

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

Dr. Malka Z. Simkovich

January 2022

Timeline:

BCE:

587-586: Babylonians destroy the Jerusalem Temple

539-538: Persia destroys the Babylonian Empire; allows Judeans to return

515: Building of the Second Temple is complete

334-333: Persian Period ends; Alexander the Great defeats Persia and the Hellenist Period begins

200: Judea has been mainly controlled by Ptolemies (Egyptian Greeks); it now comes under the control of Seleucids (Syrian Greeks)

175-164: Hasmonean Rebellion

103-76: Alexander Jannaeus rules Judea

76-67: Salome Alexandra reigns as Queen of Judea

63: Hasmonean period ends; Judea becomes a client kingdom of Rome

c.37-4: Herod reigns Judea

c. 20: Philo of Alexandria is born

CE:

6: Judea becomes fully incorporated into the Roman Empire

c.32: Jesus is crucified by the Romans

37: Josephus is born

38-41: Riots against the Jews in Alexandria

c. 40: Philo writes *Embassy to Gaius*

66-73: The Jewish War

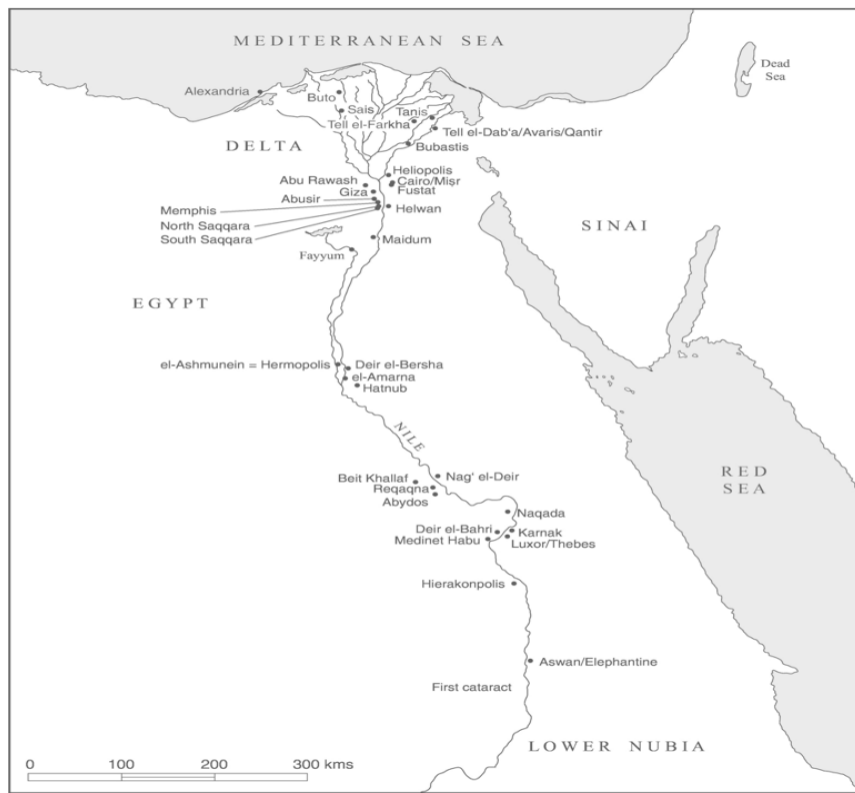
135: Bar Kokhba revolt

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ירמיהו מב

א ויגשו, כל-שרי החללים, ויוחנן בן-קרח, ויוזניה בן-הושעיה--וכל-העם, מקטן ועד-גדול **ב**. ויאמרו אל-ירמיהו הנביא, תפל-נא תחננתנו לפניך, והתפלל בעדנו אל-יהוה אלהיך, בעד כל-השארית הזאת: כי-נשארנו מעט מהרבה, כפֶּאֶשֶׁר עֵינֵיךָ ראות אתנו. ג. ויגד-לנו יהוה אלהיך, את-הדרך אשר נלך-בה, ואת-הדבר, אשר נעשה. **ד**. ויאמר אליהם ירמיהו הנביא, שמעתי--הנני מתפלל אל-יהוה אלהיכם, כדבריכם; והיה כל-הדבר אשר-יענה יהוה אתכם, אנני לכם--לא-אמנע מכם, דבר. **ה**. והמה, אמרו אל-ירמיהו, יהי יהוה בנו, לעד אמת ונאמן: אם-לא ככל-הדבר אשר ישלחך יהוה אלהיך, אלינו--כֹּן נעשה. **ו**. אם-טוב ואם-רע--בקול יהוה אלהינו אשר אנו (אנחנו) שלחים אתך אליו, נשמע: למען, אשר ייטב-לנו, כי נשמע, בקול יהוה אלהינו. {פ}

ז ויהי, מקץ עשרת ימים; ויהי דבר-יהוה, אל-ירמיהו. **ח**. ויקרא, אל-יוחנן בן-קרח, ואל כל-שרי החללים, אשר אתו; וכל-העם--למקטן, ועד-גדול. **ט**. ויאמר אליהם, כה-אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל, אשר שלחתם אתי אליו, להפיל תחנותכם לפניו. **י**. אם-שוב תשובו, בארץ הזאת--ובניתי אתכם ולא אהרס, ונטעתי אתכם ולא אתוש: כי נחמתי אל-הרעה, אשר עשיתי לכם. **יא**. אל-תיראו, מפני מלך בבל, אשר-אתם יראים, מפניו; אל-תיראו ממנו, נאם-יהוה--כי-אתכם אני, להושיע אתכם ולהציל אתכם מידו. **יב**. ואתן לכם רחמים, ורחם אתכם; והשיב אתכם, אל-אדמתכם. **יג**. ואם-אמרים אתם, לא נשב בארץ הזאת, לבלתי שמע, בקול יהוה אלהיכם. **יד**. לאמר, לא כי ארץ מצרים נבוא, אשר לא-נראה מלחמה, וקול שופר לא נשמע; וללחם לא-נרעב, ושם נשב. **טו**. ועתה--לכן שמעו דבר-יהוה, שארית יהודה: כה-אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל, אם-אתם שום תשמון פניכם לבא מצרים, ובאתם, לגור שם. **טז**. והיתה החרב, אשר אתם יראים ממנה, שם תשיג אתכם, בארץ מצרים; והרעב אשר-אתם דאגים ממנו, שם ידבק אחריכם מצרים--ושם תמותו. **יז**. ויהיו כל-האנשים, אשר-שמו את-פניהם לבוא מצרים לגור שם--ימותו, בחרב ברעב ובדבר: ולא-יהיה להם, שריד ופליט, מפני הרעה, אשר אני מביא עליהם. **יח**. כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות, אלהי ישראל, כפֶּאֶשֶׁר נתד אפי וחמתי על-ישרי ירושלים, כֹּן תתד חמתי עליכם בבאכם מצרים; והייתם לאלה ולשמה, ולקללה ולחרפה, ולא-תראו עוד, את-המקום הזה. **יט**. דבר יהוה עליכם שארית יהודה, אל-תבאו מצרים; וידע, תדעו, כי-העידתי בכם, היום. **כ**. כי התעתים (התעיתם), בנפשותיכם--כי-אתם שלחתם אתי אל-יהוה אלהיכם לאמר, התפלל בעדנו אל-יהוה אלהינו; וככל אשר לאמר יהוה אלהינו, כֹּן הגד-לנו--ועשינו. **כא**. ואגד לכם, היום; ולא שמעתם, בקול יהוה אלהיכם, ולכל, אשר-שלחתי אליכם. **כב**. ועתה, ידע תדעו, כי בחרב ברעב ובדבר, תמותו--במקום אשר חפצתם, לבוא לגור שם.

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Jeremiah 42

Then all the commanders of the forces, and Johanan son of Kareah and Azariah son of Hoshaiiah, and all the people from the least to the greatest, approached ²the prophet Jeremiah and said, 'Be good enough to listen to our plea, and pray to the Lord your God for us—for all this remnant. For there are only a few of us left out of many, as your eyes can see. ³Let the Lord your God show us where we should go and what we should do.' ⁴The prophet Jeremiah said to them, 'Very well: I am going to pray to the Lord your God as you request, and whatever the Lord answers you I will tell you; I will keep nothing back from you.' ⁵They in their turn said to Jeremiah, 'May the Lord be a true and faithful witness against us if we do not act according to everything that the Lord your God sends us through you. Whether it is good or bad, we will obey the voice of the Lord our God to whom we are sending you, in order that it may go well with us when we obey the voice of the Lord our God.'

⁷ At the end of ten days the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah. ⁸Then he summoned Johanan son of Kareah and all the commanders of the forces who were with him, and all the people from the least to the greatest,⁹and said to them, 'Thus says the Lord, the God of Israel, to whom you sent me to present your plea before him: ¹⁰If you will only remain in this land, then I will build you up and not pull you down; I will plant you, and not pluck you up; for I am sorry for the disaster that I have brought upon you. ¹¹Do not be afraid of the king of Babylon, as you have been; do not be afraid of him, says the Lord, for I am with you, to save you and to rescue you from his hand. ¹²I will grant you mercy, and he will have mercy on you and restore you to your native soil. ¹³But if you continue to say, "We will not stay in this land", thus disobeying the voice of the Lord your God ¹⁴and saying, "No, we will go to the land of Egypt, where we shall not see war, or hear the sound of the trumpet, or be hungry for bread, and there we will stay", ¹⁵then hear the word of the Lord, O remnant of Judah. Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: If you are determined to enter Egypt and go to settle there, ¹⁶then the sword that you fear shall overtake you there, in the land of Egypt; and the famine that you dread shall follow close after you into Egypt; and there you shall die. ¹⁷All the people who have determined to go to Egypt to settle there shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence; they shall have no remnant or survivor from the disaster that I am bringing upon them.

¹⁸ 'For thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: Just as my anger and my wrath were poured out on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so my wrath will be poured out on you when you go to Egypt. You shall become an object of execration and horror, of cursing and ridicule. You shall see this place no more. ¹⁹The Lord has said to you, O remnant of Judah, Do not go to Egypt. Be well aware that I have warned you today ²⁰that you have made a fatal mistake. For you yourselves sent me to the Lord your God, saying, "Pray for us to the Lord our God, and whatever the Lord our God says, tell us and we will do it." ²¹So I have told you today, but you have not obeyed the voice of the Lord your God in anything that he sent me to tell you. ²²Be well aware, then, that you shall die by the sword, by famine, and by pestilence in the place where you desire to go and settle.'

ירמיהו מג

א ויהי ככלות ירמיהו לדבר אל-כל-העם, את-כל-דברי יהוה אליהם, אשר שלחו יהוה אליהם, אליהם--את כל-הדברים, האלה. { ס } ב ואמר עזריה בן-הושעיה ויחנן בן-קרח, וכל-האנשים הזדים: אמרים אל-ירמיהו, שקר אתה מדבר--לא שלחך יהוה אליהנו לאמר, לא-תבאו מצרים לגור שם. ג כי, ברודך בן-נריה, משית אתך, בנו--למען תת אתנו ביד-הפושדים להמית אתנו, ולהגלות אתנו בכל. ד ולא-שמע יחנן בן-קרח וכל-שרי החילים, וכל-העם--בקול יהוה: לשבת, בארץ יהודה. ה וישח יחנן בן-קרח, וכל-שרי החילים, את, כל-שארי יהודה--אשר-שבו, מכל-הגוים אשר נדחו-שם, לגור, בארץ יהודה. ו את-הגברים ואת-הנשים ואת-הנפשות, ואת-בנות המלך, ואת כל-הנפש אשר הניח נבוזראדן רב-טבחים, את-גדליהו בן-אחיקם בן-שפן; ואת ירמיהו הנביא, ואת-ברודך בן-נריהו. ז ובאו ארץ מצרים, כי לא שמעו בקול יהוה; ובאו, עד-תחפנחס. { ס } ח ויהי דבר-יהוה אל-ירמיהו, בתחפנחס לאמר. ט קח בקיף אבנים גדולות, וטמנתם במלט במלבן, אשר בפתח בית-פרעה, בתחפנחס--לעיני אנשים יהודים. י ואמרת אליהם כה-אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל, הנני שלח ולקחתי את-נבוכדראצר מלך-בבל עבדי, ושמתו כסאו, ממעל לאבנים האלה אשר טמנתי; ונטה את-שפרורו (שפרירו), עליהם. יא ובאה (ובא), והקה את-ארץ מצרים--אשר למות למות, ואשר לשבי

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לְשָׁבִי, וְאֲשֶׁר לְחָרְבִי, לְחָרְבִי. יב וְהִצַּתִּי אֶשׁ, בְּבֵתִי אֱלֹהֵי מִצְרַיִם, וּשְׁרָפָם, וְשָׂבָם; וְעָטָה אֶת-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם כַּאֲשֶׁר-יָעֹטָה הָרְעָה, אֶת-בְּגָדוֹ, וַיֵּצֵא מִשָּׁם, בְּשָׁלוֹם. יג וְשָׁבַר, אֶת-מִצְבֹּבוֹת בַּיִת שְׁמֶשׁ, אֲשֶׁר, בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם; וְאֶת-בְּתֵי אֱלֹהֵי-מִצְרַיִם, יִשְׂרֹף בְּאֵשׁ. {פ}

Jeremiah 43

When Jeremiah finished speaking to all the people all these words of the Lord their God, with which the Lord their God had sent him to them, ²Azariah son of Hoshaiiah and Johanan son of Kareah and all the other insolent men said to Jeremiah, 'You are telling a lie. The Lord our God did not send you to say, "Do not go to Egypt to settle there"; ³but Baruch son of Neriah is inciting you against us, to hand us over to the Chaldeans, in order that they may kill us or take us into exile in Babylon.⁴ So Johanan son of Kareah and all the commanders of the forces and all the people did not obey the voice of the Lord, to stay in the land of Judah.⁵ But Johanan son of Kareah and all the commanders of the forces took all the remnant of Judah who had returned to settle in the land of Judah from all the nations to which they had been driven— ⁶the men, the women, the children, the princesses, and everyone whom Nebuzaradan the captain of the guard had left with Gedaliah son of Ahikam son of Shaphan; also the prophet Jeremiah and Baruch son of Neriah. ⁷And they came into the land of Egypt, for they did not obey the voice of the Lord. And they arrived at Tahpanhes.

8 Then the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah in Tahpanhes: ⁹Take some large stones in your hands, and bury them in the clay pavement that is at the entrance to Pharaoh's palace in Tahpanhes. Let the Judeans see you do it, ¹⁰and say to them, Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: I am going to send and take my servant King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, and he will set his throne above these stones that I have buried, and he will spread his royal canopy over them. ¹¹He shall come and ravage the land of Egypt, giving those who are destined for pestilence, to pestilence, and those who are destined for captivity, to captivity, and those who are destined for the sword, to the sword. ¹²He shall kindle a fire in the temples of the gods of Egypt; and he shall burn them and carry them away captive; and he shall pick clean the land of Egypt, as a shepherd picks his cloak clean of vermin; and he shall depart from there safely. ¹³He shall break the obelisks of Heliopolis, which is in the land of Egypt; and the temples of the gods of Egypt he shall burn with fire.

ירמיהו מד

א הַדָּבָר, אֲשֶׁר הָיָה אֶל-יְרֵמְיָהוּ, אֶל כָּל-הַיְהוּדִים, הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם--הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּמִגְדַל וּבְתַחֲפִנְחָס וּבְנֹף, וּבְאֶרֶץ פְּתָרוֹס לֵאמֹר. ב כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, אַתֶּם רְאִיתֶם אֶת כָּל-הָרְעָה אֲשֶׁר הֵבֵאתִי עַל-יְרוּשָׁלַם, וְעַל כָּל-עָרֵי הַיְהוּדָה; וְהִנֵּם חָרְבָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה, וְאִין בָּהֶם יוֹשֵׁב. ג מִפְּנֵי רָעַתְם, אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ לְהַכְעִסְנִי, לְלִקְחַת לְקַטֵּר, לַעֲבֹד לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים--אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּם, הִמָּה אַתֶּם וְאַבְתֵּיכֶם. ד וְאֲשַׁלַח אֲלֵיכֶם אֶת-כָּל-עֲבָדֵי הַנְּבִיאִים, הַשֹּׁכִים וְשָׁלַח לֵאמֹר: אֵל-נָא תַעֲשׂוּ, אֶת דְּבַר-הַתַּעֲבָה הַזֹּאת--אֲשֶׁר שָׂנֵאתִי. ה וְלֹא שְׁמַעוּ וְלֹא-הִטּוּ אֶת-אָזְנוֹם, לְשׁוֹב מִרְעֵתָם--לְבַלְתִּי קַטֵּר, לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים. ו וַתִּתְּדַ קַמְתִּי, וְאִפִּי, וַתִּבְעַר בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה, וּבְחִצּוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם; וַתְּהַיִּינֶה לְחָרְבָה לְשִׁמְמָה, כִּיֹּם הַזֶּה. {ס} ז וַעֲתָה כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, לְמָה אַתֶּם עֹשִׂים רָעָה גְדוֹלָה אֶל-נַפְשֹׁתְכֶם, לְהַכְרִית לָכֶם אִישׁ-וְאִשָּׁה עוֹלָל וַיּוֹנֵק, מִתּוֹךְ יְהוּדָה--לְבַלְתִּי הוֹתִיר לָכֶם, שְׂאֲרֵית. ח לְהַכְעִסְנִי, בְּמַעֲשֵׂי יָדֵיכֶם, לְקַטֵּר לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, אֲשֶׁר-אַתֶּם בָּאִים לְגוֹר שָׁם--לְמַעַן הַכְרִית לָכֶם, וְלְמַעַן הִיֹּתְכֶם לְקַלְלָה וּלְחָרְפָה, בְּכָל גּוֹי הָאָרֶץ. ט הַשְׁכַּחְתֶּם אֶת-רְעוֹת אַבּוֹתֵיכֶם וְאֶת-רְעוֹת מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה, וְאֶת רְעוֹת נְשָׂיו, וְאֶת רְעֵתְכֶם, וְאֶת רְעֵת נְשֵׂיכֶם--אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ בְּאֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה, וּבְחִצּוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם. י לֹא דַכְּאוּ, עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה; וְלֹא יָרְאוּ, וְלֹא-הִלְכוּ בְּתוֹרָתִי וּבְחֻקֹּתִי, אֲשֶׁר-נָתַתִּי לִפְנֵיכֶם, וּלְפָנֵי אַבּוֹתֵיכֶם. {ס} יא לָכֵן, כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, הִנְנִי שֹׁם פְּנֵי בָכֶם, לְרָעָה--וּלְהַכְרִית, אֶת-כָּל-יְהוּדָה. יב וְלִקְחָתִי אֶת-שְׂאֲרֵית יְהוּדָה, אֲשֶׁר-שָׁמְנוּ מִיָּהֵם לְבוֹא אֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם לְגוֹר שָׁם, וַתִּמּוּ כָל בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם יַפְלוּ בְּחָרְבַת בְּרָעַב יַתְמוּ, מִקְּטָן וְעַד-גְּדוֹל בְּחָרְבַת וּבְרָעַב יַתְמוּ; וְהָיוּ לְאֵלָה שְׁמָה, וּלְקַלְלָה וּלְחָרְפָה. יג וּפְקַדְתִּי, עַל הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, כַּאֲשֶׁר פְּקַדְתִּי, עַל-יְרוּשָׁלַם--בְּחָרְבַת, בְּרָעַב וּבְדָבָר. יד וְלֹא יִהְיֶה פְּלִיט וְשָׂרִיד, לְשְׂאֲרֵית יְהוּדָה, הַבָּאִים לְגוֹר-שָׁם, בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם; וְלְשׁוֹב אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה, אֲשֶׁר-הִמָּה מִנְּשָׂאִים אֶת-נַפְשָׁם לְשׁוֹב לְשִׁבַת שָׁם--כִּי לֹא-נִשְׁוּבוּ, כִּי אִם-פְּלִטִים. {פ}

טו וַיַּעֲנוּ אֶת-יְרֵמְיָהוּ, כָּל-הָאֲנָשִׁים הַיְדֻעִים כִּי-מִקְטָרוֹת נִשְׂיָהֶם לֵאלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים, וְכָל-הַנְּשִׂים הַעֹמְדוֹת, קֵהַל גְּדוֹל; וְכָל-הָעָם הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם, בְּפִתְרוֹס לֵאמֹר. טז הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר-דִּבַּרְתָּ אֵלַינוּ, בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה--אֵינְנוּ שֹׁמְעִים, אֲלֵיךָ. יז כִּי עָשָׂה נַעֲשֶׂה אֶת-כָּל-הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר-יֵצֵא מִפִּינוּ, לְקַטֵּר לְמַלְכַת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהַסִּיד-לָהּ נִסְכִּים, כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשִׂינוּ אֲנַחְנוּ וְאַבְתֵּינוּ מִלְכֵינוּ וּשְׂרֵינוּ, בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְחִצּוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם; וְנִשְׁבַּע-לָחֵם וְנִהְיֶה טוֹבִים, וְרָעָה לֹא רָאִינוּ. יח וּמִן-אִז חָדַלְנוּ לְקַטֵּר לְמַלְכַת הַשָּׁמַיִם, וְהַסִּיד-לָהּ נִסְכִּים--חֲסַרְנוּ כָּל; וּבְחָרְבַת וּבְרָעַב, תִּמְנוּ. יט וְכִי-אֲנַחְנוּ מִקְטָרִים לְמַלְכַת הַשָּׁמַיִם, וְלַהֲסִיד לָהּ נִסְכִּים; הַמַּבְלַעְדִּי אֲנַשְׁנוּ, עָשִׂינוּ לָהּ פִּנְיִם לְהַעֲצָבָה, וְהַסִּיד לָהּ, נִסְכִּים. {ס} כ וַיֹּאמֶר יְרֵמְיָהוּ, אֶל-כָּל-הָעָם, עַל-הַגְּבָרִים וְעַל-הַנְּשִׂים וְעַל-כָּל-הָעָם, הַעֲנִים אֹתוֹ דָּבָר לֵאמֹר. כא הֲלוֹא אֶת-הַקְּטֹר, אֲשֶׁר קִטְרַתְם בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וּבְחִצּוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם, אַתֶּם וְאַבּוֹתֵיכֶם מִלְכֵיכֶם

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

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וְשָׂרִיכֶם, וְעַם הָאָרֶץ: אַתֶּם זָכַר יְהוָה, וַתַּעֲלֶה עַל-לְבוֹ. כַּגּ וְלֹא-יִוָּכַל יְהוָה עוֹד לְשֹׂאת, מִפְּנֵי רַע מַעַלְלֵיכֶם, מִפְּנֵי הַתּוֹעֵבֹת, אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתֶם; וַתְּהִי אֶרְצְכֶם לְחָרְבָה וּלְשָׂמָה וּלְקִלְקָלָה, מֵאִין יוֹשֵׁב--כְּהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה. כַּגּ מִפְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר קִטְרַתְכֶם וְאֲשֶׁר חִטְאַתְכֶם לַיהוָה, וְלֹא שָׁמַעְתֶּם בְּקוֹל יְהוָה, וּבִתְרַתּוֹ וּבְחִקְתּוֹ וּבְעֲדוֹתָיו, לֹא הִלַּכְתֶּם; עַל-כֵּן קָרָאת אֶתְכֶם, הַרְעָה הַזֹּאת--כִּיֹּם הַזֶּה. {ס} **כַּד** וַיֹּאמֶר יְרֻמְיָהוּ אֶל-כָּל-הָעָם, וְאֶל כָּל-הַנְּשִׂימֹ: שְׁמַעוּ, דְּבַר-יְהוָה, כָּל-יְהוּדָה, אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם. כַּה פֶּה-אָמַר יְהוָה-צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר, אַתֶּם וּנְשִׂיכֶם וַתִּדְבְּרֶנָּה בְּפִיכֶם וּבִידְיֶכֶם מִלֵּאתֶם לֵאמֹר, עֲשֵׂה נַעֲשֵׂה אֶת-נְדָרֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר נִדְרָנוּ לְקַטֹּר לְמַלְכֹת הַשָּׁמַיִם, וּלְהַסִּף לָהּ נְסֻכִים; הַקִּים תִּקְיַמְנָה אֶת-נְדָרֵיכֶם, וְעֲשֵׂה תַעֲשִׂינָה אֶת-נְדָרֵיכֶם. {ס} **כו** לָכֵן, שְׁמַעוּ דְּבַר-יְהוָה, כָּל-יְהוּדָה, הַיּוֹשְׁבִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם: הַנְּנִי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי בְּשֵׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל, אָמַר יְהוָה, אִם-יִהְיֶה עוֹד שְׁמִי נִקְרָא בְּפִי כָל-אִישׁ יְהוּדָה אֲמֹר חַי-יְהוּדָה, בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם. כַּז הַנְּנִי שָׁקַד עֲלֵיהֶם לְרַעָה, וְלֹא לְטוֹבָה; וַתֵּמוּ כָל-אִישׁ יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם, בַּחֲרָב וּבַרְעָב--עַד-כְּלוּתָם. כַּח וּפְלִיטֵי חָרָב יִשְׁבוּן מִן-אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם, אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה--מֵתֵי מִסַּפֵּר; וַיִּדְעוּ כָל-שְׂאֵרֵי יְהוּדָה, הַבָּאִים לְאֶרֶץ-מִצְרַיִם לְגוֹר שָׁם, דְּבַר-מִי יְקוּם, מִמֶּנִּי וּמֵהֶם. כַּט וְזֹאת-לְכֶם הָאֹת וְאִם-יְהוָה, כִּי-פָקַד אֲנִי עֲלֵיכֶם בְּמִקּוֹם הַזֶּה--לְמַעַן, תִּדְעוּ, כִּי קוֹם קוֹמוּ דְבַרִי עֲלֵיכֶם, לְרַעָה. {פ} **ל** פֶּה אָמַר יְהוָה, הַנְּנִי נָתַן אֶת-פְּרַעַה חֲפָרַע מְלֶךְ-מִצְרַיִם בְּיַד אִיבּוֹ, וּבְיַד, מִבְּקָשִׁי נִפְשׁוּ: כַּאֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי אֶת-צַדִּיקָהוּ מְלֶךְ-יְהוּדָה, בְּיַד נְבוּכַדְרֶאצַּר מְלֶךְ-בָּבֶל אִיבּוֹ--וַיִּמְבֹּקֵשׁ נַפְשׁוֹ. {ס}

Jeremiah 44:

The word that came to Jeremiah for all the Judeans living in the land of Egypt, at Migdol, at Tahpanhes, at Memphis, and in the land of Pathros, ²Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: You yourselves have seen all the disaster that I have brought on Jerusalem and on all the towns of Judah. Look at them; today they are a desolation, without an inhabitant in them, ³because of the wickedness that they committed, provoking me to anger, in that they went to make offerings and serve other gods that they had not known, neither they, nor you, nor your ancestors. ⁴Yet I persistently sent to you all my servants the prophets, saying, 'I beg you not to do this abominable thing that I hate!' ⁵But they did not listen or incline their ear, to turn from their wickedness and make no offerings to other gods. ⁶So my wrath and my anger were poured out and kindled in the towns of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem; and they became a waste and a desolation, as they still are today. ⁷And now, thus says the Lord God of hosts, the God of Israel: Why are you doing such great harm to yourselves, to cut off man and woman, child and infant, from the midst of Judah, leaving yourselves without a remnant? ⁸Why do you provoke me to anger with the works of your hands, making offerings to other gods in the land of Egypt where you have come to settle? Will you be cut off and become an object of cursing and ridicule among all the nations of the earth? ⁹Have you forgotten the crimes of your ancestors, of the kings of Judah, of their wives, your own crimes and those of your wives, which committed in the land of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem? ¹⁰They have shown no contrition or fear to this day, nor have they walked in my law and my statutes that I set before you and before your ancestors.

Therefore, thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: I am determined to bring disaster on you, to bring all Judah to an end. ¹²I will take the remnant of Judah who are determined to come to the land of Egypt to settle, and they shall perish, everyone; in the land of Egypt they shall fall; by the sword and by famine they shall perish; from the least to the greatest, they shall die by the sword and by famine; and they shall become an object of execration and horror, of cursing and ridicule. ¹³I will punish those who live in the land of Egypt, as I have punished Jerusalem, with the sword, with famine, and with pestilence, ¹⁴so that none of the remnant of Judah who have come to settle in the land of Egypt shall escape or survive or return to the land of Judah. Although they long to go back to live there, they shall not go back, except some fugitives.

15 Then all the men who were aware that their wives had been making offerings to other gods, and all the women who stood by, a great assembly, all the people who lived in Pathros in the land of Egypt, answered Jeremiah: ¹⁶'As for the word that you have spoken to us in the name of the Lord, we are not going to listen to you. ¹⁷Instead, we will do everything that we have vowed, make offerings to the queen of heaven and pour out libations to her, just as we and our ancestors, our kings and our officials, used to do in the towns of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem. We used to have plenty of food, and prospered, and saw no misfortune. ¹⁸But from the time we stopped making offerings to the queen of heaven and pouring out libations to her, we have lacked everything and have perished by the sword and by famine.' ¹⁹And the women said, 'Indeed we will go

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

Dr. Malka Z. Simkovich

January 2022

on making offerings to the queen of heaven and pouring out libations to her; do you think that we made cakes for her, marked with her image, and poured out libations to her without our husbands being involved?

20 Then Jeremiah said to all the people, men and women, all the people who were giving him this answer: ²¹As for the offerings that you made in the towns of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem, you and your ancestors, your kings and your officials, and the people of the land, did not the Lord remember them? Did it not come into his mind? ²²The Lord could no longer bear the sight of your evil doings, the abominations that you committed; therefore your land became a desolation and a waste and a curse, without inhabitant, as it is to this day. ²³It is because you burned offerings, and because you sinned against the Lord and did not obey the voice of the Lord or walk in his law and in his statutes and in his decrees, that this disaster has befallen you, as is still evident today.'

24 Jeremiah said to all the people and all the women, 'Hear the word of the Lord, all you Judeans who are in the land of Egypt, ²⁵Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel: You and your wives have accomplished in deeds what you declared in words, saying, "We are determined to perform the vows that we have made, to make offerings to the queen of heaven and to pour out libations to her." By all means, keep your vows and make your libations! ²⁶Therefore hear the word of the Lord, all you Judeans who live in the land of Egypt: Lo, I swear by my great name, says the Lord, that my name shall no longer be pronounced on the lips of any of the people of Judah in all the land of Egypt, saying, "As the Lord God lives." ²⁷I am going to watch over them for harm and not for good; all the people of Judah who are in the land of Egypt shall perish by the sword and by famine, until not one is left. ²⁸And those who escape the sword shall return from the land of Egypt to the land of Judah, few in number; and all the remnant of Judah, who have come to the land of Egypt to settle, shall know whose words will stand, mine or theirs! ²⁹This shall be the sign to you, says the Lord, that I am going to punish you in this place, in order that you may know that my words against you will surely be carried out: ³⁰Thus says the Lord, I am going to give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hands of his enemies, those who seek his life, just as I gave King Zedekiah of Judah into the hand of King Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon, his enemy who sought his life.'

I. Jewish Participation in Egypt's Government Affairs

1. Onias: Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12.387

Accordingly, the king sent Menelaus to Beroea in Syria, and there had him put to death; he had served as high priest for ten years, and had been a wicked and impious man, who in order to have sole authority for himself had compelled his nation to violate their own laws. The high priest chosen after the death of Menelaus was Alcimus, also called Jakeimos. Now when King Antiochus found that Philip had already seized control of the government, he made war on him, and after getting him into his power, killed him. Then Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as we said before, had been left a mere child when his father died, seeing that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus and had given the high priesthood to Alcimus, although he was not of the family of high priests, because he had been persuaded by Lysias to transfer the office from this house to another, fled to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt. And being treated with honor by him and his wife Cleopatra, he received a place in the nome of Heliopolis, where he built a temple similar to that in Jerusalem. Of this, however, we shall give an account on a more fitting occasion.

....

Josephus, *Antiquities*, 13.62-73

Now the son of the high priest Onias, who had the same name as his father, having fled to King Ptolemy surnamed Philometor, was living in Alexandria, as we have said before; and seeing that Judaea was being ravaged by the Macedonians and their kings, and desiring to acquire for himself eternal fame and glory, he

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

Dr. Malka Z. Simkovich

January 2022

determined to send to King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra and request of them authority to build a temple in Egypt similar to that at Jerusalem, and to appoint Levites and priests of his own race. In this desire he was encouraged chiefly by the words of the prophet Isaiah, who had lived more than six hundred years before and had foretold that a temple to the Most High God was surely to be built in Egypt by a Jew.¹

Being, therefore, excited by these words, Onias wrote the following letter to Ptolemy and Cleopatra. “Many and great are the services which I have rendered you in the course of the war, with the help of God, when I was in Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, and when I came with the Jews to Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis and to other places where our nation is settled; and I found that most of them have temples, contrary to what is proper, and that for this reason they are ill-disposed towards one another, as is also the case with the Egyptians because of the multitude of their temples and their varying opinions about the forms of worship; and I have found a most suitable place in the fortress called after Bubastis-of-the-Fields, which abounds in various kinds of trees and is full of sacred animals, wherefore I beg you to permit me to cleanse this temple, which belongs to no one and is in ruins, and to build a temple to the Most High God in the likeness of that at Jerusalem and with the same dimensions, on behalf of you and your wife and children, in order that the Jewish inhabitants of Egypt may be able to come together there in mutual harmony and serve your interests. For this indeed is what the prophet Isaiah foretold, “There shall be an altar in Egypt to the Lord God,” and many other such things did he prophesy concerning this place.”

This, then, is what Onias wrote to King Ptolemy. And one may get a notion of the king’s piety and that of his sister and wife Cleopatra from the letter which they wrote in reply, for they placed the blame for the sin and transgression against the Law on the head of Onias, writing the following reply: “King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra to Onias, greeting. We have read your petition asking that it be permitted you to cleanse the ruined temple in Leontopolis in the nome of Heliopolis, called Bubastic-of-the-Fields. We wonder, therefore, whether it will be pleasing to God that a temple be built in a place so wild and full of sacred animals. But since you say that the prophet Isaiah foretold this long ago, we grant your request if this is to be in accordance with the Law, so that we may not seem to have sinned against God in any way.”

And so Onias took over the place and build a temple and an altar to God similar to that at Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer. But it has not seemed to me necessary to write about its dimensions and its vessels now, for they have already been described in the seventh book of my Jewish War. And Onias found some Jews of his own kind, and priests and Levites to minister there. Concerning this temple, however, we have already said enough.

2. Chelcias and Ananias: Josephus, *Antiquities*, 13:284–7:²

¹ See Isa 19:16-21: “On that day the Egyptians will be like women, and tremble with fear before the hand that the LORD of hosts raises against them. ¹⁷And the land of Judah will become a terror to the Egyptians; everyone to whom it is mentioned will fear because of the plan that the LORD of hosts is planning against them. On that day there will be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan and swear allegiance to the LORD of hosts. One of these will be called the City of the Sun. On that day there will be an altar to the LORD in the centre of the land of Egypt, and a pillar to the LORD at its border. ²⁰It will be a sign and a witness to the LORD of hosts in the land of Egypt; when they cry to the LORD because of oppressors, he will send them a saviour, and will defend and deliver them. ²¹The LORD will make himself known to the Egyptians; and the Egyptians will know the LORD on that day, and will worship with sacrifice and burnt-offering, and they will make vows to the LORD and perform them.” (NRSV)

² See Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilisation and The Jews* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1959), 281–284.

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

Dr. Malka Z. Simkovich

January 2022

(13.10.4) Now it happened at this time, that not only those Jews who were at Jerusalem and in Judea were in prosperity, but also those of them that were at Alexandria, and in Egypt and Cyprus, (13.10.4) for Cleopatra the queen was at variance with her son Ptolemy, who was called Lathyrus, and appointed for her generals, Chelcias and Ananias, the sons of that Onias who built the temple in the prefecture of Heliopolis, like that at Jerusalem, as we have elsewhere related. (13.10.4) Cleopatra entrusted these men with her army; and did nothing without their advice, as Strabo of Cappadocia attests, when he saith thus:— (13.10.4) “Now the greater part, both those that came to Cyprus with us, and those that were sent afterward thither, revolted to Ptolemy immediately. Only those that were called Onias’s party, being Jews, continued faithful, because their countrymen Chelcias and Ananias were in chief favor with the queen.” These are the words of Strabo.

...

Josephus, *Antiquities*, 13. 326–337:

Now while Antiochus Philometor, and Antiochus who was called Cyzicenus, were making war against one another, and destroying one another’s armies,³ the people of Ptolemais could have no assistance from them; but when they were distressed with this siege, Zoilus, who possessed Strato’s Tower and Dora, and maintained a legion of soldiers, and on occasion of the contest between the kings affected tyranny himself, came and brought some small assistance to the people of Ptolemais; nor indeed had the kings such a friendship for them as that they should hope for any advantage from them. Both those kings were in the case of wrestlers, who finding themselves deficient in strength, and yet being ashamed to yield, put off the fight by laziness, and by lying still as long as they can. The only hope they had remaining was from the kings of Egypt, and from Ptolemy Lathyrus, who now held Cyprus, and who came to Cyprus when he was driven from the government of Egypt, by Cleopatra his mother: so the people of Ptolemais sent to this Ptolemy Lathyrus and desired him to come as a confederate, to deliver them, now they were in such danger, out of the hands of Alexander. (13.12.2) And as the ambassadors gave him hopes, that if he would pass over into Syria, he would have the people of Gaza on the side of those of Ptolemais; as they also said that Zoilus, and besides these the Sidonians and many others would assist them, so he was elevated at this, and got his fleet ready as soon as possible.

...But in this interval Demenetus, one that was of abilities to persuade men to do as he would have them, and a leader of the populace, made those of Ptolemais change their opinions; and said to them, that it was better to run the hazard of being subject to the Jews than to admit of evident slavery by delivering themselves up to a master; and besides that, to have not only a war at present, but to expect a much greater war from Egypt; (13.12.3) for that Cleopatra would not overlook an army raised by Ptolemy for himself out of the neighborhood, but would come against them with a great army of her own, and this because she was laboring to eject her son out of Cyprus also; that as for Ptolemy, if he fail of his hopes, he can still retire to Cyprus; but that they will be left in the greatest danger possible. Now Ptolemy, although he had heard of the change that was made in the people of Ptolemais, yet did he still go on with his voyage, and came to the country called Sycamine, and there set his army on shore. This army of his, in the whole horse and foot together, were about thirty thousand, with which he marched near to Ptolemais, and there pitched his camp: but when the people of Ptolemais neither received his ambassadors, nor would hear what they had to say, he was under a very great concern.

... But when Zoilus and the people of Gaza came to him, and desired his assistance, because their country was laid waste by the Jews, and by Alexander,—Alexander raised the siege, for fear of Ptolemy: and when he had drawn off his army into his own country, he used a stratagem afterwards, by privately inviting Cleopatra to

³ Seleucid claimants to the throne, and siblings who fought a twenty-year civil war.

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

Dr. Malka Z. Simkovich

January 2022

come against Ptolemy, but publicly pretending to desire a league of friendship and mutual assistance with him; and promising to give him four hundred talents of silver, he desired that, by way of requital, he would take off Zoilus the tyrant, and give his country to the Jews. And then indeed Ptolemy, with pleasure, made such a league of friendship with Alexander, and subdued Zoilus: (13.12.4) but when he afterwards heard that he had privily sent to Cleopatra his mother, he broke the league with him, which yet he had confirmed with an oath, and fell upon him, and besieged Ptolemais, because it would not receive him. However, leaving his generals, with some part of his forces, to go on with the siege, he went himself immediately with the rest to lay Judea waste: (13.12.4) and when Alexander understood this to be Ptolemy's intention, he also got together about fifty thousand soldiers out of his own country; nay, as some writers have said, eighty thousand. He then took his army, and went to meet Ptolemy; but Ptolemy fell upon Asochis, a city of Galilee, and took it by force on the Sabbath day, and there he took about ten thousand slaves, and a great deal of other prey.

3. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 14.98–99, 127–32

Now while Gabinius was on an expedition against the Parthians and had already crossed the Euphrates, he changed his mind and returned to Egypt to restore Ptolemy to his kingdom.⁴ But these events have been related elsewhere. On this campaign, moreover, Gabinius, in accordance with Hyrcanus' instructions to him, was supplied with grain, arms, and money by Antipater, who also won over the Jews above Pelusium to his side and made them his allies to act as guards of the entrances to Egypt. But when Gabinius returned from Egypt he found Syria a prey to uprisings and disorder; for Aristobulus' son Alexander had later come into power a second time and had forced many of the Jews to revolt, and was marching over the country with large army and killing all the Romans he met, and was closely besieging those who had taken refuge on Mount Gerizim, as it is called.

...

When Caesar, after his victory over Pompey and the latter's death, was fighting in Egypt, Antipater, the governor of the Jews, under orders from Hyrcanus proved himself useful to Caesar in many ways.⁵ For when Mithridates of Pergamum, who was bringing an auxiliary force, was unable to make his way through Pelusium and was delayed at Ascalon, Antipater arrived with three thousand heavy-armed Jewish soldiers, and also managed to get the chiefs of Arabia to come to his aid; and it was owing to him that all the rulers of Syria furnished aid, not wishing to be outdone in their zeal for Caesar; among those were the prince Jamblichus and Ptolemy, the son of Soemus, who lived on Mount Lebanon, and almost all the cities. Mithridates then left Syria and came to Pelusium and as its inhabitants would not admit him, besieged the city. Foremost in bravery was Antipater, who was the first to pull down part of the wall, and so opened a way for the others to pour into the city. This was how he took Pelusium. But when Mithridates and Antipater with their men were on their way to Caesar, the Jews who inhabited the district of Onias, as it was called, prevented them from doing so. Antipater, however, persuaded them too to side with his party on the ground of their common nationality, especially when he showed them a letter from the high priest Hyrcanus, in which he urged them to be friendly to Caesar and receive his army hospitably and furnish it with all things necessary. And so, when they saw that Antipater and the high priest had the same wish, they complied. And when those in the neighborhood of Memphis heard that these Jews had joined Caesar's side, they too invited Mithridates to come to them. Accordingly he came and took them into his army as well. And when he passed round the

⁴ Gabinius became the Roman governor of Syria in 57 BCE. He supported Hyrcanus and was anti Alexander, Aristobulus's son, and worked to instate Ptolemy XII (and Marc Antony) on the throne.

⁵ Mithridates of Pergamum was an ally of Julius Caesar during the war of the first triumvirate in 48–47 BCE. The Roman client-king Antipater used Jewish soldiers to help Mithridates support Caesar against Egypt and got Syrian rulers to help out too. He then convinced Jews in Egypt to support Caesar as well and in doing so betray the Egyptians, their host government.

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

Dr. Malka Z. Simkovich

January 2022

region called the Delta, he engaged the enemy at the Camp of the Jews, as it is called. Mithridates commanded the right wing, and Antipater the left. And when they met in battle, Mithridates' wing gave way and would have been in danger of suffering a very grave disaster, if Antipater, who had already defeated the enemy (opposite him), had not come running with his own soldiers along the bank of the river and rescued him, at the same time putting to flight the Egyptians who had defeated Mithridates. And continuing in pursuit, he also seized their camp, and brought back Mithridates, who had been separated far from him in the rout....

II. The Pogrom of 38 CE

1. Philo, On the Embassy to Gaius, 120–135

And the mixed and promiscuous multitude of the Alexandrians perceiving this, attached us, looking upon it as a most favorable opportunity for doing so and displayed all the arrogance which had been smoldering for a long period, disturbing everything, and causing universal confusion, for they began to crush our people as if they had been surrendered by the emperor for the most extreme and undeniable miseries, or as if they had been subdued in war, with their frantic and most brutal passion, forcing their way into their houses, and driving out the owners, with their wives and children, which they rendered desolate and voice of inhabitants. And no longer watching for night and darkness, like ordinary robbers out of fear of being detected, they openly plundered them of all their furniture and treasures, carrying them off in broad daylight, and displaying their booty to every one whom they met, as if they had inherited it or fairly purchased it from the owners... As they then were no longer able to endure the misery of the place within which they were enclosed, they poured forth into desolate parts of the wilderness, and to the shore, and among the tombs, in their eagerness to find any pure and untainted air. And if any of them had previously been left in the other parts of the city, or if any had come in thither from the fields out of ignorance of the evils which had visited their companions, they fell into every variety of misfortune, being stoned, or else wounded with sharp tiles, or beaten on the most mortal parts of the body, and especially on the head, with branches of maple and of oak, in such a way as to cause death.

And some of those persons who are accustomed to pass their time in idleness and inaction, sitting around, occupied themselves in watching those who, as I have said before, were thus driven together and crammed into a very small space, as if they were a force which they were blockading; lest any one should secretly escape without their perceiving it. And a great many were designing to effect their escape from want of necessaries, disregarding their own safety from a fear that, if they remained, the whole body might perish with famine. So those men, expecting that they would endeavor to escape, kept a continual watch, and the moment that they caught any one, they immediately put him to death with every circumstance of insult and cruelty.

And there was another company lying in wait for them on the quays of the river, to catch any Jews who arrived at those spots, and to plunder them of every thing which they brought for the purposes of traffic for , forcing their way into their ships they took out the cargo before the eyes of its lawful owners, and then binding the hands of the merchants behind them they burnt them alive, taking the rudders, and helms, and punt-poles, and the benches for the towers to sit upon, for fuel. And thus these men perished by a most miserable death being burnt alive in the middle of the city; for sometimes, for want of other timber they brought piles of faggots together, and tying them up, they threw them on the miserable victims; and them being already half burnt, were killed, more by the smoke of the green wood than by the flames...

And many who were still alive they took and bound, and fastened their ankles together with thongs and ropes, and then dragged them through the middle of the market-place, leaping on them, and not sparing their corpses even after they were dead; for, tearing them to pieces limb from limb, and trampling on them, behaving with greater brutality and ferocity than even the most savage beasts, they destroyed every semblance of humanity about them, so that not even a fragment of them was left which the rites of burial could be afforded.

The Jews of Egypt

Torah in Motion, Class 1: Introduction to the History of Jews in Egypt

Dr. Malka Z. Simkovich

January 2022

But as the governor of the country, who by himself could, if he had chosen to do so, have put down the violence of the multitude in a single hour, pretended not to see what he did see, and not to hear what he did hear, but allowed the mob to carry on the war against our people without any restraint, and threw our former state of tranquility into confusion, the populace being excited still more, proceeded onwards to still more shameless and more audacious designs and treachery, and arraying very numerous companies, cut down some of the synagogues (and there are a great many in every section of the city), and some they razed to the very foundations, and into some they threw fire and burnt them, in their insane madness and frenzy, without caring for the neighboring houses; for there is nothing more rapid than fire, when it lays hold of fuel.

I omit to mention the ornaments in honor of the emperor, which were destroyed and burnt with these synagogues, such as gilded shields, and gilded crowns, and pillars, and inscriptions, for the sake of which they ought even to have abstained from and spared the other things; but they were full of confidence, inasmuch as they did not fear any chastisement at the hand of Gaius, as they well knew that he cherished an indescribable hatred against the Jews, so that they opinion was that no one could do him a more acceptable service than by inflict every description of injury on the nation which he hated.

III. War of Kitos:

1. Babylonian Talmud, Gittin 57b

The voice is the voice of Jacob and the hands are the hands of Esau: “the voice” here refers to [the cry caused by] the Emperor Hadrian who killed in Alexandria of Egypt sixty myriads on sixty myriads, twice as many as went forth from Egypt. “The voice of Jacob”: this is the cry caused by the Emperor Vespasian who killed in the city of Bethar four hundred thousand myriads, or as some say, four thousand myriads. “The hands are the hands of Esau”: this is the Government of Rome which has destroyed our House and burnt our Temple and driven us out of our land.

2. Paul Orosius, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans* 7.12.

Then, all at once, the Jews in different parts of the world, as if enraged with madness, burst forth in an incredible revolution. For throughout all Libya, they carried on most violent wars against the inhabitants, and Libya was, then, so forsaken by the killing of the cultivators of the soil that, unless Hadrian afterwards had not gathered colonists from without and brought them there, the land would have remained completely destitute and without an inhabitant. Indeed, they threw into confusion all Egypt, Cyrene, and the Thebaid with bloody seditions. But in Alexandria, in a pitched battle, they were conquered and crushed. In Mesopotamia also, when they rebelled, by order of the emperor, war was introduced against them. And thus many thousands of them were destroyed in a vast slaughter. Indeed, they did destroy Salamis, a city of Cyprus, after killing all the inhabitants.

3. Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 68.32

The Jews in the region of Cyrene had put a certain Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing; many they sawed in two, from the head downwards; others they gave to wild beasts, and still others they forced to fight as gladiators. In all two hundred and twenty thousand persons perished. In Egypt, too, they perpetrated many similar outrages, and in Cyprus, under the leadership of a certain Artemion. There, also, two hundred and forty thousand perished, and for this reason no Jew may set foot on that island, but even if one of them is driven upon its shores by a storm he is put to death.