015a, 77].
- ¹⁸ The translation of Charnyawskaia, *Kot znaidzjon* into Yiddish in 1929 is one of the very few examples I came across.
- ¹⁹ See Krutikov's analysis of Naidus and Kulbak's prose for adult [Крутиков 2017].

Bibliography

Sources

Докладная — Докладная записка СНК СССР о белорусском книгоиздательстве // НАРБ. Ф. 4П (Центральный комитет Коммунистической партии (большевиков) Беларуси). Оп. 1. Д. 4196. (Dokladnaya zapiska SNK SSSR o beloruskom knigoizdatel'stve // NARB. F. 4P (Tsentral'nyu komitet Kommunisticheskoy partii (bol'shevikov) Belarusi). Op. 1. D. 4196.)

Еврейская — Еврейская секция Наркомпроса, Объяснительная записка 1923г. // НАРБ. Ф. 42 (Наркомпрос). Оп. 1. Д. 1618. (Evreyskaya sektsiya Narkomprosa, Obyasnitel'naya zapiska 1923g. // NARB. F. 42 (Narkompros). Op. 1. D. 1618.)

Отношения — Отношения, протоколы и приказы Наркомпроса относящихся к Госиздату, 1921–1922 // НАРБ. Ф. 238 (Белгосиздат). Оп. 1. Д. 5а. (Otnosheniya, protokoly i prikazy Narkomprosa odnosyashchikhsya k Gosizdatu, 1921–1922 // NARB. F. 238 (Belgosizdat). Op. 1. D. 5a.)

Отчеты — Отчеты, протоколы заседания коллегии печати 1926–1927 гг. // НАРБ. Ф. 4П (Центральный комитет Коммунистической партии (большевиков) Беларуси). Оп. 1. Д. 2289. (Otchety, protokoly zasedanii kollegii pechati 1926–1927 gg. / NARB. F. 4P (Tsentral'nyu komitet Kommunisticheskoy partii (bol'shevikov) Belarusi). Op. 1. D. 2289.)

Переписка — Переписка с еврейским обществом «Культур-лига» 1923 г. // НАРБ. Ф.42 (Наркомпрос). Оп. 1. Д.1627. (Perepiska s evreyskim obshchestvom «Kul'tur-liga» 1923 g. // NARB. F.42 (Narkompros). Op. 1. D. 1627.)

Культур-Лига — Переписка с «Культур-Лига» белорусского главного комитета 1923 г. // НАРБ. Ф.42 (Наркомпрос). Оп. 1. Д.1628. (Perepiska s 'Kul'tur-Liga' belorusskogo glavnogo komiteta 1923 g. // NARB. F.42 (Narkompros). Op. 1. D. 1628.)

Постановления — Постановления, тезисы, положения, сведения и другие материалы по реорганизации аппарата Наркомпросвещения // НАРБ. Ф.4П (Центральный комитет Коммунистической партии (большевиков) Беларуси). Оп. 1. Д.5036. (Postanovleniya, tezisy, polozheniya, svedeniya i drugie materialy po reorganizatsii apparata Narkomprosveshcheniya // NARB. F.4P (Tsentral'nyu komitet Kommunisticheskoy partii (bol'shevikov) Belarusi). Op. 1. D. 5036.)

Протоколы — Протоколы заседания коллегии Главного управления по делам литературы и издательства (Главлит) БССР // НАРБ. Ф.42 (Наркомпрос). Оп. 1. Д.214. (Protokoly zasedanii kollegii Glavnogo upravleniya po delam literatury i izdatelstva (Glavlit) BSSR // NARB. F.42 (Narkompros). Op. 1. D. 214.)

Распоряжения — Распоряжения и циркуляры Белгосиздата // НАРБ. Ф.238 (Белгосиздат). Оп. 1. Д.6. (Rasporyazheniya i tsirkulyary Belgosizdata // NARB. F.238 (Belgosizdat). Op. 1. D. 6.)

Распоряжения 2 — Распоряжение и постановление ЦИК, СНК БССР и переписка с президиумом ЦК БССР // НАРБ. Ф.238 (Белгосиздат). Оп. 1. Д.3. (Rasporyazhenie i postanovlenie TsIK, SNK BSSR i perepiska s prezidiumom TsK BSSR // NARB. F.238 (Belgosizdat). Op. 1. D. 3.)

Список — Список литературы, подлежащей изъятию из библиотек 1937 г. // НАРБ. Ф.4П (Центральный комитет Коммунистической партии (большевиков) Беларуси). Оп. 1. Д.11,879. (Spisok literatury, podlezhashchey izyatiyu iz bibliotek 1937 g. / NARB. F.4P (Tsentral'nyu komitet Kommunisticheskoy partii (bol'shevikov) Belarusi). Op. 1. D.11,879.)

Удостоверения — Удостоверения выданные на право делать зарисовки на территории Белоруссии и Кавказа // БГАМЛИ. Ф.101 (Тычына). Оп. 1. Д.144. (Udostoveriya vydannye na pravo delat' zarisovok na territorii Belorussii i Kavkaza // BGAMLI. F.101 (Tychyna). Op. 1. D. 144.)

ЦК КПБ — ЦК КПБ. Отдел культуры и пропаганды. Протоколы совещания / НАРБ. Ф.4П (Центральный комитет Коммунистической партии (большевиков) Беларуси). Оп. 1. Д.4592. (TsK КПБ. Otdel kul'tury i propagandy. Protokoly soveshchaniya / NARB. F.4P (Tsentral'nyu komitet Kommunisticheskoy partii (bol'shevikov) Belarusi). Op. 1. D. 4592.)

All books for children listed below were published in Minsk by Belgosizdat, unless otherwise indicated:

- Александровіч 1929* — Александровіч А. Рыбак, 1929. (Aleksandrovich A. Rybak, 1929.)
- Александровіч 1930* — Александровіч А. Калыханка. Хлопчык і певень, 1930. (Aleksandrovich A. Kalykhanka. Khlopchyk i peven', 1930.)
- Александровіч 1930a* — Александровіч А. Як дзеці памагалі будаваць самалёт, 1930. (Aleksandrovich A. Yak dzetsi pamagali budavats' samalet, 1930.)
- Александровіч 1930b* — Александровіч А. Горад раніцой, 1930. (Aleksandrovich A. Gorad ranitsoy, 1930.)
- Амічыс 1928* — Амічыс Э. дэ. Як дзяўчынка выратавала поезд, 1928. (Amichys E. de. Yak dzyaŭchynka vyratavala poezd, 1928.)
- Андэрсен 1936* — Андэрсен, Х. К. Брыдкае качанё: Казка, 1936. (Andersen, Kh. K. Brydkae kachane: Kazka, 1936.)
- Апошні бізон 1928* — Апошні бізон, 1928. (Aposhni bizon, 1928.)
- Біянкі 1928* — Біянкі В. Лясныя хаткі, 1928. (Biyanki V. Lyasnyya khatki, 1928.)
- Біянкі 1929a* — Біянкі В. Мурзік: Апавяданне, 1929. (Biyanki V. Murzik: Apanyadanne, 1929.)
- Біянкі 1929b* — Біянкі В. Мышанё пік, 1929. (Biyanki V. Myshane pik, 1929.)
- Бядуля 1928* — Бядуля З. Качачка-цапачка, 1928. (Byadulya Z. Kachachka-tsatsachka, 1928.)
- Бядуля 1941* — Бядуля З. Люцік, 1941. (Byadulya Z. Lyutsik, 1941.)
- Вамба 1929* — Вамба / pseud. Luigi Bertelli. Хвосцік, 1929. (Vamba / pseud. Luigi Bertelli. Khvos'tsik, 1929.)
- Горкі 1936* — Горкі М. Дзед Архіп і Лёнька: Апавяданне, 1936. (Gorki M. Dzed Arkhip i Len'ka: Apanyadanne, 1936.)
- Громаў 1930* — Громаў М. У царскай казарме: Апавяданне з жыцця старой арміі, 1930. (Gromaŭ M. U tsarskay kazarme.: Apanyadanne z zhytstsya staroy armii, 1930.)
- Даніэль 1929* — Даніэль М. Лейбка «Берлінчык», 1929. (Daniel' M. Leybka «Berlinchyk», 1929.)
- Дзісней 1938* — Дзісней В. Трое парасятка, 1938. (Dzisney V. Troe parasyatak, 1938.)
- Дзіцячая чытанка 1917* — Дзіцячая чытанка. Менск: Волнае Беларусі, 1917. (Dzitsyachaya chytanka. Mensk: Volnae Belarusi, 1917.)
- Дзіцячая чытанка 1918* — Дзіцячая чытанка. Менск: Грынблат, 1918. (Dzitsyachaya chytanka. Mensk: Grynblat, 1918.)

- Драздоў 1928* — Драздоў А. М. Унук камунара, 1928. (Drazdoŭ A. M. Unuk kamunara, 1928.)
- Дыла 1932* — Дыла А. Торф, 1932. (Dyla A. Torf, 1932.)
- Жыткоў 1928* — Жыткоў Б. С. Пра гэту кніну, 1928. (Zhytkoŭ B. S. Pra getu kninu, 1928.)
- Заяіцкі 1934* — Заяіцкі С. Модэль нумар дзесяць, 1934. (Zayaitski S. Model' numar dzesyats', 1934.)
- Зіміонкі 1928* — Зіміонкі. Звяры нашых лясоў, 1928. (Zimionki. Z'vyary nashykh lyasoŭ, 1928.)
- Колас 1925* — Колас Я. Першыя крокі, 1925. (Kolas Ya. Pershyya kroki, 1925.)
- Колас 1928a* — Колас Я. Два марозы, 1928. (Kolas Ya. Dva marozy, 1928.)
- Колас 1928b* — Колас Я. Як пеўнік ратаваў курачку, 1928. (Kolas Ya. Yak reŭnik ratavaŭ kurachku, 1928.)
- Колас 1928c* — Колас Я. Леў і воўк, 1928. (Kolas Ya. Leŭ i voŭk, 1928.)
- Колас 1929a* — Колас Я. Пчала і шэршань, 1929. (Kolas Ya. Pchala i shershan', 1929.)
- Колас 1929b* — Колас Я. Зайчыкі, 1929. (Kolas Ya. Zaychyki, 1929.)
- Крыніцкі 1929* — Крыніцкі М. Пра Ваўчка: апавяданне, 1929. (Krynitski M. Pra Vaŭchka: apavyadanne, 1929.)
- Ліліна 1926* — Ліліна З. Наш настаўнік Ленін, 1926. (Lilina Z. Nash nastaŭnik Lenin, 1926.)
- Лісіца 1929* — Лісіца-хітрыца, 1929. (Lisitsa-khitrytsa, 1929.)
- Маўр 1927a* — Маўр Я. Чалавек ідзе. Мн: Чырвоная Змена, 1927. (Maŭr Ya. Chalavek idze. Mn: Chyrvonaya Zmena, 1927.)
- Маўр 1927b* — Маўр Я. У крайне райскае птушкі, 1927. (Maŭr Ya. U krayne rayskae ptushki, 1927.)
- Маўр 1928* — Маўр Я. Сын вады, 1928. (Maŭr Ya. Syn vady, 1928.)
- Маўр 1929* — Маўр Я. Пекла. Байка, 1929. (Maŭr Ya. Pekla. Bayka, 1929.)
- Маўр 1930* — Маўр Я. Палескія Робінзоны. Прыгоды двух хлапцоў у палескіх балотах, 1930. (Maŭr Ya. Paleskiya Robinzony. Prygody dvukh khlapcsoŭ u paleskikh balotakh, 1930.)
- Маўр 1932* — Маўр Я. Аповесьць будучых дзён, 1932. (Maŭr Ya. Aposes'ts' buduchykh dzen, 1932.)
- Оранг-збаўца 1928* — Оранг-збаўца, 1928. (Orang-zbaŭtsa, 1928.)
- Першае 1927* — Першае мая Гэлькі, 1927. (Pershae maya Gel'ki, 1927.)
- Пушкін 1937* — Пушкін А. С. Казка пра папа і пра парабка яго Бадлу, 1937. (Pushkin A. S. Kazka pra papa i pra parabka yego Badlu, 1937.)

- Радзішчаў 1932* — Радзішчаў А. Цацкі з карабкоў ад запалак, 1932. (Radzi-shchay A. Tsatski z karabkoў ad zapalak, 1932.)
- Савёнак 1928* — Савёнак А. Разам лепей, 1928. (Savenak A. Razam lerey, 1928.)
- Свіфт 1936* — Свіфт Дж. Гулівер у Ліліпутаў, 1936. (Swift Dzh. Guliver u Liliputay, 1936.)
- Спрэг Мітчэль 1928* — Спрэг Мітчэль. Што спарчэй / илл. Тычына, 1928. (Spreg Mitchel'. Shto sparchey / ill. Tychyna, 1928.)
- Твэн 1935* — Твэн М. Прыгоды Тома Соера: Аповесць, 1935. (Tven M. Prygody Toma Soera: Aповests', 1935.)
- Толстой 1937* — Толстой Л. Н. Апавяданні, казкі, байкі, 1937. (Tolstoy L. N. Aповyadanni, kazki, bayki, 1937.)
- Тры львы 1928* — Тры львы, 1928. (Тры l'vy, 1928.)
- Фортунатаў 1929* — Фортунатаў Б. Як жукі ў футбол гуляюць, 1929. (Fortunataў B. Yak zhuki ў futbol gulyayuts', 1929.)
- Хмарка 1928* — Хмарка. Апавяданьне старога вожыка, 1928. (Khmarka. Aповyadan'ne staroga vozhyka, 1928.)
- Чарняўская 1928* — Чарняўская Л. Варка, 1928. (Charnyaўskaya L. Varka, 1928.)
- Чарняўская 1929* — Чарняўская Л. Кот «знайдзён», 1929. (Charnyaўskaya L. Kot «znaydzen», 1929.)
- Чарняўская 1930* — Чарняўская Л. Андрэйка, 1930. (Charnyaўskaya L. Andreyka, 1930.)
- Чукоўскі 1928* — Чукоўскі К. Мыйдадзір, 1928. (Chukoўski K. Myydadzir, 1928.)
- Чарнова і Дрот 1928* — Чарнова і Дрот. Наша чыгунка, 1928. (Charnova i Drot. Nasha chygunka, 1928.)
- Шолам-Алейхем 1930* — Шолам-Алейхем. Хлопчык Мотка / пер. з яўр. З.Бядуля, 1930. (Sholam-Aleykhem. Khlopchuk Motka / per. z yaўr. Z. Byadulya, 1930.)
- Як робяць 1929* — Як робяць пасуду, 1929. (Yak robyats' pasudu, 1929.)
- Якімовіч 1932* — Якімовіч А. Акцябрыты, 1932. (Yakimovich A. Aktsyabryaty, 1932.)
- Aleksandrove 1929* — Aleksandrove E. A mayse mit dray tsigelekh, 1929
- Aleksandrove 1929a* — Aleksandrove E. Di shneyers un andere mayselekh, 1929.
- Aleksandrove 1929b* — Aleksandrove E. Murze un andere mayselekh, 1929.
- Aleksandrovich* — Aleksandrovich A. A vaysrusishe maysele, 1935.

- Barto 1935* — Barto, A yingele farkert, 1935.
Barto 1935a — Barto A. Briderlekh, 1935.
Bianki 1928 — Bianki. Valdishe shtibelexh, 1928.
Bianki 1929 — Bianki. Murzuk, 1929.
Bianki 1929a — Bianki. Dos mayzele pik, 1929.
Boymvol 1936 — Boymvol. Bertsik brud, 1936.
Brokhes 1939 — Brokhes R. Etele, 1939.
Budziak 1928 — Budziak. Mayn kelbele, 1928.
Chernov un Drat 1928 — Chernov un Drat, Unzer ban, 1928.
Drozdov 1928 — Drozdov. Der komunars eynikl, 1928.
Fortunatov 1925 — Fortunatov. Vi azoy zhukes shpilm in futbol, 1925.
Grim 1939 — Grim. Maysелеkh, 1939.
Irkutov 1928 — Irkutov. Der marsh af vashington, 1928.
Kharik 1928 — Kharik I. Mit Leyb un Lebn, 1928.
Kipnis — Kipnis I. O-A, 1929.
Kipnis 1929a — Kipnis I. S'kert zikh a velt, 1929.
Kipnis 1930 — Kipnis I. Ot ver iz mir haynt gefeln, 1930.
Kipnis 1935 — Kipnis I. Freyd, 1935.
Kolas 1938 — Kolas. Der kreps — der vontsiker, 1938.
Konstantinov 1936 — Konstantinov. Di karte dertseylt, 1936.
Korolenko 1939 — Korolenko. Dos gekoyft yingl, 1939.
Linkov 1938 — Linkov. Mikolke-lokomotiv, 1938.
Maltinski 1934 — Maltinski Kh. Iunger leninets, 1934.
Maltinski 1939 — Maltinski Kh. Far briderlekh un shvesterlekh, 1939.
Marshak 1936 — Marshak S. Mister Tvist, 1936
Maur 1935 — Maur I. PKT, 1935.
Maur 1938 — Maur I. In land funem ganeydn-feygele, 1938.
Medresh 1932 — Medresh B. Af der akhter distansye, 1932.
Orshanski 1927 — Orshanski B. In dem bloen kestele, 1927.
Orshanski 1929 — Orshanski B. Mit ofene mayler, 1929
Pinchevsky 1933 — Pinchevsky M. Undzere kinder, 1933.
Platner 1933 — Platner A. Fun tsvey lender, 1933.
Platner 1938 — Platner A. Tsvishn kinder, 1938.

- Pushkin 1939* — Pushkin, A mayse mit a galekh un mit zayn arbeter badla, 1939.
- Raysin 1928* — Raysin Y. Tsvishn lebn un toyt, 1928.
- Raysin 1928a* — Raysin Y. Mayslekh in ferzn, 1928.
- Shvedik 1935* — Shvedik H. Undzer Djim, 1935.
- Suralski 1929* — Suralski. Fintiflushke, 1929.
- Svift 1937* — Svift A. Guliver ba di liliputn, 1937.
- Teyf 1933* — Teyf M. Parizer komune, 1933.
- Tsusamen 1935* — Tsusamen. Kinder zamlung, 1935.
- Vaysrusishe 1921* — Vaysrusishe liderlakh un mayselakh. Minsk, 1921.
- Yakimovich 1935* — Yakimovich. Der umgeveyntlekher ber, 1935.
- Zamlung 1927* — Zamlung fun pyonerishe dertseylungen, 1927.
- Zaltsman 1936* — Zaltsman. Literarishe zamlung far kinder-gertner, 1936.

References

- Ганчароў 1987* — Беларуская кніжная графікаю Аўт. уступ. арт. і склад. М. І. Ганчароў. Мінск: Беларусь, 1987. (Belaruskaya knizhnaya grafikayu Aўt. ustup. art. i sklad. M. I. Gancharoў. Minsk, 1987.)
- Гісторыя* — Гісторыя беларускай кнігі. Том 2: Кніжнасць новай Беларусі (XIX–XXI стст.). Мінск: Беларуская Энцыклапедыя імя Петруса Броўкі, 2011. (Gistoryya belaruskay knigi. Vol. 2: Knizhnasts' novay Belarusi (KhIKh-KhKhI stst.). Minsk, 2011.)
- Зельцер 2006* — Зельцер А. Евреи советской провинции: Витебск и местечки, 1917—1941. М.: РОССПЭН, 2006. (Zel'tser A. Evrei sovetskoy provintsii: Vitebsk i mestechki, 1917—1941. Moscow, 2006.)
- Карасик 2010* — Карасик М. Ударная книга советской детворы. М.: Контакт-Культура, 2010. (Karasik M. Udar'naya kniga sovetskoy detvory. Moscow, 2010.)
- Крутиков 2017* — Крутиков М. Райсн: «Беларусь» в модернистской поэзии на идише // Глубокое: память о еврейском местечке. М.: Сефер, 2017. С. 141–149. (Krutikov M. Raysn: «Belarus'» v modernistskoy poezii na idishe // Glubokoe: pamyat' o evreyskom mestechke. Moscow, 2017. P. 141–149.)
- Лыч 2012* — Лыч Л. М. Яўрэйская культура Беларусі — яе агульны духоўны набытак. Мінск: Лыч, 2012. (Lych L. M. Yaўreyskaya kul'tura Belarusi — yae agul'ny dukhoўny nabytak. Minsk, 2012.)
- Налівайка 1997* — Налівайка Л. Д. Мастацкае жыццё Беларусі 1917–1932 гг. (Плакат, часопісная і газетная графіка): Дыс. на атрым. навук. ступ. канд. Мастацтвазнаўства. Нац. АН Беларусі, Ін-т мастацтвазнаўства, этнаграфіі і фальклору імя К. Крапівы. Мінск, 1997. (Nalivayka L. D. Mastatskaye

zhystse Belarusi 1917–1932 gg. (Plakat, chasopisnaya i gazetnaya grafika): Dys. na atrym. navuk. stup. kand. Mastatstvaznaŭstva. Nats. AN Belarusi, In-t mastatstvaznaŭstva, etnagrafii i fal'kloru imya K. Krapivy. Minsk, 1997.)

Петрушкевіч 2008 — Петрушкевіч А. М. Алаіза Пашкевіч — аўтарка «Першага чытання для дзетак беларусаў» // Скарына і наш час : матэрыялы IV Міжнароднай навуковай канферэнцыі, Гомель, 13—14 лістапада 2008 г. : у 2 ч. / [рэдкалегія: А. А. Станкевіч (галоўны рэдактар) і інш.]. Гомель, 2008. Ч. 2. С. 231—235. (Petrushkevich A. M. Alaiza Pashkevich — aŭtarka «Pershaga chytannya dlya dzetak belarusay» // Skaryna i nash chas : materyyaly IV Mizhnarodnay navukovay kanferentsyi, Gomel', 13—14 listapada 2008 g.: 2 ch. Gomel', 2008. Vol. 2. P. 231—235.)

Пікулік 2008 — Пікулік А. М. Вытокі беларускай дзіцячай кніжнай ілюстрацыі // Пытанні мастацтвазнаўства, этналогіі і фалькларыстыкі. Мінск: Нацыянальная акадэмія навук Беларусі, Дзяржаўная навуковая ўстанова «Інстытут мастацтвазнаўства, этнаграфіі і фальклору імя К. Крапівы», 2008. Вып. 4. С. 58—62. (Pikulik A. M. Vytoki belaruskay dzitsyachay knizhnay ilyustratsyi // Pytanni mastatstvaznaŭstva, etnalogii i fal'klarystyki. Minsk: Natsyyanal'naya akademiya navuk Belarusi, Dzyarzhaynaya navukovaya ūstanova «Instytut mastatstvaznaŭstva, etnagrafii i fal'kloru imya K. Krapivy», 2008. Vol. 4. P. 58—62.)

Пікулік 2015 — Пікулік А. М. Мастацтва беларускай дзіцячай кнігі 1920-х гадоў // Пытанні мастацтвазнаўства, этналогіі і фалькларыстыкі. Мінск: Нацыянальная акадэмія навук Беларусі, Дзяржаўная навуковая ўстанова «Інстытут мастацтвазнаўства, этнаграфіі і фальклору імя К. Крапівы», 2015. Вып. 18. С. 74—79. (Pikulik A. M. Mastatstva belaruskay dzitsyachay knigi 1920-kh gadoŭ // Pytanni mastatstvaznaŭstva, etnalogii i fal'klarystyki. Minsk: Natsyyanal'naya akademiya navuk Belarusi, Dzyarzhaynaya navukovaya ūstanova «Instytut mastatstvaznaŭstva, etnagrafii i fal'kloru imya K. Krapivy», 2015. Vol. 18. P. 74—79.)

Пікулік 2015a — Пікулік А. М. Мастацтва беларускай дзіцячай кнігі 1930-х гадоў // Пытанні мастацтвазнаўства, этналогіі і фалькларыстыкі. Мінск: Нацыянальная акадэмія навук Беларусі, Дзяржаўная навуковая ўстанова «Інстытут мастацтвазнаўства, этнаграфіі і фальклору імя К. Крапівы», 2015. Вып. 19. С. 76—81. (Pikulik A. M. Mastatstva belaruskay dzitsyachay knigi 1930-kh gadoŭ // Pytanni mastatstvaznaŭstva, etnalogii i fal'klarystyki. Minsk: Natsyyanal'naya akademiya navuk Belarusi, Dzyarzhaynaya navukovaya ūstanova «Instytut mastatstvaznaŭstva, etnagrafii i fal'kloru imya K. Krapivy», 2015. Vol. 19. P. 76—81.)

Шматаў 1975 — Шматаў В. Ф. Беларуская графіка, 1917—1941 гг. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1975. (Shmataŭ V. F. Belaruskaya grafika, 1917—1941 gg. Minsk, 1975.)

- Шматаў 1978* — Шматаў В. Ф. Беларуская станковая графіка. Мінск: Беларусь, 1978. (Shmataў V. F. Belaruskaya stankovaya grafika. Minsk: Belarus', 1978.)
- Ball 1994* — Ball A. And now my soul is hardened: abandoned children in Soviet Russia, 1918–1930. Berkeley; London: Univ. of California Press, 1994.
- Bemporad 2013* — Bemporad E. Becoming Soviet Jews: the Bolshevik experiment in Minsk. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 2013.
- Children 2016* — Children and Yiddish Literature: From Early Modernity to Post-Modernity / ed. by G. Estraikh, K. Hoge and M. Krutikov. Cambridge: Legenda, 2016.
- Estraikh 2004* — Estraikh G. In harness: Yiddish writers' romance with communism. Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse Univ. Press, 2004.
- Fishman 2005* — Fishman D. The Rise of Modern Yiddish Culture. Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.
- Fraser 2004* — Fraser J. Shima T. Russian Children's Picture books in the 1920s and 1930s. Tankosha, 2004.
- Futur 2009* — Futur antérieur : l'avant-garde et le livre yiddish, 1914–1939 / ed. by N. Hazan-Brunet. Paris : Skira Flammarion, 2009.
- Gimpelevich 2018* — Gimpelevich Z. G. The portrayal of Jews in modern Bielarussian literature. Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 2018.
- Hoge 2016* — Hoge K. The design of books and lives: Yiddish children's book art by artists from the Kiev Kultur-Lige // Children and Yiddish Literature. 2016. P. 49–76.
- Inside 2013* — Inside the Rainbow: Russian Children's literature 1920–1935: Beautiful books, terrible times / ed. by J. Rothenstein, O. Budashevskaya. London: Redstone Press, 2013.
- Kazovsky 2003* — Kazovsky K. The artists of the Kultur-Lige = Художники Культур-Лиги. Moscow; Jerusalem: Mosty kul'tury; Гешарим, 2003.
- Kelly 2007* — Kelly C. Children's world: Growing up in Russia, 1890–1991. Yale: Yale Univ. Press, 2007.
- Kirschenbaum 2013* — Kirschenbaum L. Small Comrades: Revolutionizing Childhood in Soviet Russia, 1917–1932. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Koller 2016* — Koller S. Illustrating Yiddish Children's Literature: Aesthetics and Utopia in Lissitzky's Graphics for Mani Leib's Yingl Tsing Khvat // Children and Yiddish Literature, 2016. P. 77–92.
- Kucherenko 2016* — Kucherenko O. Soviet street children and the Second World War: welfare and social control under Stalin. London: Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Le Foll 2002* — Le Foll C. L'école artistique de Vitebsk. Eveil et rayonnement autour de Pen, Chagall et Malevich. Paris : L'Harmattan, 2002.

- Le Foll 2008* — Le Foll C. The “Belorussianisation” of the Jewish population during the interwar period: discourses and achievements in political and cultural spheres // *East European Jewish Affairs*. 2008. No. 38 (1). P. 65–88.
- Le Foll 2020* — Le Foll C. Visual culture as evidence of the Soviet past // *Reading Russian Sources* / ed. by G. Gilbert. Routledge, 2020. (In press)
- Lévèque 1997* — Lévèque F. Plantureux S. Dictionnaire des illustrateurs de livres d’enfants russes, 1917–1945. Paris : Agence culturelle de Paris, 1997.
- Mantovan 2016* — Mantovan D. Reading Soviet-Yiddish Poetry for Children: Der Nister’s Mayslekh in ferzn 1917–39 // *Children and Yiddish Literature*. 2016. P. 93–110.
- Modernism 2010* — *Modernism in Kyiv: Jubilant Experimentation* / ed. by I. Makaryk, V. Tkacz. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 2010.
- Moss 2009* — Moss K. *Jewish Renaissance in the Russian Revolution*. Harvard: Harvard Univ. Press, 2009.
- Parker 1985* — Parker S. Yiddish Children’s Literature in the Yiddish Schools // *Jewish Children’s Literature: proceedings of a conference on April 2, 1984*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Library, 1985. P. 29–53.
- Pearson 1990* — Pearson L. *Children of Glasnost: Growing up Soviet*. Washington: Univ. of Washington Press, 1990.
- Balina 2013* — *Russian children’s literature and culture* / ed. by M. Balina, L. Rudova. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Russian 2012* — *The Russian Jewish Diaspora and European Culture, 1917–1937* / ed. by J. Schulte, O. Tabachnikova, P. Wagstaff. Brill: 2012.
- Shneer 2004* — Shneer D. *Yiddish and the creation of Soviet-Jewish culture 1918–1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004.
- Sholokhova 2016* — Sholokhova L. Soviet Propaganda in Illustrated Yiddish Children’s Books: From the Collections of the YIVO Library New York // *Children and Yiddish Literature*. 2016. P. 168–183.
- Sloin 2017* — Sloin A. *The Jewish Revolution in Belorussia*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana Univ. Press, 2017.
- Steiner 1999* — Steiner E. *Stories for Little Comrades*. Seattle: Univ. of Washington Press, 1999.
- Stommels Lemmens 2012* — Stommels S-A. Lemmens A. The Graphic Work of Issachar Ber Ryback (1897–1935): an Outstanding example of Children’s Book Art // *The Russian Jewish Diaspora and European Culture, 1917–1937*. 2012. P. 279–299.
- Tudge 1991* — Tudge J. Education of Young Children in the Soviet Union: Current Practice in Historical Perspective // *The Elementary School Journal*. 1991. 92 (1). P. 121–133.

Winkler 2017 — Winkler M. Children, Childhood, and Stalinism // *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*. 2017. 18 (3). P. 628–637.

Клэр Ле Фоль

The University of Southampton

КУЛЬТУРНЫЕ ОБМЕНИ В ИДИШСКОЙ И БЕЛОРУССКОЙ
ДЕТСКИХ ЛИТЕРАТУРАХ И ИХ ИЛЛЮСТРАЦИЯХ В БССР
(1921–1939)

В статье представлен обзор изданий книг для детей на идиш и белорусском языке в БССР в период с 1921 по 1939 гг. В то же время анализ книг, изданных на двух названных языках, предпринятый с учетом специфики белорусской политики в отношении национальных меньшинств, позволяет вписать книгоиздание в БССР в более широкий контекст развития еврейской и русской/советской детской литературы начала XX в. В статье оценивается характер обмена между белорусской, еврейской, русской и другими литературами в отношении количества и состава переводов, мобильности художников-иллюстраторов, востребованности тем и стилей. Хотя количество переводов на белорусский и идиш было невелико, в статье демонстрируется существование очевидного культурного трансфера в области тематики книг и стилем их оформления.

Ключевые слова: Литература на идиш, белорусская литература, детская литература, книжная иллюстрация, БССР, советская история, культур-
Lige, белорусская история, еврейская история.