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The Ephod.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

THE popular notion of the Hebrew *ēphōdh* is that of a long flowing garment, and is drawn in part, no doubt, from the description in Ex. 28 and 39, but also very largely from pictorial Bibles, representing a high priest in a long robe, and from sacred prints of little Samuel in a neat white tunic not unlike the surplice of a modern choir boy.

Learned commentators have set forth many widely divergent views concerning the ephod, which fall roughly into two classes. The first class presents a view, based upon Ex. 28 and 39, that the ephod was a garment, and never anything else.¹ This is the opinion of all the old commentators. St. Jerome, *Ep. ad Marcellam*, writes: "There were two kinds of ephods: one, used solely by the high priest, which is the kind now generally referred to; the other, of linen, used by minor priests and worn also by the Levites and even by laymen, when engaged in a sacred rite."

The same view is emphatically stated by Thenius.² The ephod is nowhere (not even in Hos. 3¹) anything else than a shoulder garment, as is shown also by the fact that all the Versions, in all passages where the word occurs (with the single exception of the unimportant Arabic translation of Jud. 8²⁷), either put the name itself, or garment, mantle and the like.

¹ This view is advanced by ancient writers such as Josephus and Jerome, in the Middle Ages by Rashi, and since then by Bertheau, Braunius, Cassell, Dillmann, Duff, Gesenius-Buhl, Keil, Köhler, König, Lotz, Maimonides, McClintock and Strong, Meyer, Riehm, J. Robertson, Thenius, and Zeller.

² "Die Bücher Samuels" (in the *Kgf. exeg. Handb.*), 2d ed., Leipzig, 1864, new ed. by Löhr.

An English view to the same effect is given in a recent book³ by Professor Robertson, of Glasgow; speaking of Gideon's ephod, he says: "Whatever was made, was a thing of magnificence, and implied costly surroundings; but it is not, by all this, proved that ephod means an image. It may have been merely a coat of extraordinary magnificence, so heavy that it could stand alone, as we say; it may have been placed upon an image; but it was an ephod, and an ephod, so far as the usage of the language tells us, was a coat or covering."

The second class of views concerning the ephod would make it in some places an image and in others a garment.⁴ The citations are given somewhat at length because they are the most authoritative and recent critical opinions.

Benzinger says⁵ that Yahweh was very commonly represented by a bull, but almost more frequently the idol was what is called an *ephod*. It appears as the proper object of worship in the celebrated sanctuaries of Dan (Jud. 17 and 18), Ophra (Jud. 8²⁷), Nob (1 Sa. 21¹⁰ 23⁶). Of course it represented Yahweh. About its form we know nothing. From the name *ephod* 'covering, garment,' it may be concluded that it had a kernel of wood, clay, or cheap metal, and over it a mantle of gold or silver, often of great value. Its special significance lies in this, that it was inseparably connected with the sacred lot. The management of the ephod was, therefore, the affair of the priest; at any rate the ephod needed a servant and, as a rule, a house also. It was the means whereby one inquired of God. It is remarkable that the official garment of the priests is likewise called *ephod*—more exactly *ephodh badh*, the 'linen ephod,' 1 Sa. 2¹⁸ and elsewhere, to distinguish it from the former. It is not a bad idea of Smend's that perhaps the image was originally clothed in an *ephodh badh*; cf. the custom among the old Arabs of putting on garments and swords (Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III. 99).⁶ The expression *ndsé éphódh*, as the name of the priest, which was afterwards referred to the linen coat,

³ *Early Religion of Israel*, Edin. and London, 1892, p. 231.

⁴ Various modified, this view is advanced by Alison, Benzinger, Budde, De Witte, Driver, Eichhorn, Gesenius, Gramberg, Hengstenberg, Kautzsch, Kittel, Kuenen, Marti, Maybaum, J. D. Michaelis, Montefiore, Moore, Nowack, Reuss, H. Schultz, Smend, W. R. Smith, Stade, Studer, Vatke, and Wellhausen. Duhm thinks a 'mask,' Sellin a 'quiver'; cf. below, p. 4.

⁵ *Hebräische Archäologie*, 1894, p. 382 f.

⁶ Wellhausen, *l.c.*, says it is not necessary to suppose that garments and swords were put on images; they may have been put on stones or trees.

meant originally nothing else than the bearer of the image (1 Sa. 14³, LXX).⁷

Professor Moore, of Harvard, in his *Commentary on Judges*, New York, 1895, p. 379, has the following: "Gideon's ephod . . . was clearly an idol of some kind," adding in a footnote, "It would be more exact to say, an *agalma*; in using the word *idol* here and below, I do not wish to be understood to assume that it was iconic. All that can with certainty be gathered from them [the passages where *ephod* occurs in Judges and Samuel] is that it was a portable object which was employed or manipulated by the priest in consulting the oracle. In the Priests' Law-book, the *ephod* is a part of the ceremonial dress of the high priest, to which the oracle-pouch containing Urim and Thummim is attached; but, while it is probable that the oracle of the high priest is a survival of the ancient priestly oracle by the *ephod*, it is impossible to explain the references to the *ephod* in Judges and Samuel by the descriptions in P." More recently,⁸ Moore sug-

⁷ It may be as well to introduce here some consideration of the *ephodh badh*, which, in the above extract, is supposed to mean 'linen ephod.' The word בר, 'linen,' has no etymology, although it has been proposed to regard it as an error for בר, connected with *kad*, the Sumerian prototype of the Assyrian *kitu*, which may have meant 'linen.' The most serious objection to the rendering 'linen,' however, is found in Ex. 39²⁸ (see below, p. 11), where it is stated that the מכנסי' בר, supposed to mean 'linen breeches,' were made of שש, a material which may mean 'muslin' or 'linen.' The LXX omits בר, though Theodotion restores it transliterated, thus showing that the word was not understood. The Targum rendering is the same as that of our English versions. It seems clear that בר did not mean the material of the garment, and was misunderstood by the time the Versions were made. Professor Haupt has suggested that the אפוד בר is equivalent to *περίζωμα μοριου, subligaculum membri*; בר, a 'member' of the body, as in Job 18^{13b}, is identical with בר, a 'part,' cf. *pars (virilis)*. In Ex. 25^{13a}. 1 Ki. 8⁷ Num. 4⁶, פדים means 'poles' (Latin *asser*) just as *φαλλός* may be connected with *pálus*. The *φαλλός* was originally a piece of fig or olive wood. The expression in Ex. 28⁴² בר מכנסי', rendered 'linen breeches,' is probably to be understood as a 'covering of the nakedness,' i.e. 'kilts' (see Note A). The two phrases which follow, viz. : לכסות בשר קרוה 'to cover the flesh of nakedness,' and ממתנים יעד ירבים יהי 'they shall reach from the loins even to the thighs,' seem to be explanatory glosses. Josephus, *Antiquities*, iii. 7. 1, calls it the *διάζωμα περι τὰ αἰδοῖα*, and Philo *περίζωμα εἰς αἰδοίων σκέπην*. The *mikhñēsē badh*, if this interpretation of בר be correct, will not be 'breeches' (cf. Pesh. פרוצמא = *περίζωμα*), but like the Scotch kilt, a very short skirt such as is seen in representations on Egyptian and Babylonian monuments. (For an extended examination of the passages with בר, see Note D.) We must then understand *ephodh badh* to be *ephodh partis (virilis)*.

⁸ Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, vol. ii., New York, 1901, under "Ephod."

gests that the ephod may have been a loincloth ; but adheres to his former distinction between the *ephod-garment* and *ephod-idol*.

Professor Marti, of Berne, after discussing the Teraphim, says :⁹ "Not with the same certainty can the origin of the ephod be determined. It is certain, however, that it also signifies an image of a god. But where we now find it in the O.T. in this sense, it must be taken as an image of Yahweh (in Ophra, where Gideon sets it up, Jud. 8^{28, 27}, in Dan, Jud. 18^{18 ff.}, also before in 17^{5 ff.}, and in Nob, 1 Sa. 21^{10, 23^{6 ff.}}). It could, therefore, owe its origin only to a subsequent period. This, however, is not probable. Here also it is much easier to assume that the old custom of making images of gods, as the Teraphim at any rate testifies to, was transferred to Yahweh. Therefore we have to discuss here the sacred object called the ephod.

"The name ephod points to the fact that, earlier, these images had an overlaying of silver or gold (cf. Jud. 8²⁷ 17^{4 f.}), and that even molten images were found (cf. Ex. 32, 1 Ki. 12²⁸)."

Professor Sellin, of Vienna,¹⁰ speaking of arrows used in giving the *ibráh*, says : "Perhaps they were bound together in a bundle (cf. 1 Sa. 25²⁹), at any rate carried in or at the ephod. This must have been either a covering over the arrows, just as the bow and arrows of a warrior were put in a covering (Hab. 3⁹ Zech. 9¹³), or more probably a girdle or band on which was carried the quiver with the arrows (cf. אִרְבָּעִים), and in the course of time the name of the band came to signify the entire oracle instrument. אִרְבָּעִים never signifies an image of a god, no matter how much this is maintained as certain ; not even Jud. 8^{28 f.} (cf. König, *Hauptprobleme*, p. 62). Rather is this signification excluded by Jud. 17^{4 f.} 18^{14, 20} Hos. 3⁴ (cf. also Ez. 21²⁷) ; molten image, ephod, and teraphim are three separate things. Nor is that meaning possible in 1 Sa. 14¹⁸, for one man did not carry the image before his people ; more likely a wagon was used. On the other hand, the word in these passages, and also in 1 Sa. 23⁶ 30⁷ can as little signify the simple priestly garment, which, precisely to distinguish it from that ephod, was called *ephodh badh* (1 Sa. 2¹⁸ 22¹⁸ 2 Sa. 6¹⁴). Now *ephodh* is certainly a covering of metal or with metal woven into it (Is. 30²² Ex. 28⁸ 39³). It seems to me to follow as a certainty from 1 Sa. 14^{3, 18, 41} LXX, 30⁷, that

⁹ *Die Geschichte der israelitischen Religion*, Strassburg, 1897, pp. 29 and 101.

¹⁰ *Beiträge zur israelitischen und jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1897, II., p. 115 ff.

ephodh has this meaning, and was, therefore, either a covering over the *Urim*, or, better, a band on which the priest carried it."¹¹

Professor Kautzsch¹² explains *ephod* as 'covering,' especially the linen shoulder garment of the priest. In the *Textibibel* it is always retained wherever it signifies an image of Yahweh used for oracular purposes, overlaid with precious metal or perhaps more correctly a shoulder garment.

Professor Budde says:¹³ "It is true that *ephod* signifies also a priestly garment, but only with the addition *badh* (1 Sa. 2¹⁸; 2 Sa. 6¹⁴; 1 Chr. 15²⁷). Both significations are later combined in the ephod of the high priest in the source P, the shoulder garment into which the oracle of the *Urim* and *Thummim* was inserted. The old ephod of our passage and those referred to, must somehow have represented the Deity, and also have been, at a later time, repudiated. The gold formed the covering of a kernel of another material; but whether the word ephod is to be derived from a root signifying to *draw over, cover*, according to Is. 30²², remains very questionable."

For convenience of reference, the description of the ephod as found in the Priests' Code is here given, being condensed from Ex. 28 and 39.

Ex. 39²: "*Moses made the ephod*¹⁴ of gold, blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine twined linen. They beat the gold into thin sheets and cut it into wires, to work it in the blue, in the purple, in the scarlet, and in the fine twined linen, *the work of the skilled weaver. They made shoulder pieces for the ephod, joining together: the ephod was joined together at the two ends. The skilfully woven piece that was upon it, to gird it on with, was of the same piece and similar workmanship. And he made the ornament (breastplate), the work of the skilled weaver, like the work of the ephod. The ornament was square and double, being a span in length and breadth. They bound the ornament by its rings, to the rings of the ephod with a lacing of blue to keep it in place on the skilfully woven piece of the ephod that it might not be loosed from the ephod.*" Ex. 28³⁰: "*Thou shalt put in the ornament of judgment the Urim and Thummim that they may be upon Aaron's heart.*" Ex. 39²²: "Moses made the robe of the

¹¹ Dr. Sellin's view does not exactly fit either of the two classes.

¹² *Textibibel des Alten und Neuen Testaments*. Erklärung der Fremdwörter, s.v. "Ephod."

¹³ *Richter*, Freiburg, 1897, p. 68.

¹⁴ The italicized parts, read consecutively, will give as clear an idea of this ephod as can be gotten from such a confusing description.

ephod of woven work, all of blue, and the hole of the robe in the middle of it. They made upon the skirts of the robe pomegranates of blue, etc."

It must not be forgotten that the above account, taken from the book of Exodus, is several centuries later than the latest pre-exilic mention of the ephod; and to attempt to make it a starting-point in an investigation of the ancient ephod, would be like trying to understand Gutenberg's first attempt at printing by starting with an intricate description of the latest cylinder press. If one is constrained to question the later composition of the Priests' Code, the following investigation may help him to see that this is not an arbitrary, but rather an unavoidable, conclusion.

The graphic account which follows presents the ephod in quite as interesting if not so picturesque an aspect, and leads one to inquire what the ephod actually was.

In 2 Sa. 6¹⁴^f is the story¹⁵ of the bringing up of the Ark from the house of Obed-Edom, to the tent¹⁶ made for it at Jerusalem. David had not only succeeded Saul on the throne of Israel, but had also married his daughter Michal, 1 Sa. 18²⁷, who held a prominent position among his many wives. The procession in which the Ark was borne, moved along with pomp and ceremony. David danced before the sacred palladium with great enthusiasm, being girded with an *ephod*. All the Israelitish nation assisted in bringing up the Ark of Yahweh with shouting and the sound of trumpets. As the Ark entered the city the women lined the way. David danced with great spirit, and Michal, looking out from the palace, saw him and became exceedingly angry.

The Ark was at length placed in the tent, and David, thoroughly exhausted by the long festivity, returned to his palace to greet his family. So far overcome by her feelings that she forgot all other

¹⁵ Taken from the document J, probably not later than 850 B.C.

¹⁶ The distinctive name for the Tabernacle is מִשְׁכָּן, 'dwelling,' though it was very commonly described as אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, 'Tent of Meeting.' David evidently knew nothing of the Tabernacle of the Priests' Code, Ex. 26 and 35, but improvises a tent for the reception of the Ark. A comparison of 2 Chr. 1⁴ with 1¹⁸ shows that the 'Tent of Meeting,' אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, was at Gibeon, according to the Chronicler, but it is inconceivable that David could have known of such a divinely ordained and venerable Tent, made especially for the Ark, and then have improvised another. The consciousness of its unfitness leads David to plan the building of a temple. It may be noted, also, in connection with the above narrative, that, if our explanation of *ephod* be correct, David could not have known of Ex. 20²⁶, forbidding indecent exposure during sacred rites.

considerations, Michal went out to meet her royal spouse and said, "How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself to-day in the sight of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the shameless fellows!" David said to Michal, "I will dance¹⁷ before Yahweh! Blessed be Yahweh, who chose me in preference to thy father and all his kin, to appoint me prince over the people of Yahweh! Therefore I shall play before Yahweh. And even if I should uncover myself still more and be contemptible in thine eyes, I am sure that the girls you allude to will respect my royal dignity."¹⁸ The story closes with the statement: "And Michal the daughter of Saul never had another child." Orthodox commentators attribute the curse of barrenness to divine retribution. It is more natural, however, to suppose that David was so disgusted with Michal that he ceased visiting her, which was social death to the member of a harem. Michal's jealousy would evidently not have been aroused if the ephod had been, as is commonly supposed, a long flowing garment. It is more likely that David was divested of his clothing, as was, on certain occasions (*e.g.* 1 Sa. 19²⁴) customary among Semitic peoples [see Note B], and was girded with the ephod, as if an apron, or as Professor Haupt has suggested, a loincloth.

RÉSUMÉ. — The principal views regarding the *ephod* are as follows: (1) It was always a garment worn by a priest; (2) it was always a garment, whether on priest or idol; (3) it was a garment and also an idol; (4) it was a garment and a quiver or quiver belt. The only description given in the O.T. shows that the ephod was something depending from the shoulders to the waist, and put on over a long robe. But this entirely fails to satisfy the narrative in 2 Sa. 6.

¹⁷ The Received Text is evidently corrupt. After the words לפני יהוה the LXX has אָרְבֵּךְ וּבְרִיךְ יְהוָה. The phrase על ישראל seems like an explanatory gloss. For וְנִקְלַחְתִּי, 'I will be vile,' the LXX reads καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσομαι = וְנִגְלִיתִי, 'I will uncover myself,' thus making clear an otherwise confused statement. The Masoretic text shows signs of having been tampered with. וְנִקְלַחְתִּי is an indefinite expression not corresponding to עֵינֵי מִזְאָה. The LXX reading בעֵינֶיךָ, 'in thine eyes,' for 'in my eyes,' brings out the antithesis which lies between Michal's feeling and that of the handmaids. Driver strangely neglects the LXX on this passage; cf. *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*, Oxford, 1890, p. 210. The Hebrew text restored would then read: לפני יהוה אָרְבֵּךְ וּבְרִיךְ יהוה אשר בחר בי מאבדך ומבגל ביתי לציון אתי ענך על עם יהוה [על ישראל] ושחקתי לפני יהוה: ונעליתי עור מזאת והייתי שפל בעיניך ועם האִמְרוֹת אשר אִמְרֵת עִמָּם אֶקְבְּרָה:

¹⁸ Literally: "And I shall play before Yahweh. And I shall uncover myself more than this, and I shall become contemptible in thine eyes, but with the handmaids which you spoke of, with them, let me be honored."

- (11) 1 Sa. 21¹⁰, חרב גוליית... הנה היא לוסה בשמלה אחרי האפוד (E1), "The sword of Goliath... there it is, wrapped in a mantle, behind the ephod." LXX, *ἐπειλημένη ἦν ἐν ἱματίῳ*, Θ adds, *ὀπίσω τῆς ἐπωμίδος*.²² Σ, *εφουδ*. 'A, *ἐπενδύματος*. V, *est involutus pallio post ephod*.
- (12) 1 Sa. 22¹⁸, וקח ביום ההוא ארבעים ואיש נשא אפוד בר (J), "He killed that day eighty-five men bearing an *ephodh badh*." LXX, *πάστας ἀσπορτας εφουδ* [Alex. λινοσ]. 'A, *φέροντας ἐπένδυμα ἐξάλρετον*. V, *viros vestitos ephod lineo*.
- (13) 1 Sa. 23⁹, אפוד יד בידו, "An ephod went down in his hand." Probably a marginal gloss; cf. *SBOT*, *Samuel*, p. 70.
- (14) 1 Sa. 23⁹, ויאמר אל אבייתר הבן הנישה האפוד, " (David) said to the priest, Abiathar, Bring hither the ephod." LXX, *προσάγαγε τὸ εφουδ Κυρλου*. 'A, *ἔγγισον τὸ ἐνδυμα* (fort. *ἐπένδυμα*). V, *Applica ephod*.
- (15) 1 Sa. 30⁷, ויאמר דוד אל אבייתר... הנישה נא את האפוד ויש אבייתר, "David said to Abiathar, Please bring me the ephod; and Abiathar brought David the ephod." LXX, *προσάγαγε τὸ εφουδ*; 'A, *προσέγγισον δὴ μοι τὸ ἐπένδυμα*; Σ, *στήσον πρὸς μὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα*; V, *Applica ad me ephod*.
- (16) 2 Sa. 6¹⁴, ודוד חניו אפוד בר (J), "David was girded with an *ephodh badh*." LXX, *ἐνδεδυκὼς στολήν ἔξαλλον*; 'A, *ἐπένδυμα ἐξάλρετον*; Σ, *ὑποδύτην* (fort. *ἐπενδύτην*) λινοῦν. *Præterea Montefalconio edidit: ἄλλος εφωδ βύσειον ex 1 Paral. 15²¹, ut videtur*. V, *David erat accinctus ephod lineo*. Pesh., פרחא רבנא.
- (17) 1 Ki. 2²⁶, ובימים ההם לא אמיחה כי נשאתה את האפוד לפני דוד אבי, "I will not kill thee now, because thou hast carried the ephod before my father David." LXX, *καὶ οὐ θανατώσω σε ὅτι ἦρας τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης Κυρλου ἐνώπιον τοῦ πατρὸς μου*. V, *quia portasti arcam Domini Dei*.
- (18) Hos. 3⁴, (740 B.C.) ואת אפוד ותרפים... ישבו בני ישראל, "The Israelites shall abide without ephod and teraphim." LXX, *οὐδὲ leparelas, οὐδὲ*

²² Hieronymus, in Epist. LXIV. ad Fabiolam, 15 (*Opp.* T. I., p. 363): Sextum est vestimentum, quod Hebraica lingua dicitur EPHOD. LXX, *ἐπωμίδα*, id est superhumeralē appellat; Aq. *ἐπένδυμα*, nos *ephod* suo ponimus nomine.

²³ See above, p. 3, note 7.

²⁴ This passage is to be compared with 1 Sa. 14¹⁸, where *Aré* was evidently substituted for *ephod* after the LXX was made; see note 21, p. 9 above. In this passage the LXX represents a text: *כי נשאתה את ארון ברית יהוה*, so that if the change of אפוד to ארון took place, it was earlier than the LXX, provided the LXX has not been altered. There are two arguments for reading אפוד, apart from any desire to suppress the word ephod (for which see p. 40), and apart from its being a natural thing for a scribe to recall the bringing of the Ark to Jerusalem (2 Sa. 6), and write ארון for אפוד: (1) The expression is unsuitable, for no one person ever bore the Ark, and, on the other hand, נשא אפוד is the regular expression for the priest with the ephod; (2) the context does not suit Ark and does suit ephod, for v.²⁶ refers to the afflictions which Abiathar shared with David, which can only refer to the time when David was fleeing before Saul, and Abiathar was with him, bearing not the Ark but the ephod, as is evident from 1 Sa. 23⁹ and 30⁷.

δηλων; 'A, και ακούοντος δι' ἐνδύματος και διὰ μορφωμάτων; Σ, Θ, οὐδὲ Εφωδ, οὐδὲ Θεραφιν.²⁵ V, sine ephod et sine theraphim; O.L. neque Ephod (simulacrum) et Teraphim (penates). Pesh., וְלֹא לְבַשׁ אֶפְדֹּד, אִם בַּסָּמָי.

Two post-exilic passages are appended:

- (19) Is. 30²². . . וְיִטְמָאֲתָם אַתָּה צְמוֹי סִסְלֵי כֶסֶף וְאֵת אֶפְדֹּת מִסְכַּת זָהָב וְהִבְךָ תִּדְרֹם. . .
 "Thou shalt defile the silver plating of thy images and thy molten gold band; thou shalt scatter them." LXX, και μαρῆς [*alia exempl. και ἔξαρῆς*] τὰ εἰδῶλα τὰ περιηργυρωμένα και περιεχρυσωμένα λεπτὰ ποιήσης. V, *laminae sculptilium . . . vestimentum constatilis.*
- (20) Ex. 39^{27, 28}. . . וַיַּעֲשׂוּ יָרֵשׁוּ . . . וְאֵת מִכְנְסֵי הַבַּד שֶׁשׁ מְשֻׁרָה. . . (P), "They made the *mikhnehšé habbadh* of fine linen." LXX, και τὰ περισκελῆ [Θ, βαδ] ἐκ βύσσου κεκλωσμένης. V, *feminalia quoque linea, byssina.* The Targum Onkelos has: וַיַּעֲשׂוּ יָרֵשׁוּ . . . וְאֵת מִכְנְסֵי בִּיצָא דְּבִרְךְן שְׁדֵי; Samaritan Targum: וַיַּעֲשׂוּ יָרֵשׁוּ . . . מִלֵּת מְשֻׁרָה. עַבְאָרָה.²⁸ Pesh. has פְּרוּמָא דְּבִצָּא (*i.e. περιζώμα βύσσου*). Targum Onkelos, in Lev. 6³, gives the plural מִכְנְסֵי.

A. THE FORM OF THE EPHOD.

1. Was it a Garment?

In the following investigation, the word *ephod* will refer to that which was in use before the Exile; and the chronological order will be observed wherever conducive to practical results.

As the narrative in 2 Sa. 6¹⁴ has been already referred to,²⁹ we may begin by noting the conclusion to be drawn from it; namely, that in spite of the popular view, the ephod was not a long flowing garment. David admits that he had uncovered himself so as to justify Michal's censure, had it not been *before Yahweh*. That he could have uncovered himself still more shows that he was not nude, and suggests the idea that his brief covering answered the purpose of a loincloth. It is instructive to compare the post-exilic account of this event, in 1 Chr. 15, and note that the scribe thought it indecorous. Hence he "clothed" David with a "long linen robe,"³⁰ omitted חֲגוֹר

²⁵ Hieronymus, XXIX. ad Marcellam: In Osee . . . pro sacerdotio et manifestationibus, in Hebraeo est, sine Ephod et sine Teraphim; sicut Theod. et Sym. transtulerunt.

²⁶ וְיִטְמָאֲתָם, instead of וְיִטְמָאֲתָם, with the LXX, and in harmony with כֶּסֶף וְהִבְךָ. For an extended consideration of this passage, see below, p. 16 f.

²⁷ Cf. Merx, *Chrestom. Targum.* p. 214: numquam a brevi instruendum.

²⁸ Kohn, *Samar. Studien*, Breslau, 1868, p. 59, commenting on עַבְאָרָה (in Ex. 30²⁴) says: Der Übersetzer hat בַּד offenbar gleich dem arab. *bdā*, "weiss sein" genommen.

²⁹ See above, p. 6 f.

³⁰ 1 Chr. 15²⁷, חֲגוֹר בְּמִטְיָל בְּמִטְיָל may be an intentional alteration of מִטְיָל דְּהָאֶפְדֹּד, Ex. 28³¹.

'girded' in connection with the ephod, and, apparently to justify Michal's contempt, substituted for מְכַרְכֵּר 'dancing,' the word מִשְׁחֵק 'playing,' which is as equivocal⁸¹ in Hebrew as in English. The episode with Michal is omitted.

But the expression in 2 Sa. 6¹⁴, "girded with an *ephodh badh*," does not imply a garment. David does not *wear* it, it is hung about his loins by a girdle. In the same way a sword is girded upon the loins. The original meaning of חָגַר, as of Arab. *ḥaḡara*, is 'surround, enclose,' etc.; hence 'bind on,' and also 'prevent access to'; whence חֲגוּרָה 'a girdle,' corresponding to *ḥiḡur*, 'enclosure, lap.' Now חֲגוּרָה⁸² is the word used in Gen. 3⁷ for the fig-leaf covering made by Adam and Eve, "they made themselves aprons," וַיַּעֲשׂוּ לָהֶם חֲגוּרֹת. The margin of the A.V. calls it "a thing to gird on." The meaning is evidently a loincloth. The Fr. *giron* has the meaning 'lap' and also a heraldic design of triangular shape, like a primitive loincloth.⁸³ But the point is that חָגַר 'gird' does not imply a garment, but a girding, which is associated with the waist and loins.

In fact, the ephod was not a garment at all. By a garment is meant something that is worn as clothing; a towel, *e.g.*, is not a garment, though a waiter may carry it on his arm; nor is a crown, although it is said to be worn. By referring to the passages bearing on the ephod, it will be seen that twice the ephod is associated with *teraphim*, which proves nothing. Gideon's ephod is "put" in his city Ophra. The ephod at Nob was on the wall, or floor, with Goliath's sword wrapped in a mantle "behind" it. When Abiathar flees to join David, he takes the Nob ephod "in his hand." Three times the ephod is "brought" to a person to be used in divination. These passages would surely not suggest a garment. But there are three other passages, where one might point to the English versions as showing conclusively that a garment was meant, for in each case the translation is "wearing an ephod." The

⁸¹ Cf. the older form צָחַק in Gen. 26⁸. Professor Haupt has kindly pointed out that Arab. *ba'ala* III. means both *lā'aba* and *jāma'a*; *ba'ala* is a denominative verb derived from *bā'l*, 'husband'; cf. *waīḡe* = *δχευε* in note 12 of Haupt's paper on "Ecclesiastes" in the *Philadelphia Oriental Studies*, p. 265; cf. also the use of *ludere* in Hor. *Ep.* 2, 2, 214; and "play" in Milton, *P. L.* 9, 1045.

⁸² For other instances of the use of חָגַר see Ex. 12¹¹ Jud. 3¹⁶ 1 Ki. 20⁸² 2 Ki. 4²⁹ 9¹ Prov. 31¹⁷ Is. 32¹¹ Ez. 23¹⁵ etc.

⁸³ For a photograph of such a loincloth, see *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn*, Hyades et Deniker (Tome VII.), pl. xii., Paris, 1891. See also p. 42 below, fig. 2.

verb that is translated "wearing" is נשא 'bear'; the Greek and Latin have αἴρω and *portare*. But there are no instances in classical literature of αἴρω or *portare* by themselves, meaning to wear as a garment; and נשא, one of the commonest verbs in the O.T., used perhaps a thousand times, never has the meaning 'wear,' except it be made for these three places, as in the English versions. In one of these places, 1 Sa. 22¹⁸, St. Jerome, influenced, it may be, by the word כר, supposed to mean 'linen,'³⁴ translates *vestitos ephod lineo*, but there is no reason for it, since the Hebrew and Greek are the same. Now it is true that the *Century Dictionary* says that one meaning of wear is 'carry'; as, e.g., country people will advise a person to wear a potato in the pocket to keep off rheumatism; but the converse does not follow; carry never means 'wear.' These mistranslations of נשא by the English "wear" in the familiar phrase "wearing an ephod," together with the anachronism of the Priests' Code, are accountable for the notion that the ephod is essentially a garment.³⁵

2. Was the Ephod an Idol?

We have now to examine the passages in Judges, 1 Sa. 21⁹, and Is. 30²², where almost all critical commentators have felt constrained to suppose that an idol, image, agalma, or the like, is meant. A notable exception is Professor Wilhelm Lotz, of Erlangen, whose admirable article³⁶ on the ephod is apparently unknown to recent writers. It is, of course, an easy way of escaping a difficulty to say, here the ephod is an idol and here it is a garment, but it is unscientific. The feeling that it was a makeshift has given rise to many curious conjectures, to show, if possible, some connection between the idol and the garment; and so the theory has been evolved that the ephod is the *covering* of the wooden core of an idol, and hence a covering, *i.e.* a garment. Or, working in the other direction, it has been thought that the ephod was a priestly garment *on an idol*, and then identified with the idol. Some have grasped eagerly at

³⁴ Cf. note 7 on p. 3 above.

³⁵ In German the verb *tragen* may translate both נשא 'bear' and לבש 'wear.' This fact has added to the confusion, since by the expression *Ephodträger* no distinction is made between 'ephod-wearer' and 'ephod-bearer.' Since writing the above I have noticed that Professor Moore observes that נשא does not mean 'wear'; cf. the *Internat. Com.* on *Judges*, 1895, p. 381, note.

³⁶ See *Realencyklopädie für prot. Theologie u. Kirche*, third edition, vol. v, Leipzig, 1898, under "Ephod."

the apparent distinction between *ephodh* and *ephodh badh*, making the former an idol and the latter a garment, thus throwing the difficulty of unifying the two back upon the Hebrews themselves. But the distinction does not hold good. Others, not finding any distinction in the Masoretic text, wish to make one, and, as Wellhausen, propose to point אִפֹּד when it means an idol!³⁷ But it must first be determined when an idol is meant. If the LXX is any criterion when transliterations are used, Gideon's and Micah's ephod would be אִפֹּד, represented by εφωδ, and the other places אִפֹּד, represented by εφωδδ. But those who understand an idol always take it so of the ephod at Nob, where the Greek has *shoulder piece*; and so the distinction is merely due to different translators pointing an unknown word, sometimes אִפֹּד and sometimes אִפֹּד. In fact, they are all forced explanations, arising from giving undue weight to minor details, and neglecting the fundamental principle that a thing is what it is used for; and also the ethnological axiom that "all worships that contain heathenish elements are traditional, and nothing is more foreign to them than the introduction of forms for which there is no precedent of usage."³⁸ If the ephod is an article of clothing, then it is a garment and is worn; if it is to represent a deity, then it is an idol and is worshipped; but if, being neither of these, it is connected with sacred lots, then it is a means of consulting an oracle and is divined with. It is hard to discard the notion of the garment-ephod, but it is based solely on mistranslations arising from preconceived ideas, and the same is the case with the notion that the ephod was an idol. The expressions upon which the idea of the idol-ephod is based are the following from Jud. 8²⁷, וַיַּעַשׂ אִפֹּד אוֹתוֹ נֶדְעוֹן לְאִפֹּד, "Gideon made an ephod of it" (cf. above p. 8, No. 1). This cannot be forced to mean that all the gold went into the ephod—אִפֹּד refers as much to the purple raiment as to the gold ornaments—probably but a small fraction became the material of the ephod (if, indeed, any of it did!), as this very condensed statement seems to cover much more than is expressed; for instance, the cost of making, the cost of the shrine, etc., וַיִּצַּג אִפֹּדוֹ בְּעֹפְרָה, "and put it in his city Ophra." This verb is usually translated 'set up,' as though it had no other meaning; but it also signifies 'put' or 'place,' as in Jud. 6³⁷ Gideon says, "Behold," אֲנִי מַצִּיב, "I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing floor." This

³⁷ See *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1883, p. 95.

³⁸ Robertson Smith, *O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 1881, p. 228.

verb may mean simply to 'leave' somewhere, as in Gen. 33¹⁵, אָצִינָה נָא "Let me now leave some of the people with thee." One might as pertinently argue that the Ark was an idol, because 2 Sa. 6¹⁷ reads וַיִּצְנֵנוּ אֹתוֹ, as to force the expression in the case of the ephod.³⁹ וַיִּזְנוּ כָל יִשְׂרָאֵל אַחֲרָיו שָׁם, "all Israel went astray after it there." Without this comment, it is unlikely that the notion of an idol-ephod would ever have been evolved. The verb *zanáh*, in this use, occurs eighteen times, and is usually followed by "after" strange gods, gods of the heathen, or idols, also "from" the true God. But the phrase can also be used of seeking "after a man," and "unto those having familiar spirits," Lev. 20^{5f}, and even "after whatever pleases the eyes," Nu. 15³⁹. This expression,⁴⁰ then, does not always mean an idol, and hence it cannot be pressed in this particular instance, to imply an idol. On the contrary, one might argue that Jud. 8³⁸ was conclusive evidence that in verse 27 it means something different, for "as soon as Gideon was dead," the Israelites again went astray after Baalim, implying that when he was alive he had kept them from idolatry. But why may not the phrase וְזָנָה אַחֲרָיו refer to a lot-oracle, as may also be the case in Hos. 4¹² (cf. below, p. 36)? This phrase, however, probably represents a later editorial comment; the original narrative, it is agreed, had no criticism to make on Gideon's ephod.⁴¹ But a narrative that has been added to is likely to be inconsistent. Professor Moore, of Harvard, has suggested as possible that *ephod* has supplanted a word like *elohim*. If so, it is easy to account for the condemnatory comment, but it is hard to see how *ephod* could have been substituted and the comment allowed to stand, in an age when the ephod was unquestionably revered. But the point is that the phrase in question *does not prove an idol*, but may only refer to a popular craze for some unapproved use of divination.

Again, if we pass to Jud. 17 and 18, Micah makes an ephod and teraphim. There seems to be a double strand in the narrative, one

³⁹ Professor Moore, in *International Com. Judges*, 1895, p. 379, renders 'set up,' and makes it a proof along with the next phrase, that the ephod was "clearly an idol of some kind." He concludes that this verse, Jud. 8²⁷, "imperatively requires this interpretation."

⁴⁰ For an extended examination of the phrase *sāndh axrē*, see my paper in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxii., pp. 64-69.

⁴¹ In *Chronicon Hebr.*, 1699, p. 407, אַחֲרָיו in this passage is interpreted to mean *after him*, i.e. *after Gideon's death*; when the Israelites took the *amiculum* and used it in idolatry.

part of which tells of the making of a **פסל ומסכה**, "a graven and a molten image," and commentators have tried to establish a parallel between them and the ephod and teraphim of the other strand of the narrative. Moore, however, ingeniously eliminates the **מסכה**,⁴² showing that the apparent parallel gives no ground for thinking Micah's ephod an image. Canon Driver is certainly right in styling Micah's ephod and teraphim "instruments of divination."⁴³

Again, in 1 Sa. 21¹⁰, where it is said that the sword of Goliath was wrapped in a mantle "behind the ephod," it is commonly held to mean that the ephod must have stood free from the wall in order to have the sword behind it, thus suggesting an idol; but, as Lotz points out (cf. above, p. 13), it is much more likely that the sword was a trophy or votive offering, *eine Art Weihgeschenk*, and was hanging from some large peg, upon which, when not in use, the ephod also was hung. He concludes: To decide from this passage that the ephod is a statue standing clear of the wall, an image of Yahweh, is incorrect.

Finally, there are other commentators and scholars from Michaelis and Vatke, who is very sure, to Duhm, Smend, Gesenius-Buhl, Marti, and Budde, who considers it "very questionable," who hold a theory that the ephod was a 'covering, garment,' or 'mask' of an idol and so practically identified with it. The theory that **אפר** meant originally 'to cover' is based on Is. 30²² (cf. above, p. 11, No. 19), which remains to be considered. It reads as follows: **וּטְמַאֲרֵת אֶת צַפְיֵי וְנִפְסַלְתָּ אֶת הַכֶּסֶף וְאֶת הַזָּהָב וְאֶת הַמַּסְכֵּה וְאֶת הַתְּרָמִים וְנִפְסַלְתָּ אֶת הַכֶּסֶף וְאֶת הַזָּהָב וְאֶת הַמַּסְכֵּה וְאֶת הַתְּרָמִים**, "Thou shalt defile the silver plating of thy images and thy molten gold band; thou shalt scatter them," etc. Comparing the Greek and Latin versions, it will be seen that the Latin is simply Hebrew in Latin words with an epexegetical rendering of **אפר** by *vestimentum*. The Greek, however, is a translation, treating the Hebrew idiom in the first half as an instance of synecdoche. It can hardly be regarded otherwise than as a rhetorical figure, where the silver plating and the molten gold band of the **פסילים** are put for the images themselves. To think with Duhm, that the writer is making a special point of the outward decoration of the images, is to overlook the evident condemnation of *idols*, not merely their adorning. Cast away the **צפוי** and you still have the **פסל**. It seems unlikely that **מסכת** is parallel with **פסילי**, for one would surely expect

⁴² See *Internat. Com. Judges*, 1895, p. 375 f.

⁴³ See *LOT.*, 7th ed., 1898, p. 168.

and so the English versions have tacitly rendered it. But the chief difficulty is that *מִסְכַּת* never means 'molten image,' when, as here, it is a genitive. It means a 'casting,' and as a genitive it means that the *nomen regens* is not carved, nor beaten, but cast. *אִפְדָּה* is the regular feminine of *אָפַד*, and *אִפְדַת מִסְכָּה* means a 'cast band,' just as *עֵגֶל מִסְכָּה* is a 'cast calf,' and *אֱלֹהֵי מִסְכָּה* 'cast gods.' The parallelism is between *צַפּוּי* and *אִפְדַת*, the 'ornaments' of the *פְּסִילִים*; and there is no rule that requires parallel expressions to be synonyms in more than one sense. The two things are ornaments; it is not necessary that they should both be coverings, nor of the same material. But the *צַפּוּי* was not a covering like a garment, but apparently a decoration of an image made with silver leaf, — something to make it shine. The *aphuddah*⁴⁴ was like it inasmuch as it was an ornament, a gold band, whether as a loincloth or belt it is impossible to say; perhaps it was the ancient ephod. Hence there is nothing here on which to base a theory that the ephod was an idol.

These, then, are the passages that are claimed for an idol-ephod, and all of them, as has been shown, are patient of a quite different interpretation. It is possible to grant that they may be understood of an idol, if this fact were assured beforehand; but to ground a theory on them that is inconsistent with passages better understood, is unscientific.

But if the ephod was not an idol, neither was it a gold covering of a wooden core. This distinction belongs more to craftsmen than to critics; for what worshipper in gazing at such an idol (for idol it would be) could distinguish between the inner core and the outer covering? There is no doubt that wooden kernels were overlaid with gold and silver, as in Baruch 6³⁹, but they were idols not ephods. Etymologically nothing is gained, for the denominative from ephod is not 'to cover' but 'to bind.' Another theory has been advanced by Duhm,⁴⁵ that the ephod was the mask of the idol, which was worn by the priest in consulting the oracle. But the girding of the ephod

⁴⁴ The derived meaning of *אִפְדָּה*, 'binding,' from *אָפַד* (see below, p. 45), is confirmed by the lateness of this verse, which, by Duhm (cf. Marti), is placed as late even as the second century B.C. It is apparently a misplaced verse, as it does not accord with the context, which is improved in point of coherency by omitting it. Perhaps it belongs after Is. 31⁶, where it harmonizes with the context. The interpolation of passages referring to idols is not uncommon in Isaiah, as Professor Haupt has pointed out in his reconstruction of Is. 40; see Drugulin's *Marksteine*, Leipzig, 1902; cf. Is. 40¹⁹, 20 41⁶, 7 44⁹⁻²⁰ 46⁶⁻⁸.

⁴⁵ *Das Buch Jesaia*, 1892, on 30²².

was not over the eyes, but about the loins (cf. above, p. 12). Again, to escape the idol-ephod, if possible, the theory has been advanced, most recently by Marti, that the ephod was a gold or cloth garment hung upon an idol. That this was customary among the Hebrews is not clear, but for other Semitic peoples, see Baruch 6³³. Granting the fact, however, how can it be shown that the garment was the chief, and the idol the inferior, object in the cult? If people were led into idolatry by an idol with a garment on it, it certainly was not due to the garment! This theory starts with the idea that the ephod was a garment. It is consistent, but the starting-point is wrong. The ephod is an instrument of divination.

B. THE USE OF THE EPHOD.

Important as is the light thrown upon an unknown object by its context and environment, it is altogether inferior to that which comes from a knowledge of its use. In about half the passages cited for the ephod there is nothing to suggest a use. To say that the ephod had always a religious significance is not to point out a use. To say that "bearing an ephod" is almost synonymous with priest is true, but it does not tell what the ephod was for. It does, however, enable us to draw a reasonable inference, that, as one of the chief duties, if not the foremost duty, of a priest⁴⁶ in the time of the Judges was to obtain divine oracles, so the ephod, his constant companion, was used in divination. Some travelling Danites (Jud. 18⁵⁻¹⁴) learn that Micah has an ephod and teraphim, and immediately desire to *consult the oracle*. On a subsequent migration, they carry off for their own use, priest, ephod, and teraphim. David, during his flight from Saul, is accompanied by the priest Abiathar; and on two occasions, 1 Sa. 23⁹ 30⁷, it is recorded that he said to the priest הַגִּישָׁה הָאֶפֹּדִים, "Bring me the ephod."⁴⁷ Abiathar brought the ephod, and David

⁴⁶ In ancient Israel, religious functions were not restricted to a special order of men (cf. below, p. 41, n. 103), but every man was free to offer sacrifice or obtain oracles by the use of lots. Later the oracular function was restricted to a particular order, and ephod-bearer became synonymous with priest. The Hebrew כֹּהֵן, *priest*, is the Arabic *kāhin*, 'foreteller.' Later still the function of sacrifice was taken over to the priests, and the oracular function, at least in theory, was restricted to the high priest. For a similar change among the Incas of Peru, see Réville, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1884, p. 230 f.

⁴⁷ Bertheau, *Das Buch der Richter und Ruth*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 163, says: "The demand of David, 'Bring the ephod,' means the same as 'Consult Yahweh.' But it is David who consults Yahweh. The words are plain enough, and there

inquired of Yahweh. In both instances the answer David receives is what one might get by drawing lots. In addition to these passages, there is a similar one in 1 Sa. 14¹⁸, which will be considered later, where Saul says to the priest Ahijah, "Bring the ephod," and apparently consults the oracle as David did. Now three such indisputable instances, where the action has every appearance of being quite customary, seem to establish the point that the ephod is directly connected with divination. Of course, it is understood that there is nothing in any other passage bearing on the ephod to oppose this conclusion. One other passage may be noted in this connection. In 1 Sa. 28¹⁴, where Samuel's spirit is brought up to be consulted by Saul, as in his lifetime, he comes up, according to a variant of the LXX,⁴⁸ with an ephod about him.

To discover what purpose the ephod served in divination, some consideration must be given to that subject. By divination is meant, foretelling events by means that are directly influenced by supernatural power. Among the ancients, the means used were legion; but among the Hebrews hardly more than three kinds were practised, — divination by clairvoyance, by dreams, and by lot. The first was the office of the seer; the last, at least in the early days, that of the priest. For the purposes of this investigation, it is necessary to consider only divination by lot.⁴⁹ The point to be determined is how the ephod was used in divining by lot. In the performance of this function, only two things, apparently, were indispensable: the sacred lots and some receptacle in which they were placed. The ephod may have been such a receptacle. Its association with *גִּירָה* 'gird' suggests an apron from which the lots were cast, or a bag or pouch girded about the loins. To determine which of these the ephod was, it is necessary to know how lots were used.

is no suggestion of technical language. The expression is verbally varied in 30⁷, where *ל* shows that David wanted the ephod to use. If Abiathar had carried David's mouchoir (in modern Hebrew *סִדְרִי* = *sudarium*), he might have asked for it in the same way (cf. 2 Ki. 4⁶), with the addition of the suffix of the first person."

⁴⁸ The reading of this variant, of uncertain origin, is *ἀνὴρ πρεσβύτερος ἀναβαλὼν, καὶ αὐτὸς περιβεβλημένος ἐφουδ*. But even supposing the Hebrew *עֹטָה אֶפְדָּיִת* instead of *עֹטָה*, the verb *עָטָה*, which is never used with *אֶפְדָּיִת*, would go far to condemn the reading.

⁴⁹ The expression *divination by lot* is used without regard to the nature of the lot, and therefore includes arrows and rods, but does not include dice, which were not used as sacred lots (cf. below, p. 25).

1. *The Connection of the Ephod with Divination.*

It has been noted that there was not among the Hebrews that diversity in the methods of divination that obtained among the Greeks and Romans and also other Semitic peoples.⁵⁰ Apart from the office of the seer, and ambiguous allusions to the rod and to teraphim, the method was always casting lots. There is no doubt that in early times as well as much later, the Hebrews constantly sought the will of God by lots. In order to use such means, it is necessary to have some receptacle in which the lots are placed. From the passages already examined, it has been inferred that the ephod, whether of gold or cloth, was such a receptacle. It could be carried about by the priest or girded upon the loins for use.

The fact that the ephod was girded upon the loins seems to indicate that both hands must be free to use it, and suggests the idea that lots were drawn out of it. An examination has been made of all the statements in regard to the use of lots, to determine whether they were drawn or cast; for this point is essential in forming an idea of the shape of the ephod. There is, in fact, but one passage which gives any hint as to *how* the ephod was used — 1 Sa. 14¹⁸⁻²⁰, which may be assigned to a time prior to 800 B.C. and may be a contemporary account. The text is corrupt, but can be restored from the Versions (cf. above, p. 9). The previous narrative tells how Jonathan and his armor-bearer had put the Philistines to rout, causing a great tumult which was noticed by Saul's watchmen at Gibeah of Benjamin. Saul at once assembled the people, and found that Jonathan and his armor-bearer were missing. Thereupon he said to the priest Ahijah, "Bring the ephod." While Saul was speaking with the priest, the tumult in the Philistine camp burst out anew and grew louder and louder. At this point there is a break in the narrative, and a blank space in the text (פסקא באמצע פסק) ⁵¹ — possibly indicating a lacuna — then Saul said to the priest, "Take

⁵⁰ See Haupt's "Babylonian Elements in the Levitical Ritual," in vol. xix of JBL., p. 56.

⁵¹ This Masoretic note, of course, means only that there was a break in the middle of the verse, caused by a defect in the surface written on, or quite possibly by illegibility of writing or an erasure, in the archetype from which all subsequent copies of the O.T. are derived (cf. W. R. Smith, *O.T. in Jew. Church*, 2d ed., p. 56; Lagarde, *Mittheil.*, I., 19 ff., cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 3, c.). It is the lack of connection with what follows that suggests a lacuna. One would expect the priests' answer in the negative, which Saul characteristically refused to accept.

out thy hands."⁶² Thereupon Saul called out⁶³ to attack; the people with him took up the shout and they came to the battle. The interest in the narrative for this investigation centres in the words of Saul to the priest, "Take away" or "withdraw thy hand," or "hands," if we adopt the plural of the Greek; the Hebrew may be read either way. These words, as a rule, are interpreted to mean that Saul, naturally impatient, told the priest to cease consulting the oracle. Thenius, for instance, says, "'Withdraw thy hand,' *i.e.* let it be; we will not draw lots." That this exegesis is not satisfactory is shown by the emphasis which commentators place upon Saul's natural impatience. He would not wait for Samuel on one occasion; but his impatience on this occasion was not so much due to temperament as to the bleating of the sheep! On the other hand, Saul was like the men of Athens, in all things too superstitious to take any step without using divination, and when by ordinary means he could obtain no favorable answer, he must have recourse to witchcraft. Other commentators, again, explain the passage by an inference drawn from it in this way: if Saul did not wait to consult the oracle, it must have been very complicated and long, says Benzinger;⁶⁴ another commentator quotes Benzinger to the effect that the consultation of the ephod was a long process, and this is the reason Saul did not wait. But if the ephod was not a magical affair, as almost all the modern commentators vaguely imply, but merely an apron from which the lots were cast, or a pouch into which the priest put his hands and drew the lots, the simplest explanation is that Saul was in a hurry to attack the Philistines, and said to the priest, "Take thy hands out," in order that he might know the decision of the oracle. In regard to the answer given by the lot-oracle, it is possible that in 1 Sa. 28⁶ we should translate לֹא עָנָהּ "did not give a favorable answer," instead of "answered him not." The verse will then read, "When Saul inquired of Yahweh, Yahweh did not give him

⁶² אָמַף יָדָי; LXX, *Συράγαγε τὰς χεῖρας σου*. יָדָי is probably written defective for יָדָי, as רַבְבָּךְ, 'thy ways,' for רַבְבֶּךָ, in Ex. 33¹⁸ Jos. 1⁸ Ps. 119⁸⁷; also יָדָי for יָדָי in Ps. 134²; cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 91, *h*. אָמַף, 'withdraw,' though the ordinary meaning is 'gather'; it is used of Jacob 'drawing' his feet into bed, and also being 'taken' to his people, Gen. 49²⁸; it has the meaning 'to take away' in Is. 16¹⁰ 57¹ 60²¹ Jer. 48²⁸ Hos. 4⁸ Joel 2¹⁰ 3¹⁵.

⁶³ יִצְעַק may be read יִצְעַק with V, *conclamavit*, and frequently LXX, *ἐβόησε*.

⁶⁴ *Heb. Archäologie*, p. 408. But he continues quite rightly: "if one had to exclude by a series of questions the different possibilities, as this is very clearly represented in 1 Sa. 10²⁰ *α*." It was, however, a simple matter when but one question was put.

a favorable answer,⁵⁵ either by dreams, or by Urim, or by Prophets." It is evident that Saul tried one method of divination and then another, and finally resorted to witchcraft. It seems impossible that the use of the sacred lots should give no answer at all, though tradition probably allowed but one use of them in a single inquiry. In the present case, Saul presumably received a favorable answer. This seems a satisfactory glimpse of the ephod in use, and the conclusion drawn from it would be that the ephod was a receptacle into which the hands are put to draw the lots.

But as lots are almost always spoken of as cast, the question arises whether in antiquity the custom of *drawing* lots ever obtained. There are ten verbs in Hebrew which are used in connection with lots in the O.T. They are: **יצא**, **העלה**, **עלה**, **נתן**, **הטיל**, **הפיל**, **נפל**, **השליך**, **נפל**, **ירד**, and **ירה**. Seven of them mean 'to cast, throw, let fall'; while three signify 'to come up' and 'out,' as from a shaken receptacle. These verbs seem to show that among the ancient Hebrews, at least, lots were not drawn, but cast. Among the Romans, also, the common expression is "to cast lots." Cicero, however, mentions, as if nothing unusual, that the oracular lots in the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste were mingled and drawn by a child. *Quid igitur in his [sortibus] potest esse certi, quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur.*⁵⁶ On the other hand, in the *Iliad*, III. 316 ff., we read that Hector shakes the lots in a helmet with an up and down motion,⁵⁷ with averted face to prevent any suspicion of partiality, and the lot of Paris quickly leaped forth.⁵⁸ In the same way the ephod, if it were originally a loincloth as has been suggested (cf. above, p. 7), would furnish a lap from which the lots could be cast. That the shaking of the lap was to some extent a familiar action, is seen from Neh. 5¹³, "I shook out my lap, saying, so God shake out every man from his house." But in Prov. 16³³ we read :

⁵⁵ Professor Haupt has shown, in *BEJR.*, note 47 (see *JBL.*, 1900, I.), that **ענה**, when indicating the answer to an oracle, technically means the *favorable* answer.

⁵⁶ *De Divinatione*, II. 41, 86.

⁵⁷ Professor Gildersleeve kindly suggested to me that the motion was indicated by the verb **πάλλειν** which is used of Hector dandling his little son.

⁵⁸ **ὡς ἄρ' ἔφαν, πάλλειν δὲ μέγας κορυθαίολος Ἔκτωρ**
ἄψ ὀρόων· Πάριος δὲ θοῶς ἐκ κλήρος θρουσεν.

I have to thank Professor Haupt for the additional references: Sophocles, *Electra*, 710; Alcman, fragment 63, ll. 24, 400; 15, 191; Herod. 3, 128.

בחק יוטל את הגורל
ומדה כל משקמו

The lot is cast in the lap,
But the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.

Evidently the verse does not fit the theory of casting *out of* the lap. The word חֵיק [see Note C], rendered 'lap' in this verse, is ambiguous. The English word associated with it is 'bosom,' as also with *sinus* and *κόλπος*. But it is quite misleading to translate חֵיק by 'bosom.' It is true that bosom has a wide range of meanings, but the universal significance of the word when used alone is that part of the body where the heart is; and this, it may safely be said, חֵיק never means. It would be impossible for us to say, "My reins are consumed within my bosom," and in Job 19²⁷ חֵיק evidently refers to the abdominal cavity including the liver and intestines, the seat of the affections among the ancients, which we associate with the heart, and the upper or thoracic cavity of the body. This is responsible for the confusion in the rendering of חֵיק, and the same exists in regard to *sinus* and *κόλπος*. 'Bosom' or 'heart' is a legitimate translation so long as they are used merely for the abstract idea of affection; but when the ancient seat of the passions had given rise to a whole sphere of associations with that part of the body about the loins and waist, such a translation as 'bosom' is entirely misleading. In *sinus* and *κόλπος* the original idea seems to be that of bulging, protuberance, etc., hence the part of the body containing the viscera; then the folds of a garment where it hangs over the girdle; whence the lap, a place of concealment, a pocket; and even a concave surface, bowl, urn. The etymology of חֵיק is not clear, but its meanings have developed on the same lines. Hence when we read, "The lot is cast in the חֵיק," the reference is not necessarily to the lap of a garment, but more likely to a pouch or urn. But this, again, does not accord with the verbs which seem to mean 'cast out of,' as Hector cast the lot out of the helmet.

The word that is almost invariably used in general reference to lot casting is גורל 'lot.' The גורל is originally a pebble, thus suggesting that lots were commonly small and round. They may have been black and white, or inscribed with some symbol. In Lev. 16^{8, 9}, Aaron casts lots for the scape-goat: ונתן אהרן על שני השעירים גרלות: ונתן עליו הגורל. Instead of rendering with the R.V., "*Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats, and the goat upon which the lot fell,*" it is better to read, "*Aaron put the lots for the*

two goats into some receptacle, and the goat upon which the lot came up," plainly referring to a receptacle answering, perhaps, to the helmet of Hector.

But in the Talmudic tract *Yoma* (יומא), 4, 1, the whole matter is put in a different light. Here we read, "The high priest put his hands into the urn and took out two lots; upon one was written *For Yahweh*, and upon the other was written *For Azazel*."⁵⁹ Evidently this was the traditional custom of *drawing* lots. The word for 'urn,' קלפי or קלפי, seems to be the late Greek κάλπη, possibly akin to κόλπος, something hollowed out. The Gemarah explains that the קלפי 'urn' was made of wood, but on one occasion a man had become renowned by making one of gold; that the high priest *snatched* the lots out quickly so as not to feel of them; that the lot which was drawn in the right hand was for the goat which was near his right side, and it was considered a happy augury when the right hand held the lot inscribed ליהודה.

The Talmudic tract *Bbá Bathrá* (בבא בתרא), 122, a, also has an instructive account. Eleazar stands before Joshua, bearing the Urim and Thummim and casting lots to divide the land among the twelve tribes of Israel. There were two urns used, one containing twelve lots, each with the name of a tribe written on it; the other containing twelve apportionments of land. The priest put one hand into each urn, and drew in one hand the tribe, and in the other hand the portion of Canaan which was to be theirs. In both this instance and in the one before mentioned, there was a solemn communing with the Holy Spirit, who was believed to direct the drawing. This drawing of lots suggests the comparison of the method of choosing officers at Athens, where two urns were used, one for the names of the candidates, the other with white and colored beans, the person being chosen whose name was drawn simultaneously with a white bean.⁶⁰

Of course the Mishnah is not the Old Testament, but it claims in *Pirqé dbóth* (פרקי אבות), I. 1, to record faithfully the ancient oral law, and it reaches back as a written authority to the time of the Second Temple. Here then we have a clear tradition that the lots were put into an urn, or two urns as the occasion demanded, and then *drawn*.

טרף בקלפי והעלה שני נדליות, אחד כתוב עליו לשם ואחד כתוב עליו לזאת.

⁵⁹ See Seyffert's *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, under "Officials." The urn used was called κληρωρίς; cf. on this subject, κληρώ δμφάν, 'to obtain an oracle by lot'; κλάροις θεοσκοπέων, 'to divine by lot'; cf. Eur. *Phænissæ*, 852.

This oral tradition helps one to understand the account of the allotment of Canaan as given in Joshua. For instance in Josh. 17¹⁴ we find the descendants of Joseph complaining that Joshua had placed for them but one portion for an inheritance, whereas they were really two tribes. מְרוֹעַ נִתְּתָה לִי נַחֲלָה גּוֹרֵל אֶחָד וְחֶבֶל אֶחָד. This seems to point to the two urns, one for the lots and one for the apportionments, and the traditional method of drawing lots. We may compare here a passage in Acts 8²¹, where Peter tells Simon Magus that he has neither part (חֶבֶל?) nor lot (גּוֹרֵל?) in the matter. Οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κλήρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ⁶¹—nothing in either urn, may have been in the mind of the writer, who was doubtless familiar with Jewish customs; or more likely the expression was idiomatic and originated in this custom. Cf. Sap. 2⁹.

But notwithstanding these undoubted instances of drawing lots, the fact remains that the verbs used to express the use of lots are almost all verbs of casting. To settle the matter, if possible, the crucial instance of casting lots for the robe, Ps. 22¹⁹, was chosen for investigation, as being the one most commonly associated with casting dice. This suggested Roman usages and the child drawing the lot at the Prænestine Oracle. Authorities like Pauly, Smith's *Classical Antiquities*, and Marquardt's *Römische Staatsverwaltung* have accepted the expression "to cast lots" as stating some unexplained custom. The latter, however, refers, in a note, to Servius on the *Æneid*, a passage which will shortly be considered. A distinction must first be made between the use of *sors* or κλήρος 'lot,' and *teserae, tali, κύβου* and ἀστράγαλοι 'dice.' These do not enter into this investigation, as they are entirely confined to the gaming sphere. The common expression with dice is "playing," "using," or "throwing." In the Roman world the use of dice was prohibited by the *Lex Titia et Publicia et Cornelia*; the Roman soldiers could not have used them under the eyes of a centurion; and even in December, during the Saturnalia, they could have had no connection with divination.

To return to the lot, the verbs used with *sors* are mostly verbs of casting like *conicere, deicere, mittere*, etc., but not the idea of casting out of a vessel, but generally *in sitellam*, which seems to have been a vessel with a small mouth, and filled with water, in which the lots

⁶¹ Salkinson-Ginsburg translate: אֵין לְךָ חֶלֶק וְנַחֲלָה בְרִבְרַי הַזֶּה. Delitzsch: אֵין לְךָ חֶלֶק וְנֹדֵל. אֵין לְךָ חֶלֶק. אֵין לְךָ חֶלֶק may have denoted originally a smooth pebble (Is. 57⁶) used as a lot. חֶלֶק 'to allot' may be denominative; cf. Albert Schultens, quoted in Gesenius' *Thesaurus*.

were put, but only one of them, as they floated on the top, could appear in the small opening. Otherwise the *sitella* was used without water, lots being drawn from it, as Livy, 25, 3, 16, *sitella lata est, ut sortirentur*. The expression *in sitellam* is like the *in urnam* of Est. 3⁷, *missa est sors in urnam*, but there is no Hebrew equivalent for *in urnam*. Finally much light is thrown on the subject by a passage in the *Casina* of Plautus, 2, 5, 34, which shows that to speak of *casting* lots did not imply that they were not also *drawn at the same time*. Stalino says "*Coniciam sortes in sitellam et sortiar* Tibi et Chalino."

The passage in the *Æneid*, I. 508 f. refers to the assignment of the daily tasks by lot :

*Jura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem
partibus aquabat iustis, aut sorte trahebat.*

Servius notes that Vergil had used the correct expression: *Sorte trahebat; proprie locutus est. Trahuntur enim sortes, hoc est, educuntur.*

Further investigation showed that *drawing lots* was probably the general method in classical antiquity. *Sortiar*, indeed, denominative from *sors*, and meaning to draw lots, as also κληροῦμαι, is a fair index of the use of *sortes*, even where it is distinctly stated that the lots were cast. "*Coniciam sortes in sitellam et sortiar*" makes the matter quite plain. This conclusion taken in connection with the Hebrew tradition as found in the Mishnah and O.T. lays it open to serious doubt whether a custom of casting a lot out of a vessel ever existed.

But there still remains the query: If lots were *drawn* in divination, why was *casting* lots the well-nigh universal expression? The solution of this difficulty seems to lie in the difference between our point of view and that of the ancients in respect to divination. They believed in it, as a rule, whether Latins or Greeks, and still more the Hebrews. It was an integral part of their religion. The ceremony was accompanied with prayer, and it was unquestionably believed that the Supreme Wisdom directed which lot should come forth, *i.e.* be drawn. The human element was, as far as possible, eliminated from the drawing. The priest communed with God and snatched the lots suddenly (see above, p. 24). The impersonal expressions are used: the lot *came up* or *came forth* (see the verbs, p. 22, above). The statement that the lot was drawn by the priest is distinctly avoided, as though implying that God did not order it. So the child

was employed at Præneste (as, perhaps, little Samuel at Shiloh), as being more purely an instrument by whom God made known His will. The peasants in Italy still seek for children to draw lots for them, and in Germany the orphan children draw in the lotteries. Evidently man's part was merely the casting the lots into the urn — it was impious to speak of a man drawing them. So Prov. 16³³ seems to be the key, when rightly understood, to the whole difficulty. The lot is cast in the urn, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.⁶² In drawing, man was an impersonal agent — the lot came out. It was man's part to prepare the lots and cast (which may have had the sense of mingling) them in some receptacle. Hence the verbs used with lots are not those of drawing, but casting.

We have seen that lots were really drawn in divination. This requires a receptacle of a different kind than would be necessary if lots were cast out on the ground. A receptacle would be needed that concealed the lots from sight and that could be fixed in such a way that the hands would be free to use it. An urn set upon a tripod would answer the purpose if it were so shaped that the lots could not easily be seen. But this end could more easily be attained by using a pouch which would have the additional advantage of being portable, and when used could be hung at the waist. This seems to have been the nature of the ephod. But it is necessary to extend this investigation so as to include those objects which are connected with divination by lot.

1. The Teraphim.

There are two considerations which make it necessary to include teraphim. The ephod is associated with teraphim in Jud. 17 and 18, and Hos. 3⁴; and the teraphim are associated with divination⁶³ in Gen. 30²⁷; also in Ezek. 21²⁶ and Zech. 10².

That the teraphim were of the nature of idols or *simulacra*, no one denies. Laban accuses Jacob of stealing his gods. Micah uses the same expression. In 1 Sa. 15²³ teraphim are condemned along

⁶² In Prov. 1¹⁴, the robbers say to the young man, נִירְלֹךְ חֶפְלִי בְּחִיכָנִי, "cast in thy lot among us," *i.e.* put your name on a lot and cast it with our lots, so that you will have the same chance of getting the booty as we have. But the "lot" may also be interpreted to mean the portion (cf. Jer. 13²⁶) of the young man — put it in with our funds, let us have one purse. See Dr. Philip Schaff's small *Dict. of the Bible*, under "Lots."

⁶³ See Robertson Smith, *O. T. in Jewish Church*, p. 226, 1st ed., and Maybaum, *Die Entwicklung des altisraelitischen Prophetenthums*, 1883, p. 16.

with idolatry, and appear in the same connection in 2 Ki. 23²⁴. Various theories have been advanced concerning teraphim. Wake, in *Serpent Worship*, p. 47, quite arbitrarily identifies teraphim with seraphim and refers it to what he styles "the serpent symbol of the Exodus called seraph," Nu. 21^{8, 9}, Heb., comparing also the serpent of the temple of Serapis. Grant Allen, in *Evolution of the Idea of God*, pp. 182 f., explains teraphim as representing the manes and lares in the worship of ancestors. Schwally⁶⁴ and others have recently derived teraphim from רפאים 'manes.' But the commonly accepted view compares them to the Penates. It is noteworthy that penates always occurs in the plural form as does teraphim, and the two accounts of the stealing of teraphim may be compared to Æneas taking the captured penates to Italy (*Æn.* I. 68).⁶⁵ It is not at all improbable that in the life of the Punic leader Hannibal in Corn. Nepos (*Han.* ix.), we are to understand teraphim by the *statuas aeneas*. As to the form of the teraphim, it has been supposed from 1 Sa. 19¹³ that they were of human shape and size,⁶⁶ but the inference as to the size is not warranted, since the human appearance was eked out by a pillow at the head; all, according to Oriental custom, being covered with the bedclothes. Of all the mentions of the teraphim this is the only one that might seem to construe teraphim with the singular, but it is not certain; the suffixes supplied in the English are omitted in the Hebrew, only one being used, מְרִאשְׁתָּיו, which, however, may refer to David (so Budde) or even to the bed, though it is masculine gender.⁶⁷ The LXX τὰ κενόρῳφα 'monuments of the dead,' and Latin *statua*⁶⁸ in place of the almost invariable *idola* may

⁶⁴ *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, p. 36. Further references may be found in Moore's *Judges, International Com.*, p. 382, and in M'Clintock and Strong's *Encyc. of Biblical Lit.*

⁶⁵ Ethnologically one would err in imagining any connection between these early peoples. On this Brinton says, in *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (p. 8), "Professor Buchmann expressed some years ago what I believe to be the correct result of modern research in these words: 'It is easy to prove that the striking similarity in primitive religious ideas comes not from tradition nor from relationship or historic connection of early peoples, but from the identity in the mental construction of the individual man, wherever he is found.'"

⁶⁶ Not so, however, Hitzig; see Commentary on 1 Sam. 19¹².

⁶⁷ Similar irregularity may be seen in several instances, e.g. Ex. 11⁶ 25¹⁰ Jud. 11⁸⁴ etc., cf. Ges.-Kautzsch, § 135, o. See W. Diehl, *Das Pronomen pers. suffixum 2 u. 3 pers. plur. des Hebr. in der alttest. Überlieferung*, Giessen, 1895. See also SBOT., *Critical Notes on Judges*, p. 65 f.

⁶⁸ Note that the versions take teraphim as a plural, with the exception of this *statua*.

be attempts to explain away the presence of teraphim in David's house, or, it may be that the teraphim, among those who had given up idolatry, took the form of ancestral images, associated more or less with superstitious veneration, but not idolatry. In the account of Rachel's stealing and hiding her father's teraphim (Gen. 31¹⁹⁻³⁵), it is evident that the word is plural, and that the teraphim were tolerably small images, or she could scarcely have carried them without Jacob's knowledge or hidden them so that Laban could not find them.

The association of teraphim with divination⁶⁹ is so frequent that it seems to indicate the principal use to which they were put. That they were not used in idolatrous worship is to be inferred from the fact that Hosea, who boldly censures idolatry, allows the use of ephod and teraphim.⁷⁰ But if they were idols, how could they have given answers to questions? It is quite usual for commentators to speak of "consulting idols, oracular idols," etc. Now a commentator may sometimes give an oracular utterance, but an idol never! If one idol had ever given an oracle, we should never have had the magnificent arraignment of idols in Deutero-Is. 41^{21 ff.}: "Declare to us what will happen in the future that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, do something, that we may all see it! Behold ye are of no account and your work is nothing at all!" — yet many commentators, who will not allow any supernatural occurrence to pass without advancing a natural explanation, are quite prone to imply, and base arguments on the conclusion that the idols in some mysterious way gave oracles. Rychlak, *e.g.*, in *Osee*, says that error would be avoided, *si de manifestationibus idolorum, quae et consulabantur et aliquando consulentibus responsa dabunt, intelligamus*. Again, referring specifically to the older passages which mention the ephod, two of which, 1 Sa. 23⁹ and 30⁷, represent the ephod as giving oracles, Maybaum says,⁷¹ All those passages throughout give the impression that by ephod is meant a real Yahweh image. Now, either an image can give an oracle, or the supposition is

⁶⁹ See an article by Farrer in Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Lit.*, Vol. III., p. 986.

⁷⁰ In this passage, Hos. 3⁴, the prophet says of his unfaithful wife that she must abide with him many days in faithfulness, but without a wife's privileges; so must Israel abide for a period of purification "without king and without prince, and without sacrifice and without *maççebdh*, and without *ephôdh* and *teraphim*." Note that ephod and teraphim are more closely joined than the other couples.

⁷¹ *Die Entwicklung des altisrael. Prophetentums*, 1883, p. 26.

untenable.⁷² It may be argued that the users of them believed that they gave oracles. They may easily have thought that idols heard their prayers and influenced their destinies, but it is not credible that they believed that any idol (apart from priest-jugglery) ever answered such a question as this, "If I pursue this troop, shall I overtake them?" 1 Sa. 30¹⁷, but David received the answer "yes." Now it may have been that lots were used *coram idolo* and with some invocation of the idol. In Cheyne-Black's *Encyc. Biblica* under "Divination," Professor Davies, of Bangor, in considering Ezek. 21²⁶, says, "We omit the reference to the teraphim because no new point is indicated by it; the king consulted the teraphim [singular], by shaking the arrows *before it*, as was always done also by the heathen Arabs." His designating teraphim as singular is quite arbitrary (see above, p. 28). By consulting the section on arrows (p. 34, below), it will be seen that arrows were not always used before idols. But farther on in the article Davies says that possibly the teraphim were used as lots. Then why not here in Ezek. 21²⁶? But the idea that the Hebrews consulted idols by casting lots before them is pure supposition, while the use of lots is not supposition but fact, as has been shown in regard to the ephod, and will be shown in regard to Urim and Thummim. These were real oracles, not dumb idols. The prophets could not say of them, "Behold ye are of no account, and your work is nothing at all!" for great leaders in Israel had relied on them and had been victorious.

But "the teraphim," says the prophet Zechariah (10²), "have spoken vanity," כִּי הַתְּרַפִּים דְּבָרוּ אֵין וְהַקּוֹסְמִים חָזוּ שֶׁקֶר, "and the diviners have seen a lie." The LXX in this passage, and in Hos. 3⁴, renders teraphim respectively by ἀποφθεγγόμενοι and δῆλοι, terms which indicate anything but dumb idols, and in this connection should be accorded due weight. In the passage in Hosea, and also in Jud. 17 and 18, teraphim are associated with the ephod. Micah makes an ephod and teraphim, puts them in a private chapel, secures a competent priest, and then travellers stop in and consult the oracle. With what is already known of the ephod, *viz.*, that it was a pouch

⁷² In the same strain, Nowack (*Die Kleinen Propheten*, 1897, p. 26) says: **תְּרַפִּים** in the old time undoubtedly was an idol which was used to give oracles, 1 Sa. 23^{6, 9, 30}. He adheres to the same view in his *Richter und Ruth*, 1901. On the other hand, cf. Meyer (*Chronicon Hebraeorum*, 1699, p. 468), speaking of a theory that teraphim were statues of loved ones: "*Mical audivit quasi vocem submissam loquentem ad se de rebus futuris . . . quod est impossibile, cum sermo non possit fieri nisi per organa a Deo in natura posita.*"

to contain the sacred lots, it seems quite likely that the teraphim were little images used as lots. We have inferred from Gen. 31³⁵, the account of Rachel hiding her father's teraphim, that they must have been small; from Hos. 3⁴—the prophecy of Israel's being for many days without teraphim (see note 70 on p. 29, above)—that they were not condemned as idols, but associated with the ephod. The order of occurrence is always ephod and teraphim. The ephod itself was independent of the lots, which were called by another name. The Urim and Thummim, as we shall see, were such lots; the arrows were lots; the *gōrālōthi* were lots; the teraphim seem to have been used as lots also. It is quite natural that an image, looked upon with superstitious awe as in some way a supernatural agent, should be the common household means of appeal to a wise and benevolent Power, albeit but little known. The small size of such images will cause no surprise to those who are familiar with the innumerable Egyptian images not longer than three or four inches, or the miniature idols of the Chinese. In Ezek. 21²⁶ the king of Babylon wishes to have divine guidance as to the route of an expedition. To obtain it he uses three means, of which one is consulting the teraphim. He looked for real assistance. We are probably to understand that he consulted the teraphim as we might speak of consulting the dice. We conclude, then, that there is no Hebrew authority to prove that teraphim is ever a *pluralis extensivus*, indicating but one image, but there are three passages where it is evidently plural, and the others are non-committal, or favor the plural. As to size, our preconceived notions formed from the words *image* and *idol* make it hard to think of the very small kind which, as among the Chinese, may have been the common household image. The narratives, where they are readily carried or concealed even by a woman, certainly strengthen this view. That they were not used in idolatrous worship in the time of Hosea (c. 740 B.C.) seems a fair inference (cf. above, p. 29), and the connection with the ephod, together with the fact that they gave oracles, seems to point to the theory advanced, *viz.*, that the teraphim were small images used as lots in divination, at a period in all probability earlier than 1000 B.C. For elaborate arguments for the identity of teraphim with Urim and Thummim, the reader is referred to Spencer's *De Legibus ritualibus Hebraeorum*, 1732, III. 3, and to Robertson Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 1892, p. 292, n. 1. That the teraphim were gradually abandoned seems evident from their later condemnation as something classed with idolatry and clung to with like stubborn-

ness; cf. 1 Sa. 15²⁸, "For rebellion is as the sin of divination (קסם), see below, p. 34) and stubbornness is as iniquity (און, see below, p. 40, n. 100) and teraphim."⁷³ Apparently a later comment aimed at superstitious practices more than at the principle of divination. See also 2 Ki. 23²⁴, where teraphim are classed *with*, but not *as* idols.

2. Urim and Thummim.

The same reasons which made it necessary to investigate the teraphim apply to the Urim and Thummim. Their origin, as in the case of ephod and teraphim, is unknown. The earliest document of the O.T. which mentions them is the Deuteronomic Blessing,⁷⁴ Deut. 33⁸, which has been assigned by Moore⁷⁵ to the time of Jeroboam II (782-743). The passage in no way helps to an understanding of what the Urim and Thummim were. The account in 1 Sa. 14⁴¹ and 28⁶ associates the use of Urim and Thummim with Saul. The narrative is probably E, prior to 750 B.C.; and it is to be noted that the use of Urim and Thummim is taken as a customary thing, and although the passage in 1 Sa. 14⁴¹, in the Hebrew, has become corrupt, it is evidently since the third century B.C., and it shows no signs of intentional alteration. The use of Urim and Thummim⁷⁶ in divination in pre-exilic times is seen in 1 Sa. 14^{41f.}, where Saul divines with them to discover who had broken the *taboo* which he had placed upon food. From v.³ it will be seen that the ephod⁷⁷ was used, and we are to understand that the lots were drawn from it. Professor Haupt has rendered the passage as follows:⁷⁸ "Saul said: O Yahweh, God of Israel, why hast Thou not responded to

כִּי חֲטָאתֶיכֶם מִי וְאֵן וְתִרְשִׁים הַסֶּפֶר

⁷⁴ וְלֵבִי אָמַר תְּמִיד וְאוֹרֵךְ לְאִישׁ חֲסִידְךָ "And of Levi he said, thy Thummim and thy Urim be for the man, thy godly one."

⁷⁵ Cheyne-Black's *Encyclopaedia*, col. 1090, § 25.

⁷⁶ A careful survey of the literature on Urim and Thummim may be found in an article so entitled by Muss-Arnolt in the *Amer. Journal of Semitic Lit.*, July, 1900.

⁷⁷ In 1 Sa. 28⁶ we read that Saul could obtain no oracle, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets. וְשָׁאֵל שְׂאוּל בִּדְוָה וְלֹא עָנָה וְיָהוָה גַּם בְּחִלְמוֹת. גַּם בְּאוּרִים גַּם בְּנְבִיאִים. Comparing the undoubted use of the ephod by Saul, the omission of it here is an indication that it was understood to be used with Urim; cf. Driver's article on "Law" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1900; also Robertson Smith's *OT. in the Jewish Ch.*, 1881, p. 428, n. 4.

⁷⁸ וְאָמַר שְׂאוּל ◊ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (לְמָה לֹא עָנִית אֶת עַבְדְּךָ הַיּוֹם אִם יֵשׁ בִּי אֵי בִדְוִינָתוֹן בְּנֵי הַסֶּפֶר הַזֶּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֲבֵה אוֹרִים וְאִם יֵשׁ בְּעַמְדְךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל) הֲבֵה (תִּמְצִים)

Thy servant this day? If the guilt be in me or in my son Jonathan, O Yahweh, God of Israel, give Urim; but if it should be Thy people Israel, give Thummim."⁷⁹ With Wellhausen and Schwally, Haupt combines אורים with ארר *curse*, representing the unfavorable answer, while תמים means 'blamelessness, acquittal,' and is the favorable answer.

The general view of the size of Urim and Thummim is gained from the description of the חֹשֶׁן, a kind of pocket (usually mistranslated 'breast-plate'), which is given in Exodus and Leviticus. This pocket, bearing twelve precious stones, was about twelve inches square, fastened permanently to the high priest's breast, with an opening to allow the high priest to take out the Urim and Thummim, which were kept within. It could scarcely have been used as a dice-box, for it could not be removed from the ephod. Here, however, we may see a trace of the pre-exilic form of the ephod, — a pouch to contain the sacred lots. It is altogether unlikely that Urim and Thummim were ever used with the חֹשֶׁן, as nothing is heard of it before the Exile, and after the Return it seems that Urim and Thummim could not be used,⁸⁰ or rather, that they no longer existed. If they had survived the Captivity, they could doubtless have been used. The Babylonian Talmud, *Sota*, 48, *a*, states that Urim and Thummim were lost at the time of the destruction of the Temple, 586 B.C.⁸¹ Maimonides,⁸² however, speaks of Urim and Thummim having existed to complete the garments of the high priest though they were not consulted. It seems probable that something was made to represent them.

A good deal has been made by Wellhausen, Benzinger, and Thenius-Löhr of the technic of the priest in the use of lots; but the idea has arisen from a misconception of the manner in which they were used, and a misunderstanding of 1 Sa. 14¹⁸ and perhaps 14^{41f}, where receiving no answer may have been ascribed to a fault of technic. Undoubtedly, if the post-exilic priest had had Urim and

⁷⁹ See *BELR.* in *JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LIT.*, 1900, p. 58, and notes 54-61, and cf. "Crit. Notes on Numbers," in *SBOT.*, p. 57, l. 45.

⁸⁰ Cf. Ezra 2⁶⁸, and Bertheau-Ryssel's commentary; also Siegfried *ad loc.*

⁸¹ מִשְׁמַתִּי נְבִיאִים הָרְאוּשׁוֹנִים בְּמַלּוֹ אֲוִרִים וְתַמִּים, "From the destruction of the former prophets Urim and Thummim were lost."

⁸² *Yadh Hachazakah*, Warsaw, 1181, הלכות כלי במקדש, x. 10: עשו בבית שני אורים ותמים כדי להשלים שמנה בנדים ואדם שלא היו נשאלין בהן, "They made in the Second Temple Urim and Thummim, in order to complete the eight garments, although they were not consulted by them."

Thummim, he would have used them ; but not having them, the idea may have grown up that they were of the nature of charms. Wellhausen, in *Skizzen*, III., p. 144, in speaking of amulets, says : " Freytag has compared the Thummim of the high priest, which likewise were carried at the neck. The phylacteries and bells on the pallium show that one is not justified in repudiating the comparison. However, although the later Jews may have regarded Urim and Thummim as a charm-ornament of the high priest, they seem to have been originally two lots to which, when used for oracular purposes, was attributed any alternative you please as signification (see Vatke, 323)." It is not improbable that the sacred lots had come down from heathen times and that they were originally amulets.⁸³ They may have been the sacred, or priestly, lots, while the teraphim were the common household lots. Probably they were marked by color, or more likely with the words by which they were called, indicating one as the favorable, and the other as the unfavorable answer. Being lost at the Captivity, and forgotten, the very significance of the names was no longer recognized and the Versions render " Lights and Perfections."

3. Arrows and Rods.

These complete the list of articles used by the Hebrews in divination by lot, if, indeed, the arrow is to be distinguished from the rod. It is misleading even to speak of the Hebrews in this connection, for an undoubted instance of a Hebrew (not a Bedouin) divining with arrows is yet to be found.

In Ezek. 21^{26f.}, " the king of Babylon stood at the parting of the way to use divination (𐤀𐤁𐤏) : he shook the arrows, he consulted the teraphim,⁸⁴ he inspected the liver. In his right hand is the lot, Jerusalem, . . ." Much light is thrown on the use of arrows as lots, in a dissertation by Anton Huber.⁸⁵ In the game of *Meistr*, arrows were used for lots. They were previously marked with names or notches, and then placed in a leathern bag or quiver, and shaken under a sheet which was held so as to conceal the arrows from the person who shook them. When an arrow was shaken up so as to project above the others, it was drawn and handed to another person

⁸³ Cf. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, 1897, p. 148, on lucky stones.

⁸⁴ The idea advanced by Davies, of Bangor (see above, p. 30), that shaking the arrows and consulting the teraphim were but one act is not borne out by the Hebrew. The methods used are as evidently three as any brief statement could make them.

⁸⁵ *Über das " Meistr " genannte Spiel der heidnischen Araber*, Leipzig, 1883.

who gave it to the owner, who won according to the marks on the arrow. This gives all the facts necessary for understanding how arrows were used. The connection with Ezek. 21²⁸ is established by the word for shaking the arrows, Arab. *galqala*, which is the קלקל of this passage. The lot in his hand, Jerusalem, was evidently the arrow marked *Jerusalem* to indicate the course of the expedition.⁸⁶ Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, III., p. 127, comes to the same conclusion, based upon St. Jerome quoted by Gesenius, as follows: He consults the oracle according to the ritual of his people, putting the arrows into a quiver, after first marking them with the names of different places, and then shaking them to see what place would be indicated by the coming out of an arrow, and what city he should first attack. The Greeks call this βελομαντία or ραβδομαντία. Wellhausen's conjecture, *Skizzen*, III., p. 167, quoted by Benzinger, p. 408, n., that *bráh* goes back to the lot-arrow and the verb ירה 'cast' used of lots and of arrows, a 'direction' being obtained in the first instance from the way the arrow pointed when cast is very doubtful, inasmuch as it lacks the element of chance which is the essence of divination by lot; for if arrows deviated in any unforeseen way from the direction in which they were shot, it would render skill in archery unattainable. Besides, it is first necessary to show that arrows were ever 'cast' in divination. They were shaken and drawn. It was this superstitious use of chance that caused Mohammed to forbid this use of arrows, *Koran*, Sura V. 4, 92; he implies that Satan is the one who directs chances, not God. Contrast with this Prov. 16³³; see above, p. 27. Canon Driver, in his article on "Law," תורה, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, 1900, seems to adopt Wellhausen's conjecture in spite of his warning: Such conjectures always remain uncertain and do not deserve too much credit. Wellhausen thereupon retracts a conjecture made with as little foundation, that תמים is related to *tam'd'im* 'amulets.' But Driver thinks to brace up the theory by the use of ירה in *casting lots*. There might be some ground for it if lots were really *cast* as he supposes; but being in reality *drawn*, as were the arrows, there is none. Some commentators have entered so heartily into the idea of the *Loospfeile* that an arrow is never shot but it is in divination. So it is with Jonathan and David, and so with Joash at Elisha's death-bed. But it is altogether unlikely, since an arrow, when shot, is gone.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ See Haupt's "Babylonian Elements in the Levitical Ritual," JBL. XIX., notes 11-13.

⁸⁷ Sellin, in *Beiträge zur Religionsgesch.*, 1897, p. 116 ff., is not convincing;

In regard to the use of the rod, the only reference is Hos. 4¹², **צַמִּי בַעֲצוֹ יִשְׂאֵל וּמַקְלוֹ יֵיָדֵד לָו**, "My people consult their staff, and their rod makes known to them." From this passage no idea can be gained of the method used in divination, except the derivation of **מַקְלָה** from **קָלַל**, 'shake,' indicating, perhaps, the use of rods in a way similar to that of the arrows; and this is favored by the parallelism with **פֶּעַז** which may be used for **חֶפְצֵי**, 'arrow'; cf. 1 Sa. 17⁷, "the staff⁸⁸ of his spear." But it is not even certain that it was a lot at all. The reference may be to a so-called divining rod which is said to shake in the hand and indicate where water is to be found. If the use of the rod, however, were similar to that of the arrow as a lot, this verse (Hos. 4¹²), with the use of **וַנִּהְיֶה** 'to go astray' after lot-oracles (see above, p. 15) ought to be compared with Jud. 8²⁷, where the same expression is used of Gideon's ephod. The rod has an extensive use in Hebrew literature as a magician's wand or pedestrian's staff, but the data that prove its use as a lot are wanting.

2. *The Ephod as a Part of the Insignia of Priests.*

With the Captivity the ancient *régime* of the Hebrews came to an end, and the period of Babylonian influence began. In all probability many old customs and usages fell into desuetude, never to be revived; many traditions derived from heathen times lapsed, and thereafter were only remembered with shame; many ceremonial objects of venerable antiquity were lost, and became names to conjure with, or were restored under new forms bearing little likeness to the old. So it was with the Urim and Thummim, which were never to appear again; and yet the longing for them breaks forth in the Korahite psalm (43) of the Second Temple: "O send out Thy Urim and Thy Thummim, that they may lead me."⁸⁹

But though Urim and Thummim did not exist after the Captivity (see above, p. 33), yet the **חֶפְצֵי** was made, and also the ephod to which it was attached; for the Babylonian Talmud, **קִרְיַשׁוֹן**, 37, *a*, has a tradition of sages coming to a certain heathen Dama, the son

Ezek. 21²⁶, *e.g.*, certainly does not show that the *Hebrews* used arrows. In Reclus, *Primitive Folks*, p. 276, is a suggestion as to the meaning of an arrow shot. Among the Kohls of Chota Nagpore, an arrow is shot in front of a person as a sign that the way is cleared for him.

⁸⁸ The text has **פֶּעַז**, the Q'ra **פֶּעַז**; cf. also the interchange of *h* and *'* in modern Arabic.

⁸⁹ See Lagarde, *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, Lipsiæ, 1872, p. xlvii, who emends: **שְׁלַח אֶתְּךָ וְתַמְּדֵם הַמָּדָה יִצְחָק**. Cf. Duhm *ad loc.*

of Nethina of Ashkelon, to purchase stones for the ephod.⁹⁰ But though the ephod was restored in an altered form, it was never again used in divination, and only survived as a part of the insignia of the high priest. These insignia were known as the abundance of garments, *מרובה כנרים*, which is explained as follows: "High priests who officiated from the day that the oil of anointment was lost (literally *hidden*), had their high-priesthood indicated by the *abundance of their garments*," that is, they wore the eight priestly garments; of which the four peculiar to the high priest are given as: *מזיל ואפוד והשן וציץ*, the robe, the ephod, the breastplate, and the gold plate.

It is impossible to say with certainty just what this high priest's ephod was. Some writers, like Riehm (*Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*, 2d ed., 1893-4, "Ephod"), consider it essentially a shoulder-piece; as Thenius, *e.g.*, says the ephod is nowhere anything else than a shoulder garment. Others see in it a long robe with a girdle about the waist and the *hoshen*, or 'pocket,' fastened between the girdle and the shoulders. No doubt the description was plain enough to him who wrote it; but the only clue we can have to the object described must come from a knowledge of what the old ephod was. This gives us three points which, in all probability, were the traditional residuum from which the post-exilic ephod was reconstructed.⁹¹ These were the pouch for the sacred lots, the girding about the waist, and the equivalence of ephod-bearer and priest. Now the main points in the description of the later ephod are that it is an essential part of the insignia of the high priest, the *hoshen*, a pouch for the sacred lots, which were no longer in existence, and the woven piece for girding on. These have been brought out in all descriptions of the post-exilic ephod, but the point that has been overlooked is that the *hoshen* was *upon the woven piece* (חשב) which was used to gird it on, Ex. 28²⁸, and not between the band and the shoulders, as has been supposed. Moreover, the location of the woven piece was not at the waist, but higher up, "over

⁹⁰ בקשו ממני חכמים אבנים לאפוד. See Babylonian Talmud, "מא", p. 73, a, Commentary of Rashi. *מרובה* is the participle Pual (מְרֻבֵּה), and properly denotes the high priest, not his garments; cf. Levy's *Dict.* מְרֻבֵּה; see also Jastrow's *Dict.*, p. 838, b.

⁹¹ Robertson Smith, *O. T. in the Jew. Ch.*, p. 219, says: "Many features of the old Hebrew life which are reflected in lively form in the Earlier Prophets, were obsolete long before the time of the Chronicler, and could not be revived except by archaeological research. The whole life of the old kingdom was buried and forgotten."

the heart," Ex. 28^{29f.} Hence the band must have encircled the body just under the armpits. The braces⁹² over the shoulders, not needed on the old ephod, were required to keep the band in place when it was no longer around the loins. The "stones of remembrance" are an indication of the thought of a later age and are quite in harmony with the fashioning of a decoration, the use of which had long since passed away. The expression "over Aaron's heart" is simply an indication of place; the metaphorical sense of לב was *mind* as we still preserve it in the phrase *to learn by heart*. Rashi (Breithaupt, p. 672) says: "I have neither heard of nor found in the Talmud an exposition of the form of this ephod; but I imagine that it was a cincture of a breadth accommodated to a man's back, something like an apron (succinctorium)." There is another indication of the location of this band. Ezek. 44¹⁸, giving directions as to the priestly garments, says: לא יחנרו בגיזע, which is said to mean that the band shall not be so high as to be sweated under the arms, nor so low as to be liable to the same at the loins. But this is doubtful. Yet so Rashi: "Hence they did not gird themselves in places liable to sweat, neither at their armpits above nor their loins below." Modern attempts at restoration of the post-exilic ephod have neglected these points. Professor Moore (Cheyne-Black's *Encyc. Biblica*, vol. ii., "Ephod") describes it as a curious garment coming to the knees, apparently confusing it with the מעיל or 'robe' of the ephod, Ex. 39², which was not a part of the ephod, but was put on first, and is enumerated by itself as a distinct garment (see above, p. 37). Braunius⁹³ has some curious pictures of the ephod, and Riehm⁹⁴ has some still more curious, but they are, of course, imaginary reconstructions and not intended to be taken as authentic.

But from the data given above we shall not be far astray if we picture to ourselves the post-exilic ephod as a woven band, probably as wide as the *hoshen*, *i.e.* a span, encircling the body between the armpits and the loins, having jewelled braces to hold it in place, and a jewelled pouch in front — the traditional receptacle for the sacred lots. It is not hard to see in this portion of the post-exilic insignia

⁹² Professor Haupt has kindly suggested to me that in the description of the bronze carriages for the sacrificial basins in 1 Ki. 7^{30, 40} (cf. Crit. Notes on *Kings*, *SBOT*, *ad loc.* and Stade's paper in *ZAT.* XXI.), כתסית means 'struts, oblique braces' = 'suspenders'; see the figure of a Bedouin with כתסית, *Psalms*, in *SBOT*, p. 224.

⁹³ *De Vestitu Sacerdotum Hebr.*, 1701.

⁹⁴ *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*, 1884, *Ephod*.

the essential features of the ancient ephod. It cannot be termed a development, but rather a reconstruction based upon a tradition which embodied the chief characteristics of the antique ephod.

3. CONCLUSION.

In the light of the foregoing investigation it is apparent that many commentators have gone astray because they did not give due weight to the essential connection of the ephod with divination,— and not some magical, image-speaking, priest-juggling, kind of divination, which is utterly without proof among the Hebrews, but the ephod is associated with divination by lot. This is the *raison d'être* of the old ephod, and an investigation which overlooks it is liable to any kind of idle conjecture. Professor Marti's error has been of this nature, and this is the difficulty with Professor Moore's article in the *Encyc. Biblica*, although some of the inferences are no doubt correct and were published by the present writer in the *JHU Circulars*⁹⁵ over eight months before that article appeared.

That the ephod was originally an idol and afterwards became something to hold lots, is, again, opposed to the sound ethnological principle stated by Robertson Smith that nothing is more foreign to traditional rites than the arbitrary introduction of new forms. Any custom that is based on a superstition cannot change, because the essential cannot be distinguished from the non-essential. This is clearly seen in the superstitious rites of the Romans, and especially in magical incantations and the rites of the Salii.⁹⁶ Quintilian, I. 6, 40, says: *Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*:⁹⁷ *sed illa mutari vetat religio et consecratis utendum est*. But divination by lot was a superstition. The ephod, it is evident, goes back to times that cannot long have been distinguishable from pure heathendom. The lots used with the ephod were not common pebbles, but traditional and sacred lots, whether *teraphim* or *Urim* and *Thummim*. Correctness of ritual is the more important as the rites are less understood. Hence Micah's joy at having a Levite for a priest: "Now I know that Yahweh will do me good, since I have gotten a

⁹⁵ This statement is made, of course, in my own defence. The paper referred to, antedating the appearance of the *Encyc. Biblica*, does not note that the article on *Dress* by Abrahams and Cook suggests the possibility of the ephod's being originally a loincloth.

⁹⁶ See Teuffel and Schwabe, *History of Roman Lit.*, 1891, concerning the Salii.

⁹⁷ How true of our own Authorized Version! and the following too.

Levite as my priest."⁹⁸ The same devotion to the minutest detail of ritual is to be noted in the *Ceremoniale* of the Roman Church. And so with the ephod, unless the proper lots were had, no oracle could be obtained; cf. Ezra 2⁹⁸, and see above, p. 33. The very manner of drawing lots was of prime importance; cf. Gemarah on *Yoma*, 4¹ (see above, p. 24). How, then, can we suppose that the ephod was at one time an idol, and in less than two hundred years after it was something to hold lots girded on little Samuel's waist! Yet Maybaum⁹⁹ asserts that Micah's ephod was an idol (פסל) and later on was called עגל, a 'calf'! It has been suggested that the ephod must have been connected with idolatry, because in several passages the word *ephod* seems to have been purposely eliminated from the narrative.¹⁰⁰ Budde, in his commentary on Judges, 1897, p. 68, says that the old ephod must somehow have represented the deity and therefore was afterwards repudiated. But if any such intentional corrupting of passages took place, it must have been accomplished shortly before the Captivity, since, with the exception of Wellhausen,¹⁰¹ commentators agree that Hosea allows the ephod and teraphim as "necessary forms and instruments of the worship of Jehovah," to use the words of Robertson Smith, and hence the ephod could not have been an idol. As for post-exilic times it makes little difference what it was, for it had evidently been forgotten; and yet one cannot help feeling that, had it been an idol or any object of worship, it would not have been restored;¹⁰² but, like the teraphim, which represented a comparatively harmless superstition, would have been allowed to remain in oblivion. There is, however, another reason for the corruption of the passages referring to the ephod

⁹⁸ ראמר מיכה עמה דעתו כי יטיב דעה לי כי הנה לי הלקי לכהן: What a confession, by the way, that the Aaronic priesthood was not known! See Robertson Smith, *O.T. in Jew. Ch.*, 1881, p. 227 f.

⁹⁹ *Prophetenthum*, 1883, p. 27.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. 1 Sa. 14¹⁸ 14⁴¹ 28⁸ 28¹⁴ LXX, variant; 1 Ki. 2²⁶; also according to Wellhausen, in Ezek. 44¹⁶, and 1 Sa. 15²⁸, where אֵת he thinks was אֲדָרָה.

¹⁰¹ *Kleinen Propheten*, p. 103, 1897. It is not without a touch of scorn that Hosea here enumerates without explicit condemnation Masseba, Ephod, and Teraphim, as something one will hardly get along without in exile: this is necessary, you know, you surely like it this way!

¹⁰² The survival among Christian people of heathen rites which have lost their ancient significance, such as, e.g., the Yule-log, is not parallel; inasmuch as a century of disuse and oblivion would have done away with anything as a *survival*. The later ephod was not a survival, but a reconstruction; while the earlier ephod probably represents a survival.

which will be mentioned presently when the ephod is considered as a survival.

Having considered all the passages that throw any light on the ephod, and also the conjectures which seem to have most weight and are most recent, it remains to sum up the conclusions arrived at. Starting with the principle that what a thing is for is the truest indication of what it is, we find that the ephod was evidently used in divination by lot. An investigation of the use of lots reveals the fact that they were said to be *cast*, but were in reality *drawn*; and the ephod was the receptacle, *κληρωτήρις*, that held them. Taken in connection with the passages that speak of the ephod being girded on or fastened about the waist (אֶפְדֹּד having this special meaning), and the passage in 2 Sa. 6¹⁴^f, which shows what a scanty covering it was, the ephod appears to have been a pouch, large enough to put the hands into, which was hung at the waist of the person using it. It was easily carried in the hand. Its early use was not confined to any special order of priests;¹⁰⁸ but, like other things originally common to all, it gradually became a priestly function. Samuel as a lad, girt with the ephod at Shiloh, is a remarkable parallel to the child that drew the oracles of Fortuna at Præneste. The ephod was quickly consulted, though there was doubtless a technical method which was always observed. The lots were probably *teraphim* in the earlier times, but *Urim* and *Thummim* seem to be supplanting them at least as early as the time of Saul, though they continued to be associated with the ephod as late as Hosea, 740 B.C. There is no reason for supposing that Micah's ephod was anything different from that used by Saul and David. In regard to Gideon's ephod, when we omit the later editorial comment, there is the bare statement that it was made and placed in the city of Ophra. From this statement no theory which conforms to what is known of the ephod can be disproved. The strongest probability lies on the side of its being what the ephod was later — a pouch for the sacred lots, made, it may be, most sumptuously (compare the candles, etc., given to churches), as befitted the maker's social position (as, e.g., Gideon's), and used as Micah's ephod was, in a private chapel such as wealthy citizens affected. It is best to leave it so. *Coniectura vilis est.*

Connected with the subject of the ephod is the consideration of

¹⁰⁸ But Wellhausen, *Proleg.*, 2d ed., 1883, p. 137, states that only priests could use the ephod. What shall we say, then, of Micah's Levite, of Samuel, or Saul, or David? See also Robertson Smith, *O.T. in Jew. Ch.*, 1881, p. 248; and Maybaum, *Prophetenthum*, 1883, p. 10.

it as a survival of a primitive usage for ceremonial purposes just as the use of stone knives for circumcision, or the Shofar in the modern synagogue, the use of candles instead of gas or electric lights at dinner parties, or the costume of the yeomen of the guard in England who are still habited in the costume of the sixteenth century, or the academic gowns, the royal crowns and sceptres, or the vestments¹⁰⁴ of the Catholic Church, etc.; cf. *Joshua* in the *Polychrome Bible*, p. 62, l. 5. In the שָׂרָב sackcloth is a survival of primitive usage; cf. Gen. 42²⁵ the corn sack, Is. 20² dress of prophets and devotees, Gen. 37³⁴ conventional mourning garb. If the priests put on the ephod, they did so because the ephod was a primitive usage. It has been seen that no distinction is made in the O.T. between *ephodh* and *ephodh badh*, which has been supposed to mean *linen ephod*. But from the consideration on p. 3 above, note 7, and the extended examination in Note D, p. 47, below, we must understand



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.

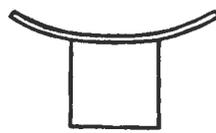


FIG. 3.

ephodh badh to be a covering of the nakedness, literally *ephodh partis (virilis)*. Such representations are to be seen on Egyptian and Babylonian monuments. Perhaps the commonest shape of the ancient loincloth is shown in Fig. 1, which certainly meets the requirements of the description of the *mikhnesê badh*. The loincloth of the Indians of Cape Horn (see above, p. 12, n. 33) was triangular in shape and kept in place by a cord, as in Fig. 2. The *ephodh badh*, however, considering the use to which it is put, may have developed from something like Fig. 3. This is a pouch or bag, differentiated from the kilt by its specialized use. For the ephod was not a mere loincloth or covering of the nakedness. The *mikhnesê badh* were that, and became the sacred garment. The ephod was not a loincloth *per se*, but a pouch for sacred lots existing side by side with ordinary loincloths and sacred kilts. Moreover, the *mikhnesê badh*, or sacred kilt, does not appear to have excited any repugnance at a

¹⁰⁴ It may be noted that the vestments of the Church, especially the Chasuble, Alb, and Stole, are probably the ancient official garments of civil magistrates of the early centuries of the Christian era, and rather of Syrian officials than of Greek or Roman. See the *Century Dictionary*, 1900, Vol. VIII., p. 6741.

period of greater refinement than that of the early monarchy. That this was the case with the ephod seems, to most commentators, proved by the apparently intentional corruption of some of the passages referring to the ephod (see above, p. 40, n. 100). These commentators explain this repudiation by supposing the ephod to have been an idol. But this was not the case. Perhaps the reason for the repudiation of the ephod by certain redactors of the Biblical documents may have been that they considered it indecent, either because it was too scanty for a loincloth, or perhaps, because it had some connection with the phallic worship of the Canaanites. The ephod was not a phallus, which, we have constantly to remind ourselves, was daily seen by the ancients without the slightest offence (see Dr. Döllinger's *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, p. 169) ; but *badh* may have meant phallus, and ephod was closely connected with it, sharing the sacredness of the symbol, which to the ancients suggested only profound and reverent thoughts. This cannot be doubted from such references as Gen. 24² 47²⁹,¹⁰⁵ where a vow was rendered the more inviolable by contact with what was looked upon as the symbol of the mystery of life. Some such connection as this may account for a feeling in later times that the ephod was indecent.

Ethnological Parallels.

The ephod seems to be a special development of the primitive loincloth. The loin-covering was probably the starting-point of development in the direction both of the garment and the pouch. A step in this development is seen in an account by John Foreman,¹⁰⁶ who travelled for several years in and about all the principal islands of the Philippine Archipelago, and who proceeded to Paris, in October, 1898, at the request of the American Peace Commission, to express his views before them. In 1696, he says, the men of the Pelew Islands had a leaf-fibre garment around their loins, and to it was attached a piece of stuff in front, which was thrown over their shoulders and hung loose at the back. This loincloth, which cannot but remind one of the fig-leaf *hagordth* of our first parents (Gen. 3⁷), would evidently furnish a place where articles could be carried. But the ephod was not an ordinary pouch used for general purposes, but it had a distinctly sacred character. The post-exilic ephod still

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Dillmann's *Genesis*, Leipzig, 6th ed., 1892, p. 301; also Gunkel's *Genesis*, p. 232.

¹⁰⁶ *The Philippine Islands*, 2d ed., London, 1899, p. 39.

retained its sacred character, being a part of the *merubah begdām* (see above, p. 37, n. 90) by which the high priest was distinguished.

This use of garments to denote dignity is not without parallel. Herbert Spencer in *Ceremonial Institutions*, "Badges and Costumes," 1880, p. 181, quotes Cook as saying of the Sandwich Islanders, that quantity of clothing is a mark of position, and of the Tongans he says the same; while he tells us that in Tahiti, the higher classes signify their rank by wearing a large amount of clothing at great inconvenience to themselves. The Arabs furnish an allied fact. In Karseem "it is the fashion to multiply this important article of raiment [shirt] by putting on a second over the first and a third over the second." The same practice prevails in Altenburg, Germany, where the peasant girls wear a great many skirts.¹⁰⁷ The ephod came, in time, to be the symbol of a special class of men who were, in a way, intermediary between man and God, for through them divine oracles were obtained. A sacred band for the loins may be the index of this divine mission. Frazer's *Golden Bough*, 1890, Vol. I., p. 37, gives instances of kings in the South Sea Islands who were regarded as divine persons and were consulted as an oracle. He says: "At his inauguration the king of Tahiti received a sacred girdle¹⁰⁸ of red and yellow feathers, which not only raised him to the highest earthly station, but identified him with their gods." But a still closer parallel to the ephod is to be found among the Colorado Cliff-dwellers, who used a sacred girdle of cotton cloth, which, like the later ephod, was about a span wide, and served as a pocket for the prayer meal and sacred amulets (see above, p. 34) used in ceremonies.¹⁰⁹ We do not know that the amulets were used as lots, but if so, here would be a primitive *ephod* with amulet-lots and distinctly sacred character. No doubt many ethnological parallels will come to light when the true idea of the ephod and divination by lot are borne in mind; but there can be no reasonable doubt that it reaches back in its origin to most primitive times.

Etymology of the Term "Ephod."

No etymology yet proposed for the word **תֵּפֹד** has been generally accepted. The various forms of the stem which occur, are: **תֵּפֹד**,

¹⁰⁷ Cf. the plate "Volkstrachten, I., No. 20," in Meyer's *Konversations-Lexikon*.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Huxley, *Science and Hebrew Tradition*, New York, 1894, p. 332.

¹⁰⁹ Such a sacred girdle as is here described may be seen among the ethnological exhibits of the University of Pennsylvania.

אֶפֶדָה, אֶפְדָה, וְיֵאָפֵד, אֶפְדָה, אֶפֶד. It used to be definitely stated that אֶפֶד meant 'to gird or bind on,' and אֶפֶדָה was the 'thing girded on,' and אֶפְדָה the 'girding on.' One difficulty with this etymology was the lack of Semitic parallels for אֶפֶד with such a meaning, which is gained entirely from the context; but the chief difficulty is that critical research has shown that אֶפֶדָה was in use several centuries earlier than אֶפֶד and אֶפְדָה, whence arose the later opinion that אֶפֶד is denominative and אֶפְדָה a derivative. Another group of commentators following Lagarde (*Übersicht*, p. 178; *Mittheil.* 4, pp. 17, 146) refer אֶפֶדָה to Arab. *wafada* 'to come as an ambassador,' and finally a 'garment of approach to God.' This is just as fanciful as Lagarde's etymology of אֶל and תֵּאֲנֶה. The ephod is not to be regarded as a garment. Other commentators and scholars have based a theory on the use of אֶפְדָה¹¹⁰ in Is. 30²² (see above, p. 16 f., for a consideration of this passage) that אֶפֶדָה means a 'covering, garment, mask,' but this verse may be as late as the second century B.C., and a careful study of the parallelism would favor some such idea as 'ornament' for אֶפְדָה, which may be derived from the ornamental post-exilic ephod. The form אֶפְדָה is the regular fem. of אֶפֶדָה for אֶפֶד, cf. אֶדָה, אֶדָה; אֶדָה, אֶדָה; especially אֶדָה f. אֶדָה and the by-form אֶדָה. For the initial *e*, cf. אֶבֶד, Ges.-Kautzsch, §§ 23, *h*; 84 *a*, *q*, and Haupt, *Assyr. E-vowel*, p. 26, No. 10. The Syriac equivalent of אֶפֶד has the fem. form, אֶפְדָה with aphæresis of the initial א; see Nöldeke, *Syriac Gram.* § 32 (cf. אֶפְדָה *end* for אֶפְדָה). A tentative explanation of אֶפֶד has been given recently by Hubert Grimme in the *Orient. Litt.-Zeitung*, February, 1901, under the title, אֶפֶד und Stammverwandtes, who notes the phenomenon seen in the Semitic languages of *q* showing a tendency to become א. He believes that there are two *q*'s, a sonant *q* which is stable, and a surd *q* which has a tendency to become א.¹¹¹ He gives several examples, and among these are אֶפֶד 'wrap together,' appearing as אֶפֶד 'wrap up,' and אֶפֶד 'zusammenziehbare Loostasche.' This is, at least, the meaning sought, but the etymology is not certain.

¹¹⁰ Cf. the Talmudic אֶפְדָה and אֶפְדָה. It is by no means necessary to suppose that אֶפְדָה is derived from Latin *funda*. *Funda* (Macr. *Saturn.* 2, 4, 31) may be a Semitic loan word.

¹¹¹ Cf. Haupt, in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1887), p. 270, n. 2; Allen in *PAOS.*, October, 1888, p. cxi; Talcott Williams' article on the Arabic dialect of Morocco, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Vol. III., p. 569, l. 26. Professor Haupt considers Grimme's theory very uncertain.

NOTES.

A. According to Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary of the Eng. Lang.*, Oxford, 1882, the verb *kilt*, to tuck up, is derived from a substantive signifying lap, occurring in Swed. dial. *kilta*, the lap; cf. the Icelandic *Kjalla*, the lap, *kjöltu-barn*, a baby in the lap. The oldest form of the substantive occurs in Mæso-Goth. *kilthei*, the womb, from the same root as Eng. *child*. Thus the original sense of *kilt* as a substantive is 'lap,' hence 'tucked-up clothes.'

B. Braunius, *De vestitu sacerdotum Hebr.*, I. 9: Docet etiam doctissimus Hottingerus in *Hist. Orient. de Religione veterum Arabum*, I. 8, "Koreischitas ante Islamismum sacra sua celebrasse nudos, atque ita aedem Meccanam circuiuisse." See also Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,² pp. 161, 450f., where he remarks: At Mecca, in the times of heathenism, the sacred circuit of the Caaba was made by the Bedouins, either naked or in clothes borrowed from one of the *Homs*, or religious community of the sacred city. Wellhausen has shown that this usage was not peculiar to Mecca, for at the sanctuary of Al-Jalsad also it was customary for the sacrificer to borrow a suit from the priest; and the same custom appears in the worship of the Tyrian Baal (2 Ki. 10²²), to which it may be added that, in 2 Sa. 6¹⁴, David wears the priestly ephod at the festival of the in-bringing of the Ark. He had put off his usual clothes, for Michal calls his conduct a shameless exposure of his person (cf. above, p. 7); see also 1 Sa. 19²⁴. The Meccan custom is explained by saying that they would not perform the sacred rite in garments stained with sin, but the real reason is quite different. It appears that sometimes a man did make the circuit in his own clothes, but in that case he could neither wear them again nor sell them, but had to leave them at the gate of the sanctuary (Azraci, p. 125; B. Hishām, p. 128f.). They became taboo (*harim*, as the verse cited by Ibn Hishām has it) through contact with the holy place and function. See further in Robertson Smith; and cf. Jastrow in *JAOS.*, XX., p. 144, also XXI., 1900, p. 23, *The Tearing of Garments*.

C. The primitive use of קִיץ is clearly seen from the following analysis, to be associated with the sexual relation, as Professor Haupt has suggested. The uses of קִיץ are here classified in five groups which are arranged chronologically according to the earliest passages quoted in each group.

1. The primitive use of קִיץ, as seen in the earliest passages, clearly refers to sexual embrace; as, Gen. 16⁵, "I gave my handmaid into thy embrace." So 2 Sa. 12⁸ 1 Ki. 1² (contemp.?) Prov. 5²⁰ Mic. 7⁶; and probably Deut. 13⁷ 28⁶⁴. 66.

2. Another primitive use of קִיץ is seen in the place where a child is held. If *at the breast*, the Hebrews used: יָדָה, הָדָה, לָבַב, שָׂדֵה, and שֵׁד. If on the shoulder, see Is. 46⁷. Undoubtedly the reference is to the abdominal part of the body and the lap (cf. note A on *kilt*, above). So Nu. 11¹² Ruth 4¹⁶ 2 Sa. 12³ (nearly contemp.) 1 Ki. 3²⁰ 17¹⁹ Is. 40¹¹ Lam. 2¹². Note that our use of *bosom* in these places is poetic and symbolical; cf. above, p. 23.

3. The use is then seen to be extended to the garment about the קִיץ, the lap, the folds of a garment overhanging the girdle — the primitive pocket or place for putting the hand. So Ex. 4⁶. 7 (in J, 850 B.C.) Ps. 35¹⁸ 74¹¹ 79¹² 89⁶⁰ Prov. 6³⁷ 16²³ 17²³ 21¹⁴ Is. 65⁶. 7 Jer. 32¹⁰.

4. Then the word is used of a curved surface, showing a similarity of development with *sinus* and *κόλπος*. So 1 Ki. 22²⁶ (600 B.C.?) Ezek. 43¹³⁻¹⁷.

5. Among the latest uses of the word are Job 19²⁷, referring to the abdominal cavity, and Eccles. 7⁹, referring to the same figuratively as seat of affections.

With the use of חֵיק compare Assyr. *ullu* and *sánu*; e.g. Descent of Istar, Obv. 35, "the slaves *ša istu ulli háirishina* who from their husbands' embrace . . ." And II R 35, Nr. 4, "a maid *ša ina sán mulisa* who in her husband's embrace . . ."

D. On p. 3 above, it is maintained that בר never means 'linen' but always 'part.' All the decisive passages are here discussed. Ex. 39²⁸ makes it plain that בר does not refer to the material of the מכנסים. The LXX and Pesh. feel the difficulty and omit בר. We revert then to the original meaning 'part.' Considering Ex. 28⁴² in this light, עֲרֹדָה לְכַבֹּת בָּשָׂר and the following clause are plainly explanatory of בר and may be glosses. In Lev. 6⁸ "even the *miknesē badh* shall he put over his flesh" seems to be a gloss on בר, מְרוֹ, which with the Samar. and Targum is better read בר מְרִי, *vestimenta partis (virilis)*. In Lev. 6¹⁴ בר between כְּתָנִת and קֶרֶשׁ may have been added later when בר was misunderstood to mean linen; בר after מַצְנֶמֶת is also a subsequent addition; after מְכַנְסִים and אֲבָנִים it is probably original. Note that the בְּנֵי הַרֶבֶךְ are worn in the sanctuary only (*i.e.* in P). In Lev. 16²⁸ בר is original, while in v.³² בְּנֵי הַרֶבֶךְ seems to be an explanatory gloss, as also in v.⁴. In 1 Sa. 2¹⁸ 22¹⁸ 2 Sa. 6¹⁴ 1 Chr. 15²⁷ בר אֲמִיד, already sufficiently discussed, affords no reason for inventing a new meaning for בר; these passages are amply satisfied with the original meaning 'part.' In Ezek. 9² 3¹¹ 10² 6⁷ Dan. 10⁶ 12⁶ 7 לבֶשׂ הַבְּרִיִּים, associated with קְתָנֵי־בְרִיִּים, apparently refers to a loin cloth, כְּרִיִּים for בר as *partes privatae* for *pars virilis*. The supernatural being in Ezek. 9 and 10 may have had on an אֲמִיד around מְתָנָיו with an inkhorn stuck in the belt of the רֶבֶךְ. This argument becomes more cogent when it is seen that the Versions do not understand בר. In the earlier passages: 1 Sa. 2¹⁸ the LXX simply transliterates; in 22¹⁸ λιγόν in Cod. Alex. is evidently a subsequent correction; and in 2 Sa. 6¹⁴ ἔξαλλον is clearly a guess. Some of the later passages show that בר was supposed by some translators to mean 'linen.' In 1 Chr. 15²⁷ the Chronicler (see above, p. 11) apparently substituted another phrase for בר אֲמִיד רֶדֶר אֲמִיד, which was added later under the influence of the parallel passage. But if we find 'linen' in the LXX in 1 Chr. 15²⁷ as well as in the Priestly Code; consistently throughout the Vulgate; and in the Peshita everywhere except in Dan. 10⁶ 12⁶ 7, nevertheless in Ezek. 9² 3¹¹ the LXX renders כְּרִיִּים by ὁ ποδήρησ, and similarly קֶסֶת הַסֹּפֶר was not understood. Moreover Theodotion, who must have known the hypothetical 'linen,' discards it entirely and resorts to a transliteration, while the Pesh. sometimes hazards אִיקֶר. From the Versions, then, it is plain that 'linen' is simply a guess for בר and is varied without scruple; cf. לבֶשׂ הַבְּרִיִּים in Ezek. 9¹¹ 10² 8 variously rendered ἐδεστικός τὸν ποδήρησ, — τῆσ σπολήσ, — τῆσ σπολήσ τῆσ ἀγλασ; contrast Exek. 44¹⁷ 18, Heb. and Versions. We may then conclude that בר 'linen' never existed, and בר in 1 Chr. 15²⁷ אֲמִיד בר, אֲמִיד בר, מְכַנְסִי בר, בְּנֵי הַרֶבֶךְ means *pars (virilis)* and כְּרִיִּים in לבֶשׂ הַבְּרִיִּים is an accusative of the member, as in Jud. 1⁷, cf. Ges.-Kautzsch § 121 d, and means *partes (privatas)*, or as Haupt has suggested, כְּרִיִּים means a covering of the בר like *χειρῆσ, manica, ποδείων*, etc.