

THE ARCH OF TITUS AND ITS INACCURATE DEPICTION OF THE MENORAH

Source Sheets
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³¹ You shall make a Menorah of pure gold, beaten out shall the Menorah be made, its base, its branch, its goblets, its knobs, and its flowers shall be [ham-

לא שלishi ועשית מנורת זכוכית טהורה מוקשה תיעשה המנורה ירבה ונקנה גביעיה בפתחיה ופרחיה

ITS BASE (literally, "its thigh"). – הַוְאָ חֶגֶל שְׁלֹמֶתֶה – This is the foot at the bottom העשי – which is made in the shape of a box, וּשְׁלֶשֶׁת רְגִלִּים יוֹצְאִין הַיּוֹמָה וְלַמְּטָה – and three legs extend downward from it [A in illustration on page 339].

(2) RASHI

the seven lamps cast light."

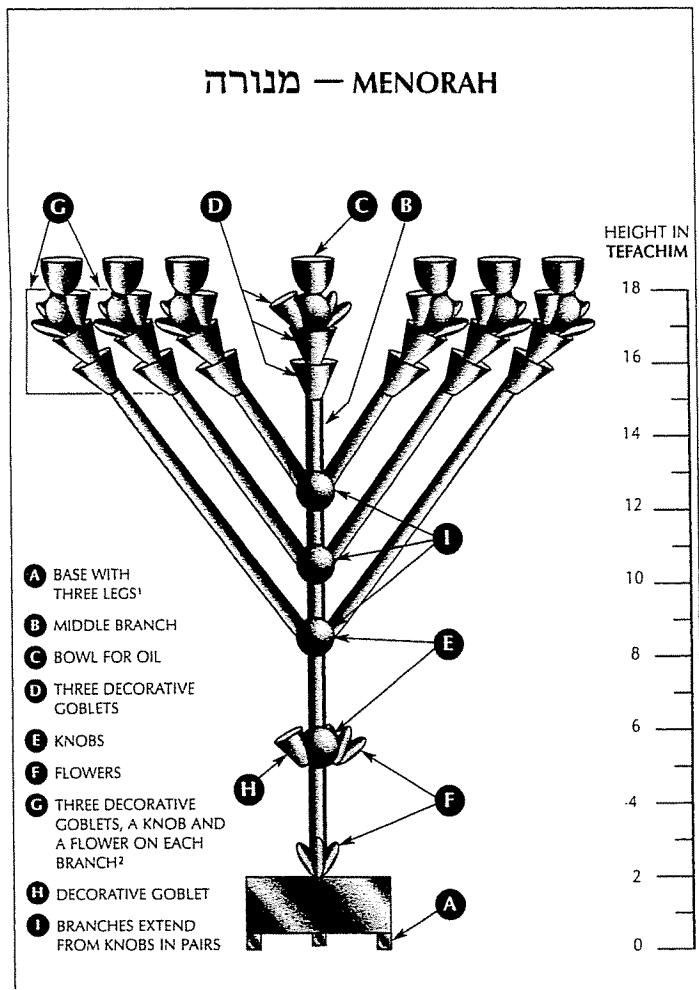
³ Aaron did so; toward the face of the Menorah he kindled its lamps, as HASHEM had commanded Moses. ⁴ And this is the workmanship of the Menorah, beaten out gold, to its base, to its flower, it is beaten out; according to the image that HASHEM showed Moses, so did he make the Menorah.

יאירו שבעת הנרות: נישן בֵּן אהרן אל מול פניהם המנורה העלה נרתיק באשר צוה יהוה אמר משה: זהה מעשה המנורה מוקשה והב עד ירבה עד פרחיה מוקשה והוא במראה אשר הראה יהוה את משה בן עשה את המנורה:

TO ITS BASE [literally "thigh"], TO ITS FLOWER. – שער ירבה עד פרחיה – „ירבה“ היא השעה שעל הרגליים – which was above the legs of the Menorah,² – קולול – which was hollow, – ברכך מנורות בסוף – according to the fashion of silver candelabra – שלבני כספי – which stand before the noblemen.

(4) RASHI

מנורה — MENORAH



12. The Torah describes six branches emerging from its sides (Exodus 25:32) and the [central shaft of the] Menorah is the seventh branch (Rashi). The Gemara will explain how we know that the seven branches are essential features.

Rashi refers the reader to a diagram of the Menorah that does not appear in the Vilna edition of our Gemara. A marginal note directs the reader to a diagram printed later in the volume in *Commentary of Rambam to the Mishnah*, but that diagram conforms neither to Rashi's description nor even to that of the Gemara below (28b). [The Kafich ed. of *Rambam's Commentary* presents two diagrams: a photograph of a rough schematic sketch that is professed to have been drawn by *Rambam's* own hand and a more precise diagram based on *Rambam's* own words and on diagrams appearing in other manuscripts of his *Commentary*; neither bears much of a resemblance to the diagram in the Vilna edition of his *Commentary*.]

The Acharonim (here and to Exodus 25:31-40) discuss what Rashi's view is in regard to many elements of the Menorah. The diagram presented here represents Rashi's opinion according to *Maaseh Choshev*.

[A word here is in order concerning the contours of the branches. There is a popular notion that according to Rashi and other Rishonim the branches curved outward and upward in an arc, whereas according to Rambam they extended in straight diagonal lines. However, it is possible that the opposite is true: Rashi to Exodus 25:32 comments that the six branches emerge to either side of the Menorah, באלכסון, diagonally. This word is used by Rashi typically (and perhaps exclusively) to denote a straight line running on an angle. On the other hand, Rambam does not write anywhere that the branches should be straight. Admittedly, though, the diagrams of the Menorah in all the manuscripts of his *Commentary* show straight branches (see Kafich ed. note 54*). Also, R' Avraham ben HaRambam (to Exodus 25:32) seems to say that his father held the branches were straight. In any case, it seems there is no halachic difference whether the branches are curved or straight. The Menorah would be valid either way.]

[It has been noted that the Menorah depicted on the Arch of Titus in Rome, which was carved close to the destruction of the Temple, has curved branches. However, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this since there are also several glaring inaccuracies with this depiction. More persuasive, from a purely historical perspective, are the coins from the era of the Hasmoneans [a family of Kohanim who ruled Eretz Yisrael in the Second Temple Era]. These coins also display a Menorah with curved branches.]

א המנורה מפורשת צורתה בחוריה: וארכבה נביעים ושני כפ��רים ושני פרחים היו בקנה המנורה שנאמר ובמנורה ארבעה נביעים משוקדים פתוחoria ופרחיה. ועוד פרח שליש' היה סמוך ליריכת מנורה שנאמר עד יריכה: **ב ושלש רגליים** היה בקנה המנורה **הי לה**. ושלשה כפתורים אחרים היו בקנה המנורה שבחן יוצאים ששת חקניהם. שלשה מצד זה ושלשה מצד זה. ובכל קנה וקנה מתן שלשה נביעים וכפתור פרא והכל משוקדים כמו שקדים בעשיןון: ג נמצאת כל הנביעים שנים ועשרים. והפרחים תשעה. והכפתורים אחד עשר. וכולן מעכbin זה את זה ואפלו חסר אחד מן השנים וארבעים מעכיב את قول:

The Gemara discusses the construction of the Menorah:
 מה – אמר שמואל בשם רשבא – גובהה של מנורה Elder: The height of the Menorah – הרגלים והפרח is eighteen *tefachim*.^[22] – עשר טפחים legs at the base of the Menorah^[23] and the flower just above them – שלשה טפחים are three *tefachim*; – שטפחים חלך – are three *tefachim*; two *tefachim* are blank; that is five *tefachim* so far.

Rabbi Herzog was born in Lomza, Poland, and moved to the United Kingdom with his family in 1898, where they settled in Leeds. His initial schooling was largely at the instruction of his father, Joel Leib Herzog, who was a rabbi in Leeds and then later in Paris. After mastering Talmudic studies at a young age, Yitzhak went on to attend the Sorbonne and then later the University of London, where he received his doctorate. His thesis, which made him famous in the Jewish world, concerned his claim of re-discovering *Techelet*, the type of blue dye once used for the making of *Tzitzit*. Rabbi Herzog served as rabbi of Belfast from 1916 to 1919 and was appointed rabbi of Dublin in 1919. He went on to serve as Chief Rabbi of the Ireland between 1922 and 1936, when he immigrated to Palestine to succeed Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook as Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi upon his death.

(8) ר' HERZOG

צורת המנורה שבકשת טיטוס

איזה לב יהורי לא נתר מקום בראותו בפעם הראשונה את ת薨ונת המנורה של בית מקדשו החרב, בעוננותינו, גלופה בקשת טיטוס שברומי. ברור שלא יעלה בלב היהודי הפשט שום ספק בדיקנותה של הצורה. וכי אפשר שהאמנים של בית הקיסר לא עשו מלאכתם בדיקנות קפנדית? אולם בלב המסתכל שלמדו משהו בצורת המנורה אי אפשר שלא יתעוררו ספיקותה. הנה זה שנים אחדות שהודרכיל והארכיאולוג, הד"ר מ. כהן נ"י (אנב). נבדו של הגאון האמחי הרב בעל תורה הסדי ול' הידוע בשם הרב מלובליין פנה אליו והפנה את תשומת לבו לסתירה שבין צורת המנורה כפי שהיא מגולפת על קשת טיטוס (Arco di Tito) לדברי ר宾ינו הגadol הרמב"ם ז"ל, שהרמב"ם אומר שהמנורה הייתה בת שלוש רגליים ואילו בקשת טיטוס הבסיס שלה הוא מרובע ללא רגליים ועליו צורת דרקון. אין לי העתק מתשוביתי, אבל לפוי זכרוני השבתי לו בערך כהה:

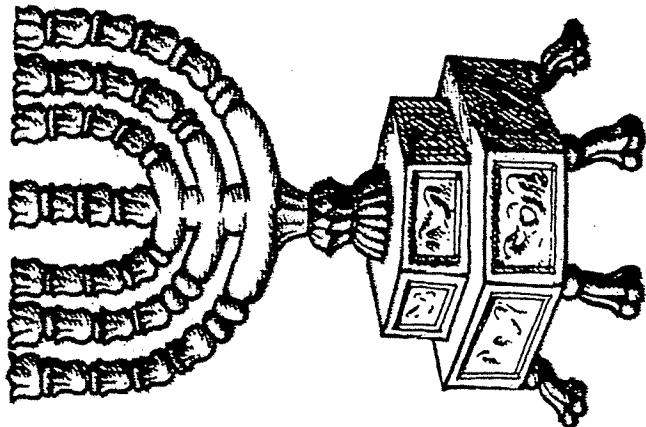
(א) אין שום ספק אצלי, שדברי הרמב"ם מבוססים על מסורת רז"ל הנאמנה.

(ב) דוחה אני את ההשערה, שהיא איזה הבדל בין המנורה הקדומה שבמקדש ובין המנורה שעשו הורדוס. אין מתבל על דעתו כלל וכל דבריו האומר, שהוא רשות לשונות בצורת המנורה, בכדי להשוויה עם המנורה רות של היכלי העכו"ם. בכל רשותנו וגנטימנו להתבוללות לא היה מעין לעשות דבר מחר כותה. הלא כבר מסרו לנו רז"ל, שבענין בניית המקדש עשה מה שעשה עפ"י עצצת התנא בבא בן בוטה והחכמים שעמו.

(ג) צורת-דרקון ידוע שהיתה נعبدת ע"י הגויים עובדי האלילים, ובפירושו שניינו במסכת עבודה זרה פרק שלישי, המוזא כלים וعليיהם צורת חמה

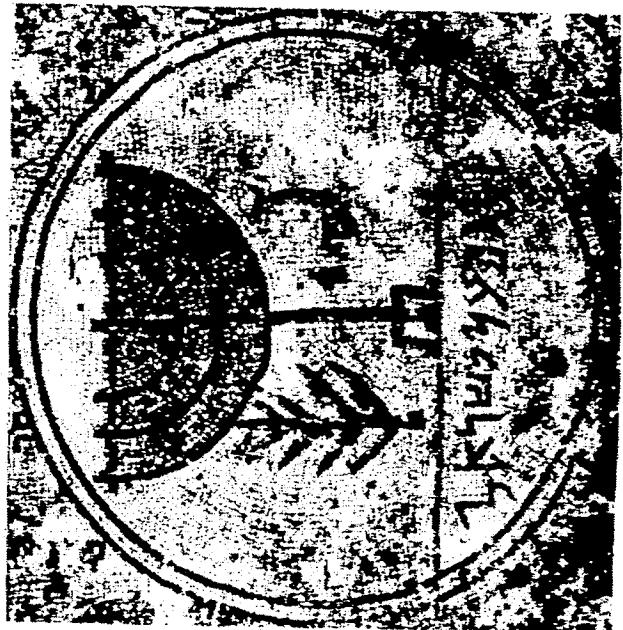
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ALDO EATON AND DALE LINDNER FROM UIC LIBRARIES

କୁଳର ମଧ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ତର୍ବାହିକାରୀ ପାଇଥାରେ ଏହା କରିବାର କାହାର ଦେଶରେ ଯାଇଲୁ
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"THE PRACTICAL USE OF THE BIBLE."

אל באחנטה או תיבת בלבד עצה דרכון או דרכנים, וכן היא נטלה בקשת של

(ג) ינאו מוא שלא טוב עשה ממלולנו הים חזה, בשובינו שוב לאורה של

צין' גומתולת במנרה, שהיא מוקה את תנומת המנורה שבשת טיטו, אשר בוגריה חלו בה ידי רם, ואינה כולה כל טהרה הקודש כמו שמכונה מהורת ביבינו משא בנאן גאנון ויל מושאר מקורות היוצאים מלבני תמרן, ולא בלבד אל שער לפניהם מומחה ביריעת הדרמוניות (ארכיאולוג) שברורמי כלו בוגר שלוש רג' שטבנורה המצוירת על הקברים בתקופה שבוגר של שרידי בתי היבנו לים (טריפורי) וכן כל המנורה המצוירת בפסיפסים של שרידי בתי היבנו.

ט' גומתאות בארץ ישראל. ולעתה כל זה ברוח ישיר וקיים.

9 Israel Exploration Society
11:5 (1961)

Two Notes

W. VIRGIN

I. ON THE SHAPE OF THE FOOT OF THE MENORAH

In a paper published recently by H. Strauss about the *Menorah of the Hasmoneans*,¹ the author suggests, in view of the difference in shape of the bases of the *menorah* (seven-branched candlestick) on the coin of King Antigonus and that on the arch of Titus, that neither of the two represents the original *menorah*; he is in favour of a three-legged base similar to that of some *menorot* on later stone carvings.

The problem of such a discrepancy between two representations, both contemporary with the original, can in my opinion not be solved by trying to trace the original shape back from later examples, but by attempting to reconcile the discrepancy. I believe that both the picture on the coin and that on the arch are true depictions of the actual object, even though there are fewer details on the coin than on the arch because of the numismatic convention that reduces shapes to a bare minimum of outline.

I see in the pedestal of the *menorah* on the arch of Titus not its actual base, but a box-like screen made to cover it. The base itself was hidden under the hexagonal screen and probably conformed with the design on the coin of Antigonus. Fig. 1 shows how the box could be fitted over the lower part of the *menorah*. In order to understand why it looks like a podium with two steps, we assume that it was constructed from panels made for other purposes, for instance for the manufacture of incense boxes. Roman sculpture contains many representations of incense boxes decorated with designs similar to those on the pedestal around the *menorah*. It was easy to build a hexagonal screen like this by joining a number of such decorated panels.

It is obvious why some such kind of contrivance was necessary: the *menorah*, if placed on the platform of the stretcher to be carried high on the shoulders

others, would be in constant danger of falling during the parade, for the stretcher swayed in all directions as the bearers walked. To secure the *menorah* with ropes would certainly have been unsightly. In accordance with the solemnity of the occasion an appropriate dress-up and display was therefore invented. It appears that the box was constructed in two halves to fit the base of the *menorah* closely. It could be easily attached at the bottom to the platform of the stretcher.

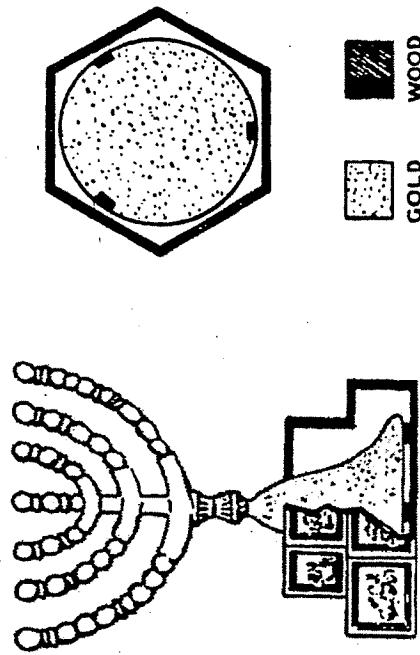


Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

As mentioned above, the *menorah* is depicted in later times with a base resting on three feet, and one may question whether the *menorah* in the Temple was constructed likewise. According to tradition, the Temple *menorah* did have three feet, although not necessarily animal's, or more specifically lion's feet. We should like to call attention to the feet of the basin on the Jewish 'thick' *shekels* in their later issues (not in the first issue). There the pedestal of the basin is similar to the pedestal of the *menorah*, but it has a small support at each end. The pedestal of the basin was surely circular and therefore must have had a third foot to support it, but this foot could not be included by the engraver in his design. Fig. 2 shows a view of the *menorah* seen from below with its three supporting feet, in accordance with the representation of the basin on the *shekels*, and the Roman box around it.

Although this hypothesis is built largely on conjecture, it has the advantage of being based on archaeological evidence from the period when the *menorah* still be seen by the coin engraver and by the sculptor who depicted it. Both of them gave as true a picture as they were able to.

which characteristics we find in the representation on the arch of Titus. In the upper part we also find cups, knobs and flowers (though not in the same numbers as given in the Talmud ⁴⁹). As this whole upper section is in a style that was alien to the Roman craftsman, but was nevertheless faithfully represented, it seems likely that the whole was accurately reproduced.

The lower part, on the other hand, not only differs radically in style from the upper half, but also from all traditional descriptions given. Not only does it not have three legs, or in fact any legs, but a far larger base even than on Antigonus' coins. For the width of the base here almost equals that of the widest span of the branches. The central shaft from the base to the first span bears no relationship to that described in the Talmud⁴⁴. Moreover, the candelabrum as a whole now lacks three בְּקָרָב, two מִרְמָרָה, and one בְּגַעַת⁴⁵, and this would make it unfit for use⁴⁶.

According to the Talmud the lower part was slightly smaller in

and not to be considered as part of the *Menorah* proper (T. B. *Menahoth* 88b). Even if they were constructed out of the same piece of gold, they were still considered as separate entities and are not included in the measurements of the height of the candelabrum as stated in T. B. *Menahoth* 28b. (See notes 44 and 30.)

⁴⁵ *See also Menorah 286.* “**בְּמִזְבֵּחַ כָּבֵד מִזְבֵּחַ קָרְבָּן**” Total 52. Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 6, 7. (line 145) states that “it was made with its knobs (σηριπτίς) and lilies (καλ. κυπίνα) and pomegranates (σούβ ἑτοκόνια) and bowls (κατ. κερατοβόλιον)” all of which amounted to 70 (a Roman number).

engraving is also reproduced in WILLIAM KNIGHT, *The Arch of Titus* (see *Spolia of the Temple*, London, 1861, p. iii.).
“ T. B. Menelik,” 28b, “ חַטָּבְתִּים טְמֵנִים שְׁוֹרָתִים תְּמִימִים לְלָלִים ”
Stylistically, this is more satisfactory than the form depicted on the Arch of Titus. For here the line of the central shaft is continued down throughout, preserving a unified but not monotonous axial focal line. In the Arch of Titus on the other hand the lower part of the shaft is completely different from the upper part, far wider and with a different kind of ornamentation. Thus the continuity of the central axis is no longer preserved.

The style of the upper part is consistent with certain Phoenician trends, see e.g. G. PERRON and C. CHARPEZ, *History of Art in Phoenicia* (London, 1885) p. 138, figs. 81-83. The latter 2 are Carthaginian but clearly of Eastern, and

⁴⁵ See note 44.

height than the upper one⁴⁷, whereas here the lower portion is about one fifth more again. Clearly the lower half was changed and this alteration must have come about after the reign of Antigonus, for we have noted that on his coins the base is not so large. Finally even a cursory examination of the details of the base is very revealing. It consists of two parallel hexagonal podia, the upper one being smaller in diameter than the lower. Carved on the faces of the panels are: upper centre, two eagles holding a swag between them, flanked on either side in the neighbouring panels by *Ketē* (*κέτη*), *pistrices* or seamonsters, distinguishable by their fish-tails; in the lower centre panel, a *kētos*, and on either side two bird-headed, winged *kēfē* facing one another. If we are to accept that these were not additions by the local sculptor (this being unlikely in view of the accuracy thus far noted, and evidence to be further adduced), then we are presented with something very out of keeping with the Jewish tradition⁴⁸.

out of keeping with the Jewish tradition.⁴⁸

The direct prototype of the base is found at the great temple at Didyma (near Miletus in S. Turkey), where there appears the earliest example of the polygonal *podium*, also with *kefé* carved on their panelled faces.⁴⁹ The profile of the foliate form above the *podium* (which derives ultimately from 6th cent. Persian art⁵⁰) also has its suggestion at Didyma,⁵¹ but first begins to come into fashion in Roman statuary⁵² about the first cent. B.C.E.

Nevertheless, the actual double-step motif as a candlestick *podium* rarely if ever appears in Roman statuary, again suggesting the accuracy of the copy. One of these steps may have been used for a place upon which to place the tongs and other instruments with which the lamps were cleaned and tended (see *Mishnah*, ⁴⁷ See note 44. The total height was 18 *esafim* and from the bottom to the first span was 8.

⁴⁸ *Mishnah, Yodah Zarath* 3. 3. תְּרֵא שֶׁמֶת כָּל אַבְנָה
תְּהִלָּה בְּלֹבֶן תְּרֵא שֶׁמֶת בְּלֹבֶן.

⁴⁹ Th. WIEGAND, *Didyma* (Berlin, 1941), Vol. of plates, pl. 150 F352, pl. 151 F353, pl. 155 F358. Also pl. 156-158. See also M. KON in *PEQ*, 1950 P. 25 et seq.

⁵⁰ E.g. ARTHUR UPHAM POPE, *A Survey of Persian Art*, (1938) Vol 4, pl. 82, 85, 87 (5th cent. B.C.E.) and pl. 102 (4th cent. B.C.E.). In the British Museum there are some 5th cent. capitals from Taanak whose profile shows distinct similarities to ours.

¹¹ *Dydyma*, *ibid.*, pl. 96 F112, F120.

¹⁵ A random example (for there are many) though of a slightly later date, is to be seen in GEORG LIPFOLD, *Vasen Cat.* (Berlin, 1936) 3 part 2, pl. 167, 33. For eagle with swag motif, *Ibid.*, 3 part 1, pl. 77, 561a. See also G. HENROTT, *Encyc. des Luminaires* (Paris, 1933) pl. 8, fig. 5.

Tamid 3, 9) or at least the motif may have been suggested by the three-stepped stone placed before the candelabrum and used in part for that purpose (*ibid.* and T. B. *Menahoth* 29a).

From all this we can clearly infer that the alteration was carried out under the auspices of someone distinctly Rome-orientated, and thus the motif of the two eagles is by no means fortuitous, but, on the contrary, is a pointed allusion to Roman sovereignty. Thus the symbols of Roman overlordship were brought into the very temple itself, and I would suggest that it was through Herod that this took place as part of his "westernizing" campaign.⁵³

Moreover if we accept that the base in the time of Antigonus Mattathias had legs, we may state with a fair degree of certainty that this alteration took place before the time of Philo (c. 20 B.C.E.-40 C.E.). For had it had three legs in his time, he would certainly have cited this fact to support his (otherwise slightly forced) symbolic interpretation, that all hinged upon the number three.⁵⁴

The fact that he does not do this suggests rather that he was basing himself on what he had seen when in the temple⁵⁵ (as was the case with Josephus, note 32), thus fixing the period within which the alteration might have taken place as being after the reign of Antigonus Mattathias and before Philo's writing (or temple visit). This would again point most clearly to the period of Herod.

It was he, we recall, who having been set up by the might of Rome, determined to establish Roman sovereignty. His coins bear distinct signs of such a policy, for most of the motifs are pagan. But among them one notes an emphasis upon symbols related to Apollo, e.g., the tripod⁵⁶, the incense-bowl with date-palm⁵⁷ branches, the Macedonian shield with a sun-motif⁵⁸, etc. These were no doubt motivated by the fact that Augustus, after the

battle of Actium (31 B.C.E.), attributing his victory to the benefice of Apollo, had elected him to be his special patron, erecting to him a great temple on the Palatine.⁵⁹ (It may be noted that the chief centre of Apollo's cult for the Asian Greeks was Didyma.⁶⁰) More telling still is the eagle motif that also appears on his coins⁶¹, an overt symbol of Roman rule. This symbol he brought even to the temple itself, hanging a large golden eagle over the main gates.⁶² No doubt he made another golden vine⁶³, to hang over yet a different temple gate, because it was also connected with pagan gods. It was as a symbol of Liber, i.e. Bacchus that Tacitus knew of it.⁶⁴

c. 37 B.C.E. We further recall that towards the end of Antigonus' reign the Parthians had conquered and "plundered all Jerusalem" (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv, 13, 9) and in all likelihood had damaged the candelabrum. When, therefore, Herod decided to rebuild the temple, he would naturally have restored it, but with the substitution of secular-pagan (*kēfē*) and clearly Roman motifs (eagles) in place of what had been. Thus, consistently with his general policy, he attempted to convert Antigonus' symbol of Jewish religious and political independence into his own one of secularism and subservience to Rome. The eagle over the temple gate proclaimed its message to the general populace: even the great golden vine was of ambiguous interpretation; whilst within the very sanctum the candelabrum-base was intended constantly to remind the priests that not God, but Rome, was their master.

⁵³ NARKISS, *Ibid.*, p. 67 and 68. For other interpretations of the symbolism of Herod's coinage, see *Publ. of the Israel Numismatic Soc.*, 2, 1958 (Jerusalem) p. 34. GOODENOUGH, *Symbols* (N.Y. 8 vols 1953-1958) 1, p. 274. See J. MEYSHAN in *PEQ*, 1959, p. 109-121.

⁵⁴ There was, moreover, a personal connection between Herod and the Apollonian cult, as his grandfather, Herod of Ashkelon, was a hierodule of the temple of Apollo at Ashkelon. (Eusebius *Hist. Eccles.* i, 4, 2; 7, 11, on the authority of Africanus. See also Julius Africanus, *The Epistle to Aristides* iv, Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, 52. See *JQR* N.S., Vol. 53, 4, April, 1963 p. 288 and note 50.)

⁵⁵ NARKISS, *Ibid.*, p. 101 corp. 24, pl. 3 fig. 7. REFFENBERG, *Ibid.* 82, 2. *Brit. Mus. Cat.* p. 227. No. 69, pl. 24 fig. 14.

⁵⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 17, 6, 2. *War* 1, 33, 2. S. W. BARON, *Social and Religious Hist. of the Jews* 1, p. 238, and p. 402 note 34.

⁵⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 11, 3. *War* 5, 5, 4. The earlier one had been given away by Aristobulus to Pompey a short time before (*Ant.* 14, 3, 1).

⁵⁸ Tacitus, *Historiae* 5, 5. (Loeb ed. vol. 2, p. 183) ... Sed quia sacerdotes corum tibia tympanisque concinabant, hecda vinciebantur, vitisque aurea in templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli, dormitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrii sunt, nequaquam congruentibus instituit.

⁵⁹ On his programme of hellenization, see note 75 end, and *ibid.* p. 57.

⁶⁰ Quis Her., 218n. Loeb ed. vol. 4, p. 391 etc.

⁶¹ Horeb, 3, Dec. 1958 p. 18 (New York, Hebrew).

⁶² NARKISS, *Ibid.*, p. 101, corp. 25, pl. 3 fig. 8. *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, p. 222. Nos. 19, 25, 28, 35, pl. 24 figs 5-8. At the oracular shrine of Apollo in his temple at Delphi the priestess, called the Pythia, seated on a tripod over a fissure in the rock, would utter her oracles in divine ecstasy. Hence the association of the tripod with Apollo.

⁶³ NARKISS, *Ibid.*, p. 102 corp. 29, pl. 3 fig. 12, p. 101 corp. 25, pl. 3 fig. 8. Apollo was born in Delos under a date-palm.

⁶⁴ F. W. MADDEN, *Coins of the Jews* (London, 1881) p. 109, 3.

c. 19 B.C.E. This would have been no more than a small detail of his temple programme⁶⁵, which included a great many things not altogether in keeping with Jewish tradition⁶⁶. No doubt he had with him Roman-trained craftsmen, especially for the skilled sculpture such as the twisted columns and the corinthian capitals⁶⁷. Craftsmen such as these would have executed the base (for from the stylistic evidence rendered by his coins⁶⁸ it would appear that there was very limited local artistic talent).

When we look again in yet greater detail at the base and compare it with its prototypes in Didyma, the results are most rewarding. For instance, the lower-centre panel with the twisting *kēfē* is a direct quotation from a similar such panel at Didyma⁶⁹ (even to the pose, positioning and direction of the monster). But—and here it is the departure from the original that is most instructive—the nereid seated on the back of the *kētos* at Didyma (a common motif)⁷⁰ is omitted from the candelabrum panel. Surely this is an example of a concession to the Jewish law which so strictly forbids the representation of the human figure⁷¹. The flanking panels with their pairs of bird-headed, winged fish-tailed creatures have not dissimilar prototypes at Didyma⁷². But, whereas at Didyma they have spiky rills growing out of their necks in accord-

⁶⁵ Described in Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 11, 2-5. *War* 1, 21, 1. See also T. B. *Bava Bathra* 5a.
⁶⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 3, 5, 5 (line 416). As to Josephus' attitude towards images, see *Ant.* 3, 5, 5 (line 91), "The second commands us not to make any images of any living creature to worship it" (WHISTON'S translation). *Ant.* 8, 7, 5 (line 109), "He [Solomon] sinned and fell into error . . . when he made the images of brazen oxen that supported the brazen sea, and the images of lions about his own throne, for these he made although it was not agreeable to piety to do so" (WHISTON). Here Josephus is even stricter in his outlook. *Ant.* 15, 11, 5 (line 416), "Now the Law forbids those that propose to live according to it to erect images or representations of any living creatures" (WHISTON). Furthermore note *Ant.* 3, 6, 2 (line 113), 4 (line 126) and 5 (line 137). *Ant.* 15, 9, 5 (line 329). Also *War* 1, 33, 3; 5, 5, 4 (end). See also E. R. GOODENOUGH, *By Light, Light* (1935), p. 258 and E. BEVAN, *Holy Images* p. 48.
⁶⁷ Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 11, 5 (lines 413/414).
⁶⁸ NARKISS, *ibid.*, pl. 3 figs 5/12. But see also ref. at end of note 59.

⁶⁹ Didyma, *ibid.*, pl. 155 F358.
⁷⁰ KATHARINE SHEPPARD, *Fish-tailed Monsters in Greek and Etruscan Art* (N.Y. 1940, privately published).
⁷¹ T. B. *'Avodah Zarah* 42b. Furthermore a nereid, being a naked female form, would be yet more sharply opposed.
⁷² Didyma, *ibid.* 219 F646 and F646a, 123 F277c, F279, F281, all spiky-necked. In pairs facing one another, 121 F288, F291a; 119 F273, F275; 116 F270, F291, etc. See also TH. WEGAND'S *Bailek* 1898-1905 (Berlin and Leipzig 1921) 1, pl. 112.

ance with the most usual *kētos*-form⁷³, on the candelabrum like all the creatures represented, they have smooth necks (far less common). Again this would be in deference to the Jewish law, which firmly forbids creatures with שׁוֹרֵת מִנְחָה (such spikes coming out of their necks), but permits them that have smooth necks⁷⁴.

These omissions and adjustments, then, are in the nature of a concession to the law, a concession that would be in fact good policy on two grounds. First, in conceding a point of relative unimportance after achieving his real desire he would be soothing the priestly class, and easing the opposition (a manoeuvre he used on several occasions)⁷⁵; secondly, this concession to the law would more certainly assure the continued safety of the candelabrum from the wrath of a vigilantly iconoclastic populace⁷⁶. This fact, plus that of the subsequent corruption of the priestly class, and the more direct Roman rule, ensured the continued existence of this "problematic" candelabrum. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that never again does it appear on early

⁷³ KATHARINE SHEPPARD, *ibid.*, pl. 16 fig. 100. Also H. B. WALTERS, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of engraved gems and cameos*, *Greek Etruscan and Roman* (London, 1926) p. 134 No. 880 fig. 174.
⁷⁴ T. B. *'Avodah Zarah* 43a 'אֲשֶׁר בְּבַיִת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בְּלֹא צְבָעָם בְּלֹא מִלְחָמָה' (Hebrew). *Mishnah* *Terumot* 8, 2 'אֲשֶׁר בְּבַיִת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בְּלֹא צְבָעָם בְּלֹא מִלְחָמָה'. *Tosefta*, *'Avodah Zarah* 6, 2 'אֲשֶׁר בְּבַיִת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בְּלֹא צְבָעָם בְּלֹא מִלְחָמָה'.
⁷⁵ For further reasons why such a "dragon" on the candelabrum base might not, strictly, be forbidden according the law, note T. J. *'Avodah Zarah* 3, 3:

תְּמִימָן אֲנֹתוֹ צְרוֹת דְּרֻקָּנוּ פִּישָׁרְבָּנָה בְּלֹא צְבָעָם בְּלֹא מִלְחָמָה.

See also the article written by the late Chief Rabbi ISAAC HERZOG in *Sinai* 36, 1 1926-5716 (Jerusalem) entitled "*On the Form of the Menorah in the Temple and for the Synagogue*" (Hebrew), where he adduces yet more reasons why it should not be forbidden. Nevertheless, he finally states that it is certainly not in the spirit of the Law and would for that reason alone be forbidden. Though none of the above texts are wholly conclusive as they are of later date, they certainly continue in a tradition that reflects a strong bias against such images. See also his article in *Scripta in Memoria di SALLY MAYER* (Jerusalem, 1956) p. 15-18 (Hebrew). His argument there is unacceptable. Cf. note 71 etc. See also M. KORN, *ibid.* (note 49).

⁷⁶ E.g. Josephus, *Ant.* 15, 11, 5 (line 420). Note also his apology to the Jews for setting up images in certain predominantly non-Jewish towns (*Ant.* 15, 9, 5, line 350). Nevertheless, he placed the eagle above the temple gates against the will of the people, and even executed those who pulled it down (*Ant.* 17, 6, 4, *War*, 1, 33, 4); but this was in his later years, when he had become mentally unbalanced. For a more detailed discussion of this point see G. ALON, *Megarim Betholedoth Yisrael* (Tel-Aviv, 1957), 1, p. 72-4 and p. 76 note 8. ⁷⁶ Josephus' views on the subject (note 66) are themselves revealing. See also *Ant.* 17, 6, 3, 18, 8, 2. *War*, 1, 33, 3.

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Jewish coins, perhaps because of its very "problematic" nature⁷⁷.



On the whole, then, it would appear that the representation on the Arch of Titus is accurate. But whereas the internal proportions correspond to those given in the Talmud, the general impression would appear to be a little too small in comparison with the men bearing it⁷⁸. One may, I think, conclude that the craftsmen worked not from the original but from drawings that were indeed accurate, but without a scale, and that their idea of general size was from memory. This would be consistent with the candelabrum's being already locked up in the temple of Peace built by Vespasian, and would thus be in accordance with Josephus who states that Vespasian himself caused the temple vessels to be placed there⁷⁹.

c. 30 C.E. The Talmud tells us that forty years before the destruction of the temple (70 C.E.) the miracle by which the westerly light of the candelabrum remained alight throughout the day⁸⁰ ceased⁸¹. This was about the same time as the Sanhedrin moved out of the temple (the *lishkath ha-Gazith*) to the "shops" (*hanuyoth*)⁸², very likely on Pontius Pilate's edict that they might no longer exercise the death penalty⁸³. The Sanhedrin was con-

⁷⁷ See also *Publ. of the Israel Numismatic Soc.* 1958 p. 13, "We know that the depiction of the Menorah in art was prohibited in the 1st. cent. B.C.E. and in most of the 1st. cent. C.E., and this is the reason why the Menorah was not used again as a coin emblem". This statement is presumably based on T. B. *Menahoth* 28b—no source is given—also found in *Rosh Ha-Shanah* 24a and *'Avodah Zarah* 43a. *אלא יעשה אדם בית תבנית והיכל, אכסדרא כגד' לא יעשה אדם, חצר כגד' נוראה, שלוחן כגד' שלוחן מורה כגד' מורה אבל עשוה הוא של ה' ושל י' ושל ח' אבל של ט' ולא יעשה.*

From the above it is quite clear that it is precise, three-dimensional copies only that were forbidden.

⁷⁸ The candelabrum was 18 *tefahim* (= T) high (note 44). The one on the Arch of Titus is approx. 2/9ths higher (the lower part being about 1/5th bigger than the upper part, whereas the Talmud describes them as being in a ratio of 8 (bottom): 10 (top) note 47) therefore 22T. One must add 1½T which is about the size of the *ת'ת'ת'*. The total is now 23½T, or about 71½ inches. But as the men carrying it are over 1½ times as tall as the candelabrum, they would have to be over 7 ft. each, which seems rather unlikely.

The table represented on the Arch of Titus is in itself very problematic, and cannot be cited as a means of size-comparison with the candelabrum. (The *tefah* (handbreadth) here could scarcely be less than about 3 inches. See *The Ancient Cubit etc.*, CHARLES WARREN, London 1903, p. 120.)

⁷⁹ Josephus, *War.* 7, 5, 7.

⁸⁰ See note 9.

⁸¹ T. B. *Yoma* 39b, *Rosh Ha-Shanah* 31b, T. J. *Yoma* 6, 3.

⁸² T. B. *Shabbath* 15a, *'Avodah Zarah* 8b, *Sanhedrin* 41a, T. J. *Sanhedrin* 1, 1, 7, 2.

⁸³ T. J. loc. cit., ZEEV YA'AVETZ, *Toledoth Yisra'el* (Jerusalem, 1928-5688, 5, p. 82. YEHUDAH GREENWALD, *LeToledoth Ha-Sanhedrin Beyisra'el* (N.Y.)