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GREEK PAPYRI LIGHTS ON JEWISH HISTORY

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

BY

JOSEPH M. ROTH

NEW YORK 1924
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PART I

Numerous sources attest to the fact that the Jewish Diaspora began early in the life of Israel, and long before the dawn of Christianity covered the entire Mediterranean basin. How a people emanating from so small a country as Judea could be found in all cities is remarkable and must have been the result of various combining circumstances. Nor were the Jews even in the remotest part of the ancient world apart and separate from the motherland. On the contrary, they were more or less connected with Palestine which served as the center of gravity of Judaism, and at the same time maintained close relations with the Gentile world about them.

Various are the causes which brought about so rapid a spread of this people. First and foremost were forced deportations to which the Israelites were frequently subjected in their career. Equally important were voluntary settlements going back as early as the 6th century B.C.E., and reaching their greatest momentum during the Hellenistic period. Jewish slaves ransomed by their co-religionists who usually remained in the place where they attained freedom, constituted another reason. Furthermore, it must also be kept in mind that the Jew was rarely entirely absorbed by his surroundings as other nations of antiquity were apt to be. Add to these powerful factors, the vigorous and successful propaganda carried on by the Jews, and the vast extent and influence of the Diaspora become more and more convincing.

Forced deportations occurred as early as 721 B.C.E. when the Assyrian Shalmaneser, after subjugating the kingdom of Israel, in accordance with his policy settled the ten tribes in Mesopotamia, Media, and Babylonia (Kings II, 18. 9–11; Jos. Ant. IX, 14.1). Their descendants never returned. Although, as to how much influence this deportation had, is a matter of conjecture, as the religion of Israel was still in a flux, nevertheless, the large number of Jews in these sections at a later
period necessitates us to adopt the view that they did wield an influence by at least breaking the ground for the future propaganda.

Psammetichus II (594—589) in his expedition against Aethiopia had Jews with him, whom after the conflict he settled in Egypt (Aristeas ed. Windl. par. 35). The Chaldeans in 586 conquered Judah and deported many to the valley of the Euphrates (Kings II, 25: 8—12; Jos. Ant. X, 8:5). Of these only a small number returned (Ezra II, 64; Jos. Ant. XI, 5:2) to their ancestral home when Cyrus granted them the privilege of so doing. The rest remained there and flourished.

In the Persian War c. 350 B.C.E., when the Phoenicians rose against Artaxerxes Ochus, the Jews participating in this struggle for political enfranchisement were defeated and deported to Hyrcania on the Caspian (cf. Eusebius Chron. ed. Schoene II p. 112 "Ochus partem aliquam de Romanis Judaeisque cepit et habitare fecit in Hyrcania iuxta mare cazbium").

Furthermore, aware of the fact that the Jews could be depended upon to keep their oaths, the rulers often transported and settled them in garrisons for military purposes. Aristeas (1) mentions that Ptolemy I Lagi (305—285) settled 100,000 Jews in Egypt and of them 30,000 in fortresses to be used as garrisons. Josephus also, citing Agatharchides of Cnidus, says that Ptolemy I Lagi appeared in 320 before Jerusalem and by deception seized the city on the Sabbath, taking along many captives from Jerusalem and Judea and settled them in Egypt (2).

Antiochus the Great (223—187) transported to Phrygia and Lydia where a sedition had occurred, 2,000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia (Jos. Ant. XII, 3:4) and settled them as planters and tax gatherers so as to form a nucleus which he could trust.

(1) ed. Wendl. 12—13 ἐν δοὺς καὶ πρὸς δέκα μυριάδας ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων χώρᾳ εἰς Ἀἴγυπτον μετηγαγέν ἂφ' ἧν ὡσεὶ τρεῖς μυριάδας καθολίσιας ἀνδρῶν ἐκλεκτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν κατοίκιοι ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις.

(2) Ant. XII, 1:1 ὅ δὲ Πτολεμαίος πολλοὶς ἀλχαλάπτους λαβὼν, ἀπὸ τῆς δρενής Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱεροσόλυμα τόπων καὶ τῆς Σαμαρείτιδος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ὅρει τῷ Γαριζείν κατοίκιοι ἀπανταὶ εἰς Ἀἴγυπτον ἄγαγόν.
Josephus (Ant. XIV, 7.1) mentions such a military garrison of Jews at Pelusium in Egypt about 65 B.C.E. Even Pompey when he returned to Rome, took hundreds of Jewish prisoners with him.

Under Tiberius (19 C.E.), 4,000 Jews were expelled from Rome to wage war in the unhealthy clime of Sardinia and the rest expelled under threat of enslavement (cf. Tac. An. II, 85 "Actum et de sacris Aegyptiis Judaicisque pellendis, factumque patrum consultum, ut quattuor milia libertini generis ea superstitione infecta, quid idonea aetas, in insulam Sardiniam vehe­rentur, coerendis illic iatrocinii et, si ob gravitatem caeli interissent, vile damnum; ceteri cederent Italia, nisi certam ante diem profanos ritus exuissent"); Suet. Tiberius 36, "externas caerimonias Aegyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit, coactis qui superstitione ea tenebantur religiosas vestas cum instrumento omni comburere Iudaorum iuventutem per speciem sacramenti in provincias gravioris caeli distribuit reliquos gentis eiusdem vel similia sectantes urbe summovit sub poena perpetuae servitutis nisi obtemperassent"). It is also a well known fact that at the end of the Jewish War in 70 C.E., the slave markets of the world were glutted with Jewish slaves. Similar was the case in the insurrection of 115 as well as in that of 135 C.E.

The most famous of these military colonies existed in Elephantine, as disclosed by the recent Aramaic papyri discovered there. This small island situated at the last cataract and almost at the last navigable point of the Nile, is the natural boundary of Egypt, and therefore was probably early settled for military purposes. Here existed a flourishing Jewish community long before the conquest of Cambyses. They lived an independent religious life, had a temple built to Yahu (יהוה) and for over 100 years meal offerings, incense and burnt offerings graced this shrine which had its own priests until the 14th year of Darius, 410 B.C.E., during a revolt, it was destroyed at the instigation of the Egyptian priests. As far as can be gleaned from the papyri, the altar was rebuilt and the sacrifices restored in accordance with the precepts of Leviticus and Deuteronomy. Their language was Aramaean with Hebraisms. Though many of their names were biblical e. g., Hoshea, Haggai, Zadok and
Zephaniah, some are non-Jewish. Great laxity is displayed in their religion; some appeared to have worshiped also the heathen divinities. Some of the correspondence preserved, is that which passed between the priests of Elephantine and Jerusalem.

Voluntary settlements, both before and during the Hellenic period, are perhaps a more important agency than even forced deportations. Inner conditions may have directly been the cause of emigration. Palestine, the natural highway connecting Syria and Egypt, lay exposed. It was constantly the scene of conflict. Between the powers on either side that attempted to get the upper hand. Consequently there was a constant exodus to Egypt and Asia to escape this danger. The opportunities that trade in the neighboring countries offered, were not lost sight of by them, with the result that Lcia Minor and all the important seacoast and trading cities of the Mediterranean had large Jewish populations. Furthermore, nothing was more favorable to the reigning powers than a constant shifting of the population as thus they could consolidate their empire. As a special inducement, citizenship was often immediately granted and the Jews taking advantage of these and similar privileges, emigrated in large numbers and helped build up such important centers as Alexandria and Antioch.

Such voluntary settlement existed as early as the 6th century B.C.E. in Egypt (Jer. 24, 8; 26, 22-23) at Migdol, Tahpanhes near Pelusium in lower Egypt, Noph (Memphis) at the southern end of the Delta, and at Pathros, upper Egypt (Jer. 44, 1) for many Judeans after 586 in spite of Jeremiah’s entreaty emigrated to Egypt to escape destruction by Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 42-44). That these Jews should have gone so far is not to be marvelled at, for they must have gone to their brethren settled by Psammetichus II as previously mentioned. The Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine have proven such settlements. After a large number were forcibly settled in Egypt by Ptolemy I Lagi, in 320, many followed voluntarily (1). Later, unter Ptolemy VI

(1) Jos. Ant. citing Agatharchides of Cnidus (XII, 1. 1) οδής διήγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ιουδαίων ἐκονσάλως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον παρεγένοντο, τῆς τε ἀρετῆς τῶν τόπων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας προσκαλομένης.
Philometer c. 160, Onias, the son of the high priest with many followers left Palestine and in the nomos Heliopolis founded Leontopolis and a rival temple (cf. Jos. Ant. XIII, 3.23) wherein daily sacrifices were performed till Vespasian abolished it.

The many thousands of Jewish prisoners captured in war, especially during the third and second centuries B.C. and sold as slaves in the different parts of the world, did not lose their identity. In accordance with Jewish principles, they were usually ransomed by their co-religionists and settled in the places where they acquired freedom. Among the inscriptions of Delphi is one such case where four minas were paid for the ransom of such a slave (Collitz, Griech. Dialekt. Insch. II, 2029). Philo, Leg. ad Caium 23 states that the Jewish community at Rome was derived from released prisoners of war, claiming at the same time that freedom was conferred upon them by Augustus.

Also in contradistinction to other peoples of antiquity, the Jews had an innate faculty of maintaining an independent existence away from their own country in the midst of strange surroundings; for their creed was not limited to a place but to a book. They were conscious of the superiority of their belief over that of the pagans and ostensibly showed their contempt for the heathen cults by subscribing to no syncretism such as the others were accustomed to. Consequently they rarely lost any adherents and being imbued with a firm religious consciousness, the duty of rearing children was considered important.

In addition, one of the most potent agencies in the spread of the Diaspora was the extensive religious propaganda carried on by the Jews. Proselytes embraced Judaism by the thousands (cf. Acts. II, 9-11). As a result, the Jews in the provinces ran into countless myriads (Jos. Ant. XI, 5.2; XV, 2.2; XV, 3.1).

As to how numerous Jews must have been in Egypt can be inferred from Manetho's history attacking the Jews, written during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247) (cf. Jos. C. A. I, 26-27). Such a polemic must be the result of the friction with and the reaction to a large number of Jews. Inscriptions dating back as far as Ptolemy III Euergetes (247-221) have
been unearthed in which synagogues are mentioned. (1) That during this same period, the Septuagint version was produced also is direct evidence of the correctness of the contention that Egypt with Alexandria as its central point was thickly populated with Jews, who having forgotten Hebrew still had attachment enough to their faith and traditions to study the Scriptures and derive inspiration from them.

Special privileges having been granted, the Jews took part with Alexander the Great in the founding of Alexandria and according to Josephus (B. J. II, 18. 7 & C. A. II, 4) enjoyed equal rights with the Hellenes, a fact not borne out by papyri. Of this city in the time of Philo, the Jews occupied two of the five sections (2) special quarters having been assigned to them so as to enable them to lead their own pure life. Later no such strict separation was observed for they had synagogues in all parts of the city (cf. Philo Leg. ad Caium 20). Josephus citing Hecateus (C. A. I, 22) says that the Jews went to Egypt even after Alexander’s death (3). Philo (in Flaccum 6) states that there were 1,000,00 Jews in Egypt extending from Katabathmos of Libyae to the border of Ethiopia, and therefore in his time yet there must still have existed the Jewish colony at Elephantine whose existence Aramaic papyri discoveries have brought to light. Josephus (Ant. XI, 8, 6 end & XII, 1) mentions that Alexander the Great settled also Samaritans in the Thebais in Egypt (3). Tombular inscriptions

(1) Cf. W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae; II, 726 synagogue at Schedia, Ptolemy III Euergetes; I, 96 synagogue at Athribis, Ptolemy V Epiphanes 205-181; also I, 110 same time and place; I, 129 Ptolemy VIII Euergetes 146-116; II, 742 synagogue at Alexandria c. 102.

(2) Cf. Philo in Flaccum 8 πέντε μονάδας τῆς πολέως εἶναι ... τῶν δύο Ἰουδαίων λέγονται διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον Ἰουδαίων ἐν ταύταις κατοικεῖν. Ὁμοιοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐκ ὅλγουσιν ὁποράδες.

(3) ὁδὲ ἄλλου δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου Θάνατον ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Φώνημα μετέτοιχαν διὰ τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ στάσιν.

(4) τῶν δὲ τῶν Σαναβάλλεταν σπαράζοντας ἐκέλευσαν ἐπεστηθίζον τοῖς Αἰγύπτοις, ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῖς δοσκόντος λύρους γῆς ὅ καὶ μετὰ ὅλγον ἐποίησαν ἐν τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ φρουρεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς προστάσας.
in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt go back to the third century B.C.E.

As early as the middle of the third century the Jewish Author of the Oracula Sibillina III, 271, speaking of Jews makes the Sibyl utter that all the lands and sea are full of them (1). A somewhat later corroboration is contained in the apocryphal book of Macc. I-XV, 16-24 that in 139/138 B.C.E. the Roman Senate sent a dispatch to the kings of Egypt, Syria, Pergamus, Cappadocia and Parthia as well as to many provinces, cities and isles of the Mediterranean sea urging them to favor the Jews. Since the purpose of this circular letter was to protect, many Jews must have existed in these places.

Strabo (c 85 B.C.E.) cited by Josephus when speaking of Jews claims that they had already come into every city and that there was hardly a place in the world which had not accepted this race and been conquered by them. (Cf. Ant. XIV, 7.2) (2). Josephus speaks likewise that no part of the civilized world is to be found which does not contain this people (3).

Philo (in Flaccum 7) states that Jews had settled everywhere both on the isles as well as on the continents of Asia and Europe and had established places of worship (4).

Schuerer as well as Juster in their histories have a large list of cities wherein they prove either from internal or external evidence that Jews had lived there. Hundreds of towns either mentioned by earlier authorities and contemporaries or on which excavations have thrown considerable light are enumerated. Among the other important cities whose population was largely Jewish, were the following:

1. Πάσα ἡ γαά σέθεν πλήρης καὶ πᾶσα Θάλασσα.
2. εἰς πάσαν πόλιν ἰδὴ παρεληλόθει καὶ τόπον οὐκ ἔστι διάδος εὑρεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης δὲ οὐ παραδέδεκται τούτῳ τὸ φύλον μὴν ἐπικοινώνεται ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ.
3. B. J. II, 16. 4 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος ὁ μὴ μοῦσαν ἡμετέραν ἔχων.
4. B. J. VII, 8. 3 τὸ γὰρ Ἰονδαϊών γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέσαρται τοῖς ἐπιγοροίς.

(1) Πάσα ἡ γαά σέθεν πλήρης καὶ πᾶσα Θάλασσα.
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(3) B. J. II, 16. 4 οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης δῆμος ὁ μὴ μοῦσαν ἡμετέραν ἔχων.
(4) Ιονδαϊών γὰρ χώρα μὴ διὰ πολὺ ἄνθρωπίαν οὐ χωρεῖ. Ἡς αὕτη ἐνεκεῖ τὰς πλείστας καὶ ἐνδαμονεῖται σῶν ἐν Ἑβραίῳ καὶ Ἰσραήλ κατὰ τὰ νόμους καὶ ἡσειρέσις ἐκνεύμοναι, μητρόπολιν μὲν τὴν Ιερούσαλημ ἤγοιμενοι, κατ’ ἑνὶ ἔδραται ὁ τὸν ὕψωσον θεοῦ νεώς ἁγίος.
Nehardea (Νέγδα) and Nisibis the centers of cities near the Euphrates mentioned in II Kings XVII, 6 and XVIII, 11, and very probably the descendants of those deported by the Assyrians and Chaldeans. Syria was very largely Jewish and especially its capital Antioch (cf. Jos. B. J. VII, 3.3) (1). Again Josephus (B. J. II, 20.2) mentions that 10,000 Jews were killed in Damascus in the reign of Nero, a number which he increases to 18,000 in B. J. VII, 8.7. Philo (Leg. ad Caium 33) claims that there were many Jews in Asia (Asia Minor) and Syria (2). Josephus (C. A. I, 22) states that Klearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, met a cultured Jew in Asia (c 348-345) who Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν ὀὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ γυμνῇ. Cicero 62/61 Pro Flacco 28 mentions that at the order of Flaccus Jewish moneys destined for Jerusalem were confiscated in Apamea, Laodicea, Adramyttium, and Pergamum. If the amount taken be enumerated then at the rate of one didrachma each, there must have been 45,000 males and perhaps a total Jewish population of about 180,000 in Asia Minor in 62 B. C. E. Philo (Leg. ad Caïum 36) says that Jerusalem is not the capital of Judea but of most lands because of the colonists which it sent out at all opportunities to the neighboring lands; Egypt, Phoenicia, Syria, Pamphilia, Cilicia, Bithynia, Pontus, Europe, Thessaly, Beotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Argos, Corinth and the Peloponesus; not the mainlands alone but even the isles — Eubea, Cyprus and Crete — all have Jewish settlers. The Acts of the Apostles II, 9-11 mention Jews from all parts of the ancient world. Many of the cities had their own Jewish courts as Sardes (Jos. Ant. XIV, 10.17). In some cities as Ephesus, Jews who were citizens were exempted from military service (Jos. Ant. XIV, 10.19). By decrees of the Romans, in various cities Jews were granted religious freedom as well as permission to send their yearly contributions to Jerusalem; Sardes (Jos.

(1) Τὸ γὰρ Ἰούδαιοις γένος πολὺ μὲν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην παρέχεσται τοῖς ἑπιχορίοις πλεῖστον δὲ τῇ Συγίᾳ κατὰ τὴν γεωννίαν ἀναμεμημένον, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἦν πολὺ διὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως μέγεθος.

(2) Ιούδαιοι καθ᾽ ἐκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶν παμπληθεῖς Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συγίας.
Ant. XVI, 6.6); Ephesus (Jos. Ant. XIV, 10.11-12); Tralles (Jos. Ant. XIV, 10.21); Halicarnassus (Jos. Ant. XIV, 10.23). All these cities had at least one synagogue; larger centers, such as Alexandria, had several. (Cf. Acts XIII, 14; XIV, 1.)

In Rome, there was little love for this people. In 139 the praetor, Hispalus, expelled them charging them with attempting to foist the worship of Jupiter Sabagios on the Romans (Val. Max. I, 32 cf. Reinach Textes p. 259). Julius Caesar when prohibiting the foreign collegia after Pharsalia, made an exception in the case of the Jews (Jos. Ant. XIV, 10.8). Augustus also was well disposed towards them. However, under Tiberius they were expelled (Tac. An. II, 85). Claudius forbade Jewish gatherings (Dio Cassius 60.6; Acts XVIII, 2; Suet. Claudius 25). However, the Jewish community flourished and their proselytizing must have been very successful as hinted at by Rome's literary men (1).

Under the Seleucids and Lagids the Jews fared well, the rights of citizenship and positions of trust being frequently bestowed upon them. On the whole, however, the attitude towards the Jews was unfriendly due to their racial and religious peculiarities as well as to their undisguised contempt of heathen cults. Economic rivalry contributed towards their unpopularity for they were engaged in all occupations being mostly craftsmen and small merchants. Many were also corn and tax collectors as early as the second century B.C.E. (2). As a result of this


(2) Cf. Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien. The following Ostraka have Jewish names: 302-304 Antonios Malchaios; Simon 728, 1511, 1513, 337, 339, 340, 718; Joseph 721, 729; Sambathaioi 1507; Sambataios 1508; Sambas 1503, 1504, 1351, 1354; also 334, 753, 1231, 1350, 1359 appear to be Jewish names. All these were tax collectors, the most famous of them being Antonios Malchaios who was the tax collector in Syene during Trajan's reign 107-115 since the "fluminis custodiam" was entrusted to him.
friction many polemics were written against the Jews. The most famous of these writers are Apollonius, the teacher of Cicero, Damocrites, Apion against whom Josephus has written, Manetho, the Egyptian historian whom Philo refuted and Nicarchus (cf. Reinach Textes p. 122). In many cities Jews were expelled but due to Roman interference the expulsion edict could not be carried out (Jos. Ant. XIV, 10.8). In the time of Trajan during the uprising of 115, the Jews were butchered in Mesopotamia, Cyrene and Cyprus. In the latter place, the Jews massacred all Greeks and were consequently forbidden to reside on the island (Dio Cassius 68.32). At Alexandria there was first a silent rivalry in polemics which during Caligula’s, Nero’s and Trajan’s rules burst out in bloodshed.

During the Roman supremacy, Jews were granted special privileges. They could not be expelled from localities where they were legally established except by the edict of the Emperor. In their section of the town they could erect houses of worship (Jos. B. J. II, 18.7 & Ant. XIV, 7.2). Each community had its synagogue, or if needed several. They could observe the Sabbath, their holidays, dietary laws and the right of circumcision. When all these were forbidden by Hadrian, the revolt of 133 broke out. Exemption was also given them from Emperor worship, a privilege menaced by Caligula whose opportune death saved the Jews from annihilation as he had made up his mind to force them to do homage to his statue. Indeed, not even effigies did the Jews have on coins minted by them during the Roman supremacy (Jos. Ant. XVIII, 3.1). This privilege was not taken away till the time of Hadrian. They were empowered also to form autonomous organizations, administrative, financial and judicial. At Alexandria they had their own assembly, magistrates and courts and could settle their own affairs. They levied taxes, the didrachma (¼ shekel) which after 70 was converted into the “fiscus Judaicus” which was abolished only by Julian but until then diverted to the treasury of Jupiter Capitolinus at Rome (Jos. B. J. VII, 6.6 & Dio Cassius 66.7).
PART II

1. AGREEMENT BETWEEN TWO MILITARY SETTLERS AT PHEBECHIS

Hib. Pap. 1. 96 Grenfell & Hunt.
Lit.: SCHÜLER, Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes vol. III, 4 p. 44.

This papyrus found at Hibeh nomos Herakleopolis dated the 26th year of Ptolemy Philadelphus II (259 B.C.E.) is an agreement in duplicate between two military settlers at Phebechis, at least one of whom is a Jew, for the settlement of a dispute between them the nature of which is not specified. Each of the two parties withdraws his claims against the other. Though both copies are imperfectly preserved it can be fairly well reconstructed due to the fact that the duplicate is exactly similar to the copy given below. The fact that Andronicus as well as his opponent are said to belong to the ἐπιγονῆς proves them to be military settlers indicating that a Jewish settlement must have existed here as early as 300 B.C.E.

In the 26th year of the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy and his son Ptolemy... being priest of Alexander and of the gods Adelphi, the Canephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus... being in the month Dystrus at Phebehis in the Koite district. Contract of renunciation between Andronicus of the Epigone and Alexander son of Andronicus Jew with... of Zoilus troop decurion. They agree that they have settled all the claims which they made against each other in former times; and Andronicus has no right to proceed against Alexander, nor Alexander against Andronicus, nor any other party on their behalf bring any claim or any pretext with respect to any of the claims which they made against each other up to the 26th year and the month of Dystrus. If either of the two parties proceed against each other, both the act of aggression shall be invalid for the person making it and the aggressor shall forfeit to the injured party a fine of... This contract is valid wheresoever it be produced... The witnesses are Nicobius, Chalcidian, Dionysodorus, Crommian... all of Zoilus troop, Straton son of... cles, Erythrian... of the Epigone public servant, ... son of Dioxander, Boiotian of the Epigone public servant... The keeper of the contract is Dionysodorus.

2. EXTRACT OF A WILL

Lit.: SCHUERER, Gesch. des jüd. Volkes vol. III, 4 p. 44.

The following extract is from a papyrus dated in the tenth year of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes III (238/237 B.C.E.) coming from the Nomos Arsinoe. It is the will of Philon, son of Herakleides, who after assigning all his property and posses-
sions to his wife and daughter mentions that Apollonios, a foreigner, called Jonathan in the Syrian, owes him 150 drachmae. The Jonathan referred to here must doubtless be a Jew.

I leave all my possessions to my wife, Eirene, daughter of Asclypiades of Cyrene, and to Demo, my daughter, by Eirene together with my slaves Parthenion and Myrine females... males, and according to the bill in the public registry, Apollonios, a foreigner, who is also called in the Syrian language, Jonathan, who owes me 150 drachmae in silver; and I leave nothing to anyone else...

3. CLASSIFICATION OF JEWS AND HELLENES

In the village of Psenuris in the third century B.C.E. the inhabitants according to this papyrus were divided into two classes, Jews and Hellenes. Although the first lines are fragmentary this classification is quite clear. The text deals with an increase of tax of similar amount — one half drachmae for each slave whether in possession of Hellen or Jew. Of great significance is the fact that this is an official record in which such distinction between the residents of this Fayum town has been made as early as 300 B.C.E. For a later record, cf. Tebt. Pap. 11—566. In a census return of the village Samaria 131/2 C.E. a Πτολεμαῖος calls himself a Hellen τῶν ἐν Ἀραβ(νοίσῃ) δ[ν]δ[ῶν Εἰλίνων, desiring perhaps to separate himself thereby from the heavy Semitic population of the town.

2
4. CONTRACT OF A LEASE 223 OR 122 B. C. E.

Magdola P. no. 3.

Theodotes, Gaddaios and Phanias contract from Demetrius a piece of ground for a period of two years. Evidently the latter did not fulfill the conditions of the contract as the following complaint indicates. In the complaint are quotations from the original lease showing the obligations and the guaranties which Demetrius assumed. It is dated in the 25th year of Ptolemy Euergetes. While it is not specifically stated that the lessees are Jews, still from the names it is quite clear. An attempt has been made by Theodore Reinach to read Onias instead of Phanias as being a more common Jewish name than Phanias.

1 Βασιλείς Πτολεμαίων χαίρεν Θεόδοτος, Γαάνδαίος Πανιάς, Ἀδικούμεθα ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τινὸς Μισθὸς — 2ςας γαρ ἡμεῖς τῶν Νικίου κλῆρον καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδον, (τριακοντατριῶν) συς ἠχοῦσαν περὶ κόμην Πρακλέαν, τῆς Θερμίας — 3τον μερίδος εἰς (ἐπεὶ) β, ἐφ᾽ ὃι ἄρξῃ τῆς μισθώσεως ὅ σπόρος ἥ ἐν τοῦ εἰς (ἐπεὶ) εἰς 5 ψαχ (ἐπος) ἐκφορίον τῆς (ἀρκοῦσαν) ἔκασ — 4τὴν (πυρασοῦ) (ἀρπαβῶν) γ, τὸ δεύτερον (ἐτος) (πυρασοῦ) (ἀρπαβῶν) γ Λ, καὶ τῆς συγγραφῆς τῆς
Theodotes, Gaddaios and Phanias, greetings to the king, Ptolemy. We have been wronged by a certain Demetrius for he has leased to us the estate of Nikios and Asklepiades (who have 30 aroura) which they have in the village of Heraklea of the district Themistos, for two years upon the condition that the sowing in 25th year begin the lease (and run to the harvest of) the 26th year, the tax being 8 artabes of wheat for each aroura (the first year) and 3⅓ artabes of wheat for the second year; the contract of this lease stating, "without risk except in the case of a drought, or inundation"; "land which can be sown till Choiac 10"; "but that which could not be sown till the 10th of Choiac"; "Demetrius and three other suitable men having been taken". But we having taken Demetrius so that we may show him that which cannot be sown, he escaped us, wishing to violate the conditions of the lease. He does not confirm the conditions which he indicated to us and upon which we made the contract. We request you, O! King to order Diophanes the strategus to write to Meleagra the epistates (the prefect) of the village Boubastos to send Demetrius to Diophanes the strategus and if what we have pointed out by means of the petition be true compel him to promise us justice. When
this shall have happened, we will have acquired justice. Farewell.

Verso. — The 25th year, Loios 26, Choiak 13. Theodotes, Gaddaios, and Phanias versus Demetrius concerning the lease of a plot (of ground).

5. NON-PAYMENT OF WAGE DUE TO A BARBER 222 B.C. E.

Magdola P. no. 15.

From what is left of this very incomplete fragment of a papyrus we glean the fact that a barber, Parates, of Arabic origin claims his salary from one of his clients, named Malichos. It has been pointed out that this is a Semitic name. However, despite the fact that at least one prominent Jew in the time of Trajan called, Antonius Malchais (cf. Gr.Ost., Wilcken no. 302 to 304), has a similar name there is no special reason why we should assume that this Malchais despite his Semitic name is a Jew. It is dated in the first year of Ptolemy Philopater.

ετεσία Πολεμαίων χαίρεν [Παράθης Αραγ, κουρέος ... Αδι]
κοῦμαι ἐπὶ Μάλιχον τον · · · · · · ·
tεθεραπευκός ανεγκλήτος · · · · · ·
μενον πρὸς μὲ και τον Μάλιχον? · ·
. . . [· · · · · · · . . . . ] 'νω [· · · · · · · . . . · ·]

verso

'Ετεις α Γορπίαον κη Τούβι τις
Παράθης, 'Αραγ κουρέος,
πρὸς Μάλιχον περὶ μυσθοῦ.

Parates, an Arabian barber, greetings to king Ptolemy. I have been wronged by Malichos ... having blamelessly served ... towards me and Malichos? ...

Verso — In the first year, Gorpiaios 28, Tubi 12; Parates, an Arabian barber, versus Malichos concerning wages.
6. COMPLAINT AGAINST A JEWISH THIEF


Dated in the time of Ptolemy IV (217 B.C.E.), this papyrus found in the Fayum, nomos Arsinoe, is valuable for the history of the Jewish Diaspora of this period through the mention of a synagogue in this town and also mention of its Hazzan. Although a large part of it is missing the following facts are clear:

A certain Dorotheos stole a dress from a woman living in the Fayum town Ἄλεξάνδρου νήσου. Very likely he must have been a Jew since he hurried to the synagogue after the theft. The dress is left to the care of the sexton Nikomachus until a decision should be rendered as to the disposition of it. In the meantime she appeals to the king for the return of the dress or its value and for the punishment of the culprit. Reinach has pointed out that the accuser is probably not a Jewess.

To the king Ptolemy, greeting . . . from those in Alexandrou Nesos. I have been wronged by Dorotheos . . . who lives in the same village. For in the fifth year, when the solemn processions in the month of Phamenoth . . . with my fellow worker, having
set his mind upon my garment worth? drachmae . . . having it he was gone. And when I saw it that he ran away? . . . hiding? the garment in the synagogue of the Jews . . . Lezelmis (who tills 100 iugera of soil) intervenes . . . giving? the garment to Nikomachus the temple keeper until the trial . . . I ask of you indeed, O! King, to order Diophanes, the governor, to write to Appollonios, the prefect, to send to him Dorotheos and Nikomachus, the sexton, who is holding the garment and if that which I write be true, to compel them to return to me the garment, or its price and that Diophanes, the governor, take cognizance of this neglect . . . When this will be done I will then have obtained my desserts from you, O! King. Farewell.

7. A LETTER CONCERNING A DISHONEST JEWISH HORSE DEALER

British Mus. pap. 189: pap. Gren. 1.43.

Judging from the writing this papyrus coming from the Thebais cannot be later than the second century B.C.E. Although the exact meaning of the letter cannot be fully seen since the deciding verbs in lines 4 and 6 are incomplete, probably the following are the facts in the case. Hermokrates who evidently lived in a different place than his brother Menon and frequently was wont to make purchases for him (cf. l. 11 seq. where Menon in the P. S. asks his brother to buy some purple dye) had bought a mare for him from a Jew. Without mentioning the name of the latter he had notified his brother to this effect. When the seller did not deliver the mare Menon writes the following letter to his brother since the Jew being unknown to him he could not turn to him.

1[M]ένον Ἑρμοκράτει τάδελφῳ καίρειν. 2[Ε]τ᾽ ἄρροωςι ἄρροω-

μεθά δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἵππος τῷ σαββάτῳ καὶ ἵ

παιδίσκη καὶ ἵ 4θυγατης αὐτῆς. "Εγὼ παῖς ἥμιν τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκ παρ᾽ ᾽Ιουδαὶον ὥ [. . .] σατι αὐτήν οὐ
tὸ ὄνομα ἀγγοῦμεν. 5[Α]διότου δὲ μηδ᾽ ἀποδεδωκότος ἥμιν μ[η]-
Menon to his brother Hermokrates greeting. If you are well I am well as well as my folks, Aphrodisia and her daughter as well as the little girl and her daughter. You have written to me on account of the fact that . . . for me a mare from a Jew whose name I do not know. He having neither given to me the mare nor described its gait, I wrote you that you may know. Be well.

You will do well, if you will buy for me and for Aphrodisia two staters of purple dye each.

Verso — (addressed) to Hermokrates.

8. NOTICE OF TAX COLLECTORS

Fayum Towns and their Papyri, Grenfell, Hunt & Hogarth no. 14 p. 106.

Two collectors one of whom is called Simon (very likely a Jew) request the men to whom the following is addressed to pay extra four silver drachmae as a crown tax. Since it is dated in the 46th year of Ptolemy it must refer to the reign of Euergetes II. (124 B.C.E.)

Simon and Ptolemaeus the appointed collectors of the crown tax decreed for Numerius to Phileas, so of Tryphon, greeting. You are required to pay in addition four drachmae, total 4. The 46th year, Tubi 30, I, Ptolemaeus, son of Pasocrates, jointly acknowledge the receipt.
9. A CONTRACT BETWEEN POTTERS

Unpublished Berlin Pap. 11641.
Lit.: Schubart, Einführung in die Papyruskunde S. 330 & 507.

Probably a product of the first century B.C.E., this papyrus contains in very poor Greek an agreement as to the share which a certain Jew, Sabbataios and his son, Dosas, were to have in a pottery.

1 Σαββαταῖος Ὀρον καὶ ὁ τούτου υἱὸς Δωσάτος κεραμεύσι τῶν ἀπὸ Σύρουν κόμης Σου—3 δαῖοι Πεντεσούχου καὶ τοῖς τούτων υἱὸς ἑνεφρώς καὶ Νεξθανοῦντις χαίρειν. 5 ὁμολογοῦμεν συμμετέχομεν δὴν ἐντὸς ὑπάρχοντος Παῦλον Σαββαταίου περὶ Ἑνίου πόλιν κεραμεῶς ἀπὸ Τῳβί κε ἀτὸ τοῦ Μεσορῆ λ ἐν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῷ ἔπιβάλλον μου μέρος καὶ 10 τοῦ υἱοῦ μου τὰ αὐτὸ ὁ τοῦ τετάρτου, ἀντὶ φόρον ἐκπέσομεν κοινῇ ἐκατός κατὰ τὸ μέρος ἐάν δέ τι γένηται βλάρος ὑφελιᾷ κοινῇ καὶ διαιρέτους, μηδὲ ἐξέσται ἡμῖν καταλείπειν τὸ κεραμεῖον ἕκχρημα τοῦ προσελκυόνου εἰ μηδὲ ἐξέσται ὑμῖν ἐγκαλεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκτὸς τοῦ κεραμεῶς ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιῶμεν καθὰ γέγρασαν, ἐκτεὶ—ἀνομέν εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τιμῆν τοῦ, ἐγραφην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν Ἡαρῆμον Καλλικράτους δίξωθεὶς διὰ τὸ φάσαν αὐτός μὴ εἰδέναι γράμματα ἤ τοῦ Τῳβί κε

23 Σαββαίδων Νῆκωνος μαρτυρῶ
24 Νικόδρομος Φιλίππου μαρτυρῶν

Substitute the following corrections:

1-Δωσάτος 2-κεραμεύς 4-Νεφεροῦντι Νέτανοῦπι 5-συμμετέχεν 7-κεραμεῖον 8-ἔτους 9-ὁ 1/4 10-προσελκυόν 11-τὸν δὲ 13-ὅφελε, ἐστὶν κοινῇ καὶ διαιρέτος 16-κεραμεῖον 18-τιμῆς (δραχμας)μ 19-κυρία 21-φάσαν 24-μαρτυρῶ.

Sabbataios, the son of Horus, and Dosas, the son of the former, potters from the people of the village of the Syrians (being) Jews, greet Pentesouchos and his sons, Nepheros and Nechtanoupis. We agree to hold in common the pottery belonging to Paous, son of Sabbataios, near Neiopolis, from Tubi 25th of the 7th year until Mesore 30th of this same year (and) in accordance with the share that falls to me — 1/4 and that of my son 1/4, we will each of us in accordance with his share
pay the tax in common. And if any loss or gain result let it be common and undivided; nor shall it be possible for us to leave the pottery during the above mentioned year, nor shall it be possible for you to cast us out of the pottery. If we do not act in accordance with that written (herein) we will pay into the royal treasury 40 drachmae and let this contract be valid everywhere. I, Chairemon, the son of Kallikrates, have written it in behalf of them having been appointed because they said that they did not know (the art of) writing. The 7th year Tubi 25th.

I, Sabaidon, the son of Nikon, am a witness:
I, Nikodromos, the son of Philippos, am a witness.

10. AGREEMENT ABOUT A LEGACY

B. G. U. IV 1151 ed. Schubart.

Dated in the 17th year of Augustus (13 B. C. E.) the papyrus is interesting in that it conclusively shows that there was a Jewish court at Alexandria. Schubart is surprised that Alexander who together with his brother Theodorus have been mentioned in a previous papyrus as Macedonians should have come to a Jewish court as he does not believe them to be Jews. Josephus, however, (Ant. XIV, 7.2) mentions that at the very founding of Alexandria, Jews were given the privilege of calling themselves Macedonians.
To the Protarchos from Dionysia, daughter of Ariston, with her guardian Agathinos, son of Philotos, her maternal uncle, and from Alexander, son of Nikodemos. Concerning the division, Dionysia agrees to have received from Alexander in person of household goods one hundred dr. of silver and six dr. of (articles) from silver, of that which Theodoros, the brother of Alexander, dying willed to her and in accordance with the will which he made in the court of the Jews; and that neither Dionysia nor anyone in behalf of her should make any claims against Alexander about the 100 dr. for which she had given a receipt, and had divided for him; as far as the other matters were concerned the 100 dr. which (he owed?), into a period of 17 months from the present month of Pharmouthi of the 17th year of the Emperor, and which she having received without interest . . . safety, but if the time shall have passed and Alexander not have paid then (he shall pay) the capital, these 100 dr. of silver plus one half, and for the time overdue in accordance with the legal rate 2 dr., the case being in favor of Dionysia at the expense of Alexander and from all his property just as if (this decision were) from a court and he should not bring any arguments or (claims that it is invalid). We have recorded this in the 17th year of the Emperor, Pharmouthi 17.
Alexander, son of Nikodemos, Dionysia, daughter of Ariston, her guardian Agathinos, son of Philotos, her maternal uncle—a will—6 dr. & 100 dr. (paid) in person; the remaining 100 dr. due on Mesore 7 of the coming 18th year of Caesar without interest.

11. PETITION OF AN ALEXANDRIAN JEW TO THE PREFECT


Although this papyrus due to erasures and corrections is almost undecipherable, still it is valuable for the mooted question as to whether the Jew had citizenship in Alexandria. In this petition to the prefect C. Turranius, the petitioner is by mistake called Ἀλέξανδρος and then by erasure Ἰουδαῖον τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλέξανδρειας. It is a clear evidence that in the year 5 or 4 B.C.E. there was a legal distinction between Alexandrian citizens and Jews who belonged to the inhabitants of Alexandria since οἱ ἀπὸ Ἀλέξανδρειας includes residents of the city not belonging to Ἀλέξανδρειας. The contrast between citizens and mere residents is further brought out when the father of the petitioner is called Ἀλέξανδρος, i.e. he had acquired citizenship personally. Judging from the fact that the son is called Ἰουδαῖον τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλέξανδρειας he must have been born before his father acquired citizenship. The text is too broken to be interpreted and after the 13th line is hardly worth reproducing due to its fragmentary character.

Ἰουδαῖον τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλέξανδρειας

1 Ιαῖοι Τυρσανίων 2παρὰ Ελένου τοῦ(ῆ) Τουρσανοῦ(ῆ) [[Ἀλέξανδρεως]] μέγατε

3 Ἡγεμὼν [[βέλτιστος]], ὃν ἐκ πατρὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ὡς 4[[καὶ]] διατρήψας ἐπαύθη τὸν πάντα χρόνον 5μεταλαβὼν καθὲ ὁ δυνατὸν καὶ τὸν πατρὸν 6[[ής]] ἀποκοφὴς παιδείας, κινδυνεύω 7οὐ μόνον τῆς ἴδιας πατρίδος στεφηθῆ—3ναι, ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸν . . . ἐνοικ. τὸν . . . εἰν ἡν Συμβεβηκε γὰρ Ὡρὸν 10δημόσιον οἰκονομον . . . τῷ 11τῷ . . . το τῆς αἰτίας ένεκα . . . αἱ τῶν 12πατέρα μοῦ ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν πάτριον γενόμαι ἐν ἐν ἀκα . . . καὶ ὁμοια . . . μον αὐτοῦ 13 . . . τικον ανηγαλκό . . . χειμίσια . . .
To the Emperor Gaius; from Helenus the son of Truphon, a Jew of the inhabitants of Alexandria. O! Great Ruler, being of an Alexandrian father and having spent here all the time and having obtained in accordance with the power of my father a suitable education, I am in danger not alone of being deprived of my own native land but also into . . . (the rest is too fragmentary).

12. ANTI-SEMITIC PRIVATE LETTER

Lit.: Wilcken, Zum Alex. Anti-Semit. p. 791; Mitteis-Wilcken, Papyruskunde vol. I no. 60.

Dated the first year of the reign of Claudius (41 C. E.) this papyrus although its origin is unknown throws some light on the history of anti-semitism. It is the earliest known source wherein distrust is expressed against a Jewish money lender (ll., 24-26). Sarapion the writer is seen from B. G. U. 1078 the style and script of which are similar to B. G. U. 1079, to be a wholesale merchant ἐμπορος. We know (cf. Jos. Ant. 19, 278 seq.) that in January 41 a violent uprising was incited by the Jews against the Greeks. The warning here "to beware of the Jews" seems to be at a time when Herakleides is in great need of funds. Sarapion advises him rather to beg mercy of PtoUlarion, his creditor, than turn to the Jew.
Sarapion to my Herakleides, greeting. I sent you two other letters, one by the hand of Nedymus, the other by the hand of Cronius, the sword-bearer. Finally then I received from Arabos the letter and read it and was grieved. Cling to Ptollarion constantly; perhaps he can set you free. Say to him 'I am not like anyone else, I am a lad. With the exception of a talent I have made you to pay my burden. I do not know ... we have many creditors — do not drive us out'. Ask him daily perhaps he can have mercy on you; if not, do you, like all, beware of the Jews. Rather cling to him (Ptollarion) and so you may become his friend. Notice that the document can be signed either by Diodorus or by the wife of the ruler. If you manage your own affairs, you are not to be blamed. Greet Diodorus with the others. Good-bye. Greet Harpocrates.

The first year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Emperor, the eleventh of the Caesarean month (August 4, 41 C.E.).

13. EXTRACT FROM A TAX LIST OF ARSINOE 72/73 C.E.


This is an extract from the report of the ἀμφοδύχης of the section of the city Ἀπολλωνίων Παρεμβόλης in Arsinoe. It includes the δαπατήσιμον (demand) for the collection of Ἰουδαϊκόν τέλεσμα the Jewish tax of the mentioned year which is revised from last year's list — συνοψισμένον. In this list which includes only children and women we see from 1.205 that the head tax per person for both sexes ranging from 3 to 60 years of age amounted to 8 drachmae and 2 obols. The men were included in a separate list no longer extant.

παρ  Ἡρακλείδου μ[φοδάχο](ν) Ἀπολλωνίων Παρεμβόλης
dαπατήσιμον Ἰουδαϊκον τελέσματος τοῦ (πεσσοῦ) ἔτους
155 Ἀδοτοκράτορος Καίσαρ[ες] [Οὐδεστ[ασιανὸν] Σεβαστὸν ἁ[νομισμάτων] [πρὸς τὸ (τέταρτον) (ἔτος)].


160 τῶι (τετάρτῳ) (ἔτει) ἐτῶν ν[θ] (μία), ἀ[ρ]ηλ(ίξ) (τετραετής) (τετάρτῳ) (ἔτει) (μία), (γίνεται) ὄν(όματα) ιβ, καὶ διὰ προσγιά(φον) ἀναλαμβ(ανόμενον) ἐν τῆς γενομένης ἐπικρίσεως περη[ν] ὅτε[ς] εἶναι εἰς τὸ(τέταρτον) (ἔτος) (τριετείς) ἀπὸ (ἐπανένων) [(θευτερό)] (ἔτει)

ἀρρεν(νές) Φιλίακος [ΠΩλλάκ] ος τοῦ Φιλίακον μη[τρὸς] Ἔρωτίον

θήλ(εια) Ἡρώτος [Σίμ]μ[ων(ε)] τοῦ ΠΩλ[εμαίον] μη(τρὸς) Δωσαρίου (γίνονται) β (γίνονται) ιβ, ὅν τελείων τῶι [ἀν(δρῶν) ἐ ἀρ(ηλ(ικὸς))] (τετραετούς) (πέμπτῳ) (ἔτει) ἀρρεν(νος) οἱ γυναικῶν τε[λείων] ἀ ἀρ(ηλ(ικὸς)] (πεν(τετει) (πέμπτῳ) (ἔτει) θῆλ(ειας) οἱ (τετραετοῦς) ὀμοίως) ι(γίνεται) τα (πάντα) ὄν(όματα) ιβ

170 καὶ προσγιά(νεται) εἰ[ς τὸ (πέμπτον)] (ἔτος) [Ἀδ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρ[ες] Ἡ[ουδανῶν] Σεβαστὸν ἁ(νομισμὰ) ἀπὸ ἀρ(ηλ(ικὸν) (ἐπανένων) (τρίτος) (ἔτει)

εἰς δὲ τὸ (πέμπτον) (ἔτος) (τριετῶν) [δ]ι [Ηουδανῆς] τελείωματι ἀνα- λαμβανομένων

ἀρρεν(νον) Σεβάθ[ης] Θεοδόρος(ν) τοῦ(ν)ΠΩλεμαίον(ν) μη(τρὸς) Φιλοῦτ[ος] ἐπισκεψιμόνος) (τετάρτῳ) (ἔτει) (διετής) (γίνεται) α

175 γίνεται) ὄν(όματα) ἦ, ᾳ[ν] [τ[ελείων] ἀν(δρῶν) ἐ ἀρ(ηλ(ικὸς)] (τετραετοῦς) (πέμπτῳ) (ἔτει) ἀρρεν(νος) α

[[τριετῶς] (πέμπτῳ) (ἔτει) ἀρ(ρεν(νος) οἱ γυναικῶν τελείων) ἀ ἀρ(ηλ(ικὸς)] (πεν(τετει) (πέμπτῳ) (ἔτει) θῆλ(ειας) οἱ (τετραετοῦς) ὀμοίως) α (γίνεται) τὰ (πάντα) ἤ, ὅν

180 ἄνδρῶν τε[λείων] ὄντων ἐν ὀμολ(όγῳ) λαο(γοφικῷ) ὄν(όματα) ε καὶ τ(ὰ λοιπ(ά)) ὄν(όματα) ἦ ὅν τὸ π(ατὴ ἄνδρα).

182 πα[ν]([αι]σι) 'Α[σία] Τροφαὶ(να) ἡ στάτος τοῦ Καλλίτος μη(τρὸς) Δωσαρίου
The report of Herakleides, the amphiadraches (Straßenreviermeister) of Apollonios Parembole. The demand of the Jewish tax for the 5th year, 72/73, of the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, being an abstract according to the statement of the 4th year 71/72. The number of Jews taken up by previous accounts are 5 adult males, and 6 adult females of whom one is over age ROTH.
and was adjudged so being 59 years old in 71/72; one minor girl 4 years old having been one year old in 70/71 — altogether 12 names.

And those taken up through a transcript of the preceding epikrisis appeared to be 3 years old in 71/72 being one year old in 69/70.

Males—Philiskos, son of PtoUas, grandson of Philiskos; mother Erotion.

Females—Protous, daughter of Simon, son of Ptolemaios; mother Dosarion. Sum 2 total 14.

Of these, adult men 5; 1 minor male who in 72/73 was 4 years old.

Adult females 6; 1 minor female who in 72/73 was 5 years old. Similarly one 4 year old one; all the names total 14.

In addition there is in the 5th year (72/73) of the Emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus, of minors who in 70/71 were one year old and therefore in 72/73, 3 years old, enrolled in the Jewish tax, of males—Seuthes, son of Theodoros, grandson of Ptolemaios, mother Philos, found to be 2 years old in the epikrisis of 71/72, total names 15.

Of these adult males 5; 1 minor male who in 72/73 is 4 years old.

One minor male who in 72/73 is 3 years old.

Adult females 6; 1 female minor who in 72/73 is 5 years old; likewise one 4 years old, total 15.

Of these 5 adult males being of those in the list as liable to a head-tax and the rest of the names — 10.

Of these according to individuals:

Adult females: Truphaina, daughter of... spas, granddaughter of Kales, mother Dosarion, of those who are over age having been adjudged in 71/72 to be 59 years old, (now) 61.

Dosarion, daughter of Jacob, son of Jacob, mother, Sambus the wife of Simon 22 years old.

Philous, daughter of... , mother, PtoUus, wife of Theodoros 20 years old.

Sambathis, daughter of Sabinus, mother, Herais, wife of Thegenes 18 years old.
S... daughter of..., mother, Theudus, wife of Sambath? 1? years old.
Erotion, daughter of... on, mother, Euterpe, wife of Ptolemaios 22 years old.
Total 6.
Minor males 4 years old in 72/73.
Philiskos, son of Ptolemaios, grandson of Philiskos, mother
Erotion, 1 name.
Similarly those three years old in 72/73.
Seuthes, son of Theodoros, grandson of Ptolemaios, mother
Philus, equals 1.
Females 5 years old in 72/73.
Protous, daughter of Theodoros, mother Philus, equals 1.
Similarly those 4 years in 72/73.
Protous, daughter of Simon, son of Ptolemaios, mother Dosarion, equals 1.
Total names 10.
Plus 5 names of men in the list of those liable to a head-tax.
Sum as above 15 names.
At 8 drachmae and 2 obols each, equals 125 drachmae.
For firstlings 15 drachmae, total 140 drachmae.
A similar copy has been deposited in the registry with the royal scribe the scribe Amoution in the 5th year (72/73) of Vespasian on the 20th of Germanikios (Pachon).

14. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF A RECEIPT 77 C. E.
Ox. Pap. II no. 276.
This is an acknowledgment of a receipt addressed by three steersmen on a cargo boat, one of whom is a Jew (....) son of Jacob through a soldier of the second legion who was evidently the supercargo, to the sitologi (corn collectors) of a village. The receipt doubtless relates to a cargo of corn which was being conveyed to Alexandria. For a similar receipt, cf. Brit. Mus. Pap. no. 256 recto.

1... λ(...) Ἐτους δεκά[τον Ἀδτοκε]ύτωρος Καίσαρος Ὀδεσ-
πιαν[όν, Σεβάστο]ό μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ ἡ Σεβ(αστῆ), ἐν Ὀ[ξυφύχῳ]ν
3*
In the tenth year of the emperor Caesar Vespasian Augustus the month of August, the 8th of August in the city of the Oxyrunchites of the Thebais. We ...s son of Jacob, and PtoUas, son of Nikostratos, and ...on, son of Truphon, steersmen of a cargo boat, each of us through a soldier who was sailing along — Klaudius Keler, the centurion of the second legion concede to Phribs, the son of Herakleos, together with other sitologi (corn collectors) of the public granary of the village of Dermeithes of the northern district, to have received from them the (Artabae) commanded to them by Klaudius son of Herakleios strategus of the nome in accordance with the letter written by ... Marios Vindix, of the ...
Harpocratio to his brother Bellenus, greeting. I wrote you yesterday through your (servant) Mardon, wishing you to know that since having been molested I was unable to come down and that I am here a few days; if it seems right to you, send the receipt of Isas and let us receive from him the rest of the (olive) oil, if you agree. Now Theophilus, the Jew, has come saying, "I have been forced into agriculture" (i.e. as a cultivator) and I wish to go to Sabinus. (At the time when) compelled he indeed did not ask me that he be freed, but suddenly has asked me today. I shall find out whether he speaks truly. Be gone (good-bye). Greet my brothers, Lukus and Mecheir.

Addressed — deliver to Bellenus Sabinus.

16. OATH OF A JEW FROM THE FAYUM


The writer indicates to the royal scribe the death of his son Joseph who had been a minor ἁρματης and therefore had not been included in the last census; these occurred at 14 year intervals. Although the papyrus does not specifically mention that he is a Jew the names occurring here strongly indicate it. Of special interest is this document to the Jewish Diaspora because the Jew who announces the death of his son confirms his statement with an oath. It is dated 101 C. E.
To Isidorus, the royal scribe, of the legal class of Arsinoe. From Soteles, son of Joseph, the son of Theomnes, of the mother Erotion of the village of Apollonias. ‘My son Joseph of the mother Sarah being a minor, not yet having passed into the census died in the month of Tubi of the beginning of the 4th year of the Emperor Trajan. Therefore I request that he be placed among the dead.’

To the clerk of the village. ‘If he died, writing his own signature, let him declare as it is fitting.’ The 4th year of Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus. Mecheir 16.

Soteles, the son of Joseph, the one mentioned before, ‘I swear! by the Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajan Augustus . . .’

17. ACCOUNTS OF THE WATER COMMISSIONERS IN AN EGYPTIAN TOWN


This papyrus, dated 113 C. E. is from an unnamed metropolis of middle Egypt, perhaps Arsinoe or Hermopolis. It gives the accounts of the commissioners of the water works covering the last three months of the sixteenth and first two months of the seventeenth year of Trajan. The rate, 128 drachmae a month for Ἀρχόντων Τ[ου]δαίων προσευχῆς is very high, about double the amount charged the others. Since the rate charged them is so much higher the question arises as to whether or not the Jews used water for ritual purposes. The Jews are mentioned here as natives of Thebes and, therefore, it is prob-
able that the papyrus is an account coming from Hermopolis. The mention in line 60 of a ἐνυχεῖον indicates a place of worship different but belonging to the προσευκῆ.

Ἀρχόντων ἡ[ον]δαίον προσευκῆς Ἡθβαίων μηνιαίῳ < ρχη Παχὼν < ρχη] Παντὶ < ρχη Ἐπειφ < ρχη Μεσοφ < ρχη ις Θδη < ρχη Φαώφι < ρχη / < ψη[η]

ἐνυχεῖον δυοίων Παχὼν < ρχη Παντὶ < ρχη Ἐπειφ < ρχη Μεσοφ < ρχη ις Θδη < ρχη Φαώφι < ρχη / < ψη[η]

Of the leaders of the synagogue of the Theban Jews 128 drachmae per month; Pachon — 128 dr., Pauni — 128 dr., Epeiph — 128 dr., Mesore — 128 dr., the 16th year — Thoth — 128 dr. and Phaophi — 128 dr. total 768 dr.


18. AUDIENCE BY TRAJAN TO RIVAL GREEK AND JEWISH ALEXANDRIANS

Ox. pap. X no. 1242.

Lit.: Schubart, Einführung in die Papyruskunde S. 330.

Although written early in the third century, the facts recounted in the following papyrus are part of the Alexandrian anti-semitic and national literature. We are hereby introduced to an audience granted by Trajan to rival Greek and Jewish emissaries. It is closely related to the Paulus and Antoninus Acts (cf. P. Paris no. 68 and British Mus. I p. 229 and B. G. U. I p. 341 which is a recension of the foregoing). The chief part played in these is by Paulus and Theon. These names recur in this papyrus and Paulus is described here as the voluntary advocate of the Alexandrians. Nevertheless P. Paris 68 refers to an occasion different from the one herein mentioned. In the former, reference is made to the Dacian war I, 13; to the prefect Lupus I, 5 & IV, 3; hostilities in Egypt πόλεμος Π, 3-6; and the Jewish king I, 5-7. The date must be, therefore, after the Jewish outbreak which began in Egypt and Cyrene in 115
C.E. Wilcken, though at first (Hermes XXVII p. 464 sq.) thought that these proceedings took place before Trajan at Antioch, later adopted the view of Th. Reinach that the emperor must have been Hadrian.

In Ox. no. 1242, the emperor, Trajan, is expressly mentioned; the scene is at Rome to which Trajan did not return after his departure to the east in 114 C.E. Hence the proceedings here are prior to those in P. Paris 68. It is not at all surprising that the personnel of these papyri is the same as they must have been sent within a few years of each other. As to what circumstances prompted the present mission, is not clear. It is evident, however, (cf. ll. 35-37) from the emperor’s language, that the hostility towards the Alexandrian Jews had become very vigorous. In the Greek mission eleven members are enumerated whereas in the Jewish only seven. They arrived at Rome in early Spring. Hermiscus (ll. 44-45) not previously mentioned must have been mentioned but is now missing from the papyrus since the beginning of column 1 is missing.

The fourth column which is too fragmentary to be reproduced mentions the emperor, Claudius, referring thus probably to an earlier Alexandrian mission of which a partial account is preserved in B. G. U. 511 and P. Cairo 10, 448. That this manuscript must have been written with bias may be seen from the portent at the end of column 111 where perspiration bursts forth from the bust of the idol. Wilcken holds, and this correctly so, that the basis of this literature are the authentic official records.

COLUMN I

"᾿Αλέξανδροι—15 βοσ καὶ Σώστρός Ἀλεξνίχες τῷ γένει 16 συνήγορος ἵππο Ιουναίων, ἀνάγον—17 ταὶ μὲν ὅποὶ τῆς πόλεως ἕκαστοι βαστά—18 ἵπτες τοὺς ἰδίους θεοὺς, Ἀλέξανδροὶ...

**COLUMN II**


56 χάνοντες τὸν χάριν, τοῦτα ἱερεία τολ—37 μήσοντες[ς] Ἰουδαίους; ἀλλὰ πορεύονται καὶ ...

**COLUMN III**

38[......] ες[......] 39[......] ον Ἰουδαί[.....] 40[......] μελε[τ] ὁ τὸν θανείν κατάρρο[ν] ὅσα τοῦ θανάτου[......] 41 ὃς καὶ ἀδὰδας ἀποκρειόμενος. Ἑρμαῖος ἐπ[εν] 42 Ἐλλά λυπομέθα διὶ τὸ συνεδρίους συν ἐπιθυμή τῶν[......] 43 ἀνοίγοι Ἰουδαίων. Καίσαρ ἐπέλεγεν Ἰδε δεύτερον σοι 44 λέγο, Ἐρμαῖoksen, αδ—

54 δας ἀποκρινήθη πεποίθως τῷ 45 ἑαυτοῦ γένει. Ἑρμαῖος ἐπέλεγεν Τὶ αὐθαίδος ἀποκρι—46 νομαί, μέγιστα Αὐτοκράτωρ; δίδαξον μὲ. Καίσαρ ἐπέλεγε 47 Ὡτι τὸ συνεδρίου μου Ἰουδαίους ἐπιθυμοῦσα. Ἑρμαῖος Ἐρμαῖος 48 ὁδοχόην μαλεπόν ὡς τὸ ὅνομα τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ὡρί—49 λες σοι πάλι τοῖς σεαυτοῦ βοηθέουν καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἀνοί—50 ὅς Ἰουδαίοις συνηγοροῦν. ταῦτα λέγοντος Ἑρμαῖοκος 51 ἡ τὸν Σαράπιδος προτοτή ἤν ἐράσσατον οἱ πρεσ—62 βις αἰγυπτιοῦ ἱδροος, θεαμάμενος δὲ Τραίανος 53 ἀπεδόμασα[ε]ν, καὶ μεθ᾽ ὅλον συνήγοροι ἔγενον—64 τῷ εἰς [τ]ῇ Ῥώμην κραυγαὶ τε παντηθεῖς ἐξεβίο—58 ὁντε[καὶ] πά[γ] ς ὁμοίως ἔφευγαν εἰς τα ὑψηλὰ μέρη τῶν λó—58 φον...

**COLUMN IV** too fragmentary
COLUMN I

..... Dionysius who had held several procuratorships, Salvius Julius Salvius, Timagenes, Pastor gymnasiarch, Julius Phanias, Philoxenus, gymnasiarch-elect, Sotion gymnasiarch, Theon Athenodorus, Paulus, a Tyrian by birth, voluntary advocate for the Alexandrinians. On learning this, the Jews also selected envoys on behalf of their own race, their nominees being Simon, Glaucon, Theudas, Onias, Colon, Jacob and Sopater, by birth of Antioch, advocate for the Jews. Thereupon they started from the city each party taking its own gods, the Alexandrinians (a bust of Saraphis, the Jews . . .?)

COLUMN II

..... and at the end of the winter they landed at Rome. The Emperor learned that envoys of the Jews and Alexandrians had arrived, and appointed a place for hearing them both; and Plotina approached all the senators so that they might appear against the Alexandrians and assist the Jews. The Jews were the first to enter and greeted the emperor Trajan who greeted them very affably in his turn, having been already won over by Plotina. The Alexandrian envoys next entered and greeted the Emperor who did not return this salute, but said, "Do you give me greeting like men deserving to receive one, when you are guilty of such outrages to the Jews? Be gone and . . . ."
said this, perspiration suddenly broke out on the bust of Sarapis which the envoys carried, and Trajan seeing it marvelled; and presently there were tumults in Rome and many shouts were raised and all fled to the high parts of the hills.

COLUMN IV

19. A LETTER FROM THE TIME OF THE JEWISH WAR IN TRAJAN'S REIGN

Papyri Giessen no. 24, ed. Kornemann.
Lit.: Mittheis-Wilcken, Papyruskunde vol. I no. 15.

Coming from upper Egypt, this papyrus belongs to the correspondence of Apollonios strategus of Heptakomia. It is known that he held this office during the last year of Trajan's and the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, just at the time that the Jewish war raged in the country. From other sources it is established that the little Heraidus mentioned here lived at this time with his grandmother, Eudaimonis, hence we may safely conclude that Eudaimonis, mother of Apollonios is the writer of the following epistle, the beginning of which is missing. In it there is reference to the great terror that the Jewish revolt had caused. This Apollonios is the same as the one mentioned in Pap. Giessen no. 41.


Verso Ἀπολλωνίων.

..... the gods wishing it, and especially the invincible Hermes they will never cook you. As for the other things be well for my sake together with all yours. Your unenchantable daughter, Heraidus, greets you. Epeiphe. On the other side (addressed) to Apollonios.
20. NEWS OF A JEWISH VICTORY


This report leads us into the Jewish war showing the Jews having the upper hand. The last hope of their opponents lay in the people of the outlying districts. These, however, are beaten in the conflict. As a last resort, the writer expresses hope in the report that another legion was coming to Memphis. Perhaps this refers to the approach of Marcius Turbo. The papyrus was found in Egypt and refers to the Jewish war under the reign of Trajan.

[1] Μία ἡν ἔλξις καὶ λουτή προσ—θοινί ὡ τῶν ἀπό τὸν νομι
3 ήμων ἄθροιν κομὴν τῶν 4[πο]δος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἵονυδαίαν
5 ... μι, ἃρ ἦς τὰ ἐνα[ν]τα ὀν ἐρεβή. Τῇ γὰρ συν—βαλονυ
οὶ ἡμέρας ἤμερα ἡμέρας ἡμέρας ἢ ἡμέρας ἢ ἡμέρας ἢ ἡμέρας
10 ... 11 ... ... 12 ... ei ... 13τοιε ... 14θοτ ... 15μετέλαβομεν ... v ... 16δι ἄλλη λε[γ]εδὼν o ... 17κλιδώσα τῇ Μέθρο

There was one hope and anticipation left, that of the villagers from our district being united against the ungodly Jews ... from whom the opposition has now sprung. Having engaged in conflict with them, our men were defeated and many of them had been cut down ... we have received ... that another of the legions ... which came, the 22th, is expected in Memphis.

21. A VICTORY OVER THE JEWS

Lit.: **Mittris-Wilcken**, Papyruskunde vol. I no. 17.

The date of this papyrus must be either the end of the reign of Trajan or the beginning of that of Hadrian, mentioning a victory of Government troops in Egypt over the Jews. In it, Aphrodisios begs Herakleios, the superintendent of Appollonius, strategus of Hermopolites for a more detailed news of the victory. He has heard of it from people who have travelled together with a slave of Appollonios. Aphrodisios desires closer
information from Herakleios so as to celebrate a feast and pay
his vows to the gods. The Apollonios mentioned here is the
one who was the strategus during the Jewish uprising in 115 C.E.

1 Ἀφροδείου τοῦ φιλάτρω ν καίσεων. 2 Μετέλαβον τα[ε]ά τίνων ἀπὸ Ἰβιόνος σήμε— ὄν ἐλθόντων[ν] συνοδοςπορίκένατι ἰpsi
τι— ὅφειρο τῷ ναῷ ὥδε Ἀπολλονίου ἀπὸ Μέμφη— ὅς [ἐ]χο-
μένος συναγερρίζοντι τά τῆς νείκης ἄντον καὶ προκυστής σοῦ ἐνεκα ἐπί[η]τες πρὸς ὅσε ἐπέμενα ἵνα τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἔσων καὶ στεφα—
τηροῦν ἄξω καὶ τοῖς Θεοῖς τὰς ἀφελομέ— ὅνο[σ] σπονδάς ἀποδῷ.
Καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις 11 τεμιώστατε τάχιστα μοι δηλώσας. 
Πα[τ]ό----

Verso Ἡρακλεῖῳ ἐπιτρόπῳ ὥδε Ἀπολλονίου.

Aphrodeisios to Herakleios his devoted friend, greeting. I
have heard from some coming today from Ibion that they tra-
velled together with a certain slave of Apollonios, who had
come from Memphis and had reported news of the victory and
of its progress. Therefore I have purposely sent to you so
that I may know exactly the true facts and hold a celebration
with festive wreaths and offer the necessary libations to the
gods. You will do well, if you will prove to me the facts as
quickly as possible.

Two slaves were brought from Auseos to the master, one
is four years of age and the other three and.... I pray that
you be well — 4.

Verso — to Herakleios, Epitropos of Apollonios.

22. STRATEGUS' REQUEST FOR FURLOUGH AFTER
THE JEWISH WAR

Dated in the beginning of the reign of Hadrian and coming
from Heptakomia, the papyrus shows the request of the strategus
Apollonios of Heptakomia to the prefect asking for 60 days'
furlough in order to attend to his estates. The first request for a furlough, it had evidently not been granted as a copy of it is here included in the documents. As a motive for the furlough, Apollonios claims that his estates had suffered both by the neglect due to his absence and the devastation caused by the ‘godless Jews’. Undoubtedly we have here an official document in which Jews are designated as “godless” throwing light on other papyri (cf. Paris Pap. 60; col. VI, 14; & Bremen Pap. no. 40) in which the same appellation is applied to Jews.

COLUMN I


COLUMN II


COLUMN I

Apollonios the strategus of Apollonopolites of the Heptakomia (sends) greetings to Rammios Martial most excellent commander. Since I have written to you O! noble commander about a fur...
Jough, I have substituted (here) a copy of the letter so that if it seem good to your honor that you agree to grant me 60 days to attend to my [estates], now particularly since I believe in olite... to press on hard. I wish you to be well O! noble com-
drew. In the year of the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian have Augustus. (month of) Choiak the second.

Apollonios the strategus of Apollonopolites of the Hepta-
homia (sends) greetings to the most excellent commander, Rammios
Martial... noble commander... once...

COLUMNS II

... to have been engaged; not alone because of my long
absence abroad have my [estates] been entirely ruined, but also
from the assault of the 'godless' Jews about all that I have in
the villages of Hermopolites and in the metropolis... having
been produced there, demands recovery at my hands. You
having agreed to this request that my [estates] be settled in
accordance with my ability, I will be able to return more
cheerfully to the management of my office.

23. CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY OF JEWS IN THE
NOME HERAKLEOPOLIS

Ox. pap. IX. 1189.

From the part of this letter that is preserved we see that
confiscation of the property of the Jews in the Herakleopolitan
nome must have taken place about 116 C. E. The letter is
from the strategus of the neighboring Herakleopolite nome to
Appolonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome and refers to
a γεραφή or schedule of property which belonged to Jews. It
is known from Ox. pap. 74 and 97 that a certain Appolonius
was strategus in 116 C. E. This fact coupled with the writing
of the papyrus shows that it belongs to the period of the great
Jewish outbreak which occurred in the previous year and ended
only after the accession of Hadrian. That the Jews took a
prominent part in this uprising is seen from several preceding
papyri. Confiscation after the insurrection was quelled was
the natural consequence and probably some of the property
forfeited is that which is referred to in this.
42

24. APPLICATION FOR A LEASE


This is an application addressed to the strategus of the Athribite nome by several persons who wished to lease jointly for one year probably some domain land offering a higher rent than that paid by the previous lessees. It is dated 130 C.E.

The papyrus has been gummed on to a series of documents and is numbered at the top 13.

We address the Thos publius, Senarsi heat, 24. APPLICATION FOR A LEASE


This is an application addressed to the strategus of the Athribite nome by several persons who wished to lease jointly for one year probably some domain land offering a higher rent than that paid by the previous lessees. It is dated 130 C.E.

The papyrus has been gummed on to a series of documents and is numbered at the top 13.
To Hierax, strategus of Athribite nome from Horus, the son of Psenobasthis and Nekpheros, son of Thaisous, and . . . . and the rest . . . . from the Jews mentioned and of the Greeks without heirs (we wish to lease) 20 1/4 arourae of public land near Tetaphon at 2 artabae of wheat for each aroura, and for the addition upon the whole land 5 artabae of wheat, and near Psenarsises in the eastern part of the Thostian district 1 aroura likewise of public land at 3 artabae of wheat, and we will measure . . . .

25. DECLARATION OF AN OATH

Ox. Pap. I, 100.

We have here the declaration of an oath dated 133 C. E. addressed to the agoranomi by M. Antonius Dius announcing the . . .
sale of four plots of ground in the Cretan and Jewish sections of Oxyrhynchus to three parties jointly, Adrastus son of Chaeremon, Tanabateus also called Althaeus, and Dionysos son of Horns with his two brothers for 2200 drachmae. They declare the land to be free from mortgage. The Jewish quarter of this city is mentioned in an earlier papyrus (Ox. Pap. 335).

1. Τοῖς ἀγορανόμους Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος Ἀδραστός καὶ ὲς χρηματίζων ἄνρατης Ἀλέξανδρείας νεοκόρος τοῦ μεγάλου Σαραπίδος ὤμου τοῦ Ρωμαίου ἑδυμον ὄρχον πεπραγείναι Ἀδράστος Χ[αί]ρων μονος τοῦ Ἀδράστου, καὶ Ταναβάτεις τῷ καὶ Ἀλθαῖος μητρὸς τῇ Ἐφηβος τῆς Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Διονύσίου τῷ καὶ Παποντός μητρὸς Παρασίος Πέρτακος ἀντ' Ὀξυρόγχου πόλεως ἀπρίλων του πατρὸς Ὀξ[ο]υ χρηματίζωντος μητρὸς Ταφούτους [αὐν ἀδελφός, δυστ τούτοις ἐξ ἰδοῦ, ἀπό τῶν ὑπάρχοντων μο][ο] ; ἐν ἀρμόδιον Κρητικόν καὶ Ιουδαϊκός λοιπῶν ψειλῶν τὸ—¹⁰ αὐν βέκους τέσσαράρι ἡ τοποθεσία καὶ τὸ κατ' ἀνεμον διὰ τῆς καταγραφῆς διδήλου εὑναὶ το ἐμοὶ καὶ μῆτε ὀδοντεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἐτέρους ἐξηλλοτρομῶσθαι καὶ μηδένα τρόπων, ὀλέχειν δὲ με τὴν τειμὴν ἄργυρον δραχμὰς ἄτα χεῖλας διακοσίας, καὶ βεβαιώσειν πάση βεβαιώσει καὶ παρέξει καθαροῦς ὑπὸ δια—¹⁵ αφῆς πόσης καὶ παντὸς ὀδυνοῦν ἀλλά ἐτοικος ἐκ Ἀυτ[οκατώτορος] Καίσαρος Ταραπείος Ἄδραστος Σωβοῦς Φαρμοῦνθας ἡγ. Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος ὁμωμοσκόμος τοῦ ὄρχον

Verso — Φαρμοῦνθας ἡγ., ἐκὼν ἐπαινεῖ Ἀδραστός καὶ ἐ[ἀ]λος π[αρδ]άδος Μάρκος

To the surveyors of the market: Marcus Antonius Deus and as I am known having held the office of strategus of Alexandria, the temple keeper of the great Sarapis. I swear by the oath usual to the Romans that I have sold to Adrastus, son of Chaeremon the son of Adrastus, and to Tanabateus also called Althaeus of the mother Philotera Origenes she being a citizen, to Dionysos also called Papontos of the mother Taarpaesis Perto of the city of the Oxyrhynchians, he being a minor of the father called Horns and the mother Tapsois together with his two brothers equally in common, four plots of remaining barren ground from that which belongs to me in the Cretan and Jewish sections. Of this the description and boundaries have been made.
section clear in the property registration list. It is mine and not mort-
Chained nor alienated in any manner to others. I have received
son of a price of 2200 drachmae in silver and I confirm with all
declarations guaranties to render it free from all claims and all else what-
of this. The 16th year of the emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian
Augustus — (month of) Pharmouthi the 13th.

Marcus Antonius swore the oath.

Verso Pharmouthi the 13th, Adrastus and another bought
it from Marcus.

26. PETITION TO THE EMPERORS SEVERUS AND CARACALLA
200-202 C.E.

MITTEIS-WILCKEN, Papyruskunde, vol. I no. 153; SCHUERER,

Petition addressed to the emperors Severus and Caracalla to
permit an endowment for the support of annual contests of
Ephebi at Oxyrhynchus. A prominent Alexandrian, Aurelius
Horion makes the request. His plans, as far as can be made
out from the papyrus are as follows:

Horion had made certain benefactions in the Oxyrhynchite
nome which he desired should be permanently maintained. He
proposed to devote in the form of a loan a large sum which
was to be invested and the accrued interest expended on main-
taining annual contests of Ephebi at Oxyrhynchus upon a large
scale. As a support for his petition, he reminds the emperors
of the help rendered by the Oxyrhynchites in the Jewish war
against the Jews claiming that even to the present time his
townsmen celebrate the day of victory by annual festivals. As
the Jewish war referred to here, Grenfell & Hunt suggest
that it is the revolt in the reign of Trajan and Hadrian. Wilcken,
Hermes 1919 p. 111 seq., supports this.

29 α[. . . . .]ον καὶ αι[. . . ]σαμ[. . . ]λων [. . .] . . . 30 π[. . . ]ειω


Ῥώμαιον εὖν[οί]—32 τε καὶ πίστις καὶ φιλία ἣν ἐνεδίαζαντο καὶ
A very century C

there is in addition to these also the good disposition
loyalty and friendship which they have shown when they fought
as allies in the war against the Jews and even now they cel-
brate the day of the victory each year. Indeed, you yourself,
when you visited the nation have honored them granting them
to enter your judgment seat first after the Pelusiots. Also the
most noble Laetus (Q. Maecius Laetus, the prefect, of Oxy-
hynchus), testifies that the city has in addition to the best als
the freest and most seemly inhabitants. Therefore, he wished
to leave this city inferior to none of ours .... not less than
10,000 Attic drachmas ... to give this out at interest and that
it be protected as in the case of previous (bequests) it has been
defined; and that they spend the accrued interest for the contest
of the Ephebi (grown up youths) among them and that they
will yearly contend among them as the people of Antinoe are
now contesting. I deem it right that you order that it be
possible for no one to divert this money to any other (purpose)
PART III

A very imperfectly preserved papyrus written in the third century C. E. is Ox. Pap. VIII, 1089. It is an Alexandrian chronicle in 3 columns of which the first and third have only a few letters left. Column two, especially the upper portion, is fairly well preserved. It contains a narrative of events in which the principal speakers are Flaccus on one hand, and Isidorus and Dionysius on the other. The former is very probably the praefect L. Avillius Flaccus, the subject of Philo's diatribe (in Flaccum). Isidorus must be the Alexandrian gymnasiarch, one of the instigators of Flaccus to oppress the Jews, subsequently his accuser and finally as seen from the papyri himself a victim (cf. Isidorus and Lampon acts B. G. U. II, 511, Cairo Papyri 10,448; Hermes XXX, 1895, S. 481, Wilcken; Rev. d. Etud. Juiv. XXXIV, 1897, p. 296, Th. Reinach; E. v. Dobschetz, Am. Journal of Theology VIII, 1904, p. 732 seq.; Wilcken, Zum Alexandrinischen Antisemitismus) being condemned to death by Claudius.

The situation indicated by the papyrus is not clear and our knowledge from Philo is too limited. According to the latter's account, Isidorus became estranged from Flaccus after close association with him. He tried to stir up hatred against the praefect, and by bribery caused a demonstration against his erstwhile friend at the Gymnasium. After arrest, some of these confessed as being agents of Isidorus, who then fled. However, the fall of Flaccus, shortly afterwards, enabled him to return. The episode in this papyrus, as far as can be made out, seems to be prior to the exposure of Isidorus. Flaccus is represented as going to the Serapium (Alexandrian Temple) having previously given certain secret instructions. Isidorus accompanied by Dionysius and a woman, Aphrodisia, enter and are accosted by a certain Geraios (old man) who prostrates himself before Isidorus
and begs him not to insist on making his way into the presence of Flaccus. Dionysius, however, declines to be deterred. Flaccus, who seems to have been concealed, now approaches and converses with Isidorus. Here the facts become obscure since the papyrus is too mutilated. Towards the end there is a payment of 5 talents. From the narrative, it appears that Dionysius was in danger and that Flaccus was setting a trap for him.

This papyrus is undoubtedly part of the national Alexandria literature. It may be, however, of that species of national literature which was anti-semitic in character (cf. Isidorus and Lampon Acts; Paulus and Antoninus Acts; and Appianos Acts collected by Wilcken in Antis., and also treated by E. v. Dohschütz in Am. Journal of Theology VIII, 1904).

Among a collection of court decisions of the reign of Ptolemy III, Euergetes in the nomos Arsinoe, Flinder Petrie P. III, 29, No. 1, 12-13, there is an accusation of a Jew against a Jewess (1). The expression ἐν ἡμιονής shows him to be a military settler not of the first generation. His ancestor settled there in the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285-247) probably.

Tebt. Pap. ed. Grenfell, Hunt & Smyly no. 86, 11. 18 & 29. Mention is made of προσευκῆ Ἰουδαῖων and also the expression ἑρᾶ παραδεισος is used of this synagogue. Schürer, Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes III, 4 p. 45, says that this in Egyptian means temple property, suggesting that the land perhaps did not belong to the Jewish community, but was merely rented by them. This, however, is very unlikely. The papyrus comes from the second century B. C. E.

Ox. P. II, 335, contains a notice from Theon, son of Sarapion, to register the sale of the sixth part of a house in the Jewish section of Oxyrhynchus ἐπὶ ἀμφόδου Ἰουνάιων bought by Νικαία Σιλβανῆς Ῥουμίου τῶν ἀπὸ Ὀξυρυγχοῦ παῦλος Ἰουνᾶιων, belonged to the Jews. Also, cf. Ox. I, 100 = 25 where

(1) 10... Διωνίθ[εος Ἡρακλεία καὶ τὰ τό] ἐνεκλημα τόδε Ἀω[άρσιοι...]

12... τῆς Ἐπιγονῆς Ἡρακλείαν Διο... τοῦ Ἰουδαίαν καθη

32... ἐκ δίκης σοι γραφήσειται ἐν τού δικαστήριον τοῦ σου
tοῦ εἰ... τοῦ τῆς... Ἰουνᾶϊκῆς.
the Jewish and Cretian sections of the city are mentioned έν άμφοδον Κρητικού καὶ Ιουναῖος. It is dated c. 85 C. E.

Ox. P. IV, 707 dated 136 C. E. on the recto makes mention of barren soil in which Jews have made ditches? Ὑλ(οί) τόπ(οι) ἐν ὕλ(οι) κελλαὶ ἐμπορίαν(ον) μεναι; ὑπὸ τῶν Ιουναίων. Mention is also made of τόπ(οι) έσπαγκοί.

Ox. P. IX, 1205 C. E. 291 describes the ransom of captives by the synagogue of Oxyrhynchus (manumissio inter amicos). It is so fragmentary having so large a gap at the beginning of the lines that the details are obscure although the general sense is clear. The manumittors, residents of Oxyrynchus, were either a man and his half sister, acting with a curator or perhaps two half sisters. The persons freed were a middle aged woman with two young children, one of whom is Jacob. The ransom was paid by the synagogue and amounted to 14 talents of silver. The duty to free slaves of Jewish origin who happened to be in Gentile ownership, devolved on the Jewish community in case the relatives were unable to do so (cf. Talmud Baba Bathra 85).
PART IV

Since in no other country outside of Egypt are climate and soil so favorable for the preservation of buried papyri, the knowledge gleaned from these documents must, of course, be limited to Egypt and especially to the section in which they were unearthed. Though necessarily narrowed in their scope, they nevertheless serve the valuable purpose of checking up the statement of ancient historians furnishing us first-hand information either in corroboration or in denial of their contentions, containing silent testimonials bearing on the political, social and economic aspects of the period covered by them.

Of the political fortunes of the Jews, the papyri contain a store of information in showing that:
1. In some places they were military settlers.
2. They occupied special sections of the city by themselves.
3. They were officially designated as Jews and often as ἀνώται.
4. At Alexandria all Jews did not have citizenship.
5. They were subject to special taxes.

The agreement between the military settlers in 1 (Hibeh P. I, 96) in the third century B.C.E. gives concrete evidence that the rulers employed Jews to guard their military posts (cf. Aristeas ed. Wendl. 12-13; Jos. Ant. XII, 3.4; XIV, 7.1). Furthermore, it also substantiates the Aramaic Papyri discovered at Elephantine and Assuan (1) which show such a colony to have flourished there in the sixth century. Still another papyrus of the third century where the expression τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς is used designating them as military settlers of at least the second

(1) Drei Aramäische Papyruskunden aus Elephantine (Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie 1907).
Aramäische Urkunden zur Geschichte der Juden im VI. und V. Jahrhundert V. C. 1908.
Aramaic Pap. discovered at Assuam — Sayce and Cowley, London 1906.
generation, is Flinders Pet. Pap. III, 21, in which a certain Dositheos Τουδαίος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς makes an accusation against a Jewess.

The classification of Jews officially as apart from the Hellenes as early as 300 B.C.E. is significant (cf. 3 Pet. Pap. I p. 43). We know from Josephus (B. J. II, 18.7 & C. A. II, 4), that Alexander the Great in the founding of Alexandria conferred upon the Jews the privilege of calling themselves Macedonians. Probably the fact that a section of the city was granted to the Jews in many localities, may have led to this sharp distinction, despite the fact that they may have had citizenship. In Alexandria, Philo (in Flaccum 8) says that special quarters were assigned to Jews so that they might lead their own pure life in accordance with their laws. In Ox. P. pyrus containing a colony the second century, is Flinders Pet. Pap. III, 315 the Jewish quarter is mentioned in the sale of one sixth of a house έν τῷ ἐμφόδῳ Τουδά(ξ)ν(ον) also in 25 (Ox. I, 100) 133 C.E. a plot of ground in the Jewish section of Oxyrhynchus is sold.

The appellation ἀνόσοι (Jos. C. A. II, 6.65) given the Jews in official documents 22 (P. Gies. 41); 18 (Ox. P. X, 1242); Paris papyrus 68 col. VI, 14; and Brem. P. 40 is not surprising when it is seen in its proper light. To the pagan world which was accustomed to reverence the gods of its neighbors as well as its own, the Jew who appeared to them to worship merely the empty sky and who not only refused to syncretise, but even went so far as to despise their gods and abhor their worship, was an utter unbeliever.

According to the claim of Josephus (B. J. II, 18.7 & C. A. II, 4) who states that Jews obtained equal rights with the Hellenes in the founding of Alexandria, we are to assume that the Jews had citizenship there. Perhaps the very fact that special quarters were assigned to them (Philo in Flaccum 8) as well as that there were Jewish sections in other towns, would go to show that they did not obtain this privilege en masse. That individual Jews were citizens, there is no doubt. In 11 (B. G. U. IV, 1140) a Jewish petitioner to the prefect c. 5 B.C.E. is by mistake designated, first, as Ἀλεξανδρός and then by erasure.
corrected to Ἰουνίαν τῶν ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρείας, a Jew of the inhabitants of Alexandria. The father of the petitioner is a Ἀλεξάνδρεύς and therefore must have acquired citizenship after the birth of his son.

From a tax list of Arsinoe 72/73 C.E., we see that the Jews had to pay a special tax Ἰουνίαν τέλεσμα 13 (Pap. Rain. both sexes from 3 to 60 at the rate of 8 dr. and 2 obols. With what rigor and injustice this was collected is evident from the fact that one of the women, Truphaina, who has been proved to be over age, being 61 years old, and therefore automatically exempt from the tax, is nevertheless included in this list. From the papyrus we also learn that the tax for firstlings was paid that year — designated as ἀπαρχή. There is some doubt as to what this tax was for it could hardly have been the fiscal Judaicus which was obligatory on males only above the age of 20 in place of the previous one half Shekel sent to Jerusalem before the destruction of the temple in 70 (cf. Jos. Ant. IV, 4.4 and also Philo de Praemiiis Sacerdotum).

These papyri also enable us to get an insight into the daily social and economic life of the Jew. We have already seen that in his private life, he lived apart among his own people. But in his transactions, he mingled with his neighbors, engaging in all crafts and trades.

They were tax collectors (cf. 8 = Fay. Towns and their Pap. XIV), Simon, a Jew, is together with Ptolemaïus, a tax collector. That the position of publican must have been lucrative, we know, for it was given only to those who guaranteed the money in advance. Among the Ostraka collected by Wilcken from Egypt and Nubia, many Jews are found to have been tax collectors, the most famous of them being Antonios Malchais. These Ostraka date from the second century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. B. G. U. III, 715, in a γραφὴ σιτολίσμων of 101/2 A. D. contains several Jewish names Ἰωσής ὁ καὶ τεύμιος, Ἰωάννης, Ἀβράμων, Σαμβαθ(...) Ἰακώβου.

Merchants are also to be found among them. In 9 = Unpub. B. P. 11641, Sabbataios and his son Dosas are shareholders in a pottery both combined having one half interest in it. 7 = P.
Gren. 1.43 cites a case of a Jew who has sold a horse but fails to deliver it.

Laborers as well as artisans are to be found cf. Archiv für Papyreforschung I, 173 νεωτατοι μοσθοι χάζασος. Παγεσοβαδαλ Ἱδαβ, Νασαβαδαλ. Also 14 = Ox. P. II, 276 of three steersmen on a cargo boat at least one is a Jew. Ox. P. I, 43 verso 1.13 Ἰαυβ Αμαλιέως probably a Jew is mentioned as one of the six guards of the Sarapion.

Farmers and lessees are also frequently met with cf. P. London II p. 10 Ἰωάννες Σαμβαῖος; 15 = Fay. Towns & Pap. 123 in which a Jew, Theophilus, is forced to cultivate the domain land; 4 = Magd. Pap. 3, shows us three Jews, Theodotes, Gad-daios and Phanias, leasing a piece of ground for two years; 24 = Ox. Pap. III, 500, a field which previously had been leased to Jews is rented out now at a higher rate to the new lessees.

Being thus engaged in various crafts, differences must have arisen and to these a few papyri bear evidence; 7 = Pap. Grenfell I, 43 as explained above; 6 = Magd. P. 35, a certain Dorotheos, very likely a Jew, steals a garment and deposits it in the synagogue with the sexton who takes charge of it until a final disposition of it shall have been made by the court; 5 = Magd. P. 15, one named Malchaios, not necessarily a Jew, has not paid his barber for services; 12 = B. G. U. IV, 1079, an anti-semitic letter written in 41 C. E. by a wholesale merchant Sarapion warning his friend, Herakleides, who is in financial straits rather to await mercy at the hands of his creditor than to go to the Jews. He warns him to beware of them δε και ταν ναίτες, καὶ σοὶ βλέπει σατόν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

In 10 = B. G. U. IV, 1151, we see that some Jews, at least, were wont to make wills and this in a Jewish court where they settled their own affairs. Such, at least, is the case in this papyrus coming from Alexandria where the Jews had autonomy. Also in 2 = Fl. Pet. Pap. III, 7, a Jew, Jonathan, is mentioned in a will as owing the testator money.

Synagogues are mentioned in 6 = Magd. 35, dated 217 B.C.E. where Dorotheos deposits a stolen garment as cited previously. Further in 17 = B. M. P. III, 1177 p. 18; II. 57—61, 113 C. E.
in a report of the water commissioners of a certain Egyptian town the amount that the synagogue has to pay for water for a period of six months is stated. The expression ἑαυτοῦ which probably means a chapel is used here. Tebt. Pap. 86 mentions a synagogue προσευχή Ιουδαίων OX. P. IX, 120A. The whole 291 C. E. describes the ransoming by the synagogue of Oxy. Claudius - hynchus of Jewish captives. There must have been some, not doubt, who did drift away from Judaism, or were at least very lax, cf. 16 = B. G. U. IV, 1068, a Jew taking an oath by Caes. Jewish us to affirm his statement that his son died as a minor. An ob towards the servant Pharisee would not have done this, but then there were the Sadducees who were more liberal in their belief.

The papyri have an important bearing on the history of the period concerning anti-semitic outbursts in Alexandria. All whole literature has sprung up on this subject (1), I have, there-fore, thought it advisable to leave it out as it has been so well treated by the others. However, the martyr acts, as they are called, are of such historical value that they cannot be passed over unnoticed.

I. Isidoros & Lampon Acts before Claudius in Rome 41-54 (2) the Rom. Isidoros, the gymnasiarch, of Alexandria and Lampon both known from Philo’s Embassy to Caligula, come to accuse the Jewish rose up. King Agrippa, whether I or II, is not certain. In the first two columns Isidoros and his companion are the accusers; in the third, they are the accused and are sentenced to death by Claudius. These proceedings fill out and substantiate Philo’s Embassy to Caligula which he made in behalf of his people for under the governor Flaccus in Alexandria, the mobs committed outrages against Jews. They knew Caligula’s love of self-deification and therefore conceived the idea of setting up images in the synagogues. What horrors followed, Philo de-scribed and gave us the cause why he undertook the mission.

Egyptiai, which turned out unsuccessfully. The opportune death of Caligula and the milder policy of Claudius relieved the grim tension of the situation. The different attitude of these two Emperors is noticeable. Caligula treated the philosopher and the whole Embassy with contempt, whereas in these papyri of Oxyrhyncus, Claudius clearly favors them.

II. Paulus Antoninus Acts before Hadrian (1). Theon reads least very the edict of Lupus, the Governor of Egypt in the time of the Jewish uprising (115-117) to justify the Alexandrian hostility towards the Jews as being commanded by the Governor. The rest of the proceedings are not clear; apparently Paulus, one of the Alexandrians was condemned to death for he says that history will speak the truth as he must die tomorrow.

III. Appianos Acts before Commodus at Rome (2). The proceedings here end with the execution of the Alexandrian gymnasiarch Appianos. No reference at all is made here to they are Jews except that mention is made of the execution of Isidorus and Lampon who are probably the ones executed by Claudius.

After the fall of Jerusalem the hatred of the Jews towards the Romans brought about the uprising in 115-117. When Trajan was in the far east, the Jews in Egypt, Cyprus, Cyrene, rose up. Dio Cassius 68.32 describes the bitterness of this first two struggle. Several papyri attest to the war of extermination; in the and the fierceness with which it was conducted, at least, in death by Egypt. cf. B.G.U. III, 889, seq. mentions that a certain piece of ground in 151 C.E. was still a waste as a result of his people this war in 117, cf. also Hermes 1919, Wilcken S. 111.f. who mobs where corrects himself after having reexamined the papyrus which Wilcken reads \[ \kappa \alpha \nu \alpha \kappa \alpha \kappa \sigma \tau \lambda \nu \sigma \iota \nu \alpha \kappa \iota \sigma \nu \text{setting up (eikostov) (etov)} \nu \text{the Philo de Philo de Hadrian thus enabling him to date this with certainly as referring to the insurrection of 115-117.}


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