JEWISH CULTURE
IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

ESSAYS IN HONOR OF DAVID B. RUDERMAN

Edited by
Richard I. Cohen, Natalie B. Dohrmann,
Adam Shear, and Elchanan Reiner

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A JEW FROM THE EAST MEETS BOOKS FROM THE WEST

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החידא חידה הוא (*ha-ḥida' ḥida hu'*).[1] This three-word Hebrew phrase puns on the Hebrew word for riddle, *ḥidah*, and the acronym for the Hebrew name of Ḥayim Yosef David Azulai, *ḤIDA*. One might paraphrase Churchill and say that Azulai is an enigma wrapped in a mystery.

Born in Jerusalem in 1724, Azulai lived in Ottoman Palestine and Egypt for the first three decades of his life. For a period of four years in the 1750s he traveled throughout the Ottoman Empire and Europe as an emissary for the Jews of Palestine. He then returned to Palestine for some fifteen years before setting out on another journey of roughly the same duration in the 1770s. At the end of his second tour as an emissary, Azulai did not return to Palestine as he had formerly, but settled in Livorno, where he lived until his death in 1806.

It was as an emissary and then as a resident of Livorno that Azulai wrote the works for which he is best known: *Shem ha-gedolim*, his bio-bibliographic anthology that occupies a pivotal position between the compendia of the previous centuries by Christian Hebraists like Bartolocci and Wolf, and the monumental achievements of the Jewish bibliographers of the next century such as Steinschneider and Neubauer; *Birke Yosef*, his glosses and explanations of Joseph Karo's *Shulḥan 'arukh;* and *Ma'agal tov*, a travel notebook composed during his time as an emissary. But these three works for which he is justly known are only a fraction of his enormous literary

output. Azulai was a graphomaniac of nineteenth-century proportions firmly entrenched in the Sephardic diaspora of the eighteenth century. There is virtually no area of rabbinic literature that he did not write about: biblical exegesis, talmudic commentary, legal responsa, Kabbalah, both practical and theoretical, to name a few.[2] He even wrote a commentary on *Sefer ḥasidim*, a work of medieval German pietism seemingly quite far from his intellectual milieu.

Amidst this vast and overwhelming display of rabbinic erudition, *Ma'agal tov* stands out. It is one of his few works that does not take as its starting point either a sacred text or a legal problem. The book began as an account of his travels, as one can easily discern from its textual history. *Sefer ma'agal tov ha-shalem*, as it was published by Aron Freimann in 1934, brings together Azulai's account as he had recorded it in two separate manuscripts.[3] Both manuscripts are quite small: that of the first journey 8 x 15 cm and that of the second 9 x 12 cm.[4] The size of these manuscripts bears directly upon their function. They were small enough to be carried on his person, either in the equivalent of a pocket or in a fold in his clothing. Internal evidence from the work suggests that Azulai kept other manuscripts in his pockets, as shall emerge below, and it stands to reason that while traveling he kept these notebooks on his person and entered his thoughts at odd moments.

The accounts of the two journeys do not differ markedly in substance or style. Each contains entries that range from a single sentence to several pages; for certain periods, there is an individual entry for every day; for others, many weeks pass without so much as the stroke of a pen. Throughout, the language is extraordinarily dense and allusive: rhyming prose alternates with cascades of allusions to biblical and rabbinic literature. But the writing is often episodic, sometimes inscrutable, and frequently disjointed. Both notebooks include a remarkably similar introductory paragraph, in which Azulai described them as records of his travels and the many divine miracles performed for him on his journeys. These short statements, which appear to have been written retrospectively, offer alluring evidence that Azulai imagined an audience for his diary, but precious little indication as to who this may have been. Unlike *Shem ha-gedolim*, which he explicitly addressed to young Jewish men in a self-conscious echo of Karo's *Shulḥan 'arukh*, the work does not contain a named addressee. The later history of the manuscripts—they remained in the possession of his descendants well into the nineteenth century—might lead one to hypothesize that they were addressed to his children.

Azulai was an extraordinarily prolific author who printed a number of works in his own lifetime, keenly aware of the power of the printed word and obsessed with writing. Azulai himself used the word *sefer*, or book, to refer to the notebook of his second journey, which he titled *Sefer ma'agal tov*, and his other writings corroborate that he referred to his travel diary as a *sefer*. The word *sefer* was evidently labile enough for Azulai to encompass a text that would probably be called a *kuntres* in rabbinic Hebrew or a *yoman* in modern Hebrew.[5] The diaries themselves offer a wealth of information—anecdotes, reflections, and data—about the printed Hebrew

book at a crucial moment in European Jewish life. Picking up where prior scholars have left off in their study of this text, I posit that books are a crucial point of intersection between Azulai as a traveler and the different Jewish communities he visited.[6] Along the way, I look briefly at one of Azulai's near contemporaries, Israel Landau (1758–1829), before suggesting that Azulai's focus on Hebrew books offers another vantage point on the fragmentation of Jewish communal life at the end of the eighteenth century.[7]

It would be short-sighted to limit the discussion of Azulai's diaries as evidence for the fact that the printed book had become deeply engrained in European Jewish life. While this may be true, it is also banal. By the time Azulai encountered Europe in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the printed Hebrew book, along with a new cadre of intellectuals such as editors, printers, correctors, and censors, had been active agents of Jewish culture for well over two centuries. Combined with a series of other factors, including the geographic realignment of Jewish populations, the spread of Jewish mysticism, and the development of new markets for Hebrew literature, the printed book, as well as its authors and producers, had dramatically reshaped early modern Jewish culture. It had transformed the transmission of knowledge, established a corpus of texts as a rabbinic canon, and redefined what it meant to circulate a work in manuscript. When Azulai, on his travels, described printed Hebrew books, he was describing a feature of a social world that was already firmly entrenched in Jewish life.[8]

The printed book may no longer have been new by the middle of the eighteenth century, but in Azulai's hands, and in his accounts of that handling, it could lead to a series of anecdotes and encounters that highlight the roles that it played as a marker of boundaries between seemingly distinct bodies of knowledge. In his diaries, Azulai's descriptions of books were rarely about *pesak,* the formulation of a legal ruling, nor were they usually about exegesis, the correct interpretation of a sacred text. Rather, the printed Hebrew book, along with its even more prized ancillary, the Hebrew manuscript, functioned as a means to cross and to erect boundaries between different bodies of knowledge. These different bodies of knowledge were sometimes social and personal, as in Azulai's experiences in Ashkenaz, at times institutional and geographic, as in his experiences in Royal Libraries, and at other times intellectual and cultural, as in North Africa and northern Europe. But it would be a mistake to reduce the complexity of these bodies of knowledge to one form. The point is that by following Azulai and his encounters with printed books one can catch the printed Hebrew book, already well over two centuries old and no longer new, as an agent and embodiment of knowledge. By examining Azulai's encounters with Hebrew books, a whole series of oppositions—sacred and secular, public and private, Sephardic and Ashkenazic, East and West—come under considerable pressure. Azulai's reflections on books point up the limits of these categories in the second half of the eighteenth century while simultaneously underscoring their enduring power.

I. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY COLLECTIONS OF HEBREW BOOKS

In the spring of 1774, after an extended stay in Tunis to which I shall return, Azulai crossed the Mediterranean and arrived in Livorno. Before he could enter the city, he remained in a quarantine-station for thirty-nine days. While there, he wrote, "I began and completed *Shem ha-gedolim*," referring to his bio-bibliographic study of medieval and early modern rabbis. Upon leaving the quarantine-station, Azulai requested permission from the communal leaders of Livorno to print *Shem ha-gedolim*, and the first edition of the work appeared shortly thereafter. Two successive editions, in 1786 and 1798, would appear in his lifetime. All three editions reflect the impact of his travels. For example, in his diary he notes that while in Izmir he saw a manuscript of responsa written by Joseph Karo; in *Shem ha-gedolim*, when he listed Karo's writings, he included this manuscript of his responsa in Izmir among them. The biographies of rabbinic figures that he wrote in *Shem ha-gedolim* took the form of bibliographic descriptions of their works. Books served him as the means to write Jewish lives and to map the Jewish world.

As he traveled to collect charity, Azulai practiced a form of book tourism in the different places he visited. This practice of book tourism involved not only examining rare printed books and manuscripts and recording the data in his journal and bio-bibliographic writings, but also visiting printing presses and libraries. While in Venice he writes, in a description of the celebrated Venetian Hebrew press founded in the sixteenth century by Alvise Bragadin: "on Wednesday I went to the Bragadin press owned by Signor Gad ibn Samuel Foa, and I saw several rooms where they forged square type and Rashi type."[9] Azulai did not travel to Izmir, Livorno, and Venice in order to look for books or data about them; he traveled to collect charity, and as a result of his position as an emissary he took the opportunity to examine books and seek them out.

The book tourism practiced by Azulai relates to his repeated expressions of wonder that appear throughout his diaries. Of all the different places that excite his curiosity throughout his travels—the zoo in Florence, the *Wunderkammer* of a wealthy magnate in Amsterdam, and the doors of the Duomo in Pisa—none caused him as much excitement as the great collections of Hebraica, both Jewish and non-Jewish, that he encountered in his travels. For him, large collections of Hebrew books in both Western European libraries as well as in various Jewish communities were a source of amazement. Upon visiting the Royal Library in Paris, he exclaimed: "I saw numerous Jewish books separated from the rest. They are but a small section of the library, for there are houses filled with books of all religions and all sciences in many languages. It is a wondrous thing."[10] Azulai's sense of wonder is instructive on several counts. The large collections of books in the possession of wealthy individuals in various Jewish communities or European libraries were simultaneously foreign and familiar. In his early thirties, at the time of his first trip as an emissary, Azulai had spent most of his life either in Jerusalem, Hebron, or Egypt, immersed in the study of

rabbinic literature. Upon entering the Royal Library he saw the classics of the Jewish past—nearly the entirety of his intellectual world—constitute a small fraction of a considerably larger book collection. At the same time, as an alien traveler in an alien world, these Jewish books served him as fixed points on his journey. He knew where he was when he saw a volume of Maimonides' Code; more importantly, he knew what to do with such a book. When confronted with a bewildering mass of books in a variety of scripts, Azulai could only gape with wonder; when faced with a volume of Maimonides, he could actually ask the librarian for permission to read it.

The point though is not only about curiosity and wonder, but about bodies of knowledge and the borders that separate them. Azulai was among the first Jewish scholars to recognize the importance of public or semi-public collections in Europe for the purposes of Jewish scholarship. He not only wondered at the collections of Hebrew manuscripts; he compared different editions of printed books and sought out manuscripts that had long been forgotten. He used this information in his own work, such as *Shem ha-gedolim*, and continually revised his conclusions based on the information that he obtained over the course of his journeys. One is still a far cry from the comparative philology of Leopold Zunz a generation later, but Azulai stands poised at the boundary between traditional Jewish learning and the origins of modern Jewish scholarship. In the middle of the eighteenth century, a full half-century before the advent of modern Jewish scholarship, Azulai could imagine the public library joining the study house and the synagogue as a potential site for the production of Jewish knowledge.

The experience of Israel Landau in the Royal Library in Prague two decades later offers an instructive foil to Azulai's in Paris.[11] In the preface to his reprinting of Abraham Farissol's sixteenth-century geographical work *Igeret orḥot 'olam*, Landau mentioned the scarcity of printed copies and pointed to the only extant one known to him in the Royal Library in Prague as justification for reissuing the text. Like Azulai, Landau transliterated the word for library, "Bibliothek," into Hebrew characters.[12] A few pages later, at the conclusion of the prefatory materials to his edition, Landau extolled the virtues of the Royal Libraries in Prague and Vienna. The masses were allowed to read there, and even Jews were granted admission. Unlike Azulai, Landau was not an emissary in the midst of an extended journey; he was a native of Prague describing the library in the city in which he lived. Nevertheless, his account of the library concludes on a note of striking similarity: "I was delighted and my pride surged when I saw there—in the library—the Torah of our Lord among the thousands of books, the Torah of Moses, the Words of the Prophets, the books of the sages of the Talmud, their commentaries, and other extraordinary works are all standing there in an exalted place."[13] The large royal collections of books led these two figures, Landau and Azulai—so different in so many respects—to a similar reaction: an exclamation of pride that the books of their own tradition had found a place, albeit a small one, on the shelves of a royal library, combined with a sense of wonder that such repositories of books existed at all. In Azulai's case, this led to the

search for early printed editions and forgotten manuscripts. In Landau's case, this pride served as a goad for the republication of an early modern text in a new edition. Both these tasks, the comparison of editions and the republication of texts, would come to characterize much of Jewish scholarship in the next century.

II. BOOKS AND THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

Books played a number of functions in Azulai's interactions with foreign Jewish communities in the Diaspora. On his first tour as an emissary Azulai spent over half a year in the Rhine-Main region of Germany, an area he referred to as Ashkenaz.[14] Emissaries of the Jewish communities in Palestine traveled with a set of signed documents and ledgers from their home communities that served to authorize their collection of charity and prevent fraud.[15] As Azulai made his way north from Innsbruck to Amsterdam, he stopped in over forty different towns or cities. Repeatedly, he faced doubts and skepticism of his credentials as an emissary. On numerous occasions he was accused of having forged the signatures of the rabbinate in Jerusalem and Hebron. In some cities, he successfully cajoled communal leaders to accept the authenticity of his documents; in others he was less successful and did not receive the hospitality usually given to emissaries, much less any charity. His diary for this period often reads like a string of outbursts punctuated by comic misunderstandings. On his second tour as an emissary, Azulai avoided Germany entirely and traveled to the Low Countries through France.

In Azulai's visit to Hanau a Jewish book played a crucial role in his encounter with the local rabbi. "We arrived in Hanau, and the guards denied us entry. I sent a note to the rabbi but I had given up hope. Finally, I bribed the guards and they allowed us to pass. As I was walking, the beadle [of the community] confronted us in a great rage. Against his will, he brought us to his home. I said to him, 'go and get the rabbi of the community. It is disrespectful to the land of Israel for me to be here.' That day I went to the rabbi and presented him my papers and account book. He looked through it, but said he did not recognize a single one of the signatures and had no way of verifying them. While we were talking, I noticed a book on the table, a copy of the *Bet Shemuel*, and I began to speculate with him about the laws concerning the separation of a man and woman before marriage. When he saw that I had the aura of Torah, he turned to me with a kind countenance and holy words and his eyes lit up the room."[16]

In this exchange, a Jewish book served as a cultural bridge between Jews who inhabited different worlds and initially treated each other with a fair degree of mistrust. Azulai did not enter the rabbi's house and begin a conversation about a random aspect of Jewish law; only when he caught sight of a book, the *Bet Shemuel*, a commentary to Joseph Karo's *Even ha-'ezer* by the seventeenth-century Polish rabbi Samuel ben Uri Shraga Phoebus, did he begin to "speculate" with his host. While Azulai used his knowledge to establish his credibility, the book served as a prompt for his demonstration of erudition. This performance of erudition allowed Azulai to

collapse the geographic and cultural disparities that separated him from his learned host. A month earlier, while in Fürth and confronting a host similarly skeptical of his credentials, Azulai had no opportunity to use his erudition, and his requests for both hospitality and funds were turned down. In Hanau, a book enabled Azulai to achieve insider status with great speed, as he received both gracious hospitality and personal donations from his host after this exchange. But erudition had its limits. The Hanau community did not follow the lead of its rabbi and refused to allocate the communal funds for charity to Azulai's mission.

Azulai may have avoided Ashkenaz on his second tour as emissary but his long stay there on his first tour included at least one extraordinary visit: a meeting with Rabbi Jacob Joshua Falk, author of the *Pene Yehoshua*.[17] Late in the summer of 1754, Azulai made his way to Worms with the express purpose of visiting Falk. He recounted:

> We traveled in the carriage that went each week from Frankfurt [am Main] to Worms and arrived on Wednesday at the time of the afternoon prayer. I went immediately to greet the rabbi, the aforementioned author of the *Pene Yehoshua.* His visage was that of an angel of the Lord, and he greeted me kindly. I recounted to him all that had occurred to me, and I prostrated myself before him, bringing my soul out of its prison (Ps 142:8). Among the things I recounted to him was that his radiant book was seen clearly in the lovely land [of Palestine], that all the scholars and rabbis of Jerusalem, may it be rebuilt, drew upon the radiant light of his Torah, the spirit of his understanding and the splendor of his wisdom, especially Rabbi Isaac Cohen, may his memory be for a blessing, who rejoiced in his heart, because he [Falk] had cited his [Cohen's] work *Bate kehunah* in the final section. Even I, a young man, rejoiced when I saw the second volume when I was in Hanau.[18]

In contrast to his experience in Hanau, Azulai did not need to catch sight of a work of Ashkenazi *halakhah* to begin his conversation. Nor did Falk require much further proof than the ensuing discussion to recognize that his interlocutor was worth his time. One must imagine this encounter from Falk's perspective as well Azulai's.

By the time Falk met Azulai in Worms, he was over seventy years old and had recently been deposed as the rabbi of Frankfurt due to his intense opposition to the Sabbatian tendencies of Rabbi Jonathan Eybeschütz, rabbi of the triple community in Altona-Hamburg-Wandsbeck.[19] Falk was the author of a talmudic commentary, the *Pene Yehoshua,* that revolutionized the study of Talmud in the modern era.[20] The second volume of the commentary, which was the first to appear in print, had been published in Amsterdam in 1739. The first volume, which was the second to appear in print, had been published in Frankfurt in 1752.[21] Azulai, who was less than half Falk's age, arrived at his temporary residence in Worms with the news that scholars in Jerusalem had been reading his work with great admiration and some degree of thoroughness. Isaac ha-Cohen Rapoport, author of *Bate kehunah*, had been flattered to find a reference to his work in the very final section of Falk's commentary. Falk

continued his meeting with Azulai the following day and clearly perceived in him something of a kindred spirit, as he discussed the Emden-Eybeschütz controversy with him at considerable length and showed him a number of Sabbatean passages in Eybeschütz's work.

From Azulai's perspective, the meeting with Falk was an extraordinary occasion. His travels in Ashkenaz up to that point had been difficult, to say the least. Nevertheless, he went out of his way to visit Worms and to meet Falk, a scholar whose work he had evidently devoured in Jerusalem. Only a week earlier in Hanau, he had been overjoyed to see that another volume of Falk's commentary had been published. If Azulai thought he was visiting a celebrated talmudist, this was undoubtedly true. But it was not the whole story. This outstanding scholar was also deeply immersed in the battle raging across the European rabbinate known as the Emden-Eybeschütz controversy. Falk took Azulai into his confidence, and showed him a series of documents that implicated Eybeschütz as a Sabbatian, to which Azulai reacted with horror. In this exchange with Falk, Azulai did not need a physical book to collapse the boundaries of age, geography, and culture that might have separated him from his host. But it is important to underscore how Azulai's knowledge of Falk's printed book, his intellectual awareness of its contents, and his news that Rapoport had been elated to find a reference to his work, allowed him to traverse a series of boundaries and be taken into Falk's confidence.

If Jewish books during his time in Hanau and Worms functioned for Azulai as a form of international currency, they played a very different role during his stay in Tunis. In studying travel literature, Elliott Horowitz has focused upon the moment a traveler crosses the threshold from the familiar to the unfamiliar as a marker of potentially revealing historical insight.[22] Azulai's exclamations about the great collections of Hebraica in Royal Libraries demonstrate how unfamiliar Western Europe was, even on what one might assume were the most familiar grounds for an eighteenth-century rabbinic bibliophile, with Jewish books. Azulai traveled as an emissary not only in Western Europe, but also in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. On his second journey, he traveled from Jerusalem to Livorno via Alexandria and Tunis. His diary for the six months he spent between Jerusalem and Tunis covers three pages in Freimann's edition; by contrast, his writing about Tunis, which he visited for roughly the same amount of time, is four times as long and includes some of the most captivating passages of his entire journal. In a revealing passage, Azulai described how the Jews of Tunis related to his books.[23] "But they [the Jews of Tunis] treated me with great honor and they wanted to see all of my writings and all of my books, and specifically to examine whether or not I had kabbalistic books. In my possession I had a manuscript book whose subject I shall recount presently."[24] Azulai proceeds to describe at great length his initial encounter and subsequent acquisition of a manuscript written by Hayim Vital. Azulai's entry on Vital in *Shem ha-gedolim* depends heavily upon this description and the purchase of this manuscript.

He then continued with his description of the Jews in Tunis: "I had a chest of books with me. When I said to them that I did not know any Kabbalah, I removed that manuscript [by Vital] and secretly put it in my garments. And when they came and rummaged through the books they did not find this book among them, for it certainly would have been lost. . . . They repeatedly urged me to open the small chest that had my writings, but I guarded the keys. At one point they forced themselves upon me, took the keys, and attempted to take the book with my writings as a keepsake, but I began to scream, invoking bans (Heb. *ḥaramot*) [against them] until they returned the keys to me." In contrast to Hanau, where a Jewish book enabled Azulai to find common ground with a skeptical rabbinic colleague, in Tunis Jewish books served as markers of difference among Jews rather than sameness. Azulai's attempt to hide a manuscript of Vital's writings, his refusal to share his own writing, his very denial—patently false—of his knowledge of Kabbalah, all point to the distance he felt between himself and the Jews of Tunis. Both Hanau and Tunis were foreign to Azulai; yet they were foreign in different ways, and he was also foreign in different ways. In Hanau he appeared to a skeptical rabbinic colleague as a beggar seeking to make a buck; only after he demonstrated his learning, by discussing a work of Ashkenazi halakhah no less, did he receive his supper. In Tunis, his erudition required no demonstration; if anything he needed to protect it, quite literally, from theft.

Scholars have long seen the second half of the eighteenth century as a point of transition in European Jewish life. Azulai's travel diaries offer a fragmentary but exceptionally articulate view of European Jewry as it was understood and experienced by someone from the outside. The Jews of Europe and Europe itself were matters of intense and enduring interest to him. One of the central means through which Azulai encountered Europe and its Jews was the printed Hebrew book. If one follows Azulai's encounters with the printed Hebrew book and through the printed Hebrew book, a whole series of categories begin to blur. In the Royal Library in Paris, Azulai experienced the state as a collector and producer of Jewish knowledge. In Worms, he encountered a revolutionary Ashkenazi scholar whose writings would transform the study of Talmud in the next century, but who had recently been deposed from his position as rabbi because of his stance in the central controversy of his day. In Livorno, where he would live for the rest of his life, Azulai wrote and printed the book that would establish his reputation. In Tunis, beyond Europe's borders, Azulai had seen his own knowledge and possession of Hebrew books emerge as a liability. The printed Hebrew book for Azulai was as much a marker of knowledge and its boundaries as it was a social object that served as a source of wonder and danger. Azulai's encounters with the printed Hebrew book offer some indication that the cultural categories that wreaked such creative havoc on Jewish society at the end of the eighteenth century—East and West, the Levant and Europe, Sepharad and Ashkenaz, public and private, rabbinic and lay—were blurring, but not quite broken.

Notes

1. "ḤIDA is a riddle." Meir Benayahu, *Rabi Ḥayim Yosef David Azulai* (Jerusalem, 1959), 1:9.

2. In addition to Benayahu's biography, see Theodore Friedman, *The Life and Work of Hayyim Joseph David Azulai: A Study in Jewish Cultural History* (Ph.D. diss.; Columbia University, 1952); *Sefer ha-HIDA,* ed. M. Benayahu (Jerusalem, 1959). On Azulai and Kabbalah see Avital Sharon, "Kabbalistic Commentary on Passages in Tractate Megillah by the HIDA in his *Petah "enayim*" (Hebrew; M.A. thesis; Hebrew University, 2007).

3. *Sefer ma'agal tov ha-shalem,* ed. A. Freimann, (Jerusalem, 1934). Hereafter *Ma'agal tov.* Three translations have the merit of existing. See *The Diaries of Rabbi Ha'im Yosef David Azulai,* trans. B. Cymerman (Jerusalem, 1997). Haïm Harboun, *Les voyageurs juifs du XVIIIe siècle: Haïm Yossef David Azoulaï*, 2 vols. (Aix-en-Provence, 1997–99); *Ma'agal tov (Il buon viaggio)*, trans. A. M. Somekh (Livorno, 2012).

4. New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, MS 5388 and MS 5389.

5. See J. H. Chajes, "Accounting for the Self: Preliminary Generic-Historical Reflections on Early Modern Jewish Egodocuments," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 95.1 (2005): 1–15.

6. Matthias B. Lehmann, "*Levantinos* and Other Jews: Reading H. Y. D. Azulai's Travel Diary," *Jewish Social Studies* n.s. 13.3 (2007): 1–34. Oded Cohen, "*Ma'agal Tov* by *HIDA:* A Meeting of Tradition and Modernity" (Hebrew; M.A. thesis; Tel-Aviv University, 2010).

7. For a concise formulation see Chimen Abramsky, "The Crisis of Authority within European Jewry in the Eighteenth Century," in *Studies in Jewish Religious and Intellectual History Presented to Alexander Altmann*, ed. S. Stein and R. Loewe (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1979), 13–28.

8. See J. R. Hacker and A. Shear, eds., *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy* (Philadelphia, 2011).

9. *Ma'agal tov,* 84.

10. Ibid., 34. On Azulai in Paris see Maurice Liber and Alexander Marx, "Le séjour d'Azoulai à Paris," *REJ* 66 (1913): 243–73.

11. See Sharon Flatto, *The Kabbalistic Culture of Eighteenth-Century Prague: Ezekiel Landau (the 'Noda Biyehudah') and His Contemporaries* (Portland, Or., 2010), 48.

12. Abraham Farissol, *Igeret Orḥot 'olam* (Prague, 1793), short preface, unpaginated. On this edition, see David B. Ruderman, *The World of a Renaissance Jew: The Life and Thought of Abraham ben Mordecai Farissol* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1981), 164.

13. Farissol, *Igeret orḥot 'olam,* 8b.

14. On Azulai in Germany see Leo Prijs, "Das Reisetagebuch des Ch. J. D. Asulai," *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte* 37 (1974): 878–916.

15. Abraham Yaari, *Sheluḥe Erets Yisrael* (Jerusalem, 1997), chap. 1.

16. *Ma'agal tov*, 20.

17. Israel M. Ta-Shma, "R. Jacob Joshua Falk and His book '*Penei Yehoshua,*'" in *Keneset meḥkarim: 'Iyunim be-sifrut ha-rabanit bi-mei ha-benayim* (Jerusalem, 2010) 4:271–82. Ta-Shma cites Azulai's description of Falk's radiant countenance on 271. For Ta-Shma's study of Falk see Elchanan Reiner, "Beyond the Realm of Haskalah: Changing Learning Patterns in Jewish Traditional Society" (Hebrew), in *Yashan mi-pne ḥadash: Shai li-Emanuel Etkes,* ed. D. Assaf and A. Rapoport-Albert (Jerusalem, 2009), 2:298, n. 18.

18. *Ma'agal tov*, 23.

19. See Sid Z. Leiman, "When a Rabbi is Accused of Heresy: The Stance of Rabbi Jacob Joshua Falk in the Emden-Eibeschuetz Controversy," in *Rabbinic Culture and Its Critics: Jewish Authority, Dissent and Heresy in Medieval and Early Modern Times*, ed. D. Frank and M. Goldish (Detroit, 2008), 435–56.

20. See Ta-Shma, cited above and Reiner, "Beyond the Realm of Haskalah," 2:289–311.

21. Ibid., 301, n. 21.

22. See his "Towards a Social History of Jewish Popular Religion: Obadiah of Bertinoro on the Jews of Palermo," *Journal of Religious History* 17.2 (1992): 138–51. See pg. 151 for Horowitz's discussion of Azulai.

23. On Azulai in Tunis see Yaron Tsur, "La culture religieuse à Tunis à la fin du XVIIIe d'après le récit de voyage de Haïm Yossef David Azoulay," in *Entre Orient et Occident: Juifs et Musulmans en Tunisie*, ed. D. Cohen-Tannoudji (Paris, 2007), 63–76.

24. *Ma'agal tov*, 58.