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Jewish Reform in 19th Century Italy

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the development of Jewish reform projects in the frame of the political emancipation of Italian Jews and its role in shaping their religious debate in the 19th century. Jewish reform movements arose in Europe as a part of a larger debate concerning the necessity of improving and adapting the traditional frames of Jewish life to the new status of the Jews as emancipated citizens. Nonetheless, it is still commonly assumed that Italian Jewry was spared the upheavals and the religious strife that tore apart Jewish communities across the Alps as a consequence of their emancipation. This research aims at challenging the current assessment of Reform in Italy in the 19th century as a marginal aspect of the history of an allegedly well-integrated Italian Jewry, overall indifferent to religious matters. To do so, it focuses on the intellectual trajectory of six individuals, who elaborated some of the most radical reform projects of Judaism of the time, trying to assess their institutional impact in the life of Italian Jewish communities.

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The *Wissenschaft des Judentums* (*WdJ*), along with its scholarly pursuits, implemented an extensive process of revision of the religious foundations of Judaism. The so-called “turn to history” often stimulated the development and the diffusion of organized reform movements in several European lands¹. Notwithstanding the contrasting appraisal of the reform by different representatives of *WdJ* within and outside Germany, Reform and *Wissenschaft* are believed to have concomitantly arisen in the first decades of the 19th century in the German cultural arena, later to spread their influence east and west to other parts of Eu-

rope and in the United States. Despite the crumbling of the Germano-centric model of understanding the origins of these movements², their impact in Italy has been largely disregarded by contemporary scholarship of Italian Judaism.

Nevertheless, Italian Jews actively participated in the «emergence of historical consciousness» roughly at the same time that this occurred in German speaking lands, and not necessarily only in response to it³. For instance, the first modern rabbinical seminary in Europe was founded in Padua in 1829, and though under the auspices of the Habsburg authorities, it was based on a project implemented by Italian Jews, including Isaac Samuel Reg-

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gio (1784-1855) of Gorizia, Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865) of Trieste, and Lelio Della Torre (1805-1871) of Cuneo⁴.

But, what about reform? Did the diffusion and development of critical approaches to Jewish history among Italian Jews have any effect on their attempts to adapt their religious beliefs and practices to the challenges of the new political and intellectual context?

Almost all scholars who have dealt directly or indirectly with this issue have repeated Cecil Roth's statement according to which «the question of reform was never seriously considered»⁵. However, this thesis is at odds with the descriptions left by some of the most qualified testimonies of this transitional era. Evidence of the deep religious and ideological divide that tore apart Italian Jewish communities can be found at every turn of the page in contemporary documentation. The Italian Jewish press, the scholarly correspondence between Italian and European rabbis, and the vast array of publications printed by Italian Jews, are full of reports about the reforms carried out in the Jewish world and questions concerning rabbinic synods were widely discussed⁶.

Moritz Steinschneider of Berlin, a well-acquainted observer of Jewish life in Italy, reviewing for the *Hebraeische Bibliographie* a sermon by Marco Mortara (1815-1894), chief rabbi of Mantua, could not refrain from expressing his surprise: «We would hardly have believed that the extremist camp, which is so vehemently

attacked here, is so prominent in Italy»⁷. The 'extremist party' Steinschneider is referring to is the one advocating a radical reform of Judaism, which the sermon of Mortara was meant to counter⁸.

In a later attestation to Jewish life in Italy at the turn of the century, the Zionist rabbi Augusto Segre from Casale (1915-1986) goes even further and argues in his autobiography that reform not only did *not* fail but was in fact extremely successful within many Jewish communities. As an example, Segre quoted the eighteen articles of the code of worship, issued in 1889 by the Israelite Community of Asti. Among the new rules, there was a formal prohibition of donning *Tefillin*, the abolition of the *Birkat Ha-Kohanim*, and the recitation of the prayers by the Cantor only. The use of the *Tallit* by the congregation was permitted only during the High Holidays.

In order to ascertain whether the case of Asti was exceptional or not, it is necessary to check the presence in Italy of a coherent body of doctrines concerning Reform developed by local Jews and examine their impact on an institutional level.

I _ Key Protagonists in Italian Jewish Reform

Starting in the second half of the 18th century, an increasing number of Jewish intellectuals began to express their uneasiness with Jewish religious obser-

vance, perceived to be at odds with what they deemed to be the genuine spirit of Judaism and in contrast with the social decorum and the standards of modern hygiene.

1.1 _ Aron Fernandes – Leghorn

Aron Haim Fernandes (1761-1828), or Fernando as he signed all his works, Italianizing his Iberian patronym, was undoubtedly the first champion of a comprehensive reform of Judaism⁹. Fernandes was born in the port city of Leghorn, where he was a teacher of science and of Latin, English, and French. He traveled extensively in Europe and he belonged to Jacobin circles that were trying to import the French revolutionary ideals into Italy. In 1792, he translated into Italian, and endowed with an all-encompassing commentary, Jean-Charles Thibault de la Veaux's *Nuits champêtres*, a book originally published in Lausanne in 1784 and which contained a violent attack against positive religions. Tuscan authorities prevented the printing of this translation, which appeared in Milan only in 1803¹⁰.

Fernandes' translation in 1796 of Thomas Paine's pamphlet with the title *Decadenza e caduta del sistema di finanze dell'Inghilterra*, encountered the same official hostility¹¹. Ultimately, the governor of Leghorn expelled Fernandes from the city. It is noteworthy that precisely in 1796 Italian Jewish communities were

disrupted by the false rumors about a rabbinical synod held in Florence, where allegedly it had been decided to substitute *Shabbat* with the celebration of Sunday, and to allow the eating of pork. These reports had been given wide circulation in Europe, reaching even the ears of the Abbé Henry Grégoire, and compelling Italian rabbis to issue blunt disclaimers against such allegations¹². The «Florence Reform hoax», as it was called, could have been a part of a disinformation strategy on the part of Napoleon's enemies, or alternatively «a concoction of German radicals who sought to further their own cause by creating Italian Jews as a legitimizing precedent and spur»¹³. I am more inclined to believe that someone in Fernandes' circle of friends of radical bent, if not Fernandes himself, tried to press discussion on such questions, against the backdrop of a French attempt to mobilize the Jacobins among Italian Jews.

Fernandes' political views earned him a second exile during the short-lived restoration brought by the Austrian armies in the years 1799-1801¹⁴. But Fernandes, by now accustomed to being under attack for his opinions, faced the fiercest and most successful persecution when he published his most ambitious oeuvre *Progetto filosofico di una completa riforma del culto e della educazione politico-morale del popolo ebreo, (Tiberiade 1810 e Marenigh, vere Leghorn 1813)*¹⁵. The book should have been printed in

two volumes: the first dedicated to religious reform of Judaism, the second to the improvement of the Jewish educational system. However, Fernandes only managed to publish the first volume.

The reaction of the leaders of the Jewish community was immediate. They requested the requisition of all the printed copies of the book, and a ban on the publication of the second part, a request that was granted in 1814 by the provisional authorities of Tuscany during Leghorn's occupation by the Neapolitan troops under the command of Gioacchino Murat. Fernandes lived the rest of his existence in poverty, continuing his activities as a private teacher, but frustrated in his hope to find any kind of employment in the Jewish community¹⁶. Although Fernandes' affair has been considered the gravest case of ideological censorship in Tuscany at the beginning of the 19th century, the content of his book has eluded close examination¹⁷.

Fernandes' project must be read against the backdrop of the reforms encouraged by Napoleon in the aftermath of the convocation of the *Grand Sanhedrin*, to which many rabbis and lay leaders from Italy were invited¹⁸. Some of the invitees favored far-reaching changes in the *Halakhab*. For example, Abraham Cologna (1755–1832) from Mantua, the vice-president of the Sanhedrin, and Benzion Yehoshua Segre (1756–1809), its *Av Bet-Din*, were ready to allow intermarriages between Jews and people

of different faiths. At the other extreme, many, such as Jacob Carmi, staunchly opposed making the slightest modification in Jewish law¹⁹. Thus, by the time Fernandes was ready to publish his ideas, the *Sanhedrin* had already exposed the deep ideological divide among Italian rabbis that would only grow over time.

In the introduction to the published volume, Fernandes lays bare his aim to contribute to the regeneration of the Jewish people, as initiated under the aegis of Napoleon with the convocation of the Assembly of Notables and the Grand Sanhedrin in 1806-1807. Unfortunately, according to Fernandes, the Jewish representatives disregarded the mandate that was bestowed upon them and did not reach any viable agreement on the questions they were meant to discuss. Fernandes believed that they should have confronted the ways to disencumber «the Jew from the intolerable burden of infinite or useless practices, because they are foreign to the essentiality of his primitive religion»²⁰.

Although some statements of the book point to a radical critique against religion as such²¹, Fernandes explicitly rejects the skeptical stances of Spinoza, and disavows the attacks on revelation made by philosophers such as Voltaire²². Nor is he favorable to a universal and non-denominational religion, based on an indistinct deistic approach to religion²³. While he proposes Karaism as a possible model of «true and explicit Is-

raelitic deism», in the history of Jewish sects, which occupies chapter XIII to XVII, he criticizes Karaism for its literalistic excesses, such as sitting in the dark on the night of Shabbat²⁴. Thus, Fernandes continued to believe in the eternal validity of the covenant binding the Jewish people to their God²⁵.

Fernandes' main polemical target is what he calls the 'Talmudic Jew,' in other words, the entire rabbinical tradition that has developed in post-exilic times, from the Mishnah to the medieval Halakhic codifications. Although similar arguments against the Talmud are to be found in the writings of many *convertis d'eclat* in the upsurge of Jewish conversions to Christianity that occurred in the first decades of the 19th century²⁶, Fernandes does not plead in favor of a total abrogation of the Oral Law, nor does he encourage conversion or complete assimilation. Instead, he proposes reducing the number of compulsory laws from 613 to sixty, abandoning not only those whose observance is not possible any more after the destruction of the Temple, but also those contrary to contemporary standards of rationality²⁷.

Other considerable adjustments in the Jewish legal system are justified by the new and unprecedented historical situation the Jews face in an enlightened society. For instance, Fernandes argues, there is no reason to preserve customs whose primary goal was to distinguish exteriorly the Jews from the idolatrous

nations amongst whom they lived, and therefore wearing *Tefillin* or *Tzitzit* is superfluous when idolatry has disappeared from the civilized world²⁸. Circumcision, the observance of Shabbat, and the celebration of Passover are to be maintained, but they must be cleansed of all the ceremonies that are contradictory to the contemporary sense of decorum. Therefore, on *Rosh Ha-Shanah* the disagreeable sound of the *Shofar* should be banished, while on Shabbat it should be permitted to light a fire for domestic purposes.

Fernandes' reform project, with his bold argument for the abolition of a large part of the Jewish ceremonial law, bears consistent similarities with Lazarus Bendauid (1762-1832), *Etwas zur Charakteristick der Juden* (Vienna-Leipzig, 1793), whose second revised and enlarged edition appeared in Berlin in 1813, the same year of Fernandes' *opus magnum*²⁹. Although it is highly unlikely that Fernandes knew about the work of Bendauid, both diagnosed modern Jews as morally deficient subjects, the products of a pathologizing history of post-Temple Judaism. However, this contempt did not prevent Fernandes from being a staunch advocate of the historical right of the Jews to emancipation, proudly recalling their contribution to universal civilization, even in times of oppression³⁰.

Although the ban against Fernandes' oeuvre was quite effective, his ideas did not pass unobserved amongst his con-

temporaries and in the generations following. Fernandes must have benefited from the support of some members within the Jewish community, ready to pay the subscription fees that made possible the publication of his ponderous tome. He mentions the existence of a «sizeable party» of secularized Jews in Leghorn, sympathetic with the goals of the association of Dutch Jews (probably referring to the reformed congregation of *Adath Jeshurun*) who sought to worship only the pure religion of Moses³¹.

In Napoleonic times, the letters of many of the correspondents of Moisé Formiggini (1756–1810), a Jewish notable from Modena and the first Italian Jew to hold office in a national government (the parliament of the Cispadane Republic in 1797), give vent to a widespread hostility against the conservatism of the rabbinic elites³². Among them, Clemente Errera, a prominent merchant from Leghorn, expressed in a letter to Formiggini similar ideas to Fernandes' supporting an all-encompassing reform of Judaism³³.

In fact, barely ten years later, when in 1818 a Reform synagogue was inaugurated in Hamburg, and Reform proponents, under the guidance of Eliezer Libermann, published in Dessau a pamphlet titled *Nogah Ha-Tzedeq*³⁴ in order to support the innovations with the favorable opinions of illustrious rabbis of the time, it is significant that two of these pro-reform rabbis were Italians: the rath-

er obscure Shem Tov ben Samun from Leghorn and the more famous *posek* Jacob Hai Recanati (1758–1824) from Verona. Rabbi Ben Samun must have been under heavy pressure from the traditionalist milieu in Leghorn, for shortly thereafter, in 1819, he published a letter of retraction in a small volume put out by the orthodox rabbis of Hamburg titled *Eileh Divre Ha-Berit*. This volume attacked the reforms that included the substitution of Hebrew with the vernacular of the country, the shortening of the prayers, and the use of the organ. In his letter, Ben Semun withdrew the permission he had accorded the previous year, along with many *responsa* he had sent from Italy³⁵. Still, Ben Samun and the aforementioned merchant Errera are two examples that demonstrate that in the Leghorn Jewish community there were most likely more elements that were sympathetic to Fernandes' ideas than generally assumed.

Yet another demonstration of the staying power of Fernandes' influence is that the attempt to destroy any evidence of the existence of Fernandes' *Progetto* did not prevent the book from having illustrious readers not just in, but also outside Tuscany as well. Isaac Samuel Reggio, who possessed what he believed to be the only extant copy of the first volume³⁶, repeatedly mentioned Fernandes in his oeuvre and enthusiastically reviewed the *Progetto* in his biographical sketch of Fernandes³⁷. After Isaac S. Reggio's death, Fernandes' book entered the collection of Rabbi

Moisé Eherenreich (1818-1899), a pupil of Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865) in Padua and Reggio's son-in-law, who sold it to Abraham Berliner, before finding its current home at the *Goethe Universität* library in Frankfurt in the Aron Freimann's collection.

Parts of the book were also in the custody of the Tuscan orientalist David Castelli, who was related to Fernandes, having married one of his descendants, Giulia Fernando from Leghorn³⁸. Contrary to Reggio, Castelli's judgment of Fernandes project is surprisingly harsh, for despite his own reformistic stances he opined: «I would almost be of the opinion that in Leghorn they were not so wrong to destroy the printed volume and to prevent the publication of the second»³⁹.

1.2 _ Sabatino Sacerdoti – Parma

In the 1840's, reform becomes again the object of a widespread debate among Italian Jews as testified by an increasing pamphletistic output on this theme. Until then, in Italy but also across Europe, reforms were promoted somewhat randomly⁴⁰, and did not coalesce around a collective full-fledged identity⁴¹. Worthy of note is Sabatino Sacerdoti's eight-page brochure titled *Al Dottor Samuele Liuzzi di Reggio. Lettera riguardante gli Israeliti* (Parma, 1843), one of the first comprehensive reform projects after Fernandes⁴². Sac-

erdoti was born in Novellara in 1812 in the State of Este, but in 1841 he became a naturalized citizen of Parma⁴³. In this pamphlet, Sacerdoti lamented the state of moral and intellectual dejection of the Jewish masses, called the «black body» of the Italian ghettos, caused by centuries of conditioning to «Talmudic teachings» and blind attachment to the observance of «absurd customs». The Jews should «blend as much as possible within the universal», initiating a professional regeneration, through the apprenticeship of mechanical arts, but also if necessary, giving up all those practices that separated them from the surrounding society. Although neither particularly innovative nor profound, Sacerdoti's pamphlet is remarkable since it shows how much Fernandes' arguments had gained traction among those wealthy elites of the Jewish community, who some thirty years earlier had been in the forefront ostracizing Aron Fernandes.

1.3 _ Salvatore Anau – Ferrara

This trend in the lay leadership of Italian Jewish communities becomes particularly evident in concomitance with the national and bourgeois uprisings of 1848. One of the key figures associated with these aspirations of social redemption and spiritual renewal was the Ferrarese Jewish publicist Salvatore Anau (1807-1874)⁴⁴. Anau, a papal subject, came

from a wealthy family, was related to the businessperson Pacifico Cavalieri, and was the brother-in-law of Leone Carpi (1810-1898) from Cento⁴⁵. Carpi and Anau were the only two Jews elected to the constituent assembly of the short-lived Roman Republic in 1849. In this capacity, Anau was invited to Venice as a representative of the Roman triumvirate and took part in the defense of the city before being sent into exile, first to Corfù and later to Genoa, where he remained until his death.

Prior to his election, Anau had distinguished himself as a philanthropist. He was a pioneer in popular education and founded in Rovigo, where his family possessed considerable latifundia, one of the first kindergartens in Italy for peasants⁴⁶. Thanks to his activity in favor of the pedagogical method of the priest Ferrante Aporti (1791-1858) and the patrician Alessandro Parravicini (1799-1880), with whom he corresponded, and also thanks to his friendship with Niccolò Tommaseo (1802-1874) he got in touch with the famous Tuscan pedagogue and social reformer Raffaello Lambruschini (1788-1873).

In 1847, Anau took up the cudgels for Jewish emancipation and published three letters in the liberal newspaper *La Patria* of Florence, directed by Lambruschini and by Bettino Ricasoli. These letters were later gathered in a volume entitled *Della Emancipazione degli ebrei. Lettere* (Firenze, 1847) with a foreword

by Lambruschini, followed by a second one with new letters *Schiarimenti alle lettere sulla emancipazione degli ebrei* (Firenze, 1848).

Anau imputed the state of intellectual backwardness and the antisocial habits he perceived in the Jewish community to «rabbinical narrowness»⁴⁷ and to the «too strict observance of religious precepts»⁴⁸ encouraged by the rabbis. Anau viewed the Jewish poor as victims of this erstwhile narrow-minded ritualism, as well as victims of an unfair exclusion from secular learning and culture. Jews should in his opinion «tend to their civil and moral education, giving up all the exterior signs that distinguish them»⁴⁹. In order to achieve this goal, it is indispensable to «reform their religion», as had been done elsewhere in Europe⁵⁰. Anau was thinking mainly of France, but he also mentions reformist experiments in Prussia. These reforms concern not only such ideas as the inclusion of women in Jewish worship and the dignification of the synagogue service through the adoption of the organ as well as the giving of sermons in Italian, but also the recognition of the legitimacy of intermarriage, a quite radical position at a time in the Pontifical State when the Church did not allow intermarriage for Christians⁵¹. Anau even contemplates the possibility of celebrating Shabbat on Sunday. Even more provocatively, he wishes the Jews to take a stand against those «old superstitious believers, who when they see the

(form of) worship touched, fear an attack against the law and the dogma», and to support «the other camp, stronger and more generous, that sacrifices the (form of) worship to keep the law intact»⁵².

Anau vigorously proselytizes for a rationalistic interpretation of Judaism scarcely distinguishable from the Israelitic deism promoted by Fernandes. However, Anau's explicit model for his attempt to outline a universal religion based on a fusion of Judaism and Christianity is the French Jewish reformer Joseph Salvador (1779-1873). Anau urged the establishment of a civic religion founded on the principle of liberty, the sole redemptive horizon the Jew should aspire to, and where «there is no other homeland than the place of your birth»⁵³. Nevertheless, he is not urging a conversion of the Jews but only stating the recognition of a common ground shared by Judaism and Christianity when he writes «The world shall be Catholic for the universality of brotherly love!»⁵⁴.

Although he does not discard the possibility that in the near or distant future all faiths will merge into a unique religion: «I leave it to Time to decide if these different factions of different religions will flow together into a prime religion»⁵⁵, Anau still belongs to the reformers who tried to defend the existence of Judaism as a separate religion compatible with the requirements of modernity, hoping that the Jews, without conversion or complete assimilation, will become

«one more church in the State and not a Nation apart within the Nation»⁵⁶.

Anau's ideas encountered serious criticism both in Jewish and Catholic milieus. Leone Carpi in the pages of the newspaper *L'Alba* on December 5, 1847, denounced his brother-in-law's utopic views, and considered it unjust to request from the oppressed to first earn their freedom as a precondition for their civil and legal emancipation. In addition, the liberal Catholic and philosemite Lambruschini also felt ill at ease with Anau's extreme Neo-Guelfism, making clear that the Church and the State should be kept separate⁵⁷. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that this comprehensive and radical reform program was fostered by a leading financial and political figure of Italian Jewry.

1.4 _ Rabbi Salomone Olper – Venice

Anau's encouragement of every Jew to kneel before the cross as an emblem of national liberty apparently inspired Samuele Salomone Olper (1811-1877), a Venetian rabbi born in Rovigo and a student of the college in Padua. Olper, who courageously fought for Daniele Manin's uprising against the Austrians during the Venetian Republic of 1848-49, is reported to have publicly kissed a crucifix after delivering a public speech in Piazza San Marco, declaring in the National Assembly that henceforth no

distinctions should persist between Jews and Catholics⁵⁸.

One will find Rabbi Olper at the forefront of a series of controversies that caused a stir among Italian Jews over the course of the following two decades, and in particular in the 1860's, after the unification of Italy under the crown of Piedmont's Savoy monarchy. Olper's liberal positions could have been among the reasons behind his sudden dismissal from the post of rabbi of Florence⁵⁹. In Piedmont, first in Casale Monferrato and then in Turin, where he was elected chief rabbi in 1859, he found a more favorable climate to his reformist inclinations. His attempt to abolish the second festive day that is observed during the three pilgrimage festivals in the Diaspora was hindered by the orthodox elements of his community and by the reaction of more conservative rabbis across Italy⁶⁰. However, when in 1865, following similar dispositions that had been accepted in the Breslau conference in 1846, Olper decided to reduce the first period of strict mourning from seven days to three, to permit men to shave after then, to allow women to complete a *minyan*⁶¹, and to abolish the *Chalitzab*⁶², he enjoyed the endorsement of many Piedmontese rabbis, such as Rabbi Marco Mosè Levi (1839-1902) of Biella and David Terracini (1811-1892) from Asti.

At the same time, fourteen rabbis, mainly from Tuscany, led by Elia Benamozegh opposed them. This controversy had wide

resonance in the Jewish press of the time and ended without a clear indication of what should be done on a national level. Since the communities were incapable of reaching an agreement as to where and how to organize a rabbinical conference to settle similar questions, reforms were adopted or rejected in every Jewish community according to the local context⁶³.

The urgency of a thorough reform of the foundations of Judaism continued to have stout advocates. In the aftermath of Italian independence, two pamphlets appeared with a sustained and articulated proposal for a much more radical reform than that promulgated locally by liberal rabbis, such as Lelio Cantoni, Salomone Olper, or Marco Mortara.

1.5 _ Moisé Soave – Venice

The first pamphlet was authored by Moisé Soave (1820–1882), a schoolteacher, passionate collector of Jewish writings, and author of valuable historical and philological studies on Italian Jewish history⁶⁴. Soave was an intimate friend of Samuel David Luzzatto and a long-time correspondent of Moritz Steinschneider, whom he met in Venice in August 1852. Earlier, he had confronted the traditionalist Elia Benamozegh in a public polemic concerning the envoys of rabbinical academies in the Holy Land, whom he considered a nuisance for Italian Jews⁶⁵.

In 1865 in Venice, he anonymous-

ly published *L'israelitismo moderno*, a twenty-page pamphlet in which he backed a thorough renovation of Judaism, both in its worship as well as its fundamental principles of faith. «Which are the prayers most acceptable in the eyes of God? – he wrote – The shortest, recited in the language of the land». Music too was among Soave's concerns: «The organ and harmonious voices have become essential in our houses of worship», though no less of a concern is the place of women in Jewish worship: «Why do women have to remain segregated from men? Are we living in Asia?». Soave was also in favor of changing Jewish holidays: «Israelites have to refrain from working also during Christian festivals, and are bound to keep only the festivals prescribed in the Pentateuch... One fast only, the one of Kippur... Let's abolish all the interdictions of the Sabbath, all the purity laws». It is worth noting that Soave represents a democratic turn in the history of reform in Italy, that, with the exception of Fernandes, was in general supported by members of the economic oligarchies within the community. Soave believed that «such a radical reform must come from the people».

Soave's ideas were not isolated. His booklet was reviewed, albeit in not entirely positive terms, in the «Educatore Israelita»⁶⁶, and found a quite positive reception in his former pupil, Luigi Luzzatti (1841-1927), the future Jewish prime minister of Italy. There are many

echoes of Soave's proposals in the writings of another hero of the *Risorgimento*, the Italian member of parliament of the Left, David Levi (1816–1898)⁶⁷.

1.6 _ Rabbi Daniele Pergola – Pitigliano and Turin

Once Italian Jews in the second half of the 19th century achieved full emancipation, the debate about the reform of Judaism became directly involved with the legal problems created by the clash between the law of the new Kingdom of Italy and the *Halakhah*. Rabbis were confronted by several questions concerning capital punishment, illegitimate sons, and divorce, and some, such as Marco Mortara, were willing to renounce those Jewish practices that conflicted with the Italian civil and penal law of the time⁶⁸.

Daniele Pergola, author of the most radical project of Jewish reform in Italy, *Le riforme nel giudaismo* (Turin, 1877), stands out as one of the few Jews in Italy who devoted his whole existence to promoting a general revision of the legal and theological foundations of Judaism in the second half of the century⁶⁹.

Pergola was born in 1830 in Pitigliano. After his studies at the rabbinical seminary in Leghorn, he returned to his birthplace as a teacher of religious doctrine at the newly founded Jewish school for the poor, *Pio Istituto Consiglio*⁷⁰. Pergola was also the director of the local Jewish choir,

whose participation in the liturgy of the local synagogue encountered the opposition of some of the most conservative elements of the community⁷¹. In 1860 he was bestowed the title of *Chakham*, the highest rabbinical degree, and shortly thereafter he was invited to occupy the rabbinical chair of Fossano in Piedmont⁷².

In this relatively small community, Pergola benefited from the support of the local Jewish leadership, and in particular, he was strongly backed by the president of the community, Daniel Levi, who allowed him to introduce important liturgical and ritual reforms in the recently restored synagogue⁷³. Under the encouragement of Daniel Levi, Pergola also published a textbook for teaching the laws of ritual slaughter in which, without undermining the observance of alimentary laws, he considerably simplified their application⁷⁴. These changes proved highly divisive and the community split in two. Losing the support of the new community council, Pergola accepted the invitation to serve as deputy rabbi and cantor of the Turin synagogue from 1874⁷⁵. At the time, the chief rabbi of Turin was the above-mentioned Salomone Olper, whom Pergola may have been acquainted with many years earlier, when Olper came as rabbi to Florence and Pitigliano in the aftermath of the defeat of the Republic of San Marco in 1849⁷⁶. However, following the passing in 1877 of Olper, a man whom Pergola deeply admired for his attempts to foster reform among Italian Jews⁷⁷, Pergola's as-

pirations were thwarted by Samuel Ghiron (1829–1895), who was appointed as Olper's successor and was a much more conservative and traditional rabbi.

In that year, Pergola decided to make public his views concerning Jewish reform in his book *Le riforme nel giudaismo*. It should have been followed by two more parts, but only one was published, as it dealt with the most urgent reforms that in his opinion needed to be introduced. Pergola advocated a return to the Biblical sources of Judaism, the abolition of all the additions that had been introduced in the course of centuries and which were contrary to the spirit of modern times⁷⁸. The basic requirement of Jewish faith was monotheism, and as long as Jews remained attached to this fundamental dogma, they could relinquish every other practice that failed to enhance this principle.

For Pergola, the most urgent yet easiest reforms concerned the devotional practices of the Jews. Prayers should have been substantially shortened, but also modified in their content, eliminating every reference to Zion and to messianic times. The role of rabbis in Jewish life should have been limited to their appointment as teachers and ministers, and subsidized only by voluntary contributions, and not through compulsory taxation, as sanctioned by the Ricasoli Law of 1857⁷⁹.

Although the publication of this work benefited from a grant provided by the Jewish community upon the authorization

of its board of directors⁸⁰, the reactions to *Le riforme nel giudaismo* were contrasting. Some important reviews were sympathetic to Pergola's program. For instance, the *Corriere Israelitico*, published in Trieste and one of the most important Jewish periodicals in Italian⁸¹, praised Pergola for his vision and courage. The reviewer of the *Corriere* even criticized the director of the *Vessillo Israelitico*, Flaminio Servi (1841-1904), who had been Pergola's student in Pitigliano⁸², for having published a letter requesting the expulsion of Pergola from Turin's Jewish community⁸³. Although, the publication of *Le riforme nel giudaismo*, alienated from Pergola the support of some prominent members of the Jewish community, Pergola went a step further and manifested his hope that a universal religion would make all the others obsolete by writing another booklet titled *La Religione universale conciliabile con tutti i culti e il sacerdozio* (Turin, 1879). In 1883, the two volumes of his most ambitious and ponderous work, *Dio e umanità, saggio di autori diversi* (Turin: Borgarelli, 1883) appeared: the first volume being dedicated to a critique of the dogmatic foundations of Judaism, the second containing a practical guide to new forms of Jewish practice and prayer. That same year, he was fired from all his functions and expelled from the Jewish community.

With the book *Dio e umanità* Pergola severed every remaining bond to normative Judaism. The Bible itself was identified as the main culprit of Jewish moral

deficiencies. Pergola questioned the authenticity of the Hebrew scripture⁸⁴, and identified the God of Israel with the pagan divinity of Ammon and with Zeus⁸⁵. Since for Pergola the only acceptable law was to be found in the teaching of love of Hillel and of Jesus⁸⁶, he pleaded for the establishment of what he called «cristianesimo israelitico [Christian Israelitism]»⁸⁷, a universal religion of progress and brotherhood among the nations of the world that should proclaim the «religious truth independent from any old tradition» substituting it for the «pagan, Mosaic, rabbinic, anti-social, anti-patriotic and anti-humanitarian worship»⁸⁸. Pergola's goal was to «facilitate the so very coveted fusion between Jews and Christians», under the direct supervision of the State⁸⁹. To attain this objective, Jews should have discontinued the practice of self-segregating rituals, first and foremost circumcision⁹⁰, but also *Tefillin*⁹¹, and ritual slaughter⁹².

Now a *persona non grata*, Pergola began a new career as a teacher of English, French, and Italian, first at the *Istituto Convitto Ronco* of Turin, a non-Jewish private school, then later at a technical school in Racconigi⁹³. Although his hopes of reintegrating into the Italian Jewish community were arguably self-deceptive, Pergola must have had some followers. In the preface of *Dio e umanità*, he mentions the large number of letters of encouragement he received from Jews after the publication of his books on reform.

In his impressive list of writings⁹⁴, usually published at his own expense, it is necessary to separate the books pleading for a reform of Judaism written before 1883 from the texts composed after this date. His career as a publicist after his expulsion from the Jewish community are invariably characterized by an acrimonious tone against Judaism and Jews, that will earn Pergola the dubious honor of being included in the anthology of antisemitic thinkers edited by Roberto Mazzetti, and published in the context of the intolerance and persecutions inaugurated in Italy by the promulgation of the racial laws in 1938⁹⁵.

In the second half of the 1880's, Pergola manifests so enthusiastically his appreciation for the New Testament that some believed he had converted to Protestantism⁹⁶. For sure, Pergola despised Catholicism as much as rabbinic Judaism, and he devoted at least two books to showing how much the original message of Jesus had been adulterated by the Church⁹⁷. Nevertheless, and although Pergola's *oeuvre* abounds in lyric descriptions of the brotherly love found among evangelical Christians as opposed to Jewish narrow-mindedness, his vitriolic wit did not spare its arrows from any of the Christian denominations⁹⁸.

Without converting to any other faith, his main polemical target remained the Jews, a people that suffered «because of the pharisaic crimes, of the evil of conservative rabbis, that make them hated

by the other peoples united by an anti-semitic bond»⁹⁹. Pergola had strayed very far from his original project of reform that was meant to bring back Jews to a faith purged from foreign influences. In his later writings, his aim is to extirpate Judaism itself from the Jews¹⁰⁰. Nevertheless, beyond his heinous expression of scorn, Pergola never relinquished his hope of awakening his fellow Jews from what he deemed to be their state of moral abjection, for which he held the Jewish lay and religious leadership responsible¹⁰¹. By fighting until the end of his life to replace “pharisaic Judaism” with a universal religion as the one that had been formulated by the ecumenical congresses of Chicago and Yorkville in 1893, and by trying, if rather pathetically, to convince his readers that he was guided by «benevolent feelings for the people amongst whom I was born»¹⁰², he must be reckoned as a Jewish reformer, albeit of the most extreme type. However, this self-promotion was of no avail, and he died after a long illness, on August 17 1914, completely estranged from the Jewish community¹⁰³.

Fernandes, Sacerdoti, Anau, Soave, Levi, and Pergola are only some of the names in a wider group of Jewish proponents of radical reformers. They have been chosen as exemplars insofar as they represent a phenomenon that involved rabbis and laymen from extremely different geographical and political backgrounds.

1.7 _ Institutional implementation of Reforms

The presence of several radical reform projects in Italy in the 19th century can be therefore considered as an evidence, but what was their influence on the ground and were they adopted at an institutional level?

Many substantial changes in Jewish practice by the end of the century had been accepted by the vast majority of congregations all over Italy, independently from their being led by more or less conservative rabbis, such as the placement of the *Bimah* in front of the *Heikhal*, the adoption of a specific rabbinical garb¹⁰⁴, the introduction of the organ, the creation of a bat mitzvah ceremony for girls¹⁰⁵. Some however proved to be highly divisive and provoked painful schisms within the communities between the orthodox and the reformist elements.

Tensions between rabbis of different tendencies within the same city were frequent¹⁰⁶, and the spiritual leaders found themselves also at odds with the administrators of their communities, which ended in some instances with the rabbi's dismissal if he did not agree to comply with the reforms desired by the community's members¹⁰⁷. For instance, in 1869, the community of Alessandria split after the lay leadership drastically reduced the length of the prayers. The chief rabbi of the city, Mattatia Levi de Veali resigned from his post, and together with a mi-

nority of orthodox members formed a separate *minyan*¹⁰⁸. The conflict was resolved only one year later with the defeat of the orthodox camp and the imposition upon Rabbi De Veali of the decisions taken by the community council.

In Nice, an Italian territory until 1860, there was no reconciliation. Rabbi Vittorio Giavi (1849-1894)¹⁰⁹, a former pupil of Elia Benamozegh in Leghorn, who fought at the battle of Solferino in the war for the independence of Italy¹¹⁰, founded with other dissidents the first temple to bear officially the title of "reformed". Interestingly, this temple existed alongside the older local orthodox congregation¹¹¹.

The Jewish community of Turin once again appears deeply divided when, in 1899, a part of its membership tried to abolish both the second festival day of the Diaspora as well as the celebrations of *Rosh Chodesh*, wishing to revert to Rabbi Salomon Olper's 1856 precedent-setting decision, which had lasted for seventeen years before being revoked upon Olper's death in 1873¹¹². Ultimately, the fight was again won by the more conservative sector, but the fact that such a reform continued to simmer under the surface for a full generation demonstrates the impact that these trends had on Italian communities. The above mentioned cases from Alessandria, Nice, and Turin are but a few examples of the highly divisive nature of questions not only related to the preservation or change of local customs and halakhic principles, but also regard-

ing rabbinic authority and the participation of elements within the community, such as laymen and women, previously deprived of any decisional power in legal and religious matters.

The reformers also tried to publish their own periodicals in order to promote their agenda. In the years 1845-48 in Parma, Cesare Rovighi founded a journal, *La Rivista Israelitica*, which can be considered the first Jewish periodical in Italy. This journal was open to reformist ideas, hosting articles by Italian reformers such as Mortara and Randegger, and foreign ones, such as the moderate Ludwig Philippson and the radical Abraham Geiger. New reformed prayer books were published wholly in Italian, such as Rabbi Marco Tedeschi's 1852 translation of the *Prières d'un coeur israélite*¹³, which was to become extremely popular, with more than ten re-editions in the 19th century in Italy alone¹⁴.

A brief overview of the regulations of some of the Italian synagogues in the second half of the 19th century also shows a highly diversified reality. In some communities, such as Ancona, a bastion of orthodoxy under the rabbinical guidance of Rabbis David Abraham Vivanti (1806-1876) and Isacco Raffaele Tedeschi (1826-1908), no substantial changes were introduced into the liturgy, while in other communities, such as Padua starting in 1875 and Asti starting in 1889, reformist usages, very similar to those in Nice, had been officially enforced¹⁵.

Therefore, as to the question: Did the religious reforms taking place in Central Europe have any impact in Italy? the answer is in the affirmative, even though religious reforms were addressed in Italy independently from the successes and backlashes of similar trends in the German-speaking areas. Was this a movement with state-recognized structures, congregations, and press? In the light of the aforementioned examples, the answer is also yes, though probably in a less clear-cut manner. But also, in Germany reform was far from being a coherent movement under a single-minded leadership.

For sure, following a suggestion by Cristiana Facchini, under the name of reform we should be careful to distinguish at least three different discourses on religion¹⁶: a) a discourse inspired by what she calls the *redemptive model*, aimed at regenerating and founding a new, universal religion able to embrace all minorities and local traditions, such as Pergola's or David Levi's; b) *the Voltairian model*, directed toward the supersession, if not obliteration, of religion as such, such as Fernandes' position, at least in some of his writings; and c) the *reformist model*, which includes Sacerdoti, Anau, and Soave's projects of transformation of traditional religion as we have presented here. Michael Meyer is therefore right when he writes that «clearly another term than 'Reform Judaism' is therefore preferable, one which

broadly encompasses the modern effort to bring about Jewish religious reform and is not limited by self-designation or institutional boundaries»¹¹⁷.

But what should be kept in mind when judging the significance of thinkers reviewed above is their common attack against three doctrinal elements that arguably form the core of every Jewish reform movement's focus. The first concerns the authority of the canonical texts of Judaism, in particular those that constitute the foundations of the Jewish law, such as the Talmud and the *Shulchan 'Arukh*. The second concerns the validity of deeming rabbis to be qualified interpreters of the legal and spiritual tradition of Judaism based on their knowledge of the Talmudic literature and its medieval commentaries. The third, a corollary of the first two, is the observance of the precepts that have been legally enforced by tradition and by rabbinical authority. While questioning the textual corpus, the religious authority, and the shared practice, these individuals, as Jewish Reformers in general, broke the legal, political, and social pact upon which Jewish life had relied for the previous two millennia, and substituted it with new models of association.

Given the wealth of material demonstrating a robust reform movement in Italy, the question arises as to why there is so little literature about Italian reformists or innovations in practice. Part of the explanation lies with the seman-

tic-denominational question, which is crucial here. The word 'reform' has different meanings according to the context in which it appears. In the political context, Jewish authors in 19th century Italy used it to gesture to the modifications in their juridical status. In general, we can say that it corresponds to emancipation itself, and in this sense, coupled with the more problematic term of "regeneration", its genealogy can be traced back to Gregoire, Dohm, and Bucholtz, whose treatises had a wide audience in Italy¹¹⁸. No wonder, therefore, that in this context the word 'reform' has an almost universally recognized positive resonance, at least among Jews.

By contrast, in the religious context, the word 'reform' was highly controversial. In Italy, even the most far-reaching Jewish reformers rarely used this word to describe their intended plans. Moderate or radical reformers, such as Mortara, Olper, Cantoni, and many others, preferred to designate themselves as progressives, as moderate conservatives, and even as orthodox, inventing the category of ultra-orthodox to differentiate their views from the traditionalists they intended to disqualify. Undoubtedly, the word 'reform' also evoked for Jews living in a Catholic environment the schisms provoked within Christianity by Protestantism. It is interesting to remark that one of the first instances of the term "*riformato*" appears in the *Historia de Riti Hebraici* by Leone Modena, in reference to the Kara-

ites, who are compared to the Protestants in their attack on the unity of Judaism: «They are certainly reformed Saducees, in that they follow their doctrine, in admitting only the Letter of Scripture»¹¹⁹.

Yet another reason for the under-estimation of Italian reform is that since most of the scholars dealing with 19th century Italian Jewry have relied, almost exclusively, on information drawn from Jewish periodicals of the time, they have been inclined to underestimate the impact and the extent of reform upon Italian Jews, not only because most of the few contemporary Jewish periodicals were under the direction of orthodox rabbis, but also because even the few authors of contributions sympathetic to reform were not ready to openly admit it. It is certainly worth noting that also in neighboring Catholic France, the reform movement founded in 1907 adopted the name of *Union Libérale* and not *Union Reformée*.

Last, but not least, the philosophical background of the two main protagonists of orthodoxy in Italy – the rationalist S.D. Luzzatto and the mystic Elia Benamozegh – was permeated by the ideas of the progressive Catholicism of the time. Their *mâitres a penser* were Gioberti, Rosmini, and the French abbot Lammenais, who offered an evolutionary representation of the religious system, not in the truly reform sense that the new supersedes the old, but rather in the more neo-orthodox sense, where the new is added to the old and thus allows for making manifest the

hidden meaning of the original revelation. Hence, the terms ‘rinnovamento’ and ‘palingenesis’ are preferred to ‘reform’ with its negative connotations. There was also an extraordinary and as-yet-untreated convergence between Jewish liberal circles and Catholic reformers, which explains the rejection of the scrupulous observance of the Halakhah in the name of the new roles the Jews were being called upon to assume in the national state. This resulted in the unique phenomenon of Jewish neo-guelfism, evident in the support of the Pope as the ideal leader of the Italian liberation wars by Jewish heroes of the Risorgimento and later prominent figures of Italian politics of the united kingdom, such as the writer Tullo Massarani, the minister Isacco Artom, and the aforementioned Salvatore Anau and David Levi¹²⁰. This also explains the interesting equivalents of Catholic modernism at the beginning of the 20th among Jews such as Felice Momigliano and Giorgio Levi della Vida (1886-1967)¹²¹.

2 _ Conclusions

Perhaps in order to understand the dueling religious movements in Italy, the right question to address is not: Was there a Jewish Reform in Italy? But rather, paraphrasing Gadi Luzzatto Voghera: What was the religion of Italian Jews in the 19th century?¹²² Unfortunately, while a great deal of attention has been lavished upon

outstanding individuals, we know far less about how religion and spirituality were practiced, experienced, and expressed by ordinary people in the context of their everyday life. No full-scale enquiry exists on what scholars now define as the “Lived Religion” of the Jews¹²³. For sure, the reception, as well as the rejection of reform instances was filtered and shaped by the complex interrelations of the Jews with the dominant religion, i.e. Roman Catholicism.

And finally, there is another peculiarity of Italian political culture that has been insightfully described by Michel Foucault in his lesson at the *College de France* of March 29, 1978 and has affected Italian Jewish life as well. Foucault stressed the surprising lack in Italy of the concept of “police” in its 18th-century sense of laws that ensure effective use of a state’s forces, both as an institution and as a form of analysis and reflection. Explains Foucault:

The reason for this may have been the combined effect of the territorial division of Italy, the relative economic stagnation Italy experienced from the seventeenth century, foreign political and economic domination, as well as the presence of the Church as both a universalist and localized institution... Basically, since the great dividing up of Italy, the question has always been first of all the composition and compensation of forces, that is to say, the primacy of diplomacy over policy¹²⁴.

Applying Foucault’s understanding of Italian political life to the reality of Italian Jewry, we can conclude that, in Italy, reform was debated not less intensively than in Germany, but these tensions were ephemeral, mediated by a constant search for compromise.

In the end, reform triumphed in Italy when the orthodox camp adopted several of its suggestions while the reformers gave up their most extreme programs. The debate on both the very notion of reform as well as specific reforms would continue to be highly divisive in the twentieth century¹²⁵. However, on the eve of First World War the emergence of Zionism, against the backdrop of the liberal state crisis, rendered the last polemics surrounding Catholic and Jewish modernism completely obsolete.

_ NOTE

1 _ The obligatory reference is to I. SCHORSCH, *From Text to Context: the Turn to History in Modern Judaism*, Brandeis University Press, Hanover (NH) 1994.

2 _ Only recently there have been attempts to examine *Wissenschaft* in a transnational context, although with no reference to Italy. Cf. L. HECHT, *The Beginning of Modern Jewish Historiography: Prague: A Center on the Periphery*, «Jewish History», 19, 3/4 (2005), pp. 347-373; N. ROEMER, *Outside and Inside the Nations: Changing Borders in the Study of the Jewish Past during the Nineteenth Century*, in A. Gotzmann, C. Wiese (eds.), *Modern Judaism and Historical Conscious-*

ness: *Identities, Encounters, Perspectives*, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2007, pp. 28-54. Among the first to examine the *Wissenschaft* phenomenon from a European vantage, including Italy, mention must be made of J. Carlebach (ed.), *Wissenschaft des Judentums: Anfänge der Judaistik in Europa*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt 1992, which includes N. Vielmetti's essay *Das Collegio Rabbinico von Padua*, pp. 23-35.

3 _ See the interesting and emblematic case of the Piedmontese rabbi Elisha Pontremoli (1778-1851) whom I examine in my article, see A. SALAH, *Judaism as a Moral Theology: the Work and the Figure of Elisha Pontremoli*, «Zakhor», new series 1 (2015) online version.

4 _ N. VIEMETTI, *Die Grundungsgeschichte des Collegio Rabbinico in Padua*, «Kairos», 12 (1970), pp. 1-30 and «Kairos», 13 (1971), pp. 36-66. The most comprehensive work on this institution is M. DEL BIANCO COTROZZI, *Il collegio rabbinico di Padova*, Olschki, Firenze 1995.

5 _ C. ROTH, *The History of the Jews in Italy*, Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia 1946, p. 493. This assumption has gained wide acceptance in the main comprehensive histories of Italian Jews such as A. MILANO, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia*, Einaudi, Torino 1963, p. 374; M. MEYER, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, Wayne University Press, Detroit 1995, p. 163; E. SCHÄCHTER, *The Jews of Italy, 1848-1915: Between Tradition and Transformation*, Vallentine Mitchell, London 2011, p. 71; M. CAFFIERO, *Storia degli ebrei in Italia nell'età moderna. Dal Rinascimento alla Restaurazione*, Carocci, Roma 2014, and R. CALIMANI, *Storia degli ebrei italiani*, 3 Vols., Mondadori, Milano 2013-2015.

6 _ On the strong relationships between Italian and German scholars on reform issues see A. SALAH, *Steinschneider and Italy*, in G. Freudenthal & R. Leicht (eds.), *Studies on Moritz Steinschneider (1816–1907)*, Brill, Leyden/Boston 2011, pp. 411–456; ID., *L'epistolario di Marco Mortara: un rabbino italiano tra riforma e ortodossia*, Collana Quaderni di Materia Giudaica, Giuntina, Firenze 2012. The main Jewish periodical of the time, the *Vessillo Israelitico*, had a monthly section devoted to Jewish reforms in the Jewish world. Those in the United States were called *Riforme a vapore*.

7 _ M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Bibliographie*, «Hebraische Bibliographie», 5 (1862), p. 139.

8 _ M. MORTARA, *Sermone sui pregi e necessità del culto esterno*, Benvenuti, Mantova 1862.

9 _ In the registers of births at the Archive of the Jewish Community in Leghorn it appears as Fernandes son of David and not Fernandes, attesting to a Portuguese rather than a Spanish origin of the family (*Inventario: 133S – Nascite*, 2, p. 105).

10 _ D. GIGLIO, *Tra rivoluzione ed emarginazione: il caso di Aron Fernandes*, in L. Antonielli, C. Capra, M. Infelise (eds.), *Per Marino Berengo: studi degli allievi*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2000, p. 707.

11 _ The vicissitudes of this endeavor have been described in L.E. FUNARO, *Tre edizioni italiane di un'opera di Tom Paine*, «Studi Storici», 31 (1990), pp. 481-510.

12 _ They were first published in the *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unparteiischen Correspondenten*, 57 (1796) of April 8. On this episode cf. U. WYRWA, *Juden in Toskana und in Preussen im Vergleich*, Mohr Sie-

beck, Tübingen 2003, p. 84. Also J. KATZ, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870*, Syracuse University Press, New York 1973, p. 153; R. DE FELICE, *Per una storia del problema ebraico in Italia alla fine del XVIII e all'inizio del XIX. La prima emancipazione*, «Movimento Operaio», 5 (1955), pp. 681-727; A. MILANO, op. cit., p. 345; L.C. DUBIN, *Trieste and Berlin: The Italian Role in the Cultural Politics of the Haskalah*, in J. Katz (ed.), *Toward Modernity: The European Jewish Model*, Transaction Books Inc., New Brunswick, N.J. 1987, pp. 207-208. See also the correspondence between Ricci and Grégoire in M. VAUSSARD, *Correspondence Scipione de Ricci – Henry Grégoire*, Sansoni, Firenze 1963.

13 _ This is the opinion expressed by L.C. DUBIN, *Trieste and Berlin*, cit., p. 274.

14 _ S. SIMONSOHN, *Teguvot Abadot Shel Yehudei Italia al Ha-Emantzipatziah Ha-Rishonah ve-al Ha-Haskalah (Some Reactions of Italian Jewry to the First Emancipation and the Enlightenment)*, in *Italia Judaica. Gli ebrei in Italia dalla segregazione alla prima emancipazione, atti del III Convegno internazionale, Tel Aviv, 15-20 giugno 1986*, Pubblicazioni degli archivi di Stato, Roma 1989, p. 63.

15 _ This episode in Fernandes' biography has been the focus of considerable scholarly attention. The first to reconstruct the whole affair has been A. BERLINER, *Aus meiner Bibliothek: Beiträge zur hebräischen Bibliographie und Typographie*, Kaufmann, Berlin 1898, pp. 16-18; followed by A. DE RUPERTIS, *Gli israeliti e la censura della stampa in Toscana*, «Rassegna Mensile di Israel», 18/1 (1952), pp. 10-20; C. MANGIO, *Politica Toscana e rivoluzione. Momenti di storia*

livornese, Pacini, Pisa 1974, pp. 88-89, p. 111; ID., *La communauté juive de Livourne face à la révolution française*, in B. Blumenkranz and A. Soboul (eds.), *Les juifs et la révolution française. Problèmes et aspirations*, Privat, Toulouse 1976, pp. 191-210.

16 _ Liana Elda Funaro has shown that in 1818 Fernandes presented his candidacy for the post of secretary of the Jewish community of Leghorn, but lost against Gabriello De Paz. See L.E. FUNARO, *Massoneria e minoranze religiose nel secolo XIX*, in F. Conti (ed.), *La massoneria a Livorno. Dal Settecento alla Repubblica*, Il Mulino, Bologna 2006, p. 369.

17 _ Only the second volume has been accurately analyzed, specifically by Donata Giglio, who discovered its manuscript in 2000 at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (F18 579). Giglio seems to have ignored the existence of the first volume till her untimely death in 2009. See D. GIGLIO, art. cit., pp. 701-715.

18 _ The over-representation of Italian Jewry was the result of Napoleon's desire to strengthen the influence of the "Portuguese" and Italian element to the detriment of the Ashkenazi one. R. ANCHEL, *Napoleon et les juifs*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris 1928, p. 464; S. SCHWARZFUCHS, *Napoleon, the Jews, and the Sanhedrin*, Routledge & Kegan, London 1979; D. GALLINGANI, *Napoleone e gli ebrei*, Analisi, Bologna 1991.

19 _ See A. BALLETTI, *Lettere del rabbino maggiore J.I. Carmi all'Assamblea e al Sanhedrin di Parigi*, Tipografia Luigi Bondavalli, Reggio 1905; J. ROSENTHAL, *Teshuvot Rabbi Ishmael Cohen, Rabbah Shel Modena, al 12 Sh'eilot Shel Ha-Qeisar Napoleon [The Responsa of Rabbi Ish-*

mael Cohen of Modena to the 12 questions of Napoleon], «Talpioth», 4 (1949), 580-586.

20 _ A. FERNANDES, *Progetto filosofico di una completa riforma del culto e della educazione politico-morale del popolo ebreo*, Tiberiade 1810 and Marenigh, vere Leghorn 1813, ch. VII. Also in chapter XVI of the second volume, Fernandes gives vent to his disillusion with the results of the debates of the Sanhedrin.

21 _ For example, in *ivi*, ch. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

22 _ He rejects the critics of the Holy Scripture who base their conclusions on the analysis of the historical incongruences that can found in it. The Bible, Fernandes argues, is not a book of history but of moral teachings. *Ivi*, ch. LII, LVII, and p. 87.

23 _ *Ivi*, ch. LVII.

24 _ See A. SALAH, *Are Karaites Sceptics? The Jewish Perception of Karaism in Nineteenth Century Italy*, in B. Rebigier (ed.), *Yearbook of the Maimonides Centre for Advanced Studies*, De Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2018, pp. 231-250.

25 _ A. FERNANDES, *Progetto filosofico*, cit., p. 196.

26 _ I am thinking in particular of: A.T.M. VALPERGA (the former Salomone Isacco Luzzati), *Osservatore talmudico*, C. Sylva Tipografo, Torino 1828; G. KOHEN, *La conversione dall'ebraismo alla fede cattolica*, Tip. di Alvisopoli, Venezia 1831; G. FORTI, *Lettera di G.F. a suoi genitori israeliti per la sua conversione dal giudaismo alla fede cristiana*, Tipografia delle belle arti, Roma 1844. On Catholic anti-Talmudism in 19th-century Italy see A. CANEPA, *Cattolici ed ebrei nell'Italia liberale (1870-1914)*, «Comunità», 32 (1978), pp. 43-109.

27 _ The fourth chapter of the *Progetto filosofico* is devoted to this program.

28 _ A. FERNANDES, *Progetto filosofico*, cit., p. 91.

29 _ S.-E. ROSE, *Jewish Philosophical Politics in Germany, 1789-1848*, Brandeis University Press, Waltham Massachusetts 2014.

30 _ Fernandes wrote a pamphlet against the decision of a Tuscan academy to refuse membership to a Jew. A. FERNANDES, *Dissertazione filosofica critica diretta a Gioacchino Salvini* (s.l., 1797).

31 _ A. FERNANDES, *Progetto filosofico*, cit., p. 281.

32 _ F. FRANCESCONI, *From Ghetto to Emancipation: the Role of Moisé Formiggini*, «Jewish History», (2010) 24, pp. 331-354.

33 _ S. SIERRA, *Aspetti dell'opinione pubblica ebraica in Italia sul Sinedrio napoleonico*, in M.E. Artom, L. Caro, S.J. Sierra (eds.), *Miscellanea di Studi in memoria di Dario Disegni*, Istituto di studi ebraici, Torino 1969, pp. 239-254.

34 _ A. BRÄMER, *Judentum und religiöse Reform. Der Hamburger Israelitische Tempel 1817-1938*, Dölling und Galitz, Hamburg 2000.

35 _ D. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Il rabbinato livornese e la riforma del 1818*, in E. Toaff (ed.), *Scritti sull'ebraismo in memoria di Guido Bedarida*, Giuntina, Firenze 1966, pp. 77-86. Also, M. BENAYAHU, *Daat Hakhmei Italia al ha-Negina be-Uggav Ba-Tefillah*, «Asufot», 1 (1987), pp. 265-318.

36 _ Another copy is preserved at the University of California, Southern Regional Library Facility of Los Angeles.

37 _ I.S. REGGIO, *Torah We-Filosofia*, Wien 1828, p. 148. Reggio summarizes the content of the *Progetto* in Isaak Markus Jost's journal, «Is-

raelitische Annalen», 3 (1841), 1ff. Also see ID., *Aron Fernando*, «Strenna Israelitica per l'anno della creazione del mondo 5615», 3 (1854), pp. 90-94, where he writes that Fernandes, «opposing with steadfast courage public opinion, dared to raise his voice in favor of a reform of Judaism» and praises Fernandes for «the purity of his intentions and the utility of the goals that have led his pen».

38 _ C. FACCHINI, *David Castelli*, Morcelliana, Brescia 2005, p. 47. Aron Fernando married in 1811 Rachele Lattes (1787-1869). They had five children, two died in their first year of life, Giuditta (1814) and Giuseppe Enrico (1823), among the surviving ones Giulia could have been the daughter of David Fernando (born in 1815) or less likely of Giacomo Fernando (1819) married with Rebecca Bolaffi in 1852. I would like to thank Matteo Giunti for sharing with me this information.

39 _ A. BERLINER, *Aus meiner Bibliothek*, cit., p. 18.

40 _ Some aspects of the debate between liberal and conservative elements in this first phase of Jewish Reform in Italy have been studied by I. ZOLLER, *Il maestro di S.D. Luzzatto, R. Abram Eliezer Levi, e la questione della riforma del culto in Italia*, «La Rivista Israelitica», 1-2 (1912), pp. 37-48; ID., *Gli inizi della riforma sinagogale e l'ebraismo italiano 1818-1820*, Treves Zanichelli, Trieste 1919; V. COLORNI, *Progetti riformistici del governo austriaco respinti dagli ebrei del Mantovano agli inizi dell'Ottocento (1820 con dati del censimento)*, in ID., *Judaica Minora*, Giuffrè, Milano 1983, pp. 545-559. A cause célèbre was opened by the publication of I.S. Reggio, *Ma'amar Ha-Tiglachat*, Vienna 1835,

advocating the permissibility of shaving during the intermediate semi-festive days of *Chol Ha-Mo'ed*.

41 _ Michael Meyer writes that «until the mid-1830's there was little sense of a self-conscious and focused Reform movement in German Jewry». M. MEYER, *Response to Modernity*, cit., p. 107.

42 _ Sacerdoti's pamphlets are mentioned in B. DI PORTO, *La rivista israelitica di Parma primo periodico ebraico italiano*, «Materia Giudaica», 5 (1999), pp. 33-44 and A. CANEPA, *Emancipation and Jewish Response in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Italy*, «European History Quarterly», 16 (1986), pp. 420-421.

43 _ *Raccolta generale delle leggi per gli Stati di Parma, Piacenza e Guastalla*, Tipografia Ducale, Parma 1841, pp. 10-11. Sabatino Sacerdoti, son of Elia, had married Chiara Sforzi (b. 1816). She died while giving birth to their daughter, Adalgisa, in 1835. See the elegy written for the occasion in *Opere di Piero Giordani*, Francesco Rossi-Romano, Napoli 1860, 35.

44 _ On Anau see the necrology by Leone Ravenna published in the «Educatore Israelita», pp. 210-211 e 233-235; A. CANEPA, *L'atteggiamento degli ebrei*, «Rassegna Mensile d'Israel», pp. 426-427; ID., *Emancipation and Jewish Response*, cit., pp. 421-423; B. DI PORTO, *L'approdo al crogiuolo risorgimentale*, «Rassegna Mensile d'Israel», 50 (1984), p. 833ff.

45 _ On Carpi see L. CARPI, *Il pensiero ebraico in un uomo del Risorgimento*, «Rassegna Mensile d'Israel», 22 (1956), pp. 298-307.

46 _ Among Anau's works, mention should be made of his *Scuole della provvidenza aperte dalla principessa Adelaide Borghese in Roma*, Mi-

nelli, Rovigo 1842; ID., *Degli asili di campagna ed in specialità dell'asilo progettato di Canaro. Osservazioni e proposta*, Minelli, Rovigo 1844; ID., *Delle scuole elementari in Italia, specialmente della istruzione popolare nelle campagne*, Pellas, Genova 1869. He cosigned with Pier Luigi Dalla Vecchia and Pietro Bevilacqua the *Orazione e discorso recitati in occasione dell'aprimiento dell'Asilo infantile in Paviole di Canaro provincia del Polesine*, Minelli, Rovigo 1846.

47 _ S. ANAU, *Della Emancipazione degli ebrei*, Firenze 1847, p. 8.

48 _ Ivi, p. 10.

49 _ Ivi, p. 9.

50 _ *Ibidem*.

51 _ See *ivi*, p. 12, where he points again to the French example, writing: «Which French or Belgian rabbi would dare not to bless a mixed marriage?».

52 _ Ivi, p. 13.

53 _ Ivi, p. 14, echoing a similar proposal at the congress of Frankfurt two years earlier.

54 _ Ivi, p. 15.

55 _ Ivi, p. 13.

56 _ Ivi, p. 19.

57 _ Lambruschini wrote that «the rights of the citizen do not depend on the religion professed», *La patria*, 12 ottobre 1847, I, n. 36. Text republished in A. DI MAURO, *Libertà e riforma religiosa in Raffaello Lambruschini*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2004, pp. 174-176.

58 _ The episode is reported by G. BEDARIDA, *Ebrei d'Italia*, Società editrice italiana, Livorno 1950, p. 226.

59 _ The information comes from a tendentious source, D. PERGOLA, *Incompatibilità del giudaismo coi diritti civili e politici ovvero la*

circoncisione marchio distintivo di popoli brutali, Candeletti, Torino 1885, p. 25.

60 _ M.E. ARTOM, *Al Tenuat Ha-Reforma Be-Italia. Ha-Pulmus Bi-Dvar TzimTzum Tequfot Ha-'Evel Bi-shnat 1865*, in U. Nahon (ed.), *Studi in memoria di Sally Mayer*, Fondazione Sally Mayer, Jerusalem 1956, pp. 110-114; M. BENAYAHU, *Yom Tov Sheni Shel Galu'ot*, Jerusalem 1987; H.J. ZIMMELS, *The Controversy about the Second Day of the Festival*, in S. Belkin (ed.), *Abraham Weiss Jubilee Volume*, Yeshiva University, New York 1964, pp. 139-164; G. DI SEGNI, *Innovazione nel culto religioso ebraico a Roma nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento*, «Zakhor», 8 (2005), pp. 43-77, p. 51. The question was also discussed by the former chief rabbi of Rome. M. ISRAEL HAZAN, *Quntras Qedušat Yom Tov*, Wien 1855.

61 _ On the question of the participation of women in the *minyán*, a recurrent theme fiercely debated by reformist and orthodox rabbis in the second half of the century, in the Jewish press of the time. See. B. DI PORTO, *Il vessillo israelitico tra otto e novecento*, «Materia Giudaica», 7, 2 (2002) p. 352.

62 _ The source of this last change introduced by Olper is again the not entirely reliable D. PERGOLA, *Le riforme nel giudaismo*, Bona, Torino 1877, p. 21.

63 _ For a general appraisal of the two conferences of the Italian Jewish communities, held in Ferrara (1863) and Florence (1867), where the question of the rabbinical synod was raised see E. SCHÄCHTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-73 and A. SALAH, *Il progetto di sinodo rabbinico di Marco Mortara*, in C. Pilocane, A. Cavaglioni (eds.), *Atti del convegno sui rabbini piemontesi e il convegno di Firenze del 1867*, Belforte, Livorno 2020, pp. 129-153.

64 _ On this fascinating teacher and erudite, fervid patriot and promoter of a reformed Judaism in Italy, see M. COEN PORTO, *Necrologio*, «Vessillo Israelitico», 31 (1883), pp. 22-24; C. MUSATTI, *Il maestro Moisé Soave*, «Archivio Veneto», 36 (1888), pp. 383-397; 37 (1889), pp. 381-419; M. BERENGO, *Luigi Luzzatti e la tradizione ebraica*, in P.L. Ballini e P. Pecorari (eds.), *Atti del convegno internazionale di studio su Luigi Luzzatti e il suo tempo*, Venice, November 7-9, 1991, Istituto veneto di scienze lettere ed arti, Venezia 1994; G. LUZZATTO VOGHERA, *Cenni sulla presenza ebraica a Venezia durante la dominazione austriaca*, in G. Benzioni e G. Cozzi (eds.), *Venezia e l'Austria*, Marsilio, Venezia 1999, pp. 195-212.

65 _ M. SOAVE, *Sui missionari di Terra Santa*, «Educatore Israelita», 11-12 (1863-64), pp. 257-265. For Benamozegh's answer see «Educatore Israelita», 11-12 (1863-64), pp. 290-300.

66 _ «Educatore Israelita», 13-14 (1865), p. 252.

67 _ On Levi and the conspicuous bibliography devoted to him see F. SOFIA, *David Levi*, in F. Levi (ed.), *Gli ebrei e l'orgoglio di essere italiani: un ampio ventaglio di posizioni*, Zamorani, Torino 2011, pp. 23-60.

68 _ On these themes see for instance the intervention of M. MORTARA, *Risposta alle considerazioni sul matrimonio tra parenti dell'Ecc. mo Sig. Rabb. Magg. G. Lattes*, «Educatore Israelita», 12 (1864), pp. 259-265; ID., *Il matrimonio civile considerato giusta le norme del diritto e dell'opportunità*, V.F. Benvenuti, Mantova 1864; ID., *Sulla pena di morte. In proposito dell'opuscolo del Cav. Avv. Consolo*, «Educatore Israelita», 15 (1867), pp. 46-51.

69 _ Daniel Pergola's work is mentioned in B. DI PORTO, *Il corriere israelitico: uno sguardo d'insieme*, «Materia Giudaica», 9, 1-2 (2004), p. 254; ID., cit., p. 353; A. CANEPA, *Emancipazione, integrazione e antisemitismo liberale in Italia. Il caso Pasqualigo*, «Comunità», 174 (1975), pp. 198-199.

70 _ For the turbulent history of this institution that existed till 1915 see R. SALVADORI, *La comunità ebraica di Pitigliano dal XVI al XX secolo*, Giuntina, Firenze 1991, pp. 92-97. Pergola claimed that after denouncing to the public authorities defalcations occurring under the management of the local school, he was dismissed from his office in Pitigliano. D. PERGOLA, *Giudaismo in teoria ed in pratica ovvero Pasqua Cristiana e Pasqua ebraica*, Candeletti, Torino 1885, p. 15.

71 _ D. PERGOLA, *Studio religioso, Discorso*, Landi, Siena 1860, p. 10.

72 _ The notice of his election is given in «Educatore Israelita», 9 (1861), p. 295.

73 _ D. PERGOLA, *Tempio e culto, Discorso recitato nell'oratorio israelitico di Fossano la sera del 2 ottobre 1872*, Bona, Torino 1872.

74 _ D. PERGOLA, *Sunto delle regole di Shebita e Bedica ad uso delle scuole israelitiche*, Bona, Torino 1873, with the approbation of the rabbi of Reggio, Giuseppe Lattes.

75 _ B. MAIDA, *Dal Ghetto alla città. Gli ebrei torinesi nel secondo Ottocento*, Zamorani, Torino 2001, pp. 75 and 91. Pergola in the frontispiece of his book *Dio e umanità: saggio di autori diversi*, Borgarelli, Torino 1883, signs as «primo officiante del Tempio israelitico di Torino» where he was invited nine years before.

76 _ L. VITERBO, *Spigolando nell'archivio della comunità ebraica di Firenze*, Giuntina, Firenze 1997, p. 83.

77 _ Pergola published an elegy for the death of Olper, *Per le solenni esequie del fu Olper cav. Salomone rabbino maggiore della università israelitica di Torino. Elegia*, Tip. e. Lit. Camilla e Bertolero, Torino 1877.

78 _ D. PERGOLA, *Le riforme*, cit., p. 9.

79 _ Pergola's negative opinion of Ricasoli's law in *Le riforme*, cit., 42.

80 _ D. PERGOLA, *Giudaismo in teoria*, cit., 16.

81 _ «Corriere Israelitico», 16 (1877-78), p. 31. The *Corriere*, a Jewish periodical of Trieste, was an overall conservative journal that would later embrace the cause of Zionism. Another of Pergola's books, *La Bibbia e la Scienza ossia Il Culto Israelitico*, Bona, Torino 1880, also incurred tough criticism from Moise Tedeschi in «Corriere israelitico», (1880-81), p. 116

82 _ D. PERGOLA, *Incompatibilità del giudaismo*, cit., p. 36, where he also mentions as a former pupil of his the rabbi of Moncalvo, Giuseppe Montagnana. Servi had been the polemical target of an earlier pamphlet by Pergola, *L'antesignano dei rabbini d'Italia, ossia risposta serio-faceta ad un articolo del giornale umoristico il Vessillo Israelitico diretto dal cav. Flaminio Servi*, Bona, Torino 1878. On Servi see C. FERRARA DEGLI UBERTI, *Flaminio Servi*, in F. Levi (ed.), *Gli ebrei e l'orgoglio di essere italiani*, cit., pp. 61-101.

83 _ «Vessillo Israelitico», (1877), p. 153.

84 _ The same idea will be developed in later writings such as *Incompatibilità*, 11 and D. PERGOLA, *Scritto in risposta al numero unico sull'emancipazione*, Torino 1898, p. 5.

85 _ D. PERGOLA, *Dio e umanità*, cit., 90. The argument would be further developed in D. PERGOLA, *Jeova-Ham o Giove-Ammonè e il corno della sinagoga nelle ricorrenze penitenziali ebraiche*, Tip. Industriale, Torino 1891.

86 _ D. PERGOLA, *Dio e umanità*, cit., p. 112.

87 _ Ivi, p. 114. The expression is reminiscent of Schachter's 'Catholic Israel' and Ben-amozegh's 'Chiesa ebraica,' although in a completely different context and has its antecedents in Anau's writings and a probable source of inspiration in Salvador's attempt to outline a universal religion based on a fusion of Judaism and Christianity.

88 _ Ivi, 84. This idea of a new religion based on universally accepted principles is already expressed in PERGOLA, *La Religione universale conciliabile con tutti i culti e il sacerdozio*, Bona, Torino 1879.

89 _ D. PERGOLA, *Dio e umanità*, cit., 113.

90 _ On the debate surrounding circumcision see M. TOSCANO, *Ebraismo e antisemitismo in Italia. Dal 1848 alla guerra dei sei giorni*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2004, pp. 29-33; C. FERRARA DEGLI UBERTI, *Brit Milah; il patto ebraico. Fede, scienza e appartenenza nazionale*, «Storia e problemi contemporanei», 20/45 (2007), pp. 57-81; A. SALAH, *Religious Reform in 19th-Century Italy: Calls to Abolish Circumcision and Metsitsah be-peh* <http://www.library.upenn.edu/exhibits/cajs/fellows15/cajs2015.html>.

91 _ D. PERGOLA, *Scritto*, cit., p. 5, describes the phylacteries as «amulets that crown those cherished heads of the believers when they pray and curse in the synagogue».

92 _ D. PERGOLA, *Il giudaismo in teoria ed in pratica*, cit., p. 14.

93 _ The first school is mentioned in Pergola, *Incompatibilità del giudaismo*, cit., p. 35; the second in the frontispiece of D. PERGOLA, *Ebraismo, cristianesimo, islamismo. La religione in Cina e la religione naturale ossia l'anno santo a Roma e l'esposizione universale di Parigi*, Tip. Industriale Marco Ovazza, Torino 1900.

94 _ I have found no less than 49 books and pamphlets.

95 _ R. MAZZETTI, *L'antiebraismo nella cultura italiana dal Settecento al Novecento*, Società tipografica modenese, Modena 1938, pp. 276-286.

96 _ D. PERGOLA, *Necessità del Vangelo, ovvero Gesù Cristo e Giuda Iscariotte*, Torino 1884.

97 _ D. PERGOLA, *Efficace rimedio contro papato, giudaismo e colera*, Torino 1884, and ID., *Ebraismo e papato regio*, Tip. Industriale, Torino 1893.

98 _ D. PERGOLA, *Ebraismo, cristianesimo, islamismo. La religione in Cina e la religione naturale ossia l'anno santo a Roma e l'esposizione universale di Parigi*, Tip. Marco Ovazza, Torino 1900, pp. 59 and 70, including Catholicism and Protestantism.

99 _ D. PERGOLA, *Dio e umanità*, cit., p. 83.

100 _ The most virulent pamphlets against the Jews are D. PERGOLA, *Sventramento religioso e politico, ovvero il mondo corrotto dal giudaismo*, Torino 1886 and *L'antisemitismo e I Torti degli ebrei*, Tip. Festa e Tarizzo, Torino 1889.

101 _ D. PERGOLA, *Dio e umanità*, cit., 96.

102 _ D. PERGOLA, *Scritto*, cit., 16.

103 _ This is when he published what seems to have been his last book, D. PERGOLA, *Il culto pubblico ebraico: a Dio spiacente ed all'umanità: la religione universale: S. Giovanni e Gesù*, Tip. E. Marietti, Torino 1913.

104 _ A. SALAH, *Rabbinical Dress in Italy*, in S. Marzel, G. Stiebel (eds.), *Dress and Ideology. Fashioning Identity from Antiquity to Present*, Bloomsbury, London 2014, pp. 56-68.

105 _ The first ceremony for girls reaching the religious age of majority was celebrated in Verona in 1846, and subsequently was quickly adopted all over Italy.

106 _ For instance, in Mantua, between the chief rabbi Marco Mortara and his deputy Salomone Nissim. This case is examined in A. SALAH, *Marco Mortara*, cit.

107 _ Evidence of tensions between the spheres of rabbinic and lay leadership became increasingly conspicuous over the course of the first half of the 19th century, as the main instruments of power and decision-making shifted decisively into the laity's hands. Salomon Leon Foà in Acqui, Isaac Samuel Reggio (1784-1855) in Gorizia, the rabbi of Mantua, Marco Mortara (1815-1894), and Israel Moisé Hazan (Izmir 1808- Beirut 1863) in Rome were confronted by similar vicissitudes, although, in the end, they all succeeded in the fight for their rights.

108 _ The event is reported in «Educatore Israelita», 17-18 (1869-70), pp. 114 and 119.

109 _ All the Jewish press in Italy gave notice of Giavi's death. See L. RACCAH, *Necrologio*, «Corriere Israelitico», 33-34 (1894), pp. 283-84. Another necrology appeared in the Jewish journal of Pitigliano, «Il pensiero israelitico», 2 (1895). An anonymous reviewer, who could be identified according to Bruno Di Porto as Benamozegh himself, wrote a eulogius profile of Giavi as a poet and as author of *Les échos du Liban: poésies juives*, G. Weil, Paris 1892, but criticized his reformist views, «Vessillo Israelitico», 11 (1894).

110 _ He left the description of this event in *Solferino! Souvenir du 24 juin 1859*, Anselm, Paris 1859.

111 _ «Educatore Israelita», 17-18 (1869-70), pp. 292-94 and 343-346. Giavi's consistent writing in favor of reform, such as *Le Judaïsme au XXe siècle*, Impr. Centrale, Paris 1883, and *La Lettre et l'esprit, appel aux Israélites de France pour la réforme du culte*, G. Weil, Paris 1894, was nevertheless directed primarily to the French Jews and therefore it has not been examined in this essay.

112 _ This being the incident that saw rabbi Foa's resignation, «Corriere Israelitico», 37-38 (1898-99).

113 _ M. Tedeschi (ed.), *Imre lev. Preghiere d'un cuore israelita*, S. Belforte, Livorno 1852. The original was written by the chief rabbi of Strasbourg, A. ARON, *Prières d'un cœur Israelite: Recueil de prières et de méditations pour toutes les circonstances de la vie*, Bureau des Archives Israélites, Strasbourg 1848.

114 _ Another abbreviated *siddur* is M. MORTARA, *Formulario delle orazioni degli israeliti di rito italiano*, Benvenuti, Mantova 1866.

115 _ *Modificazioni alle parti non essenziali del rito approvate dal capitolo del santo Bet Ha-Knesset degli ashkenaziti di Padova*, Padova 1880, and *Modificazioni nella pubblica ufficiatura deliberate nella seduta generale dei componenti i capitoli dei tre oratorj israelitici*, Padova 1892. On the role of rabbi Eude Lolli (1826-1904) in the last of these reforms see P.C. IOLY ZORATTINI, *Note per la storia degli ebrei sefarditi*, «Rassegna Mensile di Israel», 58, 1/2 (1992), p. 106.

116 _ C. FACCHINI, *The Making of the Wissenschaft des Judentums in Italy. Judaism and the*

Bible between Risorgimento and Fascism, «Annali Storia dell'Esegesi», 36/1(2019), pp. 227-248.

117 _ M. MEYER, *Response to Modernity*, cit., p. VIII.

118 _ Salomon Isac Luzzatti from Turin translated ABBE GRÉGOIRE, *Osservazioni sullo stato degli ebrei in Francia ed in Germania*, Zanotti-Bianco, Casale 1806; C.W. VON DOHM, *Riforma politica degli Ebrei*, Virgiliana, Mantova 1807, was translated anonymously, while Leon Vita Saraval from Trieste translated K.A. BUCHOLZ, *Documenti riguardanti la riforma dello stato civile degl'Israeliti*, Nuova Tipografia, Trieste 1815.

119 _ LEONE MODENA, *Historia de Riti Hebraici*, Paris 1637, p. 107.

120 _ The election in 1846 of Pius IX, a man of liberal sentiments, though which he later abandoned, stirred the hope of the patriotic Catholics that he would become the leading figure both in the country's unification and in the attainment of Jewish emancipation. See M. ROSSI, *Emancipation of Italian Jews*, cit., p. 121; B. DI PORTO, *Gli ebrei di Roma dai Papi all'Italia*, in E. Toaff (ed.), *1870: La breccia nel ghetto. Evoluzione degli ebrei di Roma*, Barulli, Roma 1971, pp. 15-78; A. GRAZI, *A Jewish Construction of a Catholic Hero: David Levi's 'A Pio IX'*, «Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations», 6 (2011), pp. 1-15.

121 _ A. CAVAGLION, *Felice Momigliano: una biografia*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1988, and G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, *Fantasma ritrovati*, Neri Pozza, Venezia 1966; C. FACCHINI, *Incontri inconsueti. Modernisti tra gli ebrei e spiritualità contemporanea*, in C. Facchini, P. Zanini, A. Botti (eds.), *I modernisti, gli ebrei e l'ebraismo*, «Modernism», 5 (2019), pp. 15 – 61.

122 _ G. LUZZATTO VOGHERA, *La religione degli ebrei in Italia*, «Rassegna Mensile d'Israel», 76,1/2 (2010), pp. 257-274.

123 _ The concept was made popular by D. HALL, *Lived Religion in America. Toward a History of Practice*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 1997.

124 _ M. FOUCAULT, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France (1977-*

78), Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2007, pp. 316-317.

125 _ For a history of Reform in Italy in the last hundred years see B. DI PORTO, *Il movimento di Riforma nel contesto dell'Ebraismo contemporaneo. La presenza in Italia*, Pontecorboli, Firenze 2018.

FILOSOFIA ITALIANA _ 2020 | 1

Introduzione

di Guido Bartolucci, Libera Pisano, Michela Torbidoni

_ SAGGI

Luzzatto's Socrates and the History of Jewish Philosophy

di Josef Stern

Innovazioni nei modelli speculativi ebraici dell'Italia del Rinascimento.

Il caso di Yochanan Alemanno

di Fabrizio Lelli

Yehudah Abravanel e l'eredità di Marsilio Ficino. La «teologale sapienza» e il divino Platone

di Maria Vittoria Comacchi

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di Guido Bartolucci

Challenging Religious Authorities. The Scientific Commitment of Simone Luzzatto

and Yoseph Delmedigo

di Michela Torbidoni

Jewish Reform in 19th Century Italy

di Asher Salah

Filosofia e qabbalah. Elia Benamozegh (1823-1900), un pensatore inattuale

di Alessandro Guetta

La primogenitura mosaica. Rileggere la filosofia della storia di Marco Mortara

fra Gioberti, Vico e apostolato israelitico

di Alberto Scigliano

Il pensiero di Isacco Samuele Reggio tra Haskalah e Wissenschaft des Judentums

di Alessandro Grazi

_ INTERVISTE

L'Italia ebraica del Rinascimento

Intervista a Giuseppe Veltri (di Libera Pisano)

_ RECENSIONI

Esilio e Anarchia. Scritti ebraici

di Francesco Ferrari

Acosmismo come religione. Giovanni Gentile e Piero Martinetti interpreti di Spinoza

di Luigi Emilio Pischredda

Spinoza, philosophe grammairien

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