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The Jews of Rome, 1985.

The Jews of Rome
Daniel Jeremy Silver
February 24, 1985

IN
This past week Shimon Peres, the Prime Minister of Israel, visited Rome.
with
He visited Mr. Craxi the Italian Prime Minister, who is ~~this half year~~ ^{the current} the
Chairman of the Council of the European Community. Israel, obviously, is interest-
ed in the role that the ~~EEC~~ ^{Western European States} will or will not play in the current attempts by
various Arab states to push ahead ^{for} on U.S.-Arab negotiations which they believe
would be advantageous to the Arab cause.

When
While ~~Peres~~ Peres visited Pope John Paul II. He represented ~~at this~~
meeting a community which antedates by centuries ^{any Christian presence} the ~~Vatican~~ in Rome. Three
centuries before any priest ^{was to be seen or} appeared in Rome, five centuries before there ^{ever} was a
Roman bishop, eight centuries before the ~~first~~ ^{Rome's Bishop} had become the Pope, there was a ^{thriving}
Jewish community in Rome. It is one of history's paradoxes that these relative
newcomers find it difficult to recognize, if not the existence of ^{Rome's} ~~the Roman~~ Jew-
ish community, certainly the existence of the Jewish people. The Papacy has yet ^{officially}
to recognize the Jewish State. Vatican newspapers continue to describe Israel
as the Holy Land. ~~To be sure,~~ There have been numerous contacts between the
Vatican and Israel, but ^{no church always} ~~these~~ stop short of recognition. ^{The Papacy in recent years} Surprisingly, this
~~particular papacy which has concerned itself forthrightly with any number of~~
issues of justice and peace ^{been} ~~has been~~ so tardy and Byzantine ^{involving with many} ~~that it cannot ac-~~
^{matter of acceptance} ~~cept~~ the reality of Israel. The Vatican pleads ^{its} concern for the fate of Catholic
minorities in the Arab world - a concern not much in evidence in Lebanon. The
real reason would seem to be the Vatican's determination to have some political
^{will give it a political position} ~~control~~ in Jerusalem and her difficulty ^{and with an arrangement which} is seeing Jerusalem as the capital of the
Jewish State. ^{A theological difficulty}

I found it interesting that this week, when we were schedud to talk about
the Jewish community in Rome that ^{It was should highlight} ~~we would be thinking of~~ a visit there by ^{an Israeli} ~~Jewish~~

statesmen, because the first contact between Jews and Rome was ^{A SIMILAR} just such a visit in the year 161 B.C.E.

Four years earlier, Judah the Maccabee and his Hasmonean followers had reconquered the Temple Mount from the Syrian Greeks. ^{ANNA HAL} They proceeded to cleanse ^{THE} this Temple so that Jews could again appropriately worship God there, ^{THE} once the ^{THE DEDICATION WAS OF COURSE} rites were completely observed, the first Hanukah. ^{THAT HANUKKAH} These events did not mean ^{SYMBOL} that peace reigned in the land. The war between the Syrian Greeks and the Judeans went on for another twenty years.

During this ^{PERIOD OF PROTRACTED STRUGGLE} long and difficult period, Judah looked around for political, financial and military support. ^{HE} Judah's search coincided with the first intrusion of Roman influence in the eastern Mediterranean. ^{ROMAN EXPANSIONIST STRATEGY} Roman policy was directed ^{AND} towards undermining the strength of the ^{VARIOUS} Hellenistic empires which ^{WERE} ^{WAS} the result of the conquests of Alexander. The Romans were quite prepared to receive ^{WHO WERE ROMAN'S NATURAL} ambassadors from ^{REBELS} against the Ptolemies and Seleucids since such revolts ^{ALLIES} suited their purposes. The chronicles of the Hasmonians ^{CONTAIN} a rather full record of the delegation which ^{JUDAH} the Jews sent to Rome. It was led by a ^{WELL BORN} noble priest and a nobleman. ^{AND WAS} They were received with customary pomp, as the text ^{MAINTAINS}

Judas the Maccabee accordingly chose Eupolemus, the son of John a priest, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome to conclude a treaty of friendship and alliance, so that the Romans might rid them of tyranny, for it was clear that the Greek empire was reducing Israel to slavery. The ambassadors made the long journey to Rome where they spoke as follows: 'Judas, known as the Maccabee, his brothers and the Judean people have sent us to you to conclude a treaty of friendly alliance with you, so that we may be enrolled as your allies and friends.' The Romans found the proposal acceptable

and the following is a copy of the reply which they inscribed on tablets of bronze and sent to Jerusalem, so that the Jews there might have a record of the treaty of alliance, and this is the text.

Success to the Romans and the Jewish nation by sea and land forever! May sword and foe be far from them! But if war breaks out first against Rome or any of her allies throughout her dominion, then the Jewish nation shall support them whole-heartedly as occasion may require. To the enemies of Rome or of her allies the Jews shall neither give nor supply provisions, arms, money, or ships; so Rome has decided; and they shall observe their commitments, without compensation.

Similarly, if war breaks out first against the Jewish nation, then the Romans shall give them hearty support as occasion may require. To their enemies there shall be given neither provisions, arms, money, nor ships; so Rome has decided. These commitments shall be kept without breach of faith.

These are the terms of the agreement which the romans have made with the Jewish people. But if, hereafter, both parties shall agree to add or to rescind anything, then they shall do as they decide; any such addition or rescindment shall be valid.

NOTICE THAT
The text of ~~such~~ mutual defense treaties has not changed ~~very~~ much ^{over the} ~~in the last~~ 22
or 23 hundred years. And it was true then, as it is today, that ~~when~~ nations
signed treaties of friendship, ^{each has his own} ~~each has his own~~ hidden, or not so hidden, ^{agenda.}
The ~~Roman agenda~~ and ^{CONTINUATION} the Judean agenda ^{was to survive}! The Roman agenda ^{was to}
extend the imperium of Rome into the East. ^{WOLF ASTOR} And not many decades later, in the
70's B.C E., Rome dispatched two of her ablest generals, Lukalis and Pompeii,
east and the legions which they led overran the remnants of the Sellucid Empire
and this was annexed to Rome. And they treated Judea without direct annexation
by turning Judea essentially into a puppet state. Pompeii found when he went
east that the Hasmoneans were fighting among themselves. They were, for the
moment, being ruled by a queen, Salome Alexandra, and Salome had two sons,
Aristobulous and Herkanus. And the two sons had taken armies into the fields

and were fighting with each other to see who would have the right of inheritance. And after listening to the arguments of both sides, which was essentially who had the bigger bribe to give, Pompeii decided that he would support the allies of Herkenus and the party of Herkenus opened the gates of Jerusalem to the Roman legions and Pompeii entered the city and invested it; and then he beseiged the remnants of the party of Aristobulous on the Temple Mount and, somewhat to the chagrin of Herkenus and his party who had not anticipated this, he reduced the defenses of the Temple Mount and entered the Temple which was prohibited to those who were pagan. In any case, the might of Rome could not be opposed and Pompeii brought back with him to Rome a large number of Judean war captives who became a large portion of the first Jewish community of Rome. There had been traders and other people who had come to Rome in the previous century or so, but this was the first large body of Jews, of Judeans. They were brought as prisoners of war. There were noblemen among them and there were peasants among them, and as is the case some were killed, many were sold in slavery, some ultimately became freed men, and this community now numbered 5-6 thousand souls and is the beginning of a sizeable Jewish presence in Rome.

Because Pompeii had violated the authority which Herkanus thought he had and desicrated the Temple by entering into it, even into the Holy of Holies, when war broke out subsequently between Caesar and Pompeii, Herkanus sided with Caesar. The Jewish community around the Roman world sided with Caesar and they lent him great support in his then world-wide struggle for ultimate authority in the Roman Republic. And when Caesar won the day, Caesar proclaimed a number of regulations which became the basis of Jewish life in the pagan Roman world for the next three centuries. The Jews were declared a *regelio rekega*, that is a legitimate religion who had the right to publicly carry out their rituals and their services. Jews were given the right to organize as a *colagia*, that is as a group of people who could meet together publicly for civic purposes. They were allowed the

right of collecting in all of their communities what was called the *fiscus Judais*, the temple tax, the half sheckle or *dolalr* or so collected from every Jew around the world for the upkeep of the Temple in Jerusalem. They were allowed to establish their *hosuchez*, which was the Latin term for synagogues, synagogues in Rome and in the Empire. And this kind of rather favorable treatment remained essentially the basis of Jewish legitimacy in Rome and the Roman Empire until the age of Constantine in the fourth century.

Now, it was not always easy sailing for the Jews of Rome. On the one level there were the patrician Jews, the nobles, who came as hostages, who came as members of an elite class and who mingled with the elite of Rome. And we have evidence of Jews being raised as adopted sons by Augustus and by Claudius and by other of the Roman heirarchy. On the other hand, most of the Jews of Rome were impoverished. There were small artisans, small shopkeepers. A number of them were beggars. A number of them were actors which seems to have been one of the lowest of professions in that time and place. And they were part of the urban proletariat of Rome. The community tended to center on the right bank of the river in Transtivery and we know that by this first century they had established 12 or 13 synagogues. It's estimated that there were between 20 and 40 thousand Jews in Rome out of a population of about a million. Their lives were not always easy. On the one hand, the patricians were accepted for their class and their wealth. On the other hand, the Judeans, after all, seemed to have an oriental religion which the pagans of Rome did not understand. Their mythology was far more austere and their religion far more state-centered, and many were looked upon as sorcerers or magicians and fortune-tellers and people of that kind. And I'm afraid we had our share of *genovim*, not such nice citizens.

In the year 19 we have an interesting incident. And this incident which is revealing at one and the same time of the fear of the strange and of the attraction of the strange to Rome. It is very clear from historical evidence that

a number of the patrician class particularly were attracted to Judaism and became, at the very least, Sabbath observers. There was no such thing as a rest day in Rome, a Sunday or a Sabbath day. And those who became Jewish converts were known largely by the fact that they were Sabbath observers. One day a week was a rest day to them. As a matter of fact, one of the satires which and others who wrote these kinds of plays raise against the Jews that they are lazy. Proof? One day a week they won't work.

In any case, there was a woman named Fuldia, a noble woman. Her husband, a man named Sakanainis, was a rich senator in Rome. Fulvia was attracted to Judaism, she was a Sabbath observer, and, as today, the organizations in Israel send out Schlihim, schnorers, people to raise money for one cause or another, and a group of schlehim came from the Temple, or presumably came from the Temple in Jerusalem, and they raised from Fulvia a great deal of money to guarantee that a plaque would be put up to her on the wall of the Temple in Jerusalem. The problem was they were thieves, con men, and they simply pocketed this gold and this silver and went their way. And Sakanainis who had good contacts in Rome complained to the counsel of the year, a man named Sujanis, and Sujanis who was interested anyway in eradicating the orientalization of many of the people of Rome apparently ordered the expulsion of the Jews which was, incidentally, not carried out; but he did, in fact, round up several hundred young Jewish men whom he conscripted into the army and sent off to Sardinia where these Jews were put to the work of trying to go into the mountains to root out the robbers who lived off of the tariffs by preying on the traders who moved from city to city.

One of the interesting things about Rome is that a great deal of Roman energy in the first and second century was spent in fighting Jews. The Jews, after all, rose in revolt against Rome in the year 66. They remained in revolt for six years until that revolt was finally crushed in 72. The Temple, as you remember, was destroyed. It was a very costly rebellion for the Romans as well

as for the Jews. The Jews of Tripoli, of Libya, of Cyprus and of parts of North Africa rose in rebellion in the year 112, 115. The issue was almost always taxation. Rome ruled with an iron fist. And then again in 132, under Bar Kochba, you will recall there was a second great revolt in Judea. For a time Bar Kochba was able to recapture Jerusalem until in 135 the Roman legions again overwhelmed the Judean resistance.

Now, despite these constant battles with the Judeans or with Jews of the diaspora, the Jews in Rome seem not to have suffered because of the actions of their co-religionists nor, incidentally, do they seem to have very much gone to the defense of their co-religionists. We are one is one of those slogans which is often proven by the exception rather than by the rule. One is not sure what the Jewish community of Rome could have done on behalf of the Jews rebelling in the Middle East; but we do know that when John Bascala and Bargiora and the other leaders of the revolt and thousands of those soldiers who had fought in the revolt were marched in Titus's triumphal procession back to Rome, and many were sacrificed to the animals or to the gladiators in the arena which, incidentally, the coliseum had been built largely with Jewish war captives brought back by Pompeii, the Jews of Rome were there and must have watched these Judeans being brought in chains into the capital. And the same thing occurred again after the defeat of 135.

Now, it's interesting to note that there was in Jerusalem at the time a group of people who seemed to have been relatively indifferent to the fate of their fellow Jews. Titus, he who destroyed the Temple, had a mistress by the name of Baranis, a Jewess, who was a princess of the Hasmonean house. And one of the great captives brought back from Judea, a former general of the Judean army, Josephus, was brought back he had prophesied to Vespasian that he would become emperor, and he became emperor and remembered this oriental who had prophesied so well for him and he wrote the famous histories of the Jews in order

to justify being a Benedict Arnold, but, at the same time, to reveal to the Romans the glories and the glorious history of the Jewish community. And somehow these two worlds co-existed: the world in which Jews were revolting and were being defeated in their homeland, and the role of the capital of the diaspora in which a community is struggling to survive, and except for an occasional act of anger which was vented against them, managed to survive with a good deal of ease given the situation for the next several centuries. The great change which overcame the Jewish community of Rome would not come to the age of Constantine. And what we know of the earlier history we know not only from a few texts, but we know also from the catacombs, the evidence of the mausoleums of this Jewish community. The Romans cremated their dead. Judeans were in the habit of burying their dead. The dead would be buried in the ground. The bones would then be collected and they would be put in caves. In Rome the practice seems to have been to put the body directly into an underground burial place, an underground mausoleum, and these mausoleums were extensive. Their Mayfield Cemeterys were of the size of ours except they were all underground. And we believe that between the second century B.C.E. and the third century of the C.E. there must have been upwards of 100,000 such burials of Jews in Rome. But when you go to Rome and you're taken to see the catacombs, all the catacombs that you visit are Christian catacombs. The Christians of Rome got the custom of burying their dead in this way from the Jews who had already been doing it for several centuries before Christians ever came to Rome. And, of course, the religious communities buried their own in their own caves. We don't know how many of these catacombs, the name seems to come from a particular district in Rome where a number of these underground caverns were cut out. We don't know how many existed at one time. Six have been visited and located in the last century or so. Three of these have not yet been lost to urban expansion, lost to the great shovels of the contractors as they build foundations for apartments and what not. And these catacombs have yielded

any number of inscriptions, some 600 of them, which tell us a good bit about the inner history of this community. We know, for instance, that almost all of the inscriptions are in Greek, not in Latin. Few are in Hebrew. Hebrew is limited to an occasional Shalom or Shalom Yisroel, peace to Israel.

Clearly, it was an Hebraically illiterate community. It was a community which like most Jews of the eastern Mediterranean spoke Greek and continued to speak Greek long after Roman domination; although in the second and third century Latin becomes more pronounced. By and large, as in America, today, the Jews named their children and grandchildren with conventional names of the community rather than with Biblical names. You find Procopius and Nikanor and Bulia rather than Ruth or Jonathan. You never find Abraham. There's no Joseph. There's no Moses. There's no Isaiah. There are simply the names that are familiar names to the Roman world including, interestingly, the names of gods of the Roman and Greek worlds.

On the other hand, we find evidence of great interest in synagogues. Thirteen synagogues are named. A number of men are identified as arche synagogos which would be the equivalent of president of the synagogue, of Garusiarchs, members of the synagogue board. The board was called a garusia. A number of these people had indications that they had converted to Judaism. There's one inscription which tells of a certain Baturia, a Roman matron, converted at the age of 70, took the name Sarah, and then for the last sixteen years of her life was declared mother of a particular synagogue. She must have been a fairly wealthy woman who gave a good bit of money to that particular synagogue. If you want a title as mother I'll give it to you, for a price.

It was not an educated community. We know of no scholars who were native-born. We hear in the Talmud of a certain Fudas, a very well-intentioned Jew of Rome, who tried to organize the community and who wanted to remind them that they ought to be pious; and so he decided that the Jewish community ought to do

what the Bible says Jews do, and that is to sacrifice the paschal sacrifice on the Passover. And a delegation happened at that time to be coming from Palestine and they were aghast at this idea that outside of Jerusalem you would actually sacrifice the lamb for the Passover and they gently reminded Fudas that this was no longer the way even though the Bible suggested this is the way. And they decided when they got back to Jerusalem that they better send one of their own, a scholar, to Rome to put things right. And so they sent a man named Mati ben Heresh, a scholar, to Rome, and he established a school and he put things right and when he died things went right back to as they had always been.

In the fourth century fate turned against the Jewish community of Rome. Constantine proclaimed what is called the Edict of Toleration which was the acceptance of Christianity as a religion which could be practiced openly and then he did two things which were forever after to affect Jewish life in the Mediterranean area and particularly in Italy and in Rome. The first is that he moved the capital from Rome to Byzantium, to move the central administrative authority eastward. Rome became essentially a provincial center. It was no longer the capital of a great empire. And secondly, through his conversion Christianity ultimately becomes the church-state of the empire. And those who had been for some time persecuted became the persecutors, quickly, and a whole series of laws were passed which undid all the edicts which Caesar had promulgated so many centuries before. Now Jews were prohibited from sending money to Jerusalem for any purpose. And *fiscus judais* was still collected, but went for particular purposes of the state. They were prohibited from owning slaves which meant that they couldn't engage in any kind of medium or large-scale farming or manufacturing. They could not intermarry with non-Jews under pain of death. They could not convert a non-Jew under pain of death. Increasingly, they were to wear certain kinds of distinctive garments. They were not to be allowed permission to build any new

synagogues or to repair existing synagogues, and that whole unfortunate, medieval origin of the laws of apartheid, religious apartheid, began to become the law of the Roman Empire. And, of course, many of the churchmen in their fanaticism encouraged from time to time the mobs to attack the synagogues, to attack Jews. So Rome goes through a long period of decline. By the 5th or 6th century the city of one million had become a city of less than 50,000 and the Jewish community goes into a similar kind of decline.

Interestingly, in the year 453 when the vandals attack this once great capital and capture it, they found in the Temple of Pise vessels which Titus had brought from the Temple of Jerusalem five centuries before: a great golden menorah, a table of the show bread, all of the great vessels of the Temple had been kept in the forum of the Temple of Pise for all those centuries on public exhibit. And the vandals, sweeping through, looking only for loot, booty, simply took all of these vessels and took them with them to North Africa where they disappear entirely from view. They were apparently melted down and used for coin or some other purpose.

Rome goes into a period where it's a pale shadow of its former self. The Dark Ages come. The papacy establishes itself as a dominant authority in Rome, eighth, ninth centuries. The papacy is a small island of beliterate people in a larger pond of largely illiterate peoples, and it's precisely at this time that the Jewish community of Rome emerges as a learned community. We don't know quite how it all happened, but we do know that by the ninth century, and particularly in the tenth century, Rome becomes a center of rabbinic scholarship. There was a family known as Colonomas, many of whom composed religious poetry for the synagogue, others of whom are known for having written books dealing with various aspects of Jewish law.

There was another group of families known as Yoheal and a man named Nathan ben Yohaël of Rome wrote what was essentially the Encyclopedia Britannica of

Jewish law in the Middle Ages. It was called the ^{Daruch} ~~Aruch~~, that which is complete. It was a complete drawing together of all the historic legal information about Jewish life as it was developed in the Talmud and the midrashim and the codes and along with Rashi's commentary on the Talmud and Maimonides' great code of law, Daruch was the third of the great texts which gave to medieval Jewry the basic knowledge of rabbinism on which they developed their learning.

And so in the 9th and 10th century Rome has a smallish Jewish community, maybe two or three thousand souls, but it is now a rabbinic community. It is now a community which has its own schools. It has its own rabbis. It develops a literary tradition of some quality and it is, by and large, saved by the fact that the papacy requires the literacy of members of this community for a number of its important functions. And so one of the paradoxes of the Middle Ages is that though it was in Rome that most of the harshest apartheid legislation imposed by the church on Jewish communities in Christendom was promulgated, it was in Rome that until the 16th century the Jewish community suffered the least from this apartheid legislation. There were Jews who were physicians to various popes. There were Jews who served in the bureaucracy of various popes, being administrators of one thing or another. There were Jews who provided various kinds of goods and services to those who worked in the papacy. And all during the Middle Ages there was a kind of symbiotic relationship between Jews and the papacy where the papacy would hurl anathemas against Judaism, call Judaism a nefarious faith, Jews a deicidal people, published what we call the teachings of contempt; but, at the same time, insists that the person of the Jew must not be attacked and put the Jews of Rome under their personal protection. They were useful to the papacy. And it was during these centuries that the great myth developed of a Jewish pope. It was a very popular myth among the Jewish communities in the Middle Ages.

It is told this way, that there was a Jew, an Ashkenazic Jew in Germany,

a scholar, who had a young son named El Hanan and El Hanan was kidnapped by priests when he was an infant, a not unusual event in those days, and baptized and brought up in a monastery. And having a Yiddish a kopf, being bright, he developed very well in the lower heirarchies of the church and quickly went up the ladder of the priesthood, the deaconate, became a bishop and ultimately he became the pope. And once he became the pope, according to the folk legend, he sought to find, the way Joseph did, the truth about his ancestry and he hauled in, using his authority as pope, the priests who had raised him, the monks who had raised him, and he forced them to tell him about his parentage. He found out who his father was. He brought his father to Rome. They had a reunion. The father convinced the son of the truth of Judaism and, therefore, of the falsity of Christianity and the pope, according to this Jewish folk legend, then goes up to the roof of the Vatican church, delivers a great impassioned message about Judaism to all those who are assembled below and throws himself down on to the street, committing suicide.

Now, the truth of this story is far different. Around the year 1100 a Jew in Rome, who we would call overly ambitious and upwardly mobile, by the name of Baruch changed his name to Benedictus. He had made a little money. He wanted to protect his money and it was to his advantage to be baptized. It wasn't enough to be baptized. He found his way to marry the impoverished daughter of a great Roman noble family and he continued to amass a fortune as a Catholic. He had a son. He named his son Peter. Peter was as true to banker and as grasping a man as his father had been. And Peter had a son named Leo. And Leo was as good a banker and as greedy a man as his father and his grandfather had been. And by the time that Leo had established this house of Rothschild, they had bought the land on an island in the Tiber River which sits just opposite Castle San Angelo and they had built a medieval fortress which was their turf on this island and they had become the great banking house of Peter Leon, Pierre Leone.

And to establish their authority even further, Leo induced one of his sons to go to the church and he, through his various donations, insured the prosperity of his son in church activity and ultimately bought for him the papacy. The papacy was bought for most of the Middle Ages. The Schwartz's or the Pierre Leones or one or another of the great houses would simply buy the votes which would insure that one of them would rule the lands because it was an empire and would have the income and the political power which went with the papacy. In this case it was the Pierre Leones who bought the papacy and the great grandson of Baruch became a pope under the name of Anacletus II.

Now, no one would have thought much about the fact that a fourth generation Roman Catholic had become pope if it were not for the myths and the prejudices of the time and the energies of a certain Bernard of Clairvo. Bernard of Clairvo was one of the great monastic reformers of the time, a Siscertian monk, one of the great preachers of the crusades. And Bernard of Clairvo was of that school, once a Jew always a Jew, and he led a great campaign against Anacletus on the grounds that he was of that nefarious tribe, that he was a Jew pope, and that no Jew ought to sit on the throne of Christ. And it was because of the fulminations of Bernard of Clairvo that the myth developed of the Jewish pope. For better or for worse, all popes have been good Catholics.

Now, through the Renaissance the Jewish community in Rome remained under all these rules of apartheid but protected largely by their contacts with whoever was the pope. But with the counter-Reformation, in the middle of the 16th century, the situation of the Jewish community in Rome deteriorated rapidly and swiftly and remained the most ghettoized, the most persecuted community in western and central Europe until the late 19th century.

When Luther preached the Reformation in Europe, he based his complaints against the church on the text of Scripture. And the threatened church began to blame the Jews for having taught Christians to read the Bible. There was some evidence for this. Jews had taught Erasmus and Reuchlin and a number of the

other humanists of the Renaissance to read Hebrew, to read Greek, and to read the text themselves and to make up their own minds as to what the text meant. At least they had convinced them that there were other interpretations of the text than the ones that the church always had given them. And because the church blamed the Jews for the struggle, for the breakup of the imperium Christianum, the breakup of the unity of Christendom, Paul IV, the great counter-Reformation pope, turned bitterly against the Jews, particularly the Jews of Rome, announced a number of papal bills in which he enforced the rules of Apartheid. The Jews of Rome were now placed into a ghetto. The ghetto is down near the Tiber River in one of the unhealthiest, most pestilential areas of the city. They had one gate and the gate was locked at eight o'clock every night and not unlocked until eight o'clock the next morning. The Jews were not allowed to engage in any business except beggary or selling of most ordinary kinds of simple utensil. The Jews were forced to wear a Jew badge of one kind or another. A tax on Jews was encouraged. It was an ugly and vicious period. And this persecution, which extended to the fact that Jews were forced Sabbath after Sabbath to go into their synagogues to hear conversion sermons preached by Jesuit priests or representatives of the Vatican. But they were forced to raise money for a house which was called the house of Padakumen where young Jews who had been kidnapped from their families were being raised by priests to be Christians and Jews had to pay the costs of this public school, if you will. Their books had to be censored by church censors and nothing could be published within this community unless the church permitted it to be published. And I have in my library any number of volumes of the Talmud or of other texts which were printed in Italy or in Rome during this period in which the censor has gone through and inked out large sections of the text because they were seen to be anti-Catholic or anti-Christian in one way or another. And since we know what the texts really are, most of these texts were, believe me, quite harmless.

In any case, it wasn't until Napoleon that Jews were able, for a very brief period of time, to leave the ghetto, and once Napoleon was defeated the church quickly put the Jews back into the ghetto and it was only with the arrival of the amires of Victor Emanuel in 1870 into Rome that the ghetto walls were broken down and Jews in Rome were allowed to enter the modern world. Roman Jewry had a much shorter experience in modernity than let's say the Jews of Paris or the Jews of London or the Jews of Amsterdam. It begins in 1870 and it ends in the middle of the 1930's. But in that short period of time, in those 60-65 years, the natural processes with which we're familiar, of assimilation and acculturation, took place. Those who were abler quickly earned a living and moved out of the ghetto. The ghetto became largely the place where the poor remained.

By 1900 there was enough money in Rome in the Jewish community to establish a very magnificent Temple. The Jewish community was, however, without real scholarly leadership. Modern Jewry as we know it never made inroads in that community. Those who were accultured largely left the community and found their new ideology, their new faith, in one or another of the great Reform movements of the late 19th and early 20th century.

Jews felt so much a part of the Italian world, and did so so quickly, that any number of the Jews of Italy joined the Fascists in the late 20's and early 30's during the early ages of Mussolini. It was their way of proving that they were 101 percent Italian. And as a matter of fact, in Mussolini's Fascism there was not, in its original promulgation, any real anti-semitism. Mussolini did not begin to move against Jewish interests until his fateful attack on Ethiopia which was part of a concerted campaign on his part to push the British out of the Middle East and to replace them with Italians who would dominate as a colonial power the Middle East. And he saw Zionism as an attempt by the British to secure their footholds and their interests in another part of the Middle East. And so he turned violently anti-Zionist. There was a good deal of Zionist interest and

activity in the Jewish communities of Italy and the Jewish community of Rome and he began to turn the screws to prevent publication of Zionist periodicals, speeches by Zionist leaders and the like.

But then with the arrival of Hitler and the arrangements which were developed in the mid 1930's between German Fascism and Italian Fascism, obviously the anti-semitism which was part and parcel of their very purpose of German Fascism began to affect the Italian scene. And the Jews of Italy began to suffer and to be sequestered. But it's interesting to note that as long as Italy remained a partner within the axis, the Jews of Italy were not deported to the concentration camps and to the death camps. It was not until Italy, in a sense, resigned from the war. Mussolini, as you will remember, was killed and the Italians declared themselves an independent state in 1943. It was not until then that the Jewish community of Rome and of Venice and of Milan was directly threatened.

By 1943 the Allied armies had occupied the boot of Italy somewhat beyond Naples and so those Jews who lived in the south were now protected by the Allied armies. But Rome was quickly invested by the Germans and the Germans brought with them Herr Himler. Himler organized a great search of Rome and of the other Italian cities under German control for Jews. And it is in late 1943 that the roundup of the Jews of Italy begins and the deportations and the killings begin. And it is at this point in time that the charges begin to be leveled against the Pope and the Vatican that they refused to either protest the hunt for Jews. Many Jews were, in fact, protected by Italian families and that they refused to defend, to do anything in order to defend the rights and the lives of these Italian citizens. In any case, the small Jewish community of Rome, which may have numbered perhaps 15-16,000 at the beginning of the war, lost about 3-4 thousand of its citizens due to the war, due to these roundups. But the bulk of the Italian community, which was never that large in recent years, somehow survived. And after the war was over it began to re-assert that process of

acculturation, of assimilation, which had been going on before the war. There was no great influx of Jews to Italy. Italy has not been a center of economic thrust, of economic prosperity. Many of the young Jews have turned away from their Jewishness and find their salvation in one or another reformist ideology. The Jewish communities, the smaller Jewish communities have emptied out and the Jews have come to Milan, to Rome, to the larger centers. Rome today may have 15-18,000 Jews. There is a consistory, a Jewish organization, and they are attempting to regain control over their past, over the institutions and the archives, and to get a sense of their history and to create a structure which will be adequate to the new world. It's not been an easy road for them to hoe. The Islamic presence is very powerful in Italy in financial circles. Italy has not been able to impose security on its cities and Arab and other terrorists have operated with a good deal of freedom both from the old extreme right of the high church and the new extreme left of the Red terror and some of the Communist groups. There has been a dissemination of anti-semitic caricatures and attempts to limit the ability of Jews to move into the larger society. But these have, for the most part, not been that successful and today you'll find the Jewish community of Rome largely a middle-class community, a community of professionals, a community of merchants, a community of doctors and lawyers and architects, a community not unlike almost any community in the free world.

It's an interesting history, a history which now goes back 2200 years. And what's most interesting about the Jews who live in Rome today is that they are trying for the first time to get a handle on their own history which is to say that according to the concordat of 1870, which was signed between the Republic of Italy and the Vatican, the control of holy places, including the catacombs, was given to the Vatican. And the Vatican has had control of these catacombs, including the Jewish catacombs, ever since. A new concordat, a new set of arrangements has been negotiated in very recent years; and the Jewish community

has encouraged the state to get back from the Vatican the Jewish catacombs to make them possessions of the state in the hope that the Jewish community would be able to raise the money to research these catacombs completely, that they would be able to establish a museum which would tell visually the history of this long-lived community and give them a sense of rootage, a sense of possibility and a sense of the future. And, apparently, as these negotiations move toward completion there is good reason to believe that the Jewish community in Rome will gain through the state control of the three remaining catacombs which are known and that this process can, in fact, move ahead. One of the paradoxes of history is that it is a Communist minister in the Italian government who has been negotiating on behalf of the Jews to regain this control. It is also hoped that in time, whatever the archeologists of the Vatican found in these catacombs which had been studied so far, will be returned to the Jewish community so that they in fact can display and study their own history.

What's the future of the Jewish community of Rome? It's hard to say. Fortunately, modern Judaism in our sense, has had no history, no rootage, in this place. What religious teachings there are are highly traditional. There is no such thing as a Jewish community center as we know it or a modern synagogue as we know it or a modern rabbinate as we know it. And yet, there are youth groups. There are Zionist groups, and one suspects that one way or another, whatever adaptation is possible, will be attempted provided there is the critical mass required for the continuation of this eternal Jewish community in the eternal city. And that question of critical mass is the same question that faces the Jews of Cleveland, Jews anywhere. Will we have children? Will we have grandchildren? The best educational system, the most highly developed Communist structure, is useless unless there are human beings to be part of that structure. And as the Jewish community in Cleveland, as the Jewish community in Rome, becomes a more prosperous community, there seems to be a direct relationship

between prosperity and the number of children in the family, the birth rate drops, and inevitably in an open society there are some who move out and some who move in, but as the birth rate drops the next generation becomes smaller than the generation it was before. And even if you have the institutions and the will there may be no community to survive. And in Italy that sense is palpable. There was something like 28 or 29 Jewish communities in operation in the 1930's throughout Italy. There are only 5 still in operation today. It's very much as the state of Ohio. Almost every small town in the state of Ohio had a synagogue in the 1910's and 20's. And then there was the movement to the larger towns. Now, the small towns have largely been denuded of their Jewish communities. They came to the Columbuses and the Cincinnati's and the Clevelands. And then in Cleveland if we no longer maintain ourselves we'll be the same thing as in Rome. Ultimately, we will not survive.

Rome and Jerusalem represent two of the great religious teachings of the world, eternal communities, who interacted on each other over time. We have never been the majority, but we've certainly played a significant role in the history of Christianity, in the history of the eternal city, and that Jewish community has played a significant role in our history.

Those who passed away this week

~~CONGREGATION LIBER~~

Yahrzeits

BEATRICE DEICHES COHEN (DYF-CHUSS)

DR. MORTON MORGENSTERN

SIDNEY S. WOLFE

DAVID STROMBERG

FANNIE MARKMAN

MAX DUCHON

ARTHUR KELLER

IRWIN H. MILNER

SANFORD LIBHABER

ROSE ROSENTHAL SCHOENBERGER

HORTENSE C. HILL

MILDRED M. GOLDSTEIN

DINAH SILVER (DEE-NAH)

WILLIAM SCHWARTZ

ANNA WIRTSCHAFTER RICH

EDWARD J. SCHWEID

KATHRYN G. STRAUSS

CHRISTINE PALADY

DORA MARKS STRAUSS

ROBERT B. MYERS

LENA E. KLEIN

CHARLES ROSENFELD

SAM WEITZ

MOLLIE ROCKER SCHONBERG

MOSES W. HABER

ABE M. LUNTZ

EILEEN BETH SINGER

Abraham Levin

SUN	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI	SAT
FEBRUARY 17 SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on THE JEWS OF CAIRO First in a series on cities where Jews lived for over 1000 years	18	19 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m.	20 TMC Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	21	22	23 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. Bat Mitzvah LANIE MARSHALL 11:00 a.m. The Temple Chapel Bat Mitzvah KAREN ROCKER 4:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel
24 SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on THE JEWS OF ROME Second in a series on cities where Jews lived for over 1000 years High School 10:00 a.m.	25	26 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m.	27	28	MARCH 1 Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel FIRST FRIDAY 8:15 p.m.	2 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m.
3 SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on THE JEWS OF BAGHDAD Third in a series on cities where Jews lived for over 1000 years High School 10:00 a.m.	4 <i>Purim</i> <i>Lunch</i> <i>at 12:00</i> TMC Lecture Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver 8:15 p.m. - Branch	5 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Special Tuesday 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m. - Branch TYA Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	6	7	8	9 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m.
10 SERVICE 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi Daniel Jeremy Silver will speak on THE JEWS OF FEZ Fourth in a series on cities where Jews lived for over 1000 years High School 10:00 a.m.	11 <i>no 8:00 a.m.</i> <i>what can a</i> <i>Jew believe</i> TMC Lecture Dr. Martin Plax 8:15 p.m. - Branch	12 Adult Hebrew 7:45 a.m. - Branch TWA Activities 10:00 a.m. - Branch Fellowship & Study Group Rabbi David Sandmel 10:30 a.m. - Branch Lunch With The Rabbi Downtown 12 noon - 1:30 p.m. Temple Board Meeting 8:00 p.m. - Branch	13	14 Temple Seniors 11:00 a.m. - 2:00 p.m. Branch	15	16 Shabbat Service 9:00 a.m. Service - 5:30 p.m. The Temple Chapel THIRD FRIDAY 6:00 p.m. - Branch

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SUNDAY MORNING SERVICES

<p>February 17, 1985 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi DANIEL JEREMY SILVER</p> <p>will speak on THE JEWS OF CAIRO First in a series on cities where Jews lived for over 1000 years</p>	<p>February 24, 1985 10:30 a.m. The Temple Branch Rabbi DANIEL JEREMY SILVER</p> <p>will speak on THE JEWS OF ROME Second in a series on cities where Jews lived for over 1000 years</p>
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Friday Evening Service — 5:30 - 6:10 — The Temple Chapel
Sabbath Service — 9:00 a.m. — The Temple Branch

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FIRST FRIDAY

OUR 12TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR

8:15 P.M.—
THE TEMPLE
BRANCH.
ELLEN BONNIE
MANDEL
AUDITORIUM.

Kiddush and
Candle Lighting.

March 1, 1985

The Anita Friedman Goldrich
Memorial Lecture

SENATOR PAUL E. TSONGAS

The United States and Latin America

* Paul E. Tsongas, recently retired as Democratic Senator from Massachusetts, will speak on "Perspectives On The American Role in Central America: Democracy or Inevitable Revolution?"

* Senator Tsongas served in the United States Senate from 1979 until 1985. His career includes two terms as the U.S. Representative and six years as a peace corps volunteer in Ethiopia. He has also written two books: *The Road From Here: Liberalism and Realities in the 1980's* and *Heading Home*.

* His lecture will conclude with a question and answer period. An Oneg Shabbat will follow.



17 Judas accordingly chose Eupolemus son of John son of Accos, and
18 Jason son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome to conclude a treaty of friend-
19 ship and alliance, so that the Romans might rid them of tyranny, for it was
20 clear that the Greek empire was reducing Israel to slavery. They made the
21 long journey to Rome and entered the Senate, where they spoke as follows:
22 'Judas, known as Maccabaeus, his brothers, and the Jewish people have
sent us to you to conclude a treaty of friendly alliance with you, so that we
may be enrolled as your allies and friends.' The Romans found the pro-
posal acceptable, and the following is a copy of the reply which they
inscribed on tablets of bronze and sent to Jerusalem, so that the Jews there
might have a record of the treaty of alliance:

23 Success to the Romans and the Jewish nation by sea and land for ever!
24 May sword and foe be far from them! But if war breaks out first against
25 Rome or any of her allies throughout her dominion, then the Jewish
26 nation shall support them whole-heartedly as occasion may require. To
the enemies of Rome or of her allies the Jews shall neither give nor supply
provisions, arms, money, or ships; so Rome has decided; and they shall
observe their commitments, without compensation.

27 Similarly, if war breaks out first against the Jewish nation, then the
28 Romans shall give them hearty support as occasion may require. To
their enemies there shall be given neither provisions, arms, money, nor
ships; so Rome has decided. These commitments shall be kept without
breach of faith.

29 These are the terms of the agreement which the Romans have made
30 with the Jewish people. But if, hereafter, both parties shall agree to add
or to rescind anything, then they shall do as they decide; any such addi-
tion or rescindment shall be valid.

31 To this the Romans added: As for the misdeeds which King Demetrius
is perpetrating against the Jews, we have written to him as follows: 'Why
32 have you oppressed our friends and allies the Jews so harshly? If they make
any further complaint against you, then we will see that justice is done them,
and will make war upon you by sea and by land.'

9 When Demetrius heard that Nicanor and his forces had fallen in battle,
he sent Bacchides and Alcimus a second time into Judaea, with the right
2 wing of his army. They marched along the Gilgal road, laid siege to Messa-
loth in Arbela, and captured it, inflicting heavy loss of life.

3 4 In the first month of the year 152,^a they moved camp to Jerusalem. From
there they marched to Berea with twenty thousand infantry and two
5 thousand cavalry. Now Judas was in camp at Alasa, with three thousand
6 picked men. But when they saw the size of the enemy forces, their courage
failed, and many deserted, leaving a mere eight hundred men in the field.

7 When Judas saw that with the campaign going against him his army had
melted away, his heart sank, for there was no time to rally them. Though
8 much discouraged, he said to those who were left, 'Let us move to the attack
9 and see if we can defeat them.' But his men tried to dissuade him: 'Impos-
sible!' they said. 'No; let us save our lives now and come back later with our

^a That is 160 B.C.

[illegible]

at the moment of the act.
 I found a letter not returned thoroughly in the mind. The
 subject appears to have been settled in the mind
 of the man I met for himself. He was in the U.S. -
 Year after U.S. has been on board in Temple 'year
 on board - - board and all will be set to
 the world Sign and not and board. It is
 a man U.S. and board and board and board
 and he feels he must have one in the mind and board
 of the man board and board and board and board and board

[illegible]

members, to - 2 - interviewed often being the judge that it is -
to have been even interested in meeting & give her a
order for her - but for the moment judge of M. were
useful to them.

2nd - not clear of some more from in some matter to
be considered arrived - in all probability some more - - what
to consider that there was a possible connection with the
1st meeting BCE - indeed connected to a large degree of
just as ^{perhaps} ~~perhaps~~ a measure of it -

The Roman numbers showed at two places - it
Ambition - in the 20's BCE - when it was Pompey & Lucullus
Each could several papers to some degree - however to
smaller extent also to Carthage - - The historical
was not long - particularly good part of it - The whole was
a series - chronology - and last of it - an antiquarian
and hypocrite was judging and also for the times -
Pompey decided to lose the war - it would be better
the war was finished as the first of the series to lose - & the
he should also be the Temple not - which was defeated
by the gods -

Then legislation was sent to 3 months - before the last
to consider - Some was until the time for Pompey -
Commanded Temple - Chances which was reported
on Julius - The will control and the temple
was not the temple of the temple was not the temple
the king but was to make a project of the temple
submitted to Rome was -

٦

[illegible][illegible]

Ref & ~~the~~ ^{amount} ~~was~~ ^{from} the Catacomb -
 Mayan Room ^{Quarter} ~~was~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{level} ~~of~~ ^{for}

lived with David - & John next door across
in ^{the} ~~same~~ house with old p - building - & have lot

when people of living in our ^{own} country
members and our efforts to build TUPA around
 ourselves is a necessity. — The first step is to have a
 vision of what we want to achieve for our own —
 First of all, you also to have a target and have
 long goals in mind that will be achieved members are happy —
 and happy in the other words, we are happy out —
 — Some of your members and my own members
 have been asked to be in the religion — But we
know in a new and to be in the religion — But we
 have been asked to be a religious community, to
 our life and life and have in the same field — But
 we are good but about our past —

[illegible]

Went Lie Cactus Austin, Labeled of the
Father, Twice Nelson, aged 13, A Helms
boy

Here the Juliana, Benjamin or his
son of Juliana, and synodals

Archivos = records of papers - 50 for the collection
have been in the way of deposit papers - - and of
records sent to him has continued in which are called
THEY - to paper over to them for to find
any other, published names - No, ^{papers} records of us
of the papers he has found - and in 1968 when
workers were building to expanding which was
to build new records was purchased from Gump -
The fund at 2000 - paid - and on for to
was not - as he would have to have - to have
of a regular of - with - which ^{papers} were found
to 4 members of the Jewish Archives Commission -
expended - 2-3 years ago. - and for journals -
and which was ^{papers} and some records
papers.

[illegible]

Remain to the camp - I also saw of the - the son
of the married Bunchman who came to see the family &
he was ^{under} 100 - also saw ANA U+T, II - Not
much of a job - last night we were in the camp
great preceding night. I saw a of the family - after supper
the children's order & recorded a number - continued
to sleep for supper. A "Ten" to the family ST.

Notes -

Life lived, ^{presented} better to the son & the mother of the 14th
century - The Americans were over dinner but presented
at evening - The same was followed - I saw a of the
last of the I saw many a of the son - we were
to have for the next of the camp, but target
fulfilled to see the 1000 - 300 years of further
feeling the son of the - They were ^{to see} as at
night into a glass which was put at evening and
of the same the two needed suffered at bank -
Back were sent / a second time was not as into which
A dropped from the table was placed to be used as
Xmas / I failed to see repetition and saw 80
Came next morning / repeated note & collect - see.
to a well from near observed out log-wood - Will
the notes of several - should be made and
I found apt. 444 & found many of father's 5000
as on one

Wls Nylan made 2nd - long fence - glass under
ground - after full round double line in open - a
retention line for enclosed until 1870 under to
from London was provided 7000 Vultures and
prohibited until over the city

After 1770, the London City of Glass - the
from some removed - the ^{London} College near Temple
was built in 1901 - After 20th century hope to be one
part of the London compound -

Memorial built for last President Men
Syndicate

Wls Glass under - 1948 - new
dentists - West - Pure -
to corner -

Full Wm - 20-25T - Very unusual - built into
down -

① under 1 record (calculated)