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Early Modern Jewish History

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Early Modern Jewish History

Abstract

The term "early modernity" as the name of a period roughly extending from the end of the 15th to the end of the 18th century has only recently been employed by historians of Jewish culture and society. Despite a plethora of new studies in the last several decades, there have been few attempts to define the period as a whole as a distinct epoch in Jewish history, distinguishable from both the medieval and modern periods. Some historians have remained indifferent to demarcating the period, or have simply designated it as an extension of the Middle Ages, or have labeled it vaguely as a mere transitional stage between medievalism and modernity without properly describing its distinguishing characteristics. A few historians have used the term "Renaissance" to apply to the cultural ambiance of Jews living in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries alone without delineating the larger period and the more comprehensive geographical area. The bibliographical survey that follows focuses on the entire period of three hundred years and attempts to provide a panoramic view of European and Ottoman Jewries both as distinct subcommunities and in their broader connections with each other.

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Early Modern Jewish History

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Introduction

The term “early modernity” as the name of a period roughly extending from the end of the 15th to the end of the 18th century has only recently been employed by historians of Jewish culture and society. Despite a plethora of new studies in the last several decades, there have been few attempts to define the period as a whole as a distinct epoch in Jewish history, distinguishable from both the medieval and modern periods. Some historians have remained indifferent to demarcating the period, or have simply designated it as an extension of the Middle Ages, or have labeled it vaguely as a mere transitional stage between medievalism and modernity without properly describing its distinguishing characteristics. A few historians have used the term “Renaissance” to apply to the cultural ambiance of Jews living in Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries alone without delineating the larger period and the more comprehensive geographical area. The bibliographical survey that follows focuses on the entire period of three hundred years and attempts to provide a panoramic view of European and Ottoman Jewries both as distinct subcommunities and in their broader connections with each other.

General Overviews

Prior to 1985, historians discussing the period between 1500 and 1800 viewed it as an extension of the Middle Ages or as a precursor or adumbration of the modern era. Baron 1928 was the first to see this era as more than simply one of decline, stagnation, and ghettoization. Katz 1993 clearly focuses on the period as a kind of extension of medieval society and fails to contextualize it against the background of European history. Meyer 1975, an important historiographical discussion of the notion of modernity among recent historians, ignores the early modern period altogether. Israel 1998 is the first work to offer a serious comprehensive portrait of the entire period, arguing that early modern Jewish history needs to be understood as a distinct era. As both an extension and revision of the author’s pioneering study, Ruderman 2010 is a recently published new interpretation of a transregional early modern Jewish culture. His students and colleagues (Cohen et al. 2014) have recently published in his honor a broad selection of essays on Jewish culture in Early Modern Europe.

Baron, Salo W. “Ghetto and Emancipation: Shall We Revise the Traditional View?” *Menorah Journal* 14.6 (1928): 515–526.

A seminal essay first questioning the conventional view that the period between the 16th and 18th centuries was a “dark age” and should be seen in stark contrast to the “bright” modern age that followed.

Cohen, Richard, Dohrmann, Natalie, Reiner, Elhanan, and Shear, Adam, eds. *Jewish Culture in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of David B. Ruderman*. Pittsburgh, 2014: Hebrew Union College Press/University of Pittsburgh Press.

A comprehensive portrait of various aspects of Early Modern Jewish Culture and Society prepared by thirty-one active scholars in the field.

Israel, Jonathan I. *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750*. 3d ed. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998.

The first important book to treat the early modern period in Jewish history as a distinct era, ably describing its economic and political foundations while characterizing Jewish social and cultural history as primarily reflective and derivative of general trends located in non-Jewish society. Originally published in 1985.

Katz, Jacob. *Tradition and Crisis: Jewish Society at the End of the Middle Ages*. Translated by Bernard Cooperman. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

An important sociological reconstruction of Jewish traditional society primarily in eastern Europe and its disintegration in a period Katz called the "end of the middle ages." Originally published in 1961.

Meyer, Michael. "Where Does Modern Jewish History Begin?" *Judaism* 23 (1975): 329–338.

A classic essay presenting the principal interpretations of the beginnings of modernity by the leading Jewish historians and the author's solution to see modernity as a gradual process rather than as a specific date.

Ruderman, David B. *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010.

A recent interpretation of Jewish cultural history in the early modern period emphasizing cultural exchange and interconnections among diverse subcommunities.

Anthologies

There are few anthologies that deal broadly with the early modern period. Two of the most noteworthy are Graetz 2000 and Feiner and Ruderman 2007.

Feiner, Shmuel, and David Ruderman, eds. *Special Issue: Early Modern Culture and Haskalah: Reconsidering the Borderlines of Modern Jewish History*. *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 6 2007.

A rich selection of recent scholarship of early modern and enlightenment historians focusing especially on the challenge of periodization.

Graetz, Michael, ed. *Schöpferische Momente des Europäischen Judentums in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Heidelberg, Germany: Winter, 2000.

A pioneering collection of essays on the early modern period, following Jonathan Israel's initial narrative (see Israel 1998 under General Overviews), focusing especially on central Europe.

Anthologies on Ashkenazic Jewry

Bartal and Gutman 1997 offers a rich selection of essays on early modern and modern Poland. Hsia and Lehmann 1995 presents a useful selection of essays on Jewish life in medieval and early modern Germany. These are well complemented by Bell and Burnett 2006.

Bartal, Yisra'el, and Israel Gutman, eds. *Ḳiyum ye-Shever: Yehude Polin le-Dorotehem*. 2 vols. Jerusalem: Merkaz Zalman Shazar, 1997.

The most up-to-date anthology of essays on Polish Jewish history, of which the first volume focuses on the early modern period.

Bell, Dean Philip, and Stephen Burnett, eds. *Jews, Judaism and the Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Germany*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2006.

A most useful collection of recent essays on Jews in the period of the Reformation.

Hsia, R. Po-chia, and Harmut Lehmann, eds. *In and out of the Ghetto: Jewish–Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*. Washington, DC: German Historical Institute, 1995.

An important collection focusing on early modern Germany and Jewish–Christian relations.

Anthologies on Italian and Sephardic Jewry

Ruderman 1992 and Ruderman and Veltri 2004 offer two collections of essays by leading scholars of early modern Jewish history in Italy. Beinart 1992, Rodrigue 1992, and Levy 1994 are important collections of essays on Spanish and Ottoman Jewries in the early modern period. Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian 2004 provides a useful collection of articles on the Converso Diaspora.

Beinart, Haim, ed. *Moreshet Sepharad: The Sephardic Legacy*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992.

Contains many important synthetic essays on the history of Spanish Jewry both prior and following the expulsion of 1492.

Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, ed. *La Diaspora des Nouveaux-Chrétiens*. Lisbon, Portugal: Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004.

A rich sampling of recent scholarship on the Converso Diaspora by many of the leading scholars in the field.

Levy, Avigdor, ed. *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Darwin, 1994.

One of several anthologies prepared by the editor including several seminal essays on the early history of Ottoman Jewry.

Rodrigue, Aron, ed. *Ottoman and Turkish Jewry: Community and Leadership*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992.

A collection that complements Levy's volume and extends into the modern period.

Ruderman, David, ed. *Essential Papers on Jewish Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Italy*. New York: New York University Press, 1992.

A collection that includes most of the leading contributors to the field as of 1992 with several essays that have subsequently become foundational for the history of Renaissance Jewry.

Ruderman, David B., and Giuseppe Veltri, eds. *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

A follow-up and extension of Ruderman 1992, based on a conference in Wolfenbüttel, Germany, comprising to a great extent contributions of a younger generation of scholars.

Surveys of Major Subcommunities

While few historians have undertaken a synthetic overview of early modern Jewish history, as previously mentioned, several have focused on specific Jewish subcultures or regional identities, emphasizing the unique conditions of the latter and less those that transcended or bridged these local differences on a more global scale. In some cases, their reflections on one specific region have yielded important insights in conceptualizing the entire period as a whole.

Italian, Western and Eastern Sephardic Communities

Bonfil 1994 offers a provocative interpretation of the history of Italian Jewry in early modern Europe, while Kaplan 2000 presents the author's most important collection of essays on Amsterdam and the Converso Diaspora. Bodian 1997 and Swetschinski 2000 offer complementary portraits of Dutch Jewry in the early modern period. Ben-Naeh 2008 is a recent survey of the history of Ottoman Jewry.

Ben-Naeh, Yaron. *Jews in the Realm of the Sultans*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.

An important survey of primarily the 17th and 18th centuries that complements the many essays on the previous century of Joseph Hacker (cited under Mobility, Migration, and Social Mixing, Communal Organization, The Printing of the Hebrew Book, and Expansion of Intellectual Horizons: Poland and the Ottoman Empire).

Bodian, Miriam. *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.

An accessible and well-informed overview of Converso history in early modern Amsterdam.

Bonfil, Robert. *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy*. Translated by Anthony Oldcorn. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

An important and original statement about the meaning of Italian Jewish history in the Renaissance and Ghetto period by a leading historian.

Kaplan, Yosef. *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardic Diaspora in Western Europe*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000.

An indispensable collection of pioneering essays on the cultural history of the Converso Diaspora by the leading contemporary historian in the field.

Swetschinski, Daniel M. *Reluctant Cosmopolitans: The Portuguese Jews of Seventeenth Century Amsterdam*. London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000.

Another important survey of Amsterdam Jewry in its "Golden Age" studded with original insights.

Germany and Eastern Europe

Hundert 2004 and Rosman 2002 masterfully describe Polish Jewish history, while Breuer 1996 surveys skillfully Jewish history in Germanic lands. Feiner 2004 is an important synthesis of the Jewish Enlightenment in central Europe

Breuer, Mordechai. "The Early Modern Period." In *German-Jewish History in Modern Times*. Vol. 1, *Tradition and Enlightenment*. Edited by Michael Meyer, 79–260. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

The best overview in English of the history of German Jewry in a period relatively neglected until recently.

Feiner, Shmuel. *The Jewish Enlightenment*. Translated by Chaya Naor. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

A masterful synopsis of Feiner's extensive writings on the *Haskalah*, arguing for its critical importance in the modernization and secularization of European Jewry. See also Viewing the Modern Era in the Light of the Early Modern.

Hundert, Gershon. *Jews in Poland-Lithuania in the Eighteenth Century: A Genealogy of Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

An important summary of Jewish social and cultural history with some unique speculations on the meaning of modernity for European Jewish history.

Rosman, Moshe. "Innovative Tradition: Jewish Culture in the Polish Commonwealth." In *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*. Edited by David Biale, 519–570. New York: Schocken, 2002.

A succinct and insightful overview of the cultural history of Polish Jewry dealing as well with the period before the 18th century.

England and France

Endelman 1999, Katz 1994, and Berkowitz 2004 are the best overviews of English and French Jewish history in the early modern period.

Berkowitz, Jay R. *Rites and Passages: The Beginnings of Modern Jewish Culture in France, 1650–1860*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

A fresh and original survey of the Jewish cultures and societies of Ashkenazim and Sephardim in France.

Endelman, Todd M. *The Jews of Georgian England 1714–1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

A classic and elegant presentation of early modern English Jewish history, focusing primarily on social history. Originally published in 1979.

Katz, David S. *The Jews in the History of England 1485–1850*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

A masterful survey focusing on Jewish–Christian relations, including intellectual ones, complementing and enlarging on Endelman's pioneering work.

Mobility, Migration, and Social Mixing

The forced migrations of entire populations by governments as well as the voluntary migrations of individuals motivated to improve their economic and social standing are surely significant factors for most early modern peoples, but especially for Jews. An accelerated mobility led to enhanced contacts between Jews and other Jews of differing backgrounds, traditions, and even languages, and between Jews and non-Jews. These contacts, in turn, engendered strains and stresses, leading both to rapid cultural change and reactionary conservatism. From the perspective of Jewish history, the expulsions from Spain and Portugal of 1492 and 1497 have long been viewed as watersheds, but large-scale Jewish migrations in subsequent centuries affecting both Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews were also decisive in the lives of early modern Jews. Many migrants were also carriers of culture and literacy, and thus it would be fair to conclude that migration was not

only an essential condition of the social history of this community but also decisive in the shaping of its Jewish culture. Shinan 1982 focuses on the general theme of Jewish mobility. Hacker 1993 examines the impact of the Spanish expulsion. Kaplan 2000 and Shulvass 1971 discuss several aspects of Ashkenazic migration. Converso migratory patterns are discussed in Israel 2002, Kaplan 1985, Graizbard 2004, and Oliel-Grausz 2004. On intellectual and cultural mobility, see the suggestive essay Idel 1998.

Graizbard, David. *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

An important study of Conversos living in southern France seeking to return to the Iberian peninsula from which they had previously fled.

Hacker, Joseph. "Spanish Émigrés in the Ottoman Empire in the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries." In *Ha-Pezurah ha-Yehudit ha-Sefaradit Aḥare ha-Gerush*. Edited by Michel Abitbul, Joseph Hacker, Robert Bonfil, and Esther Benbassa, 27–72. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 1993.

A comprehensive overview of the migration of Sephardim to the Ottoman Empire over several centuries. In Hebrew.

Idel, Moshe. "On Mobility, Individuals, and Groups: Prolegomenon for a Sociological Approach to Sixteenth Century Kabbalah." *Kabbalah* 3 (1998): 145–173.

An essay on the role of mobility in shaping Kabbalistic writing suggestive of other forms of literary creativity as well.

Israel, Jonathan I. *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews, and the World Maritime Empires (1540–1740)*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2002.

A masterful summary of the networks of Converso migrants in Europe, Asia, and the New World.

Kaplan, Yosef. "The Travels of Portuguese Jews from Amsterdam to the 'Lands of Idolatry' (1644–1724)." In *Jews and Conversos: Studies in Society and the Inquisition; Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 16–21, 1981*. Edited by Yosef Kaplan, 197–224. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1985.

A pioneering study on the return of Amsterdam Jews to Spain and Portugal despite the obvious dangers they faced in a land that had previously forced them to leave.

Kaplan, Yosef. "Amsterdam and Ashkenazi Migration in the Seventeenth Century." In *An Alternative Path to Modernity: The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe*. By Yosef Kaplan, 78–107. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000.

A seminal essay on the role of Amsterdam as a magnet of Ashkenazic migrants coming from the East in search of political and economic security.

Oliel-Grausz, Evelyn. "La Diaspora Séfarde au Xviii Siècle: Communication, Espace, Réseaux." In *La Diaspora des Nouveaux-Chrétiens*. Edited by Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 55–71. Lisbon, Portugal: Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004.

An overview of the cultural aspects of Converso economic and social networks in early modern Europe.

Shinan, Avigdor, ed. *Hagirah ye-Hityashvut be-Yiśra'el uya-'Amim: Kovets Ma'amarim*. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 1982.

A wide-ranging collection including essays on Spanish and Italian migrations.

Shulvass, Moses. *From East to West: The Westward Migration of Jews from Eastern Europe during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971.

A classic description of the “reverse” migration of Ashkenazic Jews from eastern to western Europe from the 17th century.

Communal Organization

Scholars have long noted the prominent growth of relatively powerful Jewish communal organizations during the early modern period. In The Netherlands, in Italy, with the founding of the Ghetto, in Germany, in the Ottoman Empire, and especially in eastern Europe, these more elaborate and complex institutions functioned most effectively in representing their Jewish constituencies before local governments and in providing religious, educational, and social services to their individual members. The pinnacle of this remarkable development was realized in eastern Europe, where a vast federation of local and regional Jewish communities banded together to create the so-called Council of the Four Lands. This mega-institution represented one of the most imposing structures of Jewish autonomy ever constituted in the diaspora. All of these communal structures generally had one characteristic in common: the growing decline of rabbinic authority and the rising power of lay oligarchies, although local variations should be carefully noticed. They also raise the intriguing question as to what extent their existence was a direct function of the conscious policy of the political states that supported them. Baron 1942–1948 and Grossman and Kaplan 2004 offer wide-ranging surveys of the history of Jewish communal institutions. Bonfil 1990 studies the Italian communities in general through the institution of the rabbinate, while Siegmund 2006 focuses on one community, that of Florence. Gotzmann 2008 offers a highly detailed portrait of Jewish communal life in Germanic lands. Teller 2000 focuses on the growing power of lay leaders in eastern Europe, and Teller 2010 offers a valuable comparative study of the political status of Jews in central and eastern Europe. Hacker 1984 and Hacker 1988 provide significant studies of the rabbinate and the limits of communal autonomy in the Ottoman Empire. Lehmann 2014 offers an important portrait of a new group of Jewish communal leaders creating philanthropic networks across Jewish sub-communities. Also related to this section are Katz 1993 (cited under General Overviews), which offers a sociological portrait of the eastern European community and its decline, and Swetschinski 2000 (cited under Italian, Western, and Eastern Sephardic Communities), which describes the emergence of the Sephardic community in Amsterdam.

Baron, Salo W. *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1942–1948.

The classic survey of the subject, still worthy of consideration despite its age.

Bonfil, Robert. *Rabbis and Jewish Communities in Renaissance Italy*. Translated by Jonathan Chipman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

A meticulous investigation of the rabbinate and Jewish communal life in Italy in the early modern period.

Gotzmann, Andreas. *Jüdische Autonomie in der Frühen Neuzeit: Recht und Gemeinschaft im deutschen Judentum*. Göttingen, Germany: Wallstein, 2008.

A comprehensive treatment of the subject presented with overwhelming detail and extensive narrative.

Grossman, Abraham, and Yosef Kaplan, eds. *Ḳehal Yiśra'el: Ha-Shilṭon ha-'Atsmi ha-Yehudi le-Dorotay*. Vol. 2, *Yeme Ha-Benayin V'eha-'et ha-Ḥadashah ha-Muḳdemet*. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 2004.

A useful summary of the subject with several key essays on the early modern period.

Hacker, Joseph. “The Chief Rabbinate in the Ottoman Empire in the Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries.” *Zion* 49.3 (1984): 225–263.

He argues that the chief rabbinate as a long-standing institution among Ottoman Jews was more myth than reality. In Hebrew.

Lehmann, Matthias B. *Emissaries from the Holy Land: The Sephardic Diaspora and the Practice of Pan-Judaism in the Eighteenth Century*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2014.

A important study of the philanthropic networks of Jewish emissaries from the Holy Land underscoring their agency in attempting to create a trans-regional early modern Jewish community.

Hacker, Joseph. "The Boundaries of Jewish Autonomy: Jewish Self-Jurisdiction in the Ottoman Empire from the Sixteenth through Eighteenth Centuries." In *Temurot be-Historiah ha-Yehudit ha-Hadashah*. Edited by Shlomo Almog, 349–388. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 1988.

The most important statement about the complex nature of Jewish communal autonomy in the Ottoman Empire. In Hebrew but includes a summary in English.

Siegmund, Stefanie. *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006.

A case study of one unique Jewish community in Florence based on the extensive Medici archives, in which the argument is made that the state actually "created" the ghettoized Jewish community.

Teller, Adam. "The Laicization of Early Modern Jewish Society: The Development of the Polish Communal Rabbinate in the Sixteenth Century." In *Schöpferische Momente der Europäischen Judentums in der Frühun Neuzeit*. Edited by Michael Graetz, 333–349. Heidelberg, Germany: Winter, 2000.

An important argument about the rising power of lay elites within the Polish Jewish community, a theme applicable to other Jewish communities in early modern Europe.

Teller, Adam. "Telling the Difference: Some Comparative Perspectives on the Jews' Legal Status in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Holy Roman Empire." *Polin* 22 (2010): 109–141.

An insightful and rare comparison of the political and legal status of Jews living simultaneously in the Polish commonwealth and in Germanic lands.

Knowledge Explosion

Early modern Jews, in ways paralleling but also deviating from their Christian neighbors, experienced a profound knowledge explosion within their communities, precipitated especially by the technology of the printing press. Other factors also played a role in this new cultural revolution, such as a growing interest in Jewish books on the part of Christian readers, pressures to expand the traditional curriculum of Jewish learning by primary and secondary elites, and the conspicuous entrance of Jewish students into the universities. This general transformation, more than all the others, seems to be constant and repercussive throughout the entire period and needs to be seen in relation to the factors of mobility and social mixing previously mentioned.

The Printing of the Hebrew Book

The emergence of the printed Jewish book surely revolutionized the manner in which Jewish tradition was transmitted to both Jews and Christians, expanded the intellectual horizons of many Jews with relative degrees of intensity, and made them more aware of their cultural

connections with their own coreligionists scattered in far-off regions. The migration of the printed Hebrew and Yiddish book from Venice into eastern Europe created a crisis for the rabbinic elites, arresting considerably the previously open exegetical processes of an oral and manuscript culture, establishing canonical texts not easily “invaded” by scribal interpolations, and diminishing the teacher’s authoritative capacity for determining the law. The printing press also produced cheap books in ample supply, published inexpensively and quickly, and authored by secondary elites who could choose to write on whatever they chose, no longer supervised nor controlled by rabbinic or lay authorities. The ultimate result was new readers, men, women, and children, who gained access to books in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Ladino. The Hebrew printing revolution is especially discussed by Reiner 1989, Reiner 1997a, and Reiner 1997b. See also Gries 1992 and Gries 2007. See as well the study of eastern European books by Elbaum 1990; of Italian ones, by Baruchson-Arbib 1993; and of Ottoman ones, by Hacker 1972. On the critical issue of the censorship of Hebrew books, see Raz-Krakotzkin 2007.

Baruchson-Arbib, Shifra. *Sefarim ye-Kor'im: Tarbut Ha-Ḳeri'ah shel Yehude Italyah be-Shilhe Ha-Renesans*. Ramat Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1993.

A pioneering study of the libraries and reading habits of Italian Jews during the late Renaissance. Also available in French as *La Culture Livresque des Juifs d'Italie à la Fin de la Renaissance*, translated by Gabrielle Roth (Paris: CNRS, 2001).

Elbaum, Jacob. *Petiḥut ye-Histagrut: Ha-Yetsirah ha-Ruḥanit-Ha-Sifrutit be-Polin uve-Artsot Ashkenaz be-Shilhe Ha-Me'ah Ha-Shesh-'Ésreh*. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 1990.

An indispensable encyclopedic summary of the printed literary output of Ashkenazic Jews until the end of the 16th century.

Gries, Zeev. “Print as a Means of Communication between Jewish Communities in the Period Close to the Spanish Expulsion.” *Da'at: A Journal of Jewish Philosophy & Kabbalah* 28 (1992): 5–18.

An important essay on the early history of print focusing on intercommunal connections through books. In Hebrew.

Gries, Zeev. *The Book in the Jewish World: 1700–1900*. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2007.

An important synopsis of the history of the Jewish book in the late early modern period, summarizing as well as the author’s earlier work on the Hasidic book.

Hacker, Joseph. “The Hebrew Press in Constantinople in the Sixteenth Century.” *Aresheet* 5 (1972): 457–493.

A classic description of Hebrew printing in Constantinople, a phenomenon that preceded the first printings of Arabic and Turkish books by many years. In Hebrew.

Raz-Krakotzkin, Amnon. *The Censor, the Editor, and the Text: The Catholic Church and the Shaping of the Jewish Canon in the Sixteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

A brilliant and provocative reading of the role of censorship in early modern Jewish book culture, integrating the subject into the broader trends of Jewish cultural formation in this period.

Reiner, Elhanan. “Transformations in the Polish and Ashkenazic Yeshivot during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and the Dispute over Pilpul.” In *Ke-Minhag Ashkenaz ye-Polin: Sefer Yovel le-Ḳon Shmeruk. Ḳovetsmeḥḳarim Be-Tarbut Yehudit*. Edited by Yisra'el Barṭal, Chava Turniansky, and Ezra Mendelsohn, 9–80. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 1989.

A classic essay on the transformation of reading practices, education, and the study of the Talmud in the light of the availability of new Hebrew books in the early modern period. In Hebrew.

Reiner, Elhanan. "The Ashkenazic Elite at the Beginning of the Modern Era: Manuscript versus Printed Text." In *Jews in Early Modern Poland*. Edited by Gershon Hundert, 85–98. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1997a.

A part of Reiner's pioneering elucidation of the printing revolution among eastern European Jews focusing on the transition from manuscript to print culture.

Reiner, Elhanan. "The Attitude of Ashkenazi Society to the New Science in the Sixteenth Century." *Science in Context* 10 (1997b): 589–603

Reiner clarifies here the absorption of new ideas within rabbinic culture of Poland-Lithuania in the context of the market in new printed books. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

The Printing of Yiddish and Ladino Books

Works written in Yiddish and Ladino were similarly transformed by the printing press. On Yiddish books, see Berger 2004 and Berger 2006; on books in Ladino, see Molcho 1959 and Lehmann 2005.

Berger, Shlomo. "An Invitation to Buy and Read: Paratexts of Yiddish Books in Amsterdam 1650–1800." *Book History* 7 (2004): 31–61.

A welcome study of Yiddish books in Amsterdam with special attention to their material design. Available online by subscription.

Berger, Shlomo. *Yiddish and Jewish Modernization in the 18th Century*. Braun Lectures in the History of the Jews in Prussia 12. Ramat Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 2006.

Another important study of Berger on the Yiddish press in Amsterdam as center of printing for both western and eastern European Jews. In Hebrew.

Lehmann, Matthias B. *Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.

An important contribution to the flowering of Ladino literature in the Ottoman Empire from the 18th century.

Molcho, Yitshak. "La Littérature Judéo-Espanole en Turquie au Premier Siècle Apres les Expulsions d'Espagne et du Portugal." *Tesor de los Judios Sefardies* 1 (1959): 15–53.

An early description of Judeo-Spanish books published in earlier centuries, prior to the corpus discussed by Lehmann.

The Christian Study of Judaism in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Christian Hebraism has a long history before the early modern period and individual Christian scholars pursued Hebraic subjects throughout the Middle Ages, but by the end of the 15th century, two significant changes in the cultural landscape of European Christendom profoundly affected Christian involvement in the Jewish book. The first was the influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation on Christian Hebraic scholarship, and the second was the critical impact of the printing press on the production and dissemination of classical Hebrew texts. The primary Hebraists of the Renaissance were Pico della Mirandola and Johann Reuchlin. On an important medieval Christian reader of Hebraica, see Klepper 2007. On Pico, see Lelli 1997 and Wirszubski 1989. On Reuchlin and his contemporaries, see Friedman 1983 and Rummel 2002. On other aspects of the Christian study of the Kabbalah, see Schmidt-Biggeman 2003.

Friedman, Jerome. *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth Century Christian–Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1983.

A pioneering overview of Hebraist scholarship on the part of several key figures associated primarily with the Reformation, despite its ambiguous title.

Klepper, Deena Copeland. *The Insight of Unbelievers: Nicholas of Lyra and Christian Reading of Jewish Text in the Later Middle Ages.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

A fine contribution demonstrating Nicholas's mastery of Rashi and Ashkenazic biblical exegesis, which he relied on in writing his own Latin works.

Lelli, Fabrizio. "Yohanan Alemanno, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e la Cultura Ebraica Italiana del XV Secolo." In *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Convegno internazionale di studi nel cinquecentesimo anniversario della morte, 1494–1994, Mirandola, 4–8 ottobre 1994.* Vol. 2. Edited by Gian Carlo Garfagnini, 303–326. Florence: Olschki, 1997.

A good summary of the relationship between Pico and his major Jewish mentor in the study of Jewish literature.

Rummel, Erika. *The Case against Johann Reuchlin: Social and Religious Controversy in Sixteenth-Century Germany.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

A useful presentation of Reuchlin's famous defense of the Talmud against the threat of his contemporary Johannes Pfefferkorn to burn the latter.

Schmidt-Biggeman, Wilhelm, ed. *Christliche Kabbala.* Ostfildern, Germany: Thorbecke, 2003.

A valuable volume of essays on the Christian study of the Kabbalah, a prelude to the editor's soon to be published multivolume work.

Wirszubski, Chaim. *Pico della Mirandola's Encounter with Jewish Mysticism.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

A masterful reading of Pico's transformation of Jewish Kabbalah into Christian Kabbalah, through the guidance of his teacher Flavius Mithridates.

The Christian Study of Judaism: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

By the 17th century, Hebraic studies reached new heights among a gifted circle of Christian scholars in Germany, France, England, and The Netherlands. Christian Hebraism constituted an intellectual explosion fed by print and university learning, both an expression of a Christian spiritual quest for reform and a vital part of the rediscovery of ancient civilizations on the part of certain elites throughout early modern Europe. Important overviews of Christian Hebraism, especially in this later period, include Manuel 1992, Coudert and Shoulson 2004, and Burnett 1996. Two recent important contributions are Rosenblatt 2006 and Grafton and Weinberg 2010.

Burnett, Stephen G. *From Christian Hebraism to Jewish Studies: Johannes Buxtorf (1564–1629) and Hebrew Learning in the Seventeenth Century.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1996.

An essential study of a significant Christian Hebraist of the 17th century and his impact on the development of Jewish studies in northern Europe.

Coudert, Allison, and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, eds. *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists, Jews, and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

The result of a year of study by a group of scholars at the Katz Center of the University of Pennsylvania, containing several critical studies in the field.

Grafton, Anthony, and Joanna Weinberg. *"I Have Always Loved the Holy Tongue": Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2010.

An elegant and impressive collaboration between two important historians demonstrating the importance of Hebraic learning for a well-known classical scholar, with an addition by Alastair Hamilton on Casaubon's Arabic learning (see "The Long Apprenticeship: Casaubon and Arabic," pp. 307–328).

Manuel, Frank. *The Broken Staff: Judaism through Christian Eyes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

A readable and thoughtful summary by a major scholar of the Enlightenment, written unfortunately with little annotation and references to contemporary scholarship.

Rosenblatt, Jason P. *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi: John Selden*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

A well-researched and elegant study of the Hebraism of one of Europe's most learned scholars of rabbinic literature.

Expansion of Intellectual Horizons in Italy and Amsterdam

Print not only refashioned traditional modes of Jewish study while facilitating a new Christian readership of Jewish books; it also helped modify the very notion of what constituted Jewish knowledge. Of course, cultural tastes and choices were determined by larger cultural forces than print alone. Nevertheless, the print revolution made Jewish intellectuals—especially in dynamic cultural centers such as Mantua, Venice, Amsterdam, Istanbul, and Prague—more aware of the multiple sources of human knowledge and experience. Bombarded by new books in print, they, like other readers, were encouraged to expand their cultural horizons, to integrate and correlate the vast range of sources and ideas now available to them with those of their own intellectual legacy. No doubt, the absorption of this new knowledge varied to a considerable extent among Jews living in Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and northern and eastern Europe. But, in one way or another, no Jewish reader could be indifferent to the remarkable changes in the literary landscape. One group in particular was profoundly affected by the new learning in science and medicine. These were Jewish students admitted to the University of Padua's medical school and eventually to other medical schools in the rest of Italy and northern Europe as well. On the expansion of the cultural horizons of a 15th-century Italian Jewish philosopher, see Rabinowitz 1983, and on a 16th-century polymath, see de' Rossi 2001. On a group of cultural intermediaries, see the edited volumes of Ruderman 1992 and Ruderman and Veltri 2004. On the cultural ambiance of Sephardic Amsterdam and the Conversos in general, see Kaplan 1989, Saperstein 2005, and Yerushalmi 1971. On Jewish involvement in science and medicine in Italy and throughout Europe, see Ruderman 2001.

de' Rossi, Azariah ben Mosesi. *The Light of the Eyes*. Translated by Joanna Weinberg. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.

The complete translation with an introduction and annotations of this massive tome of historiographical reflections composed by a brilliant Jewish polymath of late-16th-century Mantua, Italy.

Kaplan, Yosef. *From Christianity to Judaism: The Story of Isaac Orobrío de Castro*. Translated by Raphael Loewe. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989.

A classic biography of a major figure of Amsterdam's elite against the background of his society and culture.

Rabinowitz, Isaac, ed. and trans. *The Book of the Honeycomb's Flow = Sēpher Nōpheth Sūphīm*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

A critical edition and English translation of a Hebrew rhetorical handbook, illustrating the profound cultural interactions between Jewish thought and Renaissance culture in the late 15th century.

Ruderman, David. *Jewish Thought and Scientific Discovery in Early Modern Europe*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001.

A comprehensive study of the impact of the new science and medicine on Jewish thinkers from the 16th to the late 18th centuries. Originally published in 1995.

Ruderman, David, ed. *Preachers of the Italian Ghetto*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.

A unique collection of essays about Jewish preachers in Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries, highlighting their roles as intermediaries between high and low cultures and between Jewish and Christian societies.

Ruderman, David B., and Giuseppe Veltri, eds. *Cultural Intermediaries: Jewish Intellectuals in Early Modern Italy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

This collection offers variegated portraits of Jewish intellectuals, mostly residing in Italy during the early modern period, and their broad cultural interactions with the surrounding cultures.

Saperstein, Marc. *Exile in Amsterdam: Saul Levi Morteira's Sermons to a Congregation of "New Jews."* Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2005.

A colorful portrait of Amsterdam's leading Jewish preacher and the social and cultural world that he inhabited.

Yerushalmi, Yosef H. *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto: Isaac Cardoso. A Study in Seventeenth Century Marranism and Jewish Apologetics*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

An elegant and learned biography of a major Converso intellectual and his physical and intellectual journey from the Iberian peninsula to the ghetto of Verona, Italy, within the larger context of Converso society in the 17th century.

Expansion of Intellectual Horizons: Poland and the Ottoman Empire

On Jewish intellectual activity in the Ottoman Empire, see Hacker 1984 and Tirosh-Samuels 1997. On Yiddish culture in Amsterdam, see Berger 2004 (cited under The Printing of Yiddish and Ladino Books). On Prague, see Efron 1997; on Poland–Lithuania, see Rosman 2002.

Efron, Noah. "Irenism and Natural Philosophy in Rudolphine Prague: The Case of David Gans." *Science in Context* 10 (1997): 627–650.

An overview of the cultural world of David Gans, a scientific author of Prague's Jewish community. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Hacker, Joseph. “Intellectual Activity among the Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.” *Tarbiz* 53(1984): 569–603.

An expansive summary of cultural production in the heyday of Ottoman Jewish society. In Hebrew.

Rosman, Moshe. “Innovative Tradition: Jewish Culture in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.” In *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*. Edited by David Biale, 519–570. New York: Schocken, 2002.

A welcome description of Polish Jewish cultural production with an appreciation of the interactions between Polish and Jewish societies.

Tirosh-Samuelson, Hava, “The Ultimate End of Human Life in Postexpulsion Philosophic Literature.” In *Crisis and Creativity in the Sephardic World 1391–1648*. Edited by Benjamin R. Gampel, 223–254. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

An intelligent study of Jewish philosophical reflection primarily among Sephardic exiles residing in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century.

Crisis of Rabbinic Authority

All three aforementioned factors—accelerated mobility, the laicization of the Jewish communal leadership, and a knowledge explosion engendered by print—contributed to an eventual crisis of rabbinic authority in the late 17th and 18th centuries. The crisis was not directly linked to other political, social, and economic crises afflicting European society as a whole from the 17th century on, nor was it apparently the result of the controversy over Benedict Spinoza’s philosophy. It rather expressed itself primarily in the forms of active messianism, mystical prophecy, radical enthusiasm, and heresy associated with the enigmatic figure of Shabbetai Zevi and his disciples. In the 18th century, it led to a series of internal convulsions and public debates, creating fear and foreboding among rabbinic leaders and precipitating a counteraction to the alleged heresy of such contentious figures as Nehemiah Hiyya Hayon, Jonathan Eiybeshütz, Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, and especially Jacob Frank. One might even be entitled to label the campaign of the rabbinic establishment against the Sabbateans (followers of Shabbetai Zevi) and Frankists (followers of Jacob Frank), led by such heresy-hunters as Jacob Sasportas, Moses Hagiz, and Jacob Emden, as the emergence of “orthodoxy” in modern Jewish culture. On Shabbetai Zevi, see especially Scholem 1973 and Scholem 1991. On the critique and refinement of Scholem’s reconstruction of Sabbateanism, see Liebes 1993, Idel 1993, Elior 2001, Barnai 2000, and Goldish 2004. The best treatment of 18th-century Sabbateanism is Carlebach 1990 and of Frankism, Macieko 2011. On Converso messianism, see Goldish 2001; on Christian reactions to Shabbetai Zevi, see Heyd 2004.

Barnai, Ya’akov. *Shabta’ut: Hebetim Hevratim*. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 2000.

A recent interpretation of the Sabbatean movement, emphasizing its connection with messianic Conversos and the networks of communication in spreading the ideology of the messiah.

Carlebach, Elisheva. *The Pursuit of Heresy: Rabbi Moses Hagiz and the Sabbatian Controversies*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.

The best treatment of the 18th-century public debates over Sabbateanism as seen from the perspective of one of its main opponents, Rabbi Moses Hagiz.

Goldish, Matt D. “Patterns in Converso Messianism.” In *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*. Vol. 1, *Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World*. Edited by Matt D. Goldish and Richard H. Popkin, 41–64. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer, 2001.

An important description of the messianic proclivities of Conversos returning to the Jewish community in the 17th century.

Goldish, Matt D. *The Sabbatean Prophets*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

A new interpretation of the early years of the Sabbatean movement, refining and revising the views of Scholem and Idel and placing the movement in a wider European context.

Elior, Rachel, ed. *Ha-Ḥalom ye-Shivro: Ha-Tenua'ah ha-Shabta'it u-Sheluḥoteha: Meshiḥiyut, Shabta'ut u-Frankizm*. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 2001.

A useful anthology of recent essays on Sabbateanism based on a major Jerusalem conference.

Heyd, Michael, "The Jewish Quaker": Christian Perceptions of Sabbatai Zevi as an Enthusiast." In *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists, Jews, and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by Allison Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, 234–265. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

A thoughtful examination of the reactions of Christian contemporaries to Shabbetai Zevi within the context of Heyd's previous writing on enthusiasm and anti-enthusiasm.

Idel, Moshe. "One from a Town, Two from a Clan': The Diffusion of Lurianic Kabbala and Sabbateanism: A Re-evaluation." *Jewish History* 7.2 (1993): 79–104.

One of the first critiques of Scholem's view that Sabbateanism is the result of the dissemination of Lurianic Kabbalah from the 16th century on. Available online by subscription.

Liebes, Yehudah. "Sabbatean Messianism." In *Studies in Jewish Myth and Jewish Messianism*. By Yehudah Liebes, 93–106. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.

A succinct summary of Liebes's own understanding of Sabbateanism based on his careful study of Scholem's essays and his own research.

Maciejko, Pawel. *The Mixed Multitude: Jacob Frank and the Frankist Movement, 1755–1816*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

A totally new reconstruction of the Frankist movement based on contemporary Hebrew writings and archival sources in Polish and other languages.

Scholem, Gershom G. *Sabbatai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah, 1626–1676*. Translated by R. J. Zwi Werblowsky. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Scholem's grand reconstruction of Shabbetai Zevi extending through the lifetime of the messiah.

Scholem, Gershom G. *Meḥqere Shabta'ut*. Edited by Yehudah Liebes. Tel Aviv, Israel: Am Oved, 1991.

An important collection of Scholem's major essays on Sabbateanism carefully revised and updated by Liebes.

Mingled Identities

Along with the unmanageable explosion of knowledge triggered by printed books, the curtailment of rabbinic authority by lay leaders and governmental officials, and the Sabbatean threat, the rabbis of the 17th and 18th centuries had an additional reason to feel anxious and threatened. They witnessed the recurrent and conspicuous boundary crossings between Judaism and Christianity (and sometimes, as in the case of the Dönme, the Sabbatean offshoot, between Judaism and Islam) on the part of a small but conspicuous number of Jews and Christians.

Conversos and Sabbateans

This blurring of religious identities manifested itself among four groups whose identities were sometimes overlapping and ambiguous. They include Conversos who attempted to reenter the Jewish community while some reversed themselves and returned to their former Christian states, and Sabbateans and Frankists who constructed multiple identities based on a merger of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity. On Converso border crossings, see Graizbard 2004, Kaplan 1994, Kaplan 1999, and García-Aranel and Wiegiers 2003. On Sabbatean syncretism, see Wirshubski 1942, Scholem 1971, Liebes 1995, Wolfson 2001, and Maciejko 2006.

García-Aranel, Mercedes, and Gerald Wiegiers. *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, A Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*. Translated by Martin Beagles. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

A remarkable case study of a Jew with multiple religious identities who changes his religion to suit his political and business needs.

Graizbord, David L. *Souls in Dispute: Converso Identities in Iberia and the Jewish Diaspora, 1580–1700*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Offers a careful study of Conversos in southern France dissatisfied with their new Jewish identities and willing to risk their lives and security to return to their former Catholic environment.

Kaplan, Yosef. "Wayward New Christians and Stubborn Jews: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity." *Jewish History* 8.1–2 (1994): 27–41.

A further discussion of the complex and unstable identities of Conversos linked by race and ethnic identity with malleable religious identities. Available online by subscription.

Kaplan, Yosef. "The Struggle against Travelers to Spain and Portugal in the Western Sephardi Diaspora." *Zion* 64.1 (1999): 65–100.

The attempts of the Amsterdam Jewish community to prevent the wave of backsliding Conversos unwilling to live with their new Jewish identities in Amsterdam and wishing to return to the country that had persecuted them. In Hebrew.

Liebes, Yehudah, "On a Secret Jewish-Christian Sect Whose Source Is in Sabbateanism." In *Sod ha-Emunah ha-Shabta'it: Kovets ma'amarim*. By Yehudah Liebes, 212–237. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1995.

An essay claiming the existence of a sect of Sabbatean syncretists under the influence of Jonathan Eiybeshütz, a claim partially challenged by Pawel Maciejko in a later work. In Hebrew.

Maciejko, Pawel. "Christian Elements in Early Frankist Doctrine." *Gal-Ed: On the History and Culture of Polish Jewry* 20 (2006): 13–42.

A careful delineation of the impact of Christian theology on Jacob Frank and his disciples, expanded in the author's new book (cited under Crisis of Rabbinic Authority).

Scholem, Gershom G. "The Crypto-Jewish Sect of the Dönme (Sabbateans) in Turkey." In *The Messianic Idea in Judaism and Other Essays in Jewish Spirituality*. By Gershom G. Scholem, 142–166. New York: Schocken, 1971.

A classic account of a group of Sabbateans who followed the example of Shabbetai Zevi and converted to Islam while living in the Ottoman Empire.

Wirshubski, Chaim. "The Sabbatean Kabbalist R. Moses David of Podhayce." *Zion* 7 (1942): 73–93.

A classic essay on a disciple of Jonathan Eiybeshütz who constructed a religious identity mixing Jewish and Christian elements. In Hebrew.

Wolfson, Elliot. "Messianism in the Christian Kabbalah of Johann Kemper." In *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture*. Vol. 1, *Jewish Messianism in the Early Modern World*. Edited by Matt D. Goldish and Richard H. Popkin, 139–188. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer, 2001.

A rich study of an eastern European Kabbalist who made his way to Sweden to teach the famous mystic Emanuel Swedenborg and articulated an ideology merging Judaism and Christianity.

Converts and Hebraists

Those with mingled identities also include individual Jewish converts to Christianity who struggled to find a place for themselves either in their newly adopted communities or their former ones, and some Christian Hebraists fascinated with and drawn closer to Judaism in their own searches for authenticity and identity. The implications of these new mingled identities were profound for Jews living in early modern Europe in constructing a new definition of Jewish identity based on human autonomy rather than communal will. The impact on Christians was less profound but clearly promoted Judaism as an object of intense scrutiny for Christian scholars, clergy, and others as part of a complex reevaluation of Christianity in relation to other cultures and civilizations in early modern Europe. On the complex identities of individual converts, see Carlebach 2001, Fraenkel-Goldschmidt 1989, and Ruderman 2007. On Christian Hebraists and their complex relations with Jews and Judaism, see Coudert 1999 and Coudert 2004, Mulsow and Popkin 2004, van den Berg and van der Wall 1988, and Popkin and Weiner 1994.

Carlebach, Elisheva. *Divided Souls: Converts from Judaism in Germany 1500–1750*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.

The first comprehensive treatment of the subject with ample leads for future scholarship.

Coudert, Allison P. *The Impact of the Kabbalah in the Seventeenth Century: The Life and Thought of Francis Mercury van Helmont (1614–1698)*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1999.

A provocative and thoughtful presentation of the influence of Kabbalistic thinking on a major and complex Christian thinker.

Coudert, Allison P. "Five Seventeenth-Century Christian Hebraists." In *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists, Jews, and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by Allison Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson, 286–308. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Five fascinating case studies of Hebraists drawn to the study of Judaism both for scholarly and existential reasons.

Fraenkel-Goldschmidt, Hava. "On the Periphery of Jewish Society: Jewish Converts to Christianity in the Age of the Reformation." In *Tarbut ve-Hevrah be-Toldot Yiśra'el bi-Yeme-ha-Benayim: Kovets Ma'amarim le-Zikhro Shel Hayim Hilel Ben-Šašon*. Edited by Haim Hillel, Robert Bonfil, and Joseph Hacker, 623–654. Jerusalem: Machon Shazar, 1989.

A well-conceived and well-researched essay on the role of converts to Christianity during the Reformation in Germany. In Hebrew.

Mulsow, Martin, and Richard H. Popkin, eds. *Secret Conversions to Judaism in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004.

A unique collection of essays on Christian thinkers who attempted to convert to Judaism in the early modern period despite the enormous risks involved.

Popkin, Richard H., and Gordon M. Weiner, eds. *Jewish Christians and Christian Jews: From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic, 1994.

One of several collections on Jewish–Christian relations in early modern Europe based on conferences convened by Richard Popkin and his associates.

Ruderman, David B. *Connecting the Covenants: Judaism and the Search for Christian Identity in Eighteenth-Century England*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

A case study of one prominent convert, Moses Marcus of London, and his effort to retain some form of his Jewish identity after his conversion to the Anglican Church.

van den Berg, Johannes, and Ernestine G. E. van der Wall, eds. *Jewish–Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century: Studies and Documents*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic, 1988.

An important collection of documents and essays on various Christian Hebraists and their fascination with Judaism primarily in the Low Countries.

Women and Early Modern Jewish Culture

Studies of gender have emerged in recent years among historians of Jewish culture and society, but they are less developed than the other areas previously discussed. It is still too early to conclude that the status of women among early modern Jews was significantly altered from that of the Middle Ages as it was in modern Jewish cultures. The contrast between the vast scholarly literature on women and gender in the modern period in comparison to this one is striking and might be attributed to the small number of scholars in the field as well as the relative lack of significant materials with which to work. But such a judgment is certainly premature at this time and the quality of what has already emerged suggests a promising start for future investigations.

Italian and Sephardic Women East and West

On Jewish women in Italy, see Adelman 1991, Weinstein 2004, and Boccato 1987. On Converso women, see Levine 1999. On women in 16th century Safed, see Chajes 2003; on Sabbatean women, see Rapoport-Albert 2011.

Adelman, Howard. "Italian Jewish Women." In *Jewish Women in Historical Perspective*. Edited by Judith Baskin, 135–158. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991.

A preliminary survey of outstanding Jewish women in Renaissance and Baroque Italy at an early stage of the study of the early modern Jewish women.

Boccatto, Carla. "Sara Copio Sullam, la Poetessa del Ghetto di Venezia: Episodi della sua Vita in un Manoscritto del Secolo XVII." *Italia* 6.1–2 (1987): 104–218.

A substantial account of the noble Jewish woman, poet and musician of the Venetian ghetto, based on a new manuscript on her life.

Chajes, J. H. "Dybbuk Possession and Women's Religiosity." In *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism*. By J. H. Chajes, 97–118. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

A fascinating description of mystical women among the Kabbalists of 16th-century Safed, which should be compared with the findings of Rapoport-Albert.

Levine, Renée Melammed. *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castille*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

A pioneering study of Converso women based on a study of Inquisitional sources in Castille.

Rapoport-Albert, Ada. *Women and the Messianic Heresy of Sabbatai Zevi 1666–1816*. Translated by Deborah Greniman. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011.

An exciting study of female prophetesses connected to the Sabbatean movement, providing a wonderful example of the importance of gender in studying Kabbalah and Jewish messianism.

Weinstein, Roni. *Marriage Rituals Italian Style: A Historical Anthropological Perspective on Early Modern Italian Jews*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2004.

A unique study of the rituals of Jewish marriage following Italian traditions and customs.

Ashkenazic Women

On Jewish women in eastern Europe, see Rosman 2005, Fram 2008, and Weissler 1998. On the most famous early modern Jewish woman, Glikl of Hameln, and her literary legacy, see Davis 1995, Turniansky 2006, and Glückel of Hameln 2010.

Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

The first part of this book elegantly reconstructs the life of Glikl of Hameln, written prior to the authoritative edition of Turniansky.

Fram, Edward. *My Dear Daughter: Rabbi Benjamin Slonik and the Education of Jewish Women in Sixteenth-Century Poland*. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2008.

An informative study of the context and legacy of a popular legal handbook for Jewish women written in Yiddish and printed by a young Polish rabbi.

Glückel of Hameln. *The Life of Glückel of Hameln 1646–1724*. Edited and translated by Beth-Zion Abrahams. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2010.

A popular translation of the narrative of Glikl based on the original Yiddish text.

Rosman, Moshe. "The History of Jewish Women in Early Modern Poland: An Assessment." In *Jewish Women in Eastern Europe*. Polin 18. Edited by Chaeran Freeze, Paula Hyman, and Antony Polonsky, 25–56. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2005.

An important summary of materials dealing with women's lives in early modern Poland, seemingly a prelude to a later and fuller treatment of the subject.

Turniansky, Chava, ed. and trans. *Gliḳl: Zikhronot 1691–1719*. Jerusalem: Merkaz Shazar, 2006

The authoritative edition in Yiddish with a Hebrew translation and extensive annotation.

Weissler, Chava. *Voices of the Matriarchs: Listening to the Prayers of Early Modern Jewish Women*. Boston: Beacon, 1998.

An important and pioneering study of prayers in eastern Europe, written for women and sometimes by women, called *tehinot*.

Viewing the Modern Era in the Light of the Early Modern

Attempts to define the salient characteristics of an early modern period in Jewish history clearly oblige the historian of modern Jewish history to reconsider those that conventionally define its nature as well. One result of aligning the early modern with the modern is to notice that there was never a clean break between one era and the other. The long-entrenched view of modern Jewish historiography of an inevitable one-dimensional and one-directional path from servitude to emancipation, from communal solidarity to disintegration, from ghettoization to citizenship, and from a normative tradition to radical assimilation needs to be refined and revised. Such a view is surely a specifically Jewish instance of the flawed paradigm of modernization positing the triumphant march of civilization from the inferior condition of a traditional premodern society to a more superior modern one. By locating prominent trends usually deemed modern in the early modern period (such as mobility, knowledge explosion, or heresy and orthodoxy) while recognizing the novelty of later developments as the politics of the modern state, the sharp juxtaposition between traditional/premodern and modern is blunted. A more nuanced and more profound understanding of constancy and change ultimately emerges. For a collection of essays focusing on the question of borderlines between early modernity and modernity in Jewish civilization, see Feiner and Ruderman 2007. For earlier anthologies that address the question of periodization primarily from the perspective of defining the modern era, see Katz 1987, Frankel and Zipperstein 1992, and Birnbaum and Katznelson 1995. For the persistence of the view of a radical modernity distinct from earlier periods, see Feiner 2004 and Feiner 2010, and compare with the earlier view of Katz 1973.

Birnbaum, Pierre, and Ira Katznelson, eds. *Paths of Emancipation: Jews, States, and Citizenship*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

A rich collection of essays focusing on the political changes affecting Jewish life in the modern era, written as a sequel to the anthologies of Frankel and Zipperstein as well as Katz.

Feiner, Shmuel. *The Jewish Enlightenment*. Translated by Chaya Naor. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Feiner's erudite reconstruction of the Haskalah emphasizing the consciously radical break from premodern Jewish cultures. See also Germany and Eastern Europe.

Feiner, Shmuel. *The Origins of Jewish Secularization in Eighteenth-Century Europe*. Translated by Chaya Naor. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

Feiner's latest book focuses not on the Jewish enlightenment alone but on the powerful forces of secularization throughout the 18th century that, he contends, created the conditions for modernization and radical assimilation in subsequent centuries.

Feiner, Shmuel, and David Ruderman, eds. *Special Issue: Early Modern Culture and Haskalah: Reconsidering the Borderlines of Modern Jewish History*. *Jahrbuch des Simon-Dubnow-Instituts* 6 2007.

A valuable collection of essays written by scholars in diverse fields weighing the continuities and discontinuities between the early modern and modern periods in Jewish history.

Frankel, Jonathan, and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds. *Assimilation and Community: The Jews in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Another rich collection of essays focusing on the emergence of modern Jewish history, challenging what Frankel calls the bipolar focus of nationalist historiography, that is, the radical distinction between premodernity and modernity and the inevitable one-directional path from one to the other.

Katz, Jacob. *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation 1770–1870*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.

A classic treatment of the emergence of the modern era, focusing on a radical break from the past that was consciously ideological on the part of its actors.

Katz, Jacob, ed. *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1987.

A collection of essays commissioned by Katz himself that challenge in many respects his German-centric focus and his emphasis on ideological change as the major factor in understanding the emergence of Jewish modernity.

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