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Printing, Fundraising, and Jewish Patronage in Eighteenth-Century Livorno

Francesca Bregoli
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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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PRINTING, FUNDRAISING, AND JEWISH PATRONAGE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LIVORNO



Francesca Bregoli
*Queens College,
The City University of New York*

Very Illustrious Sir, both before God and before the world, I would be ungrateful if I thought to dedicate this small work to anybody else but Your Lordship. If it were sheltered from such high patronage, once it arrived into common acceptance, I would have the constant doubt that it would not be defended by the usual denigration of malignant critics, which is eliminated by such noble protection as that of Your Lordship. I am grateful for this, because with this minuscule homage I can reverently show you my gratitude for the most bountiful favors that your magnificence has bestowed on me.

THE minuscule homage was the *Sefer sha'ar Yosef*, a talmudic commentary on the tractate *Horayot* that Ḥayim Yosef David Azulai, the ḤIDA (1724–1806), gave to print during his stay in Livorno in 1756.¹ The *Sha'ar Yosef* was the first book published by ḤIDA, who at that time was a young itinerant fundraiser (sing. *shaliḥ*, pl. *sheliḥim*) on a mission for the Jewish community of Hebron. The long dedication in Spanish, from which I have quoted the first few lines, was printed at the beginning of the book in honor of Dr. Michael Pereira de Leon, a wealthy member of the Livornese Jewish elite who granted financial help to defray the publication of Azulai's book and supported him during his stay in town.²

It is well known that during the second half of the eighteenth century, the Tuscan port of Livorno on the Tyrrhenian Sea became one of the main Mediterranean hubs for the publication of Hebrew legal writings by living or recently deceased Levantine and Maghrebi authors, and for their distribution to centers where Livornese merchants had established trading firms, such as Tunis, Smyrna, and Salonica.³ Less known, however, are the local conditions that enabled the success of this specific Hebrew publishing activity. Recent studies on the Italian book trade have shown that eighteenth-century Italian publishers tended to lack substantial capital and usually tried to avoid any market risk. There is no evidence of a true literary mar-

ketplace and the development of capitalist-style publishing until the second half of the nineteenth century. Before then, financial backing from the nobility and the Church was crucial to the production and the diffusion of Italian books, sometimes in the form of book subscriptions.⁴ In the Hebrew publishing world, traditionally conservative, we find a similar situation. Usually, the publication costs were not covered by the publishers, but rather by external patrons, donors, and frequently by the clients themselves. This was especially true for books by living authors, such as Azulai's *Sha'ar Yosef*.

To better understand the success story of Livorno as a Hebrew publishing center, as well as the success stories of those rabbis who were able to print several of their works in these circumstances, we need to account for networks of material support within which the scholars, who published their manuscripts and those of their ancestors, operated. In this essay, I would like to offer a few preliminary observations about this system from the point of view of patron-client relations. Until the mid-1970s, historians tended to portray patronage either as the context for exceptional artistic creativity, such as in Renaissance Florence, or as a troublesome leftover of feudal structures, incompatible with the advance of capitalism and "rational modernization." Today, these interpretations have been revised.⁵ Recent studies have shown that patronage was not a voluntary activity, in which one could choose to engage or not, but rather an engrained and far-reaching process that shaped identities and hierarchical orders in early modern Europe.⁶ Patronage was a pervasive "productive system," to use Mario Biagioli's expression, which not only drove clients up the social ladder but also defined scholarly values, structures of communication, and professional identities.⁷ In this light, I will look specifically at the relationship that two itinerant rabbis, HIDA and Judah Ayash, both known for their legal traditionalism, forged with the patrons who sponsored their scholarly and printing activities in Livorno.

HIDA's older contemporary, the Algerian rabbi Judah Ayash (1690–1760), had three of his halakhic manuscripts printed in Livorno during his lifetime. For the publication of his first books, the *Lehem Yehudah* (1745), a commentary on Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, and the collection of responsa *Bet Yehudah* (1746), Ayash enjoyed the financial support of benefactors in Algiers.⁸ In the case of his third halakhic volume, the *Bene Yehudah* (1758), however, he was able to rely on the help of a Livornese patron, Moses Haim son of Raphael Abraham Franco, who "set aside some of his money in the form of a *nedavah*," an offer, for its publication. Franco was, like Pereira de Leon, a member of the Livornese Sephardi elite and belonged to a respected mercantile family. Not only did Franco sponsor Ayash's publication, but he also provided the rabbi with a place to stay. Before Ayash's arrival, the Francos "prepared and emptied a house for me," wrote the author in his introduction, "a nice place with nice utensils, everything was ready and appointed."

Moses Haim, depicted as a pious and devoted Jew, showed liberality and love

of scholarship: “He would appoint everything that I [lit., my eyes] demanded from sacred writings, both old and new. With pleasure he bought books and would lend them to me, for my sake; his heart understood by mere hints that I desired them.”⁹ Moses’ hospitality was supplemented by the rest of his family, whom the introduction also praises at length for their generosity, devotion, and kindness—not only his father Raphael Franco, but in particular the women of the house, his mother Rachel and his wife Donha Rosa Rodrigues Miranda.

For authors, the offer of a book to a potential or current benefactor was an act pregnant with meaning, on which careers and opportunities were built. Not unlike actual gifts,¹⁰ given in order to honor and gain the friendship of patrons, the offering of a book to a powerful sponsor could be a strategic moment in the ritualized relationship between dependent authors and their supporters, one which marked the entry into, and formalization of, a patron-client relationship.¹¹ Azulai’s dedication to Michael Pereira de Leon thus was not a unique phenomenon. Indeed, at the beginning of his *Sefer Bene Yehudah* Judah Ayash inserted a dedication as well. This too was written in a florid Baroque Spanish, in honor of Moses Haim Franco.

Spanish was the formal language of the Livornese Sephardi elite. It is not known if Azulai and Ayash knew it (and its literary conventions) in the 1750s; it is possible that they did not personally compose the dedications and may have relied on local “ghostwriters” to pen them on their behalf.¹² Nonetheless, we must assume that these texts reflected the rabbis’ concern with pleasing their sponsors. For instance, Ayash’s benefactor was compared to no less than the biblical Moses. Just as God had sent manna to the people of Israel after Moses’ prayers, so that their pilgrimage in the desert should not be arduous, so Moses Franco had guided Ayash’s family, “a small pilgrim people, taking care of us with the manna of his kind gifts with such generosity and a truly frank and pious soul (*Franco, y Pio*).”¹³

Ayash’s and Azulai’s texts reflect well-known rhetorical techniques in the genre of the dedication. Both scholars not only emphasize their deep debt of gratitude, but also minimize their own role as authors; only thanks to the patron’s protection will their works be safe from malignant critics.¹⁴ “Out of gratitude,” Ayash continued, “I am compelled to dedicate this small work to you. Once it is protected under your wing there will be no malignant critics who will be able to criticize it or bite it with their stubborn teeth.”¹⁵ For his part, Azulai justified his request for protection by extolling the learning and piety of Pereira de Leon. “It is furthermore right that I ask you to defend this work,” Azulai wrote,

because you are adorned with such abundant literature, perfect in the divine science, and well-read in the humane letters. You unveil the most secret dogmas [and] the most subtle systems in the Holy Law with frankness, clarity and pleasantness. In jurisprudence and medicine, your unequivocal opinion is impossible to disagree with. In erudition, you are endowed with linguistic command; in politics, you [know] morals and the art of prudence; your advices, instructions, and edification accurately testify to this. [You are] an ardent follower of the Divine Law and honor its teachers.¹⁶

The system of patronage ties established during one generation, thanks also to ritual gestures such as a book dedication, did not necessarily come to an end after the death of either the author or his benefactor. In this sense, we can accurately talk about a multigenerational support *network*. This is illustrated by the case of Judah Ayash's sons, who went to Livorno to publish three more of their father's works after his death in 1760. During their stays in town, Jacob Moses and Joseph Ayash enjoyed assistance from the same Livornese supporters who had helped their father. When Jacob Moses Ayash arrived in the Tuscan port twenty-three years after his father's death he received help from Franco's family, which he duly praised and thanked in his introduction to the *Sefer mateh Yehudah* (1783), a commentary on the *Shulḥan 'arukh* (*Orah ḥayim*).¹⁷

During the same visit, Ayash the younger was also able to strike up a relationship with another Livornese supporter, Eliezer Ḥay Recanati, who already counted Azulai and the talmudist and poet Isaac Ḥayim Frosolone (at that time both living in Livorno) among his protégés.¹⁸ Like Moses Haim Franco, Recanati was a powerful member of the Livornese Jewish mercantile elite, who belonged to the first Italian family admitted to the mostly Sephardi Mahamad (a body of sixty governors from among the most established families in town) of this Tuscan community.¹⁹ When Ayash's youngest son Joseph arrived in Livorno ten years later to print yet another of his father's manuscripts, the *Sefer kol Yehudah* (1793), both Moses Ḥayim Franco and Eliezer Ḥay Recanati had died. The tradition of patronage however was kept alive by their relatives: Recanati's sons Isaac Ḥay and Joshua, on the one hand, and Franco's widow Donha Rosa, on the other, assisted Joseph during his Livornese stay with financial support and hospitality.²⁰

Scholarly and publishing assistance was also intimately related with support in other areas. As in ḤIDA's case, several other rabbis who sought to print books in Livorno were traveling as *sheliḥim* for Jewish communities in the Holy Land.²¹ A connection with an influential local patron willing to *apadrinar* (sponsor, protect) an emissary could prove particularly crucial in the case of fundraising missions, when communal funds as well as private donations were mobilized.²²

Thus Jacob Moses Ayash, an itinerant fundraiser for the Jewish community of Jerusalem, relied on Eliezer Ḥay Recanati not only for printing support, but also for his own fundraising purposes.²³ ḤIDA too benefited from the protection of Pereira de Leon in relation to his fundraising activities. In fact, Pereira de Leon and ḤIDA had become acquainted on the occasion of Azulai's very first fundraising visit to the Tuscan port in 1753, and their relationship was strengthened during his second longer stay in the Tuscan port in 1755 and 1756.²⁴ This fruitful friendship was resumed again when Azulai stopped in Livorno during his second fundraising mission in 1774, and it developed into a stable affiliation with the Pereira de Leon household after the rabbi moved to the Tuscan port.

According to Azulai's recollection in his *Ma'agal tov*, he almost ruined his chances during his first fundraising mission because of some negative comments about old

Livornese *pekide erets israel* (Deputies for the Holy Land), the communal deputies in charge of the funds destined to assist foreign Jewish settlements, which were found among his papers. However, Pereira de Leon, who was acting as a deputy that year, sided with the rabbi, striving to suppress the incident, and backed him successfully when the Mahamad considered his fundraising requests. The intervention of Pereira de Leon was particularly welcome, as Azulai had originally hoped to rely on another “powerful friend” then serving as *parnas*, who, to his great dismay, could not attend the communal meeting because of an illness.²⁵ Again in 1774, Azulai wrote in his diary that he was unable to collect the money allocated to his mission after an altercation with the community’s *pekide erets israel*, but could rely on Pereira de Leon and other local friends to raise generous funds through individual donations.²⁶

It seems obvious that for itinerant Jewish authors and scholars, who had even fewer opportunities to enjoy institutional support than their gentile peers, entry into a client relationship with a powerful patron was often perceived as the only way to publish their works and advance in their endeavors. But what about the benefactors themselves? Informal support (both private and public) of Jewish spiritual leaders had been in practice since antiquity and it was certainly still a key feature of early modern Jewish culture. Examining the ties established by authors and their sponsors from the point of view of patron-client relationships illuminates further the dynamics of this partnership as well as the ambitions of members of the Jewish mercantile elite.

Patron-client relations represent a way in which society structures and regulates the flow of resources, and are based on interactions characterized by the simultaneous exchange of different types of assets and promises of solidarity.²⁷ Both patrons and clients tend to represent their associations as voluntary; patrons like to portray their acts as disinterested and arbitrary.²⁸ However, it would be a mistake to take this at face value, and we should rather emphasize the *mutual interest* of both parties in such relations. It is important to ask, therefore, not only if connection with a wealthy patron enhanced the credibility of a rabbi, or if the patrons had any influence on how the writings of their protégés developed, over what was printed, and over its consumption—but also what kind of benefit the lay sponsors themselves might have reaped.

What could have been the motivations of men like Pereira de Leon, Recanati, and Franco, busy exponents of the Livornese commercial class, in striking lasting relationships with itinerant rabbis? Both Pereira de Leon and Recanati were members of the Livornese Mahamad. Pereira de Leon was a relatively recent addition to the Livornese communal council, to which he was only appointed in 1741. From that moment on, he served keenly and continuously in a variety of public offices,²⁹ and also acted as *parnas* in 1756 and 1764.³⁰ Recanati had perhaps an even more active career, serving repeatedly as *parnas* in 1761, 1765, 1769, 1773 and 1781.³¹ Franco was, on the other hand, personally distant from the political life of Livornese Jewry, though he was related to some of its protagonists, such as Joseph Franco, a powerful merchant

with ties in London and one of the most distinguished leaders of the Livornese community.³²

There is no doubt that Pereira de Leon, Recanati, and Franco were representatives of the Livornese Jewish economic and political elite. It is possible that the time-honored model offered by Rashi's interpretation of the symbiotic partnership between the tribes of Zebulun and Issachar gave them some inspiration for their patronage. The tribe of Zebulun, whom Rashi depicted as merchants, provided resources for that of Issachar to devote itself entirely to Torah study.³³ Without Zebulun, Issachar could not thrive. And just like Rashi's Zebulun, wealthy Livornese benefactors would likely have expected to share in the spiritual reward achieved by Torah scholars from entering a relationship with a rabbi. Pious Jewish merchants who were distracted by their practical concerns and businesses and were unable to devote their life fully to Torah would have found consolation in assisting a scholar. It is telling that one of the recurrent features in both Hebrew introductions and vernacular dedications are the elaborate lists of blessings inserted after the name of each donor, as if the patron could vicariously get closer to God through the help of his rabbinic protégé, who promised to pray on his behalf. Consider for instance the last lines of Ayash's dedication to Franco: "I beseech Your Lordship to please accept this small gift that my grateful affection dedicates to you, and I am praying God that he may prolong the life of Your Lordship for many years and maintain you at the peak of your utmost happiness and greatness."³⁴ One suspects that the length of the blessing directly reflected the generosity of the benefactor.

It is also necessary to consider the indirect intellectual prestige and cultural capital a patron would acquire through his association with a rabbinic scholar. Significantly, not every scholar received material support and help for publication—why HIDA and Ayash, but not others? For one thing, both HIDA and Ayash were already relatively well-known by the time they arrived at Livorno. Their fame preceded them and would have made them more attractive to potential sponsors. Book dedications may shed additional light on this question. As Roger Chartier has remarked, the dedication of a book to a princely sponsor was not only the "instrument of an unsymmetrical exchange," reflecting the association between a hopeful author and a powerful individual who offered his protection in a "deferred countermove." Dedications also mirrored a prince's absolute power. The patron saw himself praised as the original inspiration and author of the book, as if the writer were offering his benefactor a work that belonged to him in the first place.³⁵

It is possible to consider the last paragraph of Azulai's dedication to Pereira de Leon in this light: "This entire summary of perfections makes Your Lordship a champion, so that with *your knowledge and loving intellect* you may open this door,³⁶ which the stubborn key of my *short experience* keeps close, so that, by showering *your wisdom*, many others may enter to drink. May God let prosper Your Lordship with a long life and blessings, which he may grant you and all your worthy family. Amen."³⁷ In a bold rhetorical move, HIDA granted his patron—whom he described as most

accomplished in both Jewish and non-Jewish scholarship, including legal, medical, and political knowledge—the ability to give his own work epistemological legitimacy. Only Pereira de Leon could open the “Door of Joseph.” Azulai, the young *hakham* who was establishing a reputation as a rabbinic prodigy among Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora, contrasted the knowledge, loving intellect, and wisdom of Dr. Pereira de Leon with his own “short experience.” By accepting Azulai’s dedication, Michael Pereira de Leon not only increased in fame and recognition, but also most significantly found himself in the extraordinary position of giving authority to his protégé’s halakhic commentary.

In the early modern Christian world, princely patrons saw themselves praised as incomparable poets or scientists through the means of the dedication. Within the Jewish world, the currency of “patronage exchange” seems to have been Torah scholarship. Judah Ayash generously bestowed the honorific title of *maskil* on Franco in his introduction to the *Bene Yehudah*, and so did his son Jacob Moses for Recanati in the *Mateh Yehudah*; however, there is no evidence that Franco or Recanati were ever nominated as *maskilim*. In fact, Franco paid practically every year from 1768 to 1778 to be excluded from the honor of *hatan Torah* (bridegroom of the Torah), in which a distinguished member of the congregation is called to read the last verses of the Torah on the occasion of *Simhat Torah*. So did Recanati on repeated occasions.³⁸ These requests for exemption were most likely due to the frequent business trips that Livornese Jewish merchants undertook, though other factors may have played a role as well.³⁹ We come to appreciate further the particular appeal of scholarly sponsorship in the community of Livorno, where some members of the Jewish upper classes chose not to participate in certain aspects of congregational life, but nonetheless yearned for identification with traditional Jewish knowledge and its production. Association with a respected rabbi provided the patron with intellectual and religious cachet, strengthening his image as a Torah expert within the community.⁴⁰

In conclusion, in the second half of the eighteenth century, at least three Jewish patrons supporting itinerant rabbinic scholars were present simultaneously in Livorno. This patronage system should not only be taken into consideration to explain the development of the port as a Hebrew-printing hub during that period, but can also open up fresh avenues for research. Eighteenth-century Jewish communities of traders, such as London and Bordeaux, have been frequently depicted as pragmatically integrated into the broader society but wanting in Jewish intellectual life, as if all the energy of their members were spent in the commercial field.⁴¹ However, Jewish patronage of foreign scholars and itinerant fundraisers may have served in certain instances as a virtuous alternative for local cultural productivity.

Similarly, wealthy Sephardi merchants are often portrayed as “secular” *avant la lettre*, and quite disinterested in the spiritual life of the Jewish community. Referring to the sermons that HIDA delivered in Livorno, which decry the lapse in observance of its Jewry, Meir Benayahu could not help but conclude that the more Livornese Jews grew wealthy, the less they cared for religion.⁴² In fact, the situation of the

Livornese mercantile elites is more nuanced. In the Tuscan port we find a more conservative situation than previously suspected, of which the complex support system that some of the established exponents of the economic and political elite provided to rabbinic scholars from abroad, such as HIDA and Ayash, is just one example. This configuration dispels doubts about the disinterest in Jewish spirituality on the part of powerful merchants of both Sephardi and Italian background, shows that economic success did not automatically translate into assimilation or loss of Jewish values, and suggests that ostensibly “secular” behaviors could coexist with religious motivations. While the Livornese economic elite may have grown less strict in its observance of Jewish laws or less active in synagogue life, sponsorship of rabbinic scholars offered an avenue to the community’s leaders to play Zebulun on behalf of itinerant Issachar, conspicuously and publicly sharing not only in the rewards, but also in the honors of Torah scholarship.

Notes

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1. Hayim Yosef David Azulai, *Sefer sha’ar Yosef* (Livorno, 1756), dedication (n.p.).
2. On the stay of HIDA in Livorno, see Meir Benayahu, *Rabi Hayim Yosef David Azulai* (Jerusalem, 1959), 54–80. During his time there, HIDA prayed in Pereira de Leon’s private oratory and took care of the religious and kabbalistic education of the doctor’s sons. HIDA’s other benefactor in Livorno was Eliezer Hay Recanati.
3. On Livornese Hebrew in eighteenth-century printing, see Francesca Bregoli, “Hebrew Printing in Eighteenth-Century Livorno: From Government Control to a Free Market,” in *The Hebrew Book in Early Modern Italy*, ed. J. Hacker and A. Shear (Philadelphia, 2011), 171–95; Bregoli, “Hebrew Printing and Communication Networks between Livorno and North Africa, 1740–1789,” *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies* (2007–2008): 51–59; Marvin J. Heller, “Abraham ben Raphael Meldola and the Resumption of Printing in Livorno,” *International Sephardic Journal* 2 (2005): 83–94; see also the classic work of Guido Sonnino, *Storia della tipografia ebraica in Livorno* (Turin, 1912).
4. Renato Pasta, “The History of the Book and Publishing in Eighteenth-Century Italy,” *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 10 (2005): 200–18; 199–204; Françoise Waquet, “Book Subscriptions in Early Eighteenth-Century Italy,” *Publishing History* 33 (1993): 77–88.
5. Ronald Weissman, “Taking Patronage Seriously: Mediterranean Values and Renaissance Society,” in *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. F. W. Kent and P. Simons with J. C. Eade (Canberra, 1987), 25–45.
6. I found especially helpful the reflections on patronage and court society in Mario Biagioli, *Galileo, Courtier: The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago, 1993), 11–101. See also Gabriele Jancke, “Early Modern Scholars’ Patronage Networks and Their Representation by Autobiographical Writers (16th Century),” *Net Culture Science/Netz Kultur Wissenschaft* (2004): 1–9; Peter W. Shoemaker, *Powerful Connections: The Poetics of Patronage in the Age of Louis XIII* (Newark, Del., 2007), 26–56.
7. Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier*, 16, 90.
8. Judah Ayash, *Sefer lehem Yehudah* (Livorno, 1745), *hakdamat ha-meḥaber* (n.p.); Ayash, *Sefer bet Yehudah* (Livorno, 1746), *hakdamat ha-rav ha-meḥaber* (n.p.).

9. Judah Ayash, *Sefer bene Yehudah* (Livorno, 1758), *hakdamat ha-meḥaber* (n.p.).
10. Roni Weinstein, "Gift Exchanges during Marriage Rituals among the Italian Jews in the Early Modern Period. A Historic-Anthropological Reading," *Revue des Études Juives* 165 (2006): 493–97.
11. On gift giving as part of patron-client relations, see Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier*, 36–54 and Roger Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia, 1995), 36.
12. After he settled in Livorno, Azulai most likely preached his sermons in Spanish (see Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayim Yosef David Azulai*, 58, n. 20). However, it is not known if he already knew the language during his first stay in the city.
13. Ayash, *Bene Yehudah*, dedication (n.p.).
14. Chartier, *Forms and Meanings*, 37.
15. Ayash, *Bene Yehudah*, dedication (n.p.).
16. Azulai, *Shā'ar Yosef*, dedication (n.p.).
17. Judah Ayash, *Sefer mateh Yehudah* (Livorno, 1783), *hakdamat ben ha-rav ha-meḥaber* (n.p.).
18. Jacob Moses Ayash received financial support for his publication from several other members of the Livornese aristocracy: Shemaya Bassan, Moses Aghib, Jacob Aghib, Moses Ḥayim Rekah, Samuel Miranda and Joseph Miranda Leon, Joseph Leon, Joseph Ergas, Samuel Leon, the four brothers Samuel, Joseph, Abraham and Isaac Abudarham, the three brothers Benjamin, Jacob Elijah and Samuel Nissim, sons of David Rekah, and Joseph and Isaac Nattaf.
19. Renzo Toaff, *La Nazione Ebraica a Pisa e a Livorno (1591–1700)* (Florence, 1990), 178, 180–82; Jean Pierre Filippini, "La nazione ebrea di Livorno," in *Storia d'Italia. Annali 11. Gli ebrei in Italia*, vol. 2. *Dall'emancipazione a oggi*, ed. C. Vivanti (Turin, 1997), 1047–66: 1051–54.
20. Judah Ayash, *Sefer kol Yehudah* (Livorno, 1793), *hakdamat ben ha-rav ha-meḥaber* (n.p.).
21. On the relationship between the Livornese community and traveling emissaries from the Holy Land, see Toaff, *Nazione Ebraica*, 371–76.
22. *Deliberaçõims do Governo*, volume F, 71v. I am grateful to the heirs of the late Prof. Renzo Toaff who allowed me to peruse their microfilms of the eighteenth-century "Deliberaçõims do Governo" (DdG).
23. Ayash, *Mateh Yehudah*, *hakdamat ben ha-rav ha-meḥaber* (n.p.).
24. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayim Yosef David Azulai*, 41–42. During mealtimes, Azulai would visit Pereira de Leon, who for fifteen months treated him "with great kindness and even greater honor." His Livornese stay ultimately led to the publication of the *Shā'ar Yosef*.
25. Ḥayim Yosef David Azulai, *Ma'agal tov ha-shalem*, ed. A. Freimann (Jerusalem, 1934), 4. The minutes of the Livornese Mahamad confirm that 450 *pezze* were set aside on behalf of the Jewish community of Hebron. Azulai received 50 *pezze* for his own travels (DdG, volume F, 144r–v).
26. Azulai, *Ma'agal tov*, 66–67. According to the minutes of the Livornese Mahamad, Azulai was granted 600 *pezze* on behalf of the Hebron community, together with the customary 50 *pezze* for his travels (DdG, volume I, p. 8). It is possible that Azulai deemed the sum insufficient and a disagreement ensued.
27. S. N. Eisenstadt and Louis Roninger, "Patron-Client Relations as a Model of Structuring Social Exchange," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22 (1980): 49–50.
28. Biagioli, *Galileo Courtier*, 85.
29. The Mahamad appointed him Deputy of the Holy Land in 1752 (DdG, volume F, 121r) and 1768 (*ibid.*, volume H, p. 153) and Trustee of the Synagogue (an office that supervised finances connected with religious and ritual matters) in 1752 (DdG, volume F, 126v) and 1766 (*ibid.*, volume H, p. 102). Pereira de Leon served also as a Deputy of *Sebuim* (an office in charge of funds for the liberation of Jewish captives) in 1771 (*ibid.*, p. 204) and was elected as one of the censors in 1773 (*ibid.*, p. 248).

30. DdG, volume G, p. 64; *ibid.*, volume H, p. 43.

31. DdG, volume G, p. 192; volume H., pp. 71, 162, 245; book I, p. 142. Among other offices, he also served the community as a Trustee of the Synagogue in 1762 (volume G, pp. 229–30), 1772 (volume H, p. 236), and 1784 (volume I, p. 208); as a Deputy of the *hevrah ba'ale teshuvah* in 1779 (volume I, p. 104); and as a Deputy of *Sebuim* in 1781 (volume I, p. 131) and 1787 (volume K, p. 7).

32. One of his brothers, Abraham Ḥayim was a merchant in London, while another, David Ḥayim, was elected as a member of the Mahamad in 1771.

33. Rashi to Deut 33:18.

34. Ayash, *Bene Yehudah*, dedication (n.p.).

35. Chartier, *Forms and Meaning*, 42.

36. This is an allusion to the work's title, *Sha'ar Yosef*.

37. Azulai, *Sha'ar Yosef*, dedication [emphasis mine].

38. DdG, book H, pp. 145, 171, 194, 216; book I pp. 32, 43, 60, 78.

39. Some Livornese Jews may have wished to be excluded because of the onerous expenses that accompanied the honor of *ḥatan Torah*, as it was customary for the honoree to offer a reception after the synagogue service. It is also tempting to speculate that some merchants wished to be excluded because they did not possess the Hebrew skills necessary to recite the Torah.

40. For an important comparison with the patronage system established by wealthy Polish Jewish merchants on behalf of Hasidic masters, see Glenn Dynner, "Merchant Princes and Tsadikim: The Patronage of Polish Hasidim," *Jewish Social Studies* 12 (2005): 64–110.

41. Frances Malino, *The Sephardic Jews of Bordeaux. Assimilation and Emancipation in Revolutionary and Napoleonic France* (Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1978), 26.

42. Benayahu, *Rabbi Ḥayim Yosef David Azulai*, 59–60.