

## Daniel Jeremy Silver Collection Digitization Project

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## MS-4850: Daniel Jeremy Silver Papers, 1972-1993.

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Reading Other People's Mail - A Look at the Genizah, 1975.

## A Look At Other People's Mail Daniel Jeremy Silver January 19, 1975

We know that letters are sealed so that they will be read only by the addressee. I suspect that one of the hardest lessons for parents to learn is that they must not listen in on their children's telephone conversations nor read their mail. It's so easy to delude yourself that you're only doing it for their benefit to keep them from falling in with bad friends or listening to bad advice. Now unfortunately of late it appears that some of the intelligence agencies of our government have thought of themselves in local perentis, as if by some right they ought to tap our telephone lines and read our mail. The headlines have been filled with allegations about the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other such groups about how they have built up dossiers of information about various American citizens, in many cases going far beyond the allowed limits of their activities, according to the legislation of Congress. And I think most of us would agree that unless a court has specifically authorized a particular wire tap or envelope letter cover such an activity by an agency of government, of this government against citizens, is a violation of the basic social compact and is an attack on all of the freedoms which we cherish.

Now, interestingly, ancient man, lacking technology, did not have to fear that government would have many electronic devices and other such instruments with which to interfere and intrude on his privacy. In the ancient Middle East when a man wanted to write a private letter he took a piece of clay and he incised the clay with a stylus and he wrote out the letter and the clay would be baked in a kiln, baked

hard, and then another envelope of wet clay would be shaped about it and the two would be baked, the envelope and the letter, and this is the way that letters were sent. You couldn't hold it up to the light and see through the clay envelope into the clay letter and you couldn't open up the seal and close it up again because the only way to break open the envelope was to shatter it. Their lives were in that sense much more private than ours and it was only by actually intruding or introducing a spy into a Middle Eastern household that one could find out the private thoughts of the owner, the master of the home.

Now it's wrong to read other people's mail unless, unless one is paid to do so. Indeed, there are revered and respected professions, scholarly professions whose business it is to read other people's private mail. How would a biographer write his biography? How would a historian write his history? if he didn't have access to the files and journals and the diaries of the people about whom he was writing? We expect the biographer and we expect the historian to go beyond, behind the obvious, what a public relations man suggested a president of the United States say, in other words what he said to us, what he felt we wanted to hear, so that we know what were his private thoughts, what were his motivations, what was the real issue at the time. And in America where we have a way of translating the importance of any item into dollars and cents we found in the last 20 or 30 years suddenly one of the great unseen perquisites of important public office was the value of the private papers that one accumulated. One could make a donation of these papers to some national or state archives and in that sense avoid the largest part of the burden of one's taxes. Indeed, one of the criminal acts of which Richard Nixon was obviously

guilty was the act of pre-dating some contributions of his vice-presidential papers
to the national archives in order to have them in essence being given to the archives
long before they were actually given and before some new and restricting legislation
went into effect which had been passed by Congress so that our senior statesmen would
not avoid their share of the taxes.

It's wrong to read other people's mail unless there seems to be an overiding reason to do so, unless these are public property and one is investigating the mail not for reasons of gossip and curiosity, but in order to help people understand the real course of history, what really happened and why. And what I'd like to do this morning in this discussion of reading other people's mail is to tell you something of a now nearly century long research undertaking in the reading of the mail of a Jewish community, the Jewish community of Cairo, which accumulated in a repository for nearly a thousand years which came to light late in the 19th century and which scholars and research people have been investigating ever since.

There were in the ancient synagogues a store room, a lumber room, which is called the genizah, the treasury. The treasury or genizah of the community of Palestinian Jews in Cairo, in old Cairo, somehow survived fire, enemy attack, mob violence, mildew and the documents which were placed in this genizah are now available in libraries throughout the world. The history of this genizah is an interesting one. It's a history of an old and important Jewish religious tabuo. According to the rabbis who compiled the Talmud no object which has been devoted to synagogue use ought ever to be used in a vulgar sense, in a commonplace kind of way, so they meant no eternal light, no ner tamid, which had ever burned in the synagogue, ought ever if it's no longer useful to the synagogue be taken home and used as an ordinary lamp. And no synagogue building which had been used for study and for worship

ought to be sold if the purpose of the sale is to use it for a stable or a bath house or some other such use. And no old and cut up blurred sefer Torah, scroll of the Torah, ought ever to be found in a stall among the secondhand book sellers of a bazaar. Things which had been devoted to God, to the synagogue, ought to retain some of their sanctity, they must not be dealt with in any coarse or common kind of way. And so the custom developed in Babylonia in the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries of our era to take the discarded Torah scrolls and put them in a genizah, in a storeroom, and when a number of scrolls had accumulated these would be taken out to the cemetery and burried and kaddish would be said in much the same way that a human being, we respect the human being, we respect the word of God, the same rites of departure, death, were applied to both.

In Egypt it appears that the custom of burying scrolls of the Torah was abandoned, but not the custom of putting the scrolls of the Torah into a storeroom, into a genizah, and they embellished this old taboo in this way. Among the Egyptians it became the custom to place any document, any letter, any piece of paper or parchment or leather on which a man had written whatever, which included the name Adonai, the name of God. And so over the long centuries whenever a prayerbook was no longer useful, whenever some book in the library which dealt with theology or rabbinics or philosophy was found in need of replacement, whenever business letters which included in the salutation some evocation of a psalm, praise from the Bible, whenever any correspondence between the high court in Cairo and the dayyanim, the local judges, was no longer needed for daily use, a packet would be made and this material would simply be put, tossed into the storeroom. Now the material in the genizah was never filed, it was never catalogued, it was not looked upon as a great historical resource which would some day allow 20th century scholars

to recreate the inner history of the life of medieval Jewish communities under Muslim rule. This was simply an act of simple piety. Nothing which included the name of God should be abused so all of this material was tossed into this storeroom. Most of the storerooms long since have disappeared, but the community of Cairo has been long-lived and the Palestinian synagogue in Cairo, that is a synagogue of the Jews who followed the customs of worship as practiced in Palestine rather than in Babylonia, remained an active synagogue for over a thousand years. We're used to synagogues which pick up and follow their people from suburb to suburb and from place to place. There's hardly a synagogue in America which hasn't had five, six, ten homes over the last century.

In the year 882 of the CE this Palestinian community bought an old church and they began to worship in it. In the year 1882, the same Palestinian Jewish community, were still worshipping in the same building a thousand years later. Indeed, they are still in technical possession of that building to this very day, but because of the events of the Middle East and the disappearance of the Jewish community in Cairo there's no longer a minyan there available for worship. For over a thousand years one congregation, one building, no mortgage.

Materials were found in the genizah from the 9th century and from the 19th century. Hundreds of thousands of manuscripts, slips of paper, letters and documents - no one tried to hide these, their existence was known, but until the middle of the 19th century no one was really interested in reconstructing medieval Jewish history. Judaism was and as it was so it was believed it had always been; in the sense of development, of change, it simply was not part of the Jewish consciousness.

But in the 19th century we began to become interested in our history again, how we grew into what we now are. And as Jews in Europe began to travel east to see the great wonders of the Nile delta, of the pyramids, there were a few learned Jews among them, Jews who liked to buy trinkets in the bazaar with a Mogen David on it or something of this kind, and all of a sudden these travelers began to come back to Europe with this old piece of Jewish parchment and they showed it to their rabbi, and their rabbi puzzled over it and suspicious over it and the more he studied it the more he recognized its antiquity, and finally a number of scholars from Russia, from France, from England, even from the United States began to make their way to Cairo and they purchased from the synagogue bagfuls and trunkfuls of the documents, and these were brought out. And, finally, in the first decade of this century, when a number of the pieces of the genizah began to be hawked openly in the bazaars of Cairo Solomon Schecter, a great rabbinic scholar, who was later to become president of the Jewish Theological Seminary, who was then the reader in rabbinics at Cambridge University in England, received a grant from the University library to go out to Cairo to buy all the documents that remained in this genizah and so he did. The University of Cambridge has the greatest collection, the collections in Dropsie College, the Jewish Theological Seminary, at Leningrad, a number of private collections and one piece from the genizah even came into our own museum. It's this piece which I have in front of you this morning. This is the top of a ketubah or marriage contract between a certain Shimyon, Simon, and a certain Miriam, who were members of the Egyptian community in Cairo early in the 16th century. The text of the ketubah, unfortunately, is lost which would have listed her dowry, how many blankets and pillowcases and slips she brought with her into the marriage, but we

do have the date, we do have the top of the marriage contract with the lines from the psalms wishing the young couple well, and somehow or other this private wedding license of theirs has survived through the century and it suggests what in fact is true, that we can read a great deal about the private life of a Jewish community and all those who dealt with that community for over a thousand years. You can imagine this is a resource without price to historians. As a matter of fact, it has allowed us to reconstruct what was heretofore unknown, a largely unknown, area of Jewish history, the history of the Jews of the Muslim world, the Jews who lived under Islam, a history which was rich in culture and rich in achievement, but of which we had very little documentation and now we have all of this and we have found so many things of priceless worth.

There's a book in the Apocrypha called The Wisdom of Ben Sirach. It's like the book of Proverbs in the Bible. It's a book of aphorisms, of maxims, having to do with how to lead one's life, written in the 2nd century BCE by a school teacher. Joshua Ben Sirach who lived in Jerusalem. We had until the Cairo genizah was found only a retranslation of the Hebrew original. The Cairo genizah gave us the original text, we can now discover exactly what Joshua Ben Sirach had to say. The worship service which is common still today in the orthodox tradition was organized in the second century of the CE in Palestine, that is, the framework of the service was organized, and between the 2nd century and the 10th century there was a great deal of development of hymns and of special prayers. We have the hymns and special prayers which were developed among the Babylonian Jews and which became common in Europe, but we did not have the poems and the prayers developed among Palestinian Jews and became important in Muslim Spain and throughout the Muslim world. We knew some of the names of the poets, Kalir, Yanai, men of this kind, but we

had very little that had been written by them, a poem here, a phrase there. The Cairo genizah has given us literally thousands of poems, thousands of hymns, written by these men and in many cases have given us some indication of the melody, of the rhythm with which these hymns were sung. We knew very little about the relationship between Jewish communities throughout that world. What kind of class structure did they have? What kind of businesses were they engaged in? What role did their religious leaders have? All this stands revealed. We now can write a history of the Jews of North Africa because we know more than the simple listing of the names of the men who were there. We know a great deal about the relationship in foreign trade which existed between the Jewish communities. It's fascinating, but in the 10th, 11th, 12th centuries Jews in Spain would send cargoes of goods, silver, ceramics, woven textiles, to Tunisia or Sicily where they be sold for flax or for wool or for some other commodity and trans-shipped to the Jewish community in Cairo where they be sold for jewels or some other commodity and trans-shipped to the Persian Gulf or even to India. And there were Jewish communities and Jewish merchants in Madras and Bombay, the ports of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, in Cairo and Alexandria, Baghdad and Palermo, and the cities of Tunisia, Tatlempken in Algeria and along the Spanish coast, Marseilles, Barcelona; and they were all related to each other by correspondence, by visits, through marriage, and they developed one of the most interesting networks of international trade which existed before modern times. All this stands revealed. And as you can imagine it's a magnificent thrill to be sifting through this material and suddenly come across a hand-written letter by a man whose philosophy you've read, whose poetry you have sung, a man of the nature of Judah ha Levi. Sifting through this material they came across a letter,

several letters, by the hand of Judah ha Levi, the great singer of Zion, the author of the Kuzari. In one of those he stands revealed with the ego of any author, he was writing to some of his compatriots in Alexandria, telling them what a wonderful book he wrote, the Kuzari, including all kinds of advertisements from friends who had read it and approved it. In another such letter we find the image we have of Judah ha Levi as a neurasthenic poet, thin, interested only in the emotions and feelings is in fact a false one, because we find him engaged in this very same international trade. He writes bills of lading for ships part of whose cargo he owns, sending them to Algeria and to Egypt, and we read something of the love, the family concerns, the heartaches of these men. Judah ha Levi had a beautiful daughter and Abraham ebn Ezra, one of the great poets of the Spanish-Jewish community and a fine biblical scholar, had a good-looking son and the two of them were married, and the wedding must have been a grand one. Both families had yihus, a great inheritance, they were important families in Spain, these are fine young people and a great future was predicted for them. Judah ha Levi took his son=in-law and his daughter along with him when he made his final pilgrimage from Spain to Palestine where he died at the walls of Jerusalem. And then the daughter and the son-in-law went up to Baghdad where they became members of a household of a very important Jew in the city who was also the physician. It was a very cosmopolitan household. They had all the things they could want. He had an important position in the entourage of this most important Jew of Baghdad and suddenly calamity struck. This physician to the Sultan failed to cure the Sultan's favorite wife, and this physician who was also something of a biblical scholar was given the choice of conversion to Islam or death and he converted to Islam. And out of fear perhaps, out of the attractiveness of the cosmopolitan world which he found himself in, the sign of two of the most famous of the

rabbinic philosophic families in Jewish life converted along with this Baghdadi Jew, his master, he and Judah ha Levi's daughter. And then he had herata, then he suffered with all the pain and the anguish of having taken an act impulsively, perhaps under pressure, perhaps an act in which he didn't really believe, but what could one do? To reconvert, to apostetize Islam was a capital offense. Muslims very rarely forced Jews to convert, but once a Jew had converted he couldn't revert. The only way to revert was to leave Baghdad and to go to a Christian land, to the Byzantine Empire, and there obviously the Byzantine Catholics did not care if a Muslim remained a Muslim. So with great stealth Judah ha Levi's daughter and her husband made their way to Constantinople. He became very sick along the way and what we found in the genizah were a number of letters from his father, Abraham eban Ezra, written from Spain and from France and from Italy asking one friend or another do you know where my son and my daughter-in-law are. I want to get to them, I hear he's sick. I hear he became very sick during his escape. You can see the father trying to get closer and closer to the son to be of help to him, of friends trying to help the father with information, what they picked up during their trade about the son's whereabouts. And finally, last, one heart-breaking letter in which Abraham eban Ezra says that he got to Constantinople, but his son had already died. It was too late.

This is the kind of fascinating personal history one finds. And then along a few years ago they were sifting through some of this material and they suddenly came across a letter written in the hand, the long hand, of Moses Maimonides. The first letter they found by Moses Maimonides written in his own hand was a series of medical advice which he had given to someone who had consulted him. And on the back of the letter, because parchment was very very precious, he had included a series of rabbinic decisions having to do with how certain funds which had been

dedicated to a synagogue were to be disbursed. And then later they came across another letter from Moses Maimonides, a letter in which he responds to a friend who had written to him in consolation, to comfort him on the death of his brother. Moses Maimonides had a younger brother David and when Moses Maimonides settled in 1168 he was a member of this very synagogue in which the genizah was found. When Moses Maimonides settled there his brother settled in Fostat with him and undertook to supply the dollars which allowed Maimonides to study and to be a physician. He had engaged in international trade and during one of these trips very early on in their settlement in Egypt, in 1170, just two years after they arrived there, David was sailing from Port Sudan on the Persian Gulf to Bombay and his ship was destroyed by a storm or by bandits and he died and was never heard from since. And he was presumed to be dead and a friend wrote to Maimonides to console him on the death of his favorite brother. That's interesting enough. Moses Maimonides responds as you might imagine, but then, about two years ago, three years ago, the scholars came across the very last letter that David Ben Maimon, the brother, ever wrote to Moses, his brother. It's a letter written from the Persian Gulf of Idab. It's a fascinating letter. It's a letter which tells something of the dangers of life in those days, about the recklessness of youth, and it gives us an insight into how these men lived which we would not have had otherwise into tragedy and all of its essence. It seems that David had loaded up family wealth into goods and his job was to take the goods down the Nile to Luxor, and then by camel caravan from Luxor east to one of the Persian Gulf ports where he was to load the silk, brocade and the spice on a ship bound for Bombay and then he was to return to Cairo. Others were to be the factors who would take the goods Well, according to this letter which David sent to Moses, he came down with the other merchants on the Nile to Luxor and there they all sort of swarmed around

camel

for a few weeks waiting for a great big caravan to form so that it would be strong enough so that it could repel the brigands and the robbers who attacked these caravans wherever they moved and David and a young friend of his finally became impatient. They knew that if they got to the Persian Gulf first they would get the best strongest ship for their goods and if the ship men felt the caravan might not make it to the port that year the cost of shipping would go down. There would be a number of economic advantages to them, so throwing discretion and caution to the wind they abandoned the caravan, set out on their own, made it across the desert in brief time and without incident, were able to secure the right kind of cartage on the ship for their goods and then, lo and behold, a week later as they were about to set back for Cairo the larger caravan arrived from Luxor at this Persian Gulf town and all of the merchants had been robbed by bandits of all of their goods. Now David is puffed up by his accomplishment. Recklessness has paid off and moved by one accomplishment he tells his brother he's going to prove himself as a fine merchant, a successful man, he's going to board ship and take the goods himself to Bombay. Obviously he'll get a better price there for them than anybody else. So moved by his first success he undertakes a second and obviously he overreaches himself at the cost of his own life. And that's the last letter that Moses Maimonides ever received from his brother.

It's fascinating to read this material also because you have a sense of the problems of acculturation and assimilation which were faced by Jews of that day even as they are faced by this. Let me cite one. It's hard to believe in this day of woman's liberation, but it's an interesting sidelight on that whole problem. The Jewish woman never had equal rights with a man, but she had a great deal more freedom than the average Muslim woman. A Muslim merchant wanted his woman to stay at home in the deepest recesses of the house, never to be seen abroad and if she went abroad

she had always to be accompanied by members of the household and to be thoroughly veiled. And it seemed that a number of the richer merchants in the Jewish community of Cairo thought this must be an act of some kind of virtue, value, and they began to put pressure on their wives not to appear in public. And so we find in 1135 of this era a certain woman, a Jewish woman, by the name of Zephera, an Arabic word which translates to the name of Victoria in English, but this certain woman, Victoria, appeared before the bet din, the court of Cairo, and she appealed to the court against her husband who was trying to force her to remain at home, to act like a Muslim woman. She wanted the freedom of a Jewish wife and there's a very interesting document there which says yes, she is to be given this freedom, she is to be allowed to go any place a respectable Jewish woman can be seen, and then they go on to enumerate the places where this woman can appear: her friend's house, the micvah, the bath house, not the golf course, not the tennis course, but nonetheless. Interestingly, despite the wisdom of the courts apparently the issue didn't work out because in another batch of documents from 11 years later, 1146, they found the bill of divorce in which the husband finally divorced this woman who wouldn't stay home and act like a good Muslim woman should.

One of the things that's interesting from this whole series of documents which are now being published is the impression you get of a Jewish community which has so much and at the same time so little. When we were in religious school most of us were told about the Golden Age of Jews in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. They were wealthy, many of them, they were merchants, they were cultured, there's a great efflorescence of poetry, of philosophy, of thought. Indeed, one of the reasons that so many of the 1900, 1910, 1920 congregations were built in Oriental style in America, in the 20th century, was the fact that these congregations were trying to

ape what they felt had been the style of Jewish building during that previous Golden Age. But what you discover then, and I suppose it's the truth that Jews are discovering again today, is that a minority never has the security of the majority and that wealth does not peace make. What you find in this world is a great longing for the messiah, for redemption, for peace, for salvation. It was a world like our world of wealthy, middle-class, seemingly secure Jews who were good Zionists who somehow knew that only in Zion, only among our own, was there true security so their longings for the messiah, their prayers are for a swift coming, and perhaps the best way to sum up the mood of this great world is the conclusion, the salutation, of so many of the letters. You have a document, family document, business document, it will be signed and witnessed, and the very last line will read: Shalom Israel, may Israel know peace. And you read now the biographies of men whom we hardly knew a hundred years ago but whose lives we can reconstruct and almost every one of these men made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and found some kind of encouragement by touching again the soil of the hely city.

It was a tough life. It was a life which knew prosperity and then saw that prosperity in the 13th, 14th centuries disappear. The beginning was better than the end. There were more years of less than there were years of abundance. That's been the history of a number of Jewish communities, but it's a fascinating one. It's left us its records. Its mail is worth the reading and if you're ever moved to read that mail, if you're just curious about it, pick some of the books in our Temple library, Miss Leikind will make them available to you, and enjoy it, and perhaps all of us can learn one thing or express one hope and that might be to pick up this custom of ending our letters to each other Shalom Israel, may Israel know peace.

Kaddish

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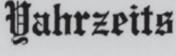
JANUARY 19

## Those who passed away this week

DR. J. EDGAR FISHER FANNIE HOLSTEIN

JACOB LEVIN (LEV-'n)

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