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Why the Jews Left Egypt and What they Took With Them, 1982.

Why The Jews Left Egypt and What They Took With Them
Daniel Jeremy Silver
February 21, 1982

Well, except for the weather it's good to be home, and I must say the weather itself is not so unknown to us. Believe it or not, when we were in Egypt just three weeks ago we had a day in which it sleeted. The weather was cold and an Egyptian cold is more penetrating because you're less prepared for it than one here. So any preconceptions you have in your mind about sunny Egypt taken off of the posters of the bright sun playing on the sand beside the pyramids, remember that the picture was probably taken in May or June. It certainly wasn't taken in January.

I confess that as a rabbi I had mixed feelings about going to Egypt, not that I had any question as to the richness of Egypt's ancient civilization nor, I confess, any political qualms about going and seeing something about modern Egypt. It's good to know all you can about those whom you must live with as neighbors or as enemies, but so much of the language, the symbolic language of Jewish life is based on the whole theme of the going out of Egypt. It was with the exodus that our ancestors, up till then a group of anonymous bedouin and then anonymous slaves, gained an identity, gained a history. In the first commandment God defines Himself, defines His redemptive power as I am the Lord your God Who brought out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, and somehow to willingly go back in seems at first blush to be contradictory. Yet, of course, Egypt has had the longest history of continuous Jewish settlement of any country in the diaspora. There are today less than a hundred native families in all of Egypt, but for the last 2700 years, in good times and in bad, the Egyptian Jewish community in the diaspora has been one of the major factors of Jewish life. There were times when it consisted of only a few hundred folk. There were times, as in the end of the second, first century B.C.E., where the city of Alexandria alone had over a million Jews. And there were times when the whole country of Egypt had a Jewish population which probably

numbered over 20 percent of the total population of the country. So the history, the relationship of Egypt to Israel is an old one, one that goes back to the very beginning of our respective histories. The Egyptian history is, of course, much older than Jewish history. The first known pharaoh, the first dynastic pharaoh, lived early in the third millenium B.C.E., about a thousand years before Abraham. His name, according to one source, was Narmer and, interestingly, when archeologists were digging at Tel Gat which is a site in Israel not far from Jaffa or Ashkelon, they found their shards with the name of King Narmor, Pharaoh Narmor, on them, suggesting that there was already in that earliest of historic times important trade contact between the Egyptians and the Canaanites.

Abraham, the first Jew, had an Egyptian wife. We think of his wife as Sarah but he had another wife, Hagar, and Hagar was Egyptian. And of the four patriarchs two of them, Jacob and Joseph, died in Egypt and Joseph spent most of his life, all of his adult life, in Egypt, according to the Bible rising to the important role of vizier or overseer of the graineries of upper and lower Egypt.

Now, the relationship between Egypt and Canaan, Israel, Palestine, call that area what you will, has always been involved in conflicting pressures which both make for trade and peaceful relationships and make for enmity and beligerent relationships. Egypt has always wanted a buffer zone between itself and whatever great empire developed in the Tigres and Euphrate Valley. Whether that empire was Syria or Babylonia or Persia, Egypt always wanted to have the little area which is Lebanon, Syria, Canaan and Israel as a buffer zone, controlled by its troops so that if attack came from the other great imperial power of the day, and it had to come through this narrow land corridor because the rest of that area is wilderness, parched and desert, there would be a fallback position and battles could take place outside of Egypt proper. And so throughout the second millenium, the first millenium, there were constant efforts made by whoever was the pharaoh of Egypt to gain suasive power, to develop defensive al-

liances with whatever groups were in power in the region which is today Israel. And Israel, or those who lived in Israel whether they be Judeans or Israelites, always needed Egypt as a place for trade and a place for agricultural purchase. The ancient Egyptian name for their country is Kemi which means the black earth. Egypt is, as you know, the gift of the Nile. Each year in the sub-tropical regions of near Lake Victoria and Kenya and Tanganyika, there are the great tropical rains which fill the rivers and the rivers come rushing down, bringing with them millions of gallons of water and millions of tons of rich earth sediment. And there was in ancient times the annual overflow of the Nile, it was predictable, and that overflow brought not only water for irrigation but top soil for cultivation, and Egypt could be guaranteed year in and year out two crops or three crops a year, maize, corn, wheat, cotton, a variety of vegetables. On the other hand, the lands which we call Lebanon, Syria and Israel depended upon rainfall and the rainfall in that part of the world is notoriously erratic and often there can be years on end where there is no substantial rainfall, where regions like our Dust Bowl begin to exist, and at times like this those who live in that part of the world had to go down to Egypt, to send their sons to Egypt, their traders in order to bring back food supplies in order to tide the city, the kingdom over. And so there was constant trade and constant military movement between these two countries and the history of Egypt and Israel from ancient times to our times has been this strange complex relationship between trade and military necessity which has led to a very wary, very uncertain neighborliness. At times Israel and Egypt were allies, particularly when Egypt needed Israel against some mighty power to the east; and many times when Egypt was simply attacking, pillaging and robbing the Israelite city states and countryside in order to get the booty, the pillage, and to build up lines far away from her own territory.

Now, the relationship between Israelites and Egyptians is not only a political one but a social and cultural one. As you know, according to the Bible, sometime during the age of the patriarchs, the patriarchal clans went down to Egypt and sojourned there and, of course, they were very successful and some of their young men, Joseph notably, rose up to high position in the land, and then at some later time they were deposed by the natives from their authority and they were enslaved. And that two, three or four hundred year period is one which we know nothing about. The Bible doesn't contain a single reference about those four hundred years, but we do know that even if there was no Jacob and there was no Joseph the events that are described in these stories are real to the time in which they are placed.

There was in Egypt an ancient kingdom, and then an intermediate kingdom where there was chaos and confusion, and then around the year 2300, 2200, a new group of powerful pharaohs came to the throne, the so-called mill kingdom, and after a period of about four centuries that kingdom, too, fell into disarray. And during that period of disarray a group of people called the Hyksos, around 1750 B.C.E., invaded Egypt and dominated Egypt. We know archeologists describe the Hyksos as a varied group of West Asians, Hurians, Amorites, Canaanites and others, who had a strategic weapon advantage over the Egyptians. The Egyptians had not yet discovered how to use the wheel in a war chariot, how to have a tank, and Hyksos had these tanks and they were able to run roughshod over the Egyptian forces and to dominate the country in a matter of a few decades. But the Hyksos leadership was sparse and they were really just a feudal military dynasty and they needed bright young people to man their bureaucracies, and so they looked for scribes among their own back home in Canaan and Anatolia and they brought down people like Joseph to Egypt and gave them positions of authority and these people brought down their tribes with them because in those days one needed one's family for protection and one took care of one's extended

clan or tribe. And they prospered as long as the Hyksos prospered till about the middle of the sixteenth century when a nativist pharaoh from Kleebs was able to reestablish an Egyptian dynasty and the Hyksos were thrown out. So the Biblical story of power and then enslavement fits into the systole and the diastole of what we know about the general history of the time. And although there's no record of the exodus itself, no ancient people kept a record of slaves who dashed for freedom and made it, the idea that at some time in the thirteenth pre-Christian century during the reign of one of the Raamses, one of the great Napoleonic builders of Egypt, a group of slaves might have broken out is not at all implausible, they had no idea when it took place. Moses himself might very well have been born and raised in Egypt because we know now that the name, Moses, is not a Hebrew name, but it's the same little verbal unit that is used in names of people where they have a name and the name of a god in the same theophoric cognomen. Moses means Ben, son of, so Tut Moses, the pharaoh, means the son of the god, Tut. And apparently Moses is simply the result of some of our historians taking the great leader of the exodus whose name was probably originally one dedicated to some foreign god, cutting out the name of the Egyptian god, the theophoric name that was used, and were left with Moses which means simply son of, as the name of the great leader of the exodus. But these questions of historical detail are less interesting for the development of Jewish life than the question of what Jews learned while they were in Egypt. What did they take away? What did they feel about Egyptian civilization?

One of the phrases that fills the Torah is this: you shall not follow the way of the Egyptians where you once dwelt. And most often this formula is applied to those laws which have to do with sexual relationships, particularly the laws of incest. As you know, the Egyptians believed that their pharaohs were gods, and obviously a god should marry only another god. And so, throughout the dynasties of Egypt brother married sister, first cousin married first

cousin, son married mother, there were all forms of incest, all designed to maintain the divinity, the holiness, of the royal family of so much of the symbolic power of the king, the pharaoh, depended. And all this was anathma, obviously, to the Hebrews and the laws of the Bible which preclude marriages between relatives who are too closely connected are almost always stated, ye shall not do this, you shall not follow the ways of the Egyptians which you saw. And they also speak of not following the ways of the Egyptians in matters which are called snua, matters of dress, of modesty and dress. As you go through ancient Egypt and look at the tomb paintings you see that the courtiers were often in diaphenous clothes, very revealing clothes, while the people from West Asia are dressed in vernooses and tunics, head coverings and coverings which cover their whole body. Their women are veiled. The idea of exposing flesh was anathma to the people of West Asia and again, whenever the Bible refers to modesty it uses the Egyptians as the example of immodesty, the model that you are not to follow.

We feel also that a great deal of the burial customs of the Jewish tradition are a reaction against the burial customs of ancient Egypt. I've read, as all of you have read, of the pyramids and the tombs and the caves, the lavishness with which the Egyptians had entombed their pharaohs and their great nobles. They lavishly entombed everyone if there was any way to do so. And I had not realized until I went to Egypt how far that went. It extended to the fact that as you go down the Nile and see the great sights there's not a single palace from ancient Egypt to be seen. The palaces were made of perishable stuff, of mud bricks which have not weathered over time. Only the temples that are mortuary temples, only the pyramids which are mortuary pyramids, only the caves which are caves where burials take place, have survived because they were made of stone. They were solid. That was the expensive material. Wherever they went, whatever they did, the Egyptians made sure that their people were properly

buried. And if some of you saw the King Tut exhibit you saw a fraction, and only a fraction, because we saw the rest of it in a Cairo museum, of the wealth which was placed in the tomb of this teen-age pharaoh who never really effectively ruled in Egypt.

Now, having seen this lavish waste, this conspicuous, you can't call it conspicuous consumption because it was never consumed, this conspicuous burial of the wealth of Egypt, our people commanded through the Torah that funerals should be simple, that a body should simply be placed in the earth by the eldest son, allowed to decompose, and then when the body had decomposed at the end of the year the son would go and pick up the bones and place them in a burial cave or in a little box called an osuary. There was to be no implements, no wealth, nothing of any kind placed in the ossuary or the burial cave with the bones. They were to be treated with respect, but there was no embalming and no wastage of wealth, and to this day rabbis are constantly telling their congregants that a funeral ought to be simple, done with beauty and with dignity but done in the way which will be least costly because we are not to lavish the wealth as we saw the Egyptians lavish the wealth of their country on the dead. We ought to do all that we can for people while they're alive, to spare no expense to keep them healthy and alive, but once they're dead they're with God and God will take care of His own.

And so Egypt affected Jewish attitudes in many ways: sexually, in terms of attitudes towards death, but not only negatively. Jews were obviously fascinated by the folk legends of ancient Egypt, and many of these appear in the Bible in one form or another. Do you remember the little novelle of Joseph? Young Joseph preens himself over his brothers. He has dreams which show that he thinks of himself as far their superior and they conspire against him and they sell him, ultimately, into slavery in Egypt and by a series of events he is saved from death and imprisonment and he is put into the service of a certain

Patifar, a captain of the king's guards and thieves. And while he's in the service of the king's guards, Patifar's wife, an aging beauty, takes a fancy to this good-looking young Hebrew and she makes advances. Now, being a righteous young man and owing allegiance to his lord and master, Joseph spurns these advances and hell hath no fury like that of a woman scorned and she turns against Joseph and she accuses him of having made illicit advances to her and he ends up right back in the prison from which he had just escaped. Now, that little story of a righteous youth who spurns the advances of the wife of his lord and master is a well-known Egyptian tale told about a young prince named Nanubis, known as early as the twelfth or thirteenth century B.C.E. which the Hebrew folk tellers took over and added to the story of Joseph, it's a captivating tale, and it shows us the degree of interrelationship between these two cultures. There's more.

There was throughout the ancient Middle East a group of people we call scribes. The scribe you can see in many museums depicted by the Egyptians in bay salt or stone, squatting with a scroll on his lap, apparently writing on that parchment of papyrus a scroll. The scribes were the only literate people in that part of the world at that time, and they held office by virtue of that skill. They could read, they could write, they could keep the king's records, they could keep a record of the collection of the king's taxes. They were terribly important to the management of a complex state, and these scribes moved around from country to country and kingdom to kingdom because the best of them were sold and bid for like football and baseball stars among competing teams. And over time they developed a literature which we call the wisdom literature. It is not a religious literature per se but it's a prudential literature. It's a literature which tells you how to act before the king, how to behave in various kinds of situations, how to be careful with your speech, how to manage your household. And the book of Proverbs which you know from the Bible contains

about thirty chapters of this wisdom literature, series of proverbs and maxims and aphorisms from the time and two chapters in the book of Proverbs, the 21st and 22nd, have now been found to be almost direct translations of instructions of a priest named Aminhotep who lived about the eight century B.C.E. and whose wisdom some Jewish scribe liked and he added to its scroll and so it came down into the Bible. So we were not only repelled by some parts of the Egyptian culture but we were intrigued by others, particularly the more sophisticated among the Jews being intrigued by the more sophisticated learning among the Egyptians. And if you trace down this relationship you find that the first translation of the Torah is done in Egypt around the year 280 B.C.E., the Septuagint, the translation into Greek done in Alexandria. You find that from about that time down to the first century of the C.E. the Egyptian diaspora was the American diaspora of our day, it was the center of Jewish power, it was the center of Jewish culture. It developed philosophers and playwrights and poets and historians of note, a great literature, most of which, unfortunately, has been lost to us because when the rabbis of Judea came along and created rabbinic Judaism they found many of their ideas to be too flexible, too modern, too eclectic, for the Judaism which they wished to create.

What a rabbi finds then as he visits Egypt is again and again the memory, the shadow of some great event in our own past. We flew down to a place called Elephantine which is of the first cataract, the first of the cataracts which is almost at the border between Egypt and the Sudan, and there's an island there called Elephantine. It sits in the middle of the river. The water rushes along both sides of it, and there's a little temple on the island which has been rebuilt now to a god called Knoon and if you're a Jew and know your Jewish history you see on this island the Jewish mercenary soldiers who had camped there with their families throughout the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E., hired by the Persians Cyrus and Cambises to protect the borders of southern Egypt which they now control. The empire of Persia dominated Egypt in those centuries against

the Nubians and the Africans who periodically came up the Nile. And as you move up the Nile you come to Memphis and there, somehow, in the shadows of the ruins you see what is not to be seen, a building which throughout the Middle Ages stood there as a synagogue. It was a synagogue which was supposedly over the place where the inn had existed where Moses had taken lodgings when he returned to Egypt as God's ambassador. He was Israel's first embassy in Egypt, and from about the fourth century to about the twelfth century we know that annually the Egyptian Jews made pilgrimage to this particular synagogue shrine once a year on the 7th of Adar, which was the traditional birthday of Moses, and they offered prayers there. There was a black stone there very much like the kaba stone in Mecca so they were doing something which was understandable to the Egyptians. And we even had found in the records which have come out of Egypt and somehow survived a poster which was put up near this synagogue which gave the rules and regulations of behavior and conduct when you came on pilgrimage. You were not to spit in public. You are to keep your voice low. You are to behave with all propriety, all the rules which would be important for any large group of people, any throng, when they came to a particular place.

And when you come to Cairo you look for the ancient synagogue of Cairo, in Foshtat, the Ben Ezra synagogue, and you find yourself led behind the Coptic Museum to an area which is old. It's about twenty or thirty feet below the present street level, and they take the unwary to a building which is said to be the ancient medieval synagogue, but in fact was built some time probably in the early nineteenth century, and they show you artifacts which if you can read the Hebrew translation, translate Hebrew letters into the appropriate numbers, are not medieval but show that this altar was built, was dedicated around 1904 or 1905. But the place itself is probably very close to the place where the Jews of Foshtat had a synagogue from about the sixth century A.D.

right down through till the late Middle Ages. It was an important synagogue and next door to it Maimonides had his home. How do we know that Maimonides had his home next to the old synagogue? Because in one of his letters Maimonides complains bitterly of the noise the Jews make at their worship. And you know, there's one thing a rabbi leaves with from any Arab land and that is the difference in the approach to public worship between Muslims and Jews. Muslim worship is quiet. It's male chauvinist to be sure, it's only the men, full of graceful motion. The chant of the cantor can be heard. There's a rhythm to it, a dance rhythm to it which is absolutely moving, and it's done in reverence and in silence. And if a believer cannot go to the mosque when the calls out, it would be in his shop and he would go on his knees and he will offer his prayers regardless of who's there. A Jew? I can imagine. He would be bashful, to use my children's word, uptight. And Jewish worship has always had a folksiness, a hamishist quality to it, which we don't find in the service elsewhere in the Arab world, and it was that noisiness, the lack of decorum which Maimonides complained bitterly about in the twelfth century and which the Reformers complained bitterly about in the nineteenth century. Trying to make gentle worshippers out of Jews has proven to be beyond the capacity of rabbis for two thousand years. I don't mean that you're not well behaved, but I do mean that we're full of nervous energy. We don't sit quietly at attention. It's a totally different feel.

Now, for a rabbi to be in Egypt is to see the shadows of the past and for him to sense the shadows of the present. The first thing that you come to understand is that Egypt is really a very small country. My image for Egypt now is a kite, a small kite with a very very long tail and a very small body. The body is the delta land. The tail is the aerable land on the both sides of the Nile. There are 368,000 square miles in Egypt not counting the Sinai. In ancient times less than 8,000 square miles of land was aerable. Because of the high dam and other things they have trebled that number now. But as you take

the ship down the Nile you realize that you're passing through a fertile area which is really no wider than the Galilee. You have that same sense that on the hills on the one side where there is Syria and the hills on the other side where there is the Lebanon you have the end of Egypt except in this case Egypt spreads on, but what you really have is stony wilderness, and sometimes vegetation goes no further than a few yards on either side of the Nile. And clearly, despite the high dam and the very careful use of water, the amount of land which is recoverable in Egypt is now fairly limited. And given that fact and the population explosion in Egypt, you have the recipe for civil disorder, political disorder and chaos.

In ancient times Egypt could support a population of between 3 and 6 million people. In 1900 there were something on the order of 10 million people in Egypt. In 1982 there are over 42 million people in Egypt. The Egyptian population is growing by 1 million a year. Every place you look there are children and though they are delightful and most of them look fairly well cared for, they are clearly Egypt's most pressing danger. Two and a half million Egyptians already work outside of Egypt, a million in Iraq, 350,000 in Saudi Arabia. Egypt has the highest level of university graduates of any country in the Middle East including Israel. She is exporting her brains and her brawn, and the remittances of wages for these two and a half million people are next to the tolls on the canal the single greatest source of foreign capital of income for the Egyptian economy. But there's no sign that the population explosion is diminishing. There's no sign that the Muslim world or the Coptic world in Egypt is willing to accept the idea of contraception and birth control. Quite the contrary, and so the population continues to multiply, and you recognize if you have any sense of history that it will not be long before the Iraqis and the Saudis and the other countries of that part of the world will develop their own native college graduates who can do the oil technology and the elec-

trical technology and the medicine and the law and the architecture, and they'll no longer want these Egyptian ex-patriots and then what is Egypt going to do? How is Egypt going to survive?

Cairo, they say today, is the second most populated city in the world. It is something over 11 or 12 million people. They're supposed to have the worst housing stock in the world, the most decrepid and delapidated housing stock in the world. Much of the housing stock outside of the few fine neighborhoods is built out of mud brick, and to provide mud brick for these hovels they have to take the deposit of top soil which is on the fields and dry them and cart them away, and so for every number of buildings they build in Cairo for this influx of people from the countryside, they take away and destroy the productivity of x numbers of acres of land which Egypt can ill afford. And so where as in ancient times Egypt was known as the grainery of the Eastern Mediterranean, it was a place that Rome got her corn and her grain and her wheat, today Egypt is a net importer of food and a great deal of her development capital is having to go simply to purchase abroad the basic necessities of life.

The other thing you sense as you visit Egypt, our visit was simply a tour, it was in no sense a search for the full political understanding of the time, but you can't escape the prevailing sense of the military. Every place you go there are people armed with guns and sub-machine guns of one kind or another, and almost all that you saw live ammunition in their belts or in their hands or in their guns. And as you drive through Cairo particularly you find government buildings which have before not simply armed sentries but dugouts which are sandbagged, both up on the walls and down below at the gates, with people with mounted machine guns ready. Now these machine guns in Cairo are not against Israel, obviously. They're concerned for the internal problems which Egypt continues to go through. And you are reminded again that this is the Third World, that this is a volatile world, that it is a poverty stricken world, that

it is a world which has not gone through the reformation and the counter reformation and all of the processes of industrialization and the stresses that it's taken Europe five centuries to go through. You recognize that there's an unresolved conflict in Islam, whether to modernize or not, and that is being played out. You recognize that there is in Egypt a group of people of great wealth who know English and French, who study and live abroad great periods of time, and who have the Western skills, who are very graceful in your eyes. Think of the press in the West that Johannes Sadat received. She seemed to us to be the very model of what a president's wife should be like. She was beautifully dressed and beautifully coiffed and she was doing some social work and was getting her master's degree in art at the university, everything that a modern Western wife should do. But translate that into pious orthodox Muslim terms. She is immodest. She appears with bare neck or bare arms, in Western dress, unveiled. She is in business because politics being what it is in Egypt, Sadat gave her the monopoly on all taxi cabs in Cairo. Families take care of themselves because they know that the wheel of politics rises and falls and if you're not well prepared in Switzerland when you fall, you may not survive. To Egyptians Johannes Sadat represents something quite different and far more complex than she represented to us who saw her only from the West. And what is true of Mrs. Sadat is true of the Prime Minister himself. To the West he was largely the hero of Camp David, the man who had the courage to go to Jerusalem. To the Egyptian he was the man who promised domestic reform but largely saw to it that the upper classes of Egypt were able to gain great profits from the first steps in the industrialization of Egypt. The wealthiest contractor in Egypt is his brother. He became wealthy in very quick order.

What you recognize, too, as you walk through Egypt is that it's a controlled society. There is no free press. There are elections but there's only one candidate. We met a man who was teaching journalism at the American university

and we asked him how do you teach people to be journalists when the government puts out what they may say and what they may not say. And his answer was largely women come to us who wouldn't be employed anyway. Essentially, it's a form of education and some of them may go to London or to Paris or to America to earn a living. Others may simply fade back into their families.

Egypt is a country full of contradictions and it's a country where the future is very uncertain. It has not come to grips with its major problems and its major problems are acknowledging industrialization and all the financing that this requires on the one hand, whether or not the society, the Muslim orthodoxy will allow the society to develop Western attitudes towards these issues; and on the other hand the question of the role of the military, the role of autocracy and, most of all, the population explosion.

One of the things all of us are going to have to develop new attitudes about are the people on the move, the sea people, the Haitians, the people from Dominica, the Vietnamese, the people who can no longer find employment wherever they live. At some point or other, given the population explosion, every country is going, ultimately, to raise barriers against cheap labor coming in, particularly as Europe has reached 9, 10 per cent employment, America comes close to that. As the jobs which Americans and Europeans will no longer become filled and since there are no other jobs, some natives are willing to take them, low order jobs, the demand will be to close the doors, and then the countries of the Third World which are overpopulated and their numbers increase year by year, will no longer be able to export people, and then what? Then how do they survive? What kind of instability do they bring to their own domestic scene and, ultimately, to the international scene?

I would guess that the relationship, and I close with this, between Israel and Egypt depends less on who is in control in Egypt now or five years from now than they do on whether or not that person will need to divert his population

by foreign conquest, by war, as Hitler diverted the Germans from the depression or whether he will be willing to go after the tough, difficult development decisions and population decisions and not feel the need for these kinds of military diversions which take people's minds off of their stomachs and on to the ephemeral value of a military victory. If the conditions get as difficult as I'm afraid they're going to, whatever the arrangements which ultimately come out of Camp David or its successor, they will not hold unless Egypt comes to grips with the real immediate problems, economic and population problems, demographic problems which it faces. And, frankly, we saw in a very superficial way, but we saw very little evidence that that kind of concerted effort was now being undertaken.



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