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## מטולק התיש ופיקי-מיקי הקוף הקטן עולים לירושלים

ד"ר מלגורזטה קאקובסקה וד"ר הוברט בילביץ'

### תקציר

החוקרים משרטטים את ההיסטוריה שלא נחקרה קודם לכן של ספרם של קורנל מקושינסקי (מחבר) ומריאן ולנטינוביץ' (מאייר) **הרפתקאות מטולק העז** (דוגמה קנונית לסדרת ספרי-תמונה לילדים), במהלך מלחמת העולם השנייה בירושלים, בהקשר של חיי פולנים בגלות, במיוחד בהיבט של התרבות והחינוך של פליטים במזרח התיכון.

בו בזמן, המחקר מראה שספר תאום, על הרפתקאות פיקי-מיקי הקוף, הודפס בירושלים בשנת 1944 בפולנית, ובשנת 1945 תורגם לעברית בידי אנדה עמיר-פינקרפלד והודפס בתל אביב.

הניתוח במחקר מתמקד בנסיבות ובמנגנונים של ההוצאה לאור, ההתאמה והעיצוב האומנותי, הפונקציות החינוכיות וטווח ההשפעה של יוזמות אלה על קוראים, בהקשר של הגירה ההמונית של פולנים על רקע התקופה והחילופין הבין-תרבותיים.

כמו כן, בכל הנוגע לאספקט הפרשני, נראה שטבעו של קו העלילה המרכזי מתחבר עם ההקשר הסוציו-היסטורי של התקופה, שסומן בחוויה המשותפת של הגירה המונית, אשר יצרה בעקבותיה מרחב להצעות חינוכיות בין-תרבותיות כחלק מן החיים החינוכיים והתרבותיים של פולנים בגולה ויהודים פולנים בארץ ישראל.

**מילות מפתח:** ספרי-תמונה פולנים לילדים; קורנל מקושינסקי; מריאן ולנטינוביץ'; מטולק העז; פיקי-מיקי הקוף; פולנים בגלות במזרח התיכון.

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in Exile (so-called London Government) for Poles as well as a consequence of Polish-Jews' audience expectations. This suggests that reader reception of Makuszyński and Walentynowicz's picture books a decade after they had first been published in Poland was sufficiently lasting and dynamic to generate new publishing projects, the dates and places of their subsequent editions reflecting the complicated itineraries of Polish war refugees.

On his way to Pacanów, Matołek the Billy-Goat never made it to Jerusalem as the hero of the plot (although he visited Afghanistan and Africa, and even went to the Moon). Yet, he and his younger colleagues Fiki-Moosh and Gog-Ben Kush reached Jerusalem in the books published during World War II. Possibly, though we did not find any material proof for it, Matołek the Billy-Goat and Fiki-Miki books might have travelled to the Middle East with subsequent waves of migrants from Poland, the Aliyahs of Polish Jews and their children, or with Polish war refugees, whose luggage could contain copies of the most important picture books for children.

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We think so because there is no information in any of the peritexts on the editorial page of the Hebrew edition referring to the original version published by Gebethner & Wolff in Poland. Besides, access to the archives of the long-gone printing businesses of L. Rubinstein & S. Zolschein printing house as well as Rodin Publishing House, both in Tel Aviv, who released those versions of Fiki-Miki, is currently a challenge, especially for academics from Poland.

We can only assume that the selection of this particular book for translation into Hebrew was made due to its obvious universality (as opposed to the adventures of Matolek the Billy- Goat's plot, which is primarily focused on Poland) and thus its greater relevance to Hebrew-speaking young audiences. Maybe the book of Fiki-Miki has been chosen for Hebrew reading audience also because of the story's values of friendship, mutual aid, struggle against evil – and these values fitted the atmosphere after the war<sup>13</sup>.

The decision to translate a book by such well-known Polish authors at this time may have also been motivated by the translator's belief that it would likely bring back fond memories to many Jews in Israel who had recently immigrated from Poland. It's also probable that this sentiment led to the recommendation of a Hebrew language edition of the book in particular for Jewish-Polish children who came from Poland and for whom Hebrew was to become an everyday language<sup>14</sup>. It can be assumed that a compellingly written book with attractive illustrations may have facilitated the acquisition of a new language (perhaps more than once, given the remembered Polish editions and the glottodidactic parallels that emerged). The educational role of such an endeavor, therefore, seems substantial, and in the above context the translator's decision was reasonable and justified.

## Conclusion

The above examples, despite the apparently unprecedented and ephemeral nature of editorial adaptation of the books discussed in the article, suggest an intentional educational project, rather than just being driven by spontaneous editorial needs. This was due to both the overall educational and cultural policy of the Polish Government

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13 We are grateful again to Dr. Renana Green-Shukrun for this opening suggestion.

14 From there, it would be fascinating to compare the two versions in Polish and Hebrew linguistically since the same sequence of images makes it clear that they are similar in content.

One can suppose that it has been a unique publishing initiative on which it is difficult to find information, even analysing the surviving material existing in the poet and translator's private archive (at GNAZIM Hebrew Writers Archive in Tel Aviv [www.gnazim.org]). Although we are unable to make a reliable visual autopsy on the basis of photographs of the copy<sup>12</sup> we've compared, we can say that the Hebrew edition bears a noticeable resemblance to the Polish (Jerusalem) edition and assume that Anda Pinkerfeld and the publisher had this model at their disposal in the printing house in Tel Aviv.



Ill. No. 6. The double spread page of *Awantury i wybryki małej małpki Fiki-Miki* [The adventures and mischiefs of Fiki-Miki – the little monkey], „Gebethner & Wolff” Warsaw (1935) and *Fiki-Moosh and Gog Ben Kush “Rodin”* Tel Aviv (1945). Be aware of the different directions of reading in Polish (from left to right) and Hebrew (from right to left).

12 Courtesy of Dr. Renana Green-Shukrun from the Center of Children's Literature at The David Yellin College of Education in Jerusalem, we have a photocopy of edition in Hebrew. The original copy is in the library.

Moreover, the Hebrew edition omits the first page of the poem, where the narrator recounts, in six illustrations, the past adventures of Matolek the Billy-Goat and a meeting with Fiki who tells him and the artist her story. Also omitted is the last page that describes how Fiki-Miki the Monkey and Goga-Goga (Gog) use the thalers they earn to open a store and then go bankrupt after generously giving everything away to children, and announces the next parts of the book.



Ill .5. The page of Awantury i wybryki małej małpki Fiki-Miki [The adventures and mischiefs of Fiki-Miki- the little monkey] „Gebethner & Wolff” Warsaw (1935) and Fiki-Moosh and Gog Ben Kush “Rodin” Tel Aviv (1945). Be aware of the different directions of reading in Polish (from left to right) and Hebrew (from right to left).

educational destination of this picture book. It is interesting to note, that these symbols exist inside the Hebrew version on a few pictures (we counted seven pictures, as in the Polish-Jerusalem version). As far as the cover displays the initial part of a plot, which is full of adventures, it seems reasonable to define its African (Egyptian) context from the very beginning.

There are interesting differences and similarities in the use of Polish and Hebrew words, from the language and linguistic perspective. One difference concerns the name of the protagonist. We do not know the reason for changing part of it from Fiki-Miki to Fiki Mush, we can only presume, that Anda Pinkerfeld, the poet who sensitively translated this poem, used a *licentia poetica* for creating an adequate rhyme in Hebrew. She looked for a solution that would provide a contextual meaning and give a rhyme to Kush – the origin of Gog, Fiki's best friend in their adventures and mischiefs. Thanks to that the title sounds perfect: *Fiki-Moosh and Gog Ben Kush* and corresponds also to the rhythm in Polish version: *Awantury i wybryki malej małpki Fiki-Miki*.

The similarity between the two referred editions that concerns the race issue is really striking. In Polish language, the word "Murzyn" (a diminutive is "Murzynek", used in the name of Murzynek Goga-Goga) comes from the Latin Maurus, as in Hebrew, the word Kush as in Gog ben Kush) refers to a population with dark skin<sup>11</sup>. Although nowadays it is often perceived as offensive or anachronistic, moreover, considered the equivalent of the negatively charged words "Negre" or "Negro," loaded with connotations associated with the legacy of colonialism, it is not unequivocally contemptuous. According to today's linguistic sensitivities it should be used no differently than in the rights prerogative of historical quotation. In the times of Makuszynski' and Pinkerfeld' this word was, apparently, quite neutral.

The next important discrepancy connects to gender issue and seems to differentiate the role, meaning and potentiality of the main character. In Polish the word 'monkey' is feminine, and Fiki-Miki is a monkey girl who is very brave and eager to act (hence is small and weak). In the Hebrew edition Fiki is a male character and the written text in the opening of the story empowers it: "...Fiki Mush, the monkey son of a monkey..." (גם" (פיקי מוש, הקוף בן קוף"). This difference might not change the content of the adventures, but it pigeon holds the protagonist's subjectivity and agency and thus implicitly affects the girl's and boy's audience.

11 Historic Kush is situated between northern Sudan and southern Egypt.





Ill. No. 4. The cover of *Awantury i wybryki małej małpki Fiki-Miki* [The adventures and mischiefs of Fiki-Miki- the little monkey] „W Drodze” Jerusalem 1944, and *Adventures and incidents of Fiki-Moosh and Gog Ben Kush*, “Rodin”, Tel Aviv (1945).

We noticed some interesting differences and similarities between the Hebrew and the Polish editions of Fiki-Miki. First and foremost, the cover contains striking differences: In the Hebrew version the two crescents placed twice on the peak of oriental-style buildings disappear. We can presume, that elimination of this evident Muslim culture symbol was the decision of the “Rodin” Publisher in Tel Aviv in view of the cultural and

could have been Marian Walentynowicz himself. Even though at that time he lived in London, he worked since 1942 as a war correspondent for the 1st Polish Armoured Division under the command of General Stanisław Maczek. We can assume that new illustrations made by Walentynowicz were mailed from London to Palestine. This is quite likely, especially given the fact that he also updated or modified his illustrations for post-war editions because of censorship (cf. Rybicka 2020, p. 425).

## **The Hebrew edition of Fiki-Miki**

Let's go now to the edition and Hebrew translation of the adventures of Fiki-Miki the Monkey – a picture book by Makuszyński and Walentynowicz. The first part of the Polish edition of the serial was published by the “W Drodze” publishing house in Jerusalem in 1944. The two copies of the book from the National Library in Warsaw were under our analysis. In our opinion the publisher did not intend to issue the subsequent parts, unlike the G&W original, and therefore does not display the number 1 on the cover.

Fiki-Miki the Monkey was translated into Hebrew by the Jewish poet of Polish descent, Anda Pinkerfeld Amir<sup>10</sup> and her work is an adaptation of the adventures of Fiki-Miki titled Fiki-Moosh and Gog Ben Kush with colourful lithographs published by Rodin Publishing House in Tel Aviv in 1945.

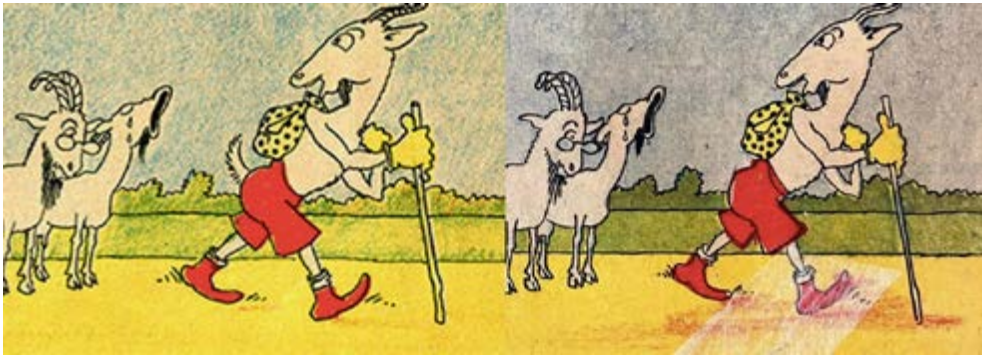
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10 “Anda Amir-Pinkerfeld born in Rzeszów into an assimilated Jewish family (Anna Pinkerfeldówna, 1902–1981) is the author of a volume of poems entitled *Pieśni życia* (literally: Songs of Life), published in 1921 in Lviv. In her youth she joined the Zionist organization “*Ha’shomer ha’tsair*” (“The young guard”) and in 1924 she permanently left for Palestine. Influenced by the poet Uri Zvi Grinberg, she began to write poems in Hebrew. She made her debut in her new homeland in 1928 in the magazine “*Dawar*” and published her first volume of Hebrew poetry *Yamim Dovevim* (Whispering Days) a year later [see: *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, pp. 848–849]. Anda Pinkerfeld had published some children’s books in Hebrew until 1944, and more after. Many of them are children’s poetry. Some of them addressed difficult subjects as death and war [Zierler 1999]. She also translated classic children’s literature from global repertoire to Hebrew. In 1936 Amir was awarded the Bialik Prize for children’s literature and in 1978 she earned the Israel Prize, the most prestigious of Israel’s awards, for her landmark contribution to the shaping of children’s poetry in Israel [see: Tarnowska 2016: 84, Mashiach 2021].

original pictures<sup>9</sup> and using a slightly larger editorial format (the format of the Warsaw edition was 20 x 30 cm, while the Jerusalem edition was 21 x 32 cm).

- The paper of the Jerusalem editions is more than twice thinner than the quite stiff paper of the original Polish editions. The captions under the illustrations are in bold print, and the thickness and font shape are slightly different from those of the original editions. Also, colour patches do not fit the contours of figures and there are other, less visible differences (the shape of strokes, modified shapes, simplified outlines or even the colouring of shapes that are neutral in the original editions).

- All these discrepancies are probably due to technological and printing limitations of the photo offset technology as compared to lithography.



Ill. No. 3. Kornel Makuszyński, Marian Walentynowicz, 120 przygód Koziołka Matołka' comparison of „Gebethner & Wolff” (1933) version on the left and Jerusalem “W Drodze” (1944) version on the right.

Obviously, the exact editorial decisions, or the specific printing parameters, are unknown to us, even though we are familiar with the circumstances of Jerusalem editions. Nor do we know anything about the procedure that was euphemistically called “reprint”, but in fact was a re-drawing and a graphic adaptation, rather than an exact copy, of the original. Who were the illustrators engaged in the process? What was the production process like? Answers to these and other questions might be found in archival materials of the L. Rubinstein’s & S. Zolschein’s printing shops in Tel Aviv, which, however, are unlikely to have survived until now. Theoretically, the illustrator

<sup>9</sup> Bogusławska notes that initially, reprints of pre-war Polish books were often not actually reprinted but copied on the typewriter, which justifies our observation (Bogusławska, 1965: 303).

Anda Amir-Pinkerfeld. We don't know how exactly the Polish books made their way to Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, but we can set some hypothesis.



Ill. No. 2. The sample of the corpus of books series for visual autopsy at the National Library in Warsaw (18 copies). Be aware of the different directions of reading in Polish (from left to right) and Hebrew (from right to left).

Both the original editions of the Gebethner & Wolff publishing house, initially printed by the “Zakłady Graficzne B. Wierzbicki i S-ka, Warszawa” printing house (120 adventures, part II) and the “Zakłady Graficzne B. Wierzbicki i S-ka, Warszawa” printing house (parts III and IV of the adventures) in Warsaw and the Jerusalem editions of the “W Drodze” publishing house, printed at the Rubinstein printing house in Tel Aviv, led us to the following conclusions:

- Concerning the written texts there are no differences between Warsaw and Jerusalem versions of all edited books.
- The Jerusalem editions were not a reprint (as is suggested by the colophon of the Jerusalem edition: Reprint of the Gebethner & Wolff edition, Warsaw / Printed in Palestine by Rubinstein Tel-Aviv – Colour-print by S. Zolschein Tel Aviv) but rather a visual adaptation of the Warsaw edition achieved by redrawing Marian Walentynowicz's

who had arrived in Palestine before the war often had substantial collections of Polish books to offer. Books were also borrowed from Jewish institutions that kept collections of Polish works (e.g. the Hebrew University of Jerusalem). Good relationships between Polish soldiers and civilian refugees and the Jewish community also made publication projects easier to implement. Books were printed in a number of local printing shops, especially in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv (e.g. L. Rubinstein's or S. Zolschein's printing shops) (cf. Czarnik, 2012: 180). A major obstacle, although not insurmountable (as is suggested by the impeccable text of the analysed books), was the lack of Polish-speaking typesetters. Thanks to the relentless efforts of Polish authorities and sympathy of the British authorities in the Middle East, printing books for children was considered of equal importance as military regulations and instructions, so publishers such as "W Drodze" received official paper and printing ink rations (Czarnik 2012: 180; Lasocki, 1989: 106-107).

Books were also regularly sold in Palestine. Publishing houses, bookshops and distributors often advertised books in civilian and military newspapers. According to our research, they advertised new releases<sup>8</sup> and encouraged people to buy and read them. Some refugees could afford to buy a book. Soldiers and officers received adequate regular pay and civilians either earned money or received financial aid (Czarnik 2012: 373).

Characteristically, many of those books have probably travelled with Polish war refugees to their subsequent places of stay: East Africa, New Zealand, England, America (Ney-Krwawicz, 2020). The National Library in Warsaw contains copies of books with proprietary labels of Polish institutions in London.

## **What happened to *Matolek the Billy-Goat* and *Fiki-Miki on Their Way to Jerusalem*?**

As mentioned before, Makuszyński and Walentynowicz's picture book about the adventures of *Matolek the Billy-Goat* was published in Jerusalem in Polish, and the book about *Fiki-Miki the Monkey* was published in Polish, and later in Hebrew translation by

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8 Books about the Monkey and the Goat were not expensive, even though they were printed in colour. They have cost 300 Mils per one copy (cf. advertisements in the political and literary bi-weekly "W Drodze". The Goat 1(43)45 of 1 January 1945; The new Monkey editions advertised three times: 15(33)44 of 1 August, 18(36)44 of 16 September and 20(38)44 of 16 October 1944).

which conscripted also civilians with different professional qualifications (artists, teachers and other cultural figures) and civilians working for the Army, was evacuated from the USSR to the Middle East, where they joined the Allies in the Italian front<sup>6</sup>. Circa 115,000 people reached Iran and Palestine, including around 78,000 male and female soldiers and 37,000 civilians. The evacuees included a group of more than 14,000 children below the age of 14 years, mostly orphans of the victims of Soviet deportations. It was mainly for those children that, starting in the second half of 1942, hospital care, education, scientific, artistic and literary activities were undertaken with UK's assistance (Odrzywołek, Trojański, 2015). Apart from the basic textbooks (mainly alphabet books and Polish language text books), it became important, already in mid 1943, to satisfy the hunger for books intended for independent reading. Most publications were classic works of Polish literature, but the fact that the whole series of the adventures of *Matolek the Billy-Goat* and *Fiki-Miki the Monkey* were published proves that care was also taken of younger children and their entertainment; a picture book was a nice Christmas gift, a tradition that Poles fostered in exile<sup>7</sup>. A special publishing house called the Publishing House of the Ministry of Religion and Public Enlightenment was established for the editing of Polish classics and school textbooks for young and adult learners (cf. Lasocki, 1989; Czarnik, 2012). Between 1943 and 1945 Palestine was the centre of Polish emigrant culture in the Middle East with Jerusalem becoming, after London, the second centre of Polish diaspora (Chłap-Nowakowa, 2014; Patek, 2013; 2016; 2021).

During the war it was difficult to find books for children, just as it was difficult to buy or get a ration of paper and overcome technical obstacles. Each children's book brought by refugees in their luggage was made available to a broader group of readers. Books were also delivered from the USA or UK (mainly London), (cf. Bogusławska, 1965: 303). Researchers of the history of books among Polish refugees (Czarnik 2012; Lasocki, 1989) note that books were reprinted from copies found in new and second-hand bookshops in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem and other towns in Palestine. Families of Polish Jews

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following tough negotiations with Stalin, the Polish Government-In-Exile in London delegated General Władysław Anders to form the Polish Armed Forces in USSR in 1941.

6 See: <http://andersarmy.com> – a bilingual website created by Professor Norman Davies collecting, in addition to basic information, voluminous archival material (documentary and iconographic) along with many memoir testimonials.

7 Before the war, books about the Goat and the Monkey were published in Poland to serve as an attractive Christmas gift, which the narrator usually announced in each part.

Before World War II, the adventures of Matołek the Billy-Goat were published 8 times in the total of ca. 300,000 copies (good books were usually published in 3 to 5 thousand copies) in Poland. The popularity of the series inspired another cycle of plot-wise and graphically similar stories about another animal hero, Fiki-Miki the Monkey (Awantury i wybryki małej małpki Fiki-Miki [The adventures and mischiefs of Fiki-Miki - the little monkey](1935), Fiki-Miki dalsze dzieje kto to czyta ten się śmieje (1936), Na nic płacze, na nic krzyki koniec przygód Fiki-Miki (1936). As regards the plot of the book: the heroine, an orphan whose mother had been eaten by a snake, is found in the jungle by a black boy named Goga-Goga. She and the boy start a trip that is full of dangerous and at times even life-threatening adventures from which they always escape unharmed. In this concept, traveling the world, unlike in the case of Matołek the Billy-Goat, is purposeless, unless we consider the adventures themselves to be the purpose.

## **How did Matołek the Billy-Goat and Fiki-Miki make their way to Jerusalem – picture books’s journey to Middle East**

### **The Importance of Books and Reading for Polish Immigrants and Refugees**

Wherever Polish civilian refugees arrived in during World War II, they tried to create as normal conditions as possible to compensate for the education, upbringing and development of children and youth and to foster Polishness (Ney-Krwawicz 2014a, 2014b, 2020; Draus, 1993). One of the scholars has written: “Uncertain of tomorrow, the emigrants, hoping their stay in a foreign land would only be temporary, organised their cultural life and education, making sure children had access to Polish books” (Bogusławska 1965, p. 303). “We are a wandering little Poland”, said General Władysław Anders, creator of the Polish Armed Forces in the USSR (Davies, 2016)<sup>5</sup>. His army,

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Goat and the Monkey (Sosnowski, 2004). We are also familiar with the historical critique of the works from the pedagogical perspective as well as their literary criticism arising from socialist realism (Heska-Kwaśniewicz, 2016). Our research, however, concerns quite different issues.

- 5 The Polish World War II history needs to be reminded here in short. The failure of the September campaign in 1939 resulted in Poland being split between the two invaders: Germany and Soviet Russia. Many soldiers decided to leave the country and head for southern or western Europe to fight the invaders with the allied armies. In the half of Poland occupied by Soviets, Polish soldiers as well as civilians suffered repression, for example, they were deported to military and labour camps in remote locations of the Soviet Union (Siberia and Kazakhstan). This fate was shared by around a million people, including nearly 200,000 soldiers. In these dramatic circumstances,

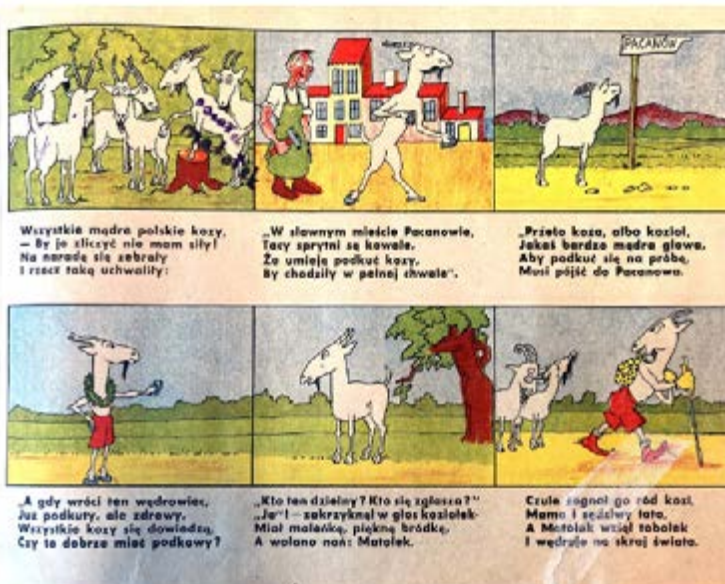
The titular hero, *Matolek the Billy-Goat*, is an anthropomorphic Polish goat dressed in red shorts and shoes that walks on two legs. Four parts of the adventures of *Matolek the Billy-Goat* were published between 1932 and 1934 by the famous Warsaw publishing house Gebethner & Wolff (120 adventures of *Matolek the Billy-Goat* and, subsequently, the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> books of the adventures of *Matolek the Billy-Goat*). The first part contains 120 same-size illustrations, each accompanied by a four-verse commentary. They present humorous stories (based on funny situations and, to a large extent, linguistic jokes) about the hero who travels the world (Africa, America, China, Afghanistan and Polish towns, like Krakow, Warsaw, Zakopane) and even reaches the moon, only to get to a place that in fact was very close. His longed-for destination is Pacanów – the town of blacksmiths called by the surname of *Koza* (Goat), the only ones who shoe goats. The name of the town is also semantically related to goats (derogatorily referred to as “*Pacan*”, which means a silly-billy). The town (which actually exists in Poland) is also the subject of mockery (apparently, there is a place like that in every country). *Matolek the Billy-Goat* wants to get there in order to be shoed, which would be ennobling for him. The events in the book are triggered by his adventurous nature and a tendency to get himself into trouble (although the narrator consequently calls him wise).

The realistic world intermingles with the Aesop’s fabulous convention. The layout of the work reminds of early Disney-style comic books (picture stories) with bars rather than speech balloons. Each page contains six pictures evenly arranged in two lines in a film frame style with a rhythmic and rhymed octosyllabic quatrain under every picture. The illustrations contain symbolic representations of the places visited by the hero and dynamical visualisations of funny and sometimes dangerous situations described in the text underneath. The researchers have noted that the work praises bravery and persistence in the pursuit of the goal but at the same time reveals the absurdity of the world as it is organised by man, yet it does so in a humorous and tasteful, free of moralizing manner (Heska-Kwaśniewicz, 1998). *Matolek the Billy-Goat* is a synonym of goodness, laughter and adventure as well as a fixed phrase that means a likeable hero, yet (unfortunately) at the same time it is stereotypically and somewhat contemptuously considered to colloquially mean mental retardation (Heska-Kwaśniewicz, 1998)<sup>4</sup>.

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4 We are aware of the critique of Makuszyński and his antisemitic views (Urbanek, 2017, s. 209-216 as well as no longer correct naming and colloquially sounding message of his works about the





Ill. No. 1. The cover and one page of 120 przygód Koziołka Matołka [120 Adventures of Matołek the Billy Goat], "Gebethner & Wolff", Warsaw (1933).

## Matolek the Billy-Goat and Fiki-Miki the Monkey

Matolek the Billy-Goat<sup>2</sup> is a cult figure in Polish children's literature, created in the 1930s by the artistic tandem: the writer Kornel Makuszyński<sup>3</sup> and the illustrator Marian Walentynowicz .

According to many Polish comic book researchers, the Adventures of Matolek the Billy-Goat is the first and most popular Polish comic book. Some even claim that Makuszyński wrote a scenario rather than a poem (cf. the Komiks baza.pl website). Janusz Dunin describes the work as a comicial hybrid that combines comic book and film like narrative, with the belief that rhymed poem is the best form of expression for children (Dunin, 1991, p. 135). According to J. Woynarowski, it is unclear whether Matolek the Billy-Goat is a hundred percent comic book, yet it undoubtedly constitutes the first link uniting the Polish school of illustration that had developed parallel to the Polish comic book school (Woynarowski 2020, s. 202). The authors of a monograph on the Polish School of Picture Books believe it to be one of the first picture books, especially unique series of picture books (cf. Cackowska M., Wincencjusz-Patyna, 2018, Gdańsk, p. 54).

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2 In an unpublished translation of Makuszyński's text into English, Matolek the Billy-Goat is called by the idiomatic name *Silly Billy*. According to Szmatoła, this name brings to mind both the affectionate term *billy-goat* and the popular ballad *Where have you been, Billy Boy?* that has its British, American and Irish version and is liked particularly by children. There is also the *Billy the Kid* cowboy (another hint at the young goat) by Bułuk-Ulewiczow, 2006, p. 39-40; [quotation after: Szmatoła, p. 168, footnote 14].

3 More info see: <https://culture.pl/en/artist/kornel-makuszynski>

## Foreword

Books as well as other objects that accompany man travel through time the same as man does. Man creates books, and books transform man. Some of them have a special status: They are unique because of their origin, or important because of their content. Some of them, like fetishes, are lovingly preserved, just as family photo albums are preserved, becoming memory vehicles or relics of ancestors (Krajewski, 2013; Nizińska, 2016; Zborowska, 2019). Books also accompany man on journeys. The history of culture is the history of the transfer of books and the ideas they carry (Kot, 2020) (Patek, 2007). Books, the same as people, have their history.

Some call the twentieth century the century of runaways. It is said that in the first half of the twentieth century alone, 60 to 80 million people in Europe were forced to leave their homeland – temporarily or permanently. A majority of them emigrated during one decade, between 1938 and 1948, from Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>1</sup>

Many studies dedicated to the memory of emigrants (displaced persons, refugees, exiles) tend to marginalize children's books as well as other aspects concerning the life of children, when tragic historical turmoil at the background of human experiences significantly traumatise the early stages of life (Przewrocka-Aderet, 2020; Stola, 2010). This does not mean that there were no children's books in the cultural space or that they had no impact on the creation of subjectivity (identity) or culture (Nizińska, 2016; Orlev, 2012; Papuzińska, 1996).

The purpose of this study was to explore the Jerusalem's history of the Polish children's picture book about the adventures of Matołek the Billy-Goat, and its sociocultural importance. Meanwhile, the search covering the war period proved that a twin book about the adventures of Fiki-Miki the Little Monkey was published in Jerusalem in 1944 in Polish, and in 1945 was translated into Hebrew (published in Tel Aviv). In the study, we followed the questions of how did these books appear during wartime under the circumstances of waves of Polish refugees, and how did the Polish education function in exile, or in the broader context of the life of Poles and Polish Jews in Eretz Yisrael.

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1 There is a book on the forced migrations of that time called "Europe on the Move" (Kulischer 1948).

# Matolek the Billy-Goat and Fiki-Miki the Little Monkey Go to Jerusalem

Dr. Małgorzata Cackowska & Dr. Hubert Bilewicz

## Abstract

The authors trace the previously non-examined history of the editions of Kornel Makuszyński (author) and illustrator Marian Walentynowicz's adventures of Matolek the Billy Goat (canonical example of series of Polish children's picture books) during the Second World War in Jerusalem, in the context of the life of Poles in exile, considering in particular the aspect of culture and education of refugees in the Middle East. Meanwhile, the search proved that a twin picture book about the adventures of Fiki-Miki the Monkey was published in Jerusalem in 1944 in Polish and in 1945 translated into Hebrew by Anda Amir-Pinkerfeld (published in Tel Aviv).

Research analyses are focused on the circumstances and mechanisms of publication, adaptation and graphic modification, educational functions and the scope of the reading impact of these initiatives in the context of the mass migrations of the time and intercultural exchange. Also, as far as the interpretative aspect is concerned, the peregrination nature of the main plot line seems to convene with the socio-historical context of the day, marked with the common mass experience of migration, which additionally co-created space for intercultural educational offers as a part of the educational and cultural life of Poles in exile and Polish Jews in Eretz Yisrael.

**Keywords:** Polish Picturebooks for Children, Matolek the Billy Goat, Fiki-Miki the Monkey, Kornel Makuszyński, Marian Walentynowicz's, Anda Amir-Pinkerfeld, Poles in Exile in Jerusalem

“For countless times, through countless times, in countless places, in countless people, for countless numbers of time, countless books were browsed with love – and then it all burned, got destroyed, went up in flames...” (Wańkiewicz, 1981, s. 603).