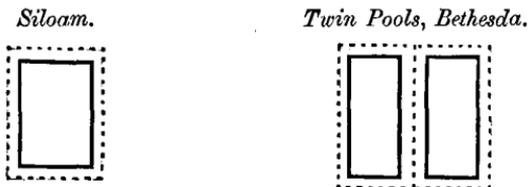


NOTE.

HERR SCHICK'S discovery of a second aqueduct, partially rock-hewn, in connection with the water system of Siloam, is very interesting. It is clear from his description that the lower pool, *Birket el Hamra*, received water direct from the "Fountain of the Virgin" at some period which Herr Schick places prior to the completion of the well-known Siloam Tunnel. There is much to be said in favour of his view, but whether he is right or wrong, the question is of sufficient importance to require further examination. It is therefore to be hoped that the Fund may enable Mr. Schick to prosecute his researches, especially in the neighbourhood of the shaft *C*, and trace out the further course of the aqueduct.

It may be of interest to notice that the "four-fold row of halls," or portico, running round the four sides of the Pool of Siloam, is mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.), and that a somewhat similar arrangement appears to have existed at the Roman bath at Bath. This may also throw some light on the arrangement of the five porches, or porticoes, of the twin pools mentioned by the Bordeaux Pilgrim, which I, in common with others, am inclined to identify with the Pool of Bethesda and the *Souterrains* under the Convent of the Sisters of Zion. Four porticoes would be round the pools and one between them, as in subjoined diagrams:—



C. W. W.

THE HERODIAN TEMPLE, ACCORDING TO THE TREATISE MIDDOTH AND FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS.

THE great value resulting from a comparison of two independent sources of information as to an historical monument is further enhanced when this comprises a religious motive power, thus making the research of science as interesting to the feelings as it is to the intellect.

The Herodian Temple belongs to this class of monuments, and an exact acquaintance with it is to many the fulfilment of a religious duty as well as the solution of an archæological problem. Of this Temple we possess two totally independent accounts: one in the *Treatise Middoth*, the other in the works of Josephus. The advantages to be derived from an examination of both sources and documents have been hitherto altogether ignored,

and indeed are still far from receiving their proper value, for it is obvious that this is only possible when the two narratives are regarded as equally trustworthy, when they are scrutinised with impartial eyes, and when the conclusions arrived at are based on internal evidence, not on dogmatic prejudice or pedantry. But in this matter such a criterion has been entirely lacking, for in this case (as in all Judæo-antiquarian questions) Josephus alone receives credence, while the Rabbis—like the Pariabs, with whom no man may come in contact—are not considered competent to give evidence, and have been in this, as in other cases, the object of the most contemptuous attacks for negligence and untrustworthiness.

But, now that impartial and unprejudiced research has at last begun to scrutinise the infallible Josephus somewhat more closely; and to judge him on his own merits alone, not a few dark spots have been observed on this great luminary, especially on the parts now under our consideration. What follows is an instructive example of the difficulty of demolishing the wall of a thousand-year-old superstition or pulling down the stronghold of prejudice. The hundreds of arguments which prove partisanship in his narrative (especially in his account of the Galilean war, in which he was personally interested, or when his time-serving of Titus and the Imperial House guided his pen), the numerous contradictions in his writings (proving beyond doubt that he often worked in the dark, and did not gather his information from pure and authentic sources), and the many other failings conspicuous in his works, have not hitherto been sufficient in the non-Jewish literary world, nor indeed, as we shall see, in the Jewish world of letters in all cases, to promote to its legitimate position a source of information, whose chief fault is that its authors were "Rabbis," to whom truthfulness in matters of history and precision in narrative must always be denied. But though some of the errors which occur may be obviously set down as copyists' mistakes (the *agadic*, where a somewhat emphatic portrayal is required, are easily distinguishable), surely not those, or at any rate not so many of them, as are to be found in the Ideal Historian. In point of precision the Mishna is surpassed by no other work of research, as can be amply proved by the arguments of the Talmud. And yet this original work is pushed aside, though it has at least as much to show in favour of its trustworthiness as the other has against its own veracity. In the following treatise an attempt is made by means of a closer investigation of the two, to harmonise, where possible, what appear to be discrepancies; or, where this is impossible, to reduce the divergence to its smallest dimensions, and to establish the correctness of the statements in the Mishna. If this be called a panegyric, I answer, Why not?—let the Mishna, so long reviled, despised, or totally neglected, have its panegyrist for once. Moreover, the following analysis will furnish supplementary information for the Treatise Middoth from Josephus, as well as other elucidations of the Mishna.

We shall arrange our material according to the threefold division in Tosifta (*cf.* Bab. Tal., Yoma 69*b* and Sota 40*b*), viz.: (1) The Temple-Mount, (2) the Women's Outer Court, and (3) the Men's and Priests' Outer

Court and the Temple proper, subdividing this last into three sections ; in short, we shall divide their construction as the Mishna does, and shall search Josephus for divergences.

A. THE TEMPLE-MOUNT.

(הר הבית) *δὸ ἄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, 1 Macc. xiii, 52) to the Women's Court.

This space consists of two parts, viz., (i) the eastern, outer, and Temple-Mount proper (500 cubits in length and in breadth), and (ii) the western, Chêl. The outer part was wholly surrounded by a wall, and the other part was separated from it by a boundary called the Soreg. The breadth of the former is not given in either of the authorities, but from the statements of the Mishna it can be deduced that it measured 168 cubits, including the wall and the Soreg ; the breadth of the latter is accordingly 10 cubits (Mid. i, 3 ; ii, 1, 3).

The divergences between the Mishna and Josephus, at this point, are as follows :—

- (1) The Mishna allots to the Temple-Mount an area of 500 cubits square ; Josephus one stadium (=600 feet).
- (2) According to the Mishna there were altogether five gates in the wall of the Temple-Mount, viz., two in the southern side, and one each in the western, northern, and eastern ; Josephus, on the other hand, says there were four in the western side, an indefinite number in the south, and *none* in either of the other two sides.
- (3) According to the Mishna the סורג was only 10 handbreadths high, *i.e.*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ cubits (ii, 3) ; Josephus gives its height as 3 cubits.
- (4) According to the Mishna there were twelve steps in the Chêl ; according to Josephus, fourteen.

With regard to (1), first let us examine the relations between the measurements furnished by Josephus, who uses the Greek scale, and those of the Mishna, which are according to the Mosaic mode of reckoning. We shall then see not only that the differences which appear so vast are reduced to comparatively small dimensions, but also that the Mishna furnishes the means required for correcting Josephus.

- (a) According to the Treatise Kelim xvii, 9, 10, there were two kinds of Jewish cubits, viz., a "lesser" cubit of 5 handbreadths, and a "middle-sized" cubit (the Mosaic one) of 6 handbreadths (*cf.* Ezek. xl, 5 ; xliii, 13 ; also Erubin, 4a, Menachoth, 97). Now, according to R. Jehuda, whose view is generally accepted, the latter was used in the measurements of the actual building, while the Temple utensils were measured with the former. The Mishna furnishes no indication of the way in which the ground measurements were taken, and since it cannot be shown that any rules for measurements of this kind have come down to later times, either one or the other standard may have been used ; let us then adopt the lesser cubit.

- (b) According to Thenius (*Theol. Stud. and Critiken*, 1846, p. 109 *et seq.*), the Mosaic cubit measured exactly 214·512 lines (1 foot = 12 inches, 1 inch = 12 lines) = 18·5 inches; thus the lesser cubit = $\frac{5}{8}$ the Mosaic cubit = 178·76 (but *cf.* Zuckermann, *Frankelsche Mtschr.*, 1864, pp. 335 and 348).
- (c) Of the Greek cubit ($\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$) = $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, there were also several kinds : (1) the ordinary cubit = 6 handbreadths = 24 fingers (Her. ii, 149) = 205 lines = 17·587 inches ; (2) the greater or royal cubit, Babylonian or Egyptian = 7 handbreadths or 28 fingers (233") (*id.* i, 178) ; and finally (3) the little or 5-handbreadths cubit ($\pi\upsilon\gamma\omega\nu$, *id.* ii, 175), which, however, is sometimes confounded with the $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$.
- (d) A stadium is equal to 570 feet 3 inches 4 lines (Uckert, *Geog. of Greece*, I, ii, 73 *et seq.* ; and Forbiger, "Handbuch," I, 551 *et seq.* ; *cf.* Winer, *R. W. B.*, s.v. Stadium). Now the dimensions furnished by the Mishna (on the hypothesis that they are calculated with the lesser cubit) = $500 \times 178\cdot76 = 89380$ lines = 620 feet 8 inches 4 lines. Difference from a stadium, a little over 50 feet. But
- (e) Rosen has proved (*Das Haram zu Jerusalem und der Tempelplatz des Moria*, p. 35 *et seq.*) that the estimate of Josephus (in the *Antiquities*) which sets down the extent of the Temple-Mount as one stadium square is too small, but that very likely, according to the estimate given in the Wars, which states the area of the Temple and the Castle Antonia together as six stadia. A considerable amount ought to be subtracted from the extent of the latter, and added on to that of the former. The more exact language of the Mishna therefore supplies us with this correction. (*Cf.* also on this point Keil, *Archæol.*, § 28, 5.)

Regarding (2), Josephus says (*Antiquities*, XV, xi, 5) :—

"On the west side of the outer Temple wall there were four gates, one of which led into the royal castle at the time when the ravine lying between them was filled up, two led into the Lower Town (Acra), and the last into the 'other' town. . . . The fourth façade had also gates towards the middle of it." Keil (*Solomon's Temple*, p. 131 *et seq.*) considers the latter description of the gates on the east side very obscure, for Josephus adds that there was here a triple colonnade, which was built over a deep ravine, so that it seems incomprehensible that there could also have been gates and entries here. Scholz (in his *Comment. de Hierosylmæ singulariumque illius partium situ et ambitu*, Bonner Program., 1835, p. 11) says that three of these gates were on the western side, and the fourth in the south-west corner ; which indeed must have been the case if, besides the four gates, there had been another in the south. The Rabbis, he says, also mention five gates, it is true ; but as they place two of them on the south side, and transfer the other three to the west, north, and east respectively, *therefore* (thinks this critic) they show that their narrative is not historical truth, since no gates could have been constructed over a ravine

400 cubits deep, and he blames De Wette (*Archæol.*, p. 240) and Hirth (Year Book of the Royal Academy, Berlin, 1816 : 17, Philosophical Section) for giving credence to the Rabbis in the division of the gates. Keil, in his *Archæology*, laconically observes that the evidence of "the Rabbis of course counts for nothing" against the express statement of Josephus. But I think I need hardly say that this "ipse dixit" does not settle the question in our opinion. If we examine Keil's argument we shall find his dogmatic assumption is quite groundless. In the south, we are told, there could not be one gate, much less two, as the Mishna says ; for if so, they would have been built over stupendously deep abysses. But this is in flat contradiction to Josephus himself, and therefore he (Keil) is convicted on his own evidence. Moreover, it is altogether opposed to the evidence of the most competent experts—Tobler, Williams, Schulz, Krafft, and Ritter : *for these scholars deny the very existence of this ravine which is alleged to have been so perilously deep—this so-called Cheesemakers' (Tyropæon) Valley, which is said to have extended from the northern peak of Zion to this spot—because minute investigations of the ground all prove it to have been a level plain!* Hupfeld indeed tries (*D.M.Z.*, xv, p. 93) to weaken this hypothesis by stating that we cannot draw any correct inference from its present aspect ; for though it is now a plain, yet (says he) it *may* have been filled in by numberless landslips, &c. But this is scarcely sufficient to prove this alleged deep abyss, and certainly does not establish its existence *beyond doubt*.

On the eastern side there undoubtedly was a deep valley (the valley of the Kidron), as there still is. But because "Josephus knows nothing of a bridge over the Kidron," of course—we are told—there *was* none ; yet there might well have been one then as there is now (Robinson, *Palest.*, ii, p. 171). But we need not pause to seek for errors in Josephus here, for this is just the very weakest part of his topography, since most accurate topographical researches have shown (Hupfeld, *ib.* ; Keil on 1 Macc. i, 33) that he has incorrectly assigned the position of the Acra, which he must have known better than almost anything else. Again, his division of the gates is impugned by many anomalies, for (1) the connection with the "other" town (*i.e.*, the upper town, Zion) would have been far more natural and obvious from the south than from the west ; but not "about the middle," where Josephus places the southern gate, but in the south-west corner. And so Scholz seems to have thought, seeing that he assigns the southern gate or one of the western ones to the south-west corner. (2) The connection with the royal castle, situated at the north-west corner of the Temple (Baris, Antonia, *cf.* the description in the Wars, V, v, 8). And so with the whole of the lower suburb of Bezetha, would have been much closer and more direct on the northern side than on the west, whence they could only be reached by a circuitous walk. (3) The unequal distribution of these gates, by which two are made to lead to the smaller Acra, and only one to the town proper (the Upper Town), must surely appear equally incomprehensible. We shall scarcely therefore be wronging Josephus if we impute to him an error of memory

on this score ; but even this is hardly necessary, for he does not *distinctly* declare that the four gates were *on* the western side (*πλευρά μέσων*), but that they were "towards the western side" (*ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσι*), so that one of these may, in fact, have been in the south-west, leading to the city of Zion (in the Mishna it is reckoned as one of the two southern gates, and the other may have been the gate which Josephus places "towards the middle" of the south side), and the other, the western gate of the Mishna, to the Acra. Again, as to the two gates of Josephus leading to *Baris*, one was not a real gate, and therefore is not mentioned in the Mishna. The other (*מַדְרִי* or *מַרְי*), in a more northerly direction, was restricted in its use by the Castle *Antonia*. Moreover, later explorers (*Catherwood*, *Robinson*, &c.) by discovering remains of the southern gates in the subterranean double gateway beneath the Mosque *el Aksa*, have thereby confirmed the Mishna's statements (*Winer, ib.*, p. 580-3), that they were on the other side of the eastern gate, through the *πύλη ἁραία* (*Acts iii*, 2-10), which most commentators have held to be this gate.

As regards (3) the commentators of the Mishna differ concerning the structure of the *Soreg*. According to some, it was a latticework with large interstices (*R. Obadia Bartenora*, &c.) ; it was, according to others, a firm wall (*Aruch*, *Maim.*, &c.). Josephus supports the latter theory, and declares that on this wall pillars were placed with inscriptions for warning off the heathen.

L'Empereur (*De Mensuris Templi*, p. 42) tries to reduce the great discrepancy between Josephus and the Mishna in this respect by the emendation *τρίστειχος* (having-three-layers) or *τρίστοιχος* (three-walled) for *τρίπηχυς* (three-cubits), and supposes three layers of stone and a fourth of wood, which last by itself (leaving the foundation out of account) might have been of the height given in the Mishna. It is possible also that the balance of the height of the *Soreg* given by Josephus, where it contradicts the Mishna, was the measurement of the underground foundation (*cf. אומם* on the Inner Temple, C 3, and *R. G. Lipschutz* in *Comm. תפארת ישראל*).

Concerning (4), as far as this passage, abounding in contradictions and inaccuracies, may be aided by one number, the difference will disappear if we suppose that before ascending the twelve steps, and also at the entry into the *Women's Court*, there stood a threshold stone.

Before passing to the middle part of the Temple, let us here state certain details in which the accounts of the Mishna are sometimes confirmed and made more evident ; or, at other times, one among the various elucidations of the Mishna commentators receives additional support. Hence we are able to state—

- (a) That the Temple-Mount was surrounded by double rows of pillars (*Pesach*, 13^b and *c*), since Josephus also speaks of splendid colonnades, which were supported by the outer walls of the Temple-Mount. Moreover, the second explanation of *Aruch* is justified, viz., that the *סַטְרִי* (*στοαί*) colonnades were sup-

ported from below. And so also is that of R. Lipmann Heller (Bem. ii, 1) that the Temple-Mount was completely covered except at the sides. We may add thereto from Josephus that the colonnades were from 30 cubits broad, and that the arched roof and ceiling of cedar-wood was supported by white marble pillars, 25 cubits in height, and hewn out of a single block. This last, however, appears to be one of those stretches of imagination he is so fond of, as the passage is in contradiction to another one. (See further down.)

- (b) That the Soreg was a solid wall, and also that it surrounded the Temple on all three sides of the Temple-Mount.
- (c) That the Chêl had no special walls of its own, but began immediately after the Soreg. See R. Obadia in opposition to the theory (Maim.), which allots an eastern wall to it (cf. Schilte ha-Gibborim, 2a). Josephus's account supports the former hypothesis, not only because he mentions no walls between the Soreg and the Women's Court, but also because he says that the inscriptions warning the heathen were placed on the pillars over the Soreg, thus indicating that the Chêl began therein.
- (d) That the various flights of steps in the different parts of the Temple filled up the openings of the gates and the whole façade as well, as has been already conjectured in תפארת ישראל ii, 3, No. 23. This, too, is confirmed by Josephus, inasmuch as he says that the 40- (or 30-) cubit eastern wall of the Women's Court was all covered with steps, which also extended over the whole façade. This latter observation will better illustrate the universally maintained statement of the Mishna, that the walls were "high," even if the number be not inaccurate.
- (e) That the pavement of the Temple-Mount was tessellated with various kinds of stone, unlike that of the Solomonic Temple which had a flooring of cypress planks; and since such was its pavement, this throws some light on that passage (Megilla 22b) where it is said that "a man should not throw himself down to pray outstretched on a paved floor." Cf. also the frequently recurring רצפה in Ezek., Chron., and the Mishna; also Aruch under רצף.

Without connection with the source of information we are examining, and partly in direct antagonism to it, are the following statements:—

- (a) That in the inscriptions, heathens were forbidden to cross the boundary of the Chêl, on pain of death. If this inhuman edict was ever published, it would at most have been in times when such heathen-hating zealots as Elieser ben Ananias (see Wars, II, xvii, 2) were masters of the situation.
- (b) That around the Temple hung warlike equipments taken in battle with foreign tribes, to which Herod is said to have added those taken from the Arabs. No mention is to be found of this in our authorities; the עטרות (Zech., vi, 14), which

were above the Ullam Gate, were according to Aruch and Tosaphot (עֲטֻרוֹת) bow-shaped golden window ornaments (*cf.* Oholot xiv, 1). Also Hecatæus says (Josephus contra Apion, i, 22) that there was no dedicatory offering (ἀνάθημα) in the Temple; but this would be sheer tautology if, as Herzfeld thinks, this is identical with the foregoing ἀγάλμα (statues). Moreover, it is contradictory to the general conception of a Temple among the Jews—"the place of prayer for *all* men" (Isa. lvi, 7)—the place of peace, to whose altar no iron was to be brought, "so that that which shortens man's days might not be brandished above that which lengthens them" (Mechilta, Exod. xx, 22)—it would, we repeat, be repugnant to Jewish feeling, to make it a standing evidence of the overthrow of their enemies, and though it might have been expected from Herod of Idumæa, it is scarcely to be conceived in his predecessors. In 1 Macc. i, 22, mention is only made of "the golden ornament" on the outside of the Temple, after speaking of the Crown of the Secharja; nor could the "wreaths and scutcheons" (*id.* iv, 55) refer to these trophies, since the Maccabees, at the time of the dedication of the Temple, did not possess the trophies taken from Antiochus. Finally, Josephus himself says (Ant., XVII, vi, 2), on the occasion of the rebellion organised by the patriotic jurists, Judas ben Sariphæus and Matthias ben Margoloth, that Herod had undoubtedly broken the Law by causing a Roman eagle to be placed over the greatest door of the Temple, seeing that the Law forbade the setting up of images.*

The statement of Josephus that the Temple was somewhat lower on both sides than in the middle, so that the latter could be seen at a distance of many stadia by those dwelling opposite or journeying towards it, is neither contradicted nor supported by our authority.

¶

B. THE WOMEN'S COURT (עֹזֶרֶת נָשִׁים).

This space was an area of 135 cubits square; no actual mention of any gate is found, but we are told that in each of the four corners was a cell, לִשְׁנָה, without roof, 40 cubits in length and 30 or 40 in breadth, (R. Schmajah); that scaffolding was brought and set up for the women, at the division of the sexes in the water-drawing festival during the Feast of Tabernacles; that fifteen semi-circular steps, each a cubit and a half in height and breadth, led into the next court; and finally, that there were two underground cells between the two courts for storing the musical instruments of the Levites.

Now Josephus is in this place somewhat obscure, and his two accounts

* [But this evidently applies (1 Kings vi, 29, 35) only to raised pictures (עֲטֻרוֹת בֹּלְטוֹת) or actual images, not to engraved ones (שֹׁקֵעוֹת). *Cf.* Abod Sara, 43*b*].

obviously contradict one another : nevertheless, in each case they differ from the Mishna on the point under consideration. The divergences are as follows :—

- (1) Josephus assigns a number of gates to this outer court, viz : three on the south side, three on the north, and one large one on the east, in the Antiquities ; but in the Wars he gives us nine, viz., four in the north and south respectively, and one in the east.
- (2) According to Josephus, the double gates were 30 cubits high and 15 broad, but the one “behind the Corinthian,” says he, was 50 cubits high and 40 feet broad ; now the Mishna tells us that all the gates were each 21 cubits high and 10 broad, except the Ullam Gate, which measured exactly double each way.
- (3) Josephus speaks of five steps at the gate of which the Mishna says nothing, although it calculates closely enough the ascent (of 22 or 22½ cubits) from the Temple-Mount to the Hechal Portal (ii, 4, cf. Yoma 16a), and he says these five steps were not so high as those above, whilst the Mishna states that all the steps were of the height and breadth mentioned (ii, 3), with the single exception of the Ullam flight, and there were only fifteen of these.

As regards (1) later archæologists, Winer and Keil make the two accounts of Josephus tally, by supposing that in the Antiquities he has merely left out the two Women’s Gates on the north and south, and that the statement in Middoth ii, 6, where four doors are enumerated in the north and south, harmonises with this. Let us scrutinise this more closely. According to I, iv, 5, there were 7 gates in the “Outer Court,” viz., 3 north, 3 south, and 1 east (Nikanor) ; according to ii, b, however, there were 13, namely 4 north, 4 south, 2 smaller gates near the great gate in the east, and two “nameless” in the west. The first-mentioned south gates are all included in the second narrative, and an upper gate (שַׁעַר הָעֲלִיּוֹן) is added, but only one of the first-mentioned north gates is there, and three other names, among them a Jechonja gate, which may well have been identical with the one (בִּיצְרִין) included in the first account in the Mishna, and would only have been regarded as an historical reminiscence ; the question whether there was a double name for one of the two other gates last mentioned, and the admittedly omitted בֵּית הַמּוֹקֵר is of no consequence to our inquiry. The two last mentioned are the Song Gate (שַׁעַר הַשִּׁיר) and the Women’s Gate (שַׁעַר הַנְּשִׁים) ; the former name is explained by the fact that the Levites brought their instruments out of their underground depositories through this gate. Now these depôts lay between the Israelities’ and the Women’s Court (*id.*) ; it is very probable, therefore, that this exit was at least in the immediate neighbourhood of the Women’s Court. Hence it appears probable that these gates near the western boundary (סְמוּכֹת לַמַּעֲרָב) were situated low down towards the west : on the south were the שַׁעַר הָעֲלִיּוֹן and then the שַׁעַר הַדְּלָק in the north the Jechonja Gate (בִּיצְרִין) and the Gate of Offerings

(שער הקרבן), and for the two others we may reasonably assign on the one side the gate of the First-Born (שער הבכורות) and the Water Gate (ש המים), on the other the Women's Gate and the Singers' Gate, if not *in*, at least *near*, the Women's Court.

That the latter is included in the general conception of עזרה is evident from Biblical usage, for in Ez. (at the place before cited) the Women's Court and the others appear under the general term חצר, and are only distinguished by the epithets פנימית and היצונה, and also from Rabbinical authority (see among others, Maim., Beth Habech. v, 3). Moreover, if we consider the south side, it seems very probable that the last of the gates was situated in the Women's Court. The name of the Water Gate is plainly derived from a well situated there, and in Ez. xlvii, 2, it is stated "the water gushes forth there, and will again flow forth from the well of the Temple;" and again he tells us, God led him to the gate of the House (*i.e.*, Temple), from whose threshold gushed forth water. "And he led me forth to the outer gate of the way, to the gate that looks towards the east, and behold! water trickled out," &c.; thus it was in the extreme east, *i.e.*, the Outer (Women's) Court (*cf.* Rashi and other commentators). Finally, our theory is supported from post-Exile times by a passage in Nehemiah viii, 1, 2, and receives additional corroboration from Yoma 69b. In that passage it is distinctly stated that Nehemiah performed the reading and expounding of the Law on the place by the Water Gate for men and women, which (says the Talmud) took place "at the Women's Court;" hence it follows that the Water Gate must, at any rate, have been in its immediate vicinity. We are thus quite justified in placing the outermost gate on the north and south side of this space. That Josephus omits the two little side gates of the Nikanor Gate does not call for special remark, as the first Mishna (which only mentions seven) does the same. It seems much more difficult to understand the two ("nameless") western gates of the last Mishna. True it may be that these are not mentioned in the first Mishna because they were much smaller than the other ones. On the other hand, Josephus positively declares that "the western side had *no* gate: the wall here ran on in an unbroken line"—just as also the Ezek. Temple has no water-gate, which Abard (*Intr. to Ezek.*, *cp.* 40) has already pointed out, and even ת"י'ט' on Schekalim V, v, 3, would be inclined to support Josephus if he were not restrained by reverential belief in the Mishna.

Even if Josephus is correct—as many archæologists, both ancient and modern, think—in placing the Nikanor Gate in the east and at the entrance to the Women's Court, in opposition to the constant testimony of the Mishna and the Talmud, which places it in the west by the Israelites' Gate, the difficulty in this passage will, on further scrutiny, be found to be in nowise diminished. For Josephus has distinctly declared that special gates were constructed for the women on the north, south, and east sides, but (says he) the west side (called the women's bounds) had no special gate, but ran on uninterruptedly, which, however, does not preclude their having been one or two gates on the west side

of the Israelities' and Priests' Courts. But the premiss itself is false: Josephus places the Nikanor Gate on the same spot as the Mishna does (see below). Nevertheless, the difficulty can be got over if we agree with the lately edited *בְּאֵר הַגּוֹלֵה** in placing the two west gates in the corner of the Ullam which projected into the Hechal (see below), for then the west side of the actual wall would of course be without gates and run on uninterruptedly.

As for (2), the divergences, which seem so obvious and so immovable, will be found to admit of complete explanation by a closer comparison of the texts. The Mishna says (ii, 3), "All the gates (except the Ullam) were 20 cubits high and 10 broad, and all of them (the Ullam again excepted) had doors." Josephus says, after giving the dimensions, "The space broadened from the entry inwards on both sides into tower-shaped niches, 30 cubits in width and in length, 40 in height." But neither the Mishna nor Josephus says that the doors were immediately by the entry, so that they may easily have been hung much further back in the sloping interior at a correspondingly greater elevation and width.

As for (3), the five steps which led "to the gates"—mention having already been made of fourteen—have been the cause of much racking of brains for archæologists, which has finally led to Winer's complainant solution, accepted even by Keil ("Archæol.," p. 151) and Rosen (*ib.* p. 43), viz., the assumption of $14+5=19$ steps to the Women's Court. Thus once again the peace we thought to have established between the accounts of the two authorities on this point is imperilled. But to these accounts there is something to be added. Josephus tells us of fifteen steps, agreeing with the Mishna, which led out of the Women's Court into the Men's, and he adds that one-third longer steps led to the other gates. This is explained (*cf.* Winer) by the Women's Court lying five steps lower than the men's, for Josephus observes that these fifteen steps were "lower" than the five which led to the other gates (those of the Men's Court), and thus the five and the fifteen had each the same total altitude; but this is again contradictory to the Mishna, in which it is said that each step, except those of the Ullam, had the same height and breadth. Thus the hypothesis and the deductions obtainable from it are alike invalid, owing to internal contradictions in their enunciation. If we are to suppose the five steps connected with the fourteen in the Women's Court—and we have already expressed our opinion that had this been the case Josephus would surely have said so, which opinion is strengthened by the fact that he allots another number (*viz.*, 15) to the next flight)—by which means alone we can get number nineteen, then it would seem obvious that they could not be connected with other steps in a totally different situation. But Josephus would surely have spoken of nineteen steps, not of fourteen and five, to which, lastly, moreover, he expressly applies the epithet "other"

* [Mainz, 5637. An anonymous work belonging to the first third of the seventeenth century. See the introduction for Delitzsch's and S. Sach's theories as to its author.]

(ἀλλοι); and finally, Josephus says, not that these fifteen steps were "lower," but that they were "shorter" (βραχύτεροι), apart from the fact that it would be a peculiar architectural freak to flights of stairs with such high steps on the north and south, and on the west a flight with lower steps, altogether out of proportion to the others. It seems, therefore, most probable that the five steps were totally disconnected with any of the other flights, and that in a diagonal direction towards the northern and southern gates (to which, for completeness' sake, may perhaps be added to the eastern gate, though one of the two flights certainly led to it already), the terrace-shaped walls of earth were led up to by five steps, which were longer than the others. The Mishna in its description takes no notice of these, because it is only concerned with the direction from east to west; and by limiting the aim of its dimensions (ii, 3) by the words "which were there" (שהיו שם), it excluded the application of them to the other sides.

We cannot here obtain from Josephus so much material for supplementing the Talmud as we did in the last section; such as it is, it may be summed up as follows:—

- (a) The wall of the Women's Court (if Hirth's emendation be correct) was 30 cubits high.
- (b) The broadening of the portal inwards into tower-shaped niches of 30 cubits in length and breadth, and 40 in height, supported by two pillars, each 12 (?) cubits in girth.
- (c) The height of the gate towers.
- (d) Confirmation of the probability that the two ("nameless") western gates were not in the middle of the wall, but in the corners.
- (e) The five steps situated at the side gates, providing a connection with the Women's Court.
- (f) That the Nikanor Gate was made of shining metal (ii, 3) (Corinthian bronze).

Not in accordance with our tradition are the following:—

- (a) That the gates, posts, and threshold-coping were covered with gold and silver; according to ii, 3, they were covered with gold only; however, the record there speaks of gates only, and it is possible that the silver covering may apply to the posts and threshold-coping.
- (b) That women were so rigorously forbidden to overstep their prescribed limits; of this our Talmudic sources say nothing, or at most the passage (Kidduschin, 52b) relating to it involves nothing like this rigour. Moreover, according to the commentators, the above-mentioned women's gate was so called because the women entered the inner court through this gate to assist at the offering of sacrifice, then that the women present were not to advance as far as the men.

In conclusion, just a word or two as to the position assigned by Josephus to the Nikanor Gate. Many scholars, of our own and of former days, conceive that this gate, which the Mishna situates at the end of the

Women's Court, is placed by Josephus at the east side of the court, hence adjoining the Chél. But a closer scrutiny of this part of his narrative will show the error of this belief. He does indeed say (Wars, V, v, 3) that this gate of Corinthian bronze (the Nikanor Gate) lies without the Temple (by which we must also understand the two inner courts, for he calls the sanctuary, in its narrower sense, "the sanctuary itself"—*αἶθρος ὁναός*—§ 4); but this is certainly indefinite enough, for the Temple proper only embraces the Hechal and the Holy of Holies. However, the two inner courts may be perhaps included in the chief division, as in our arrangement. If so even, it must be admitted that this Nikanor Gate is situated by him in front of the Israelites' Court at any rate, and certainly not on the east side of the Women's Court; moreover, in the very passage we have been dealing with, Josephus speaks of the gate "behind the Corinthian, in the women's court, on the east side," opposite the entry into the sanctuary, so that the Corinthian must have been westward of this gate, *i.e.*, at the entry into the Israelites' Court, which he (as aforesaid) includes in the sanctuary. The last-named gate is the above-mentioned *שער הקדים*, or *שער התחתון* (see *כפתור ופרח*, *cp.* 6).

We now come to the last division of our subject, which we split up into the following subdivisions, proceeding from east to west:—(1) The two inner courts (Israelites' and Priests'), the courts (in a narrower sense) to the altar of sacrifices; a space behind this altar stretching to the forehall of the Temple proper (*בין מזבח לאולם*), 22 cubits wide; (2), this forehall; (3) the sanctuary proper, consisting of two parts; (4) the space behind this sanctuary.

C 1. THE OUTER COURTS UP TO THE ULLAM.

Each of these courts has the same breadth as the Women's Court (135 cubits), and a depth of 11 cubits; between the two was a boundary of *ראשי פספסין*. The explanation of these words is much disputed; some hold it to have been a beam running across the bottom (R. Shmajah), while others maintain that it was a projection of timber from the north and south walls (R. Obadia). According to a statement of R. Cheser ben Jacob (derived from Maimonides), the connection between these two courts consisted of an erection, 1 cubit in height, extending along the whole breadth, and on this stood the orchestra of the Levites, made of stone, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, and having three steps, each $\frac{1}{2}$ a cubit in height. In the fore-courts were a great number of cells (*לשכות*), and in the Priests' Court, the altar of sacrifices, constructed as follows:—It stood on a base 32 cubits square, of such sort that on the south and east from the edge to the boundary on the north and west, there was a gradual diminution of a small (5-handbreadth) cubit; so that the base on the north and west was 32 middle cubits, but on the other sides was less by a small cubit in the north-east and south-west (increasing to a smaller cubit). On these lines stood a rampart filled with stones, one (middle) cubit high; then an

embankment on all four sides, a (smaller) cubit high, and a similar rampart 5 (middle) cubits high was erected round the sides of this area ($30\frac{1}{2}$ middle cubits); then, on a further embankment of a (small) cubit was thrown up a rampart 3 (middle) cubits high, and of similar composition, so that the area of the new surface was $28\frac{1}{2}$ (middle) cubits. On the four corners a space was embanked, a (middle) cubit longer and broader and a (smaller) cubit higher, and this was left hollow. Thus the priests only moved about on a surface whose sides were $26\frac{1}{2}$ (middle cubits) and breadth less than a (middle) cubit; for the inner square of $24\frac{1}{2}$ (middle) cubits was the actual burning-place. The height amounted to $9\frac{1}{2}$ (middle) cubits = 58 handbreadths, or 8 middle and 2 smaller cubits (Middoth, cp. iii, Menachoth 97b; Maim., Beth Habech. ij, 7). The space (of 22 cubits) behind the altar was entirely taken up by a flight of stairs, having twelve steps of various breadth and height, which ran along the Ullam Wall (תפארת ישראל), iii, 6.

Now let us see what Josephus says in this respect, as to the constituent parts of this portion:—

- (1) He places a little low stone barrier of one small cubit in height (πηχναῖον) between the Israelites' and the Priests' Courts, which may easily be reconciled with the ראשי פספסין, especially with the first of the accounts given (פספסין v. ψηφίς); still more easily with R. E. b. J., whose height of one cubit may well be identical with Josephus's boundary, from which, however, he must have omitted the three steps of the דרוכין. Again, he says the Temple and altar were surrounded by this enclosure (περίστεφε δὲ τὸν τε ναὸν καὶ τὸν βῶμον, κ.τ.λ) so that the people might be separated from the priests: according to v, 2, the boundary was only on the east side.
- (2) The altar (according to Josephus) was 50 cubits in length and in breadth, and 15 in height. As for (1), whilst it may be shown, by internal evidence from Josephus, that his usage of the words "enclose," "surround," is inexact, yet he here probably meant only one encompassing wall: otherwise he must have allotted to this partial enclosure the whole 135 cubits, as he himself gives the breadth of the Temple as 20: hence, if the expression is to be taken literally, it would follow that the people had free ingress as far as this enclosure. But, according to our authorities, the people could not set foot in the space of 11 cubits before the altar, i.e., the whole width of the Priests' Court, and this is confirmed by Josephus when, in his usual summary fashion, he distinctly mentions (Ant., XV, xi, 5) a third inner room which priests alone might enter, and also when (Wars, v, 6) he refers to the altar the space "before the Temple," having previously left room in the Priests' Court. Finally, no credence can be given to this "enclosure-wall," because the altar was placed so far in the interior of the Temple towards the west that we

have no space left at our disposal for the continuation of an east wall round the altar and its appendages; besides which the Ullam would have been divided by it. The expression, therefore, must certainly be altogether inexact, and we need only devote our attention to an east wall at the entry to the Priests' Court, by which the people were certainly kept back from entering the altar. But if any one is still inclined to insist on enclosures round the altar, let him content himself with the many cells in the east and west corners, which certainly, in an indirect fashion, surrounded (*i.e.*, enclosed) the Priests' Court with regard to the altar (*cp.* also Herzfeld, *Gesch.*, p. 488, Ann. 114).

As for (2), Hirth has already shown (as before, p. 12) that there would certainly not be room enough for an altar covering so large an area; he therefore suggests as an emendation 40 instead of 50 cubits,* while others before him would alter cubits to feet (*cp.* Haverkamp note on this passage). According to this latter assumption the difference in the statement of the dimensions is reduced to so small an amount that it might well remain unnoticed in much more precise accounts than those of Josephus; for 50 feet (Greek) = $\frac{2}{3} \times 50 \pi\eta\chi\epsilon\iota\varsigma = \frac{2}{3} \times 15 \times 17.587$ inches = 586.2; while 32 (Mosaic) cubits = 32×18.5 inches = 592 inches; the total deficit not quite 6 inches (see above, A (b)). Moreover, it is distinctly laid down by both Josephus and the Mishna that the base was made in such a way that the surface gradually became narrower, and this view is adhered to by former and present archæologists (*cf.* Reland *Aut. Sacr.*, 97f; Cramer *de ara exteriori templi*, Ugolini, Winer on *Altar of Burnt Offering*). Undoubtedly the difference in height is in any case greater, but this also may be much reduced. To justify our method let us first take a cursory view of all the numbers which occur in our survey. There are 53 of them, viz., 1 stad. (4 times), 300 cubits (2), 120 (1), 100 (2), 90 (1), 70 (1), 60 (2), 55 (1), 50 (5), 45 (1), 40 (5), 30 (4), 25 (5), 20 (3), 15 (3), 10 (2) (but one of these should only be 9), 5 (2): to these add 12 (2), and 162, 27, 16, 14, 8, 6, 3, each occurring once. Very competent investigators have declared that five of these last nine numbers are untenable (some from internal evidence, and some from their obvious improbability), so that only four of these are left. Thus he gives us 44, most of them divisible by 10, the others divisible by 5; also 4 not reducible. Is it then a very arbitrary statement to assert that Josephus has a violent longing for numbers as large as possible at one time, and at other times for numbers divisible by 5, and that he tried everything to obtain them? Now we have already mentioned (A i) that there was among the Greek lineal measures a small cubit ($\pi\upsilon\gamma\omega\nu$), which contained only 5 handbreadths, and that this was sometimes put for the $\pi\eta\chi\upsilon\varsigma$. Let us suppose, then, that Josephus, from a predilection for multiples of 5, used this as his standard in the height: we get $17.587 \times \frac{2}{3} \times 15 = 219.837$ inches; the Mosaic = 58 handbreadths = $10 \times 18.5 -$

* Yet this does not, as he thinks, give the *same* ratio between the dimensions as in the Solomonic Altar (2 Chron. iv, 1), where the ratio is 1 : 2 (10 : 20), while here it is 3 : 8 (15 : 40). Still the difference is diminished.

$\frac{18}{3} = 179$ inches (*circa*), difference (slightly over) 40 inches, *i.e.*, $\frac{40}{179} =$ (*circa*) $2\frac{1}{7}$ Greek cubits, thus nearer 15 than 10, for which reason Josephus put them down as 15.

By way of supplementing our knowledge of Middoth through Josephus, we get well nigh nothing more than the new explanation of the פספס or of the מעלה of R. E. b. J. On the other hand, we are made acquainted with not a few absurdities and unecessaries (see note 39). There is one remark touching the ritual, viz., "that no non-priest might, *in any case*, enter the Priests' Court;" but the Mishna, much more precise in these particulars, says (Kelim i, 8) that this veto was not altogether absolute, but forbade any non-priest to enter the Priests' Court "except on occasions of bringing their offerings there;" and Herod (Josephus notwithstanding) certainly did not hesitate to make use, like any Israelite, of his ritual rights.

C 2. FORE HALL.

(אולם) · ITS WALLS AND ENTRY.

The twelve steps at the end of the Priests' Court formed the entry into the Ullam—the fore hall of the two divisions of the Temple proper, which in the Mishna's language is included under the denomination, Hechal (iv, 6, 7). It had an eastern wall 5 cubits thick, with an entrance gate (40 cubits high and 20 broad), the latter having merely a curtain and no doors (ii, 3), though the other gates were furnished with both (Yoma 54a. Ketuboth 106a). Above the Ullam Gate was an ornamentation consisting of five cross-beams (אמלתרה *μελάθρον*) of oak, so arranged that a beam of 22 cubits long stretched above the threshold and extended, on each side, one cubit beyond the portal; above it the next beam was one cubit longer in each direction, and so on, each beam increasing one cubit each way, as it ascended; the whole being interspersed with masonry. The east wall was longer than the 70 cubit broad façade of the Temple proper (Hechal, in the narrower sense, and the Holy of Holies) by 15 cubits both north and south. This east wall was connected with the wall of the Hechal opposite to it by cross-beams at the top, and from these beams golden chains hung down into the Ullam space (iii, 5, 6, 7; iv, 7).

Here let us note the following points in the narrative of Josephus which differ from our authority:—

- (1) Josephus states that the Ullam Gate was 70 cubits high and 25 wide.
- (2) He says the length of the Ullam was 50 cubits; and
- (3) That the wall in front on the Ullam extended 20 cubits each way beyond the Hechal.

As regards (1), the difficulty may be solved as above in B 2, for Josephus is here again speaking of *doors*, where the Mishna only speaks of *entries*.

As for (2), the figures given by Josephus are at variance with his own

statements, and therefore they furnish no materials for criticising a record which is unimpeachable, either on internal or external grounds; especially when this record shows us cubit by cubit the relative positions of the many hundred cubits.

As for (3), *cp.* iii, 2.

Let us once more set forth such information supplementary to our authority as is obtainable from Josephus and *vice versa*.

- (a) The two projections of the Ullam walls on the right and left are called by Josephus "shoulders" (*ὤσπερ ὄμοι*). This should support the opinion of the ר"א"ב"ד (Beth Habech., iv, 5, *cp.* also ט"ו"ת iv, end) against that of Maim., viz., that the Ullam wall was *only* in the east, and not also in the north and south.
- (b) Josephus is in harmony with the Mishna in speaking of a separating curtain in front of the fore hall without doors, and (like the Mishna) he again makes mention of such a curtain in front of the Hechal; this information is further supplemented by the Talmud telling us that there were thirteen such curtains of the Israelites' Courts altogether (Yoma 54a, Ketuboth 160a, *cf.* Tamid vii, 1), among them one in front of the Hechal, which, however, ט"ו"ת on Tamid vi, 1, has overlooked, although he himself quotes the passage in the Talmud, Shekalim iv; *cp.* on this R. Jesaia Berlin, in his Annotations to the Mishna (ראשון לציון).

A not altogether uninteresting little point in a certain passage in the Talmud may be cleared up from Josephus. He states (Wars, V, v, 4) that on the fabric of these curtains was a representation of all the sky, except the zodiac, while according to Jerus. Schekal. viii, 5, lions and eagles alone were said to have been represented thereon. Hence the passage we have referred to would seem to support the hypothesis of R. Eliah Misrachi on Exod. xxvi, 31, and R. Juda Rosanis משנה למלך on Klê Hamikdasch viii, 15, who think that Jerus does not mean that the representations on the fabric were limited to these two forms.

To conclude, some light may be thrown on a doubtful passage in Josephus, not hitherto properly understood, and this may be done from our authorities and by means of the comparison above made between the various cubits. Josephus says that from the Ullam outwards the front part of the nave was open, and was 90 cubits high, and so forth. This number 90 appears incomprehensible after Josephus has given the inner temple a height of 100 cubits, and to ascribe the difference (like Winer does) to the slope of the roof is unsatisfactory, because the roofs in the east are quite flat (as Hirth here takes it), or at any rate never afford such a precipitous slope as this would require. But on comparing the statement of the Mishna as regards the height of the Temple (iv, 6), we find that the main part ends with the 91st cubit (inclusive) and the other 9 cubits are only ornamental. Now, suppose that the outer hall (תפארת ישראל No. 74) provided, like the Temple itself, with a roof, had actually one in common with the Temple, but, not having such ornaments,

its height was terminated by the roof itself : then in the total height there would be a deficiency of 9 Mosaic cubits = $9 \times 18.5 = 166.5$ inches ; 10 Greek cubits = $10 \times 17.587 = 175.87$ inches ; difference (slightly over) 9 inches, which, coming from Josephus (who is summary in these matters), may be regarded as in accordance with the Mishna.

C 3.

HECHAL, HOLY OF HOLIES, SPACE BEHIND.

Next to the Ullam comes the 6-cubit thick Hechal wall, in which was a gate (20 cubits high and 10 broad) with doors, and on the boundaries. Over this gate was a golden vine resting on poles, and frequently augmented by new offerings such as golden leaves or pears, or grapes of gold. The Hechal itself was entered by the Hechal Gate. The lower nave was 40 cubits in length and height, and 20 in breadth ; cornices and ornamentations 5 cubits in height, succeeded this lower space ; then the upper storey with the same dimensions as the lower, and in addition timber ornamentation, latticework and bird-scarers, in all 9 cubits high. From this could be entered the Holy of Holies, of the same height and breadth, adornments, projections, &c., but only 20 cubits long. In front of the Holy of Holies was a cubit's space, partitioned by two curtains. The west wall of the Holy of Holies was 6 cubits thick, and by it was a cell 6 cubits broad, with a back wall 5 cubits thick and 11 cubits vacant space behind it, in which the priests could move about (*cp.* Yoma 21*a*). The breadth of 100 cubits was completely filled by the Ullam wall ; Hechal and the Holy of Holies were respectively at a distance of 15 cubits each northwards and southwards, and constituted a breadth of only 70 cubits. These were thus distributed : on each side the outermost wall of enclosure, 5 cubits thick ; next outer cells 3 cubits broad, cell-walls 5 cubits thick, cells 6 cubits broad and the Temple wall proper, 6 cubits thick (iv, 1, 6, 7 ; v, 1).

On comparison with Josephus, we have the following divergences to consider :—

- (1) The Hechal Gate was (according to him) 55 cubits high and 16 broad ; moreover, Josephus appears to know nothing of the double doors.
- (2) The breadth of the Hechal and of the Holy of Holies was, says Josephus, only 60 cubits, and consequently the wall of the Ullam projected, according to him, 20 cubits in each direction beyond it.
- (3) The Mishna (as shown above) allots the height in such a way that both lower and upper naves are each 40 cubits ; in the total of 100 cubits are included the foundation, the 5 cubits of woodwork between the two storeys, and the 9 cubits above the upper one ; Josephus merely remarks, very laconically, "Lower nave 60 cubits, upper 40."
- (4) Josephus appears to think there was only one curtain between the

Holy of Holies and the Hechal, but the Mishna gives two
(אמה שרקסין).

- (5) Lastly, Josephus having disregarded the due proportion between the breadth of the Hechal, together with the Holy of Holies, and the Ullam, has no space to spare behind the west wall of the Holy of Holies.

As for (1), we will not merely content ourselves with the remarks on B 2; for, according to the Mishna, this gate was not like that of the Ullam, higher than the others; and therefore we have no warrant to go beyond the maximum height of the highest part of the portal, as given by Josephus, viz., 40 cubits. Now Lightfoot has brought the foregoing divergences into harmony, by the supposition that Josephus has included the timber-work, ornamentation, &c., in his measurement, while that of the Mishna is the entrance alone. Moreover, that Josephus at any rate knew something of some double doors in the Temple, that they were those of the Hechal, and are here referred to by him, seems at least extremely probable (*cp.* Anm., 48.)

As for (2), the difference in the statements of the breadth of the Hechal, or rather the projection of the Ullam wall, may be more apparent than real; for the Mishna includes the 5 cubit thick outermost northern and southern wall of the Hechal and of the Holy of Holies, but Josephus does not; which seems the more plausible, according to the view maintained by some who take this כותל המסבה to have been a solid and hence useless, whilst the Slaughter-Knife Cell [בית החליפות] in these projections of the Ullam was certainly made use of. Hence the breadth of the Hechal would be diminished on each side by 5 cubits, and of course the projection of the Ullam would be increased by the same amount.

The explanation of (3), (4), and (5) might well be that Josephus, in order to obtain the highest possible round numbers, includes woodworks and ornamentation, like that of the 5 cubits above the lower storey; for we have found him capable of much more serious deviations (*cp.* on 1); but even then there would still be a difference of no less than 9 cubits. Now, of course, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits may be accounted for by the difference between the Greek and the Mosaic cubit, but even then the balance of $6\frac{1}{2}$ cubits appears excessive. This may be removed by a closer scrutiny of the foundation (אונסם). Among commentators of equal authority there is a difference of opinion as to whether this part, which takes up 6 cubits of the height, was underground (Maim., R. Obadia), or was like a threshold above ground (see R. Shemaja, *a*; also ת"ר"ז on iv, 6). Josephus also makes mention of the foundation, which he traces back to King Solomon (Ant., XV, xi, 3; Wars, V, v, 1). Now let us take it that Josephus (in accordance with the latter of the two theories) considers all the constituent parts of the Temple *above* grounds, but reckons in the necessary 6 cubits of underground foundation to complete his large, round numbers; then the two statements are still closer (nay, almost identical),

as here again to the 6 Mosaic cubits—according to the above solution—as compared with the Greek measure of Josephus, O. 31 cubits, must be added. His omission of the greater part of the superstructure (the golden pikes for scaring birds are all he mentions) does not necessarily *contradict* the Mishna's statement: he puts down his round 100 as the height of the top of the upper nave, but is not thereby of necessity in opposition, *e silentio*, to the other.

Once more must we return to the oft-mentioned subject of the different scales of measures, in order to meet an objection which appears to contradict all our argument, viz., that Josephus gives the same dimension for the length of the Temple (Hechal and Holy of Holies) as the Mishna does; but since, for each cubit, he ought to have had 0.913 inches more (*cf.* Ann. 50), he ought to have allotted over 42 for the Hechal and (over) 21 for the Holy of Holies. But surely we need not be surprised at Josephus's inaccuracy, which has been admitted by all later investigators, especially with respect to figures and measurements, and indeed I do not see any other explanation of the (accordance of the) figure 100 in the Ullam wall; but, as far as the length is concerned, the differences may be adjusted, especially as regards the omission of one cubit in the Holy of Holies; for Josephus only mentions one curtain, a view which has also its supporters from the Mishna. One explanation is that this curtain hung immediately behind the end of the Hechal, and the 20 cubits of the Holy of Holies took their beginning from it; as for the 2 cubits in the Hechal, we must bear in mind that according to all the critics the number 50 for the length of the Ullam is impossible, and must in any case be corrected, so that we may as well have space for the 2 cubits lacking, as for the 11 cubits behind the Holy of Holies.

In conclusion, a few words respecting the way in which the two sources supplement one another, now that the contradictions and errors have been discussed (see note 39). We have—

- (a) The information from Josephus (Wars, V, v, 5), that the upper storey had no connected apartments (תאים) like those mentioned vi, 3, and that the ornaments at the upper windows reached over them confirms the very probable conjecture in that direction.
- (b) Size of the vine hanging over the Hechal portal (see note 47).
- (c) The covering of the roof and the sides with golden plates or white marble.
- (d) Confirmation of the explanation of כלייא עורב by pikes (or spits) of gold.
- (e) A new explanation of the epithet "great" applied to the Hechal Gate (*cf.* notes 32, 47).

According to the Antiquities (as last cited), the building of the Temple was performed by 10,000 *priests*, an exclusiveness almost inexplicable, which may perhaps be explained on the grounds of a Boraitha, and may not be without weight in an old controversial question.

APPENDIX I.

Hecataeus on Jerusalem and the Zerubabel Temple.

We have already mentioned the information quoted by Josephus from the book on the Jews by Hecataeus, a philosopher and historian who flourished under Alexander, and had relations with Ptolomæus I. This quotation contains such interesting matter, besides that which immediately concerns our subject, that it is worth a more thorough perusal. The passage runs thus : The Jews possess many strongholds and cities scattered throughout the whole country, and one fortified town named Jerusalem, 50 stadia in circumference, and inhabited by more than 120,000 people. In the middle of the city is a stone wall (500 cubits long and 100 broad), having double gates. Within this is a four-cornered altar of unhewn white stones joined together : its sides are each 20 cubits, its height is 10 ; moreover, there is a great Temple, in which are an altar and a candelabrum, both made of gold, and weighing two talents : on the latter a light burns, which is never allowed to be extinguished. No consecrated offering, nor statue, nor grove, nor plantation, nor aught of that kind, exists here. The priests are there unceasingly day and night, performing certain expiatory rites, and they are not allowed to drink wine in the Temple.

APPENDIX II.

Dr. Graetz has published an essay which touches our subject in many ways ; it is called "The Courts and the Gates of the Second Temple." The tendency of this archæological inquiry is in the main critical, whereas ours chiefly seeks to harmonise the authentic sources, and for this reason we have not referred to it before. We will now cursorily review the results of his inquiry, limiting ourselves to those remarks which appear worthy of notice, and leaving out of consideration mere prejudices, *e.g.*, his lordly scorn for the Mishna, and the usual unproven assertion of some passages as "suspicious, improbable, getting results *per fas et per nefas*."

He decides in favour of Josephus as regards the material of the Soreg (*i.e.*, stone, as against the Mishna commentators who pronounce it to have been wood), because (he says) certain expressions used in connection with it (ii, 3) as פָּרְצוֹת and גִּדְרֵי are applied *only* to stone walls.

But this use of גִּדְרֵי is certainly not *exclusively* applied to stone walls (though it frequently is so used ; *cf.* Rashi Erubin 49*b*), see Talmud Sabbath 6*a* and Rashi *ibid.* ; it is, moreover, well known that in the enclosure out of which a קִרְפֵּי־ר"ה"י &c., consists, as indeed for all boundaries brought about by a גִּדְרֵי, the material is quite irrelevant. Indeed the verb formed from it is applied to all materials, even to furniture (*cf.* Mikwaoth v, end), and to this its antithesis פָּרָץ naturally corresponds, of which a direct proof may be obtained (*cf.* Levy, Chal. Dic. s.v). Graetz settles the question of the fourteen and the five steps (according to an emendation

of the text which he has put forward) in such a way that the former were at the entry to the Chêl, the latter—not even mentioned by the Mishna—on the other side at its exit. On this point, however, it is worth observing that in this case the Mishna not only does not mention these five steps, but cannot even have known of them, because according to the exact account it gives of the total ascent (see ii, 4, and Joma 16a) these five steps cannot have existed at all. But, moreover, the placing the fourteen steps towards the east side of the Chêl is quite inadmissible according to Graetz's emendation, because then the steps would be not before the "second sanctuary" (Temple Court), but before the Chêl. It is incorrect to say that owing to the four corner-halls of the Women's Court of the area of 135 cubits, only 35 cubits square remained free: for each hall only measured 40 cubits (ii, 5), thus in between there was left a free space 55 cubits long and 40 broad. When Graetz accuses Maim. (and thus indirectly all the commentators who follow him) of "wonderful confusion," because they identify the שַׁעַר הָעֵלְיוֹן with the Nikanor Gate, though one was at the entry and the other at the exit of the Women's Gate, he himself overlooks that this Nikanor Gate, according to i, 4 (and from that according to all commentators) was situated on the west side of the Women's Court, which (as we have seen above) Josephus also adheres to. Hence the account (Jerus. v) confirming this appears to be not "so erroneous" as Graetz thinks.

ZOAR AND THE DOOMED "CITIES OF THE PLAIN."

I HAVE previously had occasion to object to the validity of certain identifications, in making which the authors ignored the plain requirements of Holy Scripture, and preferred the statements of Josephus or other secular writers.

The publication in your columns of the paper contributed by Mons. Clermont-Ganneau to the "Revue Critique" (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 19), following on the more moderate remarks of Mr. Guy le Strange in the July *Quarterly Statement* of 1885, impels me to protest against the acceptance of the views expressed therein, which seem to me to embody the same principle of setting aside the statements of the Bible, in favour of those of profane authors.

In so doing, I wish to point out that every passage in the Book of Genesis, in which the five cities are referred to, implies that they were situated at the northern end of the Dead Sea.

Besides the numerous passages in which they are spoken of as being in the "vicar" of Jordan (an expression of itself quite incompatible with a position south of the Dead Sea), we have the assertion that "Lot journeyed east," an incidental allusion in perfect accordance with the opposite view, but a direction by pursuing which he could never have reached the lower end of the lake.