

Germany in the Holy Land: Its Involvement and Impact on Library Development in Palestine and Israel

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For more than a hundred years – from the 1840s until the 1950s – the German library tradition exerted an influence on the development of libraries and librarianship in Palestine and in the State of Israel. The cornerstone of this German involvement was the establishment of the Royal Library in Jerusalem in 1847. This library, the first scholarly library in Palestine, was planned and established according to the best German scholarly library tradition. Features of the eighteenth-century Göttingen University Library served as its model. The plans and activities connected with the establishment of a Jewish national library and a system of public libraries in Palestine in the twentieth century drew upon contemporary ideas of the Althoff reforms in scholarly libraries and upon ideas of the reform movement in popular libraries. As a result, concepts and procedures typical of the German library tradition were introduced into the leading libraries, such as the Jewish National and University Library, in Jerusalem, and the Municipal Library in Tel Aviv. The majority of

the academic staff of institutions of higher learning in Palestine, until the fifties, was graduates of universities belonging to the German cultural ambience. They had brought with them the teaching and research methods utilised in the institutions where they had formerly studied taught or conducted research. This had an accelerating effect on the development of seminar and departmental libraries in the country's libraries, and thus strengthened the trend of decentralisation in the university libraries. German library tradition is perceived as a part of the German national cultural heritage. The immigrants, who came to Palestine after the Nazi's rise to power, had been imbued with this cultural heritage, and they continued to preserve it in their new homeland. Consequently, most of them were consumers of German culture and had a decisive impact on the widespread distribution of German books in private collections, public and scholarly libraries and in commercial lending libraries from the 1930s to the end of the 1960s.

Introduction

For more than a hundred years – from the 1840s until the 1950s – the German library tradition influenced the development of libraries in Palestine. The term “library tradition” signifies values, ideas, concepts, principles, methods, procedures and past achievements, products of professional activity, expressed in the development of library systems and the library profession. The library tradition is perceived as part of the national tradition which contributes to society by preserving its past, its values, ethos and singular genius (Ge-

schichtliche Grundbegriffe 6: 648–49). The development of libraries in Palestine was influenced by various foreign library traditions, such as, for example, the Anglo-American tradition (1). However, there is impressive continuous evidence of the impact of German librarianship, which began in the final years of Ottoman rule in Palestine (1847–1917), and continued during the period of the British mandate (1918–1948) and the first decade of the existence of the State of Israel (1948–1958).

Germany was directly involved in the establishment of the first scholarly library in Palestine

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and in its development in the nineteenth century. The influence of the German library tradition was particularly pronounced in the planning and development of key institutions such as the Jewish National and University Library (hereinafter the JNUL), the Sha'ar Zion municipal library in Tel Aviv and the Technion library in Haifa. The German cultural heritage also had a profound and long-lasting impact on the massive distribution of German books and on the development of German-language collections in libraries in the country. This impact was the result of the arrival in Palestine of German refugees who, from the 1930s, found a refuge there from Nazi persecution.

This was the case despite the fact that during the entire period in question Palestine was a marginal area in German foreign policy, and until 1948, was not even a sovereign state. Germany had no interest in gaining control over Palestine; it made no effort to curry favour with her, nor did it take part in the struggle among the powers to determine her future. Nonetheless, of all the western countries, it was Germany that made the greatest contribution to the modernisation of the country in the nineteenth century and revealed a great interest in wielding its influence in developing commercial, religious and cultural ties (Carmel 1989: 182–190; Yisraeli 1974: 9–16). The socio-economic and professional diversity of the immigrants from Central Europe during the 1930s and 1940s and the social outlook and modes of consumption they brought with them, to a great extent helped to transform Jewish society in Palestine into a pluralistic society with the orientation of a modern welfare state. The impact they had to a considerable extent determined the western character of Israeli society (Gelber 1993: 329). The following sections describe some of the major milestones in the development of German influence.

The planning and establishment of the "Royal Library" in Jerusalem

Ottoman rule in Palestine lasted for four hundred years; it began at the close of the Middle Ages and ended in the final days of World War I with the British conquest of the country in 1917. Palestine was one of the administrative units of the Ottoman Empire, a god-forsaken country, at the

beginning of the nineteenth century. It was a neglected area with a primitive economy, a backward culture, an extremely low standard of living, an impoverished population, small, miserable cities, and only a few, poor roads. Its contribution to the Ottoman Empire derived mainly from the fact that it contained within its borders sites holy to Islam, to Christianity, and of lesser importance, to Judaism. However, in the course of the nineteenth century, the country underwent constant change. Political and social reforms were introduced, for the purpose of centralising and modernising the administration and acquiring equal rights for non-Muslim minorities. In 1800, these non-Muslim minorities (Christians and Jews) constituted about 10.4% of the population and in 1890 this percentage had risen to 18.8% (Bachi 1974: 31–33, 367–70). The country became the scene of diverse, large-scale political, economic and cultural activity on the part of the European powers, due to their increased interest and desire to influence everything taking place in it. Pilgrims, orientalists, missionaries, clergy, as well as settlers came to Palestine and developed a ramified system of foreign institutions, such as churches, monasteries, hostels, schools, hospitals, businesses and economic projects. European powers opened permanent consulates in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa. The British consulate was established in 1839, the Prussian in 1842, the French in 1843, the American in 1844, the Austrian in 1849, and a Russian consulate had already been active in Jaffa from 1820. These consulates wielded a great deal of influence and acted as the protectors of a sizeable minority under the Capitulation treaties, which accorded them the right to protect and dispense justice to their own nationals. The consulates maintained close-knit ties with the churches and missionary institutions of their nationals (2).

The travel journals of tourists, pilgrims and explorers of Palestine include testimonies about libraries that existed in the country in the second half of the nineteenth century (3). The Muslim community kept small collections of religious and legal literature, including basic works, in mosques and Muslim courts, but these did not develop into organised, established libraries that provided services to the community. There were also some large and valuable private collections in the homes of wealthy families in the cities. In

contrast, the Christians in Palestine established libraries (a) in monasteries, churches and missions, (b) in educational and research institutions for study of the Holy Land, and c) in consulates. Monasteries and churches in Palestine kept libraries that chronologically preceded all the other libraries. But up to the mid-nineteenth century, one can really relate to them only as collections, not as organised libraries for the use of consumers. They were primarily repositories of manuscripts dispersed among several monasteries and churches of the same sect.

Germany first became involved in the development of libraries in Palestine when the library of the Prussian consulate was established in Jerusalem in 1847. The person who conceived the idea of the library was apparently Ernst Gustav Schultz, an orientalist from Königsberg University, who was both an expert in Hebrew and Arab linguistics and a biblical archaeologist (4). Schultz was appointed to serve as Vice Consul, and later as Consul, in the Prussian Consulate in Jerusalem, and his plan to establish a library was presented to the king, Friedrich Wilhelm IV by his friend, the well-known naturalist Alexander von Humboldt (5).

Schultz' plan was based on the assumption that the study and exploration of the Holy Land would further Prussia's foreign policy, in two spheres: in developing trade channels to Eastern Asia and in preserving the status of the Ottoman Empire as a counterbalance between the European states. With this aim in mind, the Prussian government had to train and foster experts in Middle Eastern languages, and in the ethnography, geography and history of the region. According to Schultz' plan, the experts would undertake to spend a long period in the region and the most appropriate place for them to stay would be Jerusalem. For, in his view, Jerusalem deserved to be dubbed a microcosm of the world of the Orient. Only in that city could one gain a knowledge of the internal and external traits of the spiritual life of the various religious sects and ethnic groups. By becoming actively involved in the life of the city, these men would learn the everyday language in Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Syrian and Hebrew, and thus be able to complement the theoretical knowledge they had acquired in German universities.

Schultz outlined a clear policy for developing a

collection of books and defined the major areas to be contained in it. The collection would be centred on literature about the Holy Land and various aspects of the Middle East: theology (works such as polyglot bibles, an entire collection of the writings of the Church fathers in Greek and Latin); linguistics (primarily dictionaries and textbooks teaching the languages of the region); history (works such as Du Cange and the sources of the Crusades); works in numismatics and palaeography; a complete collection of the Greek and Roman classics; all the works dealing with various types of travellers to Palestine; collections of inscriptions. Schultz placed a special emphasis on the need for reference works: dictionaries, encyclopaedias, bibliographies, etc. that researchers and tourists must have access to if they want to study the area systematically and scientifically.

The development of the collection would be carried out in three ways: a) by means of a permanent annual budget devoted to the procurement of new material; b) by receiving copies from the libraries of Prussian universities, and c) by obtaining donations from philanthropists. The task of planning the collection, i.e., preparing lists of works to constitute the collection, would be assigned to an expert bibliographer in the field of Oriental studies.

To substantiate the proposals contained in his plan, Schultz conducted a survey of libraries in Jerusalem, and added his detailed findings to his proposals. The findings of his survey indicated that there were valuable collections in most of the monasteries, including rare books, in particular manuscripts and archival documents about the history of Jerusalem. In the Jewish community in Jerusalem, he found a large number of libraries in *yeshivoth* and in the homes of Jews. Particularly among the Sephardic Jews, there were private collections that included cabalistic and Talmudic literature and research literature on Palestine. In the homes of Muslims, there were private collections that included Arabic literature and works on theology and Islamic law. Based on these findings, Schultz concluded that it was advisable a) to acquire the manuscripts, rare books and historical documents in order to place them at the disposal of European scholars who would study them, and b) to make copies of the manuscripts and documents and to place them at the disposal

of the Prussian libraries. In view of the limitations placed by the institutions that owned the libraries on their users and on access to their treasures, Schultz suggested that the scholarly library be open to all individuals in search of knowledge, regardless of their faith or citizenship.

Schultz' proposals were favourably received by both the Prussian government ministries and the advisors to Friedrich Wilhelm IV. The king, a man of religious and romantic views, ascended to the throne in 1840. Already in his youth, he had shown an interest in the status of the Christians in the Holy Land and had supported their missionary endeavours. After his coronation, he acted together with England to set up a Prussian evangelical mission in Jerusalem, out of the belief that the Jewish people in its homeland would be converted to Christianity by the Evangelical church. His activity resulted in the establishment of the Evangelical diocese in Jerusalem. The king also was active in ensuring the rights of the Christian minority in Palestine within the framework of efforts to achieve a new agreement to preserve the stability of the Ottoman Empire (Schuetz 1988: 119). The decision to establish the scholarly library in Jerusalem was also undoubtedly spurred by the publication of Edward Robinson's studies on Palestine in the early 1840s. These were seminal studies since they provided the foundations for the modern geographical-archaeological research of Palestine, and hence aroused much interest in the subject of Jerusalem and the Near East (Ben-Arieh 1979: 17–20).

The library was established by a ministerial decree of the Minister of Education, on March 10 1847, and given the name *Königliche Bibliothek zu Jerusalem* (The Royal Library in Jerusalem). Its location was also fixed and a budget was set aside for a basic collection (6). An expert orientalist from the University of Halle was appointed to draw up a bibliographical list and to procure items for the core collection. Contacts were established with the Royal Library in Berlin, and the correspondence with its director, the well-known historian, Georg Heinrich Pertz, attests to an exchange of information about important manuscripts and rare books (7). The university libraries in Prussia were asked to transfer copies to the library in Jerusalem. Schultz was asked to offer these libraries manuscripts that were available for acquisition. A catalogue was

prepared, listing 260 works in about 300 volumes, half of which dealt with history, geography and the archaeology of Palestine and the Near East (8). An unsuccessful attempt was made to merge the library with the library of the Literary Society of Jerusalem, an adjunct of the British Consulate. The staff of the Prussian Consulate were of the opinion that the collection in the British Consulate library was not of a very high quality (9).

The library was kept in the Consulate until 1904, serving scholars, tourists, local Evangelical clergy, Prussian missionaries and schoolchildren. Its growth and development were curtailed during the 1860s due to a lack of financial support. Jerusalem was of marginal interest in Friedrich Wilhelm's foreign policy. It was, however, close to his heart owing to his Protestant faith, and he did his utmost to ensure that the Christian institutions in the city would have a secure basis. But to his ministers this activity by the king seemed reminiscent of the longings of medieval pilgrims and they regarded it as his own personal whim. The Minister of the Treasury refused to concede to the requests addressed to him from Jerusalem to finance housing for the clergy or a building for the library, claiming that these matters were not a top priority for the Prussian state (Schuetz 1988: 165–67). The current annual budget was discontinued after the death of the king in 1861, along with the procurement of new material. Later, in 1874, the Swiss physician Titus Tobler (1806–1877) who was considered to be the Nestor of explorers of Jerusalem in the nineteenth century, offered his private collection to the Prussian government on condition that it be made part of the consular scholarly library in Jerusalem. This excellent collection comprised about 1,000 volumes on the history and topography of Jerusalem. Tobler had visited Palestine in the years 1835, 1845, 1846, 1857 and 1865 and his library had grown to encompass a considerable collection relating to Palestine. This excellent collection comprised about 1,000 volumes on the history and topography of Jerusalem. However, this was never put into practice due to a lack of space in Jerusalem, and probably also a lack of interest. By the end of the nineteenth century, hardly any use was being made of the library. In 1904, the consul Eduard Schmidt requested permission to transfer 58

volumes from the library's collection to the library of the *Deutsch-Evangelisches Institut für Altertumforschung des Heiligen Landes*. This Institute, under the directorship of Gustaf Dalman, engaged in research on the biblical world and ancient history of the Church. For this purpose, a library had been established in the Institute to which Dalman had added his personal collection. It is worth noting that one of Dalman's aims was to make German a dominant language in Palestine so that it would serve as a living link with German culture (10).

The purpose underlying Schultz' plan and the establishment and activity of the library was to create a useful collection of books, whose scope, quality and singularity would meet the needs of scholars, students, teachers and tourists. The collection was systematically planned by a renowned expert, and was financed, at least in the first years after its establishment, by a permanent annual procurement budget that made it possible to purchase books on a continuous and well-planned basis (11). The library was perceived as a research tool and as an institution that would meet the requirements of research. It provided backing for the biblical, geographical-historical and archaeological study of Palestine, the foundations of which had been laid by Edward Robinson. In his wake, many scores of explorers and scholars arrived who paved the way for the general study of the country, covering all aspects and spheres, although most of them preferred to focus on the biblical period and on important historical periods during which the Holy Land played a unique role (Ben-Arieh 1991: 17–20).

The library was planned and established in the best German scholarly library tradition. Its planning and activities described above, had some features similar to those of the Göttingen University Library, that was established in the first half of the eighteenth century and served as the prototype of or pacesetter for the modern scholarly libraries founded in the nineteenth century in Germany and in other countries (12). It formed the keystone for German involvement and influence in the development of libraries in Palestine, and was also the first research library in that country. In the wake of its activity, research literature was imported into Palestine for the first time, and in the course of time, this had an impact on the secularisation of library collections in Palestine.

At the same time manuscripts and books from local collections found their way into German libraries.

The plans and work of Heinrich Löwe

The trends in German librarianship at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century had a decisive impact on Heinrich Löwe's proposals, plans and endeavours relating to the establishment of a Jewish national library in Jerusalem and the development of a system of libraries in Palestine (13). Löwe served as a librarian in Berlin during a very eventful period, marked by many developments in German scholarly and public libraries. Friedrich Althoff, a director in the Prussian Ministry of Education, attempted to introduce a far-reaching reform to modernise the scholarly libraries in Prussia. This reform included, among other innovations: the centralisation of national policy-making in relation to library development in the Ministry of Education; the creation of a co-ordinated, functional library system based on the Humboldtian organism concept within the administrative framework of the state; the granting of a leading status to the Royal library in Berlin and the shaping of it as the focus of library activity in the state; the implementation of a centralised cataloguing system, and the introduction of standardisation in library procedures (Greguletz 1981: 139–40; Fabian 1991: 428–33). Public librarianship in Germany was inherently dualistic – the popular vs. the academic (*Volksbibliothek* versus *Stadtbibliothek*). On the other hand, the attempt to emulate the Anglo-American model of the free public library, by integrating the academic municipal library and the popular library, to create an “integrated” library (*Einheitsbibliothek* or *Bildungsbibliothek*), as proposed by the reform movement, known by the name *Bücherhallenbewegung*, was not successful. The “integrated library” was meant to be multipurpose and to meet the needs of recreation, education, professional advancement, and aesthetic education, as well as to serve both the enlightened and the uneducated layers of society (Klotzbuecher 1969: 1–19).

Löwe began his professional career as a librarian in 1899 in the Berlin University library, at a time when it was undergoing reorganisation and modern methods were being introduced. He

worked in this system, and was a part of it. However, at the same time, as his career evolved, he also worked on behalf of the Zionist movement, of which he was a pioneer in Germany. This background explains Löwe's plans, proposals and endeavours (14). He drew the theoretical underpinnings of his plan for the establishment of a Jewish national library and a public library system in Palestine from the German historicistic school, and based the idea of a national Jewish movement on historical processes. In his conception, Zionism was an expression of the course and events of history in general and of Jewish history in particular. Löwe stressed the cultural aspect of Zionism, without which Jewish nationalism would be meaningless.

His plan was based on the following convictions. Firstly, the true meaning of Jewish nationalism is expressed in Jewish culture. The political independence of the Jewish people cannot be divorced from its intellectual freedom, since the spiritual essence of the nation can be realised only when not inhibited by political constraints. Secondly, the education of the young must include the instilling of Jewish and universal values, while Judaism provided the moral basis of a humanistic education. Thirdly, schools contribute only the tools of learning, while a true education is acquired through self-instruction. Thus the schools must require that the educational process be supplemented through the library. Löwe understood that the library must form an integral part of the educational process as an adjunct to formal education and the major source of informal learning. Moreover, he held that the cultural level of a nation was not only a function of the quality of its educational system, but also of its concern for the development of a system of libraries (Schidorsky 1989:60–67).

Since a sound foundation for a system of libraries in Palestine was lacking, Löwe proposed that the national library fulfil functions and provide services that in other countries are normally the province of three different types of libraries. It would be a scholarly library, a public library, and a popular library, or, in his words, '*Gelehrten-, Gebildeten- und Volksbibliothek*.' It would be multipurpose from the point of view of its objectives and services, and, as such, would serve three different strata of the population. As a scholarly library, it would assemble research

materials, as the British Museum Library, the French *Bibliothèque Nationale* and the Library of Congress, and would serve the community of scholars. On the other hand, as a popular library, it would have to provide basic library materials for the education of the general public. Löwe envisioned as users of this library, the Jews in Palestine at the time, people he called the Jews of the Orient, as well as the uneducated non-Jewish majority in Palestine. Between these two extremes, scholars on the one hand and the uneducated populace on the other, Löwe stressed the needs of the educated stratum that had a need for professional literature. These users would come from among the pioneers, the people of the first wave of immigration, farmers and craftsmen who had not had the opportunity to complete their academic education in the East European countries from which they had come. For them, technical and scientific literature would have to be made available to help them acquire professional knowledge in their new vocations.

The national library was to be not only the central library for Palestine and the Jewish people at large, but also the institution administering and directing the development of all the other libraries in Palestine and actually overseeing their operations. The infrastructure of the entire system of public and other libraries would originate in the national library. Löwe attached special importance to the preparation of a central unified catalogue that would list all of the current holdings in the country. This catalogue, prepared and continually updated by the national library, would be an essential tool for both the efficient supervision of the collections in Palestine and for their systematic expansion as the need arose, and would also aid users in locating the material they required.

Löwe, then, fostered a largely centralised notion of the library system in Palestine. His conceptions of the multipurpose functions of the national library, its administrative system, and its planning and supervision throughout the country, emphasised this centralised orientation, which was necessitated by the conditions existing in Palestine until the 1920s. This was, however, to represent only an interim stage of development. It is clear that in Löwe's opinion the initial objective was to set up a firmly based national library which was eventually to become a national and

university library since, in the wake of the program put forward by Martin Buber, Berthold Feiwel and Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist Organization had already begun to consider the establishment of a university in Palestine. The degree to which these initial objectives would be achieved would then determine the pace of the development of the other libraries in Palestine. In other words, the national system would be built, according to Löwe's thinking, from the pinnacle of the pyramid downwards, rather than from the base up. At a later stage, when more immigrants filled the settlements and towns, public libraries would be needed. These would combine the functions of the two types of institutions – the scholarly municipal library and the popular library. Eventually, they would become an independent system.

These proposals by Löwe, which were widely publicised in Jewish periodicals in Central Europe, echoed developments in the library world: on the one hand, Althoff's plans for centralising the Prussian scholarly libraries, and on the other, the idea of the multipurpose "integrated library" proposed by the reform movement in public libraries. Insofar as the work procedures in the proposed Jewish national library were concerned, such as classification, cataloguing, circulation and modes of operation and organisation, Löwe preferred the German methods to the American. He suggested employing German transliteration in the catalogues and using the German language as the dominant language alongside Hebrew. In his view, German was the language in which research in Jewish studies is given expression. He recommended learning from the German experience in establishing libraries, and the model uppermost in his mind was the plan of the German Ministry of Education and Culture to establish in Posen (present-day Poznan in Poland) a large public library with local regional branches, in order to strengthen the influence of German culture in the eastern districts of Prussia, at the same time using the opportunity to commemorate the name of the Emperor, Wilhelm I. The entire collection was actually planned and assembled in Berlin with the help of donations of books from publishers, bookstores and libraries. The catalogues were also prepared in Berlin and the entire library was transferred to Posen ready for the use of local readers. Löwe suggested that the

collection of the Jewish national library be created in Berlin in a similar fashion from donations of books and money, where it would be classified and catalogued before being shipped to Jerusalem (Löwe 1914: 329).

While he was director of the "Sha'ar Zion" municipal library in Tel Aviv (1933–1947), Löwe still aspired to realise the ideal of the multipurpose "integrated" or *Bildung* library. However, despite these ideas, the municipal library under his direction became more scholarly in nature. In reality, he showed a clear preference for providing services to the educated stratum – to professionals, educators, scholars and researchers in Jewish studies. The public's need for recreation, or as Löwe put it, for "amusing reading" material, became a matter of marginal importance. But the provision of services across a counter, shelving in closed stacks, and the use of the *Preussische Instruktionen* was in keeping with German procedures.

Löwe was impressed by the scholarly municipal library in Germany and its historical-philological collections. It was in keeping with his ideas about how best to achieve the cultural aims he had set for the revived Jewish community in Palestine. He contributed greatly to the professionalisation of librarianship. The municipal library in Tel Aviv suffered from the shortage of professionally trained librarians. Since there were no institutions to train librarians in Palestine, Löwe and Curt Wormann, who was responsible for the European-language collections (and later the director of the JNUL from 1947–1968), set up a two-year on-the-job training program that comprised theoretical and practical studies in the library. It was apparently based on similar programs that existed in the Berlin University library, known as the only university library (until the end of World War I) that trained library apprentices (Olsen 1996: 51–52).

Libraries in institutions of higher learning

The basic academic and national issues involved in the establishment of a Jewish institution of higher learning were first deliberated in a program published in Berlin in 1902, authored by M. Buber, B. Feiwel and C. Weizmann (*Eine Jüdische Hochschule*). The program dealt with the establishment of a Jewish university that would

also teach technological subjects. Among the reasons put forth for its establishment, an emphasis was placed on the national needs of the Jews for their own higher education and on the various limitations and quotas introduced by various European countries in order to reduce the number of Jews being accepted to their universities. The Jewish university was to have been a response to these obstacles placed in the way of Jews applying to European institutions. The idea was to establish an institution that would be a combination of a university and a technological institute (Buber 1902: 44). However, in actual fact, two separate institutions of higher learning were opened: the Technion in Haifa in 1924 and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1925. The models for these two institutions were the universities and technological institutes in Germany, which at the time were regarded as the best in the world and were very well known to the teachers who were hired to teach and conduct research in the Palestinian institutions (Dror 1996: 351–53; Katz 1997: 456B). At their inception, both of these institutions were modelled on the Humboldtian tradition (15).

The preparatory work on the Technion began in 1907 and was completed in 1924. During this period, the German model of the *Technische Hochschule* was brought to Palestine, and the struggle over the language of instruction was settled. While the initiators of the institution (*Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden*), had pressed for teaching in the German language, the Zionist institutions decided in favour of teaching in Hebrew. While the Zionists were putting forth their arguments, the German Foreign Office was applying pressure on the *Hilfsverein* to ensure that the Technion would be German in character, claiming that the spread of the Hebrew tongue would inhibit the diffusion of German in Palestine. The resolution of the Board of Trustees of the Technion, adopted on October 26, 1913, at the suggestion of the *Hilfsverein*, states that technical subjects and the natural sciences would be taught in German, and that this would strengthen ties with the development of modern science (16). In the twenties and thirties, the influence of the German technical school tradition on the curricula, the technical and scientific equipment, and the collection of professional literature were still apparent. Nearly all the engineers involved in the establishment of

the institution and its library were graduates of the Technische Hochschule, Charlottenburg in Berlin, and books were ordered from Germany based on their proposals. The basic collection was primarily in the German language.

The JNUL in Jerusalem evolved from a small public library founded by Bnai Brith in 1892 (17). In 1920 the library was transferred to the ownership of the Zionist Organisation as the basis of a national library, and Shmuel Hugo Bergmann, a librarian and philosopher from Prague (and later the first rector of the Hebrew University) was invited to direct it. The time of Bergmann's tenure (1920–1935) in the JNUL can be regarded as its formative period, since during this period, the institution developed and was shaped into a modern library on an international level. By the end of the twenties, in particular after the opening of the Hebrew University in 1925, Bergmann had begun to realise Löwe's concept of the library as both a national library of the Jewish people and a university library as well as the central public library of the Jewish community in Palestine. In 1905, Löwe's statement that the national Jewish library would be the focus of renewed Jewish spiritual life in Palestine was then only a vision (Löwe 1905: 26). It was Bergmann who turned it into reality and made it the declared policy of the library that it be open to the public at large to supply its needs and to make the institution the centre of the country's spiritual life (Bergmann 1935: 6). It became the library of all the inhabitants of Palestine and provided lending services to all readers. Many of the settlers, workers, educators and other professionals were among its regular readers. Efforts were also made to open a library for children and youngsters in a separate department, but they failed to produce results.

Bergmann had attended the German Charles University in Prague and had acquired his experience in its library, which used German methods. Nonetheless, he preferred to run the JNUL according to American professional practice, despite the fact that Heinrich Löwe from the Berlin University Library and Gotthold Weil from the Prussian State Library in Berlin (18), were among his closest advisors on professional matters. During Bergmann's tenure, the structural patterns were firmly established and patterns of management and work methods were crystallised, and

as early as 1924 he had introduced the Dewey classification system, the ALA cataloguing rules, and systematic shelving in open stacks for the university teachers. Of course, he also set policy for training librarians – most of them were sent to the American Library School in Paris, and only one was sent to the Berlin library school.

The work of building and shaping the JNUL was only one aspect of Bergmann's pioneering activity. Another was his activity in the Labour Party, in the central culture committee of the Histadrut (General Federation of Hebrew Workers in Palestine) and on the cultural committee of the Workers Councils. Among the origins of Bergmann's affinity to the labour movement were Gustav Landauer's cultural and humanistic socialism and the "new direction" trend in adult education in Germany. These had an impact on his activity and involvement in developing public libraries in Palestine and founding the Histadrut's central mobile library, which provided services to the pioneers in the agricultural settlements between 1921–1931 (Volkmann 1994: 47–54, 75).

Weil, Bergmann's successor, introduced principles and methods that he was familiar with from German libraries, in particular those in the Prussian State Library, where he had worked for more than twenty years. On the basis of his view that order is the supreme principle in every library, more important than improvements in methods and techniques of librarianship, he introduced far-reaching reforms in the JNUL. He went so far as to state that order is an end unto itself. His reforms culminated in the discontinuation of systematic shelving of books in the stacks and the transition to mechanical shelving according to the *numerus currens* method, and the closure of the stacks to readers (19). The list of reasons he gives for making these changes reveals a surprising resemblance to those enumerated in Georg Leyh's article on the dogma of systematic shelving (20). This is not the place to review these reasons, but Weil was in favour of mechanical shelving primarily due to the complexity of the call numbers and the shortage of storage areas – arguments dealt with in Leyh's article. Although he objected to the Dewey decimal system and the ALA cataloguing rules, which had been introduced by his predecessor, Weil was compelled to leave these methods in place, since when he be-

came director, he found about 300,000 volumes already classified and catalogued according to them.

Curt Wormann, who succeeded Weil as director of the JNUL (1947–1968), was also educated in German universities and, until the Nazis' rise to power, served as the director of a public library and a lecturer in the Berlin library school. Although he was thoroughly familiar with Anglo-American library practice, and tended to prefer it, Wormann approved of his predecessor's methods of closed stacks and mechanical shelving, and later implemented them in the planning and construction of the JNUL building in 1960.

As Löwe did in his time, Wormann, during his first years as director, devised plans that were characterised by a centralised concept of the library system. Like Löwe, he argued that the JNUL had a key role to play in the development, direction, planning and supervision of the libraries of the country. For the implementation of these functions, he suggested that a central authority for libraries be established in one of the government ministries, to be run in practice by the JNUL. His detailed plan also included special libraries, not only public libraries. In another plan for the expansion of the JNUL's storage areas, he suggested the establishment of a central municipal library in Jerusalem as a branch of the JNUL (21). In their overall features, these plans are reminiscent of several of Althoff's ideas with respect to the consolidation of the research libraries in nineteenth-century Germany.

Most of the ideas relating to the centralisation of the system of scholarly and public libraries were never implemented. Moreover, the libraries of institutions of higher learning, from their inception in the twenties and at least until the sixties, were developed according to a salient trend of fostering a highly decentralised organisational pattern. The universities that were founded developed a relatively large number of seminar, departmental and faculty libraries as well as libraries of institutes in parallel, sometimes independently of the central university libraries in scores of departments and institutes of the Hebrew University and over time also in the Technion in Haifa. Hence, libraries were created that competed for resources with the central libraries. A similar process took place in the new universities founded in the fifties, i.e. at Tel Aviv

University and Bar-Ilan University. This probably resulted from the fact that most of the academic staff in these institutions were educated in and belonged to the German cultural ambience. Many of them came from countries in Central Europe, and had attended and even taught and conducted research in institutions of higher learning in those countries and brought with them the teaching and research methods followed there. For example, in 1948 there were 135 members of the academic staff in the Hebrew University, 83 who had, prior to World War II, studied and taught in universities with a German culture orientation (22). Several members of the academic staff who taught at the Hebrew University were graduates of Göttingen University, in which the seminar approach to instruction had evolved and then spread to other universities. Based on this approach, seminar and departmental libraries were created in German universities, as well as in other European countries and in the United States. Their development reached a peak at the end of the nineteenth century, when, in the wake of the autonomy granted to the various disciplines, they became independent libraries. In Germany, the seminar and departmental libraries were known as *Institutsbibliotheken*.

Most of the teachers in institutions of higher learning in Palestine during the thirties and forties, and later in the fifties after the establishment of the State of Israel, adopted the German teaching and research methods (Arieli 1997: 541–42). They constituted pressure groups advocating the founding of libraries for the departments and faculties in which they taught, and thus led to the introduction of the German seminar library into the universities of Palestine and the State of Israel.

Consumers of German language and culture

In 1933, when the Nazis rose to power in Germany, a large wave of Jewish immigrants left Central Europe. Nearly 90,000 German-speaking Jews immigrated to Palestine from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Persecution was the main motivating force for their immigration. Proportionately, the immigrants from Germany alone formed the largest Jewish group in the Diaspora that found its way to Palestine. About two-

thirds of the immigrants from Central Europe settled in the cities, and the remainder went to agricultural settlements. Almost 60% of the immigrants were from the learned professions, a much higher proportion than was the case in the overall Jewish community in Palestine. This immigration, in the thirties and forties, comprised mainly consumers of German language and culture, and was responsible for several unique phenomena discussed below.

The proliferation of private German-language collections.

It is probably no exaggeration to say that nearly all the families immigrating from Central Europe owned private collections of books, ranging from small ones comprising several dozen books to the largest with several thousand books. Most of the families owned relatively small collections, but some had large, comprehensive ones, including some bibliophilic collections. These collections contained, among others, classical German literature, such as the works of Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Kleist, Heine, Thomas Mann, Franz Werfel, Stefan Zweig, Arnold Zweig, Feuchtwanger, and Wassermann. They also encompassed books on history, psychology, art, music and professional literature, particularly relating to the professions practised by the family members. Some also included Jewish literature, sacred and secular works and encyclopaedias such as the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (1928–34) and the *Jüdisches Lexikon*. Whenever circumstances permitted, the refugee immigrants held on to their collections and brought them with them to Palestine. The bookseller, Ernst Loewy, testifies to this fact:

As a book dealer, I'll never forget how impressed I was by the many refugees who at the time tried to sell the books they had brought with them. They had been forced, literally, to leave all of their property behind. They could only take one or two suitcases with books, most of them valuable, apparently the only things of value they were able to salvage" (Loewy 1988: 39).

Someone coined the phrase "the emigration of books" to describe what happened to the private collections of Central European Jewry, since the fate of the books was often connected with, or largely dependent on, the fate of the survivors. One of these survivors said that when you

stepped over the threshold of the half finished houses into the neat rooms of the new immigrants, Goethe was just as conspicuous on the bookshelves as he always had been in their past lives (23). Felix Rosenblueth (one of the leaders of German Zionism, who later changed his name to Pinhas Rosen and served as the first Minister of Justice in the State of Israel) wrote in 1942:

As if we were lacking in lending libraries! As if the German immigrants are not aware, at least in part, of the contents of the private collections they themselves brought to the country (Volkman 1994: 177).

The immigrants often boasted about the rich diversity of their German-language collections compared to the meagre Hebrew collection that they possessed (Betten and Du-nour 1995: 315). Many left their books as a legacy to the second generation of refugees from Central Europe. Over time, the availability of many German-language books in Israel attracted antiquarian dealers from Central Europe. They were particularly interested in finding Judaica in German and books printed before the Nazi era. By purchasing such books, they were able to meet, at least in part, the demands of university libraries in Central Europe that had suffered the loss of some parts of their collections during World War II.

A significant increase in the number of German-language collections in public and scholarly libraries.

The fact that the JNUL was enriched by collections from Germany was attested to in 1935 by its director, Shmuel Hugo Bergmann:

The founding of the Hebrew University in 1925 preceded by eight years the catastrophe that befell German Jewry in 1933, and came, in a sense, as a precaution in anticipation of the disaster. So when the disaster did occur, the University was ready to accept a large proportion of the scholars and students who were forced to discontinue their studies and research in Germany. The JNUL was also prepared for the expansion of the University that was carried out in recent years. And German Jewry, so tormented and suffering, has also helped to a degree we had never dreamed of – in the development of the JNUL. In recent years, German Jews have given our institution thousands of books. Mr. Ernst Hoffmann created ... in Germany the mechanism that was required to enable him to receive the many offers, to record the books offered and to select those we need in accordance with our instructions” (Bergmann 1935: 32).

Collections in German were also added to the public libraries, for example, in the library located in the Pevsner House, founded by the Society for the Study of Science In Haifa, in the municipal library in Tel Aviv, and others elsewhere in the country. Curt Wormann also suggested that the Organization of Central European Immigrants set up a special mobile library to serve the German-speaking immigrants in the agricultural settlements, but this idea was never put into practice (24).

The establishment of commercial lending libraries specialising in German books

Lending libraries on a commercial basis operated in the thirties and forties to meet the demands of immigrants who were not satisfied by the available supply of German-language books. Some of the lending libraries were established by booksellers in their places of business (Loewy 1988: 39–41). The immigrants did not have the means to purchase books and consequently turned to lending libraries where they could borrow German-language books for a modest monthly subscription fee. The collections in these libraries comprised mainly contemporary belles lettres, historical, economic and sociological literature, political works, biographies, as well as German translations of English and American belles lettres. There were usually no more than a thousand volumes in each of these libraries. During the forties, there were four lending libraries of this type on one street in Tel Aviv (25)

A flourishing trade in German-language books by antiquarian booksellers.

The Hebrew author Shmuel Yosef Agnon wrote about this situation in his book *Shira*:

From the day the Nazis came into power, Jerusalem has become a metropolis for German books ... anyone who brought with him cupboards full of books finds no room for them in his tiny apartment. He calls a bookseller and sells him a sackful of books for a shilling, just in order to vacate enough space for himself. Now every street corner in Jerusalem is full of precious books, and before long, anyone searching for a valuable German book will find it not in Germany, but here in Jerusalem (26).

Many were forced to part from their books, be-

cause they needed the money, and antiquarian bookstores in cities like Jerusalem became a meeting place for Jewish, Christian and Muslim intellectuals. Alice Schwarz-Gardos recalled in her memoirs:

My heart was torn when I was forced to get rid of about two hundred classics I had carried with me – my Goethe, my Schiller, Theodor Storm, Gottfried Keller, Stefan Zweig and Thomas Mann. But I had to think first of earning my livelihood (27).

The best-known antiquarian bookstores were Ludwig Mayer, He-Atid, Landsberger, and Logos.

The consumers of German-language books were the dominant factor that spurred the development of the trends described above. One can easily identify the major groups of these consumers that brought pressure to bear on institutions and official bodies, demanding the expansion and diversification of the supply of German-language books, newspapers and periodicals. These were:

1. Academics. As noted in the previous section, to a great extent those involved in developing the Hebrew University in Jerusalem were immigrants reared and educated under the influence of German culture. This was also true of the academic staff of the Technion in Haifa and of the Weizmann Institute. They brought with them teaching and research methods from the European-German intellectual world, which they endeavoured to adapt to the conditions in Palestine (Wormann 1970: 86; Gelber 1993: 328).

2. Immigrants from countries imbued with German culture, who participated in the educational and cultural activities of the Organization of Central European Immigrants (hereinafter IOME) (28). This organisation developed a widespread and varied network of adult education that encompassed most of the local authorities in Palestine and included conferences, courses, lessons, lecture series, seminars, clubs and a publishing house that printed publications in German and Hebrew. Between 1934–1947, many thousands of the new immigrants from countries under the influence of German culture participated in these activities. The overall objective of this adult education was to achieve, through a new orientation, the spiritual-cultural integration of the German-speaking immigrants into the newly emerging society in the new-old homeland. The new orien-

tation encompassed Jewish and European humanistic values, the search for a new cultural synthesis, a heightened awareness of the need to accept responsibility and to develop spiritual resilience. This orientation was intended to help the immigrants cope with the crisis they were undergoing after having been uprooted from their homes, having lost their heritage and having been transferred to a new, strange homeland. The spiritual focus of the new orientation was Palestine. However, this Palestinocentrism also included a corrective aspect to counter exaggerated nationalistic concepts. This corrective was the humanistic ideal of German classicism and its Goetheian characteristics. The key personality and the guiding spirit leading these activities was Jakob Sandbank. His practical work was particularly marked by the influence of the “new direction” in adult education discussed and formulated in the Hohenrodter Bund, an outstanding representative of which, during the Weimar era, was the librarian Walter Hoffmann. The “new direction” placed an emphasis on intensive activity in adult education and this trend was also adopted in the activity of the IOME (Wormann 1970: 81–82; Volkmann 1994: 55–255, 293).

3. Writers, poets, playwrights who wrote their works in German, and were famous mainly owing to their publications abroad. Among the most well-known were: Else Lasker-Schueler, Sammy Gronemann, Max Brod, Max Zweig, Arnold Zweig, Leo Perutz, and Werner Kraft.

The German language is my vital element, a sort of spiritual home. And this language of mine lives on in exile, lives on above all where I myself have found my home, my homeland, to which I had looked with yearning for so long ... (Gronemann, cited in Wormann 1970: 88).

Sammy Gronemann's attitude was shared by most German authors. Even a non-Zionist like Arnold Zweig stated:

People here demand their Hebrew and I cannot give it to them, I am a German writer and a German European, and this fact has certain consequences (cited in Wormann 1970: 90).

And like Arnold Zweig, Werner Kraft testifies, on the one hand, to the hardships of spiritual absorption in Palestine, and on the other, to his ties to the heritage of German culture:

I continued to live my life and to write as I had until now drawing on the sources of the German spirit and the German tongue. I did so even in the face of the horrible crime that from within Germany led to the great disaster that befell the Jewish people as the whole world looked on (Kraft 1973: 152).

4. Members of the literary and political clubs. For a long time, particularly during World War II, these clubs were the only place where writers in German could present their work to a German-speaking audience. The clubs had different purposes and their activities varied. In Jerusalem, the Kraal club was one of the best known. Founded by Else Lasker-Schüler, its aim was to serve as a forum where cultural, political and religious issues could be discussed in the spirit of Jewish humanism and the spirit of German Jewry's heritage (Wormann 1970: 94). In 1941, a club which existed until the sixties was founded in Tel Aviv by Ernst Taussig (Max Brod's brother-in-law) and his wife. Max Brod was the living spirit of the club until his death in 1964. In it, Brod himself, Leo Perutz, and many other writers read aloud excerpts from their work (29). Another club that was active from 1941–1946 was "The Progressive Culture Club" founded as a literary club where readings of classical German literature and works in German by local writers would be held. In the wake of the events of World War II, however political discussions were held there as well. The initiators and activists of the club had leftist leanings and over time developed ties to the Soviet Union. German-language periodicals published in Moscow, such as the *Freies Deutschland*, were regularly received by the club. Arnold Zweig was among those participating as a lecturer and reciter there (30). During the same period, the "Zipser Club" was active in Haifa. Initiated by Dr. Zipser, a local physician, the club offered varied activities, conducted in the German language (31).

These are but a few examples of the widespread activity held in German, usually also on topics related to German culture. Thousands of immigrants from Central Europe joined in these activities over a period of about thirty years. In 1948, a survey was conducted among 50,867 residents whose mother tongue was German. One finding of the survey was that 41% spoke only German as their "everyday spoken language" (Gil and Cicron 1956: 29). The extent to which im-

migrants from Central Europe were deeply imbued with the German language and German culture is attested by the comments of elderly residents, collected during the recent decade in a compilation by A. Betten and M. Du-nour, about fifty years after the Holocaust. Here are a few examples:

Even today I am a German Jew, not only from the standpoint of language but in my culture and in all my ways of thinking (Betten and Du-nour 1995: 243);

You can emigrate from your homeland but you cannot emigrate from your mother tongue (Betten and Du-nour 1995: 286);

What I acquired from German culture I did not acquire from the Hebrew culture in Israel. Hebrew literature did not have the same meaning for me as German literature, which to this very day is significant for me (Betten and Du-nour 1995: 286);

The Hebrew collection [in my private library] is meager in comparison to my German and English books, to this very day (Betten and Du-nour 1995: 315).

Some of the interviewees in this compilation also referred to the second generation of immigrants, and stressed the fact that they had a common language with their children because they had read to them German poetry and stories and excerpts of plays from the German classics. Most of the authors who wrote in German regarded Palestine (and later Israel) as their homeland but the German language also remained a sort of homeland for them since it provided them with a sense of belonging (32).

The Central European immigrants never even considered leaving their private collections behind. This is because from childhood they had been imbued with a strong attachment to German history and literature, to books, as well as to other values of German culture. Their faith in this culture was drawn from the idea of *Bildung*, which was anchored in German idealistic philosophy. Goethe, Fichte and Humboldt defined this concept that was centred on the individual developing the range of his intellectual, ethical and aesthetic abilities so that he might foster his independence and self-definition, in order to form an enlightened, whole and harmonious personality. The community of immigrants absorbed the thirst for *Bildung* and was spurred and guided by the spirit of enlightened humanism (33). The immigrants who had lived under the impact of

German culture preserved, much more than other immigrants did, their links to the linguistic, cultural and historical heritage of their former country and never cut themselves off from it (Gelber 1993: 339). Consequently, this heritage had a constant, consistent and long-lasting impact on them. This link to their culture of origin was the dominant factor responsible for the relatively widespread distribution of German literature in private collections, public and scholarly libraries, as well as in commercial lending libraries – a phenomenon whose traces were still evident during the sixties and seventies.

Conclusion

The “Royal Library,” established in Jerusalem in 1847, formed the cornerstone of the German-Palestinian interface, marking the initial German impact on the development of libraries in Palestine. Since Germany was directly involved in the establishment of the first scholarly library in Palestine, this assured that it would be planned and carried out according to the best German scholarly library tradition, although in the stages of implementation the financial resources and the state support required for its long-term development had not been secured. A centralistic orientation, which drew upon Althoff’s reformist aims in scholarly libraries in Germany at the close of the nineteenth century, permeated the ideas and plans for the establishment of a Jewish national library and a system of public libraries in Palestine in the first half of the twentieth century. These plans were also affected by the movement to introduce reforms into public libraries in Germany, some of which were in fact implemented. It should be stressed that during the formative stage of the JNUL and thereafter (1920–1968), the leading library in Palestine, and later in the State of Israel, was run by three successive directors, all of whom had been educated in German culture. The fact that the majority of the academic staff of the institutions of higher learning in Palestine were graduates of German universities, who had brought with them the teaching and research methods utilised in the institutions where they had formerly studied taught, or conducted research, gave added impetus to the development of seminar, departmental and faculty libraries in the

country’s universities, which actually strengthened the trend of decentralisation in these university libraries. The German library tradition is perceived as a part of the German national cultural heritage. The immigrants from Central Europe who arrived in Palestine after the Nazis’ rise to power drew upon this heritage – which had a long-lasting and profound influence on them and preserved their ties to it, even after they had settled in Palestine. It served as a decisive factor in the widespread distribution of German books, in private collections, in public and scholarly libraries and commercial lending libraries from the 1930s to the end of the 1960s. This leads to the conclusion that the German impact on the development of libraries and librarianship in Palestine, and later in Israel, extended continuously from the first half of the nineteenth century and even beyond the mid-twentieth century.

Notes

1. The subject of the impact of different library traditions merits a thorough historical investigation. So far it has received only sketchy and impressionistic treatment, see the papers of S. Sever, H. Oppenheimer and S. Shumani in *Yad La-Kore* 16 (1977): 26–35, 155–59, 231–33; S. Sever: “Library Education in Israel,” *Journal of Education for Librarianship* 21 (3) Winter 1981: 208–11; and see also: I. Sever, S. Sever: *Ha-Sifriyah Ba-Hevrah*, Jerusalem: Merkaz Ha-Hadrakha Le-Sifriyot Ziburiyot, 1997: 113–26.
2. The following two collections of studies shed light on various aspects of Palestine under Ottoman rule: M. Ma’oz (ed.), *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1975; D. Kushner (ed.) *Palestine in the Ottoman Period*. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1986.
3. The writings of travellers, explorers and pilgrims who visited the country in the nineteenth century are evaluated and their contribution to the study of Palestine is assessed in Y. Ben-Arieh: *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*. Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1979. See also N. Shur: *Twenty Centuries of Christian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land*. Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1992. On the libraries of the Christian, Jewish and Muslim communities in nineteenth-century Palestine, see

- D. Schidorsky: "Libraries in Late Ottoman Palestine between the Orient and the Occident," *Libraries and Culture*, 33, No. 3 (1998): 260–76.
4. Ernst Gustav Schultz (Doebern 1811 – Jerusalem 1851) studied oriental languages and archaeology at the Universities of Königsberg and Paris. In 1839, when he was only 27 years old, he was appointed lecturer of Arabic and Hebrew at the University of Königsberg. In 1841, while staying in London and Oxford in order to compare different versions of Arabic manuscripts, he became acquainted with the Prussian diplomat, Christian Freiherr von Bunsen, who recommended him to the King for the office of Vice Consul of Syria and Palestine. The following year, he set up his headquarters in Jerusalem. He returned to Germany in 1844 and toured the country, giving lectures on Palestine, which were published in 1845 under the title *Jerusalem*. He was appointed consul and returned to Jerusalem in 1845.
 5. See E. G. Schultz' letter to Alexander von Humboldt, Jerusalem, February 18, 1846, Israel State Archives, File 67/433.
 6. See letter by Consul Eduard Schmidt to the Reichskanzler, Jerusalem, February 9, 1904, Israel State Archives, File 67/433.
 7. See letter by G. H. Pertz to E. G. Schultz, Berlin, January 1, 1847, Israel State Archives, File 67/433.
 8. „Katalog der D. Konsulats-Bibliothek zu Jerusalem alphabetisch nach den Autornamen geordnet“, Israel State Archives, File 67/433. The title page has a note by Consul Schmidt "Alter Katalog." Most probably there existed another catalogue in which the new acquisitions were listed.
 9. The collection of the Literary Society of the British Consulate was described as "quantitativ vielleicht bedeutenden qualitativ dagegen höchst werthlosen Büchersammlung." See letter by Consul G. Rosen to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Otto von Manteuffel, Jerusalem, June 4, 1856, Israel State Archives File 67/433.
 10. The Institut was established by the Protestant churches of Germany in 1902. Gustaf Hermann Dalman (1855–1941), the German theologian, directed the Institut and its library from 1902 to 1917. On the transfer of the Royal Library of Jerusalem to the Institut, see the letter by Consul E. Schmidt to the Reichskanzler, Jerusalem, February 9, 1904, Israel State Archives, File 67/933; on the Institut's absorption of the Royal Library's collection and the further development of the Institut's library under Dalman, see J. Mänchen: Gustaf Dalman als Palästinawissenschaftler in Jerusalem und Greifswald, 1902–1941, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993: 10, 28, 77–78.
 11. "... um desto ratsamer erscheint jede Massregel, welche wie die Gründung einer zweckmässig zusammengesetzten Bibliothek in Jerusalem zur Förderung der hierhergehörigen wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen da selbst beitragen kann ..." Eichhorn von Canitz, the Minister of Religious Affairs to the King, Berlin, October 12, 1846. Israel State Archives, File 67/433.
 12. On the Göttingen University library as the acknowledged prototype of the modern research library, see J.P. Danton: *Book Selection and Collections: A Comparison of German and American University Libraries*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1963: XX, 14–15; B. Fabian: „Göttingen als Forschungsbibliothek im achzehnten Jahrhundert. Plädoyer für eine neue Bibliotheksgeschichte“ in P. Raabe (Hrsg.): *Öffentliche und Private Bibliotheken im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert Raritätenkammern, Forschungsinstrumente oder Bildungsstätten?* Bremen: Jacobi, 1977: 209–239. See also: H. Kunoff: *The Foundations of the German Academic Library*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1982: 89–90, 137–143, 161–167, 172 and Ch. Kind-Doerne: *Die Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986: 1–28.
 13. Heinrich Löwe (1869–1951), a pioneer of German Zionism, served more than thirty years as librarian and head of the Oriental section of the Berlin University Library. He was a prolific writer on Zionist issues and an outstanding propagandist for the establishment of a Jewish national and public library system and for a university library in Palestine. In 1899 he was accepted as a trainee at the Berlin University Library, which marked the beginning of a library career that continued until 1933 when he left Germany to become director of the Tel Aviv municipal library "Sha'ar Zion." See D. Schidorsky: *Heinrich Löwe in Neue Deutsche Biographie*. München: Dunckert & Humblot, 1987, vol. 15: 75–76.
 14. The following description of Löwe's plans and proposals is based on his main publications: *Eine Jüdische Nationalbibliothek. Ost und West* 1902: 102–108; *Eine Nationalbibliothek für das Jüdische Volk. Literaturblatt der Jüdischen Rundschau*, 1, 1905: 1–3; *Eine Jüdische Nationalbibliothek*. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1902; *Bibliotheken in Erez Jisrael. Die Welt*, 1910: 1066–69; *Eine Vorbedingung der Universität. Die Welt* 28, 1914: 328–29; *Die Arbeit für die National-Bibliothek. Der Jüdische Student*,

- Sept/Okt. 1921: 1–10; Bibliothekswesen in Lande Israel. Jerusalem: National- u. Universitäts-Bibliothek, 1922; Eine neue Kulturstätte im alten Lande. *Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* (Mannheim) Juli 1936: 3–4.
15. On the Humboldtian idea of a university see Eshby: "The Future of the Nineteenth-Century Idea of a University," in *Minerva* 16, 1, 1967: 3–17.
 16. „... was den Anschluss an die moderne Wissenschaftliche Entwicklung vermitteln sollte." *Die Welt*, 44, 31.10.1913: 1501.
 17. On the precursors of the JNUL see D. Schidorsky: *Sifriyah Ve-Sefer Be-Erez-Yisrael Be-Shilhe Hatekufah Ha-Otmanit* (Libraries and Books in Late Ottoman Palestine), Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1990: 72–153.
 18. Gotthold Weil (1882–1960) attended the University of Berlin and the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums there, specialising in Arabic and Turkish philology. He served as assistant librarian (1906–1918) and director (1918–1931) of the Oriental Department at the Prussian State Library and taught Semitic philology at the University of Berlin and Frankfurt/Main (1920–1935). He succeeded Bergmann as director of the JNUL (1935–1946).
 19. Weil explained and justified the changes he had introduced in the organisation of the JNUL in his Bericht über die Jewish National and University Library, 15 April 1936, JNUL Archives 4^o793, p. 30–32, and in his Report on the Administration of the Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, for the Period 3rd September, 1935 – 30th September, 1946. Jerusalem, 1947: 3–4.
 20. G. Leyh: *Das Dogma von der systematischen Aufstellung*. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 29, 1912: 241–259; 30, 1913: 97–136.
 21. See letter by C. Wormann to Z. Shazar, Jerusalem, March 3, 1949 and C. Wormann to W. Senator, Jerusalem April 13, 1949, JNUL Archives, correspondence files of 1948–1953.
 22. See the biographies of the academic staff in: *The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Its History and Development*. 3rd edition. Jerusalem, 1948: 162–90.
 23. The „emigration of books" was a phrase coined by G. Metken and the remark about the works of Goethe is cited in J. Schloer: *Tel Aviv. Vom Traum zur Stadt*. Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1996: 258–59.
 24. See C. Wormann: *Bibliotheken in Palaestina*. *MB* March 1, 1937, and see also C. Wormann: „Zikhronot" (Memoirs) in: O. Ahimeir (ed.) *Ir Ve-Sefer* (A City and its Book). Jerusalem: Keter, 1987: 49.
 25. Jerusalem had 8 commercial lending libraries in 1936; Tel-Aviv had 11 in the same year. Jerusalem had 8 in 1940 and Tel-Aviv had 19 in that year (4 were located on one street). Most probably at least half of the libraries circulated German-language publications. See *the Register of Commerce and Industry in Palestine* 1936: 7–8; 1940: 14–15.
 26. S. Y. Agnon, Shira. Jerusalem: Schocken, 1979: 136.
 27. A. Schwarz-Gardos: *Von Wien nach Tel Aviv*. Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1991: 138.
 28. Formerly Hitachduth Olej Germania – HOG and later Hitachdut Olej Gernmania we Olei Austria – HOGOA.
 29. The programs and participants of the Taussig club are described in A. Schwarz-Gardos: *Der literarische Salon von Nadja Taussig*. S. Bahagon (Hrsg.) *Recht und Wahrheit bringen Frieden; Festschrift aus Israel für Niels Hansen*. Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1994: 237–240.
 30. See W. Grab, „Der Kreis für fortschrittliche Kultur in Tel Aviv (1942–1946)." In: H.O. Horch and O. Deukler (Hrsg.) *Conditio Judaica*, Teil 3. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1993: 389–414.
 31. A. Schwarz-Gardos: *Von Wien ...*, p. 194.
 32. On the attachment to the German language, see I. Wiltmann: *Nur Ewigkeit ist kein Exil*. Moehlin: Rauhreif, 1997: 194. And see also S. Ben Chorin: *Germania Hebraica*. Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1982: 49.
 33. The relation of the Jews to the idea of "Bildung" is explored in G. L. Mosse: *German Jews beyond Judaism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985, and in J. Reinharz and W. Schatzberg (eds.) *The Jewish Response to German Culture*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1985; and see also P. V. Bohlman: *The Land Where Two Streams Flow: Music in the German-Jewish Community of Israel*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989: 15–17.

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