The Veil in Classical Antiquity: A Sociocultural and Exegetical Study of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16

By:

Rongxi Wu

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sheffield
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Abstract

First Corinthians 11:2-16 is one of the most discussed biblical texts in New Testament scholarship today. Despite this, there has been no general consensus on some exegetical points that have been approached from a variety of perspectives and with a wide range of methodological tools. There is also a growing recognition that discussion of male headship and women's rights cannot be undertaken in isolation from the broader context of mid-first-century Greco-Roman culture. However, various studies in relation to culture have only been carried out in a small number of areas. This thesis will examine the literary evidence of the cultural significance of head-coverings, particularly with reference to the Corinthian congregation addressed by Paul in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. There are two main objectives of the thesis: to produce a coherent interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 and to establish Paul's view of gender in the text.

The thesis consists of two parts. The first part investigates the significance of 'the veil' for the ancient Greeks and Romans respectively and compares certain aspects of gender in Greco-Roman culture and the letters of Paul. The material examined in this part can provide an overarching interpretive framework for the second part, which is an exegesis of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. The thesis demonstrates that the cultural significance of 'the veil' in classical antiquity provides useful insights into the interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. Paul's view of gender in the text shows a degree of consistency with the culture. Such nuanced treatment may prove valuable in understanding why the Corinthians are changing their attire and why Paul counsels men and women to practise in completely different ways.

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Abbreviations

Journals

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
BA	*The Biblical Archaeologist*
BibSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BTB	*Biblical Theology Bulletin*
CBQ	*The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
Historia	*Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JHB	*Journal of the History of Biology*
JHS	*The Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JTS	*The Journal of Theological Studies*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
SBL	*Society of Biblical Literature*
TrinJ	*Trinity Journal*
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
ZNW	Zeitschrift fur die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der eren Kirche

Ancient Sources

1 Macc.	*1 Maccabees*
1QSa	*Rule of the Congregation*
1 Tars.	*First Tarsic Discourse*
2 En.	*2 Enoch*
2 Fort.	*Fortune 2*
2 Olynth.	*2 Olynthiac*
Adul. amic.	*Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur*
Adv. Col.	*Adversus Colotem*
Aem.	*Aemilius Paullus*
Ages.	*Agesilaus*
Ant.	*Jewish Antiquities* (Josephus)
Ag.	*Agamemnon*
Amat.	*Amatorius*

Amph.	*Amphitruo*
Andr.	*Andromache*
Ann.	*Annales*
Ant. rom.	*Antiquitates romanae*
Apoc. Mos.	*Apocalypse of Moses*
Ars	*Ars amatoria*
ARV^2	*J. P. Beazley, Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
Asin.	*Asinaria*
Aug.	*Divus Augustus*
Aul.	*Aulularia*
Avot R. Nat.	*Avot de Rabbi Nathan*
Bacch.	*Bacchides*
BDAG	*A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*. 3rd edition. Based on Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, 6th edition, edited by Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, with Viktor Reichmann, and on previous English editions by William F. Arndt, F. Wilbur Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. Chicago: University Press, 2000.
BDF	F. Blass, and A. Debrunner *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature.* Translated and revised by Robert W. Funk. Chicago: University Press, 1961.
Bell. civ.	*Civil Wars*
Bell. Cat.	*Bellum catalinae*
Ber.	*Berakoth* (tractates)
Caes.	*Caesar*
Cal.	*Gaius Caligula*
Cas.	*Casina*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
Charm.	*Charmides*
Comp. Lyc. Num.	*Comparatio Lycurgi et Numae*
Clu.	*Pro Cluentio*
Cor.	*De corona*
Crat.	*Cratylus*
Ctes.	*Against Ctesiphon*
Cupid. divit.	*De cupiditate divitiarum*
Curc.	*Curculio*
Def. orac.	*De defectu oraculorum*
Descr.	*Description of Greece*
Deipn.	*Deipnosophists*
Dial.	*Dialogus de oratoribus*
Diatr.	*Diatribai*
El.	*Electra*
Epid.	*Epidicus*

Ench.	*Enchiridion*
Ep.	*Epistulae* (Plato)
Ep.	*Epistulae* (Pliny the Younger)
Exord.	*Exordia*
Fast.	*Fasti*
Galb.	*Galba*
Gen. an.	*Generation of Animals*
Germ.	*Germania*
Har. resp.	*De haruspicum responso*
Her.	*Heracles*
Hipp.	*Hippolytus*
Hist.	*Histories* (Polybius)
Hist.	*Historiae* (Tacitus)
Hist. an.	*History of Animals*
Hist. rom.	*Historiae romanae*
Hom. 1 Cor.	*Homiliae in epistulam i ad Corinthios*
Idol.	*De idololatria*
Il.	*Iliad*
Iph. taur.	*Iphigenia in Tauris*
Is. Os.	*De Iside Et Osiride*
Isthm.	*Isthmian Odes*
Jdt.	*Judith*
Jul.	*Divus Julius*
J. W.	*Jewish War*
L.A.E.	*Life of Adam and Eve*
Leg.	*Laws*
Legat.	*Legatio ad Gaium*
Leuc. Clit.	*Leucippe et Clitophon*
Lewis and Short	*A Latin Dictionary.* Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879.
LSJ	*A Greek-English lexicon*. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott 1811–1887, Henry Stuart Jones 1867–1939, P. G. W Glare. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
LXX	*The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. Translated by Sir L. C. L. Brenton. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986.
Lys.	*Lysistrata*
m. Sanh.	*Mishnah Sanhedrin*
Med.	*Medea*
Mem.	*Memorabilia*
Men.	*Menahoth* (tractates)
Metam.	*Metamorphoses*
Mil. glor.	*Miles gloriosus*
Mor.	*Moralia*
Morb. Sacr.	*De morbo sacro*
Moulton and Milligan	*The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament: Illustrated from the Papyri*

	and Other Non-Literary Sources, 2 vols. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan. New York: Gordon, 1977.
Mur.	*Pro Murena*
NASB	*New American Standard Bible*
Nat.	*Natural History*
Noct. att.	*Attic Nights*
Num.	*Numa*
Od.	*Odyssey*
Oec.	*Oeconomicus*
[Oec.]	*Economics*
Off.	*De officiis*
Opif.	*On the Creation*
Quaest. conv.	*Quaestionum conviviales*
Quaest. rom.	*Quaestiones romanae*
Per.	*Pericles*
Phil.	*Orationes philippicae*
Phoen.	*Phoenician Maidens*
Pol.	*Politics*
Pomp.	*Pompeius*
Phaedr.	*Phaedrus*
Prax.	*Against Praxeas*
Princ.	*De Principiis*
Pun.	*Punic Wars*
Pyth.	*Pythian Odes*
Pyth. orac.	*De Pythiae oraculis*
Rab. Gen.	*Midrash Rabbah on Genesis*
Rab. Post.	*Pro Rabirio Postumo*
Resp.	*De republica*
Rhet.	*Rhetoric*
Rom.	*Romulus*
Sat.	*Satirae* (Horace)
Sat.	*Satirae* (Juvenal)
Saty.	*Satyricon*
Sera	*De sera numinis vindicta*
Sim.	*Similitude*
Spec. Leg.	*On the Special Laws*
Sept.	*Seven Against Thebes*
Suav. viv.	*Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*
[Subl.]	*On the Sublime*
Suppl.	*Suppliant Women* (Aeschylus)
[Syntax.]	*On Organization*
Tg. Ps.-J.	*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*
Them.	*Themistocles*
Tib.	*Tiberius*
Tim.	*Timaeus* (Plato)
Tro.	*The Trojan Women*

TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Edited by Gerhard Kittel. Translated and edited by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, D. Litt., D. D. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964.
Verr.	*In Verrem*
Vict.	*De victu*
Virg.	*The Veiling of Virgins*
[Virt. vit.]	*Virtues and Vices*
Vit.	*Vitellius*

Unless otherwise stated, the ancient texts are cited from Loeb Classical Library; the biblical texts are cited from New Revised Standard Version; the Greek texts are cited from *Nestle-Aland Novum Testamentum Graece*, 27th revised edition.

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Chapter 1: The Significance of the Veil for Ancient Greek Women

Chapter 2: The Significance of the Veil for the Ancient Romans

Introduction

First Corinthians 11:2-16 has received a great deal of discussion among biblical scholars because this passage is of significant exegetical interest. Paul insists, within the context of honour-shame, on the proper head-covering/hair-style for men and women in the Corinthian community when praying and prophesying.[1] The text is difficult to understand since one of the important issues is that the cultural dimensions of Paul's arguments are unclear. Some studies have attempted to explain the following critical questions: What hair-styles and head-coverings were practised in the first-century Mediterranean world, and for the Corinthian community in particular? What were the cultural and religious implications of head-coverings? Why did the Corinthian men cover the head when attending public worship? Why did the Corinthian women remove or try to remove their covering given that Greco-Roman women generally veiled themselves in public? What is Paul's attitude to women when he insists on head-coverings?

The Veil in Contemporary Research

1. Veiling Practices in Social Contexts

In 1988 Cynthia Thompson attempted to examine portraits from the museum of the Corinth excavations in her eighteen-page article, 'Hairstyles, Head-coverings, and St. Paul,' to explore what is known of the Corinthian men and women in relation to

[1] This study sides with the majority of commentators and takes the object of uncovering (1 Cor. 11:5) as the head-covering. Whether Paul is concerned with covering the head with a garment or binding long hair in a certain hair-style is discussed in Chapter 5.

hairstyles and head-coverings in the first century CE. Her selection of artefacts includes marble statues, statuettes, and coins. One of the examples that portrays men is a larger-than-life statue of Augustus displayed in the Julian Basilica of Roman Corinth. In this depiction, Augustus is making a sacrifice with his *toga* draped over his head. Thompson argued that Roman men's head-coverings on certain occasions had religious significance. Paul proposes that, in contrast to Roman custom, the Corinthian men should pray and prophesy with their heads uncovered to differentiate them from the worship of idols. As for women, most of the artefacts presented by Thompson depict women with uncovered heads. This led her to claim that Greco-Roman women appearing bare-headed in public seemed to be a socially acceptable practice. The Corinthian women felt that they could choose whether or not to cover their heads at worship, which Paul might be aware of. Nevertheless, he recommended that they cover their heads, for Paul originally came from Tarsus where women were required to be veiled.[2] Thompson made the valuable point that serves to interpret Paul's purpose. Her sources are closely relevant to everyday life of first-century Roman Corinth, but the detailed analyses of the artefacts, particularly the female portraits, are insufficient regarding their ethnicity and social status which seem to be important factors to determine whether or not a woman was likely to wear a head-covering. Additionally, Thompson's literary evidence is limited in number and description.

Richard Oster is probably the first to emphasise the presence of Roman elements at first-century Corinth as a cultural context of Paul's injunctions on the practice of the head-covering. In his article, 'When Men Wore Veils to Worship: The Historical Context

[2] Paul said that he was from Tarsus (Acts 21:39, 22:3). Dio Chrysostom (40–120 CE) tells us that social customs prescribed that women covered themselves in the street so that neither the face nor the rest of the body could be seen (Dio Chrysostom *1 Tars.* 48-49, cited by Thompson 1988: 113).

of 1 Corinthians 11.4,' Oster attempts to reconstruct the social context of first-century Corinth to help understand the practices of men's hair-style or head-coverings noted by Paul. Oster firstly collects archaeological and literary evidence as well as secondary sources to demonstrate that Roman values and culture become so predominant in the Corinth of Paul's day.[3] Then, he contrasts Greek attitudes toward apparel in religious ceremonies to that of Roman attitudes, arguing that Roman clothes more often indicated the social rank of the individual. Roman men were much more irrevocably bound to the regulations on proper clothing in religious sacrifice, especially head-coverings. The priests, rulers, and Vestal Virgins, as well as laymen with their heads covered performing sacrifices, are visually attested in literary and archaeological evidence and some of them are shown in Corinth from the late Republic to the early Empire.[4] The gesture known as *capite velato*, in which Roman sacrificants pull their garments over the back of the head, provides a close parallel to what Paul describes in 1 Cor. 11:4. Oster concludes that the issue of whether the Corinthian men may cover their heads in the worship service of the assembly is that they likely practised the Roman custom of *capite velato* before converting to Christianity and continued to do so in the Christian fellowship at Corinth.[5]

In response to Thompson's discussion, David Gill's article, 'The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16,' develops the detailed analyses of the statues of Augustus and some of the social elites at Corinth as well as other geographical places in the first century CE. As for men, Gill agrees with the observation of Oster that the gesture *capite velato* was the symbolic mark of Roman sacrificants performing the religious ritual. Similar to Oster, who explains that the

[3] Oster 1988: 488–93.
[4] Ibid: 493–96.
[5] Ibid: 502–5.

Corinthian men with their heads covered when praying and prophesying were to uphold the ethos of Roman devotional apparel, Gill remarks that for a Roman man to have a public marble statue presented with *capite velato* was a great honour. He must have held a very influential position within the colony. Such a context might fit well for Paul's teaching on the male head-covering. Some members of the social elite within the Corinthian community might adopt the form of *capite velato* at worship to draw attention to their status in the community.[6] As for female head-coverings in the statues, Gill finds that some women are presented with covered heads; others are not. With the exception of the Vestal Virgins, the veil in these contexts, seems to symbolise the wife honouring her husband. The statues depicting women with unveiled heads indicate that these women may be from prestigious families and their hair-styles might be socially acceptable. When addressing women in 11:2-16, Paul is likely to be concerned that the Corinthian wives might put their husbands to shame if they would appear at worship without head-coverings.[7]

2. The Veil and Honour-shame

Mark Finney explores in close detail the notions of honour and shame in Greco-Roman culture for interpreting the significance of the veil in Paul's argument. Finney examines the social scenarios of ancient texts as well as artistic representations in which men and women wore head-dresses while appearing in liturgical and non-liturgical activities. Agreeing with the observations made by Thompson, Oster, and Gill concerning male head-coverings in Greco-Roman liturgical settings, Finney offers a treatment of male

[6] Gill 1990: 245–51.
[7] Ibid: 251–56.

head-coverings in public (non-liturgical) settings. He finds that Roman social elites seemed to have a choice of whether or not to cover their heads in public, though they were more often uncovered.[8] As for women in everyday situations, they would appear in the street with head-coverings; a woman with an unveiled head in public was traditionally deemed as a sign of shame associated with female unchastity. As for female head-coverings in Greco-Roman liturgical settings, they displayed a variety of patterns. In religious ceremonies such as the *Ara Pacis*, for example, some women are presented with head-coverings upon their heads; others are not. Roman brides wore veils. Women uncovered their heads publicly when in mourning. The wife might uncover her head in domestic worship. The above evidence suggests, according to Finney, that women probably uncovered their heads amongst kin in private liturgical settings, while they may have chosen to cover their heads in public ceremonies.[9] In light of the framework of honour and shame in the Greco-Roman context, Paul's instructions on the Corinthian women's head-coverings suggest that some women left their heads unveiled when praying and prophesying in the assembly as if they were present at the 'private' domestic cult. They might have thought that all believers in the *ekklesia* were their fictive kin. But Paul is probably concerned with the coming of visitors, non-believers, and strangers who

[8] Finney 2010: 35.

[9] Ibid: 36–39. Finney's hypothesis that the woman may have appeared with her head uncovered in the Roman domestic cult setting depends on Bruce Winter's argument that a married woman did not normally wear her head-covering in her own house even in the presence of a friend (Winter 2001: 128). Winter cites from ancient literature (e.g., Ovid, Catullus, and Plutarch) and modern scholars (e.g., Fantham et al. 1994: 280–93) to argue that there was a radical change concerning the status of Roman wives in early Imperial values; it was present at colonial Corinth. More well-born Roman women began to revel in their own social class. They indulged themselves with sexual pleasure outside of marriage. They were so called 'New Women'. First Corinthians 5 provides evidence of the illicit sexual behaviour of a wife with her stepson (Winter 2001: 123–26).

were non-kin of Christ-believers and with women unveiling[10] in 'public' out of respect for common propriety and social customs.[11]

Similarly, in her rhetorical analysis of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 in *The Corinthian Women Prophets*, Antoinette Clark Wire pays more attention to the arguments surrounding honour-shame. She explains the reasons why Paul persuades the men to be unveiled and the women veiled as theologically motivated. She suggests that the greater is the head of the lesser and the lesser is the glory of the greater who is honoured by the presence of the lesser. Man's head is distinguishable from woman's head. It is therefore justified to differentiate the head-covering of men and women. Given the fact that it is unclear whether the Corinthians have neglected Paul's previous instruction or Paul wants to change the present practice of head-covering, men's conduct might be the issue in Corinth because Paul addresses men first.[12] This speculation sounds unconvincing, although Wire stresses that God's glory is an essential part of Paul's theology. Verses 5, 6, and 13 are explicit imperatives to women's practice of veiling.[13] For the women, Wire continues, the veil appearing on their heads complies with Paul's instruction. Uncovering the head is merely an appeal or a hair-style in the congregation that justifies the gender difference of worship roles.[14]

Wire claims that the term 'shame' is the central rhetorical device in Paul's effort to persuade the women prophets to veil. She assumes that a woman's shame is linked with a man's honour in Greco-Roman culture. Paul indicates that the Corinthian women were

[10] In this study 'veil' or 'head-covering' will be used to refer to any garment that covers the head or the face. 'Veiling' means covering the head and sometimes also the face with a garment. The terms 'veil' and 'head-covering' are interchangeable.
[11] Finney 2010: 49–51.
[12] Wire 1990: 118.
[13] This is also confirmed by D'Angelo (1995: 152).
[14] Wire 1990: 116–18.

not social outcasts but were worthy of respect in the community.[15] Although Paul might allude to the creation story in 11:7, he does not quote Gen. 1:27. He views Christ as being the second Adam. Adam leads the way to death but Christ leads the way to life (Rom. 5:12-21). Woman is the glory of man. Man is in Christ not in the first Adam. Paul also draws from Genesis 2 to support 1 Cor. 11:8-9, reminding his recipient of woman's humble origins and alluding to woman's behaviour, which could make her head either glorious or shameful. In Roman culture, a wife was responsible for her husband's honour and so the Corinthian women were responsible for the honour of their men.[16] For man is the image of God and woman is the reflection of man (11:7); consequently, a woman's conduct affects the glory of Christ and God. Given the assumption that people seek their own glory at the expense of the glory of God, Paul persuades the Corinthian women to give up their own will by veiling for the sake of the custom.[17]

3. The Veil and Female Sexuality

Mary Rose D'Angelo and Dale Martin each seek to establish why the veiling of women was necessary in the Corinthian community by looking at this matter from the perspective of female sexuality. Their studies show interesting similarities in some areas. Both examined the rhetoric of Paul, Tertullian's (160–220 CE) view on veiling practices among early Christian women, and the significance of the veil in Greco-Roman culture. Both concluded that, in the sources noted above, the woman's head had the sexual

[15] Ibid: 119.
[16] It has been widely accepted that in Mediterranean culture a wife should be chaste. If the wife commits adultery, the sense is that her husband has failed to protect her honour. He is impotent to satisfy his wife sexually. This is a humiliation for the husband and results in his loss of honour (Malina and Neyrey 1991: 42–43; Rabichev 1996: 53; Malina 2001: 47–48).
[17] Wire 1990: 119–20.

character; it could dominate the male gaze. Men might steal glances at a woman's head so that the head was sometimes (or at least partly) erotic. D'Angelo and Martin each conducted their own comprehensive surveys of Tertullian's treatise *De virginibus velandis* (The Veiling of Virgins) and have made the same discoveries. Tertullian states that since the male gaze especially violates virginity, and the eyes of a virgin endanger men, a virgin should strive not to be seen at all. Arabian women could be a good example, because they cover not only the head but also the face.[18] In the words of Tertullian, 'let her whose lower parts are not bare have her upper likewise covered.'[19] The veil of the head should thus function as a helmet or shield to protect its glory against temptation, scandal, and suspicions.[20] D'Angelo draws out the implications of Tertullian's points that a woman's unveiled head puts her in danger of sexual immorality. His instructions on women's head-dresses protect them from 'men who are susceptible to this sin of concupiscence in response to women's beauty.'[21] Martin states: 'Veiling is important, according to Tertullian, as protection against the penetrating gaze…The covering of a woman's head, moreover, symbolizes—and in some way actually seems to enact—the covering of her genitals.'[22] D'Angelo's and Martin's investigations on Tertullian may provide important insights into our understanding of the situation of the women noted in 1 Cor. 11:2-16, but Paul and Tertullian lived apart from each other by two centuries; the relevance of Tertullian's views on women's heads to those of Paul is questionable as the social settings of each are different.

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[18] Tertullian *Virg.* 17.1-3; D'Angelo 1995: 145.
[19] Tertullian *Virg.* 12.1; D'Angelo 1995: 146; Martin 1995: 246.
[20] Tertullian *Virg.* 15.1-2; D'Angelo 1995: 148; Martin 1995: 247.
[21] D'Angelo 1995: 146.
[22] Martin 1995: 246.

However, one can also recognise differences between D'Angelo's and Martin's studies. As to which text indicates the sexual character of women's heads in 1 Corinthians, D'Angelo remarked that in 1 Cor. 12:23-24 in particular, Paul states that in the community of believers, each person is a member of the body of Christ. All believers are dependent on one another; each is to expect and receive help from the rest, for in the natural body of man, the members of the body should be closely united. The weak should be treated with special care. D'Angelo relates 1 Cor. 12:23-24 to 1 Cor. 11:2-16, associating the phrase ἀτιμότερα[23] εἶναι τοῦ σώματος ('the less honourable of the body') in 1 Cor. 12:23 with the woman's head.[24] In contrast to D'Angelo, Martin noted that 1 Cor. 11:10 in particular implies the sexual threat caused towards the Corinthians at worship by the woman with the uncovered head. Firstly, regardless of certain texts such as Matt. 22:30, which speaks of angels as sexless, there were Jewish lines of thought (e.g., Genesis 6, 1 Enoch 7) asserting that angels were sexual beings who had lusted over human women. Secondly, Tertullian interpreted 'because of the angels' as referring to Gen. 6:2-5, which discusses the angels' lust for the daughters of men.[25] Thirdly, in Paul's letters, angels often play highly ambivalent roles, becoming ungodly and possessing demonic powers (1 Cor. 6:2-3; 2 Cor. 12:7; Rom. 8:38).[26] As to the evidence on the significance of the veil in Greco-Roman culture, Martin analysed the classical Greek wedding, Homeric texts, and Greek medical writers. He found that an important ritual during the wedding was known as ἀνακαλυπτήρια, the unveiling of the bride. It meant that the bride had to veil herself during the wedding until her husband uncovered her

[23] BDAG renders its meaning as 'to be considered relatively unimportant, insignificant'.
[24] D'Angelo 1995: 135–36.
[25] Tertullian *Virg.* 1.7.
[26] Martin 1995: 243–44.

head. This ritual symbolises the breaking of barriers and submission of the bride to her husband. A Greek term for 'veil' is κρήδεμνον. In Homeric texts it can refer to a stopper, a seal, or the cover of a wine jug, as well as the protection of a city. For Greek medical writers it connotes the 'closed' uterus of a virgin. 'To loose the κρήδεμνον' refers to the defloration of a virgin. Thus, veiling symbolises not only the protection of the woman's head from sexual violation but also the protection of social hierarchy from the threat of female sexuality.[27]

In his Master's dissertation, Aldar Nommik studies thoroughly Tertullian's treaties including *De virginibus velandis*. Unlike D'Angelo and Martin, who found that women's heads have a sexual character for Tertullian, Nommik explores how Tertullian and two other church fathers[28] received 1 Cor. 11:2-16 regarding the subject matter of the passage. Is it concerned with the issue of head-coverings or long hair? Not surprisingly, for Nommik, Tertullian strongly enforced Christian women covering their heads in the church and claimed that upholding such a practice was to follow the apostolic tradition.[29] In Irenaeus' version of 1 Cor. 11:10, the word ἐξουσίαν is substituted with κάλυμμα ('veil'). This indicates that 'the subject matter of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 was considered by certain early Christians (perhaps also Irenaeus himself) to be concerned with head-coverings'.[30] Nommik quotes extensively Clement's comments on the clothing of the Christian women, suggesting that Clement considered Paul's instructions in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 to be a reference to head-coverings instead of long hair.[31]

[27] Ibid: 234–35.
[28] Irenaeus (130–202 CE) and Clement of Alexandria (150–215 CE).
[29] Nommik 2016: 16.
[30] Ibid: 14.
[31] Ibid: 15.

With the same question of head-coverings or long hair, Nommik also draws attention to the evidence on the veiling of men and women in the ancient Greek and Roman cultures concerning the possible practices of veiling that were observed in first-century Corinth. Nommik consults primary sources as well as secondary sources.[32] The primary sources include Dio Chrysostom's *First Tarsic Discourse* 48-49 and Plutarch's (46–120CE) words that men covered their heads in worship settings of the Roman custom.[33] Nommik thinks that Plutarch's use of Greek language in his description of this custom reflects Paul's idea in 1 Cor. 11:4.[34] Of the secondary sources, Nommik summarises his findings that a respectable woman wearing a veil in public was considered as proper conduct in both Greek and Roman cultures and symbolised the female modesty and protection of the woman from the gaze of unrelated males.[35] The reception history of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 in the early church as well as Greco-Roman customs with respect to the head-dresses of men and women led Nommik to conclude that Paul is most likely concerned with head-coverings, not long hair.[36]

4. The Veil and Gender

Gender issues of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 have been controversial and much-disputed subjects within the field of New Testament scholarship. It has been widely recognised that the division between male and female is demarcated by the veil with respect to gender roles, but the interpretations of Paul's intention vary. Both Alexander Bearden and Kirk

[32] The secondary sources used by Nommik include Thompson 1988, Gill 1990, Sebesta and Bonfante (eds.) 2001, Llewellyn-Jones (ed.) 2002, Llewellyn-Jones 2003, Olson 2008 (Nommik 2016: 5).
[33] Plutarch *Mor.* 266C.
[34] Nommik 2016: 7.
[35] Ibid: 5.
[36] Ibid: 19.

MacGregor argue that the problem with the Corinthians is associated with a possible cross-gender appearance due to cross-dressing and uncovering of the head. Paul is primarily concerned with how the culture perceives the Corinthian women when they abolished gender distinctions. He is to ensure that men looked like men and women looked like women.[37] Elaine Pagels states that the veil is the traditional sign of subordination of women to men. Paul's insistence on the veil is to demonstrate a hierarchy of subordination.[38] In *In Memory of Her*, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza maintains that Paul's argument in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 seeks to introduce the Corinthian men and women to a deeper understanding of gender equality in the Lord. First, Paul establishes a theologically descending hierarchy, God—Christ—Man—Woman (v. 3). The 'head' or 'source' of woman is man, just as the 'head' or 'source' of Christ is God in the sense that each preceding member establishes the other's being. Woman and man are equal since Christ and God are equal. Next, the statement 'man is the image and glory of God, while woman is the glory of man' (v. 7) does not deny woman's status as 'the image of God'. Moreover, 'long hair is a glory of a woman' (v. 15) is significant to indicate the gender difference between men and women in nature, while they are equal 'in the Lord' (v. 11). Practically, 1 Cor. 11:2-16 concerns women's behaviour and the order in the worship service of the *ekklesia*.[39] Schüssler Fiorenza's treatment of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 concerning gender issues lacks engagement with sufficient exegetical justifications. She states that Paul does not deny woman the 'image of God' status,[40] but she fails to develop the point with sufficient clarity.

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[37] Bearden 2005: 18; MacGregor 2009: 213–14.
[38] Pagels 1974: 543–44.
[39] Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 228–29.
[40] Ibid: 229.

Jorunn Økland uses the same approach of feminist reading for 1 Cor. 11:2-16 as Schüssler Fiorenza, but draws a different conclusion—namely, that Paul's instructions were intended to confine women to a minimum presence in the *ekklesia*. In chapter 6 of her book *Women in Their Place*, Jorunn Økland states that Paul's idea of the *ekklesia* is representative of a kind of cosmological entity characterised by masculinity. How does Paul allocate the men and the women to the *ekklesia*? In 1 Cor. 11-14 he creates a hierarchical structure and addresses the discourses of gender differences and ritual rules. In these chapters, boundaries are set concerning, for example, proper dress, language, and order so that believers and non-believers, and men and women can be differentiated. Man's place is closer to the divine than that of woman. The female is designated under the male and at a minimal level as the presence of the female in the *ekklesia* might cause disturbance.[41] He instructs the women to cover their heads when they prayed and prophesied in order to insist on the gender boundaries and physical markers of the body. The head-covering was used by Paul to establish gender boundaries, which helps him to demonstrate his cosmic gender hierarchy. Such boundaries allow both genders to present at the same ritual space with the same ritual patterns of action. Paul's idea of the gendered sanctuary space intends to exclude the female from the level of representation, keeping her silent presence under a covering.[42] There are some problems with Økland's reading of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. First, like Schüssler Fiorenza, Økland's treatment of this text lacks engagement with sufficient exegetical justifications. Second, Økland seems to miss out the point of the 'shame' in verses 4-5 and fails to seriously discuss its significance

[41] Økland 2004: 168–73.
[42] Ibid: 173–94.

since she believes that the veil is not the crucial point here.[43] Furthermore, Økland's interpretation of verse 11 that 'in 11.11 Paul is not bringing the gender distinction from creation to an end "in the Lord"'[44] is not convincing for she insists that 'he [Paul] is appealing to a "past" and a "tradition" adjusted to his own purpose.'[45]

In her article, 'Gender and Creation in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16: A Study in Paul's Theological Method,' Judith Gundry-Volf seeks to ease the tension between Paul's reading of the biblical creation accounts in 11:7-9, characterised as gender hierarchy, and 'eschatological life in Christ' in 11:11-12, characterised as gender equality. She does so by examining the grammatical and thematic relationship of these verses to their contexts, explaining how these two 'opposing' readings of Paul on gender fit into honour and shame social values in the Mediterranean world. Gundry-Volf assumes that the argument from creation (11:7-9) is used by Paul in order to offer a supporting argument as to why the woman's head should be covered when praying and prophesying according to the culture (11:5-6). If 'shame' is the central motif in 11:4-6, 'glory' should be the central motif in 11:7-9. First Corinthians 11:7-9 emphasises the specific obligation of woman bringing glory to man concerning her gender roles in creation. 'Let her be covered' (11:6b) is the equivalent to 'the woman is the glory of man' (11:7b).[46] Combining 11:5-6 and 11:7-9, Paul is saying that the woman with an uncovered head while at worship is a woman opposed to her gender identity as defined within the culture, putting her 'head' to shame. Instead, she should glorify her 'head' by covering her head, an action which reflects the gender roles of creation. Although the sense of gender differences and the

[43] Økland 2004: 171.
[44] Ibid: 187.
[45] Ibid: 187.
[46] Gundry-Volf 1997: 153.

priority of man over woman are implied in 11:7-9, they are secondary for Paul, who intends to avoid social shame. In other words, Paul's patriarchal reading of the biblical creation accounts in 11:7-9 considers the honour and shame culture defined in terms of the social hierarchy of the Mediterranean world.[47] Paul's reflection on gender equality in 11:11-12 comes from the social context of the assembly of Christ believers, where men and women prayed and prophesied without gender distinctions and the social hierarchy tended to be reducible. The diverse social contexts in the *ekklesia* determine whether Paul would affirm the traditions or the 'life in Christ'. In the case of 1 Cor. 11:2-16, he adopts both a patriarchal and an egalitarian framework on gender roles because there are two contrasting social contexts in his mind: the cultural context, in which honour and shame rested on the maintenance of the gender identities, and the immediate context of Christian worship, in which unclear gender boundaries were acceptable. Paul wants to respect honour and shame values within the Corinthian community because of the presence of outsiders.[48] Thus, the gender discourses in 11:7-9 and 11:11-12 do not contrast with one another as Paul read creation in two ways to instruct that the Corinthian women could both experience gender equality by praying and prophesying and avoid social shame by wearing feminine hairstyles symbolising the traditional gender roles.[49] Gundry-Volf's dialectic considerations of the three factors of the creational order, honour-shame societies, and eschatological life in Christ suggest that gender relations in 11:2-16 might not be simply categorised as two polarised views of 'egalitarianism' or 'subordinationism'. Each verse should not be treated in isolation from others.

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[47] Ibid: 154–58.
[48] Gundry-Volf notes that in 1 Cor. 14:23 Paul is concerned with the negative impression to outsiders if the whole church assemblies speak in tongues (Gundry-Volf 1997: 154).
[49] Gundry-Volf 1997: 164–70.

Incorporating the practices of veiling among women in the Mediterranean world and gender behaviour in first-century Roman Corinth, Cynthia Long Westfall in her book *Paul and Gender* examines the most relevant factors contributing to Paul's insistence on the female veiling in the Corinthian community. Westfall remarks that because not many members of the *ekklesia* in Corinth were of a high social status (1 Cor. 1:26), the low-status Corinthian women might include female slaves or prostitutes who were prohibited from veiling according to the customs and Roman law. On the other hand, a woman with her head covered was demonstrating her modesty, honour, and status. Thus, if the female slaves or prostitutes prayed and prophesied at worship, they should have desired to cover their heads instead of exposing themselves to shame by removing their head-coverings. The issue of the unveiling in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 is probably to do with the Corinthian male or female family members who had authority over the women commanding the removal of the veil. Their motivation of preventing the women from veiling is possibly that a certain group of men intended to enforce the dress code of Roman law and the conventions that low-status women should not cover their heads. Such practice of the female veiling in the *ekklesia* could maintain the social order and distinctions between the social ranks. However, Paul respected honour and sexual purity of all women in the community and supported gender equality by insisting on head-coverings for women. The veil symbolises female honour and chastity rather than women's subordination to men in this context.[50] Westfall's reconstruction of the situation in the Corinthian community offers unique insights into the association of gender relations with the head-covering. It is plausible that female slaves and prostitutes appeared bare-headed in everyday life according to Roman law and the traditions, but Westfall provides little evidence for the participation of female

[50] Westfall 2016: 23–30.

slaves and prostitutes in the Corinthian community. Moreover, the proposition that Paul supported these women for their desire to veil seems to be inconsistent with 1 Cor. 11:5b-6 in which Paul drew an analogy with a woman with the uncovered head and the woman with the shaved head to illustrate the public humiliation that the former would receive. The latter was generally referred to as belonging to a group of women who were sexually impure.[51] Paul apparently showed a negative view of such women in this context. The female prostitutes noted by Westfall likely belonged to this group of women. Why did Paul both support the female prostitutes in the community and expose their humiliation at the same time?

Summary

This survey of scholarly developments on the socio-cultural contexts of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 to determine the significance of the veil in Paul's argument shows that New Testament scholars have been increasingly aware of the importance of complex social, sexual, and gendered relationships of the Mediterranean world. However, the methods adopted in these studies tend to be of limited value. Although Gill and Finney have provided additional literary and artistic evidence on the practices of the head-covering among men and women at liturgical and non-liturgical settings based on Thompson's observations and have offered new insights into the meaning and function of the head-covering, their analyses of the evidence are restricted to the traditionally historical approach and the stereotypes of the honour-shame framework. D'Angelo, Martin, and Nommik primarily depend on Tertullian's view on women's heads, which means that they have confined themselves to a limited number of sources at their disposal in order to

[51] The identity of the woman with the shaved head will be discussed in Chapter 5.

assess Paul's argument. Despite the nuances of gender relations that the feminist approaches have explained for understanding Paul's argument, the significance of the veil in the ancient culture they quoted is primarily drawn from contemporary sources.

The Aims of this Thesis

Despite the apparent interest in Greco-Roman sources displayed in past research on the significance of head-coverings, no thorough investigation has yet been carried out on the connection between veiling in honour-shame values of the Mediterranean world and Paul's argument. This will be the main focus and concern of this particular study. It aims to reconstruct as clear an image as is feasible of the head-covering in the congregation of first-century Corinth by exploring the different stances and values adopted by Paul and various groups on the subject of the veiling of men and women during worship. Background studies include the ancient discourses about honour-shame culture in the early Empire and about veiling in the classical world in relation to its religious and social significance as dress signifies the wearer's social position and addresses various symbolic implications (Chapters 1–2). Additionally, a study concerning Paul on marriage and authority will be carried out to understand the meaning of 'head' in 1 Cor. 11:3 (Chapter 3). This is followed by an exegetical examination of the entire pericope (Chapters 4–6) in light of the study in Chapters 1–3 to attempt to provide it with a greater degree of coherence and logic of Paul's argument. As such, all of these sources render the possibility for reconstructing veiling practices in the Corinthian community as shown in the Conclusion. It is hoped that this interdisciplinary study becomes a contribution to the current interest in the interpretation of the cultural dimension of veiling practices in the

Corinthian community. It may also lead to some critical awareness about the relevance of status and clothing reflected on the issue of head-covering in Pauline studies. It is expected that what is covered in this work illustrates a methodology that may be viewed as an attempt to enhance a body of information for future research.

Methodology

1. The Greeks and Romans as the Majority of Participants in the ekklesia *at Corinth*

This study will cover the practices of veiling in the Greek and Roman social contexts respectively, not the Jewish context. Thompson has briefly remarked that the customs of the veil in early Judaism, as part of Paul's background, was possibly influential on him in writing to the Corinthians.[52] Finney has examined the head-gear of priestly and non-priestly men in the LXX and Mishnah, as well as the female head-coverings in the LXX and the paintings featuring biblical scenes in the Dura Synagogue (the second and third centuries CE).[53] However, the presence of a number of Jewish members in the Corinthian congregation is called into question. Massingberd Ford has argued that the Corinthian converts appeared to mainly consist of proselytes rather than Greeks and Romans. According to Ford, the terms ἕλληνας (Greeks) in Acts 18:4 and ἔθνη (Gentiles) in Acts 18:7 do not necessarily denote pagans but carry a sense of religious and moral inferiority in the Jewish faith. The women among these Greeks and Gentiles of the Corinthian community may have observed Jewish customs.[54] Ford's argument is not convincing.

[52] Thompson 1988: 113.
[53] Finney 2010: 41–44.
[54] Ford 1966: 402–6. The existence of a Jewish synagogue at Corinth is attested in Acts 18:4. Philo (20 BCE–50 CE) noted that Corinth was one of the Jewish colonies in the east of Jerusalem (Philo *Legat*. 281f). An inscribed lintel at Corinth says: συν]αγωγὴ Ἑβρ[αίων, 'Synagogue of the Hebrews' (Photo in Wiseman 1979: Plate 5 n. 8). Although this lintel probably dates from the latter part of the second century

There were some members with the Jewish origins in the community, but there is little direct evidence of a Jewish background found in the letter of 1 Corinthians. Others argue that most of the Corinthians were former Gentiles with a Hellenistic worldview and attitude.[55] Indeed, the archaeological excavations report that the temples dedicated to Poseidon, Aphrodite, Apollo, Demeter, Kore, and Asclepios are found at first-century Corinth.[56] The Corinthian believers had probably been influenced by these Greco-Roman cults before they converted to Christ. Strabo (64/63 BCE–24 CE) remarked that the city of Corinth was a metropolis of pluralism since it gained its wealth from commerce and the multitude of the courtesans of Aphrodite. It was crowded with people.[57] As Fee said: 'The scattered pieces of evidence from Acts, 1 Corinthians, and Romans suggest that the church was in many ways a mirror of the city.'[58] Additionally, Paul explicitly pointed out that the Corinthians were 'worldly' since they were acting like mere men (1 Cor. 3:3). They were once ἔθνη and had been led astray to mute idols (1 Cor. 12:2). They appeared to be familiar with Paul's discussion of the issue of food offered to idols (1 Cor. 8, 10). Such allusions to the external and internal evidence serve to confirm that Greeks and Romans were the major members of the Corinthian converts. This fact provides an explanatory background for determining which social norms of head-coverings are most relevant to, and should be focused on, in the present study.

2. The Veiling Practice of the Ancient Greeks and Romans

CE and is not found on the site of the original building, it does not necessarily refute the existence of the Jewish community in the Corinth of Paul's day (Collins 1999: 22).

[55] Fee 1987: 4; Collins 1999: 22; Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 3.

[56] Thiselton 2000: 6.

[57] Strabo 8.6.20.

[58] Fee 1987: 3. Acts 18:1-18; 1 Cor. 1:10-17, 16:15-17; Rom. 16:23.

The central part of this investigation (Chapters 1–2) attempts to trace the practices of veiling among men and women in Greek and Roman social contexts respectively and their relevance to the Corinthian men and women with the aid of a substantial amount of material assembled from literary texts. Many examples of the veiling of the head in literature could be analysed to help establish whether there are some common elements that might be used to illuminate what it meant for a man and a woman to veil with the considerations of gender and honour-shame. The first step of the examination will carry out a survey of the veil-terms contained in Greek and Latin languages. This must suggest that different words indicated physical characteristics and various usages in veil-types found throughout the Greek and Roman societies. The head-covering was one of a number of elemental garments in the life of the Greeks and Romans. In addition, each type of 'veil' could have suggested the age and social status of the wearer. The second part of the examination is concerned with evidence for the influence of Greek traditions as well as Roman patterns of culture in first-century Corinth by locating the archaeological remains. We find that the colony has obvious Greek cultural affiliations, but also that there is a Roman character to much of the civic life, such as Roman legislation on social order which gained prominence at Corinth. This would indicate that the Corinthians would be familiar with the veiling practices of the Greek and Roman societies. The third part of the examination will identify veiling practices in the Greek and Roman societies in more detail, including when and where the head-covering was worn and the social status of the wearer. These practices would have direct relevance to the Corinthian men and women. Certainly, it is necessary to explore the social level of the Corinthians. Were they elite, freeborn, freedmen/freedwomen? Or were they slaves?

Fourthly, the discussion of the veil will be devoted to its multivalence of meaning in Greek and Roman thought, with emphasis on the relationship of gender to veiling. The examination will ask: In what spatial arrangement was veiling employed—'outside' or 'inside', 'public' or 'private'? What does this say about the male-female relationship and the roles of the sexes? It is hoped, therefore, that it will be possible to identify more precisely the particular implications for the Corinthian women who removed their veils during public meetings. Of course, literary evidence regarding the use of devotional head-coverings in Roman religious rites will be interpreted and correlated with the situation of men as depicted in 1 Cor. 11:4.

3. The Veil and Honour-shame Values in the Mediterranean World

The discussions of Finney, Wire, and Gundry-Volf demonstrate that the notions of honour and shame are of significance in ancient cultures. In 1 Cor. 11:2-16, Paul used the honour-shame terminology in a consistent way that characterises the background of the Corinthians as an honour-shame society with which they seemed to be so familiar: ἐπαινέω ('praise', v. 2), καταισχύνω ('dishonour', vv. 4, 5), αἰσχρός ('shame', v. 6), δόξα ('glory', vv. 7, 15), and ἀτιμία ('dishonour', v. 14). Over recent decades, there has been a significant rise in the number of studies by scholars on male honour in the biblical and classical world,[59] yet little has been explored on Greek and Roman customs of female shame in connection with the head-covering, particularly this section of Paul's letter. As Troels Engberg-Pedersen points out, 'as far as I can see no one has explained

[59] For example, Lendon 1997; Barton 2001; Malina 2001; Finney 2012.

it [shame] properly.'[60] To understand female shame in antiquity, the present study will adopt an approach that examines cultural anthropology of the Mediterranean (Chapters 1–2). For one thing, the gender-based honour-shame moral system makes Mediterranean culture very distinctive.[61] Second, Maureen Giovannini states that:

> Despite considerable variation in the content of Mediterranean moral-evaluative systems, some striking parallels exist which cannot be ignored. One of these is the cultural emphasis on female chastity as an indicator of social worth for individuals and their respective kin groups. Consistent with this pattern is male control over female sexuality since men are usually responsible for protecting the chastity of their female relatives.[62]

This cultural emphasis on female chastity 'remains strong throughout the region despite modernization.'[63] This indicates that the exact contents of female chastity codes[64] might change temporally and geographically depending on different social contexts, but the fact that male honour is determined by the reputation of the female relatives is a common theme. By applying to selected Greek and Latin texts some key values of female chastity codes described by anthropological research for honour-shame societies in the Mediterranean area, we might perceive how honour and shame manifest themselves in behaviour and how they shape the veiling practices, relating them to the Corinthian women. Margaret MacDonald contends that:

> With an understanding of the honour and shame syndrome in Mediterranean society, it becomes much easier to comprehend why a cultural concern for a loss of manliness

[60] Engberg-Pedersen 1991: 682, n. 11.
[61] Gilmore 1987: 17.
[62] Giovannini 1987: 61.
[63] Gilmore 1987: 3.
[64] According to Fredrik C. Ljungqvist, 'a chastity code, a set of rules and regulations that govern how women should demonstrate sexual unavailability, prescribes the forms of control' (Ljungqvist 2012: 139).

becomes superimposed on a discussion of women removing their head covering in the midst of the *ekklesia*.[65]

4. Gender Relations

Honour/shame values and the practice of veiling in mid-century Greco-Roman culture provide an analytical background for an understanding of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. 'The sociocultural factors, however, still represent only part of a wider picture.'[66] Certainly, the respective analyses of Schüssler Fiorenza, Økland, and Gundry-Volf reflect the fact that, for scholars who are particularly interested in Paul's position on women, 1 Cor. 11:2-16 is a hotly debated biblical text. A full discussion of Paul's view on gender is beyond the scope of this study, but we would in a general sense contrast gendered hierarchy in Roman marriage and social relations to Paul on marriage and headship respectively (Chapter 3), for these two aspects (marriage and headship) of gender are immediately relevant to 1 Cor. 11:2-16. We will also investigate the letters of Paul that contain specific references to women in an attempt to establish his attitude toward women. We aim to gain insights into the gender issues raised in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. Chapter 3 will primarily focus on modern literature to inform further discussion on attitudes towards marriage and authority in Roman society since there are a number of studies available on women and gender in the Greco-Roman world. Concerning the Pauline passages, the examination will be restricted to the undisputed letters of Paul along with

[65] MacDonald 1996: 146.
[66] Thiselton 2000: 803.

scholarly engagements in these Pauline passages.[67] We will pay attention to Paul's references to Prisca, Euodia, Syntyche, and Phoebe by interacting with biblical scholarships on these women. Through the study of these remarkable characters in the world of Paul, his attitude toward women will be explicitly revealed. An understanding of Paul on marriage and authority could assist to solve the issue of inconsistency in his argument. On the one hand, he seems to call for a return to hierarchical patterns that had been rooted in the gender-divided Greco-Roman society (1 Cor. 11:3-9). On the other hand, he claims that, 'in the Lord,' the inequality through gender-based priority is removed, which is implied in 1 Cor. 11:11-12. It is hoped that the study might formulate a principle that can be considered in an attempt to determine which point is reasonably given more weight than others and to explain why the determination is appropriate to fit into the context.

5. An Exegesis of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16

After exploring the practices of head-covering among men and women, female chastity, and some aspects of gender in Greek and Roman social contexts, it is possible to re-examine the passage of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 verse by verse to offer a more coherent interpretation in light of the investigations given in Chapters 1–3. The purpose of this is twofold. The first intention is to critically re-evaluate previous scholarly claims on the many issues that have puzzled scholars about this text. The second intention is to draw together the insights from all chapters to make an attempt at reconstructing the situation of the Corinthian community, which will be provided in the Conclusion. The exegesis is

[67] Scholars hold a general consensus that Paul was the author of the following letters: Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, 1 Thessalonians, and Philemon (MacDonald 1999: 200).

divided into three main units: vv. 2-3 (Chapter 4), vv. 4-6 (Chapter 5), and vv. 7-16 (Chapter 6). An introduction explaining how the cultural study of veiling in the first two chapters and the study of Paul on women and authority in the third chapter can be applied to the exegesis of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 will be provided in the beginning of Chapter 4. This is immediately followed by a discussion of whether or not the passage of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 is a post-Pauline insertion. We assume that the text is authentically Pauline. First Corinthians 11 functions as the beginning of the topic on prophecy which runs through to the end of 1 Corinthians 14. The exegetical discussion in Chapters 4–6 contains cross-references to the literary evidence of veiling or unveiling surveyed in Chapters 1–2. Critical evaluations of individual scholarly opinions on the exegetically significant features of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 will be undertaken at every stage of the discussion to make critical interpretative decisions. It is hoped that a procedure of this kind will make it possible to see all the points made by Paul from an informed perspective.

The Sources

As for female veiling in the Greek world, there are many examples found of this practice in ancient Greek literature and art. Since there has been a considerable amount of literature studying Greek and Roman art on the subject of clothing by classicists and art historians in the last two decades, in this study, we only provide two artistic references to the veil found in red-figure pottery. The purpose is to give a graphic illustration of the literary evidence. The written texts include poetic and dramatic works, oration pieces, histories, letters, and medical writings. Although preference should be given to those sources from Greek contexts that closely relate to 200 BCE–200 CE Roman Corinth,

such evidence of the veil is incomplete. Not one of these sources discusses the use of the veil in Greek societies in a systematic way. To get a fuller picture of the practices of veiling, we must extend our exploration to earlier time periods. For example, the veiling of Homeric women is set as a proper exemplar of correct feminine behaviour for later generations. Examinations of these ancient texts help in understanding the veiling regulations laid down by Paul. Additionally, 'fashion in clothes changed very slowly in the ancient world'.[68] When aspects of the head-covering are presented in our sources, they indicate some problems. Most of them were generated by and/or for elite Greek men. They are often widely scattered and fragmentary, and sometimes they too lack a context. The evidence of veiling is essentially silent on female voices, whether they are the voices of elite women, low-status free women, or female slaves. In addition, the references to the veil are not discussed in any depth.

When we identify a veil-vocabulary in Greek language, we have to enlarge the scope of the sources to include the Septuagint and the New Testament. The Septuagint (LXX) is a Greek translation of the Hebrew canonical books and the Apocrypha in the Hellenistic period. 'The Septuagint was a library whose effect upon him [Paul] was powerful.'[69] Not only did the influence of the Septuagint on Paul exist in his quotations from the Septuagint,[70] but also some terms in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 can be found in the Septuagint. For example, ἀκατακάλυπτος (11:5, 13) is found in Lev. 13:45; φιλόνεικος (11:16) is found in Ezek. 3:7; συνήθειαν (11:16) is found in 4 Macc. 2:13, 6:13, 13:22, 27. Thus, the veil-styles in the LXX will certainly represent the trend of that period, even if earlier. The

[68] Geddes 1987: 307. See also Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 31.
[69] Riddle 1928: 74.
[70] For example, in Rom. 11:26-27 Paul quotes Isa. 59:20 and 27:9; in 2 Cor. 6:2 Paul quotes Isa. 49:8; in Rom. 2:24 Paul quotes Isa. 52:5; in Rom. 12:19 Paul quotes Deut. 32:35.

garments in the New Testament are most relevant to the Corinthians and can help us to identify what they probably wore around this time.

Ancient Greek literature from the Homeric epics through to Plutarch's biographies is full of colourful information on the veil. Homer describes the veil as a garment worn particularly by elite women and goddesses, which deliberately conveys specific ideas or messages. The plots of Greek drama present the veil in its social context. A considerable amount of evidence for female head-coverings is found in the LXX and the New Testament. These accounts depicted the dress to display Hellenistic Jewish values, providing valuable insights into a woman's wardrobe in the Hellenistic period. Greek philosophical and medical writings differentiate the female body from that of the male. These ideas might have become shared cultural beliefs on gender in Greek society that governed the social practices passed from one generation to another.

As in Greek, the head-covering is widely documented in various Latin sources from the late Republic to the second century CE. No Roman authors discuss the veil in a system of classification. Many of the references are brief. Just as Paul's congregation are familiar with his teaching, an ancient reader would not have needed further clarification for dress culture. As in Greek, we face the problem of trying to study dress, honour, and gender from sources created almost exclusively by men. Not only do we usually lack the direct voices of women, but slaves, low-status freedpersons, and non-citizens also tend to receive little attention from men whose words tended to focus primarily on the representation of their own kind. Unlike the Greeks, the Romans had a special interest in proper attire for both secular and sacred occasions. Their clothes were more symbolic of Roman identity, indicating the social rank of the individual. It is difficult to ascertain

whether these garments were their everyday wear. In similar fashion, veiling the head when going out of the door was expected for Roman matrons, but it is difficult to say how widely this prescriptive behaviour was practised.

In the same way as we studied the Greek art, we provide four artistic references to the veil found in Roman relief carving and wall-paintings. Ancient Roman literature, from Plautus' comedies through to Gellius' anecdotes about distinguished men, is full of colourful information on head-covering. Historical prose is full of the deeds of great men and women whose dress is presented in specific political and religious contexts. Historians such as Suetonius have much to say on the dress of the upper class.[71] Roman comedies remind the reader of the domestic life of women in the Roman world. Roman poets such as Juvenal and Ovid often highlight the symbolic meaning of the garments.[72] Roman philosophical writings address female chastity and gender relations in a range of different ways. Valerius Maximus depicted idealised women who were devoted to the household.[73] Cicero wrote on gender within the context of families.[74] Although his ideas offer indications into how elite Roman men perceived the world in particular historical situations, his writings intended to encourage the practice of ideal standards of conduct for upper-class women. The level of acceptance of his ideas among the majority of the population is far from certain. Nevertheless, he offers an important source of information for understanding the social context of Corinth.

To understand how veiling was perceived in Greek and Roman societies, it is important to acknowledge recent masterful studies on the dress of the ancient Greeks and

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[71] Suetonius *Aug.* 38, 40, 52, 58, 71; *Cal.* 35; *Jul.* 82; *Tib.* 13; *Galb.* 3; *Vit.* 2.
[72] Juvenal *Sat.* 2.124, 6.225, 10.262; Ovid *Metam*. 4.483, *Tristia* 2.250-52, *Ex Ponto* 3.3.49-58, *Ars* 1.31-34, *Fasti* 2.560.
[73] Valerius Maximus 6.1.1, 6.3.7-10.
[74] Cicero *Off.* 1.54, *Resp.* 4.6.

Romans, and the veil in particular. Recent publications on the subject of clothing and its relation to social order, especially gender and sexuality, in ancient times will certainly assist current study in addressing the ambiguity of Paul's argument. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones' book is ambitious on many levels concerning the ancient Greek veil.[75] The time period in question is from 900 BCE to 200 CE. The book brings together a wealth of both textual and artistic evidence of the woman's veil in ancient Greek traditions. He argues that veiling was a habitual practice among Greek women in ancient times and was part of male thought on female modesty. Although the veiled head indicated a woman's social status and enabled her to exercise the freedom of self-expression, she was basically required to be silent and invisible. The book contains the issues of dress and gender in ancient Greece with which we are concerned, including veiling terminology, veil and female modesty, and veiling practices in Greek society. Our study will benefit enormously from Llewellyn-Jones' book. Douglas Cairns examines veiling as a visualised quality of the female character in Greek historical prose.[76] Anne Carson investigates Greek biological writings on the female body and remarks that the ancient Greek veil forms a boundary to keep women silent and to control female sexuality.[77] Kelly Olson's synthetic study of Roman women's dress presents colours and fabrics of mantles and head-coverings worn by various categories of Roman women.[78] She combines literary and artistic evidence from 200 BCE to 300 CE in Roman women's clothing. Her open-minded interpretation of the ancient evidence is in contrast to the traditional commentary that moralises female dress. She suggests that upper-class Roman

[75] Llewellyn-Jones 2003.
[76] Cairns 1996, 2002.
[77] Carson 1990.
[78] Olson 2008.

women had the choice and opportunity to use dress and adornment as an expression of their own identification. Elaine Fantham's article centres on Roman head-coverings worn by men and women.[79] She observes that Roman men were required to cover their heads when officiating as priests, while respectable Roman women wore woolen headbands, *vittae*, daily. However, Roman female statues and portrait heads preserve few traces of *vittae*. Fantham suggests that the absence of *vittae* in the arts may reflect Roman women's reluctance to observe this tradition. The work of Shelley Stone analyses the Roman *toga* as well as the public dress code of Roman men.[80] She finds that certain types of *toga* were reserved for magistrates and high priests. A man with his head covered in a religious context suggests that he is about to enter ground consecrated for sacrificial rites and offerings. Lisa Hughes discusses representations of veiled freedwomen in the late Republic and early Empire by carrying out a statistical analysis for the Italian funerary portraits of Roman freedwomen in the period.[81] She finds that forty percent of the reliefs show women with unveiled heads and postulates that veiling was not a necessary part of standard dress practices among freedwomen of the late Republic and early Empire.

The first part of this thesis examines the cultural and social significance of the veil for the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as marriage and headship in Paul's letters. Chapter 1 investigates the veiling practice in Greek antiquity and analyses veiling in connection with gender and honour-shame in Greek thought. Chapter 2 is concerned with locating and analysing the variety of sources we have on the Roman veil. Important distinctions come to light when the Greek and Roman evidence is juxtaposed and these

[79] Fantham 2008.
[80] Stone 2001.
[81] Hughes 2007.

differences are potentially of relevance for the interpretation of Paul's teaching in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. Chapter 3 examines Paul's views of women by comparing and contrasting marriage and authority in Roman values and in Paul's letters.

The material examined in Chapters 1–3 offers an overarching interpretative frame to the second part of the thesis (Chapters 4–6): an exegetical study of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. Chapter 4 is devoted to an exegesis of 1 Cor. 11:2-3, with emphasis on the metaphorical significance of κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3. Chapter 5 is a discussion of 1 Cor. 11:4-6, which contains cross-references to the textual sources and visual representations of veiling (or unveiling) surveyed in the first part of the thesis. Chapter 6 provides an analysis of 1 Cor. 11:7-16, featuring the meanings of ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς (11:10) and διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους (11:10). In the Conclusion, a reconstruction of Paul's instructions about head-coverings at Corinth will be provided.

Chapter 1

The Significance of the Veil for Ancient Greek Women

This chapter examines the significance of the veil for ancient Greek women and its relevance to Corinthian women. It consists of three major sections. The first reviews a vocabulary for the veil in the ancient Greek texts, the LXX, and the New Testament to define different types of head-coverings worn by men and women with different social levels. This is followed by a survey of Greek influences on the social lives of people in Corinth at the time of Paul's writing. The second major section considers how the veiling is linked to maintaining female social status by examining a brief history of veiling in the ancient Greek world from the Homeric epic to the Hellenistic period. This discovery is then applied to the text of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 to analyse how Greek women in the Corinthian assembly used the veil according to their social levels by asking who would have been veiled at the time and what veil-styles they would have worn. The third section discusses how the practice of veiling is bound up with gender, honour, and purity in women's social life and religious practices.

1.1 A Veil-vocabulary in Greek Language

Κάλυμμα, *καλύτρα*, *κρήδεμνον*

The Greek veil-terms frequently appearing in the literary sources are κάλυμμα, καλύτρα, and κρήδεμνον. Both the κάλυμμα and καλύτρα appropriately derive their names from

the verb καλύπτω, 'to cover', while the κρήδεμνον derives its name from κράς, 'head', and δέω, 'to bind'.

The κάλυμμα seems to be a common veil in Greek texts. For example, in the *Lysistrata* when Aristophanes (5th–4th century BCE) described a dialogue between the Magistrate and the women, he noted:

Magistrate:	If I should take orders from one who wears veils (κάλυμμα), may my neck straightaway be deservedly wrung.
Lysistrata:	O if that keeps pestering you, I've a veil (κάλυμμα), here for your hair, I'll fit you out in everything as is only fair.
Calonice:	Here's a spindle that will do.
Myrrhine:	I'll add a wool-basket too.[1]

This dramatic text reminds the reader of the domestic life of women in ancient Greece who spun and wove the cloth for their family. Here, the κάλυμμα seems to be used as an everyday clothing item for Greek women. The κάλυμμα could also refer to a bridal veil. In the *Agamemnon*, Cassandra, an enslaved Trojan priestess of Apollo, says that she used to prophesy behind a veil (ἐκ καλυμμάτων) like a newly-wedded bride.[2] In *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Agamemnon brings Iphigenia to a betrothal, pretending it to be a marriage with Achilles. As a matter of fact, Agamemnon plans to sacrifice her to Artemis for the goddess raised dreadful winds against Agamemnon's expedition to Troy. Iphigenia innocently prepares and adorns herself as a bride. The veil she wears is a κάλυμμα.[3] The κάλυμμα could be dark in colour and was also worn by goddesses. Thetis wears it to visit

[1] Aristophanes *Lys.* 530-32.
[2] Aeschylus (6th–5th century BCE) *Ag.* 1178.
[3] Euripides (5th century BCE) *Iph. taur.* 370-75; for discussion of Iphigenia's veil in Aeschylus' *Ag.* 228-48, see Armstrong and Ratchford 1985.

Olympus with grief for her loss of Achilles.[4] Josephus used the term κάλυμμα as a covering.[5] Pausanias (2nd century CE) used κάλυμμα to describe a maiden's veil when she was drawing water[6] and another maiden's veil in a mule-cart.[7] Clement of Alexandria exhorted Christians that God will provide all necessary things to them, including food for life and covering (κάλυμμα) for the body.[8]

The term κάλυμμα occurs nineteen times in the LXX.[9] Three of these refer to head-coverings, the veil of Moses in particular. Exodus 34:33-35 states that Moses spoke to the Israelites after coming down from Mount Sinai. When he had finished speaking with them, he put a veil on his face (ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ κάλυμμα). Whenever he went to the Lord, he would remove the veil (περιῃρεῖτο τὸ κάλυμμα). When he came out and told the Israelites what he had been commanded, the skin of his face was shining. He would put the veil on his face again (καὶ περιέθηκεν Μωυσῆς κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἑαυτοῦ) until he went in to speak with God. In the New Testament all four instances of the κάλυμμα appear in 2 Cor. 3:13-16 where Moses' κάλυμμα in Exod. 34:33-35 itself becomes the focus of Paul's attention in his discussion of the significance of the new covenant.[10]

The καλύτρα appears to have been a standard part of female dress and was worn daily. It is the veil (καλύπτρην) which Hecuba tears off as a manic action in response to the death of her son, Hector.[11] The nymph covers herself with a καλύτρα at the culmination of her dressing scene: 'And the nymph clothed herself in a long white robe, finely woven

[4] Homer (8th century BCE) *Il.* 24.93ff.
[5] Josephus *J. W.* 5.516.
[6] Pausanias *Descr.* 3.21.
[7] Ibid: 5.19.
[8] Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation to Endurance* 19.
[9] Exod. 35:11, 39:20, 40:5; Num. 4:8, 10, 14, 25.
[10] Moses' κάλυμμα in 2 Cor. 3:13-16 will be discussed in Chapter 5.
[11] Homer *Il.* 22.406.

and beautiful, and about her waist she cast a fair girdle of gold, and on her head a veil above (ἐφύπερθε καλύπτρην).'[12] Pausanias said that a wooden image of Aphrodite sits in her sanctuary wearing a veil (καλύπτραν).[13] Although no instance of the καλύτρα occurs in the LXX or the New Testament, its cognate adjective ἀκατακάλυπτος (BDAG 'uncovered') in Lev. 13:45, 1 Cor. 11:5a, and 11:13 and cognate verb κατακαλύπτω ('to cover') in 11:6-7 are familiar to us.

The veil-term κρήδεμνον is attested on several occasions in Homer's *Odyssey*. Penelope holds her shining veil (λιπαρά κρήδεμνα) modestly across her face as she appears in front of her suitors.[14] It is the veil (κρήδεμνον) which the goddess Ino takes off and gives to Odysseus.[15] It is the gleaming veil (λιπαροκρήδεμνος) worn by Charis who greets Thetis as she reaches Mount Olympus.[16] Andromache throws off her head-covering (κρήδεμνον) as she witnesses the body of her husband, Hector, being dragged in front of the city of Troy.[17] Plutarch remarked that the κρήδεμνον was the thinnest veil.[18] The textual evidence indicates that the κρήδεμνον seems to be used in the epic tradition to refer to a veil with fine or luxurious qualities, and it is worn by goddesses, royal wives, and daughters who were perfect representations of feminine beauty.

Ἱμάτιον

According to Llewellyn-Jones, 'the ἱμάτιον is the basic outer garment for men and women and is always draped around the body but never fixed in place with pins or

[12] Homer *Od*. 5.230-32, 10.543-45.
[13] Pausanias *Descr.* 3.15.
[14] Homer *Od.* 1.334; see also 16.416, 18.210, 21.65.
[15] Homer *Od*. 5.346, 351, 373.
[16] Homer *Il.* 18.380-82.
[17] Homer *Il.* 22.460-72.
[18] Plutarch *Sera* 12.

brooches.'[19] It is 'a garment consisting of a rectangular cloth draped freely around the body'[20] and 'a style that is often located in local Roman sculptures of the Pauline period.'[21]

The term ἱμάτιον occurs in the LXX in 215 instances. Most of these references were used to describe an everyday garment for the ancient Israelite men. Joseph wore the ἱμάτιον when he was a servant in Potiphar's house.[22] A few instances of the ἱμάτιον were used to describe women's clothing. It was the garb (τὰ ἱμάτια) of a beautiful woman of captivity (Deut. 21:13). The parents of the young woman should spread out her clothes (τὸ ἱμάτιον) before the elders of the town to prove her virginity if the man she was supposed to marry dislikes her (Deut. 22:17). The ἱμάτιον could also be used as a widow's garment.[23]

The ἱμάτιον occurs in the New Testament sixty times, with only one example relating to women. First Peter 3:3 says: 'Do not adorn yourselves outwardly by braiding your hair, and by wearing gold ornaments or fine clothing (ἱματίων).' In relation to men, it was certainly a popular garment for those of an ordinary status. It was used for the cloak of Jesus,[24] Paul,[25] and the robes of the high priest (Matt. 26:65). It was a white garment (ἐν ἱματίοις λευκοῖς) worn by saints to symbolise their holiness.[26]

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[19] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 77, no. 85.
[20] Bieber 1959: 374.
[21] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 273. For instances of the ἱμάτιον as a garment of both men and women in ancient Greek literature, see Plutarch *Ages.* 36.4, *Suav. viv.* 26, *Adv. Col.* 19, *Cupid. divit.* 4; Polybius (203–121 BCE) *Hist.* 11.9.7.
[22] Gen. 39:12, 13, 15, 16, 18.
[23] Gen. 38:14, 19; Jud. 10:3.
[24] Matt. 9:20, 21; 14:36; 17:2; 27:31, 35; Mark 5:27, 28, 30; 6:56; 9:3; 15:20, 24; Luke 8:44, 23:34; John 13:4, 12; 19:2, 5, 23, 24.
[25] Acts 14:14, 16:22, 18:6.
[26] Rev. 3:5, 18; 4:4; 16:15; 19:13, 16.

Ἀμπεχόνη, *στολή*, *καταστολή*

The ἀμπεχόνη (LSJ 'fine shawl worn by women and effeminate men') can have the meaning of 'dress', referring generally to a male garment.[27] It was considered to be a nice dress and the prominent item of clothing[28] worn by men who own houses and slaves.[29] A statue of Osiris, a lover of the goddess Isis, was dressed in a flame-coloured robe (ἀμπεχόνῃ δέ φλογοειδεῖ).[30] 'More specifically, though, it [the ἀμπεχόνη] refers to a female outer-garment, most probably a veil, which is especially noted for its delicacy and semi-transparency.'[31] Doricha, a beautiful courtesan, wore a well-scented robe (τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη).[32] At a banquet, the maidens wore the most transparent robes (κόραι δ' ἐν ἀμπεχόναις τριχάπτοις ἀρτίως ἠβυλλιῶσαι).[33]

According to Llewellyn-Jones, the στολή has the same style of head-dress as the ἀμπεχόνη, but was named differently by different Greek authors.[34] Like the ἀμπεχόνη, the στολή had limited use for respectable people and for special occasions in ancient Greek literature. It was the dress for the masters.[35] Plato used the στολή to refer to the funeral garment.[36] Josephus states that the στολή was the priests' garments in Jewish antiquity.[37]

The term στολή occurs ninety-five times in the LXX and most of these are references

[27] Plato (429–347 BCE) *leg*. 679a, *Resp*. 425b, *Charm*. 173b; Plutarch *Them*. 29.7, *Adul. amic*. 28.
[28] Aristotle *Rhet*. 2.4.15; Xenophon (440–355 BCE) *Mem*. 1.2.5.
[29] Epictetus (55–135 CE) *Ench.* 33.7.
[30] Plutarch *Is. Os.* 51.
[31] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 27.
[32] Athenaeus (170–230 CE) *Deipn.* 13.69.
[33] Ibid: 6.96.
[34] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 27.
[35] Appian (95–160 CE) *Bell. civ.* 2.17.
[36] Plato *Leg.* 800e.
[37] Josephus *Ant*. 3.158.

to men's garments. It was the garment of the patriarch[38] and the sacred vestments (στολὴν ἁγίαν) of Aaron and his sons for their glorious adornment.[39] This is consistent with Josephus' accounts. The term στολή could be used to refer to the garment of those with a high social status. In contrast to the ἱμάτιον which Joseph wore in Potiphar's house as a servant, Joseph put on the στολή when he came in front of Pharaoh while he was in charge of all the land of Egypt (Gen. 41:14). David was clothed with a fine long robe (στολὴν ἔξαλλον) when he brought the Ark of God to Jerusalem.[40] The στολή could also be used to refer to the garment of Israelite elite women. It was the robe of Esther (Esth. 6:8, 11) and Athaliah (2 Chr. 23:13). Judith looked beautiful in her dress (τὴν στολὴν) when she went out to the town gate of Bethulia (Jdt. 10:7).

The term στολή occurs nine times in the New Testament and its usages are similar to those in the LXX. This type of garment was associated with religion. Jesus taught: 'Beware of the scribes, who like to walk around in long robes (ἐν στολαῖς), and to be greeted with respect in the market-places.'[41] The angels and holy saints were robed in white (στολὰς λευκὰς).[42] When the father found his lost son, he said: 'Quickly, bring out a robe—the best one (στολὴν τὴν πρώτην) —and put it on him' (Luke 15:22).

In general, the στολή seemed to be of the finest quality. It was the preferred clothing of those who were either of high rank and wealth, or who were in charge of religious duty.

The καταστολή derives its name from κατά, 'downwards', and στολή, 'garment'. In ancient Greek literature, the καταστολή seems to be worn by commoners and men who

[38] Gen. 27:15, 35:2.
[39] Exod. 28:2-4; 29:5, 21, 29, 31:10; 35:19, 21; 36:8; 39:12, 13, 18; 40:13.
[40] 2 Sam. 6:14; 1 Chr. 15:27.
[41] Mark 12:38; Luke 20:46.
[42] Mark 16:5; Rev. 6:11; 7:9, 13, 14; 22:14.

were greatly admired. Josephus said that the καταστολή was the garment of strangers who needed to be looked after.[43] Plutarch described Nous as a greatly admired man who was an intellectual and was always well dressed (καταστολή).[44] The καταστολή occurs once in the LXX. In Isaiah 61:3, the καταστολὴν δόξης symbolises God's righteousness and his glory. In the New Testament, the καταστολή appears in 1 Timothy where it is said that 'the women should dress themselves modestly and decently in suitable clothing (ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς), not with their hair braided, or with gold, pearls, or expensive clothes (ἱματισμῷ πολυτελεῖ)' (1 Tim. 2:9). Here, the καταστολή carries the symbolic meaning of female chastity.

Σιώπησις, *θερίστριον*

There are also two veil-terms which appear in the LXX. One is the word σιώπησις, describing the beauty of the veiled girl (Cant. 4:1, 6:7). Another is the word θερίστριον (LSJ 'light summer garment'). It was used by Rebekah to cover herself when she first met with Isaac in the field (Gen. 24:65). In Isaiah 3:23, the θερίστριον is listed as one of the clothing items of women. Genesis 38:14 reads: 'She [Tamar] put off her widow's garments (τὰ ἱμάτια), put on a veil (τὸ θερίστριον), wrapped herself up, and sat down at the entrance to Enaim, which is on the road to Timnah.' Verse 19 reads: 'She got up and went away, and taking off her veil (τὸ θερίστριον) she put on the garments (τὰ ἱμάτια) of her widowhood.'

Summary

[43] Josephus *J. W*. 2.126.
[44] Plutarch *Per.* 5.

Our sources indicate that there are a rich variety of veil-terms in the ancient Greek world, ranging from the Homeric passages to the New Testament and beyond. The veil was therefore a familiar facet of Greek daily life. The sources tell of the status of the wearers and the contexts when the veil was used, but they are silent on the physical attributes of the veil, such as their colour and shape, or the material from which they were made. Perhaps the name of the dress itself specified fabric and style. The κάλυμμα, καλύτρα, and κρήδεμνον were familiar garments developed from as early as the eighth century BCE to the Roman period. The early examples of these terms illustrate the significance of the veil in constructing the Greek concept of femininity. The ἱμάτιον was the most popular garment among men and women of an ordinary status in the Pauline period. It was rough and cheap and could function both as a dress and a head-covering. Like the ἱμάτιον, the στολή frequently appears in biblical texts. It was also used to describe the garment of both men and women and could function both as a dress and a head-covering, but the στολή had social significance because it was generally worn by those who held a higher rank as a sign of social and financial status.

Table 1. Veil-Terms in the Greek Literary Sources

Key: A= the Homeric epics and Archaic
C= Classical
H= Hellenistic and the LXX
R= Roman and the New Testament

Veil-Term	Dates	Users
κάλυμμα	ACH	women
καλύτρα	A	women of high rank
κρήδεμνον	A	women of high rank
ἱμάτιον	HR	men, women
ἀμπεχόνη	CR	men, women
στολή	CHR	men, women
καταστολή	R	men, women
σιώπησις	H	girls
θερίστριον	H	women

1.2 Greek Culture in Roman Corinth

The investigation of veil-terms in ancient Greek literature raises the question of the reception of Greek culture since the Homeric epic, particularly the practice of veiling amongst the Corinthians since first-century Corinth was a Roman colony. By briefly examining the receptions of Homer and Greek drama in non-literary evidence, literary sources, and public performance of the Greek world, we might speculate that the Homeric epic and the dramatists had considerable influence on normal civic life in the Roman colony. It seems quite plausible that the members of the Corinthian community, particularly those with Greek origin, would have known the use of the veil in the Greek traditions.

Of the non-literary evidence of Homeric reception, the numerous scenes of action in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* became the dominant themes in vase paintings, sculptures, etc.[45] Not surprisingly, the Homeric stories were remembered each year at the sanctuaries of the gods. As to the literary transmission of the Homeric epic, the Greek sources are found in Plato's *Ion*, which was the account of a conversation between Socrates and Ion. Ion was a rhapsode with expertise in Homer's poetry. He travelled from city to city of the Greek-speaking world to take part in local festivals featured in the contests of rhapsodes. According to Socrates, Homer was the best and the most divine poet of all. His poetry received many more positive comments than any other lyric poetry.[46] Ruth Scodel believes that the Homeric epic had become canonical for the Greeks long before the late fifth century BCE through the tradition of oral performance:[47] 'An aspiring performer learns stylised diction, performance style, themes, and the outlines of narratives and

[45] Graziosi 2011: 61.
[46] Plato *Ion* 530.
[47] Scodel 2002: 3.

recombines them before audiences.'[48] Barbara Graziosi holds that in the way of performing the poetic activity, formally or informally, rhapsodes made the Homeric poems earn their Panhellenic fame and status.[49] In the classical period, the epic past offered fruitful sources for the dramatists. Playwrights created new versions of the epic stories in their tragedies and comedies to make audiences familiar with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[50] These tragedies and comedies were performed and recreated at theatres and popular civic festivals year after year in Athens and elsewhere so that the Homeric poems dominated the landmark of Greek culture.[51] In the Hellenistic period, the Homeric poems were still held in extremely high esteem.[52] The Greek traditions of theatrical festivals in which performances were shown were religious occasions dedicated to Dionysus, the god of wine.[53] The festival of Dionysus was celebrated in various cities with great magnificence and costly sacrifices.[54] The performances included tragedies, comedies,[55] dithyrambs, dances,[56] and narrative poems[57] in the form of the contests.[58] The festival was participated in by male citizens, women, and slaves, and it was also held in the villages.[59]

How did the Greeks maintain the epic traditions and theatrical performances in the early Imperial period? In other words, how did the Greeks in first-century Corinth receive

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[48] Ibid: 1.
[49] Graziosi 2011: 57.
[50] Hunter 2004: 241–45; Graziosi 2011: 58.
[51] Emlyn-Jones 2011: 67.
[52] Graziosi 2011: 62.
[53] Andocides (440–390 BCE) *On the Mysteries* 38; Aeschines (390–314 BCE) *Ctes.* 76; Demosthenes (384–322 BCE) *On the Peace* 7.
[54] Aristotle *[Oec.]* 2.1347a, 2.1351b.
[55] Demosthenes *Against Midias* 21.10.
[56] Demosthenes *Against Midias* 21.53; Herodotus 1.23.
[57] Demosthenes *Against Neaera* 59.110.
[58] Demosthenes *Against Midias* 21.8.
[59] Herodotus 2.48.

the Classical past under Roman rule? The Greek city of Corinth was sacked by the Roman consul Lucius Mummius in 146 BCE when the Corinthians led the Achaian League against the Romans. It was refounded in 44 BCE by Julius Caesar as a colony.[60] The early colonists were Roman citizens[61] who were the freedmen[62] and veterans.[63] Other contemporary inhabitants of Corinth were held to be the Greeks, who were the descendants of the survivors of the sack since Corinth was located in the Greek mainland.[64] The population was soon increased by people coming from the East, including Jews and Syrians.[65] As to the freedmen, the literary evidence and their nomenclature demonstrate that they dominated the early colonists in number and were Greek in origin.[66] Of course, there is the possibility that some freedmen had become completely Romanized. Although the dominant element of the city of Corinth was Roman with a substantial Roman presence of public buildings in Paul's day,[67] some cultural landmarks of Corinth seem to suggest that the city in many ways maintained the continuity of the Greek past. First, the Isthmian Games which were considered as one of the prominent festivals in Greece returned to Corinth.[68] Mika Kajava argues that the date of the first restored Games might be 43 CE.[69] The widely agreed date of Paul's ministry

[60] Wiseman 1979: 491–97; Derow 1989: 323; Thiselton 2000: 3; Sanders 2005: 22.
[61] Pausanias *Descr*. 2.1.2; Strabo 8.4.8; Appian *Pun.* 136.
[62] Strabo 8.6.23.
[63] Strabo 17.3.15; Plutarch *Caes*. 57.8. Freedmen and freedwomen were former slaves. They became citizens with manumission. Manumission was a procedure which would transform the slave into a free person. In Roman public life, the rich held dominant positions and influence. Freedmen were excluded from positions of public authority including magistrates, priests, and town councils (Mouritsen 2011: 248).
[64] Wiseman 1979: 496; Millis 2010: 17.
[65] Wiseman 1979: 497.
[66] Millis 2010: 22, 30.
[67]Wiseman 1979: 509–21.
[68] Pausanias recorded that the celebration of the Isthmian Games was stopped due to the sack of Corinth in 146 BCE by L. Mummius (Pausanias *Descr.* 2.2.2). This is consistent with Strabo, who implied that the Isthmian Games were no longer celebrated at Corinth when he visited there in 29 BCE (Strabo 8.6.22).
[69] Kajava 2002: 173.

in Corinth is from March 50 CE to around late September 51 CE.[70] This indicates that the Corinthian men and women would most likely have had the experience of attending the Games before Paul's ministry to them. The Emperor Nero took a tour of Corinth, making a speech at the Isthmian festival in 67 CE.[71] Next, the theatre of Corinth was repaired and used.[72] Some of the artefacts discovered in the Corinthian Odeum, built by Romans, were dated from the second half of the first century CE and earlier.[73] The literary and archaeological evidence shows that the Greek traditions of the oral performances gained a degree of continuity within the popular culture of the Roman colony. Furthermore, some sanctuaries were repaired and continued in use in Roman imperial times, including the Sanctuary of Aphrodite on Acrocorinth and the Sanctuary of Demeter, Kore on the north slope,[74] and the Sanctuary of Hera Acraea above the Fountain of Glauce.[75] Whether or not the newly resumed rituals were like those practiced in Greek times, the cult statues and rituals kept reminding the Corinthians of the stories of the goddesses. In short, Roman Corinth in Paul's time was a city which still preserved Greek heritage. Far from doubt, Christ-converters in the Corinthian community lived in both Greek and Roman cultural contexts.

1.3 The Veiled Woman in the Ancient Greek World

[70] Thiselton 2000: 29.
[71] Suetonius *Nero* 19; Syme 1957-1960: 10; Wiseman 1979: 505–6; Woolf 1994: 133; Wiedemann 1996: 254.
[72] Wiseman 1979: 521.
[73] Broneer 1928: 457.
[74] Wiseman 1979: 495.
[75] Ibid: 520.

It has been widely accepted among classicists that the veil is the most significant garment worn by women in the ancient Greek world.[76] Respectable women were expected to be veiled, particularly brides and married women.[77] Indeed, ancient Greek sources do not specify an overall view of who veils in Greek society, but they explicitly or implicitly indicate the social status of the veiled women. The Greek veil-vocabulary suggests that the earliest instances of veiling identified in the Homeric poems occurred among many noblewomen of the epics. We find the veil worn by Hecuba, Penelope, Andromache, Thetis, and Aphrodite. They were the wives of kings or divine women. Veiling seemed to be connected with women of high social status as an expression of respectability. It seemed to be their regular habit, at least when outdoors. Later evidence from the tragedies of Aeschylus and Euripides also presented noblewomen with their heads covered while the dramatists deliberately adopted the features of Homeric society. This prompts us to ask how distant the veil gestures in poetry and drama were from the social life of their audience. Llewellyn-Jones suggests that

> The principles and social practices found in drama must have held a relevance to contemporary audience, otherwise why did dramatists include them? Tragedies rarely explain to their audience why certain actions—like veiling—are presented, which surely leads us to believe that no explanation was necessary, since those actions are part of the audience's contemporary discourse. The same can be said of Homer and his society. The poet never explains the rules of the social system he draws on; he never, for example, explains why his female characters are veiled or how they gesture with their veils. His audience must have been familiar with the ideology behind veiling and with the veiling actions too since they are customs.[78]

[76] Cairns 2002; Llewellyn-Jones 2003; Lee 2015: 154–58.
[77] Naerebout 1987: 119; Lee 2015: 156.
[78] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 123.

However, Homer was silent on the dress of his low-rank female characters. According to ancient Assyrian legal documents, married women were required to be veiled when they went out in public; veiling was prohibited for unmarried women, prostitutes, and slave girls. A slave girl had no right to wear a veil regardless of whether she was married or not. It was a privilege for high-status women to be veiled.[79] Although there is no Greek counterpart to Assyrian veiling laws, the Assyrian documents may be a useful analogue to the analysis of why there is a sharp contrast between the detailed descriptions of noblewomen's clothing and no descriptions of low-status female attire in Homer. The veiled woman was identified as a woman of high social status who was under the protection of the man (her father, brother, or husband), whereas the unveiled woman was marked as a woman of low social status, whose sexuality may be violated by any man. It may be reasonable to assume that female characters of a lowly social rank in Homer appeared unveiled just as the slave girls in the Assyrian documents. Certainly, it is not impossible that such a woman was veiled occasionally.

In the archaic era, the literary evidence for veiling is scant but there is plenty of archaic artistic evidence on vases, reliefs, and sculptures demonstrating that the veil was a fashionable garment of the time. It can be inferred that the practice of veiling in the Homeric society remained in the archaic period.[80]

In the classical period, there was a change: working women appeared to cover their heads just as Lysistrata did in Aristophanes' social comedy. Llewellyn-Jones explains this phenomenon by considering both the Athenian political landscape[81] and the male

[79] Krauss 1945: 127; van der Toorn 1995: 328.
[80] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 137–38.
[81] P. J. Rhodes describes that the political reforms of Cleisthenes established a new organisation that required a greater degree of participation by the citizens in the affairs of the Athenian state. Under the

dress code throughout this period.[82] He suggests that Athenian clothing was not to do with rank, wealth, or prestige, nor was it used by the rich to enhance their dignity and authority. It is possible to speculate that the practice of veiling was widely acceptable for the different types of women at the time, from female Athenian citizens to female entertainers.[83]

In the Hellenistic period, Llewellyn-Jones continues, ample iconographical evidence can attest that the veil seemed to be an everyday garment worn by royal women, married women and their daughters, and working women. Of course, a higher quality of cloth and fashionable veil styles distinguished the elite women from those of low status.[84]

Some examples of female veiling in ancient Greek literature confirm Llewellyn-Jones' claim. In Euripides's tragedy, *Andromache*, Hermione, wife of Neoptolemus who was the son of Achilles, becomes jealous of Andromache who is the concubine of Neoptolemus. Hermione loses self-control, casting her head-covering away (λεπτόμιτον φάρος) and saying: 'What use to cover my breasts with my robe? What I have done to my husband is clear and unhidden.'[85] Here, Hermione is an elite woman. Her drastic action of unveiling

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democracy, the state was run by the Athenian *demos*, the body of the citizens, who could be involved in the making of decisions in turn. They enacted laws, imposed taxes, and made foreign policy. From the rich to the poor, all citizens had the opportunity to serve the state. The rich were expected to make further financial contributions to festivals or military affairs which became their opportunities for competition and display. However, such democracy was restricted to slaves and immigrants (Rhodes 1992).

[82] According to Ann Geddes, before the fifth century, wealthy Athenians enjoyed a relaxed and luxurious way of life. They dressed in fine clothes. Upon the reforms of Cleisthenes they had to adapt their lifestyles in response to social changes. Their old ways of exercising power through luxury items of clothing became ineffective. At the beginning of the fifth century, there was a growing awareness that the enjoyment of luxury clothes would make them appear like easterners, who had a bad reputation among the Greeks for weakness, cowardice, or lack of discipline. These characteristics are associated with eastern wealth. In addition, the reforms provided incentives for the rich to conceal their wealth and to retain their power. In these circumstances they were unlikely to dress in expensive clothes. In the later fifth century, dress for men, even wealthy men, had changed from elaborate garments to simpler ones, expressing the sense of social equality among the citizens (Geddes 1987).

[83] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 139–40.

[84] Ibid: 146.

[85] Euripides *Andr.* 830-35.

reveals that her φάρος is part of her daily garb. Her behaviour brings dishonour to her husband and she risks the loss of her dignity and perhaps would have been regarded as immodest. In the *Odyssey* the cases of the veiling of Penelope clearly demonstrate her high social status. When she walks out from her chamber, there are always two handmaids to attend to her. The poet intends to emphasise the nobility of Penelope. She is a queen, a highly respectable woman. Her κρήδεμνον and her veil-gesture mark examples of appropriate dress and behaviour. Veiling elegantly expresses her chastity, separating her from those who have low social status. Cairns states: 'Veiling demonstrates separation from the group in a situation in which the status and the identity of the individual are in question.'[86]

1.4 The Veiled Greek Woman at Corinth

The practice of veiling in the ancient Greek world, particularly in the Hellenistic era and beyond, has obvious relevance to the women of the Corinthian community as some of them were Greek in origin. In the general context of the early Roman Empire, its predominance in the Greek world was primarily due to Roman law and political institutions. Greeks could maintain their identity and choose not to adopt Roman material culture.[87] Although it is difficult to see the extent to which these women would have abandoned Greek traditions and adopted Roman ones, there is the probability that all of them, or at least some of them, still adhered to the Greek practice of veiling. What was the status of the Corinthian women? As for their sexual status, 1 Corinthians 7 introduces us to various categories of women when Paul discussed appropriate sexual activity in

[86] Cairns 2002: 76.
[87] Woolf 1994: 128. See also Syme 1957-1960: 4–6.

Christian life. Here, Paul seems to assume that those he addresses in 7:1-16 included married, unmarried, and widowed women. As for their social status, although there is little evidence that describes with precision their social characteristics, some implications can be drawn from Paul's letters in which information on the male members was dominant. There are a small group who were wise, powerful, and wellborn and would have appeared more privileged (1 Cor. 1:26).[88] This indicates that those who lacked status or power were the majority of members. The text of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 reveals evidence that there were Corinthian women prophets whose inspired speech was for edification. For information about individuals, Chloe is mentioned when Paul explained the circumstances of the composition of 1 Corinthians. One factor was a report made by 'Chloe's people' that there were quarrels among the Corinthians (1 Cor. 1:11). The phrase 'Chloe's people' offers a clue as to her social status. Chloe's people may have included slaves, freedmen, or business agents acting on Chloe's behalf. This indicates that she was a woman of high standing and known to all in Corinth. It seems that Chloe lived in Ephesus and her people had church connections.[89] A Jewish couple, Aquila and Priscilla, came to Corinth from Rome (Acts 18:2; Rom. 16:3-5; 1 Cor. 16:19). They were tentmakers (Acts 18:3), had a household, and were able to travel around. They acted as patrons for the meetings of the believers.[90] By considering the social and sexual status of the Corinthian women just mentioned, we might conclude that they were people of various social levels, from those of a high social status to those who had a low social status. The majority female members of the community might have been those of low

[88] Theissen 1982: 97–98; Meggitt 1998: 106.
[89] Theissen 1982: 92; MacDonald 1999: 200–201; Thiselton 2000: 121.
[90] Theissen 1982: 91–92; Meeks 1983: 59.

status. A few of them were elite Roman and/or Greek women. Others might have been freedwomen, non-citizens, freeborn poor Roman women, and female slaves.[91]

How did the conservative Greek women in Corinth use the veil? Gerd Theissen asserts that the ἱμάτιον-veil was probably worn by the Corinthians in the context of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 as it was the usual way to cover oneself. This might be the reason why Paul found it unnecessary to articulate the specific type of dress. Additionally, unlike other veil-styles which have to be carefully pinned in place, a ἱμάτιον 'would simply be pushed over the head and could easily fall back on the shoulders…Women could come veiled to the assembly and take the veil off when prayed or prophesied.'[92] Theissen's view is supported by Llewellyn-Jones.[93] Certainly, the practices of veiling among Corinthian

[91] Paul's teaching on Christian sexual ethics in 1 Cor. 5-7 raises the question of how the Corinthian congregation responded to the sexual behaviour of enslaved members as the sexuality of slaves was controlled by their masters. Such sexual behaviour might be deemed immoral in Paul's view of the relationship between sexuality and Christian life. Also, slavery has a close link with prostitution. This issue is of direct relevance for understanding the probability of the presence of enslaved female members and prostitutes in the Corinthian community. Some commentators interpret Paul's silence on the moral status of slaves indicating that he did not want any enslaved member to think that his status had any disadvantage in his relation to God (Bartchy 1973:175, cited by Glancy 1998: 496). There might be female slaves in the Corinthian congregation as Paul was not passing judgment on slaves, and their sexual behaviour was involuntary (Westfall 2016: 28, 29, 149). Others think that the status of slaves in the community was unclear. First, sexual immorality would threaten the soundness of the whole community (5:6-8) (Glancy 1998: 492), which is the temple of God (6:19) (Conzelmann 1975: 95–96). Next, in 6:12-20 which is a discussion of the male believer's sexual activity with a prostitute, Paul seems uninterested in her regarding the theological position (Conzelmann 1975: 112; Martin 1995: 176). 6:12-20 could be the evidence that prostitutes did not participate in the community (Glancy 1998: 498). Wire states that 'the fact that Paul does not censure the prostitutes themselves suggests that they are not, to his knowledge, participants in the community (Wire 1990: 76). In light of Paul's statements in 5:6-8 that the believer engaging in sexual immorality would affect the entire community, and in 6:12-20 that the believer should never unite with a prostitute and that his body is the temple of the Spirit, it is probably best to assume that there was little chance for prostitutes to participate in the community. In relation to female slaves, however, it is likely that some female members of the Corinthian community were of slave status. Studying the epitaphs of the lower classes at Rome in the first two centuries of the Empire, Beryl Rawson argues that unions between the enslaved and the freed were frequent and the union between a slave woman and a freeborn was occasional for the slave partner in a union could attain the status of the other partner. Of course, a union involving a slave partner was not legally recognised (Rawson 1966: 72–74). Rawson's argument is supported by Sarah Pomeroy (Pomeroy 1975: 194–96; see also Meeks 1983: 23). Similar family situations were not impossible for the Corinthian congregation. For example, the wife of a male member who had a freed status might be a female slave. Therefore, there was a high chance that some of the female community in Corinth were of slave status.

[92] Theissen 1987: 160–61.

[93] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 273.

women should conform to the customs. The enslaved members are likely to uncover their heads in public. The non-citizens who are supposed to be working women might appear with covered heads in the congregation. The women of a lower rank might wear the ἱμάτιον. The elite might choose traditional Greek dress of their own volition by wearing the καταστολή, στολή, or ἀμπεχόνη as an outer-garment and veiling themselves with the contemporary styles of head-dresses similar to those outlined by Homer. As for the freedwomen, there seems to be an ambiguity regarding their dress code. Westfall claims that freedwomen were prohibited from being veiled. She categorises freedwomen as being similar in status to female slaves and prostitutes.[94] Actually, the status of freedwomen was different from that of female slaves and prostitutes. According to Matthew Perry, both freeborn women and freedwomen were free persons, although freedwomen were former slaves. The manumission process enabled a female slave to practise gender roles so that she could later become a Roman matron. She was granted not only legal freedom but also Roman citizenship, sharing moral obligations with freeborn women. She could marry, thus possessing sexual honour. Yet, the social status of a freedwoman was inferior to that of a freeborn woman. She might be required to carry out special duties to, or for, her ex-masters. To be married is the best way to ensure the integrity and respectability of her citizenship.[95] Additionally, the respectability of freedwomen is attested in Augustus' marriage legislations. He released a freedwoman from the control of her male tutor if she had given birth to at least four children (three for a freeborn woman).[96] Cassius Dio (2nd–3rd century CE) wrote: 'And because there were far more upper-class males than females, he [Augustus] gave permission to marry

[94] Westfall 2016: 23.
[95] Perry 2014: 129–59.
[96] Gardner 1986: 20.

freedwomen to those who wished to do so, except senators, having laid down that their progeny would be legitimate.'[97] Given the social status of freedwomen noted above, it is quite conceivable that the head-covering appears to be a standard part of Greek freedwomen in Corinth and that it would have been worn daily to signify their respectability.

1.5 Female Chastity in the Mediterranean World

To fully understand the reasons why women are veiled in the ancient Greek world, no single overall explanation can ever be considered adequate. But among the factors that may be thought to have made a contribution, one can mention chastity, sexuality, and purity. The use of the veil plays an important part in communicating gender relations in Greek society. It is important to keep in mind that these factors are reflections of the honour-shame culture in the Greco-Roman world upon the moral code of Greek women, who always see themselves through the eyes of others. What are honour and shame? According to J. G. Peristiany, all societies have rules of conduct which are sanctioned; those who observe the rules are rewarded while those who disobey are punished. Honour and shame are social evaluations and play a role within as a form of social sanction. Honour is a form of reward bestowed to those who obey. Those who are punished are put to shame. These evaluations are based on standards that are considered exemplary according to a particular society. If anyone who is measured by these standards is found to have broken a number of rules, he no longer holds honour as a result. Different

[97] Dio 54.16.2; Fantham et al. 1994: 304; McGinn 2004: 200.

societies have different value judgments concerning honour and shame. They involve the ideals of a society and their embodiment in the ideal type of man.[98]

It is widely accepted among anthropologists that in traditional Mediterranean societies, including the Greco-Roman world, there is a sharply gendered division of morality. Male social activities are generally associated with the public sphere which seems to be more important, while women are responsible for domestic work which appears to be more socially insignificant. Men set standards of proper behaviours for their women, who must follow.[99] The conventional ideas of femininity defined in the eye of the male beholder are shyness, chastity, and sexual exclusiveness. Her sexual purity is inextricably bound up with the honour of the male kin.[100] The male is obligated to protect female relatives from defilement. Accordingly, the female's duty is to run the household and to behave in a modest way. The latter is of importance as the honour or social worth of a family largely depends on the sexual morality of its female members.[101] The possible ramifications of the transgression of rules would be gossip or physical punishment, as well as the sense of shame shared by the male members.[102] Some scholars try to interpret the subordinate status of women. Jane Schneider remarks that, in Mediterranean societies, female chastity contributes to the internal stability of a family since its women play an essential role as a common interest among the men of the family. The value of a female is her role in procreation. Her sexuality must be controlled to ensure a 'legitimate' child on whom a man's honour depends, that is, a child is from his own seed. Veiling is one of the

[98] Peristiany 1965: 9–10.
[99] Campbell 1964: 152; Gilmore 1982: 194; Batten 2009: 491.
[100] Malina 2001: 44.
[101] Giovannini 1981: 409.
[102] Ibid: 411.

social rules governing female sexuality.[103] David Gilmore attributes the cause of a number of instructions for women's conduct to growing male anxiety and fear of powerful female sexuality. Women are perceived by men as a symbol of disorder and chaos.[104] These societies rely highly on visual experiences to recognise the reality. 'Both moral and affective states are commonly expressed by a visual metaphor of physical beauty.'[105] Carol Delaney explains that, in the Mediterranean world, female sexuality was thought to be indiscriminate. She has no power of resisting various sexual temptations. If she is independent, she becomes vulnerable. The external restraints and protections must be imposed so that she must be socially closed and covered. A woman who is veiled indicates that she is covered.[106] Certainly, we should be cautious about using these findings and their interpretations in studying the culture of past societies since these gender relations are developed according to specific social and economic conditions. Also, unlike modern anthropologists who could be active participants in the societies, ancient men and women cannot be interviewed for their concerns. However, the fundamental principle of these institutions is related to female chastity. All of the above observations on gender relations lay down a useful guideline for gauging the multivalent nature of veiling and its implications for the Corinthian congregation.

1.6 Veiling and Social Boundaries

We begin our exploration of the ideology of female veiling in Greek societies with an examination of Greek thought on the female body. Anne Carson has argued that the

[103] Schneider 1971: 17–20.
[104] Gilmore 1982: 195.
[105] Ibid: 197.
[106] Delaney 1987: 41–42.

ancient Greeks seem to have been sensitive to the crucial importance of boundaries of human beings—whether physical, moral, emotional, or imaginary. They established complex mechanisms to ensure clear boundaries, believing that individuals are unable to set boundaries for themselves. Literary evidence shows that women are transgressors of boundaries.[107] One category of transgression is non-stability. The Greek physician Hippocrates (460–375 BCE) claims: 'The female flourishes more in an environment of water, from things cold and wet and soft, whether food or drink or activities. The male flourishes more in an environment of fire, from dry, hot foods and mode of life.'[108] Heraclitus (540–480 BCE) asserts: 'A dry soul is wisest and best.'[109] Referencing more ancient Greek philosophers, Carson observes that ancient medical theory associates the nature of human body with mentality and emotion. The theory states that dryness is 'best' and appears more masculine. Conversely, the female body fails to attain the condition of dry stability. She is easily moved to tears, jealousy, fear, and rash impulses. Moreover, the sexuality of the young female is uncontrollable.[110] Another category of transgression is polluting. Polluting could be described as the behavior of one who has crossed lines which should not have been crossed.[111] According to Aristotle, women are pollutable, polluted, and polluting in some ways.[112] To prevent the transgression of boundaries, a range of measures were put into place, designated to restrict women's clothing and

[107] Carson 1990: 142. Studying σωφροσύνη (LSJ 'of sound mind') in Aristotle, Carson summarises that σωφροσύνη is the essential ability to keep one's physical and psychological boundaries unblemished. Aristotle defines the content of σωφροσύνη differently for female and for male, as for master and slave (Aristotle *Pol.* 1.1260a, 3.1277b). Feminine σωφροσύνη includes chastity meaning dutifulness and obedience. Masculine σωφροσύνη is mental and physical self-control. It results in virtues including self-restraint. Generally, females lack this capacity according to Aristotle (for further discussion, see below).
[108] Hippocrates *Vict*. 27, cited by Carson 1990: 137.
[109] Heraclitus B118 *VS*, cited by Carson 1990: 137.
[110] Aristotle *Pol.* 7.1335a, cited by Carson 1990: 139.
[111] Douglas 1966: 113, cited by Carson 1990: 158.
[112] Aristotle *Gen. an.* 728a 18-20; 737a 25-35; 775a 15, cited by Carson 1990: 158.

mobility.[113] For example, the rituals of a Greek wedding ceremony symbolise purification of the female body. The veil was worn by the bride to signify a girl transforming from original 'roughness' to 'usefulness'.[114] 'Headgear is crucial to female honour, an index of sexual purity and civilized status.'[115]

Indeed, some observations noted by the Greek writers reveal the characteristics of the female body in more detail. In his *Generation of Animals*, Aristotle stated that it was menstruation of the female body that caused the physical weakness of a woman instead of the nature of the female body producing menstruation.[116] The male was active and the female was passive.[117] The male was more divine; the female was more mundane. The male was superior and the female was inferior. It was better that the superior should be separated from the inferior.[118] Aristotle also tells us that the female was much more easily moved to tears, pity, jealousy, fear, and rushed impulses.[119] Aristotle's definition of the female body was 'mutilated male,'[120] physically pale and deficient,[121] and 'undercooked.'[122] Men were the norm; women were the other. The male body was the ideal body.[123] Aristotle's analysis has been debated by socio-biologists, but the question of whether or not Aristotle was 'sexist' in a biological sense is beyond this current study.

[113] Carson 1990: 156.
[114] Ibid: 164.
[115] Nagler 1974: 44–60, cited by Carson 1990: 160.
[116] Aristotle *Gen. an.* 727a 16-19.
[117] Ibid: 729b 12-13.
[118] Ibid: 732a 4-10.
[119] Aristotle *Hist. an.* 9.1.608b.
[120] Horowitz 1976: 184.
[121] Dean-Jones 1991: 119.
[122] Foxhall 2013: 72.
[123] Lee 2015: 37; Sissa 1992: 51.

Aretaeus, a Greek physician who was active in the second century CE, wrote that the female womb was erratic. It closely resembled an animal within an animal.[124] It was moved inside the female body. It caused the affection of women particularly young ones.[125] Here, Aretaeus attributed irrational female behaviour to the wandering womb. Galen, a contemporary of Aretaeus, asserted that the female was less perfect than the male because of her lack of facial hair and sufficient heat inside the body.[126] In general, the female body was regarded as imperfect in the Greek medical writings. These physicians associated female irrationality with the parts of her body. They were in agreement with the social value that masculinity was better than femininity.[127] Their view of female characteristics was thought to be validated by social norms in which men played superior roles to those of women.

Of female sexuality, in his *Economics* Aristotle advised wives: 'As regards the intercourse of marriage, wives should neither importune their husbands, nor be restless in their absence.'[128] Of female irrationality, Epictetus observed that foolish women wept and made people effeminate.[129] As *Seven Against Thebes* opens, Aeschylus described how Polynices and his supporters lay siege to his home city of Thebes in order to claim the throne. Polynices' brother Eteocles, the ruler of the city, calls the people to arms. Women start to cry. Eteocles is angry about their weakness, declaring:

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[124] Aretaeus *On the Causes and Symptoms of Acute Diseases* 2.11. For discussion of women as wild animals, see Reeder 1995: 299–371.
[125] Dean-Jones 1994: 200.
[126] Galen *On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body* 14.6, 11.14, translated by May 1968: 628, 530, cited by Dean-Jones 1994: 201, 203.
[127] Plato *Leg.* 781b.
[128] Aristotle *[Oec.]* 1.1344a.
[129] Epictetus *Diatr.* 3.24.

> You intolerable things!...when you fall before the images of the gods that guard the city and shout and shriek—behavior that moderate people despise. May I never share my home with the female race, neither in time of evil nor in pleasant prosperity! When things go well for her, her boldness is unbearable, but when she is afraid, she is an even greater evil for home and city…It is for the man to take care of business outside the house; let no woman make decrees in those matters. Keep inside and do no harm![130]

Here, Aristotle, Epictetus, and Aeschylus all regarded women as lacking self-control. Aristotle thought of a woman's vigorous sexual appetite inflicting upon her husband. As for Epictetus, women weeping openly in public, tearing their clothing, and lacerating their cheeks was an extravagant display of a weak mind and absurdity. According to Aeschylus' story, women crying in circumstances in which men were courageous in facing hostility was a disruptive behaviour. Men judged women's behaviours as foolish and irrational as women posed the threat of crossing boundaries. These socially constructed female characters forced women to accept male domination. Men assigned the gender roles to women who had to remain silent and invisible in public. It is hardly surprising that the use of the veil serves as a means of setting boundaries between male and female, limiting female space, keeping her silent, and regulating her rituals.

As Carson has argued, veiling as a measure of controlling female sexuality and emphasising her boundaries is well illustrated in ancient Greek wedding ceremony which has been the subject of much study by historians, anthropologists, and others.[131] Through the marriage ceremony, a maiden was completely transformed into a wife by means of the various rituals which informed how a married woman should use her head-covering when encountering gender relations. The veil plays an essential part in the rituals since

[130] Aeschylus *Sept.* 181ff.
[131] Sissa 1990: 93–97; Carson 1990: 160–64; Patterson 1991: 53–56; Oakley and Sinos 1993; Levine 1995: 96–99; Sabetai 1997; Stafford 1997; Sutton 1997/1998; Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 219–47.

the bride's acts of veiling and unveiling symbolise the difference between chastity and sexuality. The wedding began with the bride carrying out preliminary rites in her father's house. She was dressed in nuptial attire and covered in a veil.[132] Then friends and relatives assembled to celebrate the wedding feast.[133] The next stage of the process was the actual transfer of the bride. It came to the pivotal ritual of the ceremony: ἀνακαλυπτήρια, the unveiling of the bride. It was the moment when the groom uncovered her veil and she directly encountered her husband. At the same time, the groom gave a gift to her.[134] After the ritual of the ἀνακαλυπτήρια, her head was covered again. 'The veil takes on its full symbolic value in the ἀνακαλυπτήρια. The veil is there for the groom to raise.'[135] Just as Dale Martin has said, the bride submitted herself and laid a claim upon his honour at the ἀνακαλυπτήρια.[136] Scholars have debated the location and timing of the ἀνακαλυπτήρια and the issue remains open. Some argue that it may take place at the courtyard setting with the presence of the father of the bride.[137] This view seems to suggest that the bride was regarded socially as a commodity. She was invested and exchanged by her father with the groom. Others note that clearly the unveiling was performed by the groom and came at the end of the wedding feast before which the bride sat at the women's table.[138] This view emphasises the specific purpose of the ἀνακαλυπτήρια that shows the bride to the groom and guests. The first vision of the bride and groom being able to exchange direct glances is a spectacle. The groom lifts the veil of the bride so that the guests may see not only the bride but also this very gesture of the

[132] Euripides *Phoen.* 347; Achilles Tatius *Leuc. Clit.* 2.11.2-4; Plutarch *Mor.*138D; Oakley and Sinos 1993 Chapter 3; Sebesta 2002: 134–35.
[133] Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 4.3.
[134] Patterson 1991: 54; Oakley and Sinos 1993: 25; Sutton 1997/1998: 31; Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 227.
[135] Sissa 1990: 95.
[136] See also Carson 1990: 164.
[137] Stafford 1997: 201.
[138] Schibli 1990: 64; Oakley and Sinos 1993: 23; Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 231–32.

groom.[139] Whatever the case, the ἀνακαλυπτήρια significantly indicates the bride's willingness and consent.[140] Her face was for her husband alone.[141]

The textual evidence of the ἀνακαλυπτήρια comes from Longinus' (c. 213–273 CE) *On the Sublime*. He remarked that Agathocles of Syracuse, one of the successors of Alexander the Great, abducted his cousin before her ἀνακαλυπτήρια:

> τὴν ἀνεψιὰν ἑτέρῳ δεδομένην ἐκ τῶν ἀνακαλυπτηρίων ἁρπάσαντα ἀπελθεῖν: ὃ τίς ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κόρας, μὴ πόρνας ἔχων (He ravished his own cousin, though married to another person, and on the very day (ἀνακαλυπτήρια) when she was first seen by her husband without a veil; a crime, of which none but he who had prostitutes, not virgins, in his eyes, could be guilty).[142]

It is uncertain what took place at the wedding day of his cousin, but it is certain that the veil was a sign of the sexual purity of a woman. It showed her αἰδώς (see below). If the bride had been seen by the groom in the first glance without a veil, she would virtually have lost her chastity.

The ἀνακαλυπτήρια was shown on a *loutrophoros* by the Boston Phiale Painter in 430 BCE (Fig. 1.1). The bride and groom sit facing each other. The bride modestly lowers her face and eyes. Above her, Eros flies down with a ribbon in his hands. A young man stands in the middle. He and the groom gaze at the bride. Their heads bear wreaths. Above their heads, a basket filled with a shower of fruit and nuts is held by an

[139] Sissa 1990: 97.
[140] Patterson 1991: 55.
[141] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 232; Oakley and Sinos 1993: 30.
[142] Longinus *[Subl.]* 4.

attendant.[143] On the left, behind the bride stands an attendant. Is she veiling or unveiling the bride? The context of the scene suggests that unveiling from the above is more probable as all attention focuses on the bride.[144]

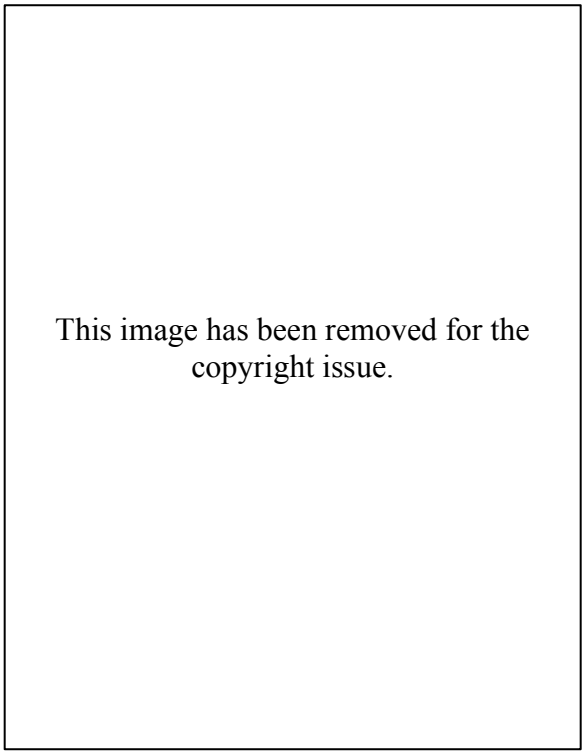

Fig. 1.1. Attic red-figure *loutrophoros.* Athenian 430–425 BCE by the Boston Phiale Painter. Boston, Museum of Fine Art 10.223. The seated bride is unveiled by an attendant while men gaze at the bride. Boston; purchase from Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund

The foregoing examination has particular relevance to the text of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. First, there are some remarkable similarities between the adjective ἀκατακάλυπτος in 11:5a and the noun ἀνακαλυπτήρια. Ἀνακαλυπτήρια derives from ἀνά, 'up, up to', and the verb καλύπτω, 'to cover', while ἀκατακάλυπτος derives from ἀ, 'un-', and the verb

[143] The ritual of pouring nuts and dried fruits over the new couple is performed after the couple came to the new home (Sutton 1997/1998: 34; Reilly 1989: 418). This painting combines two rituals in one scene (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 26, Fig. 60).
[144] Oakley and Sinos 1993: 25; Reeder 1995: 169–70.

κατακαλύπτω, 'to cover'. If ἀνακαλυπτήρια means removing her veil upward, ἀκατακάλυπτος can be understood as unveiling in a downward direction. Ἀνά carries a sense of upward motion; κατά, a downward motion. This indicates that Paul most likely refers to the veil rather than long hair. Second, Paul's directives of women praying and prophesying with covered heads have obvious parallels with the general male emphasis on the social boundaries between male and female in Greek society. As previous research on veiling has shown, in ancient Greek culture women were thought to have a tendency to move themselves across the social boundaries in the sense that they were unable to control their emotions and protect their sexuality. These behaviours were regarded as undesirable and disorderly in the hierarchical society. The veil functions as a means of the social boundaries that restrict their activity and protect their sexuality from any violence. It symbolises female honour, which is bound up with the honour of the male kin. What a woman could wear in the veiling culture of the Greek world was not as simple as personal choice but was connected with social order. In 11:5a, Paul apparently attempts to impose rules concerning distinctive head attire for women that they should cover their heads at worship. It looks as though he implies that the woman removing her veil is crossing the social boundaries between men and women in the community. She fails to play her gender roles, putting herself at the risk of losing respectability. Martin rightly remarks that

> Paul is anxious that women be veiled for three reasons: first, because his society (and he himself) worries about their sexual vulnerability; second, because a woman's unveiled head (at least in public) constitute a bodily defect; and third, because female sexuality endangers the social order.[145]

[145] Martin 1995: 245.

1.7 Veiling and Female Chastity

The notion of veiling was closely connected with female chastity which was of supreme importance within a whole complex of Greek social values with respect to femininity. It could be perceived on the personal level as well as on the inter-personal level. In the case of the personal level, female chastity was particularly expressed by two words in Greek literature: σωφροσύνη (LSJ 'soundness of mind, prudence, discretion') and αἰδώς ('reverence, respect, sense of honour, shame'). They concern the virtues of women, being allied in a potent combination. The term σωφροσύνη emphasises ideas of prudent wisdom and αἰδώς focuses on the attitude and behaviour of women in their social interaction. Σωφροσύνη appears repeatedly throughout the history of Greek thought—from the Homeric poems to Procopius' history. It basically means 'soundness of mind'—the state of being intellectual. It signifies discretion and dignity. The antitheses to the term would be 'foolish.' In relation to women, it describes the qualities expected of them, referring to a special virtue of women, whether maidens or mistresses.[146] Plato defined σωφροσύνη as 'doing everything orderly and quietly—walking in the streets, talking, and doing everything else of that kind.'[147] In *Suppliant Women*, Danaus instructs his fifty daughters on how to live virtuous lives. He reminds them that their physical beauty is like ripe summer fruit and attracts men's desire and gaze. They must not bring shame upon themselves by being allured by men. Danaus concludes: 'pay attention to these commands of your father, honouring chastity (σωφροσύνη) more than life.'[148] Here, the σωφροσύνη is used to describe the behaviour appropriate for unmarried women in relation to their suitors. In *The Trojan Women*, Euripides narrated that Menelaus took

[146] North 1966: 21.
[147] Plato *Charm.* 159b.
[148] Aeschylus *Suppl.* 1012-13.

back Helen after the Trojan War, but Hecuba warns Menelaus that Helen will betray him again if she is allowed to live. Menelaus says to Hecuba that Helen deserves a shameful death without the impression of chastity (σωφροσύνη).[149] Menelaus clearly alludes that Helen satisfies her sexual desire rather than self-control. Elsewhere, Xenophon defined feminine σωφροσύνη with reference to the household. He reported a conversation between Socrates and a young landlord, Ischomachus, in which they discussed the responsibilities of husband and wife to secure the prosperity of an estate. The wife of Ischomachus said that her mother taught her to be modest (σωφροσύνη).[150] Here, the σωφροσύνη clearly renders a sense of chastity and discretion. In general, a woman demonstrating σωφροσύνη would be submissive, quiet, invisible, and self-controlled.[151]

'Αἰδώς is a central component of the reasoning behind veiling as a symbol of modesty, sexuality, invisibility, pollution, and status.'[152] Bernard Williams argues that Greek uses of the term αἰδώς include what we might understand as both guilt and shame. Guilt could be perceived as the moral emotion. It considers the potential or actual victims of our actions. Shame is essentially self-regarding and is a synonym for humiliation.[153] Douglas Cairns defines αἰδώς as a sense of reflecting upon one's self-image—that is, one can feel vulnerable in expressing positive recognition of the status of a significant other. One's αἰδώς is demonstrated by showing respect for the other person. The feeling of αἰδώς involves reflection upon one's own status.[154]

[149] Euripides *Tro.* 1045-56; see also Euripides *El.* 920-25, 1075-80.
[150] Xenophon *Oec.* 7.14; for comprehensive discussion of σωφροσύνη, see North 1977: 46.
[151] Reeder 1995: 123.
[152] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 156.
[153] Williams 1993: 92–94.
[154] Cairns 1993: 1–4.

Αἰδώς could be manifested through bodily movement, gaze, or hair-style. Aristotle noted that lovers only look at the eyes of each other in which αἰδώς captures their hearts.[155] In the myth of *The Choice of Heracles*,[156] Prodicus used the metaphor of the appearance of two women to denote two ways of life—Virtue and Vice. Heracles has to choose one over the other. Virtue wears white. She adorns herself with purity, her eyes with αἰδώς, her figure shaped by σωφροσύνη. Conversely, Vice is a plump woman, dressing to show her charms. Her eyes keep looking around to see whether she is noticed. The contrast of the two women implies that Virtue's eyes with αἰδώς are the opposite of Vice's wandering eyes; Virtue just keeps her eyes to herself. *The Choice of Heracles* suggests that a woman with αἰδώς does not carry her head upright and boldly look around, inviting attention. That veiling is an expression of αἰδώς is confirmed in ancient Greek literature. Penelope holds her shining veil modestly across her face as she appears in front of her suitors. The gesture of veiling is a typical demonstration of female αἰδώς. In Euripides' *Hippolytus*, Phaedra says:

> Φεῦ φεῦ, τλήμων. μαῖα, πάλιν μου κρύψον κεφαλήν, αἰδούμεθα γὰρ τὰ λελεγμένα μοι. κρύπτε: κατ᾽ ὄσσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει, καὶ ἐπ᾽ αἰσχύνην ὄμμα τέτραπται (Oh, how unhappy I am. Nurse, cover my head up again. For I am ashamed of my words. Go on, cover it: the tears stream down from my eyes and my gaze is turned to shame).[157]

Here, Phaedra veils her head out of her own reflection that excites a feeling of shame (αἰδούμεθα). This veiling can manifest her αἰδώς as a spontaneous reaction. Similarly, in *Heracles*, Heracles says: 'Κρατὶ περιβάλω σκότον. αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ τοῖς δεδραμένοις

[155] Cited by Athenaeus *Deipn.* 13.16.
[156] The myth of *The Choice of Heracles* was attributed to the sophist Prodicus by Xenophon (Xenophon *Mem.* 11.1.21- 22).
[157] Euripides *Hipp.* 243-46.

κακοῖς. (Come, let me veil my head in darkness; for I am ashamed of the evil I have done).'[158] Here, Heracles veils his head out of embarrassment at his own actions.

In the case of gender relations, female αἰδώς was demonstrated in honour of the male members to whom she is closely related. 'The most regular sense of αἰδώς in the context of women's sexuality is that of shame or modesty, the force which inhibits improper behaviour.'[159] For example, here is the advice attributed to Theano, wife of Pythagoras (580–500 BCE), by Diogenes Laertius (3rd century CE):

> Τῇ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα μελλούσῃ πορεύεσθαι παρῄνει ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἀνισταμένην τε πάλιν ἅμ᾽ αὐτοῖσιν ἀναλαμβάνειν (She advised a woman going in to her own husband to put off her shame with her clothes, and on leaving him to put it on again along with them).[160]

Here, Theano means that when a woman takes off her ἔνδυμα ('garment') being a female with her husband, she removes her αἰσχύνη ('shame, dishonour') simultaneously. The adverb ἅμα ('at the same time') emphasises that the removal of both clothes and shame is concurrent. As such, the emotion of αἰσχύνη is visualised. It seems that for Theano αἰσχύνη symbolises something that conceals just as ἔνδυμα is something used to conceal the body. Then, when she leaves him, she should put on her ἔνδυμα. This behaviour is the appearance of her αἰδώς, the self-protective sense of shame in honour of her husband.

If a woman fails to display the required degree of modesty, it results in shame and a tendency for her to be labeled 'shameless'. In this respect, the passage of Herodotus 1.8.3-4 merits attention. Candaules, king of Lydia (735–718 BCE), boasted about his

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[158] Euripides *Her.* 1159-60.
[159] Cairns 1996: 78.
[160] Diogenes Laertius 8.43.

beautiful wife to his favourite bodyguard Gynes by asking him to see her naked. Gynes refused, saying:

> Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή (Master, what an unsound suggestion, that I should see my mistress naked! When a woman's clothes come off, she dispenses with her modesty, too).

Here, the phrase ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή is a reference to the attitude and behaviour of women with respect to clothing and how men view such behaviour. What is the sense of the word αἰδώς in this context? Just as Theano connected ἔνδυμα with αἰσχύνη, Gynes directly associated χιτών (LSJ 'garment worn next the skin, tunic') with αἰδώς. He means that the removal of a women's χιτών is accompanied by the removal of her αἰδώς. Αἰδώς symbolises concealment just as χιτών is used to conceal the body. The adverb ἅμα serves the same purpose as that in Theano's advice. The quality of αἰδώς is visualised. Gynes' remark implies that a woman showing her αἰδώς or a sense of shame to men who are not her male-kin possesses the quality of both paying her respect to others and deserving respect from others. A dressed woman is a respectable woman, protecting her honour and gaining respect in return. Conversely, an undressed woman has disregarded the code of honour and shame. She would be considered as a woman without her αἰδώς. Douglas Cairns rightly observes that Gynes' remark on an unclothed woman has an immediate relevance to a woman with her head uncovered appearing in public. In Greek societies a woman veiled her head when confronted with strange men in public. Just as she unclothed only for her husband, she unveiled only for him. Likewise, if the removal of her dress accounts for the removal of her αἰδώς, the removal of her veil

represents abandonment of that αἰδώς. She no longer deserves the respect of her community.[161]

What is of interest is that the author of 1 Timothy also used the terms αἰδώς and σωφροσύνη: 'Ωσαύτως γυναῖκας ἐν καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης κοσμεῖν ἑαυτάς (1 Tim. 2:9).' Here, the καταστολή and αἰδώς are used to recommend the proper manners to women in the *ekklesia*, particularly with respect to clothing. This confirms that the notion of αἰδώς was known in the New Testament world and has a direct relevance to the Corinthian women. Paul used the term καταισχύνω ('dishonour', 11:5) to describe the circumstance at which the Corinthian women would be situated when they uncovered their heads while praying and prophesying. As Theano's and Gynes' remarks on an undressed woman, female αἰδώς seemed to become visually manifested by the head-covering for Paul. He seemed to allude to the notion that if a woman unveils her head at worship services, she would be considered to indulge in a disposition which is inappropriate to display in public. The Corinthian community is a social environment. The men in the congregation are her non-male kin. Her head should have been a place of concealment. The unveiling symbolises abandonment of her αἰδώς, a sense of modesty, and signifies her failure to conform to the social norms of honour and shame that women should veil at the correct time and place. Thus, she dishonours her figurative head in the eyes of others.

1.8 Veiling and Prophecy

In 1 Cor. 11:2-16, Paul seems to undermine the efforts of women who prayed and prophesied with their heads uncovered. To prophesy in the *ekklesia* was to engage in

[161] Cairns 1996: 81–82.

some type of inspired speech—that is, communication of divine messages through human speakers. In 1 Cor. 14:1, prophecy is singled out as the most important spiritual gift. First Corinthians 11:2-16 communicates a basic fact that there were Corinthian women who played prominent roles as prophets. Paul's suggestions of the attire for these women could be compared to the roles and chastity codes of the Pythia, Apollo's prophetess at Delphi. An understanding of the latter will illuminate the former since Pythian oracular speech at Delphi remained constant over many centuries.[162]

The Pythia at Delphi

Delphi is the famous religious site of the ancient Greek world where individuals and representatives of city-states came to consult the oracles on the course of future events. The Pythia was chosen to serve at Delphi as the vehicle or mouthpiece of Apollo, the god of prophecy.[163] 'The Pythia was a woman. And unlike most Greek priests and priestesses, the Pythia did not inherit her office through noble family connections… She could be old or young, rich or poor, well educated or illiterate.'[164] The god was thought to possess her and speak directly through her.[165] She envisioned and conceived Apollo's presence and then uttered the divine response to the enquirers.[166] Her powerful prophetic inspiration composed in first-person verses was enthusiastic in its original and literal sense.[167] Socrates said that

[162] According to Scott Littleton, Delphi flourished from the ninth century BCE to the fourth century CE. There is a discontinuity in the operation of the oracle from around 50 BCE on (Littleton 1986: 83).
[163] Littleton 1986: 76–77; Flower 2008: 211.
[164] Hale et al. 2003: 67.
[165] Johnston 2008: 3.
[166] Maurizio 1995: 69.
[167] Dodds 1951: 70; Johnston 2008: 44.

> In reality the greatest of blessings come to us through madness (διὰ μανίας), when it is sent as a gift of the gods. For the prophetess (προφῆτις) at Delphi and the priestesses (ἱέρειαι) at Dodona when they have been mad (μανεῖσαι) have conferred many splendid benefits upon Greece both in private and in public affairs.[168]

Plutarch remarks that

> When I take into account the number of benefactions to the Greeks for which this oracle has been responsible, both in wars and in the founding of cities, in cases of pestilence and failure of crops, I think it is a dreadful thing to assign its discovery and origin, not to God and Providence, but to chance and accident.[169]

The Pythia's prophecy was preceded by a series of ritual acts. Each visitor to Delphi had to provide a sheep for sacrifice before consulting the god. The sacrifice trembled throughout all parts of its body and made a trembling noise. All ritual acts had to be done properly, otherwise the prophetess would not be introduced. There were vapours coming out of the crevice of the ground. The sanctuary of the temple was filled with a fragrant odor and scent that agitated the Pythia's body and soul and created the impulses of her prophetical inspiration.[170] A tripod was devised for her to mount so that she could be seated and her body could be surrounded by the vapours.[171]

How was a Pythia chosen? In the earlier period when the oracle was in its heyday, the Pythia had to be a virgin because virgins are naturally innocent and intact.[172] A friend of Plutarch named Theon also told us the profile of the Pythia of his day; she was a virgin

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[168] Plato *Phaedr.* 244 a-b.
[169] Plutarch *Def. orac.* 437e.
[170] Plutarch *Def. orac.* 437e. According to Martha Howard, Plutarch was appointed as a Delphic priest in 95 CE (Howard 1970: 5).
[171] Diodorus Siculus (late first century BCE) *Library* 16.26.5.
[172] Diodorus *Library* 16.26.6.

and was brought up in the home of poor farmers without any technical skill or ability.[173] Likewise, Plutarch states that there is a certain madness (μανία) called 'the enthusiastic passion' transmitted from the body to the soul of the prophetess. In this way, one participates in a divine power. One's mind is filled with the spirit (τὸ πνεύματος).[174] Since the soul is used for the disposal of the spirit, it seemed to be appropriate to oblige the Pythia to remain a virgin and behave with chastity all her days.[175] What did she wear? There is no literary evidence presenting the Pythia's dress, but Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* depicts Cassandra's (a priestess of Apollo) garments and the insignia of her prophetic office. Cassandra says that she is veiled when she prophesies.[176] Her neck is adorned with chaplets. She imagines that Apollo is removing her prophetic garb which is probably a robe.[177] An Attic red-figure cup by the Codrus Painter (Fig. 1.2) is 'the only piece of iconographic evidence used to illustrate consultation with the oracle at Delphi.'[178] Here, the Pythia sits on the tripod. Her placement is in the temple of Apollo at Delphi indicated by the Doric column. She dresses in clean white clothing and wears a crown of bay leaves on her forehead. Her head is adorned with a kerchief. Her left hand holds a libation bowl and the right hand holds a small branch of bay.[179]

Because of their mysterious nature, Delphic divinatory rituals have remained controversial since antiquity. There are many debates in modern Pythian scholarship as to whether or not the Pythia's inspired utterances are intelligible. The most common view is that the Pythia utters in a controlled manner while possessed. She might have delivered

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[173] Plutarch *Pyth. orac.* 405c.
[174] Plutarch *Amat.* 758e.
[175] Plutarch *Def. orac.* 437e.
[176] Aeschylus *Ag.* 1178.
[177] Aeschylus *Ag.* 1265-70.
[178] Sissa 1990: 15.
[179] Sissa 1990: 1; Connelly 2007: 76–77, Fig. 3.4; Flower 2008: 215, Fig. 19; *ARV*^{2} 1269.5, 1689.

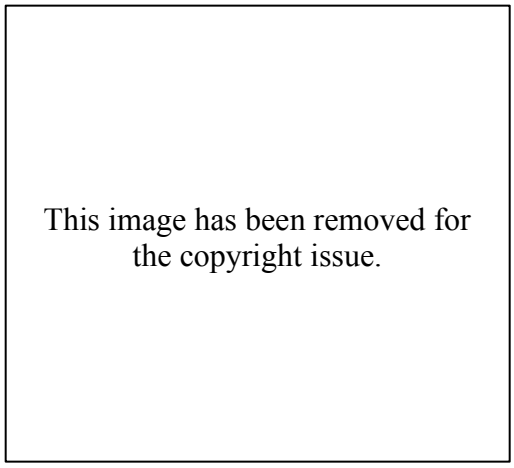

Fig. 1.2. Attic red-figure cup by the Codrus Painter, ca. 440–430 BCE. The Pythia pronounces the oracles. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung F2538. Reprinted from Connelly 2007: Fig. 3.4

the oracles to the consultants in either prose or verse. She was reported by the ancient sources to accept bribes, which indicates that her oracular responses were authoritative and that the words coming out of her own mouth were understood as the inspiration of the god.[180] The ambiguity of the oracles is not in the sense of incoherent gibberish but rather obscurity in meaning, which inquirers tended to misinterpret.[181] Another explanation of the Pythia's oracles is known as *the vapours theory*. It is argued that the Pythian prophecy contains only unintelligible words. What she uttered was irrational babble.[182] Examining the archeological records, Scott Littleton affirms that there is no

[180] Dodds 1951: 74; Maurizio 1995: 84; Johnston 2008: 50; Flower 2008: 226–27. For the Pythia being bribed, see Herodotus 5.63, 6.66.
[181] Johnston 2008: 51; Flower 2008: 233–34.
[182] Littleton 1986; Hale et al. 2003.

'crevice' beneath Delphi from which any natural vapours could have emerged.[183] There must have been an artificial one that might be associated with what Plutarch called πνεῦμα and which has hallucinogenic effects on Pythia's altered state of consciousness, triggering her ecstasy. The hallucinogen used at Delphi was probably henbane, opium poppies, or a fungal agent. The Pythia delivered a series of random words and phrases while she was in a trance-like state. It was her attendant prophets who converted her utterances into comprehensible verses.[184] This theory has some problems. Priests and consultants who sat nearby could smell the artificial vapours.[185] Additionally, if one had been under the influence of artificial smoke, one should have shown certain common side effects of intoxication. But there is no ancient source describing strong reactions of the Pythia.[186] Although the theory of the intelligible utterances has been questioned in recent scholarship, it remains much the most plausible interpretation of the Delphic oracle.

Not only is the working of the Pythia's divinatory service called into question; her behaviour during the consultation is also subject to critical scrutiny. She was understood as Apollo's 'wife' so that her possession by Apollo was a sexual act. Some church fathers thought that ancient Greek literature on the Delphic oracle carried sexual connotations of the prophetic process. For example, Origen (c. 184–254 CE) claimed that a man would be put to shame if the spirit of Apollo entered a woman through part of her body. The spirit must fill her mind and cloud her judgment, driving her into a state of ecstasy and madness.[187] John Chrysostom's (c. 347–407 CE) commentary on 1 Cor. 12:1-2 said:

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[183] Littleton 1986: 78. See also Dodds 1951: 73.
[184] Littleton 1986: 79–84.
[185] Johnston 2008: 49.
[186] Lehoux 2007: 54.
[187] Origen *Against Celsus* 7.3-4.

> This same Pythoness then is said, being a female, to sit at times upon the tripod of Apollo astride, and thus the evil spirit ascending from beneath and entering the lower part of her body, fills the woman with madness, and she with dishevelled hair begins to play the bacchanal and to foam at the mouth, and thus being in a frenzy to utter the words of her madness.[188]

A modern feminist approach to women and religion is paralleled at the thought that the prophetic process could be deemed as a form of sexual intercourse which led to a 'verbal pregnancy'. Ross Kraemer remarks that female prophetic activity is based on the idea of penetration of a human by a deity who plays the role of the husband, while the female plays the role of the wife. The words of the god enter into the prophetess as the husband's seed to his wife.[189] This interpretation of the oracle process as a sexual experience contradicts Diodorus' accounts:

> In more recent times, however, people say that Echecrates the Thessalian, having arrived at the shrine and beheld the virgin who uttered the oracle, became enamoured of her because of her beauty, carried her away with him and violated her; and that the Delphians because of this deplorable occurrence passed a law that in future a virgin should no longer prophesy but that an elderly woman of fifty should declare the oracles and that she should be dressed in the costume of a virgin, as a sort of reminder of the prophetess of olden times.[190]

The story told by Diodorus indicates that Greek ritual practices might be changed. Sarah Johnston rightly observes the common concern of the Greek rituals from a precondition for the Pythia's celibate status reported by Plutarch and Diodorus. She argues that, for the Greeks, sex as one of the natural processes was understood to pollute the body. The

[188] John Chrysostom *Hom. 1 Cor.* 29.12.1-2.
[189] Kraemer 2013: 291.
[190] Diodorus *Library* 16.26.6.

human body had to be pure when interacting with gods. In the case of prophetic activity, the prophetess was expected to be closer to the god than commoners. Her purity should be as intact as possible. The best way to achieve this was to choose a young virgin or an old woman. They had to be free of bodily pollution and practise celibacy during their term of office. Thus, the Pythia's virginal status has nothing to do with erotic fantasy.[191] In a similar fashion, H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell remark that 'this deliberate selection of women who thereafter renounced all sexual relations need not be taken as implying any view that the Pythia was the bride of Apollo. Such an idea is nowhere expressed. The sole motive appears to have been ritual purity.'[192]

In general, although the likelihood of the Pythia as Apollo's 'wife' has been reduced, prophecy, particularly in the case of the Delphic oracle, was gendered in Greek thought. As Ross Kraemer claims, generally, ancient Greek religious practices were gendered, aiming at producing women who are educated to conform to their gender expectations in the social hierarchy.[193] The Greek intellectuals were inclined to sexualise female oracular activity by using the term 'virgin'. They emphasised the sexual abstinence of the prophetess, which makes her succumb to the divine possession properly. Her mind must be free from outside influences. Her priestly garments are distinctive to set her apart from ordinary people. As we have discussed previously, the Greeks thought that women were in some ways pollutable, polluted, and polluting. Since prophecy is a complex process that contains the interaction between spirit, soul, and body, men must assign gender roles to the prophetess.

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[191] Johnston 2008: 42.
[192] Parke and Wormell 1956: vol. 1, 35, cited by Flower 2008: 225.
[193] Kraemer 2013: 289.

Implications for 1 Corinthians 11:2-16

The point of contact between the Pythia at Delphi and the Corinthian women prophets is established by their common practice of female chastity while prophesying. The Pythia had to either preserve her virginity or abstain from sexual intercourse, living a simple life, while the Corinthian women who prayed and prophesied in worship should cover their heads. If the Pythia's behaviour is open to public scrutiny with respect to sexuality, the women's behaviour at Corinth may also have been a particularly sensitive issue. This sensitivity was certainly related to the Greek culture that the low visibility of women was regarded as a crucial means of defining their virtue. As for prophetic activity, the Neo-Platonist philosopher Iamblichus (c. 240–325 CE) commented that, though each human being is able to participate in the divinatory power, the level of the receptivity of the possessed varies. In the preparations for divine illuminations through ritual, intellectual, and moral means, the human being can increase the state of divine possession.[194] Here, Iamblichus believed that the purification of the body and mind of the prophet would draw inspiration from the god without impediment. In the case of the Pythia,

> Pythia is obliged to keep her body pure and clean from the company of men, there being no stranger permitted to converse with her. And before she goes to the oracle, they are used by certain marks to examine whether she be fit or no, believing that the God certainly knows when her body is disposed and fit to receive.[195]

Here, Plutarch emphasises the proper state of the prophetess' body without disturbances and instability before the prophetic session. Paul states that the spiritual gifts for each one

[194] Addey 2010: 180. Exploring Iamblichus' *On the Mysteries* to understand divination in the Greco-Roman world, Crystal Addey offers an interpretation of the philosopher's systematic study on the nature of divine possession.
[195] Plutarch *Def. orac.* 438d.

are determined by the Spirit (1 Cor. 12:11) and every one should desire spiritual gifts, especially prophecy (14:1). These statements are similar to Iamblichus' concept of the level of receptivity of the prophet. Just as the Pythia's celibate status was the precondition before she prophesied, the Corinthian women's covering of their heads functions as the precondition before they prayed and prophesied. The act of veiling could be understood as a means of the ritual preparations that induce the women to be preoccupied with the inspired speech. In addition, since the female body is more susceptible to the influence of her surroundings in Greek thought, any disturbance would arouse a woman's emotions, and this would hinder her from receiving inspiration. Paul's anxiety is that the woman may become the object of the male erotic gaze.

Comparing Plutarch's view on the role of gender in the prophetic activity to Paul's discourse on prophecy in 1 Corinthians, Jill Marshall maintains that the two seem to agree with one another that prophecy is different for men and women since Plutarch and Paul shared common social ideas on gender and sex that shape their views of women's prophecy.[196] The female identity of the Delphic prophets leads to Plutarch's sexualised interpretation of the inspiration,[197] while the hierarchy of men and women illustrated in 1 Cor. 11:3 might be Paul's concern when he states prophetic speech.[198] Kraemer suggests that, just like ancient Greek religion where ritual practices differed between men and women, the religious experiences of ancient Christian women—prayer, prophecy, being baptised, and baptising—are all applications of this general principle and communicated gendered meanings which reveal what good Christian women should do. Women prophets in the New Testament are generally presented as ascetic or chaste women,

[196] Marshall 2019: 208–209.
[197] Ibid: 216.
[198] Ibid: 217.

which corresponds with the sexual status of prophetesses in Greek religion. The eighty-four-year-old widow Anna in Luke 2:36-37 had only lived with her husband seven years. The four daughters of Philip the evangelist in Acts 21:9 were virgins. The women prophets in 1 Corinthians appear to be practicing celibacy. These prophetesses are available to penetration by the male deity rather than by human husbands. Being virgins, they might not be labelled as 'subordinate' women so that they have the prestige to deliver divine knowledge to men.[199]

Conclusion

This chapter has presented an investigation into the significance of the veil in ancient Greek cultures alongside its relevance for the Corinthian women. The study demonstrates that the veiling of women was a habitual practice which signifies the correct behaviour of a respectable woman in Greek society. Women's veiling communicates messages covering the various situations they would normally be in. At the social level women's veiling sends messages about their following of customs and compliance with the obligation in honour of their male-kin. At the level of the individual, veiling is a manifestation of female shame that has become strongly associated with the proprieties of dress and attitudes towards sexuality. On the contrary, a woman's act of unveiling is a sign of her disrespect for the cultural norms of honour and shame. The woman with her head uncovered appearing in the public domain is deemed as one who moves across the boundaries of permissible behaviour and dishonours others.

[199] Kraemer 2013: 291–92. For the discussions of Corinthian women having a tendency to believe that sexual abstinence would be a sign that members of the community had been transformed into a new creation, see MacDonald 1987: 87–98; MacDonald 1990, 1999: 216.

We have investigated the presence of the veil in some areas of Greek life and customs—that is, in the Greek wedding, in public situations, and in the context of prophecy. The ritual of unveiling the bride by the groom symbolises the bride's submission to her husband; the veiling practice of a woman in public situations signifies her αἰδώς or a sense of shame; the head-dress of the prophetess was the insignia of her prophetic office and indicated her celibate status. Although these veils communicate diverse meanings in various social and religious contexts, they are intended to reflect a general male ideology of gender distinctions which are fundamental in the social hierarchy. The study of these applications of the veil in Greek traditions confirms that veiling plays an important part in the male-constructed code of female chastity in ancient Greek communities. The Greek men are anxious about the female tendencies which are regarded as lacking self-mastery. A woman's gaze is perceived to be sexually threatening. Female sexuality is a potential source of destruction to her family's honour. The high-pitched female voice is particularly disturbing when a woman shouts in a despairing manner. Therefore, restrictions on the movements, voices, and actions of women had to be enforced regarding their spaces, gestures, and garments. The covering of a woman's head is believed to restrain her body movements, to reduce her noises, and to control her sexuality. The veil becomes a social measure constructed to identify female honour.

Roman Corinth in the first century is a hybrid city of both Roman and Greek cultures. The Greek character of social life at Corinth finds confirmation in the theatres, festivals as well as religious sites. The majority of female members in the Corinthian community are composed primarily of freedwomen. Some of them are entirely Greek in origin and

adhere to the Greek tradition of veiling. The study of the significance of the veil in the ancient Greek culture reveals that Paul's insistence on the Corinthian women's praying and prophesying with the covered heads in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 is an application of honour and shame values and gender roles in the Greek world. The common practice of veiling among the universal Christian congregation referred to by Paul is consistent and coherent with what was practiced by women in the broader first-century Greek world. The implication of Paul's criticism of a woman praying and prophesying without her head-covering is multiplied. She fails to perform her gender role as a modest woman marked by veiling. She has broken social boundaries between men and women, bringing dishonour to her husband and the whole community.

Chapter 2

The Significance of the Veil for the Ancient Romans

This chapter will focus on the significance of the veil for ancient Roman men and women and its implications for 1 Corinthians 11:2-16. It will begin with a survey of the words for 'head-covering' in Latin from the Hellenistic period to the early Empire. Next, it demonstrates the presence of Roman culture and mores in the Corinth of Paul's day. In the third stage of this chapter, literary and artistic evidence is offered regarding the social context of 1 Corinthians 11:4 to support the interpretation that Paul's advice on head-covering for men is in response to Roman priestly attire. The evidence includes social expectations for Corinthian men and dress code for men in Roman society. This is followed by a discussion of ancient Roman customs concerning female veiling in the contexts of the wedding, religious institution, and social change. Meanwhile, our task will be to compare and contrast the veiling practices of Greek women and of Roman women. This analysis provides an outline of some details of relevance to the situation of women as depicted in 1 Cor. 11:5.

2.1 Latin Veil-vocabulary

Flammeum

The *flammeum* was a bridal garment, worn by brides from 200 BCE to at least 200 CE.[1] The literary sources make clear that the *flammeum* was yellow, the colour of the flame of

[1] Hersch 2010: 211.

a candle. It was a large mantle made from a transparent material.[2] Pliny the Elder writes: 'I find it stated that, in the most ancient times, yellow was held in the highest esteem, but was reserved exclusively for the *flammeum* of females.'[3] Roman authors provide plenty of evidence on the *flammeum.* In his *Satires*, Juvenal, making a denunciation of same sex union, depicts a man, Gracchus, who marries a male cornet player. They celebrate a large wedding in which Gracchus' 'bride' wears a long dress with *flammea*.[4] In *The Rape of Proserpina*, Claudian depicts Proserpina's wedding to Pluto. It tells that Elysian matrons tend their beautiful queen, soothing her with gentle speech. They bind her scattered hair locks, covering her head with *flammeum*.[5]

Further confirmation of the yellow colour of the bridal veil may be found in representations of brides in Roman wall paintings. One of the most frequently cited and illustrated examples comes from the nuptial scene in the Villa Imperiale at Pompeii. This painting from the first half of the first century CE shows a bride with a yellow veil seated on a bridal bed (Fig. 2.1).[6] She wears a white tunic and a thin, transparent scarf. She lowers her head. Her eyes are cast down in modesty. Beside her is a younger woman, gazing at her intently. A short distance away, beside a window, stands a maid who is carrying cosmetics for the bride in her left hand and a fan shaped like an ivy-leaf in her right hand. She seems to be at her mistress' disposal.[7]

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[2] Wilson 1938: 142.
[3] Pliny the Elder (23–79 CE) *Nat.* 21.22. However, the dictionary renders the meaning of *flammeum* as 'a red bridal veil' (Lewis and Short). For a discussion on the colour of *flammeum*, see La Follette 2001: 55.
[4] Juvenal *Sat.* 2.124. *Flammea* is noun, plural, neuter of *flammeum*. *Flammeum* is noun, singular, neuter.
[5] Claudianus *The Rape of Proserpine* 2.322-25.
[6] For a discussion on the date of all the paintings in the villa, see William Archer, 'The Paintings in the Alae of the Casa dei Vettii and a Definition of the Fourth Pompeian Style,' *AJA* 94 (1990): 110, note 37.
[7] Maiuri 1953: 106–7; La Follette 2001: 56.

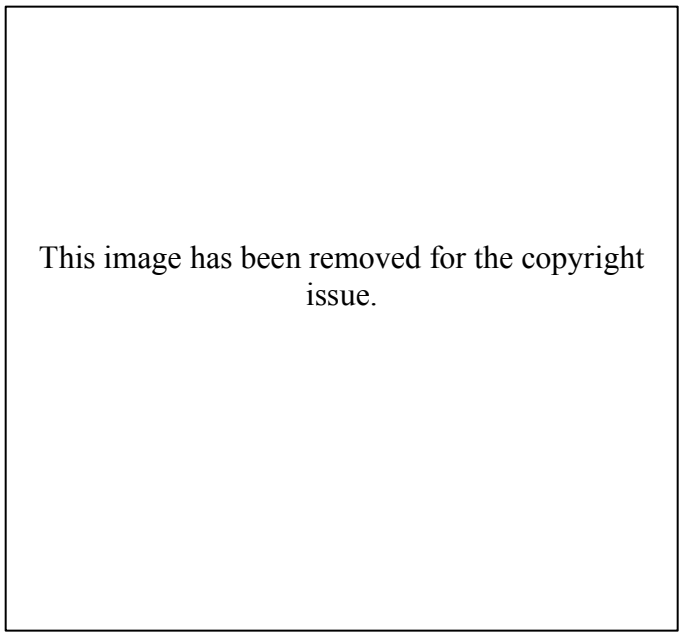

Fig. 2.1 Nuptial scene. First century CE. The Imperial Villa, Pompeii. Reprinted from Maiuri 1953: 106.

Rica, ricinium, velamen

The *rica* was a traditional head-covering for Roman women to wear whilst participating in sacrifices.[8] It was the head-dress of the priestess of Jupiter.[9] It was also worn by women as a sign of matronly modesty.[10] The *ricinium* was a fringed shawl worn by widows.[11] The *velamen* was a head-covering worn by men and women.[12]

[8] Levine 1995: 117, no. 66.
[9] Gellius (c. 125–c. 180 CE) *Noct. att.* 10.15.
[10] Plautus (254–184 BCE) *Epid.* 2.2.51; Gellius *Noct. att.* 7.10.
[11] Edmondson 2008: 27.

Palla, pallium

Both the *palla* and *pallium* were Latin names for the Greek ἱμάτιον.[13] In the ancient Roman literary sources, the term *palla* primarily referred to the outer garment worn by Roman women, while the *pallium* primarily referred to the outer garment worn by both Greek and Roman men. Llewellyn-Jones does not distinguish the *palla* from *pallium* and only names this garment the Roman *pallium* in comparison with the Greek ἱμάτιον.[14] The *palla* was a large upper garment, reaching to the ankles.[15] Its upper edge could be drawn over the head, functioning as a veil while the lower edge would extend to the knees. Only a woman's face could be seen when wearing it.[16] Livy reported that the Roman ambassadors visited Alexandria, presenting gifts of a purple *toga* and tunic for the king, Ptolemy IV Philopator, and an embroidered *palla* and purple cloak (*pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo*) for the queen, Arsinoe III.[17]

Literary sources on the *pallium* are varied. Quintilian (37–95 CE) used the term *pallium* to describe the dress of the Greeks.[18] Gellius stated that the *pallium* seemed to be the attire of philosophers or orators.[19] In Plautus' comedies, the word *pallium* frequently served to indicate to the audience the status of one of the Greek characters. For example, in his *Curculio*, the parasite asks everybody to make way for him: 'There is no person ever so opulent to stop me in my way, neither general…Those Grecians with their cloaks (*palliati* 'dressed in a *pallium*') who walk about with covered heads, who go loaded

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[12] Papinius (c. 45–96 CE) *Thebais* 1.590-595, 5.315, 10.58, 12.368; Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE) *Fast.* 2.169.
[13] Bieber 1959: 374.
[14] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 79.
[15] Pliny the Elder *Nat.* 36.4.
[16] Horace (65–8 BCE) *Sat.* 1.2.94-99.
[17] Livy 27.4. For more ancient references on the *palla*, see Petronius (c. 27–c. 66 CE) *Saty.* 124; Juvenal (c. 50–c. 127 CE) *Sat.*10.262; Ovid *Metam*. 4.483; Plautus *Asin.* 5.2.
[18] Quintilian 11.143, 12.10.21.
[19] Gellius *Noct. att.* 9.2. See Gellius *Noct. att.* 18.12 for another instance of the *pallium*.

beneath their cloaks with books, and with baskets.'[20] Elite Roman men also adopted the *pallium*. Senator Rabirius wore the *pallium* when he was in Alexandria.[21] Emperor Tiberius adopted the *pallium* when he was in Rhodes.[22]

Toga

The *toga* was the most characteristic garment worn by the ancient Romans.[23] It was originally semicircular in shape.[24] Lillian Wilson has remarked that unlike the Greek ἱμάτιον, which was rectangular in shape, the *toga* was half elliptical with rounded ends.[25] It was generally made from wool.[26] The artistic evidence of the *toga* shows that there were varying ways of wearing it.[27] Some Romans are represented in the *toga* with the head bare, while others are represented with the *toga* drawn over the head. Thus, the *toga* could function as a head-covering. The Romans developed different forms of decoration on the *toga* to distinguish the rank of its wearers in society. 'The *toga praetexta* (white with purple border) was worn by those who had been elected to magistracies; the *toga picta* (of purple embroidered with gold) were worn by the triumphator.'[28] The *toga praetexta* was also worn by freeborn boys and girls until they grew at the age of manhood and womanhood.[29] When the boys were fourteen to sixteen years old, they had to conduct a ritual ceremony that celebrated their achievement of adult status. They laid aside the

[20] Plautus *Curc.* 2.3. For more references on the *pallium* in Plautus, see *Amph.* 1.1, *Aul*. 4.4, *Bacch.* 1.1.
[21] Cicero *Rab. Post.* 25. See also Cicero *Rab. Post.* 27 for Rutilius, a Roman man, wearing a *pallium.*
[22] Suetonius *Tib.* 13.
[23] Stone 2001: 13.
[24] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 3.61.
[25] Wilson 1924: 29.
[26] Wilson 1924: 70–72; Stone 2001: 13.
[27] For visual references, see Stone 2001.
[28] Livy 10.7.9; Polybius *Hist.* 6.53; for more examples of the *toga praetexta* as a sign of high rank, see Cicero *Verr.* 2.5.36, *Clu*. 56; Stone 2001: 13.
[29] Cicero *Mur.* 5.11, *Verr*. 2.1.151; Stone 2001: 13; Olson 2008: 15; Dolansky 2008: 47.

toga praetexta and donned the plain white *toga* worn by the ordinary male citizens: the *toga virilis* or *toga pura*.[30] 'The transition was of immense importance to the boy himself since the *toga* conferred various rights and privileges and in many ways initiated a new chapter in his life.'[31] By the time of Augustus, an adult woman wearing the *muliebris toga* (feminine *toga*) was regarded as a prostitute.[32]

The *toga* was particularly used as a head-covering worn by priests when performing religious services such as prayer, sacrifice, and prophecy. They conducted an act known as *velato capite* or *capite velato* ('to cover one's head'). 'This gesture consisted of pulling part of one's garment or *toga* over the back of the head and then forward until it approached or covered the ears.'[33] Livy tells us that the augur of Jupiter covered his head (*capite velato*) with his garment when he offered up the victim.[34] The consul Decius asked Marcus Valerius, a public *pontiff*, how to pray while offering the victim to the gods. Marcus Valerius directed him to take his *toga praetexta* with his head covered (*togam praetextam sumere iussit et velato capite*) and stretch out his hands.[35]

Summary

As in Greek, there are many references to the veil and to the act of veiling scattered in Roman literature, ranging from the Hellenistic period to the second century CE. Different words indicated diverse usages and various ornaments in veil-type. They could suggest the age, status, and social rank of the wearer. This suggests that the ancient Romans were

[30] Tacitus *Ann*. 12.41; Pliny the Elder *Nat*. 8.74; Cicero *Att.* 5.20.9, 6.1.12, 7.8; Pliny the Younger *Ep*. 1.9.1-2; Tertullian *Idol*. 16.1-3; Stone 2001: 15; Dolansky 2008: 48–52; Edmondson 2008: 27.
[31] Dolansky 2008: 59.
[32] Horace *Sat.* 1.2.63; Juvenal *Sat.* 2.68-70; Edmondson 2008: 36.
[33] Oster 1988: 496. See also Wilson 1924: 45.
[34] Livy 10.7.10.
[35] Livy 8.9.5. For more examples, see Livy 1.18.7, 1.36.5, 23.19.18.

familiar with head-coverings. Of course, the number of veil-terms in Latin is not as numerous as in Greek. The veil symbolises the respectability of Roman women just as it does for Greek women. Unlike the Greeks, Roman sources sometimes inform us of the physical attributes of the veil, such as their colour and shape, or the material from which they were made. Both Roman priests and priestesses covered their heads when they performed religious duty. Llewellyn-Jones rightly contrasts the use of the veil between the Romans and the Greeks:

> Roman devotional apparel lacked a true counterpart among the Greeks. The Romans developed something of a fixation with proper apparel for secular and sacred occasions and, consequently, Roman clothing is often more symbolic than Greek dress.[36]

[36] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 280.

Table 2. Veil-Terms in Roman Literary Sources

Key: H=Hellenistic
R=Roman

Veil-Term	Dates	Users
flammeum	HR	wife of the *Flamen Dialis*, brides
rica	HR	the priestess of Jupiter, women
velamen	R	men, women
palla	HR	women
pallium	HR	men
toga	HR	men
toga praetexta	HR	freeborn boys and girls, magistrates
toga picta	HR	triumphators
toga virilis or *toga pura*	HR	male citizens
muliebris toga (feminine *toga*)	HR	prostitutes
suffibulum	R	the Vestal Virgins

2.2 Roman Corinth

It has been argued that the Corinth of Paul's day had been established as a Roman colony after the city was totally destroyed a century earlier. The influences of Roman culture and social systems upon the former Greek city were clearly illustrated in its architecture, social systems, and population.[37] Many of the most important civic, political, and religious buildings of the Roman colony were constructed in Corinth. During the Augustan period, clustered Roman temples, an administrative building, and the Julian Basilica were erected.[38] The priestly orders were regulated there in the same way as in Rome including priestly attire and their seating at games.[39] The population of the Caesarian colony was originally a combination of the free urban poor of Rome: veterans and freedmen.[40] This is attested in epigraphic and numismatic evidence.[41] Pausanias recorded that 'Corinth is no longer inhabited by any of the old Corinthians, but by colonists sent out by the Romans.'[42] Latin was the language of the majority of inscriptions.[43] Since the time of Augustus, wealthy Roman citizens came to Corinth as rulers and magistrates.[44] As George Finlay has said:

> The peculiar privileges conferred on the three Roman colonies of Corinth, Patras, and Nicopolis, and the close connection in which they were placed with the imperial government, enabled them to flourish for centuries amidst the general poverty which the despotic system of the Roman provincial administration spread over the rest of Greece.[45]

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[37] Oster 1988: 490.
[38] Romano 2005: 32.
[39] Beard et al. 1998: I, 328; Walters 2005: 401.
[40] Finlay 1906: 67; Romano 2005: 53.
[41] Thomas 2005: 301.
[42] Pausanias *Descr.* 2.1.2.
[43] Salmon 1969: 148; Meeks 1983: 56; Oster 1988: 490; Robinson 2005: 116.
[44] Thomas 2005: 301.
[45] Finlay 1906: 67.

Because Corinth was located on a site amongst old Greek cities, people would have come from surrounding areas and adopted Roman ways of culture, manner, and morality. Salmon commented that 'it is obvious that, whether deliberately intended to do so or not, the colonies did affect the surrounding native areas and induce them to adopt Roman ways.'[46] This indicates that Roman cultural paradigms are of significance for the understanding of the situation at Corinth, especially with respect to the practices of veiling among men and women.

2.3 The Dress of Men in Corinth

What did Roman men wear in the first century CE? Male Roman citizens were encouraged or required to wear the *toga* for all civic occasions.[47] Suetonius remarked that Augustus restored the tradition of the Romans wearing the *toga* by issuing an edict that any citizen had to be dressed in *toga* to enter the forum.[48] Quintilian discussed the dress of the orator. He described extensively how to wear the *toga* and claimed that this garment was distinguished and manly. He mentioned that some Roman dignitaries who lived in the early Empire wore the *toga*.[49] The artistic evidence shows that 'the greatest number of the surviving monuments depicting *togati* ('dressed in a *toga*') belong to the early Empire of the late first century BCE and first century CE.'[50] As to the dress of freedmen, though there are no relevant literary references, the visual evidence indicates that freedmen wore the Roman *pallium*, or what Shelley Stone called a specific style of

[46] Salmon 1969: 149.
[47] Zanker 1988: 162–63; Stone 2001: 17; Harlow 2005: 131; Edmondson 2008: 23.
[48] Suetonius *Aug*. 40.5.
[49] Quintilian 11.3.137-144.
[50] Stone 2001: 17.

the *toga*.[51] Those with low status dressed in tunic (*tunicatus* 'clothed with a tunic'),[52] or dark garments (*pullatorum* 'clothed in black').[53]

Before identifying the dress code of the Corinthian men, it is necessary to explore their social levels. It is reasonably certain that their members included the enslaved (1 Cor. 7:21-24).[54] A few of them were possibly well-to-do (1:26). No one among the Corinthians held civic magistracies since Paul regards such people as 'the unrighteous' (6:1), as having 'no standing in the *ekklesia*' (6:4), and as 'unbelievers' (6:6).[55] There are a few passages in which Paul directly mentions money (16:1-4). They perhaps provide a clue to the financial position of the Corinthians as a whole.[56] For information about individuals, Tertius is a Latin name (Rom. 16:22). Since he transcribed the letter to the Romans, this provides a hint of his profession as a slave-scribe.[57] Gaius is obviously a man of some wealth (1 Cor. 1:14). He has a good Roman praenomen[58] and a house ample enough to host Paul and accommodate all gatherings in Corinth (Rom. 16:23).[59] Crispus is a man of Jewish origin and is the head of a household. He is probably prosperous. He has the title of official of the synagogue which holds a high level of prestige in the Jewish

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[51] See Stone 2001: 16, Fig. 1.3. Stone suggests that the draping of this style of *toga* was similar to a draping of the ἱμάτιον, representing Greek influence. The garment worn by the man is identified as a Roman *pallium* in Bieber 1977, Fig. 605.
[52] Tacitus *Dial.* 7.
[53] Suetonius *Aug.* 44.2.
[54] Meeks 1983: 73; Mitchell 2005: 337; Koester 2005: 340.
[55] Meeks 1983: 73; Meggitt 1998: 99.
[56] Though the subject of the economic identity of the Pauline community is far beyond the current discussion, it has been disputed among scholars. Their views can be simply divided into two categories: the 'Old' and 'New' consensuses which provide a pivotal role for their respective sociological interpretations of Paul's letters. Proponents of the 'Old Consensus' maintain that the Pauline community consisted of the lower classes of the towns so that Pauline Christianity was a movement of the poor. Adherents of the 'New Consensus' claim that the earliest Pauline community came from higher rankings in society. The difference between the two consensuses results from the effects of their own exegetical methods. For some references, see Meggitt 1998: 100–103, 128.
[57] Theissen 1982: 92; Meeks 1983: 57.
[58] Praenomen refers to the first name of a citizen of ancient Rome.
[59] Theissen 1982: 76; Meeks 1983: 57.

community (Acts 18:8).[60] It is likely that Crispus had owned slaves.[61] Stephanas has a Greek name, which indicates that he is either a native Corinthian or an immigrant (1 Cor. 16:15). He was the head of a household which possibly included slaves (1:16).[62] His travel with Fortunatus and Achaicus suggests some independence (16:17). Paul demonstrates a high level of respect for Stephanas which might indicate the latter's generosity as a patron.[63] Erastus is named with the official title of treasurer (Rom. 16:23). This title refers to a particular individual who is charged with administration of public funds or property. The social status of Erastus has been widely discussed. Some suggest that Erastus has a Greek name and might be a freedman. His title indicates that he might have earned a certain amount of wealth and risen to the ranks of the ruling class.[64] But Justin Meggitt maintains that individuals with the title of treasurer can also be public slaves. Erastus' financial status might be similar to that of his fellow believers.[65] Apollos is a man of Jewish origin and native of Alexandria (Acts 18:24). 'He was an eloquent man' implies his ability in rhetoric. Being able to travel indicates his independence.[66] To summarise, the textual evidence seems fragmentary, random, and even unclear when describing the social status of the Corinthians. Similar to the status of the Corinthian women, the Corinthian men were people of various social levels. The typical members of the community might be free artisans and small traders.[67] A few of them were the elite. Others might be freedmen, non-citizens, freeborn poor Roman men, and male slaves. Theissen correctly remarked: 'What is characteristic for its social structure is the fact that

[60] Meeks 1983: 57.
[61] Theissen 1982: 87.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Meeks 1983: 58.
[64] Theissen 1982: 83; Meeks 1983: 58–59; Koester 2005: 339.
[65] Meggitt 1998: 135–41.
[66] Meeks 1983: 61.
[67] Ibid: 72–73.

it encompassed various strata—and thus various interest, customs, and assumptions.'[68] We can estimate that, among the Corinthian men, those who were Roman male citizens likely wore the *toga* or Roman *pallium* when appearing in public. The freeborn boys wore the *toga praetexta*. The freeborn adult men wore the *toga virilis*. Those who were not of Roman origin might wear the ἱμάτιον, ἀμπεχόνη, στολή, and καταστολή. The male slaves might wear tunics or dress in a type of *pullatus*.

2.4 The Veiled Man in the Ancient Roman World

Certainly, in Roman religion, as some authors have discussed, men covered their heads in the context of public sacrifice to display their honour and piety. With respect to the marble statues of Augustus who is portrayed *capite velato* while performing sacrifice, Paul Zanker states that this image shows that Augustus set himself as the most impressive example of piety that was put on display for every Roman to see signifying his extremely high status.[69] Eve D'Ambra suggests that the portrait records Augustus' physical appearance and that he had devoted his life to religious service in pursuit of honour. The modest expression of Augustus demonstrates his fraternity of priesthoods and enthusiastic patriotism. It asserts the virtues and piety of the ruling group.[70] Nancy and Andrew Ramage claim that 'whenever a Roman is shown with his *toga* drawn over his head, it signifies that he is represented in the role of priest. In this case, Augustus is shown as the *pontifex maximus*, the most important priest, a position held for life.'[71]

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[68] Theissen 1982: 106.
[69] Zanker 1988: 127, Fig. 104.
[70] D'Ambra 1998: 28–31, Fig. 15.
[71] Ramage and Ramage 2009: 126, Fig. 3.22.

The *pontifex maximus*, as its name stated, refers to the chief priest who was the head of the college of *pontiffs*. The college of *pontiffs* was the sacred office that held the highest priesthood and the greatest power among the Romans. Not only did they perform the rites of worship, they also had jurisdiction over religious matters. All public and private sacrifices were subject to the decrees and laws made by the *pontiffs*. They were the interpreters of the sacred laws and supervised which animals were sacrificed, on what days, and in which temple they should be offered. The *pontiffs* imposed punishments with regard to any offence. Moreover, they were not liable to any prosecution or punishment themselves concerning religious matters.[72] The *pontiffs* consisted of those who held political power, such as consulships and censorships, and being part of the priesthood would complete their list of honours.[73] They had a reputation of being the noblest and wisest men who upheld moral virtue to the greatest extent among the citizens.[74] They were also honourable men with sufficient wealth.[75] Examples of *pontiffs* include Publius Lentulus who was both consul and *pontiff*,[76] Caius Caesar who was a *pontiff*, proprietor, and candidate of senator,[77] and Cornelius who was both consul and *pontiff*.[78]

The authoritative nature inherent to this role meant that membership in a given priesthood was restricted to a specific social rank. The higher rank of the priestly college was naturally reserved for the higher social status.[79] Because the real power of Roman religion belonged to the nobles who governed provinces and celebrated military victory,

[72] Livy 1.20.5-7; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 2.73; Cicero *Har. resp.* 6.12.
[73] Livy 10.6.5; Fowler 1922: 279.
[74] Cicero *Har. resp.* 6.12; Tacitus *Ann.* 3.58.
[75] Cicero *Verr.* 2.2.128.
[76] Cicero *Har. resp.* 6.12.
[77] Cicero *Phil.* 5.17.
[78] Livy 41.16.3.
[79] Zanker 1988: 120.

the acquisition of these priesthoods for the prestige became competitive.[80] The *pontifex maximus* held a life office bestowed by the law and had a more exalted position than any other member of the *pontiffs*.[81] He was the most influential man in the Senate with the highest rank and greatest honour.[82] It was proposed that the *pontifex maximus* should be chosen in a popular election beginning in the third century BCE and that the *pontiffs* would provide the candidates. The *pontifex maximus* was voted in a special assembly that consisted of seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes. This competition was marked as one of the hardest contests of the Romans. The priests had formed an exclusive club and maintained their influence in the election. In order to win office, the candidates were likely to engage in bribery.[83] Plutarch tells us that Metellus, the *pontifex maximus*, died, and that Isauricus and Catulus were candidates set to replace him. Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE) also joined the election as a rival candidate in 63 BCE. The favour of the electors seemed to be equally divided. Faced with this level of uncertainty, the response of Catulus was to offer Caesar a large amount of money to persuade him to abstain from the election. But Caesar declared that he would carry on with the contest. Finally, Caesar's votes prevailed over the others.[84] Augustus, Caesar's adopted son and heir, became *pontifex maximus* in 12 BCE.[85] 'Ever after, throughout the pagan Empire, all emperors followed his example: the office of *pontifex maximus* became part of the imperial office and marked emperor out as "head of the state religion."'[86]

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[80] Taylor 1949: 90.
[81] Appian *Bell. civ.* 1.2.16; 5.13.131; Taylor 1949: 90.
[82] Polybius *Hist.* 29.14, 32.21; Cicero *Phil.*13.4.
[83] Taylor 1949: 91–92.
[84] Plutarch *Caes.* 7; Suetonius *Jul.* 13.
[85] Augustus *Res Gestae* 12. Translated by Alison Cooley 2009: 69.
[86] Beard 1990: 48.

Of the garments worn by the *pontifex maximus*, the *toga praetexta* was a specific representation of his status. It was a white *toga* with a purple strip of approximately two to three inches width along the border of the robe.[87] It was granted as a privilege to certain officials, such as magistrates and religious dignitaries, who wore it on special days.[88] It was a symbol of both priestly function and honour.[89] The *toga praetexta* made the wearer distinctive from those of lower rank;[90] wearers were proud of themselves above the rest of the people by their appearance, dress, and manner of life.[91] Dionysius tells us when the priests were performing the rites of the sacrifice, they washed their hands, purified the sacrifice with clear water, and sprinkled corn (the fruits of Demeter) on their heads.[92] Next, they prayed and ordered their assistants to sacrifice animals. The assistants cut the animals into pieces and carried them in baskets to the officiating priests. They placed the sacrifice upon the altars, made a fire, and poured wine over the pieces while they were burning.[93]

Paul Zanker states:

> The total membership of the highest priesthoods was far smaller than the number of seats in the Senate, holding one or more priesthoods was a sign of extremely high status. Some felt driven to suicide when they were removed from one of these coveted priesthoods. The frequent public appearances of the priests and the special privileges attached to their

[87] Pliny the Elder *Nat.* 8.74; Stone 2001: 13.
[88] Polybius *Hist.* 6.53; Cicero *Mur.* 5, *Pis.* 10; Epictetus *Diatr.* 1.2; Wilson 1924: 52; Stone 2001: 13.
[89] Cicero *Verr.* 2.5.36; Fowler 1922: 175.
[90] Livy 34.7; Cicero *Clu.* 56.
[91] Plutarch *Quaest. rom.* 81.
[92] Livy recalls that when the augur conducted the public worship, he sat down on a stone and offered the prayer with veiled head, holding the *lituus* (a curved staff) of his office in his right hand (Livy 1.18.7-10; Fowler 1922: 174–75). Thus, it is likely that the priest performed the sacrifice with his head covered in this context.
[93] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 7.72.15-16.

> office, such as honour in the theatre, were constant reminders to the general public of their status in society.[94]

Augustus' historian, Livy, remarks that when Marcus Valerius Corvus resigned as the dictator of Rome in 301 BCE, the plebeian tribunes Quintus and Gnaeus Ogulnius stirred up an argument: they desired more plebs to be elected as priests, and proposed a law that more priests should be taken from the plebs. It was said to have been a vigorous discussion concerning whether the bill should be passed or rejected. Publius Decius, who supported the plebeians, claimed that the contributions of the plebeians to the State were not less than that of the patricians and it was appropriate that the plebeian heroes received honours with the purple-bordered robe, the triumphal crown, and the covering of the head while sacrificing.[95] But the first-century philosopher Lucretius criticises the popular behaviour of showing Roman piety: 'It is no piety to show oneself often with covered head, turning towards a stone and approaching every altar, none to fall prostrate upon the ground and to spread open the palms before shrines of the gods, none to sprinkle altars with the blood of beasts in showers and to link vow to vow.'[96]

Figure 2.2 records the rite of sacrifice performed by Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill. This panel is one of eleven reliefs executed between 170 and 179 CE in honour of the emperor. They were generally believed to have belonged to an arch commemorating the triumph of the emperor over the Germans and Sarmatians in 176 CE.[97] In the centre, it shows the sacrifice standing by the altar as tall as the full-size human figures while the libation is poured. In front of the sacrifice, there stands a flute

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[94] Zanker 1988: 120.
[95] Livy 10.5-7.
[96] Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 5.1199-203.
[97] Ryberg 1967: 1.

Fig. 2.2 Relief on the sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius before the Capitoline Temple, 176–180 CE. Marble. The Museo dei Conservatori, Rome. photo: Susan Bonvallet, 2002.

player wearing the *toga*. The garment reaches only to the knees. The shorter figure is a young boy holding an incense box in both hands. His flowing hair is curled. On the right, an attendant carries an axe in his left hand. He is about to kill the victim. On his head he wears a laurel wreath. On the left half of the panel, the scene is crowded with dignitaries in the ritual.[98] Marcus Aurelius stands close to the centre. He appears to pour a libation over the dish on the small tripod altar. His *toga* is drawn up over his head. This clothing is appropriate to him in the role of officiating priest. The figure who stands in the foreground behind the emperor could be identified as Genius Senatus, the personification of the Senate. Like any magistrate, the Senatus wears the *toga*. His head is crowned with

[98] Ibid: 22.

a laurel wreath. The two figures behind the emperor are identified as military generals.[99] The image of the temple set in the background serves to inform the locale of the rite performed as well as to stress the significance of the ceremony. The panel of the sacrifice generates a strong impression that many people participated in the ritual and that the emperor, who functioned as the priest to perform the sacrifice, was at the centre. Peter Stewart argues that this narrative art aimed to honour the emperor's accomplishment in war and religious piety so that his virtue can be inferred.[100]

The scene of local priests performing a sacrifice is depicted *capite velato* on the altar of the Lares (guardians) from the Vicus Aesculeti (Fig. 2.3). Here, four freedmen have the privilege of wearing the *toga*.[101] They cover their heads and pour libations simultaneously on the altar. On the left a *lictor* guarding there implies the rank of the four men.[102] In the middle a flute player performs music. In the foreground a bull and a boar stand, ready to be sacrificed.[103] D'Ambra suggests that this relief represents the honour given to citizens of lower rank. It intended to win the support of freedmen to the State.[104]

Why did the Romans cover their heads while sacrificing? Helenus, brother of Trojan prince Hector, gives instructions to Aeneas in the *Aeneid*: 'And priests with holy vows the gods adore, then with a purple veil involve your eyes, lest hostile faces blast the

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[99] Ibid: 23.
[100] Stewart 2008: 119–21.
[101] Freedmen were without honour. But there were opportunities for freedmen to engage in public life within their communities. They were involved in cultic worship as priests or were dedicated to civic building projects. Nonetheless, they remained under the supervision of freeborn officials. In the early Empire, the freedmen's public role underwent several changes. The cult of Roman emperors became the state religion in order to provide chances for people to express gratitude for the peace brought by Rome. A variety of local associations were dedicated to the worship of the emperors whose Lares were probably included among the deities. Freedmen dominated the membership of these associations in which they were given official roles and status as priestly status (Mouritsen 2011: 248–51).
[102] 'At cultic ceremonies they were entitled to be attended by one *lictor*; consuls were accompanied by twelve, the praetors by six' (Zanker 1988: 131).
[103] Zanker 1988: 130–31; Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 282–84.
[104] D'Ambra 1998: 80–81.

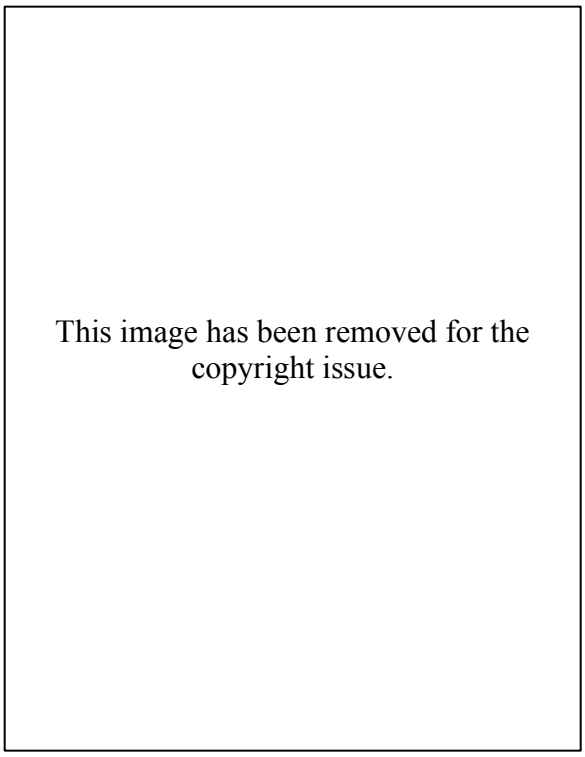

Fig. 2.3 Altar of the *lares* (guardians) from the Vicus Aesculeti, sacrifice by four men. The early Empire. Vatican Museum. Reprinted from Wallace-Hadrill 2008: 284, Fig. 6.11.

sacrifice. These rites and customs to the rest commend, that to your pious race they may descend.'[105] Aeneas follows the instructions: 'Each with a Phrygian mantle veiled his head, and all commands of Helenus obeyed, and pious rites to Grecian Juno paid.'[106] This implies that covering the head ensured that the priests focused their full attention on the rites without distraction. Dionysius explains the origin of the head-covering as relating to Aeneas who, when beginning a sacrifice, saw his enemy approaching and quickly veiled himself and turned his back in order not to be seen. The enemy did not see Aeneas and departed. Aeneas was free to continue with his sacrifice. Covering the head became one

[105] Virgil *Aeneid* 3.403-07.
[106] Ibid: 3.545-47.

of the traditional observances of the Romans during the undertaking of religious rites.[107] Plutarch interprets this act by Romans as one intended to humble themselves and honour the gods when they worshipped.[108]

Roman devotional gestures and apparel while performing sacrifice is of particular relevance to Paul's statement in 1 Cor. 11:4, that a man dishonours his head when he prays or prophesies *capite velato*. Paul evidently advised that men should uncover their heads when they prayed and prophesied in the Christian assembly. His instruction may arise from the fact that a number of men had adopted the Roman practice of *capite velato* while praying and prophesying since they knew that a man covering the head in a Roman religious context was an indicator of honour and a visible sign of piety. These men might have been wearing devotional head-coverings long before they had even heard of Christ. Though they had become Christ-believers, they thought that by continuing to manifest this devotional gesture they would make themselves distinctive from the rest of the group. However, Paul states that man is the image and glory of God (11:7). His presence reflects honour of God and also makes God vulnerable to shame through him. His head should remain uncovered to denote the glory of God. The man's covered head at worship is reminiscent of pagan sacrifice, which obviously dishonours God.

2.5 The Veiled Woman in the Ancient Roman World

To better understand the use of veiling among Roman women in the Corinthian community, it is necessary to explore some important items of female dress and adornment in the Roman world and their correlation to Roman civic status. In a similar

[107] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 12.16.
[108] Plutarch *Quaest. rom.* 10.

fashion to male Roman citizens, the costume of Roman women was stipulated according to their position and status. A female Roman citizen, once married, became a matron. She wore a distinctive dress, the woolen *stola*, to distinguish herself from the rest of society. Her hair was bound with woolen bands, the *vittae.* When she went out in public, she wore the *palla*. These items are offered by several modern scholars as examples of the everyday clothing of Roman matrons.[109] The *stola* was a kind of tunic with special features. The tunic had a straight slip with a horizontal slit at the top which allows the head to pass through the garment. The sleeves of the tunic vary in length. Unlike a regular tunic, the *stola* was very long, reaching to the floor and covering the feet.[110] Another important feature of the *stola* is the *institia*, a band or a ribbon embroidered on the lower edge of the dress. The *institia* was the symbol of modesty. The *stola* was an honourable garment for Roman matrons, signifying marital fidelity. Freedwomen were allowed to wear the *stola*, revealing their modesty.[111] Other women were restricted to the use of the *toga*.[112] 'Like the veil, the *stola* also carried a message, for it pronounced clearly the inherent respectability, chastity and marital fidelity of the wearer, and donning the garment conferred esteem upon a woman.'[113]

The *vittae* were headbands which encircled the head and confined the hair. White and purple are among the colours of the *vittae*. Wearing *vittae* was a privilege of respectable women including maidens, freeborn married women, and freedwomen, emblematic not only of chastity but also of social status.[114] It was a standard element of female dress,

[109] Zanker 1988: 165–66; Sebesta 1997: 531; McGinn 1998: 162; Edmondson 2008: 24.
[110] Wilson 1938: 56. For the illustrations of the *stola*, see Zanker 1988: 165, Fig. 131; Olson 2008, Figure 1.11. Whether the *stola* was the Latin name of the Greek στολή is uncertain (Olson 2008: 28).
[111] Olson 2008: 29; Perry 2014: 132.
[112] Pliny the Elder *Nat.* 33.12; Wilson 1938: 156.
[113] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 182, no. 39.
[114] Plautus *Mil. glor.* 3.1 note 33.

functioning as a kind of moral protection.[115] The Roman poet Ovid (43 BCE–17 CE) frequently depicts the appearance of matrons wearing the *stola* and *vittae* as emblems of female chastity.[116] In Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*, Palaestrio, a slave, instructs Periplectomenus, an old man, to bring a courtesan: 'For you to bring her to your house. She may braid her hair and bind with *vittae* as the fashion of matrons, and may pretend that she is your wife.'[117]

A freedwoman in a *palla* is attested in a funerary relief dated to the late first century BCE (Fig. 2.4). It shows a family group (*CIL* 6.28774). Husband Lucius Vibius is dressed in the *toga* of a freeborn Roman citizen. His wife, Vecilia Hila, is a freedwoman. She is respectably dressed in the *palla* with her head covered. Her left hand is raised in a traditionally modest gesture with a finger displaying her wedding ring. Her hair-style mimics that of female portraits of the imperial family.[118]

2.6 Veiled Roman Women at Corinth

We have argued in Chapter 1 that the Corinthian women were people of various social levels, from being of a high status to being part of the lower ranks. A few of them were elite Roman women. Some of them might be freeborn. Others were freedwomen who were Romanized. We can assume that freeborn girls in the Corinthian congregation wore the *toga praetexta*. Married women should be familiar with the *stola*, *vittae*, *velamen*, and *palla* and appropriately wore these items at social occasions, while there might be local styles for these garments and head-dresses at Corinth. This means that using some

[115] Fantham 2008: 163–64; Olson 2008: 36.
[116] Ovid *Tristia* 2.250-52, *Ex Ponto* 3.3.49-58, *Ars* 1.31-34, 3.483-85.
[117] Plautus *Mil. glor.* 3.1
[118] Olson 2008: 36; Stewart 2008: 65–67.

Fig. 2.4 Funerary relief of Lucius Vibius, his wife Vecilia Hila, and their son L. Vibius Felicio Felix. End of the first century BCE. Vatican Museum, Rome. Photo: Ann Raia, 2007.

particular form of head-coverings was a practice among Roman women in the Corinthian community. The dress code of Roman women, particularly their head-covering, bears a similarity to that of Greek women. As Ramsay MacMullen has argued, women of the lower ranks in the Greek-speaking world of the Roman Empire went out with their heads covered. They dressed just as their counterparts did in Rome.[119] This indicates that the probable basis for Paul's argument on women's head-covering in the Corinthian congregation is not only consistent with the Greek customs of female veiling but also corresponds to traditions of dress deemed appropriate for respectable Roman women.

2.7 Female Veiling in Social Contexts

[119] MacMullen 1980: 218. MacMullen's argument is supported by Molly Levine (Levine 1995: 104).

The Veil and the Matron

What was ideal for Roman womanhood? The funeral inscriptions of Roman matrons praised them as modest, loyal, industrious, and honourable women. Care in the management of property is a virtue that distinguished the high-status matrons from women of 'humbler' class.[120] Jane Gardner remarks: 'With a few exception, Roman women were for their entire lives subject to some degree of limitation on their capacity for independent legal action. Authority to act must either be obtained from, or vested in, a man—father, husband or guardian (*tutor*).'[121] Their behaviour was directed by the state. Plutarch records that Numa, the legendary second king of Rome, was greatly concerned with the mores of women:

> Numa, while carefully preserving to the matrons that dignified and honourable relation to their husbands which was bestowed on them by Romulus, when he tried by kindly usage to efface the memory of the violence done them, nevertheless enjoined great modesty upon them, forbade them all busy intermeddling, taught them sobriety, and accustomed them to be silent; wine they were to refrain from entirely, and were not to speak, even on the most necessary topics, unless their husbands were with them.[122]

Tacitus depicts an image of a virtuous woman:

> Her mother, who surpassed in personal attractions all the ladies of her day, had bequeathed to her alike fame and beauty. Her fortune adequately corresponded to the

[120] Fantham et al. 1994: 318–19.
[121] Gardner 1986: 5. A Roman woman was never released from guardianship. If she married with *manus* (hand), her husband was her guardian. If she was without *manus*, the *paterfamilias* who was the senior male in the household remained her guardian. If the *paterfamilias* died and no other male relative left, she still had to have a *tutor*, a legal guardian. When she undertook legal acts, she had to be subjected to the authorisation of her guardian. But the male authority was not without flexibility in certain circumstances. If the guardian refused, she could request the authorities to force him to give permission for her legal acts. If he was absent, she could appoint a temporary guardian of her choice. Thus, women basically operated their own business in practice (Crook 1967: 113–16; Carp 1981: 345–46).
[122] Plutarch *Comp. Lyc. Num*. 3.5.

> nobility of her descent. Her conversation was charming and her wit anything but dull. She professed virtue, while she practised laxity. Seldom did she appear in public, and it was always with her face partly veiled, either to disappoint men's gaze or to set off her beauty.[123]

The Latin equivalent of the Greek word αἰδώς is *pudicitia* (Lewis and Short 'chastity, modesty'). Rebecca Langlands defines *pudicitia* as

> …a moral virtue (in the peculiarly Roman sense of moral virtue) that pertains to the regulation of behaviour (either of oneself or of other people) specifically associated with sex…It is multidimensional, appearing in the Roman sources as deity, as core civic virtue, as psychological state, as physical state; it is associated with shame and awareness of social boundaries, with honour and bravery, with reputation, with patriotism, with self-control, with paternalistic authority over the sex lives of other people, with personal vulnerability, and with much more.[124]

Livy deliberately commends a woman, Verginia, for her *pudicitia*. She was a patrician daughter and married a commoner. She honoured her husband and erected an altar in the town where she lived.[125] *Pudicitia* could also be used to describe female beauty and charm. In *Elegies*, the author is in love with a woman, Cynthia. The poet says that female chastity (*pudicitia)* does not need to adorn itself with cosmetics. If she finds favour with one man, she is sufficiently adorned.[126] *Pudicitia* is associated with the sense of sexual fidelity which is the chief virtue of women. If *pudicitia* is lost, all virtue collapses.[127] 'The Roman notion of *pudicitia* was likewise embodied in a woman's dress, especially

[123] Tacitus *Ann.* 13.45.
[124] Langlands 2006: 31–32.
[125] Livy 10.23.8.
[126] Propertius *Elegies* 1.2.
[127] Hilton and Matthews 2008: 340; Treggiari 1991: 219.

the *stola*.'[128] Valerius Maximus provides an extensive discussion on female chastity. He said that a matron wearing *stola* was the emblem of her *pudicitia*.[129] In early imperial funerary sculptures, women were frequently depicted in the *pudicitia* pose in which the woman is veiled. One of her hands is raised in a traditionally modest gesture with a finger displaying her wedding ring.[130]

Langlands argues that *pudicitia* was regarded as a symbol of female honour in Roman society. Married women were required to display their *pudicitia* in public. Women with *pudicitia* were rewarded by society. Applying ancient literary sources, and social and anthropological theory to seek a detailed understanding of *pudicitia*, Langlands places it in the context of the cultural background of ancient Rome. She finds that Roman sources were deeply concerned with female sexuality and regarded a woman having sex with someone other than her husband as a serious offence. One anthropological interpretation for this attitude to female sexuality is that ancient Rome was a patriarchal society. It was of crucial importance that a wife could only have been pregnant from one man—her husband. To maintain women's sexual purity, Roman society implemented a system that encouraged the control of female sexuality. This control might be imposed on women by the community and by their husband. For example, Roman society demanded that women participate in the cult of the goddess, Pudicitia. Members of the cult were restricted to matrons who married only once. Married women wore the *stola* to distinguish themselves from the rest of society, demonstrating their freeborn status. They were untouchable. Any assault upon women was considered as an offence. Women with extraordinary *pudicitia*

[128] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 182, no. 39.
[129] Valerius Maximus 6.1.1.
[130] See Bieber 1959: 379, Fig. 5b, 11, 18, 21; Stone 2001: 16, Fig. 1.3.

were bestowed with a crown. Women declared *pudicitia* on their gravestone.[131] Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes how a statue of the goddess Fortuna Muliebris was erected in the territory of the Volscians. The women established a custom in which no woman who had been married a second time could crown the statue with garlands or touch it with her hands.[132]

A well-known case of divorce resulting from a wife unveiling her head is reported by both Valerius Maximus and Plutarch. Valerius states: 'Rugged too was the marital brow of C. Sulpicius Galus. He divorced his wife because he learned that she had walked abroad with head uncovered.'[133] Plutarch states: 'But formerly women were not allowed to cover the head at all. At least it is recorded that Spurius Carvilius was the first man to divorce his wife and the reason was her barrenness; the second was Sulpicius Gallus, because he saw his wife pull her cloak over her head.'[134] A puzzle evidently appears in these two accounts because they conflict with each other. Plutarch describes Galus as repudiating his wife because she went out in public with her head covered. Conversely, Valerius remarks that she was unveiled when venturing out. How should one reconcile their difference? Hilton and Matthews explored the sources for the divorce of Galus and analysed the context of each account respectively. They argue that Plutarch's source was probably Valerius Maximus. Secondly, there is a textual variation in the manuscript tradition of Valerius Maximus: *capite aperto* (with unveiled head) and *capite operto*

[131] Langlands 2006: 37–73.
[132] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 8.55.3-56.4. Pomeroy suggests that the statue of Fortuna was veiled (Pomeroy 1975: 207).
[133] Valerius Maximus 6.3.10.
[134] Plutarch *Quaest. rom.* 14. There are two translations of the name: Sulpicius Galus and Sulpicius Gallus. We use Sulpicius Galus.

(with veiled head).[135] In addition, Plutarch had little knowledge of the female practice of veiling in Republican Rome. Thus, Valerius Maximus' account appears the more reasonable.[136]

What are the facts and meaning behind the divorce of Galus and why did Valerius Maximus address this case? Valerius Maximus' *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* (*Memorable Deeds and Words*) was written during the rule of Tiberius and was certainly addressed to the emperor. The intended readers were freeborn Roman men. The purpose of the work was evidently moral teaching including vice and virtue through examples. Maximus encouraged adherence to Roman moral traditions, emphasising that it was not insignificant that these traditions had been held by the ancestors for centuries earlier. Sulpicius Galus was consul in 166 BCE.[137] In the context of the story of Galus' divorce, unveiling by a woman was regarded as a serious wrongdoing. Maximus remarks: 'The women brought as much credit to our community by their heavy punishment as they had put shame upon it by their misconduct.'[138] These women failed to maintain customs that demanded them to appropriately display their *pudicitia*. Galus' own grounds for divorcing his wife suggest that her own uncovering of her head was likely to draw the gaze of other men. The gaze became a threat to their marriage. Displaying her beauty before the eyes of other men was displeasing to her husband and was inviting suspicion and accusation.[139] Judith Sebesta maintains that the veil denoted a matron's *pudicitia*. It provided protection for her sexual purity. When Galus' wife left the house unveiled, she

[135] Rose translated as 'pull her cloak down' that indicates 'unveiling.' Rose argued that Plutarch misunderstood the context of his Roman questions (Rose 1924: 175).
[136] Hilton and Matthews 2008; Fantham 2008: 160.
[137] Broughton 1986: I, 435.
[138] Valerius Maximus 6.3.7.
[139] Langlands 2006: 71.

in fact ignored her social rank of matron.[140] According to the sexual virtue of the ancient Romans suggested by Seneca the Elder,[141] the unveiling of Galus' wife was a dangerous behaviour that was an expression of allurement and was likely to attract a potential seducer. She had indicated *impudicitia.* The case of Calus' divorce implies that in the late Republic, the woman's role in the marriage relationship was one of submission. The husband was the judge of the wife's behaviour. Unveiling became a serious misconduct and the punishment was severe. Writing in the first century CE, Valerius Maximus raised the issue of Sulpicius Galus divorcing his wife because of the unveiling. This implies that the veil still functions as an element of the Roman concept of female virtue and modesty in Paul's day.

The Veil in Roman Weddings

Like many other cultures, the Roman wedding was a ceremony that represented a young woman's transition to married life. Molly Levine writes:

> Roman marriage ceremonies also seem to privilege the head-covering. Indeed, the Latin word *nubere* 'to marry' literally means 'to veil oneself", and according to the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is probably cognate with *nubes* 'cloud'. For a woman to become married (*nubere*) is for her ritually to cover/cloud her head.[142]

Similar to the ancient Greek marriage ceremony, normal components of a wedding in the early Principate usually contained prenuptial rites,[143] the special costume of the bride,[144]

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[140] Sebesta 2001: 49.
[141] Seneca the Elder *Controversiae* 2.7.3-4.
[142] Levine 1995: 100.
[143] Treggiari 1991: 121–45; Hersch 2010: 136.
[144] Ovid *Fast.* 2.560; Plutarch *Quaest. rom.* 87, *Rom.* 15.5*;* Balsdon 1962: 182; Brendel 1980: 119; Sebesta 1997: 534; Sebesta 2001: 48; La Follette 2001: 54; Hersch 2010: 66–73.

events at the house of the bride, the procession to the groom's house,[145] and events at the house of the groom.[146] The *flammeum* is used for the bridal veil, covering her hair and much of her body.[147] It was the most prominent adornment of the bride that symbolised her chastity. The groom and the guests could immediately identify the bride by her *flammeum*.[148] 'Brides are covered by the *flammeum* because of a good omen, because the *Flaminica*, wife of the *Flamen Dialis* and priestess of Jupiter, wears it daily. She cannot divorce.'[149] This affirms that *flammeum* is associated with a woman's fidelity to her husband,[150] emphasising the wife's purity and the success of the marriage.[151] The yellow bridal veil also symbolised a wife's faithfulness to her husband; as the head was the key place of her sexuality, the hair had to be covered by the veil. Through the marriage ceremony a maiden was transformed into a wife. The uncovering of the veil by the wife's husband was a ritual that affirmed the surrender of her virginity.[152]

The marriage ceremony and head-covering of the bride are attested in a carved sarcophagus dating to the second century CE which was found in Mantua Italy and was intended to commemorate idealised scenes from the life of an adult male (Fig. 2.5).[153] It is a 'biographical sarcophagus' that represents different episodes of the male's career. On the left side he is successful in battle. He appears as a General, standing on a low podium to accept the submission of barbarians. He performs a sacrifice in front of a temple. The

[145] Plautus *Cas.* 2.8; Balsdon 1962: 83; Hersch 2010: 114–23.
[146] Plutarch *Quaest. rom.* 1, 65; Hersch 2010: 139–42.
[147] Balsdon 1962: 183; Treggiari 1991: 163; Sebesta 2001: 48; Hersch 2010: 71.
[148] Hersch 2010: 137.
[149] Festus (second century CE) 82L, translated by Karen Hersch 2010: 75. The reason why the *Flamen Dialis* could not divorce is given by Plutarch in *Quaest. rom.* 50.
[150] La Follette 2001: 56
[151] Wilson 1938: 142.
[152] Levine 1995: 96.
[153] Wilson 1938: 141, Fig. 93; Balsdon 1962: Fig. 9(b); Brilliant 1963: 158, Fig. 3.134; Kampen 1981: 53, Fig. 12; Davies 1985: Fig. 12; Stewart 2008: 70, Fig. 15.

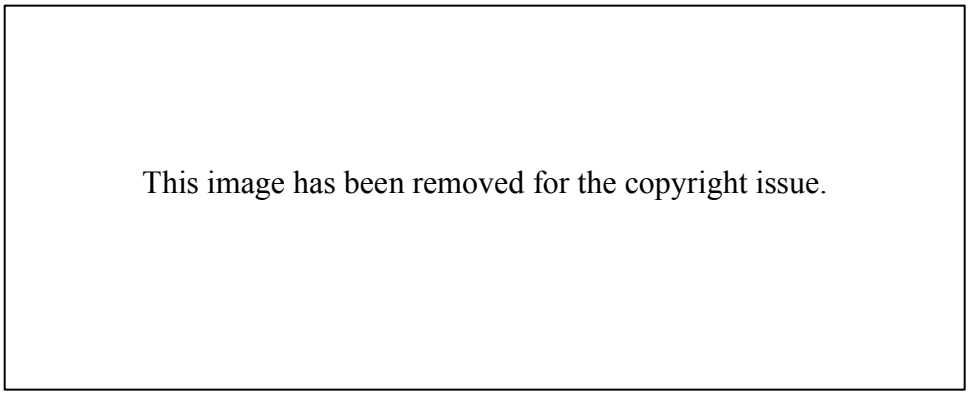

Fig. 2.5 Marble relief from the front of a sarcophagus. Second century CE. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale. Reprinted from Kampen 1981: Fig. 12.

right side depicts his wedding ceremony. It has been accepted that the biographical scenes on the sarcophagus represent fundamental Roman values and customs.[154] The man's key achievements throughout his life illustrate his virtues—courage, kindness, and piety. The wedding scene refers to a harmonious relationship in marriage.[155] The gesture of the handshake of husband and wife provides the apparent consummation of a virtuous life.[156]

The Veil of the Vestal Virgins

As far as the role of the veil of the Roman women in religion was concerned, one of the most important cults supported by the State was the cult of Vesta at Rome. The priestesses of Vesta were known as the Vestal Virgins. They were primarily in charge of

[154] Kampen 1991: 231, Fig. 11.
[155] Davies 1985: 638–39; Stewart 2008: 72.
[156] Brilliant 1963: 158.

the perpetual fire in the temple of Vesta which was made by lighting a pure and unpolluted flame from the rays of the sun.[157] There were six Vestal Virgins serving at any one time to perform the sacred rites on behalf of the State.[158] They were required to retain their virginity for thirty years as the Romans argued that this way, the fire was uncorrupt, the Virgin being undefiled; 'the most chaste of mortal things must be agreeable to the purest thing of divine.'[159] The selection of a Vestal Virgin was strict. She was chosen between the ages of six to ten, she would be from a patrician family with good virtues and her parents had to remain in one marriage. Her physical body had to be perfect without a defect.[160] During the priesthood, she was given many privileges. She became legally emancipated and was freed from the control of her *paterfamilias*. She obtained the right to make a will. In public appearances, the distinctive marker of a Vestal was that she was escorted by a *lictor* (attendant), a symbol of office.[161] When Augustus entered the theatre, the Vestals had their seats on the imperial podium. Many high honours had been granted by the State to the Vestal Virgins who had preserved their virginity and performed the pure rites throughout thirty years of priesthood. A statue would be erected for the senior Vestal.[162]

The Vestal's costume was also distinctive. She wore a special hair-style and dress. Festus notes that both Vestal Virgins and brides wore a hair-style of the *seni crines*: 'Brides are adorned with six braids, which indeed the Vestal Virgins also used.'[163] Robin

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[157] Plutarch *Num.* 9.5-8, 10, 11.1; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 1.76.3; Livy 1.20.3.
[158] Plutarch *Num.* 13.2; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 1.76.3, 2.67.1, 3.67.2; Tacitus *Hist.* 4.53; Wildfang 2006: 10.
[159] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 2.66.2.
[160] Aulus Gellius *Noct. att.* 1.12; Tacitus *Ann.* 2.86.
[161] Plutarch *Num.* 10.3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 47.19.4.
[162] Aulus Gellius *Noct. att.* 1.12, 7.7; Pliny the Elder *Nat.* 34.11; Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 2.67.2. Tacitus *Ann.* 4.16.
[163] Festus 454.23L, cited by Wildfang 2006: 11; see also La Follette 2001: 56.

Wildfang maintains that the style of the *seni crines* had a connection with the quality of *castitas*,[164] visibly illustrating the status of the Vestal.[165] Ariadne Staples claims that the *seni crines* was linked with chastity. It was a symbol of the virginal status of the Vestal. It served to identify a woman as belonging explicitly to the Vestal order, not merely as being a Virgin.[166] When sacrificing, the priestess wore the *suffibulum* and *infula*.[167] The *suffibulum* was a short veil in white bordered with purple and fastened with a fibula. Under her veil the Vestal wore the *infula*, white woolen ribbons that had been coiled around her head at least five times. The ends of the *infula* fell to the shoulders in long loops.[168] Servius describes it as streamers in the form of a crown with *vittae* hanging on either side. The ribbons were twisted in white and red.[169] The term *vittae* is far more common than the term *infula* in poetry, and the latter is normally mentioned in the context of ritual.[170] In addition, the Vestal Virgins also wore *vittae*. It is the emblem of her priesthood.[171] When she was on duty, she wore a linen garment with *vittae* on her head.[172]

However, despite all the advantages that Vestal Virgins enjoyed, severe penalties were established for any misconduct. The Vestal who committed minor misbehaviours would be whipped with rods. Those who lost their virginity or performed their holy duties in an unchaste state had to be punished by the most shameful and the most miserable death—being buried alive. The Romans felt frightened about the extinction of the fire believing

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[164] *Castitas* literally means 'chastity' or 'purity' (Lewis and Short).
[165] Wildfang 2006: 12–13. This view is confirmed by La Follette 2001: 56.
[166] Staples 1998: 145–46.
[167] La Follette 2001: 57; Fantham 2008: 163.
[168] La Follette 2001: 57.
[169] Servius *In Aeneadem* 10.538.
[170] For detailed comparison between *vittae* and *infulae*, see Fantham 2008: 164.
[171] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 2.67.2.
[172] Ibid: 2.68.5.

that it would spell misfortunes for them. It was an omen of the destruction of the city.[173] If the fire had been extinguished, the entire city was in a state of great turbulence and the *pontiffs* would examine whether some defilement of the Vestals caused the extinction of the fire.[174] Dionysius tells of things that occurred in the Roman camp. The religious interpreters explained that these events were indications of divine wrath since the rites were not performed in a pure state. A Vestal Virgin named Oppia was found to be unchaste when she guarded the rites and was placed under trial. The *vittae* that symbolised her priesthood were removed. She was buried alive.[175]

Just as the *stola* defined a matron Romanness, the Vestal's sacred virginity represented Roman honour.[176] Similar to the origin of the Pythia's designation, the order of the Vestals came into existence under an essential prerequisite that 'they made their persons sacred and inviolable by a vow of chastity and other religious sanctions.'[177] Ariadne Staples comments that 'the effect of this sacred virginity on the woman herself was that her individual potential for sexuality and procreation was suppressed.'[178] Sherry Ortner gives some thoughts on why purity of women in patriarchal societies plays a highly significant role in the honour of the collective as a whole. She remarks that men use their endeavours to maintain female chastity as priests are charged with the protection of sacred objects.[179] In the minds of men, besides the reproductive value of women, they might also have mystical or spiritual value which is bound up with male honour.

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[173] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 2.67.2; Plutarch *Num.* 10.4.
[174] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 2.68.3.
[175] Ibid: 8.89.4-5.
[176] Ariadne Staples describes the Vestal as the embodiment of Rome (Staples 1998: 156).
[177] Livy 1.20.3.
[178] Staples 1998: 147.
[179] Ortner 1978: 28.

> Because virginity is a symbol of exclusiveness and inaccessibility, non-availability to the general masses, something, in short, that is elite…the women of a given group are expected to be purer than the men, that upon their higher purity hinges the honour of the group. I would argue that the women are not, contrary to native ideology, representing and maintaining the group's actual status, but are oriented upwards and represent the ideal higher status of the group.[180]

In the foregoing discussions, the literary evidence shows that female chastity codes and the practice of veiling were defined by males in the Roman world. Standards of honour and shame for men and women are different. In such a hierarchical system of male over female, women had to follow the values set by men to maintain their social standing and the honour of groups to which they belonged. The practice of veiling among Roman women was an important component of their place in the social order. The head-covering is used to make a symbolic statement that the wearer is a modest and chaste matron. This provides striking parallels to the observances kept by the Greek women. The Greek bride wears a particular veil-style; a respectable Greek woman is dressed in the ἱμάτιον, καταστολή, στολή, or ἀμπεχόνη; the Pythia wears a kerchief and practises celibacy during her term of office. Similarly, the Roman bride is veiled in the *flammeum*; a Roman matron is dressed in the *palla*; the Vestal Virgins wear the *suffibulum* and are required to retain their virginity. As the female head is the locus of her sexuality, which is threatening to the male in the Greek world, the same is true for Roman men who were concerned with the social disorder caused by women's misbehaviour. Confining her mature sexuality means putting her in her place with the head-covering in Roman male ideology as well. Paul's instructions in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 that the Corinthian women should

[180] Ibid: 32.

cover their heads when praying and prophesying are consistent with the general Roman male emphasis on female modesty and dress, the head-covering in particular. In light of Roman traditions, the Corinthian woman removing her veil at worship was guilty of misconduct since she was making her physical head visible in public. She dishonoured her male kin as well as the community in which she participated as a member. She is one and the same as a woman who lost her *pudicitia.* The Corinthian men were continually vulnerable to any potential erotic distraction. Paul definitely wanted Corinthian women prophets to conform to Roman notions of what a respectable woman's appearance should be.

2.8 The Unveiled Roman Woman

'Perhaps the most fascinating but vexingly elusive question of all is "why did Corinthian women uncover their heads in the first place?"'[181] As Paul's directions for the women in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 are quite general, it is difficult to reconstruct the actual social status of the women who are addressed. A variety of interpretations are offered as to the motivation of the Corinthian women removing their veils while praying and prophesying.[182] Some commentators have attributed it to the external factors that women's position in Greco-Roman society was greatly improved in the first century and that new attitudes and altered behaviours would follow, but these authors fail to explore this hypothesis more fully in relation to the Roman women's dress code of Paul's day and its relation to the situation of the Corinthians.

[181] MacDonald 1987: 81.
[182] This will be discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

The social and political contexts of the Roman world required some adaptations from the Greek model concerning women's position. The Second Punic War (218–202 BCE) and the Third Punic War (149–146 BCE) between Rome and Carthage brought major transformations to Roman society. Many high-status matrons were widowed because of the heavy casualties and had to take care of the household on their own. Legally they might become *sui iuris* (independent). Meanwhile, men were required to go abroad for military expenditure and political activities. Their guardianship was absent. As a result, a large amount of wealth accumulated from the victories of the wars ended up in the hands of these matrons who, in turn, lived lives of luxury, involving themselves more in public affairs. They engaged in property transactions, borrowing or lending money. They pursued intellectual skills.[183] But there were also some examples of unscrupulous women. In Rome, more well-born Roman women from the time of Cicero began to revel in their own social groups. They indulged themselves with sexual pleasure outside marriage. They were so called 'New Women'.[184] Interestingly, the historian Sallust depicts such women in *The War with Catiline*. Sallust gives us a full account of how the Roman senator Catiline devised a conspiracy to attempt to overthrow the Roman Republic in 63 BCE. After Marcus Tullius and Gaius Antonius were proclaimed consuls, Catiline actively collected arms and money, and gained the support of men and women. One of these women was Sempronia. She had a good fortune and was well read in Greek and Roman literature. She was also able to dance and play the lyre and write in verse. In all, she possessed a high degree of wit and charm. But she had committed many crimes. She

[183] Carp 1981: 346–47; Fantham et al. 1994: 261–64.
[184] Fantham et al. 1994: 281.

desired to seek men more than she was sought by them. 'There was nothing which she held so cheap as *pudicitia*.'[185]

Yet, some of these 'New Women' had been heavily criticised for scandalous conduct. For example, they dressed shamelessly. The traditional role of women had gradually shifted.[186] Suetonius indicates that Augustus established a new law in relation to adultery and the violation of *pudicitia*.[187] Cassius Dio (155–229 CE) expands on Suetonius' point, telling us that the Senate became seriously concerned with the misconduct of women and urged Augustus to control female sexual behaviour. He replied that the necessary decree had been issued, making a few remarks on how a woman's dress and adornment should represent her modesty when in public.[188] Such speculations are much in line with Tertullian's harsh criticism on a matron's dress made during a time when some women had abandoned garments that signified their social and moral rank:

> Certain women had diligently promoted the disuse of garments that serve as the tokens and guardians of social and moral rank, inasmuch as they are a hindrance to promiscuity. But now in prostituting themselves, in order that they may be the more readily approached, they have sworn off their *stola*, scarf, shoes, and hat, and even the very litters and portable chairs, by means of which they used to be kept aloof, at a discreet distance, even in public. But one man closes his eyes, while another will not open his. Look at the prostitutes, the marketplaces of public lusts, even the very massage-girls, and if it is better to avert your eyes from such shameless spectacles of chastity murdered in public, turn your gaze upward, if you like: at once you will see that they are matrons.[189]

[185] Sallust *Bell. Cat.* 24-25.
[186] Fantham et al. 1994: 299–302.
[187] Suetonius *Aug.* 34.
[188] Cassius Dio *Hist. rom.* 54.16.3-5.
[189] Tertullian *Pall.* 49, translated by McGinn 1998: 161.

Tertullian also mentions that in 21 CE, Severus Caecina complained to the Senate that the matrons were going out without their *stola*.[190] This shows that Roman women were abandoning what was considered socially desirable dress and decided what to wear of their own volition.

Not only did the historical narratives record the tension between the traditional Roman way of life and the tendency to reduce this sharp differentiation of gender roles identified by female adornment, artistic evidence also confirms where social reality did not fully correspond with the ideals of costume expressed in male-authored literary sources. Examining the visual records dating from 200 BCE to 200 CE in Italy, mainly in Rome, Olson observes that plenty of female portrait busts show the women's heads without *vittae* and head-covering, probably in order to display elegant hair-styles. Although it could be assumed that the sculptor wanted variety, apparently it was determined by the women themselves. Olson asserts that women evidently were not always dressed in costumes that were deemed as indicators of rank, status, or morality according to tradition.[191] Interestingly, the archaeological record provides a similar scenario for freedwomen. Lisa Hughes has conducted a statistical analysis of the late Republic and early Empire funerary monuments of freedwomen from Italy. She divides these portraits into groups according to four distinctive features: with veil, without veil, with inscription, and without inscription. She finds that out of the 113 reliefs that depict freedwomen dating from the late first century BCE to the early first century CE, 67 reliefs show women with veiled heads while 46 reliefs show unveiled heads. Of the 26 reliefs with veiled women which bore an inscription, 15 depict women of Greek ethnicity who had

[190] Tertullian *Pall.* 49, translated by McGinn 1998: 161. Tacitus reports the debate among the Senate and Severus Caecina's proposal although the problem of female dress was not mentioned (Tacitus *Ann.* 3.33).
[191] Olson 2002: 391–93. See also Fantham 2008: 166–67.

the traditional custom of veiling. Of the 30 reliefs of unveiled women bearing an inscription, 26 depict husband and wife. This might imply that women of a more modest status would not necessarily be veiled. Hughes concludes that 'veiling is not indicative of standard practice among freedwomen of the late Republic and early Empire.'[192] There are various factors inherent in the practice of unveiling among freedwomen in the Roman world and these factors could be cultic, social, or ethnic.[193] Again, in Roman society, veiling was not necessarily a significant form of female honour. This attitude toward veiling practices among Roman women is consistent with what Llewellyn-Jones observes: 'While Greek women were expected to be veiled in public, the rule was not so strongly endorsed for Roman women, although Roman women in the Greek East may have felt compelled to comply with local custom.'[194]

Does the fact that Roman women were not using veils as part of their everyday costume provide some clue that would enable us to discern the behaviour of the Corinthian women? It is possible that there were certain occasions when a high-status woman might not have felt that it was necessary for her to cover the head while participating in Christian meetings in a private household. However, this type of woman might not sound like the one whom Paul criticised since such elite women uncovering their heads were usually attempting to display their elaborate hair-styles which signified their social standing in the eyes of men.[195] The authors of 1 Peter and 1 Timothy clearly exhorted women not to wear braided hair, gold, pearls, or costly garments (1 Tim. 2:9; 1

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[192] Hughes 2007: 226.
[193] Ibid: 224.
[194] Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 280.
[195] Olson observes that the use of adornment by a woman is often a controversial matter among ancient authors. It links with aesthetical deception and lack of self-control. Adornment was expensive and time-consuming. Women obsessed with adornment might be not interested in their traditional role as housewives (Olson 2008: 80). See also Batten 2009: 490–98.

Pet. 3:3). The basis of the two authors' exhortations is the general Greco-Roman male construction of female virtue. This indicates that the instructions must have been relevant to certain women who are of attractive appearance. In contrast, Paul makes the situation of his female referents ambiguous. To support the point of women covering their heads, his argumentation can be considered as multilayered. He appeals to culture and shame (1 Cor. 11:4-6), the order of creation (11:3, 7-9), the angels (11:10), common sense (11:13), nature (11:14-15), and the common practice of the *ekklesia* (11:16). This seems to imply that the women might hold sound justifications to remove their veils. Paul has to establish an unshakeable authority to reject them.[196]

Conclusion

It is clear that the veil is attested in the Roman evidence from the early Republic to the second century CE. The use of the veil was depicted on a wide scale through the work of Roman authors and in Roman art. For men, they covered their heads when performing religious sacrifices. The act of *capite velato* became one of the traditional observances of the Romans who intended to humble themselves and honour the gods. Some of the Roman men in Corinth might have followed Roman gestures and apparel by covering their heads during Christian worship. This conduct was considered by Paul as inappropriate.

As far as the veiling of Roman women was concerned, the veil as a garment was a sign of the traditional Roman way of life, character, and values. The veil was used by Roman women in social and religious contexts. The Romans were deeply concerned with female sexuality and believed that the virtue of women was connected with the welfare of

[196] The explanation of why the women uncovered their heads will be discussed in Chapter 5.

the State. Although veils marked out respectable women from the rest, our sources show that the *stola* and *vittae* were mentioned by Roman authors more than veils as the emblems of female chastity and social status. The veil is less significant for Roman women than for Greek women. Nevertheless, Paul's advice on the head-dress of the Corinthian women shares certain connections with Roman women's veiling practices.

Along with social changes around the late first century BCE onwards, the general status of women had improved and one reaction of the women to this change was choosing their own clothing. Elite women abandoned their distinctive costume. The veil was more likely to be worn by respectable women on special days or during ceremonies. The practice of veiling among low-status women as part of the everyday clothing appeared not to gain in popularity. However, it is less likely that a high-status woman at Corinth uncovered her head to show off her adornment when attending the assembly. She might not sound like the one whom Paul referred to.

Chapter 3

Marriage and Authority: Roman and Pauline Values

This chapter attempts to explore the Pauline passages that concern marriage and authority in responding to questions about the character of Paul's view of women implied in the text of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16. The interpretations offered in this chapter will seek to study the impact of Greek and Roman culture on Paul's advice on marriage. Paul's instructions on female veiling seem to comply with the Greek notion of female αἰδώς and the Roman concept of *pudicitia*. The text raises questions about Paul's view on sexuality and gender as well as women's leadership roles in congregations. Whether the word 'head' in verse 3 is understood as 'headship' or 'prominence',[1] we are constantly reminded of male domination over female. The following analysis consists of two main elements. The first is to compare and contrast Roman thought and Paul's view on marriage and authority respectively. The second is to evaluate women's roles within the Pauline congregations.

3.1 Roman and Pauline Approaches to Marriage

Roman law defined the purpose of marriage as procreation.[2] Cicero wrote to his young son Marcus to contemplate the origins of human relationships: 'For since the reproductive instinct is by Nature's gift the common possession of all living creatures, the

[1] The meaning of the 'head' will be discussed in Chapter 4.
[2] Rousselle 1992: 315.

first bond of union is that between husband and wife.'[3] Ovid had pointed out that sexual intercourse is a responsibility for husband and wife and that they should feel no sexual pleasure.[4] Once the bride became a matron, she held great authority in the household and maintained her own social position. Nevertheless, penalties for adultery by the wife were more severe than any adultery committed by the husband. A husband's sexual intercourse with his slave women was generally tolerated as slaves were defined as the property of their masters. A husband who killed his wife for adultery could claim justification before Augustan law.[5] If a respectable woman committed adultery, she was compelled to adopt the *toga*.[6] Some elite Roman women who committed adultery were sent into exile.[7] On the contrary, 'men were not brought up to believe that it was virtuous to refrain from sexual intercourse. Boys learned to lust after the household's female slaves, always available for their pleasure.'[8] In the early Empire, Augustus instituted laws on marriage to reinforce the traditional role of women. A Roman matron was expected to maintain her body. She was untouchable. Any assault upon the women was considered an offence. She had to devote herself to child rearing and management of her husband's wealth.[9] She could also divorce her husband and reclaim her dowry. She often became independent because her father had died or freed her. But she had no right of intestate succession.[10] A widow was expected to remarry within a year, a divorcee within six months.[11] In short, gender in Roman marriage was interwoven with politics in the Roman world. Gender

[3] Cicero *Off.* 1.54.
[4] Ovid *Ars* II 685, 686.
[5] Treggiari 1988: 1351.
[6] Gardner 1986: 252; Rousselle 1992: 319.
[7] See Tacitus *Ann.* 2.50, 4.42, 4.44; Suetonius *Tib.* 11 for some cases.
[8] Rousselle 1992: 319.
[9] Pomeroy 1975: 149–63; Treggiari 1991: 60–80; Fantham et al. 1994: 294–97; Sebesta 1997: 529.
[10] Treggiari 1991: 32.
[11] Rousselle 1992: 316.

relations recognise that there are important aspects of inequality between men and women. Gender behaviour becomes an expression of male domination over female.

When we turn to Paul, the situation looks quite different. First Corinthians 7 discusses domestic issues: marriage, divorce, and widowhood (7:1-16). Here, 'Paul in almost every instance addresses himself explicitly to both men and women in order to show that each sex has the same freedom and the same responsibility.'[12] Unlike the Romans, Paul did not mention procreation as the dutiful purpose of marriage. This is consistent with his eschatological view on the world. He states that both husband and wife must fulfil their duty by satisfying the sexual desires of the other (7:2-7). This indicates that Paul's view on sexual relationships is egalitarian and reciprocal. On the basis of 7:2-7, Roy Bowen Ward states: 'Traditionally the purpose of marriage was the procreation of legitimate heirs who would inherit and continue the name, property and sacred rites of the family. Paul, in effect, redefined marriage as a context for the mutual satisfying of erotic desires.'[13] Francis Watson thinks that 7:3-4 is an application of the general principle outlined in 11:11-12 that neither is woman apart from man, nor man from woman.[14] In contrast to Roman laws that expected a widow and a divorcee to remarry soon, Paul suggests that it is good for unmarried men and women to remain unmarried, as he is (7:8-9). Thiselton claims that, 'in 7:1-9 Paul said something about complementarity, mutuality, and reciprocity just as he did in 11:7-12.'[15] Advice for married men and women concerning circumstances relating to a decision to separate is found at 7:10-16.

[12] Scroggs 1972: 294; see also MacDonald 1990: 161.
[13] Ward 1990: 286–87.
[14] Watson 2000: 524.
[15] Thiselton 2000: 495.

Here, Paul is clearly dealing with the subject of remarriage.[16] Some authors remark that the prohibition of divorce in 7:10-11 attributed by Paul to 'the Lord' may reflect a dominical saying of Jesus (Matt. 5:31-32, Mark 10:11-12, Luke 16:18)[17] that 'anyone who divorces his wife and marries another commits adultery, and whoever marries a woman divorced from her husband commits adultery' (Luke 16:18). In other words, Paul adopts the saying of Jesus that sexuality in marriage is both an expression and symbol of oneness. This view of separation was distinctive in principle against Greco-Roman culture.[18]

The text of 1 Corinthians 7 shows that Paul's attitude toward marriage differs significantly from those typically found in the Roman world. Though his advice on female dress code is consistent with the culture, he did not put women into a subordinate position. Rather, he radically changes male sexual behaviour. Marital chastity for husband and wife is equally important for Paul. William Loader rightly states:

> In some ways the change for men in the alternative society is more radical than for women. Making them responsible for their own sexuality removes from them the traditional self-understanding that they must control women and can blame them.[19]

3.2 Authority in Roman Society and in Paul's Letters

The following exploration will contrast the notion of authority in the Roman world with Paul's view on leadership in the Christian community. Three areas merit consideration

[16] Ford 1964–1965: 326.
[17] Fitzmyer 1976; Murphy-O'Connor 2009: 32–42.
[18] Thiselton 2000: 524.
[19] Loader 2012: 361.

when attempting to understand the notion of authority in the Roman world: social hierarchy, gender relations, and the patronage system.

In Roman society, the scope of authority was associated with honour, social rank, and legal privilege. Those with high authority undoubtedly possessed high rank and honour which derived from character, birth, office, and wealth.[20] Roman society was strongly divided by categories of status. The high status groups, including senators, equestrians and decurions, ruled the low status groups.[21] Senators were an exclusive group who held the highest ranks of society.[22] Their honour was manifested in the way that they sat at special seats in the theatre and wore the *toga* with vertical purple stripes on the garment.[23] Equestrians were selected as the second rank among the nobles. They held the highest public office.[24] Like the senators, equestrians had special qualifications for property and had their own special seats in the theatre.[25] Decurions were described as members of the local councils in the cities. Similar to the senators and equestrians, they sat in special seats at the games and dined at the public's expense. They were exempted from severe penalties in criminal cases as the jurists valued birth, moral qualities, and wealth when considering their verdict.[26] The low status groups included plebeians, freedmen, aliens, and slaves. They were of 'humbler' status and greatly liable to harsher punishment than the honourable groups if they broke the rules or failed to respect authority.[27] Freedmen could not hold Roman magistracies or priesthoods. They were not allowed to attend the legions. Slaves were traditionally punished more severely than freedmen, and men of bad

[20] Garnsey 1970: 234; MacMullen 1974: 109.
[21] Garnsey 1970: 237–45.
[22] MacMullen 1974: 110.
[23] MacMullen 1988: 65; Stone 2001: 15.
[24] Tacitus *Ann.* 2.33.
[25] Suetonius *Jul.* 39.
[26] Garnsey 1970: 242–45.
[27] Rist 1982: 115.

reputation more severely than men of good reputation.[28] There was a specific place set apart for the execution of slaves.[29]

With respect to gender relations, the Romans were influenced by Greek philosophy. They adapted the Greek model of women's position to the Roman social and political contexts.[30] Aristotle conceived the relationship between man and woman as a gendered hierarchy:

> It is natural and expedient for the body to be governed by the soul and for the emotional part to be governed by the intellect…Again, as between the sexes, the male is by nature superior and the female inferior, the male ruler and the female subject.[31]
>
> For the male is by nature better fitted to command than the female…when one is ruler and the other ruled they seek to have a distinction by means of insignia and titles and honors, but the male stands in this relationship to the female continuously.[32]
>
> For the free rules the slave, the male the female, and the man the child in a different way. And all possess the various parts of the soul, but possess them in different ways; for the slave has not got the deliberative part at all, and the female has it, but without full authority, while the child has it, but in an undeveloped form.[33]

Here, the citations reflect three aspects of women's position enlightened from Aristotle's perspective. First, his theories place the relation of men to women in terms of dominance and subordination. There is a clear male-female hierarchy since male is by nature superior than female.[34] Second, the female is placed under an obligation to recognise the

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[28] Ibid: 260–62.
[29] Tacitus *Ann.* 15.60.
[30] For example, Plutarch tells us that Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (c.184 BCE–129 BCE), a general of the Roman Republic, received a Greek education which was typical among the Roman aristocracy at his time, and would have been surrounded by Greek grammarians, rhetoricians, sculptors, painters, and instructors (Plutarch *Aem.* 6.5).
[31] Aristotle *Pol.* 1.1254b.
[32] Ibid: 1.1259b.
[33] Ibid: 1.1260a.
[34] Ahmed 1992: 28.

gender distinctions and to honour the male. Third, unlike the slave who does not fully possess the crucial parts of the soul, the female possesses fully but without authority.[35] This idea of the male governing the female is applied to Roman household codes. In support of Roman laws, Cato claims:

> If, Romans, every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the prerogative and authority of a husband with respect to his own wife, we should have less trouble with the whole sex…Our ancestors thought it not proper that women should perform any, even private business, without a director; but that they should be ever under the control of parents, brothers, or husbands.[36]

When Cicero discusses aspects of the governance of Rome, he states:

> Nor indeed should there be a governor placed over women…but there should be a censor to teach men to rule their wives…Thus training in modesty has great effect; all women abstain from intoxicating drinks…And besides, if any woman had a bad reputation, her relatives refused to kiss her…Thus impudence is derived from seeking, and shamelessness from demanding.[37]

Of course, it would be misleading to think that the views of Aristotle, Cato, and Cicero on gender represent Greek and Roman thought generally, but the perspectives of these authors certainly highlight the place of gender and marriage in the Greco-Roman world.

In the household, the Romans thought that men should subordinate themselves to traditional social relationships which meant that a father was placed above a son, a patron

[35] Foxhall 2013: 30.
[36] Livy 34.2.1, 10.
[37] Cicero *Resp.* 4.6.

above a freedman, a master above a slave.[38] Unlike the nuclear family household today, which consists of parents and dependent children without other relatives or friends, the structure of the households of wealthy Romans was hierarchical. According to Lin Foxhall, members of households might include nuclear family members as well as elderly parents, unmarried siblings, half-siblings, step-children, and slaves. Freed slaves paid a routine visit to their former masters. The scope of authority for each member in the household varied and changed over time. All members were under the authority of the *paterfamilias*. Sons might become husbands, fathers, masters, and eventually *paterfamilias*. Young matrons might become mothers, masters, and *materfamilias*.[39] Here, the relationship between husband and wife was a complicated one and had a political dimension. A female citizen in a wealthier household had opportunities to exercise power and authority.

The headship of husband in relation to wife could also be understood as an application of the patronage system in Roman society. According to Richard Saller, patronage was a category of the social relations based on the reciprocal exchange of goods and services. The patron or benefactor delivered a needed favour to the recipient or client. A return was expected from the recipient with gratitude to the benefactor.[40] Patronage was originally used to describe patrons in relation to communities and ex-masters in relation to freedmen (women).[41] Three vital elements distinguish a patronage relationship: it involves 'favour' and 'reciprocity' between two parties; it was personal instead of business; the patron and client were unequal partners in terms of social status, with the

[38] Garnsey 1970: 2.
[39] Foxhall 2013: 27–29. The rank of *materfamilias* depended on that of *paterfamilias*. A matron was not called *materfamilias* before her husband was called *paterfamilias* (Sebesta 2001: 49).
[40] Saller 1982: 7–39. See also Chow 1992: 30–33; deSilva 1996: 92–94.
[41] Saller 1982: 9.

former more powerful than the latter.[42] It was proper for the recipient to express his/her gratitude by offering some services to the patron since the recipient's failure to reciprocate would bring moral condemnation.[43] For example, freedmen had to demonstrate gratitude, provide financial support in times of need, and work a number of days for their ex-masters as compensation for freedom.[44] Concepts of patronage and exchange helped to shape family relations and significantly affected the social roles of husband and wife.[45] It is fitting that the husband should be regarded as the patron, while the wife should be regarded as the client. The maiden defined her new identity as a matron and established her social position upon marriage.[46] For the man, marriage had no direct effect on his status, Roman citizenship, or social rank. It might indirectly improve his position if he was of high status.[47] Accordingly, he was concerned with female chastity in the relationship of marriage and expected the woman to be a submissive wife and to approve of her husband's interests. In return, she had to behave the way her husband wished her to—with chastity, subordination, and domesticity.[48] To fulfil these obligations means to honour her husband and to express gratitude and obedience to her husband in a relationship of dependence.[49] Thus, the husband and wife with unequal social statuses were bound together in a reciprocal relationship. The concept of male

[42] Ibid: 1, 15.
[43] Ibid: 19.
[44] Perry 2014: 137.
[45] Saller 1982: 23.
[46] As early as 200 BCE, 'free marriage' was common in the Roman world, which means the woman remained in paternal power rather than under the power of her husband (Corbett 1930: 68–106; Watson 1967: 19–29; Treggiari 1991: 15–34).
[47] Corbett 1930: 107.
[48] deSilva 2000: 179.
[49] Under 'free marriage', the woman was called *uxor* (wife), having a more equal position legally and socially to her husband. The strictness of the husband's control over the wife was milder. She could also divorce her husband and reclaim her dowry. She often became independent because her father had died or freed her. But she had no right of intestate succession (Treggiari 1988: 1344).

authority over female held in the Roman culture was based on the gendered hierarchy and the patronage system. These various social factors made up the environment of the city of Corinth and provided the necessary background for understanding the 'head' used as a metaphor for the relationship between man and woman in 1 Cor. 11:2-16.

However, we should not assume that all members of the Corinthian community adopted the same idea of authority among the Roman upper class since the majority of the Corinthians were of 'humbler' status and at the base of the social pyramid. Many of them were very likely subject to the authority of other men or women, just as Chloe's people were under her authority (1:11). The union between freedpersons and/or slaves was an equal partnership. The freedpersons had to regularly visit their patrons. The daughters were under the authority of their fathers (7:35-36). Young husbands and wives with freeborn status were under the authority of the *paterfamilias*. A few elite women might hold authority over their slaves and may not have been in submissive positions in their households. Therefore, the social links between the Corinthians were complicated in light of the broader social context. They were bound up with authorities, obligations, and duties, etc. Westfall rightly points out that 'although women were often under the control of a husband or a male guardian, they could also be slave owners and a *materfamilias*, or they could be slaves with no control over their own families or their own bodies.'[50]

In contrast, Paul's teaching on authority distinguishes the Christian community from the organisations of the Greco-Roman societies (1 Cor. 1:19-29). Paul adapts the patronage so that God is the patron of the Christian community and Christ is a mediator

[50] Westfall 2016: 248–49.

of God's benefaction;[51] 'in the Lord,' all believers are brothers and sisters whose relationships are mutual and reciprocal. He urged his fellow believers to imitate him as he imitated Christ.[52] Christ was gentle and humble in heart (Matt. 11:29) so that Paul was meek when meeting with the Corinthians (2 Cor. 10:1). Jesus called his disciples to him and said: 'But whoever wishes to be great among you must be your servant, and whoever wishes to be first among you must be your slave' (Matt. 20:26-27). In parallel, Paul claimed that he proclaimed the gospel but did not do so to make his living from the gospel (1 Cor. 9:14-15). Rather, he made himself a slave to all (1 Cor. 9:19). Unlike the Roman authorities who enjoyed distinctive social privileges, Paul exhorted believers that 'we who are strong ought to put up with the failings of the weak, and not to please ourselves. Each of us must please our neighbour for the good purpose of building up the neighbour. For Christ did not please himself' (Rom. 15:1-3). Paul's statement that God has chosen the weak and the despised (1 Cor. 1:27-28) stands against the value system of the gentile world. This indicates that, in the Christian community, any sense of honour, authority, and privilege based on nobility, status, and wealth is removed. Thiselton contends that 'God brings to nothing those who supposed themselves to be significant by virtue of their status.'[53]

3.3 The Real Women in the Letters of Paul

With respect to Paul's views on the roles of women in the Christian community, it is fairly appropriate to examine the information made available about particular women

[51] Whelan remarks that God and Christ are Paul's patrons (Whelan 1993: 83). deSilva discusses the idea of Jesus as the patron of the Christian community (deSilva 1996: 94–95). Westfall discusses the relationship of Christ to the church as benefactor and beneficiary (Westfall 2016: 104, 107).
[52] 1 Cor. 4:16, 9:19-23, 11:1; Phil. 3:17; 1 Thess. 1:6.
[53] Thiselton 2000: 185.

actually named in his letters. The following discussion will examine the circumstances of the lives of Prisca, Euodia, Syntyche, and Phoebe who each played an important part in the Pauline mission. It will demonstrate that certain women in Paul's community exercised authority, and that this authority extended over men as well as women.

Prisca was mentioned by Paul alongside her husband Aquila in 1 Cor. 16:19 and Rom. 16:3-4. Luke refers to her with the name Priscilla (Acts 18:2-3, 18, 26), introducing this couple as Paul's hosts. Thus, they were particularly close to Paul. They might be freedpersons of Jewish origin.[54] They had moved from Rome to Corinth, Corinth to Ephesus, which implies that they were probably in a sound financial position. Thus, it is not surprising that 'they had a house large enough to accommodate meetings for worship.'[55] Wendy Cotter remarks that Paul's deep affection for Aquila and Prisca denotes their high profile and leadership roles in the Christian community.[56] MacDonald claims that Prisca's social status may be higher than that of Aquila since she sometimes receives mention before her husband (e.g., Rom. 16:3; Acts 18:18, 26).[57]

Euodia and Syntyche were mentioned by Paul in Phil. 4:2-3. He encourages them to be of one mind in the Lord. Scholars are divided over the nature of the issue addressed by Paul. Some interpret Paul as saying that he attempts to resolve a disagreement between the two women because they were involved in a dispute. Paul obviously thinks that the situation was very serious and asks for the attention of the whole congregation since Euodia and Syntyche were members of Paul's missionary team. Paul's major concern was the unity of the Philippians. He respects the two women for their different positions

[54] Meeks 1974: 175; Thiselton 2000: 1343.
[55] Thiselton 2000: 1344.
[56] Cotter 1994: 352.
[57] MacDonald 1999: 204.

as he refrains from giving advice on the matter.[58] Paul Holloway remarks that 'it is not surprising that the two people singled out as most disruptive in the church were also two of the most prominent supporters of Paul's mission.'[59] Others argue that the dispute Paul seeks to settle is not between Euodia and Syntyche but between Paul himself and the two female missionaries. Paul asks his 'yoke-fellow' to mediate in the dispute (Phil. 4:3).[60] Still, Richard Fellows and Alistair Stewart believe there is no conflict between Euodia and Syntyche. Rather, they are reminded of working with humility and demonstrating Christian unity by Paul. The 'yoke-fellow' is not an individual, but is referring to the Philippians as a whole. Paul simply asks them to work with Euodia and Syntyche.[61] In either case, scholars have a consensus that Paul's words in Phil. 4:2-3 acknowledge the leadership roles played by Euodia and Syntyche in the work of the gospel.[62]

In Rom. 16:1-2, Phoebe was recommended by Paul as a διάκονος (BDAG 'agent, courier') of the *ekklesia* at Cenchrea and a προστάτις (BDAG 'a woman in a supportive role, patron, benefactor') of many and of Paul himself. Here, the term 'διάκονος' is the same term used by Paul in many contexts.[63] Paul expresses his gratitude as a client of Phoebe in recognition of her benefaction in Rom. 16:2. It is evident that Phoebe was a woman of good social standing; there were financial sources and social resources available to her. According to Margaret MacDonald, 'by calling Phoebe a deacon of the *ekklesia* at Cenchrea, Paul clearly wishes to communicate the importance of her role.'[64] Elizabeth Castelli suggests that one would understand why Paul regarded Phoebe as a

[58] Cotter 1994: 353; Holloway 2004: 147.
[59] Holloway 2004: 147.
[60] D'Angelo 1990: 76; MacDonald 1999: 204.
[61] Fellows and Stewart 2018: 223.
[62] D'Angelo 1990: 76; Cotter 1994: 353; MacDonald 1999: 205; Fellows and Stewart 2018: 224–26.
[63] 1 Cor. 3:5; 2 Cor. 3:6, 6:4, 11:23; Phil. 1:1; Rom. 13:4, 15:8.
[64] MacDonald 1999: 208.

person of considerable importance when reading προστάτις within the framework of ancient systems of patronage.[65] Caroline Whelan explains that the social relationship between Paul and Phoebe was multifaceted. Normally, the recommendee was identified as a client who received benefaction, but Paul's recommendation for Phoebe did not imply her inferiority; instead, it carries a sense of equality. As such, it could be assumed that, on the one hand, Paul thinks he is a patron of Christian communities since he holds spiritual authority over them. On the other hand, Paul considers the advantages of Phoebe being socially prominent, admitting his social dependence on Phoebe. In this sense, Paul is a client of Phoebe. Both of them would enter into a relationship of mutuality and reciprocity.[66] Exploring the meaning of the title προστάτις given to Phoebe by Paul in the extensive Greco-Roman literature and epigraphs, Erlend MacGillivray comes to a slightly different result from that of Whelan. MacGillivray argues that Paul would have received financial/material help from Phoebe, while she was likely to receive hospitality and access to the social networks of Paul's community after his recommendation. Their patron-client relationship might not be sustainable in exchange for services, which means that Phoebe might not have requested Paul's recommendation.[67] 'Paul's use of προστάτις to describe Phoebe was to bestow a prestigious and flattering appellation upon her,' implying that her help was significant.[68]

The literary portraits of Prisca, Euodia, Syntyche, and Phoebe in Paul's letters cast much light on Paul's attitude toward women. He uses different titles to describe them and highlights their leadership roles in the communities. He regards them as his missionary

[65] Castelli 1999: 224; see also Meeks 1974: 197.
[66] Whelan 1993: 80–85.
[67] MacGillivray 2011: 197.
[68] Ibid: 198.

partners. The cases of the four women illustrate that Paul recognises the contribution of these women to his mission. Their leadership positions were neither higher nor lower than those of men. Meanwhile, the behaviour of women in the *ekklesia* was not distinctly different from that of women in the Greco-Roman world.

3.4 Summary

A comparison between Roman social norms and the Pauline corpus demonstrates that there is both continuity and discontinuity in Paul's view on gender in relation to Greco-Roman culture. Paul's attitude toward female chastity seemed to conform to the culture. The dominant culture did not condemn men's sexual relations outside marriage, whereas Paul mitigates essential patriarchal authority by requiring men to be sexually faithful in the same way that the culture had required women to be. The Roman notion of authority is interwoven with male priority, status, honour, and patronage. As such, the gender relations in the culture are both hierarchical and reciprocal. Nevertheless, under Roman law, women enjoyed a certain degree of freedom and privilege. The women in Paul's letters were considered by him to be equal partners and co-workers, and they were socially and legally able to play the role of patrons. Moreover, for Paul, God is the patron of the believers. Thus, Paul's idea of headship is fundamentally different from that of the surrounding culture. Thiselton rightly remarks that 'the simplistic solution of collapsing 11:2-16 into either bare egalitarianism or into an overstated "subordinationism" does justice neither to Paul's view of gender nor to his theology of God and Christ.'[69] Therefore, Paul's view on gender has little effect on the conduct of Christian women compared with the social practices of the time, their sexuality, and the convention of

[69] Thiselton 2000: 804.

dress in particular.

3.5 Implications for 1 Corinthians 11:2-16

The foregoing comparative analysis of gender in Greco-Roman values and in Paul has a direct relevance to the issues with which Paul is primarily concerned in the text of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. It demonstrates that it is unfair to Paul to suggest that he appoints women in a subordinate position since he does not adopt the dominant culture but rather critiques it. Paul compares Greco-Roman culture to the 'world' and urges believers not to conform to the 'world' (Rom. 12:2). Why did he insist that women be veiled at worship, a symbol of female subordination in the culture? Taking Gundry-Volf's view, Margaret MacDonald contends that Paul wants to ensure that the dress and behaviour of Corinthians do not offend the sensibilities of the public. Paul is concerned over practices of veiling that symbolised the physical boundary of men and women in light of the values of honour and shame.[70] Inspired by John Elliott's comments on 1 Pet. 3:3 that the advice on female dress 'involved no sacrifice of Christian identity or principle, while it also secured public approval',[71] Alicia Batten asserts that 1 Tim. 2:9, 1 Pet. 3:3, and 1 Cor. 11:5-10 reflect similar considerations for the conduct of women in the context of worship in that women's dress draws attention to public opinion. If the women dressed themselves modestly, the men of the community would have less chance of being accused of encouraging immorality by the wider context and the *ekklesia* would maintain its social acceptance.[72] Indeed, in Greco-Roman societies, according to Lendon, commoners voluntarily formed their own associations on the basis of religious affiliations, trade

[70] MacDonald 1996: 144–45.
[71] Elliott 2000: 562, cited by Batten 2009: 498.
[72] Batten 2009: 498–99.

relations, and burial insurance clubs. The leader of a social group is responsible for the honour of the group with reference to outsiders. Its members had to recognise their obligations to maintain individual honour and consistency and had to ensure that they would be met with approval in the face of public scrutiny.[73] Furthermore, the maintenance of women's sexual purity cannot be ensured without the support of male authority and control.[74] Paul, as the founder of the community, had to have a responsibility to protect the honour of the male members and to appeal to the sense of female shame if a woman stepped out of socially accepted boundaries. In short, Paul's concern with women's head-coverings might involve two factors. First, the women's honour represents the reputation of the group as a whole, regardless of whether the group is a family or a religious cult. Second, women dressed modestly is consistent with Paul's view on Christian moral integrity.

Conclusion

To determine Paul's views of women is a significantly difficult task. Two important aspects of gender which immediately affect our interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 involve authority and sexuality. After taking account of Paul's theological position, the general social condition of the Greco-Roman world of Paul's day, and the passages where Paul mentions his female fellow workers, we suggest that he in no way wishes to eliminate women from acting as leaders in congregations. He emphasises the mutual obligations of males and females concerning sexuality. No subordination of woman to man is intended for Paul. His instructions for women to cover their heads when praying and prophesying

[73] Lendon 1997: 44, 90, 97–98. See also Malina 1981: 40–41.
[74] Malina 1981: 44.

make the community socially acceptable in the gender-sensitive society of the Greco-Roman world. Women's dress may have much to do with their virtue which in turn is associated with the honour of the men and the whole community.

Chapter 4

An Exegesis of 1 Corinthians 11:2-3

In Chapters 1–3, we have thoroughly explored the dress codes of men and women—the head-covering in particular—in the Greek and Roman cultures respectively, as well as some dimensions of gender in Greco-Roman society. These dimensions of gender have been compared and contrasted with those of Paul in order to reach a plausible interpretation of Paul's understanding of the place of women in the *ekklesia*. The information obtained from Chapters 1–3 can be regarded as a general explanatory framework for the exegetical analysis of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, which will be carried out in Chapters 4–6. Within the framework, the interpretation rests on a number of underlying principles. First, mid-first-century Corinth was under Roman rule with signs of Greek cultural influence. The importance of Roman regulations as well as gender relations in the Roman world rather than those of the Greek world is stressed throughout the interpretation. Most of the Corinthians were Greek and Roman. They were Gentiles with a Hellenistic worldview and attitude. The typical members of the community were of low status. A few of them belonged to the elite. Greek and Roman social and cultural issues would have easily come to the minds of Paul and his readers. Second, the passage of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 concerns the issue of head-coverings, and the practices of veiling among ancient Greeks and Romans provide the appropriate cultural context. This is not to deny the claim that a long flowing hair-style is the issue. Paul insists on distinctive head attire for both *men and women* rather than for *women* alone. His criticism

on men covering their heads at worship is completely reasonable if Corinthian men practiced the Roman tradition of *capite velato*. Third, the Greco-Roman world was also an honour-shame society. Male honour was intimately related to female chastity, especially sexual purity. Men's honour was vulnerable if they failed to safeguard the sexuality of their female family members. In practice, women were supposed to keep themselves from close physical contact with non-male kin. Women's heads were the prominent feature of their bodies and possessed a sexual character for men of antiquity. A woman with an uncovered head would pose a threat to men. The principle of honour-shame and the rules of dress apparently form the basis for Paul's concern. Women removing their veils in worship would lead to a potentially dangerous erotic distraction for men. It is reasonable to see how their being unveiled could be regarded as controversial or shameful. Finally, in light of the socio-cultural factors and Paul's discussions on marriage and authority in his letters other than in 1 Cor. 11:2-16, the notion of 'headship' for Paul seems to be affected beyond the obvious context of subordination from which some authors have drawn. Unlike the Greeks and Romans, Paul's insistence on male leadership is based on the order of creation and a system of reciprocity rather than the social hierarchy of the wider context. It is hoped that several puzzling verses in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 will be given a new and illuminating interpretation and that the exegesis will provide a reconstruction of the situation at Corinth.

The present chapter begins with a discussion of the integrity of 1 Cor. 11:2-16, which is contested among scholars. This is followed by an exegesis of 1 Cor. 11:2-3, with a study of the meaning of the words παραδόσεις ('traditions') and κεφαλή ('head'). The

discussion will make critical evaluations and proposals regarding the exegetical significance of the κεφαλή in 11:3 after providing brief outlines of scholarly arguments.

The Theory of Interpolation

Since there are considerable exegetical difficulties when interpreting 1 Cor. 11:2-16 and the text is regarded by some as advocating male supremacy and female subordination, some scholars propose that the whole section is a post-Pauline gloss. Robin Scroggs has said: 'In its present form this is hardly one of Paul's happier compositions. The logic is obscure at best and contradictory at worst. The word choice is peculiar; the tone, peevish.'[1] 'We just do not have the information to put together a coherent and ultimately satisfying interpretation of the whole.'[2] Illuminated by Robin Scroggs, Jr. Wm. O. Walker holds that 1 Cor. 11:2-16 is an interpolation at the hands of one or more editors. Walker assumes that the idea of the passage is a call for the subordination of women, which is not consistent with Paul's views regarding the proper status and role of women.[3] He offers three arguments. First, 11:3-16 is a self-contained unit. The beginning of 11:17 (Τοῦτο δὲ παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινῶ ὅτι) repeats the beginning of 11:2 (Ἐπαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ὅτι). The verses before and after 11:2-16 deal with matters of eating and drinking and seem to break the context of the letter. Eliminating these verses would leave a smooth connection between 11:1 and 11:17. Second, the textual variations in 11:17a indicate that the original transition to 11:17 is rough, which is probably caused by the interpolation of 11:2-16. Third, Walker attempts to explore the internal logic of the text by dividing it into three separate pericopae: pericope A (11:3, 8-9, 11-12), pericope B (11:4-7, 10, 13, 16),

[1] Scroggs 1972: 297.
[2] Scroggs 1974: 534.
[3] Wm. O. Walker 1975: 96.

and pericope C (11:14-15). Each deals with a different topic. Walker says that none of the ideas in pericopae A, B, and C are in agreement with those in the authentic writings of Paul. Pericope A is similar in tone and vocabulary to Col. 3:18-19 and Eph. 5:22-33, both of which are widely regarded as non-Pauline. As to pericopae B and C, it is unlikely that Paul is concerned with such an insignificant issue as the head-dress of men and women at worship.[4] Lamar Cope has noted that a further non-Pauline character found in the verses is the use of the phrase 'the churches of God' since, for Paul, there is only one 'church of God' composed of several 'churches of Christ' (Gal. 1:13; 1 Cor. 1:2).[5]

However, there are still many scholars who accept the text as authentic Pauline literature.[6] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor cast doubt on Walker's arguments, saying that Walker's hypothesis is problematic in both fact and methodology.[7] Murphy-O'Connor indicates that the repeated use of the verb ἐπαινῶ in 11:2 and 11:17 is entirely natural in this context. The textual variations in 11:17a caused by the awkward permutations of the tense of παραγγέλλω and ἐπαινέω have no close connection with the interpolation. 11:17-34 appears to be concerned with eating and drinking, but the issue arises in the context of public worship. 11:2-16 deals with praying and prophesying (11:4-5), activities which are relevant to the theme of public worship. The entirety of chapter 11 conforms to the principle of unity.[8] The three pericopae categorised by Walker concern the style of writing.[9] Walker's comments on pericope A in relation to Col. 3:18-19 and Eph. 5:22-33 fit 'equally well with the hypothesis that the deuteron-Pauline letters owe their Pauline

[4] Ibid: 101–5; see also Trompf 1980: 202–4.
[5] Cope 1978: 436.
[6] Meier 1978: 218; Keener 2000; 585–86; Bearden 2005: 17.
[7] Murphy-O'Connor 1976: 615.
[8] Ibid: 616; see also Horrell 1996: 169.
[9] Murphy-O'Connor 1976: 617.

character to the fact that they borrowed and built on ideas and terminology found in the authentic letters.'[10] Pericopae B and C are considered inauthentic because Walker's argument rests on the assumption that Paul could not have been concerned with such issues as dress and hair.[11] The greatest problem for Walker is the difficulty in explaining the motivation behind the redactor who inserted the three pericopae in the way he did.[12]

Thiselton refutes Walker's suggestions and argues that 1 Cor. 8-10 concerns believers' freedom in relation to eating food sacrificed to idols, whereas 11:17-34 concerns eating the Lord's Supper. There is no theological thematic continuity between them. 11:2-14:40 discusses the rules of conduct in the context of public worship. 11:2-16 introduces the topics of prophecy and speaking in tongues. Because of the distinctive situation, Paul discusses women in 11:2-16 in contrast to his clear statement of equality between male and female in Gal. 3:28. Male and female overcoming gender distinctions 'in Christ' is related to the Christian belief in eschatological status, whereas 11:2-16 concerns how the believers' behaviour conforms to the contemporary culture.[13]

Wolfgang Schrage rejects the theory of interpolation by adding two more points. First, if 14:34-35 is viewed as a post-Pauline insertion,[14] and both 11:2-16 and 14:34-35 are referred to the same redactor according to Walker,[15] this would make it difficult to understand why the redactor contradicts himself. 'Im Gegenteil, Gerade der Widerspruch von 14,34f zu 11,5 macht es schwierig, beides derselben Redaktion zuzuschieben, denn für so stupide darf man auch Interpolatoren nicht halten, daß sie sich selbst

[10] Ibid: 619.
[11] Ibid: 619.
[12] Ibid: 617.
[13] Thiselton 1978: 521; see also Schüssler Fiorenza 1987: 403; Marshall 2019: 217.
[14] It is widely accepted that 1 Cor. 14:34-35 is not the authentic writing of Paul; see Scroggs 1972: 284; Wm. O. Walker 1975: 95; Murphy-O'Connor 1976: 615.
[15] Wm. O. Walker 1975: 101–4.

widersprechen.'[16] Second, Gal. 3:28 and 1 Cor. 12:13 share a common structure, but the two texts are not identical. The latter lacks reference to male and female, which implies its connection with 11:2-16. 'Nicht zufällig ist auch die Auslassung des letzten Doppelgliedes (οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ) von Gal 3,28 in 12,13 was nur im Zusammenhang mit 11,2ff Sinn macht.'[17]

This short investigation of the debate on the authenticity of 11:2-16 shows that the passage possesses elusive qualities and causes confusion for exegetes. The writers who suspect the unity of the text have justifiably explored all the possibilities. However, Murphy-O'Connor, Thiselton, and Schrage have provided the most persuasive arguments. Additionally, there is no direct manuscript evidence for regarding 1 Cor. 11:2-16 as an interpolation. A 'rule' of Kurt and Barbara Aland is: 'Textual difficulties should not be solved by conjecture, or by positing glosses or interpolation, etc., where the textual tradition itself shows no breaks; such attempts amount to capitulation before the difficulties and are themselves violations of the text.'[18] If we still consider that there is no problem at all in understanding that an abrupt change of topic takes place at 11:1, the questions caused by the internal logic of the passage and its place in the broader literary context could be reasonably interpreted. Concerning the idea of the text, Paul nowhere denies the right of women to engage in the leadership role of worship as prophetesses. Thus, the suggestion that Paul himself is not the author of 11:2-16 is much less possible.

[16] Schrage 1995: II, 496.
[17] Ibid: 497.
[18] Aland and Aland 1989: 280.

v. 2 Επαινῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς ὅτι πάντα μου μέμνησθε καί, καθὼς παρέδωκα ὑμῖν, τὰς παραδόσεις κατέχετε (I praise you that you remember me in everything and hold on to the traditions just as I delivered them to you).

The Majority text, D, F, G, Ψ, 33, Latin tradition, and the Syriac versions added the vocative αδελφοι after ὑμᾶς, but the early MSS (e.g., $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, א, A, B, and C) omit it. The neuter adjective πάντα ('all, every') is used as the accusative.[19] It functions as an adverb, describing the manner of the verb μέμνησθε (2 plu. prf. mid. ind. μιμνῄσκομαι, 'to remember').[20] The particle ὅτι 'was a procedural marker, alerting the reader to expect a representation.'[21]

What does Paul refer to when he uses παραδόσεις ('traditions')? Does he refer to the common practices of the believers (1 Cor. 11:16) or to specific traditions? Schrage remarks that Paul is referring to a custom commonly practised within the community of believers, as reflected in 1 Cor. 11:16. 'Im Unterschied zu 15,1ff ist mit παραδοσις hier nicht das grundlegende Kerygma von Tod und Auferweckung Jesu gemeint, sondern betrifft Lebensführung und Gemeindeleben.'[22] Wire argues that the traditions refer to the claim of early Christ-believers to be in God's image through Christ. This message is proclaimed in Gal. 3:26-28, 1 Cor. 12:12-13, and Col. 3:9-11.[23] Similarly, Collins asserts that 'Paul is referring to the baptismal tradition that proclaims the radical equality of men and women' (Gal. 3:28).[24] Thiselton proposes that the traditions denote doctrines and

[19] Ellicott 1889: 182, 208; Robertson 1919: 479.
[20] Schrage 1995: II, 499, note 55; Thiselton 2000: 810. For a general use of the adverbial accusative, see Wallace 1996: 200.
[21] Sim 2010: 156.
[22] Schrage 1995: II, 500, note 61.
[23] Wire 1990: 123.
[24] Collins 1999: 396.

practice in relation to 1 Cor. 11:23 and 15:3-5.[25] According to Earle Ellis, there is a traditioning process in the Pauline circle which is used for a general transmission of pieces of common practices of the believers. The use of the traditioning process must be distinguished from those pieces appearing in the New Testament letters. The presence of the traditioning process is attested in several texts (e.g., Rom. 6:17, 16:17, and 11:2). These texts clearly indicate this process as Paul employs the terms 'deliver' (παραδίδωμι) and 'tradition, transmission' (παράδοσις) to hand over traditional teachings to his congregation. More examples of Paul's use of these terms can be found in 1 Cor. 11:23 and 15:3, where Paul cites traditions of Jesus' teaching at the Last Supper and of witnesses to his resurrection. These specific pieces formed in oral or written formula also include (1) a commonly agreed exposition of certain texts of the Hebrew Bible, (2) congregational rules and a number of vices and virtues, and (3) a number of household regulations and confessions. First Corinthians 11:3-16 reflects one such traditional piece. The vices and virtues are attitudes and moral imperatives that Christ's followers are expected to observe and practise. The household code discusses domestic relationships and the proper conduct of wives and slaves (etc.).[26]

First Corinthians 11:2 seems to smoothly follow the foregoing discussion and serves to introduce the coming instructions concerning the rules for worship. Paul appears to commend the Corinthians for holding the traditions he had passed on to them. Richard Hays speculates that Paul is responding to the letter written by the Corinthians in which they had shown their faithfulness to the traditions that Paul had delivered to them. Thereafter, they were in search of Paul's teachings on the distinctions between men and

[25] Thiselton 2000: 811.
[26] Ellis 1986: 481–84.

women in worship with respect to head-coverings.[27] Paul's use of the word 'praise' to comment on the Corinthians keeping the traditions has been regarded as ironic since the exegesis of patristic and medieval times.[28] Among modern interpreters, Schrage considers it to be exaggerated.[29] Moffatt believes that '[Paul] acknowledges [the letter] with a touch of irony.'[30]

v. 3 Θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι ὅτι παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν, κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ, κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός (But I want you to know that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God).

There are three occurrences of κεφαλὴ in this verse. They are all singular in number and nominative in case. The first κεφαλὴ is articular and the rest are anarthrous. In 'παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν', Χριστός is with the article ὁ. Ἐστιν indicates that ἡ κεφαλὴ and ὁ Χριστός is a Subject-Predicate Nominative construction. How should one distinguish subject from predicate nominative in this construction? According to Daniel Wallace, the subject can be distinguished from the predicate nominative in this construction as follows:

> The predicate nominative describes the class to which the subject belongs…Articular nouns and proper names seem to have equal priority to be the subject. In instances where one substantive is articular and the other is a proper name, word order may be the determining factor.[31]

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[27] Hays 2011: 182. For a similar view, see Moffatt 1947: 148; Schrage 1995: II, 499.
[28] Thiselton 2000: 810.
[29] Schrage 1995: II, 499.
[30] Moffatt 1947: 149.
[31] Wallace 1996: 41–44.

'Παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἡ κεφαλὴ ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν' can be translated as 'the head of everyman is Christ' or 'Christ is the head of everyman.' Concerning the parallel structure of the remaining two clauses, in both cases the anarthrous κεφαλὴ indicates that κεφαλὴ is the predicate nominative since 'the subject will be articular.'[32] 'Κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ' can be translated as 'and the husband is the head of the wife' and 'κεφαλὴ δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ θεός' can be translated as 'God is the head of Christ.'

Κεφαλή (11:3)

Κεφαλή ('head') occurs nine times in 1 Cor. 11:2-16, sometimes with a literal meaning combined with the word 'hair', and sometimes with a metaphorical meaning. Here in 11:3, Paul puts forward a theological statement in which he designates three kinds of relationships: Christ and man; man and woman; God and Christ. Κεφαλή is used in association with each relationship. It is widely accepted that κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 is a metaphor.[33] The first sign of metaphorical use of κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 is that the literal sense of κεφαλή (the physical head of the person) simply does not fit the context. In other words, if κεφαλή is translated literally as 'physical head', it is difficult to directly paraphrase. The reader has to refer to the implicit meaning of κεφαλή to understand Paul's intention. A further sign of metaphorical use of κεφαλή consists of indications that κεφαλή and the three terms of 'Christ', 'man', and 'God' have some shared characteristics. On these grounds, it is believed that Paul uses κεφαλή in the metaphorical sense.

[32] Ibid: 43.
[33] Collins 1999: 399; Fee 2014: 551, 553.

However, there is far less agreement regarding the meaning of κεφαλή. Concerning what specific metaphorical sense that κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 indicates, there have been extensive discussions. Scholars approach the problem from the perspectives of the lexica, biblical and extra-biblical Greek literature, and Paul's own rhetoric. Three of the suggestions find powerful and strong advocates. Some authors urge that the term means 'chief', some claim that it denotes 'source', and others assert that it carries the sense of 'prominence'. In the end, we are convinced by the work of Cervin (1989) and Perriman (1994) who allege that κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 carries the metaphorical sense of 'preeminence'. The following investigation will engage in scholarly debate over the controversy.

'origin', 'source'

Since medieval times, κεφαλή is traditionally rendered as 'authority, supremacy'.[34] But this viewpoint has been challenged since the second half of the last century. Stephen Bedale claims that κεφαλή connotes the metaphorical sense of 'beginning' or 'source' in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. The logic of his argument is as follows: the meaning of κεφαλή may well have been influenced by the translation of the Hebrew word ראֹשׁ in the Septuagint.[35] ראֹשׁ in the sense of 'beginning' or 'first' is rendered by ἀρχή.[36] ראֹשׁ in the sense of 'chief' or 'ruler' is rendered sometimes by κεφαλή,[37] sometimes by ἀρχή.[38]

[34] Thiselton 2000: 812.
[35] Bedale 1954: 211.
[36] Ibid: 212. For instance, Gen. 1:1, Prov. 1:7, 8:23. Prov. 1:7 reads: 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of knowledge.'
[37] Bedale 1954: 213. For instance, Judg. 11:11 and 2 Sam. 22:44. Judg. 11:11 reads: 'So Jephthah went with the elders of Gilead, and all the people made him head and leader over them.' 2 Sam. 22:44 (LXX 2 Kgs. 22:44) reads: 'David says to God: "You delivered me from strife with the peoples; you kept me as the head of the nations; people whom I had not known served me."'
[38] For instance, Exod. 6:25, Mic. 3:1. LXX Exod. 6:25 reads: 'These are the heads of the family of the

> The evidence here suggests that κεφαλή and ἀρχή at least tended to become interchangeable as renderings of ראֹש…Paul would have in mind the metaphorical uses of the term 'head' familiar to him from the Old Testament, and these, as we have seen, included the meaning of the 'beginning' of something. Consequently, in St. Paul's usage, κεφαλή may very well approximate in meaning to ἀρχή[39] … 1 Cor. 11:3-12 stresses the fact that Eve derives her being from Adam. And this seems to be what he means by the 'headship' of the male in verse 3. That is to say, the male is κεφαλή in the sense of ἀρχή relatively to the female.[40]

Bedale's position is challenged by some authors. Wayne Grudem states that although both κεφαλή and ἀρχή in the LXX sometimes carry the same meaning of 'leader', Bedale gives no evidence to demonstrate that the two words share the same meaning of 'beginning' or 'source'.[41] Similarly, Peter Cotterell and Max Turner hold that 'the fact that κεφαλή was used interchangeably with ἀρχή (= "chief" or "ruler"), to translate ראֹש, does not itself increase the probability that κεφαλή also came to have the sense of ἀρχή (= "beginning" or "source").'[42]

Robin Scroggs argues that 'source' comes from Paul's attitude toward women through the exegesis of relevant passages of the Pauline epistles. He examines Gal. 3:28 on Paul's eschatological view and the stance of Diaspora Judaism on women as the social backdrop of Paul, then relates his study to 1 Corinthians 7 and 1 Cor. 11:2-16. According to Scroggs, Paul advocates the equality of men and women within the community of believers. Thus, subordination of woman to man is not intended by Paul.[43] Like the arguments of Mickelsen and Mickelsen, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor refutes that κεφαλή

Levites, according to their generations.' Mic. 3:1 reads: 'Listen, you heads of Jacob and rulers of the house of Israel!'

[39] Bedale 1954: 213.
[40] Ibid: 214.
[41] Grudem 1985: 43.
[42] Cotterell and Turner 1989: 142.
[43] Scroggs 1972.

carries the connotation of 'supremacy' or 'authority' since they are not attested in profane Greek.[44] In the meantime, he advances the meaning of κεφαλή as 'source' beyond Scroggs, stating that 'source' is well attested in Col. 2:19 and classical Greek.[45] It is also attested in some texts such as 1 Cor. 1:3, 9; 8:6; 15:23-24, 28. In 1 Cor. 11:3, it relates to the Father-Son relationship that indicates the Father as the 'source'. With respect to 1 Cor. 11:8, the woman owes her physical being to the man.[46] Murphy-O'Connor finds that κεφαλή appears 281 times in the LXX as the translation of the word ראשׁ. He concludes:

> Though incomplete, this survey is sufficiently based to show that the translators of the LXX were well aware that the metaphorical meanings of ראשׁ and κεφαλή did not overlap completely, and that κεφαλή was inappropriate to render ראשׁ when this term connoted 'authority.' Κεφαλή does appear for ראשׁ = 'ruler' in 2 Sam. 22:44, but this single exception does not change the picture. There is simply no basis for the assumption that a Hellenized Judean would instinctively give κεφαλή the meaning 'one having authority over someone'.[47]

Similarly, Gordon Fee casts doubt on κεφαλή being understood as 'authority'. He suggests that κεφαλή carrying the meaning of 'chief' or 'the person of the highest rank' is rare in Greek literature. In the LXX, ordinarily ראשׁ translated as κεφαλή indicates the physical 'head'. 'Authority' only appears in 1 Cor. 11:10 which refers to the woman's

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[44] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 491.
[45] Murphy-O'Connor refers to the two texts in which κεφαλή is rendered in LSJ as 'source': Herodotus 4.91 and *Orphic Fragments* 21a. Herodotus 4.91 reads: 'Having come to this river and camped there, then, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, cut with this inscription: "From the headwaters (κεφαλῇ) of the river Tearus flows the best and finest water of all; and to them came, leading an army against the Scythians, the best and finest man of all, Darius son of Hystaspes, king of Persia and all the continent." Such was the inscription.' C. K. Barrett commented on this passage that Herodotus uses κεφαλαὶ to apply to the source of a river metaphorically (Barrett 1971: 248). *Orphic Fragments* 21a reads: 'Zeus was first, Zeus is last with white, vivid lightning, Zeus the head (κεφαλή), Zeus the middle, Zeus from whom all things are perfected. (The critical edition of the text is found in Otto Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbüchhandlung, 1922: 91).
[46] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 493.
[47] Ibid: 492.

own authority. First Corinthians 11:3 indicates that Christ is the source of every man and God is the source of Christ. 11:12 states that the man is the original source of the woman.[48]

Berkeley and Alvera Mickelsen point out that 'ordinary readers of Greek literature during New Testament times would not think of "final authority", "superior rank", or "director" as common meanings for the word translated "head".'[49] Κεφαλή in the sense of 'authority over' is not listed in LSJ because no examples of this meaning are found in Greek literature.[50] In BDAG, with the exception of the LXX and the New Testament, κεφαλή is rendered as 'superior rank' for only two texts that were written after New Testament times.[51] In the LXX, κεφαλή is used to translate the Hebrew word רֹאשׁ. Of the 180 times that רֹאשׁ is translated into Greek carrying the metaphorical sense of 'chief man, leader', κεφαλή occurs eight times (i.e., less than four percent of the uses).[52] It is possible that early Christ-believers did not hear these passages though they had attended the assembly for years.[53] There are seven passages in Paul's epistles in which κεφαλή refers to Christ. The metaphorical sense for each passage differs from one passage to another.[54] Concerning 1 Cor. 11:3, Mickelsen and Mickelsen state: 'Paul says in verse 8 that "man was not made from woman, but woman from man." … This strongly suggests that Paul is using "head" in verse 3 with the Greek meaning of "source, origin, base, or

[48] Fee 2014: 554–57.
[49] Mickelsen and Mickelsen 1986: 98.
[50] Ibid: 98.
[51] Ibid: 100.
[52] Ibid: 103. The eight instances are: Judg. 11:11; 2 Sam. 22:44 (LXX 2 Kgs. 22:44); Ps. 18:43 (LXX 17:44); Isa. 7:8-9 (three times); Jer. 31:7 (LXX 38:7); Lam. 1:4 (LXX 1:5).
[53] Mickelsen and Mickelsen 1986: 104.
[54] Mickelsen and Mickelsen render 'head' in Col. 2:19 and Eph. 4:15 as 'source of life,' Col. 2:10 and Eph. 1:20-23 as 'top or crown,' Col. 1:18 as 'exalted originator and completer,' and Eph. 5:23 as 'one who brings to completion' (Mickelsen and Mickelsen 1986: 105–08).

derivation".'[55] Christ was the 'beginning' or 'source' through whom all creation was brought about. As Paul explained in verse 12, he did not introduce authority of man over woman; 'for just as woman came from man, so man comes through woman; but all things come from God.'[56]

Unlike some writers mentioned above who primarily focus on how to identify the weakness of the proposal that κεφαλή means 'authority' in 1 Cor. 11:3, Marlis Gielen takes a somewhat different approach to the problem by connecting 11:3 with 11:7-9 and Genesis 1-2. She is aware that it is the context which determines the meaning of a word. She notes that having set out his thesis in 1 Cor. 11:3, Paul makes an argumentative statement of the thesis in 11:7ff which is the combination of Genesis 1-2 so that the disposition of man is firmly secured. Paul applies the 'man is the image and glory of God' theme in 1 Cor 11:7a from the first creation account (Gen. 1:26f) 'auf den Mann beschränkt' and uses the second creation account (Gen. 2:21f) which depicts the creation of the woman from the rib of Adam to place 'die nachgeordnete Stellung der Frau' to man (1 Cor. 11:7b). First Corinthians 11:9 refers to Gen. 2:18, according to which the woman was created to help the man; she owed 'ihre Existenz' to man.

> Übertragen auf die zu 1Kor 11,7b komplementäre Aussage in 11,3 κεφαλὴ δὲ γυναικὸς ὁ ἀνήρ läßt sich dann vom Mann sagen, daß er κεφαλή der Frau insofern ist, als in ihm–im Blick auf die Erschaffung des ersten Menschenpaares–die Existenz der Frau begründet ist, er also ihr Ursprung ist.[57]

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[55]Mickelsen and Mickelsen 1986: 107. See also Barrett 1971: 248; Bruce 1971: 103; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 492; Delobel 1986: 377; Jervis 1993: 240; Horsley 1998: 153; Collins 1999: 405; Fee 2014: 556.
[56] Mickelsen and Mickelsen 1986: 107.
[57] Gielen 1990: 251. With respect to the evidence of κεφαλή meaning 'source' in extra-Biblical Greek literature, Gielen agrees with Barrett's comments on Herodotus 4.91.

In short, these authors repeatedly claim that 'origin' or 'source' as the metaphorical sense of κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 is attested in various Greek sources; that it corresponds with Paul's view of gender; and that it seems to be appropriate in the literary context. However, Grudem refutes the suggestion that 'source' is not listed as a possible meaning for κεφαλή in the standard lexica for New Testament Greek. Additionally, the textual evidence in extra-Biblical Greek literature used to support the meaning 'source' is inadequate (see below).[58] Cotterell and Turner allege that κεφαλή in Herodotus 4.91 carries the sense of 'extreme end' which does not closely relate to the sense of 'source'. They merely have the same potential referent. Not all 'extreme ends' are also 'sources'.[59]

'headship', 'authority', 'high rank'

William Martin asserts that the subject of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 is the significance of the headship of Christ. While there is the semantic field of 'head' in Greek for Paul's convenient use, it is possible that he may have been influenced by the semantic field of the word in Hebrew. The word רֹאשׁ is repeatedly translated as κεφαλή in the LXX. In Hebrew the literal meaning of רֹאשׁ ('head of an animated creature') is extensively used metaphorically to describe inanimate objects (Gen. 8:5 'the head of the mountains appeared'; Gen. 11:4 'a tower whose head will be in the heaven'). It carries a sense of top rank (Num. 1:4 'a man who is head of the house of his fathers'; 1 Sam. 15:17 'head of the tribes of Israel'). These examples indicate that in Paul's mind, κεφαλή might refer to high rank, particularly those examples where this expression is applied to God or the Messiah

[58] Grudem 1985: 40–41.
[59] Cotterell and Turner 1989: 143.

(1 Chr. 29:11 'the one exalted as head above all'; Ps. 118:22 'the stone that the builders rejected has become the head of the corner').[60]

Wayne Grudem claims to have examined 2,336 occurrences of κεφαλή in Greek literature dating from the eighth century BCE to the fourth century CE in order to determine whether 'source' or 'authority over' is better for the meaning of the word in 1 Cor. 11:3. He states: 'No instances were discovered in which κεφαλή had the meaning "source, origin".'[61] The sense of 'source' for κεφαλή is not mentioned in some lexicons for ancient Greek such as BDAG and the papyri by Moulton and Milligan.[62] But κεφαλή appears 49 times when it is used metaphorically carrying the sense of 'ruler'. 12 uses out of 49 are from the New Testament, 13 from the Septuagint, 5 from other Greek translations of the Old Testament, 7 from Plutarch, and 5 from Philo.[63] The meaning of 'authority over' for κεφαλή is listed in the standard lexicons and dictionaries for New Testament Greek. The use of κεφαλή in this way is also widely accepted in the work of the early church fathers.[64] Grudem concludes that these examples demonstrate the validity of κεφαλή as understood to mean 'ruler' at the time of the New Testament. The

[60] Martin 1970: 231–33.
[61] Grudem 1985: 52. With respect to Herodotus 4.91, Grudem states that in LSJ κεφαλή referring to the source of a river is in the plural; in the singular it refers to the mouth of a river. Thus this example does not introduce a new usage for κεφαλή in the sense of 'source' but illustrates an existing sense of κεφαλή, 'top, end point, beginning point.' The singular of κεφαλή in Herodotus 4.91 may not prove the validity of κεφαλή being used in the sense of 'source, origin' at the time of the New Testament (Grudem 1985: 43–44). As for *Orphic Fragments* 21a, Grudem argues that another manuscript of the text has ἀρχή in place of κεφαλή ('head'). κεφαλή is merely one of two variants so that this evidence is weaker. Additionally, the sense of 'beginning' for κεφαλή is better than that of 'source' in the text. Thus, there leaves no evidence in Greek literature to support that the sense of 'source' was a possible metaphorical use for κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 (Grudem 1985: 46).
[62] Grudem 1985: 40.
[63] Ibid: 51.
[64] According to Grudem, these lexicons and dictionaries include BDAG, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, The International Dictionary of New Testament Theology, Biblico-theological lexicon of New Testament Greek, and A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Grudem 1985: 47–48, 59).

omission of κεφαλή meaning 'authority over' from LSJ is an oversight.[65] When κεφαλή means 'authority over' in 1 Cor. 11:3, it is both appropriate to the context and consistent with the rest of the epistle.[66]

However, Richard Cervin casts doubt on Grudem's arguments. Cervin explains that 'many of the 49 passages which Grudem cites as evidence for "authority over" do not mean what Grudem claims they mean, and that Grudem has misrepresented the evidence.'[67] Cervin firstly criticises Grudem's methodology, saying that Grudem disapproves of LSJ and weighs the evidence from various lexica that scholars use for the study of the New Testament. This method restricts Grudem's understanding of the Greek language and affects his exegesis.[68] Most citations on κεφαλή in Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* refer mainly to Christ and occasionally to religious superiors.[69] Secondly, Cervin believes that the use of κεφαλή in Herodotus 4.91 and *Orphic Fragments* 21a could be understood as 'source',[70] but the sense of 'source' for κεφαλή was uncommon in classical Greek.[71] After examining each of the 49 instances that Grudem uses to support κεφαλή meaning 'authority over', Cervin concludes that 'only four are clear and unambiguous examples of κεφαλή meaning "leader" … and it is very likely that all four of these are imported, not native, metaphors.'[72] Furthermore, 'the metaphor "leader" for head is alien to the Greek language until the Byzantine or Medieval period.'[73]

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[65] Grudem 1985: 58.
[66] Ibid: 56. Grudem's argument is supported by Cotterell and Turner (1989: 141).
[67] Cervin 1989: 85.
[68] Ibid: 86.
[69] Ibid: 107.
[70] Against Grudem's interpretation of κεφαλή in Herodotus 4.91, Cervin suggests that Herodotus is referring to the source of the Tearus (Cervin 1989: 90). Regarding *Orphic Fragments* 21a, Cervin agrees that there is a variant text for this fragment, but the meaning of the fragment as a whole is unclear. Therefore, both 'beginning' and 'source' are valid interpretation (Cervin 1989: 91).
[71] Cervin 1989: 112.
[72] Ibid: 111. The four instances considered by Cervin as unambiguous examples of κεφαλή used in the

In response to Cervin, Grudem agrees with some points of clarification made by Cervin, but he disagrees with Cervin's statement that κεφαλή cannot mean 'authority over'.[74] Grudem maintains that the evidence of κεφαλή from the lexica in the New Testament period is chronologically closest to Paul's epistles and should be placed on a higher level than that which is chronologically farthest.[75] The LXX could be used to determine the meaning of words in the New Testament, despite being a translation. 'In fact, New Testament Greek is strongly influenced by the language of the Septuagint.'[76] Grudem insists that although some examples of κεφαλή are weaker as evidence of

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sense of 'leader' are: 2 Sam. 22:44 (LXX 2 Kings 22:44); Ps. 18:43 (LXX 17:44): 'David says to God: "You delivered me from strife with the peoples; you made me head of the nations; people whom I had not known served me;"' Isa. 7:9: 'And the head of Samaria is the son of Remaliah;' Shepherd of Hermas *Sim.* 7.3 reads: 'I said to him, "Lord, if they have done such things to provoke the glorious angel, what have I done?" He said, "They cannot suffer in any other way, unless you, as the head of your household, suffer; for while you suffer under compulsion, they also shall suffer, and while you prosper, they cannot suffer at all"' (translated by Cervin 1989: 104).

[73] Cervin 1989: 112. Cervin addresses a few points on why he rejected Grudem's examples. First, 12 occurrences of κεφαλή used in the sense of 'authority over' from the New Testament are inappropriate as evidence since they are disputed texts (Cervin 1989: 94). Next, the problem with the several examples from the LXX is the fact that 'κεφαλή is seldom used as a translation of the Hebrew ראֹש when this word refers explicitly to "leaders"'. The LXX is a translation which carries the risk of being influenced by the original language. It has value as a secondary source rather than a primary one (Cervin 1989: 95–96). Furthermore, Cervin disagrees with Grudem about some of the texts in which Grudem claims κεφαλή being used in the sense of 'authority over'. For example, Isa. 7:8-9 reads: 'For the head of Syria is Damascus…and the head of Ephraim is Samaria.' Cervin suggests that the two 'heads' refer to capital cities, not to people (Cervin 1989: 97). In *Moralia* 647C, Plutarch writes: 'For unmixed wine especially, when it assails the head and cuts the body off from the governor of the senses, distresses the individual; and the fragrances of flowers help against this in a wonderful way, and they fortify the head against drunkenness, like an acropolis.' Here, Cervin states that 'head' is literal, not metaphorical (Cervin 1989: 104).

[74] A text from Philo is an example that Grudem believes disproves Cervin's analysis. In *On the Life of Moses* 2.30, Philo writes: 'On the whole, the house of the Ptolemies was entirely distinguished from the other kingdoms, and among the Ptolemies, Philadelphos—for whatever this one man did was praiseworthy, scarcely all the rest together accomplished as much—[Philadelphos] was the head of kings, in a manner of speaking, just like a head is to an animal' (translated by Cervin 1989: 100). Cervin claims that Philo praises Philadelphos as the head of kings in the sense of 'preeminence,' not 'leader.' 'Philadelphos is the top of the kings just as the head is the top of an animal's body' (Cervin 1989: 100). However, Grudem argues that the Greek phrase τὸ ἡγεμόνευον…τρόπον should be translated as 'the ruling place' in this text since the verb simply means 'lead the way, rule, command' in LSJ (Grudem 1990: 30).

[75] Grudem 1990: 13.

[76] Ibid: 20.

meaning 'authority over', they cannot be discounted entirely when deciding whether κεφαλή was used by Hellenistic writers in a metaphorical sense meaning 'leader'.[77]

Similarly, Fitzmyer in an article on κεφαλή agrees with Grudem that in the New Testament, κεφαλή mostly signifies 'authority over' and Paul could use κεφαλή meaning 'leader' in 1 Cor. 11:3.[78] Fitzmyer's survey covers texts of the LXX, the Shepherd of Hermas, Philo, Josephus, and Athanasius. Some of these texts have been cited by Grudem, others are not discussed by Grudem.[79] Fitzmyer remarks that the Hebrew ראֹש ('head', 'chief') is rendered as κεφαλή in the LXX a few times so that a Hellenistic Judean such as Paul could use κεφαλή to connote the metaphorical sense of 'authority'.[80] However, Cervin holds a different view on Deut. 28:13 than Fitzmyer. Cervin says: 'The presence of the head-tail metaphor is not sufficient to establish these examples as unambiguously denoting "authority" or "leader".' As for 1 Kgs. 21:12, Cervin continues: 'In the context, the passage is about Jezebel's plot to murder Naboth. Jezebel instructed her henchmen to proclaim a fast and set Naboth at the head of the people…There is no indication of "authority" or "leader" in this passage at all.'[81] Cervin also rejects Fitzmyer's example from Athanasius who regards some bishops as the 'heads of such great churches'. Cervin claims that 'Athanasius lived in the fourth century, and so his use

[77] Ibid: 23.
[78] Fitzmyer 1989.
[79] Some texts discussed only by Fitzmyer are: Deut. 28:13: 'The Lord will make you the head, and not the tail; you shall be only at the top, and not at the bottom'; Jer. 31:7 (LXX 38:7): 'And raise shouts for the chief of the nations'; 1 Kgs. 21:12 (LXX 20:12): 'They proclaimed a fast and seated Naboth at the head of the assembly'; Josephus *J. W.* 4.261: 'for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches, who have proceeded to that degree of madness, as not only to have transferred their impudent robberies out of the country, and the remote cities, into this city, the very face and head of the whole nation, but out of the city into the temple also.'
[80] Fitzmyer 1989: 509.
[81] Cervin 1989: 108.

of κεφαλή will not necessarily reflect Paul's.'[82] Thus, the metaphorical sense of 'ruler' for 'head' might be well represented in the LXX and the Shepherd of Hermas, but it is unfamiliar to Greek-speaking listeners of Paul's letters. They might hardly understand what the 'head' of a household implied.[83]

The method used by these writers on the meaning of κεφαλή is to investigate ancient literature and to seek the existing usage of the word. But such an approach is called into question by Gregory Dawes who comments that these authors fail to consider how a metaphor functions. He states that there are some problems with the proposal of κεφαλή meaning 'source' in 1 Cor. 11:3 if the word carrying the sense of 'source of the church's life' arises literally from the context of Col. 2:19. This metaphorical sense of the word does not have to apply to any other contexts. In other words, the metaphorical use of a word might vary in its meaning in different contexts. It is to a very particular context that the metaphorical sense is bound. The lexicon records of κεφαλή are of limited value. Similarly, the writers who proposed that κεφαλή carries the sense of 'leadership, authority' ignore the context in which the word appears. The right way to determine whether κεφαλή is being used metaphorically is to identify the words used to connote the physical head in the ancient world. Which of these connotations Paul intended can be determined by the contexts in the Pauline Epistles.[84] Dawes has thus examined the views of Greek medical writers on κεφαλή and found that these writers had recognised the ruling function of the brain. As Hippocrates (460–380 BCE) states:

[82] Ibid: 111.
[83] Ibid: 112.
[84] Dawes 1998: 127–29.

> Men ought to know that from the brain, and from the brain only, arise our pleasures, joys, laughter and jests, as well as our sorrows, pains, grief and tears … It is the same thing which makes us mad or delirious, inspires us with dread and fear … These things that we suffer all come from the brain.[85]

Additionally, the brain as the source of our functioning was also ascribed by Galen (130–200 CE), who writes: 'The source of all the nerves is the brain.'[86] Dawes suggests that if New Testament authors shared this medical understanding of κεφαλή, they would certainly perceive the head as the space of function and as the 'source'. On this basis, it seems justified that κεφαλή could be used as metaphor signifying 'authority' or 'source of life'.[87] Dawes' method runs in parallel with that of Gielen, who gives more weight to the meaning of κεφαλή in a particular context than to its lexical meanings and contextual usages. Dawes agrees with Gielen that in 1 Cor. 11:3, κεφαλή might have the sense of 'origin, source' since this comes from the reference to Genesis 2 later in 1 Cor. 11:8.[88]

'prominence', 'foremost'

In opposition to the theories on κεφαλή as 'authority' and 'source', Walter Liefeld proposes that κεφαλή can be simply understood as a 'prominent' and 'foremost' part of the body. He argues that the evidence from the Septuagint and extra-biblical Greek shows that the head was prominent as a part of the body and was metaphorically the most honoured part of the body.[89] First Corinthians 12:21-24 indicates Paul's realisation of the common perceptions of honour and shame with respect to the head. The passage of 1

[85] Hippocrates *Morb. Sacr.* 2.174–2.175, cited by Dawes 1998: 129.
[86] Galen *On the doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato* 457 in Corpus Medicorum Graecorum V 4.1.2 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1984), cited by Dawes 1998: 130.
[87] Dawes 1998: 129–33.
[88] Ibid: 136.
[89] Liefeld 1986: 139.

Cor. 11:2-16 uses vocabulary related to dishonour, glory, and image which reveals Paul's concern for orderly worship.[90] In this context it is more appropriate for κεφαλή to carry the sense of 'preeminence' than 'source' or 'authority over'.[91]

It has already been mentioned in this chapter that Cervin has examined the texts in which κεφαλή could connote the sense of 'authority over' claimed by Grudem and Fitzmyer. Cervin suggests that there are only four instances of κεφαλή clearly being used to mean 'leader',

> three are from the LXX and one is from the Shepherd of Hermas, and it is very likely that all four of these are imported, not native, metaphors[92]…the question remains whether Paul's *native Greek* hearers would have understood such a usage. So far, there have been no *clear and unambiguous* examples of κεφαλή denoting 'leader' in extra-Biblical literature, and this fact speaks against such and understanding by native Greeks.[93]

Meanwhile, Cervin proposes 'preeminence' as an alternative meaning for the metaphor of 'head' since this usage of 'head' is listed in LSJ and is used by Hellenistic writers.[94] 'He

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[90] Ibid: 140.
[91] Ibid: 141–42. For a similar view, see Keener 2005: 92; Heil 2005: 179.
[92] Cervin 1989: 111. The four of instances are 2 Sam. 22:44 (LXX 2 Kgs. 22:44); Ps. 18:43 (LXX 17:44); Isa. 7:9; Shepherd of Hermas *Sim.* 7.3.
[93] Cervin 1989: 112.
[94] Here are some texts that Cervin quotes:

In *Timaeus* 44d, Plato writes: 'Since there are two divine circles, [the gods], keeping the round form of each in mind, bound [them] to a spherical body, which we now call the head, which is the most divine part and which controls everything within us; to which [the head] the gods gave the entire body as a servant after they blended [them] together, since they understood that the head should partake in all the motions which were to be' (translated by Cervin 1989: 95) While Grudem claims that this text clearly demonstrates the idea of the head controlling the body, this was generally accepted in Greek culture since the time of Plato (Grudem 1990: 27). Conversely, Cervin asserts that 'Plato views the head as the preeminent part of the human body' (Cervin 1989: 95).

In *Jewish War* 3.54, Josephus says: '[Judea] was divided into eleven portions, of which the royal city Jerusalem was the supreme, and presided over all the neighboring country, as the head does over the body.' Here, Cervin believes that the metaphor of 'head' clearly shows pre-preeminence (Cervin 1989: 111) although Fitzmyer considers κεφαλή in this text in the sense of 'leader' (Fitzmyer 1989: 510).

[Paul] is merely employing a head-body metaphor, and his point is "preeminence". This is fully in keeping with the normal and "common" usage of the word.'[95]

A. C. Perriman's view on the meaning of κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3 is the same as that of Cervin. Similarly, Perriman's arguments challenge Grudem's and Fitzmyer's findings. Perriman's examination covers some passages cited by Grudem and Fitzmyer but not discussed by Cervin.[96] He argues that in Greek literature, κεφαλή unnecessarily takes the meaning of 'leader' or 'authority over'. The most common metaphorical use of this word is 'foremost' or 'preeminence' which is used in 1 Cor. 11:3. First Corinthians 11:2-16 is concerned with the relationship between man and woman and is marked with the issue of dishonour. It has little to do with the issue of woman's disobedience under man's authority.[97] As to whether κεφαλή was used in the sense of 'source' or 'beginning', Perriman suggests that there is no support for this reading in the LXX. Though ראֹש is translated in the LXX sometimes by κεφαλή and sometimes by ἀρχή, the two Greek words do not have to be interchangeable in meaning.[98] In classical Greek, Perriman continues, κεφαλή might be used in the sense of 'source', but this sense does not seem appropriate in 1 Cor. 11:3 when the context of the passage is considered.[99]

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[95] Cervin 1989: 112.

[96] For example, Perriman claims that in Jer. 31:7 (LXX 38:7) it is hardly acceptable that κεφαλή carries the idea of authority and leadership. Rather, Israel being 'foremost' or 'pre-eminent' might be the better interpretation (Perriman 1994: 604). In Deut. 28:13, 'the significance of the metaphor lies in the contrast between two extremes, between prominence and prosperity on the one hand and subjection and humiliation on the other' (Perriman 1994: 606).

[97] Perriman 1994: 620.

[98] Ibid: 611. Perriman refers to Bedale concerning two primary translations of ראֹש in the LXX as κεφαλή and ἀρχή. When ראֹש is used in the sense of 'first' or 'beginning', it is rendered by ἀρχή; when ראֹש is used in the sense of 'chief' or 'ruler', it is sometimes rendered by κεφαλή (Judg. 11:11), and sometimes by ἀρχή (Exod. 6:25; Mic. 3:1). The evidence shows that κεφαλή and ἀρχή seem to become interchangeable in biblical Greek (Bedale 1954: 213).

[99] Perriman 1994: 613. Concerning the use of 'head' in Herodotus 4.91, Perriman asserts that the 'head' might not carry the sense of 'source'. It simply signifies the highest point of the river. 'Source' is perhaps implied as a derivative connotation in Herodotus 4.91.

With respect to the sense in which Paul uses κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3, Perriman contrasts this verse to Eph. 5:23. He claims that the context of Eph. 5:23 establishes the headship of Christ in relation to the *ekklesia*. This becomes the model of the relationship between husband and wife. Here, κεφαλή could be understood in the sense of 'leader' or 'authority over'.[100] Unlike Eph. 5:23, the context of 1 Cor. 11:3 provides no indicative source or explicit basis on which the use of κεφαλή could be determined. Although there is a reference to 'authority' in verse 10, this cannot be understood as the submission of woman to man's authority. Verses 8-9 could not be interpreted as man being the source of woman since this idea is counterbalanced in verse 12, which shows that 'man comes through woman'. It is the issue of dishonour that verse 3 must relate to.[101] Thus, Paul most likely has the sense of 'foremost' or 'the one who is prominent' in mind when he uses κεφαλή. It is suitable both literally and metaphorically to define the three relationships (Christ and man, man and woman, God and Christ) in which the man and woman relationship determines the other two.[102] Perriman's arguments are supported by Martina Böhm, who claims that Paul's figurative use of κεφαλή carries the meaning of 'prominence' not in the sense of legitimising women's position of submission but in the sense of a relationship between man and woman founded in God's creational order.

> Das paulinische Verständnis der Schöpfungsgeschichte dürfte sowohleinen zeitlichen Vorordnungsaspekt (»temporally first«) wie auch einen sachlichen Vorordnungsaspekt von κεφαλή (»that which is determinative or representative by virtue of its prominence«) begründen – allerdings nicht im Sinne eines Über- und Unterordnung legitimierenden

[100] Perriman 1994: 619.
[101] Ibid: 621.
[102] Ibid: 618.

> Herrschaftsanspruches, sondern im Sinne einer in der Schöpfung begründeten Relation untereinander.[103]

From the creation perspective, the woman is essentially the same as the man, but she was created out of him. In this respect, the man is her head. 'In Eva findet Adam die ihm entsprechende Unterstützung schließlich und das heißt: die Frau ist dem Mann vom Wesen her ähnlich, aber sie ist eben auch seinetwegen und vor allem: aus ihm erschaffen worden. Insofern ist der Mann auch ihr Haupt.'[104]

Multiple Meanings of Κεφαλή

Thiselton studies the views of the patristic writers on κεφαλή in 1 Cor. 11:3. He finds that church fathers considered applications of the word 'head' to Christ, to man, and to God variously, which Thiselton defines as 'the multivalency of κεφαλή'.[105] John Chrysostom perceived the three levels of analogy associated with κεφαλή to have different implications. He writes:

> For had Paul meant to speak of rule and subjection … he would not have brought forward the instance of a woman (or wife), but rather of a slave and a master. For what if the wife be under subjection to us? It is as a wife, as free, as equal in honour; and the Son also, though He did become obedient to the Father, it was as the Son of God; it was as God.[106]

According to Thiselton, Chrysostom reveals Paul's intention that in the context of love, subordination of Christ to God and woman to man is chosen, not imposed. 'Chrysostom reflects the endeavor to do justice to the duality or wholeness of difference and order on

[103] Böhm 2006: 216.
[104] Ibid: 219.
[105] Thiselton 2000: 818.
[106] John Chrysostom *Hom. 1 Cor.* 26.3.

one side and reciprocity and mutual dignity and respect on the other.'[107] Tertullian acknowledges the metaphorical force of κεφαλή: 'Now this, to be sure, is an astonishing thing, that the Father can be taken to be the face of the Son, when he is his head; for "the head of Christ is God".'[108] Origen emphasises the order of creation: 'Christ is the head of all things, alone having as head God the Father; for it is written, "The head of Christ is God".'[109]

It is extremely difficult to exclude or to substantiate any of these connotations since they all rightly reflect patriarchal relations. However, it is better to ask which connotation might fit into the immediate context of 1 Cor. 11:3 with consideration of the lexical meanings of the word 'head'. On the one hand, indeed, the two occasions (11:3, 7-9) appear to assert a hierarchical understanding of the male-female relationship. On the other hand, the passage of 11:3-9 abounds with honour-shame terminology. 11:4-6 discusses an argument against certain veiling practices of men and women; its key theme is 'shame'. 11:7-9 interprets the idea of hierarchical relationship between man and woman on the basis of creation; its key theme is 'glory'. In 11:4-9, Paul is saying that the veiling practices of the Corinthians bring shame because they oppose the glory one ought to have by creation. The 'head' whom the man dishonours is Christ; the 'head' whom the woman dishonours is the man. To do the opposite of 'dishonours the head' would be to glorify and honour the 'head'. If the 'head' signifies that which is of 'preeminence', it is to be glorified and honoured. The 'head' meaning 'preeminence' satisfies the relationships among God, Christ, man, and woman within the honour-shame framework. It also marks gender differences; women should cover their heads, men should not. The

[107] Thiselton 2000: 819.
[108] Tertullian *Prax.* 14.
[109] Origen *Princ.* 2.6.1.

arguments of Richard Cervin and A. C. Perriman are more persuasive. They provide compelling evidence and reasoned arguments to prove that it is appropriate to use the words 'prominence' or 'foremost' to describe hierarchical relationships among God, Christ, man, and woman.

Conclusion

In 1 Corinthians 11:2-3, Paul opens his discussion on the proper attire of men and women at Corinth while praying and prophesying by recognising them to hold to the established traditions. Then, using the metaphorical use of the word 'head', he immediately brings his attention to the relation between male and female by establishing the priority of man over woman. For Paul, woman's proper secondary place, which comes after man, does not necessarily involve her inferiority. That the relationship is not to be understood hierarchically can be perceived in light of the idea of man's headship in the Pauline corpus that was explored in Chapter 3. Paul requires Christian men to be sexually faithful in the same way that the society and its norms required for women (1 Cor. 7:2-11). He adopts the concept of leadership from Jesus Christ who regarded himself as the servant of his followers (1 Cor. 9:14-15, 19; 2 Cor. 10:1). Moreover, some women played leadership roles in Paul's congregations (1 Cor. 16:19; Rom. 16:1-4; Phil. 4:2-3).

Chapter 5

An Exegesis of 1 Corinthians 11:4-6

This chapter will explore how the significance of the veil for the ancient Greeks and Romans studied in the first two chapters will assist the exegesis of Paul's instructions on head-coverings of men and women in 1 Corinthians 11:4-6. The exegetically significant features of 11:4-6 include the possible meanings of κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων ('hanging down from the head'), ἀκατακάλυπτος ('uncovered'), καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ('she dishonours her head'), and the metaphorical uses of κεφαλή. In addition, the symbolism of 'a woman to be shorn or to be shaved' will be explored from the Greco-Roman perspective. As for 11:2-3 we will offer critical assessments of the exegetical significance of these features after providing brief outlines of scholarly arguments. The exegetical analysis of 11:4-6 contains interactions with the relevant evidence for veiling or unveiling examined in Chapters 1–2. The end of this chapter will attempt to make the connection between Paul's instruction on the clothing of women and Paul's view of women investigated in Chapter 3.

v. 4 πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ (When every man prays or prophesies with something hanging down from the head, he dishonours his head).

Προσευχόμενος (masc. nom. sing. pres. mid. προσεύχομαι, 'to pray') and προφητεύων (masc. nom. sing. pres. act. προφητεύω, 'to prophesy') are temporal adverbial

participles,[1] modifying the verb καταισχύνει. Since their present tense agrees with that of the main verb, they are contemporaneous in time to the action of the main verb.[2] They function as a dependent temporal clause. Since the gender, case, and number of the two participles agree with the subject (πᾶς ἀνὴρ) of the main clause, the dependent clause could be translated as 'when every man prays or prophesies' or 'while every man praying or prophesying'. The preposition κατὰ with the genitive case of κεφαλῆς functions as an adverb, carrying a sense of downward motion. According to Stanley Porter, 'perhaps related etymologically to the adverb κάτω (down), the basic sense of κατὰ is "direction downward", possibly to its deepest limit.'[3] The participle ἔχων (masc. nom. sing. pres. act. ἔχω, 'to have') is usually idiomatic in usage, meaning 'with' in the sense of accompanying (BDF, §419). BDF renders κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων as 'hanging down from the head' (BDF, §225). The main verb καταισχύνει (3rd. sing. pres. act. ind. καταισχύνω, 'to shame, dishonour, be shamed') expresses a sense of the lower rank showing disrespect towards the superior rank, the one who is deserving of his claim to honour. Καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ could be translated as 'disgraces his head'.

Κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων (11:4)

Scholars have extensively debated over the text of 1 Cor. 11:4-6. Some see this passage as addressing the issue of 'long hair'.[4] There have also been numerous attempts to see the

[1] Thiselton 2000: 627.
[2] Porter 1994: 188.
[3] Ibid: 162.
[4] Martin 1970: 233; Horsley 1998: 153; Collins 1999: 406; Heil 2005: 180; Böhm 2006: 213; MacGregor 2009: 202.

issue as relating to 'head-covering'.[5] For example, Gordon Fee claims that the 'covering' was a loose shawl, not a full veil which was designed to cover part or all of the face except the eyes.[6] Others have shown that it is difficult to decide whether 'long hair' or 'head-covering' is the issue.[7] The problematic constructions are κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων (11:4) and ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ (11:5). As for κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων, proponents of 'long hair' have claimed that κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων ('having something hanging down from the head') is the equivalent of 'having long hair hanging down'.[8] Abel Isaksson has analysed the instructions of priestly hair-style in the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic literature before offering three points of discussion. First, since priests wore a turban on the head,[9] contemporary Judaism allowed a man to have his head covered at public worship. Second, the missing object of ἔχων must be τὴν κόμην ('long hair'), which is rendered from the context of 11:14-15. Third, 11:14 clearly states that a man with long hair dishonours himself.[10] James Hurley has drawn the same conclusion as Isaksson but with a slightly different approach. Hurley has made three observations. First, he investigates the headgear of the high priest in Exod. 36:35-37, the Pharisees' garments—the *tallit* in Matt. 23:5, and the ἱμάτιον of the murals of Dura Synagogue. The relevance of this information to κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων in 11:4 is that the man with a head-covering in worship was a Jewish custom which Paul would not have rejected.[11] Second, Ezek. 44:18-20 indicates that a man is not to wear long hair. Third, Lev. 13:45 implies that a man with loose hair is

[5] Galt 1931: 393; Balsdon 1960; Bruce 1971: 103; Scroggs 1972: 298; Delobel 1986: 372; Horrell 1996: 170; BeDuhn 1999: 296; Keener 2005: 91–92; Finney 2010: 31; Fee 2014: 559; Montier 2015: 4.
[6] Fee 2014: 548. The shawl refers to a large piece of cloth which can be worn as a head-covering. It hangs down freely and is sometimes pulled over the back of the head (Llewellyn-Jones 2003: 26).
[7] Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 227 reads: 'We no longer are able to decide with certainty which behavior Paul criticises and which custom he means to introduce in 1 Cor 11:2-16.'
[8] Isaksson 1965: 166.
[9] Exod. 28:36-40; Ezek. 44:18.
[10] Isaksson 1965: 166.
[11] Hurley 1972: 194–95.

unclean; this seems to continue as a sign of uncleanness even in Paul's day. Thus, κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων means 'loose hair'.[12]

Murphy-O'Connor has added that κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων literally means 'having something hang from the head'. 'Long hair' is the most probable object of ἔχων. First, κατὰ with the genitive takes the sense of 'against', indicating a nuance of motion. It is unlikely that κατὰ in 11:4 is used to mean 'something "resting upon" the head' which hints at a head-covering. Second, the veil-terms are not mentioned in the context of 11:4. Third, 'long hair' for men is considered to be effeminate and this idea harmonises with 11:14.[13] However, Joël Delobel criticises that the interpretation of Murphy-O'Connor is problematic. First, if the object of the word ἔχων is a head-covering without any nuance of motion, the use of the verb should not be a problem. This is attested in Plutarch's κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὸ ἱμάτιον ('with his himation covering his head').[14] Next, 11:14 alone is not enough to be a meaningful reference in support of the 'long hair' mentioned in 11:4.[15] In response to Delobel, Murphy-O'Connor insists that Plutarch's reference shows that the meaning of κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων as 'having something on the head' is possible, but it is not enough. Jews in Paul's day would deny that a man praying with his head covered was shameful in light of Exod. 28:4, 36-38 and Ezek. 44:18. Admittedly, Romans praying with their head covered was widely accepted. It is, then, uncertain which practice Paul was truly concerned with.[16]

Preston T. Massey remarks that the idiomatic phrase κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων always refers to a kind of garment coming down from the head. It is the same expression as ἔχειν ἐπὶ

[12] Ibid: 198.
[13] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 484–85.
[14] Plutarch *Mor.* 200–201.
[15] Delobel 1986: 371–72.
[16] Murphy-O'Connor 1988: 267–68.

τῆς κεφαλῆς (‘to wear upon the head’) (11:10). In addition, κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον (‘a covering down from the head’) occurs not only in Plutarch but also in other examples of Greek literature.[17] Thus, this text discusses an artificial head-covering.[18]

Κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων is less plausible with ‘long hair’ than with an artificial ‘head-covering’ for three reasons. First, Murphy-O’Connor notes that most of the Corinthians were Paul’s Jewish contemporaries who used to participate in the synagogue. They would have been familiar with the LXX.[19] But we have argued in the Introduction that the majority of members at Corinth are Greeks and Romans. The archaeological excavations prove that Greek traditions as well as Roman patterns of culture had a strong influence on the city of Corinth in the first century. A number of texts in 1 Corinthians indicate that the Corinthians were former Gentiles with a Hellenistic worldview and attitude (1 Corinthians 8, 10; 1 Cor. 3:3, 12:2). If the fact that most of the Corinthians are Greek and Roman is correct, Paul’s converts at Corinth might not easily recognise that κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων means ‘long hair’ which indicates ‘unclean’ or ‘shameful’ in the Septuagint.

Second, some authors who study the history of Jewish costume argue that 11:4 rightly tells that Jewish men in the first century uncover their heads when participating in worship services.[20] The *tallit* (טַלִּית) wore by the Pharisees was the head-dress frequently mentioned for men within early Judaism. The basic meaning of the *tallit* is ‘cover’, ‘sheet’, or ‘cloak’.[21] In a religious context, the *tallit* refers to a unique prayer shawl with

[17] Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Ant. rom.* 3.71, 6.3.3, 11.26.4; Plutarch *Pomp.* 40.4; Josephus *Ant.* 3.270.
[18] Massey 2007: 522.
[19] Murphy-O’Connor 1980: 488, note 27. Murphy-O’Connor’s hypothesis that most of the Corinthians were Paul’s Jewish contemporaries depends on Ford’s argument that the Corinthian converts consist of Greek-speaking Jewish people (Ford 1966).
[20] Lauterbach 1928: 592; Krauss 1945: 137; Rubens 1973: 11.
[21] Jastrow *A Dictionary of Targumim* 1: 537.

special fringes (ציצת *tzitzit*) attached to each of the four corners of the garment.[22] The *tzitzit* had religious significance and was worn by Jews in remembrance of the commandments.[23] This was evident when a person put his kerchief over his head and gave thanks to the Lord and when he wore the *tallit* with *tzitzit* and said the benediction to the sanctification of Jews.[24] Alfred Rubens describes the *tallit* as 'probably made of wool or linen, usually white but sometimes black or red. With *tzitzit* attached to its corners it was as characteristic for Jew as the *toga* was for Romans…In talmudic times the *tallit* was still essentially an attribute of scholars.'[25] '*Tallith* [was] the cloak of honour, the scholar's or officer's distinction; the cloak of the leader in prayer.'[26] Samuel Krauss also suggests that the practice of wearing the *tallit* was originally limited to religious leaders such as scribes, Pharisees, or rabbis. He believes that in the ancient Mediterranean world, a man wearing a head-covering was always an indication of the individual's social status. Generally, an inferior would bare his head while a superior had his head covered to signify his rank. Covering the head for a man was associated with privilege.[27] Esther Juhasz adds that 'it is conceived as a sign of piety, religious, humility, submission, and reverence before God.'[28] The observations of Rubens, Jastrow, Krauss, and Juhasz are consistent with what we have found in Chapter 2 that the attire of philosophers or orators, according to Quintilian and Gellius, was the Greek ἱμάτιον or the Roman *pallium*.[29] Plautus describes the Greek as walking with covered heads. They go

[22] Jastrow *A Dictionary of Targumim* 1: 537; *b. Men.* 42b; Juhasz 2012: 44.
[23] Rubens 1973: 21. For the references on religious significance of the *tzitzit,* see Num. 15:38; Deut. 22:12.
[24] *b. Ber.* 60b; See also *b. Men.* 43a.
[25] Rubens 1973: 27. For a similar view, see Juhasz 2012: 64.
[26] Jastrow *A Dictionary of Targumim* 1: 537.
[27] Krauss 1945: 133–34.
[28] Juhasz 2012: 64.
[29] Quintilian 11.143, 12.10.21; Gellius *Noct. att.* 9.2.

with loaded books beneath their cloaks.[30] Various Latin sources and the artistic representation attest that Roman priests wore the *toga*, making a devotional gesture known as *velato capite* when performing religious services.[31]

Scholars have debated whether men covered their heads in the synagogues of the Greco-Roman period. William Rosenau maintains that

> while in the synagogue, worshippers [would] keep their heads covered, (a practice observed also by many persons when reading any and every Hebrew text), because literature written in the so-called 'holy tongue' is considered specially sacred and its study is regarded a religious act.[32]

Wearing a head-covering, Rosenau continues, is so important for devotional Jewish people that Paul insisted on Corinthian men uncovering their heads when they prayed and prophesied (1 Cor. 11:4, 7) to disconnect their association with the synagogue.[33] But Krauss refutes this view and argues that verses 4 and 7 indicate that men would have bare heads in the synagogue.[34] Krauss quotes Jacob Lauterbach as follows:

> He [Paul] merely stated the Palestinian Jewish practice of his time and did not express any new or un-Jewish doctrine…Paul could not have meant by his saying to put himself and his followers in opposition to Jewish custom or traditional practice, since what he recommends actually was the Jewish practice of his days.[35]

Krauss' view is supported by Rubens, who states that 'probably the best exposition of

[30] Plautus *Curc.* 2.3.
[31] Fig. 2.2; Fig. 2.3; Livy 8.9.5, Livy 10.7.10.
[32] Rosenau 1929: 46.
[33] Ibid: 47.
[34] Krauss 1945: 137. This view is supported by Rubens 1973: 11.
[35] Lauterbach 1928: 592, cited by Krauss 1945: 137.

Jewish practice is that given by St Paul.'[36] The suggestions of Krauss, Lauterbach, and Rubens are more plausible. Unlike Greek philosophers and Roman priests who were of a high status, most of the Corinthian men were of the lower ranks, which is examined in Chapter 2. The members might include the enslaved (1 Cor. 7:21-24). A few of them were possibly well-to-do (1:26). Although Corinthian men might wear the ἱμάτιον, στολή *pallium*, *toga*, or *pullatus*, covering the heads might not have been their habitual practice. Paul's insistence on male Christ-believers having uncovered heads is consistent with what is practised by his Jewish contemporaries in a religious context.

Third, Paul's reference to a head-covering in 11:4 might be confirmed by the text of 2 Cor. 3:12-18, which is widely recognised as his commentary on Exod. 34:33-35. It has been discussed in Chapter 1 that the κάλυμμα was used to describe the veil of Moses in the LXX, while Paul used the κάλυμμα literally and figuratively in 2 Cor. 3:12-18, which reads:

> [12] Since, then, we have such a hope, we act with great boldness, [13] not like Moses, who put a veil (κάλυμμα) over his face to keep the people of Israel from gazing at the end of the glory that was being set aside. [14] But their minds were hardened. Indeed, to this very day, when they hear the reading of the old covenant, that same veil (κάλυμμα) is still there, since only in Christ is it set aside. [15] Indeed, to this very day whenever Moses is read, a veil (κάλυμμα) lies over their minds; [16] but when one turns to the Lord, the veil (κάλυμμα) is removed. [17] Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. [18] And all of us, with unveiled faces (ἀνακεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ), seeing the glory of the Lord as though reflected in a mirror, are being transformed into the same image from one degree of glory to another; for this comes from the Lord, the Spirit.

[36] Rubens 1973: 11.

Here, the key word of this text is κάλυμμα. Paul literally states that, unlike Moses who wore the κάλυμμα after God's commandments had been delivered to the Israelites, Paul and his fellow believers turn to the Lord with uncovered heads. In contrast to Moses wearing a κάλυμμα, the words 'and all of us, with unveiled faces' (3:18) parallel the earlier words 'we act with great boldness, not like Moses' (3:12), implying that Christ-believers participate in the congregation with bare heads. Ἀνακαλύπτω ('to uncover') (3:18) is the verbal form of the noun ἀνακαλυπτήρια. The analysis of ἀνακαλυπτήρια is undertaken in Chapter 1. Ἀνακαλυπτήρια was exclusively used in the context of the Greek wedding, meaning 'the unveiling of the bride'. Similarly, ἀνακαλύπτω refers to an act of uncovering an artificial garment. Thus, it seems a fair inference that Paul is probably concerned with head-covering rather than long hair in 1 Cor. 11:4.

Returning to the text of 11:4, the first occurrence of the word 'head' clearly refers to the man's physical head. Is the second occurrence of 'head' metaphorical? Three considerations have been offered. First, some argue that this second reference represents the whole person. Since 1 Cor. 11:14 reveals that having long hair as a man is something which degrades him, a man who prays or prophesies with long hair disgraces himself.[37] Second, some interpreters maintain that 'head' can only refer to his figurative head, that is, to Christ; it does not, then, refer to either his own head or to himself.[38] Fee explains that the preceding sentence (v. 3) indicates the referent of 'his head' as 'Christ'. Additionally, Paul uses the personal pronoun 'his' instead of the reflexive 'his own'.[39] Third, some suggest that 'head' indicates the double-meaning: himself and Christ. The man with his head covered while praying and prophesying brings dishonour on himself,

[37] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 485; Collins 1999: 407.
[38] Bruce 1971: 104; Wire 1990: 118.
[39] Fee 2014: 558. For a parallel view, see Schrage 1995: II, 505.

in the literal sense, as well as on his metaphorical head.[40] The man wearing long hair would be considered effeminate, bringing shame to himself and to Christ.[41] This view seems justified but is by no means decisive. 'Disgraces his head' could be understood as figurative language, also known as metonymy.[42] 'His head' is a more comprehensive term than 'Christ'. It reminds a man of his relationship to Christ. Therefore, Paul's intended meaning is that the man who prays or prophesies with his head covered would bring shame to himself as well as to Christ.

Why does the man who covers his head or let his long hair hang down while praying and prophesying bring shame to his 'head'? Four main speculations on this question have emerged.

First, Morna Hooker argues from a theological perspective that the man is the image and glory of God (1 Cor. 11:7). He should not cover his head simply because he should not hide the glory of God. Any attempt to conceal the glory of God in prayer and prophecy would be shameful. This idea can be found in 2 Corinthians 3 when Paul uses the story of Moses in the Hebrew Bible.[43]

Second, some commentators remark that this passage is a discussion about uncovered women, not men. It is unlikely that the Corinthian men covered their heads when they

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[40] Hooker 1964: 411; Barrett 1971: 250; Heil 2005: 180; Finney 2010: 51.
[41] Hurley 1972: 202.
[42] Metonymy is a figure of speech. The author uses an adjunct word or phrase to represent the whole or a more comprehensive term for a less comprehensive word or phrase. To say 'the White House said yesterday' is to mean 'the presidential authority of the United States made a public speech yesterday'. Unlike metaphor, metonymy is an indirect and conceivable way of making a direct reference (Soskice 1985: 57).
[43] Hooker 1964: 414. For a similar view, see Barrett 1971: 250; Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 513. In Exod. 34:29-35, it is said that the skin of Moses' face shone when he came down from Mount Sinai because he had been talking with God. Then Moses spoke with all the Israelites and gave them the word of the Lord in the form of commandments. After Moses finished speaking, he put a veil on his face. But whenever Moses spoke with the Lord, he would remove the veil.

prayed and prophesied.[44] Fee asserts that Paul appears to be primarily concerned with the dress of the women. 'Paul seems to be setting up his arguments with the women by means of a hypothetical situation for the man that would be equally shameful to his relationship to his "head" as what the women are doing is to theirs.'[45] Theissen remarks: 'In Corinth, the head covering of men which Paul attacked (only hypothetically and prophylactically) would have been an assumption of female dress customs.'[46] In agreement with Theissen, Schrage claims that the case of the man is only given as a contrast or an illustration of his opposing position because the actual argument is that the head-dress of man and woman should manifest their differences. Paul's instructions on the head-dress of women is explained in more detail.

> Verschiedentlich hat man gemeint, daß in Korinth auch das Verhalten der Männer zur Debatte steht, doch ist der Mann nur als Kontrastfolie bzw. zur Illustration seiner gegensätzlichen Stellung Thema, weil das eigentliche Argument eben die Unterschiedlichkeit der Geschlechter bildet, aus der sich die Verschiedenheit der Haartracht nach Paulus ergibt. Darum sind die die Frauen betreffenden Weisungen auch ausführlicher begründet (V 6.10) oder haben wie V 13 überhaupt kein Pendant beim Mann.[47]

Third, some have shown that Paul criticises Corinthian men who wear long hair in worship. Isaksson explains that in Ezek. 44:20, God prohibits the priests of the new Temple from growing their hair long. This regulation is relevant to 1 Cor. 11:4 since in

[44] Moffatt 1947: 151; Hodge 1958: 208; Bruce 1971: 104; Delobel 1986: 380; Cotterell and Turner 1989: 322.
[45] Fee 2014: 557. Fee claims that it is hardly possible to find evidence of men covering their heads in the first century. There are a few occasions when men covered their heads. For example, men covered their heads for mourning; the prophet in the Isis cult wore a head-covering. However, these occasions were unlikely to occur in the Corinthians, bringing shame to Christ (Fee 2014: 560).
[46] Theissen 1987: 168.
[47] Schrage 1995: II, 504, note 94.

the previous verse (v. 3), Paul has just pointed out that Christ is the head of every man and the new Temple. It can be deduced, on the basis of possible evocations of Ezek. 44:20, that male Christ-believers are the priests of the new Temple. When they prophesy and pray, their hair should be arranged in the manner instructed in Ezek. 44:20.[48] Murphy-O'Connor hypothesises that many issues in the Corinthian community arose from an over-realised eschatology.[49] He speculates that a man with long hair was effeminate and associated with homosexuality in ancient Mediterranean culture. The attitudes expressed in contemporary Jewish literature towards homosexuals are illustrated in various texts[50] in which a number of elements of the condemnation towards homosexuals agree with 1 Cor. 11:2-16. According to this text, homosexual acts are against nature (11:14) and bring disgrace upon one's self (11:4, 14).[51] As such, it was a

[48] Isaksson 1965: 167–68.

[49] See also Cotterell and Turner 1989: 321. It has been argued that the difficulties at Corinth arose from an over-realised eschatology. Anthony Thiselton states that many Corinthians were convinced that they were emancipated from death. They were in the Spirit; they could physically do anything. The perspective of an over-realised eschatology can be found in 1 Corinthians 1–4. This section is concerned with the Corinthians' attitudes towards ministry. They thought that the last days had arrived and the Spirit was poured out. Some special men had been marked with charismatic personalities by the Spirit and had become leaders. 1 Cor. 5:1–11:1 is concerned with the issues of right and wrong. According to the people of Corinth, Thiselton argues, the believers belonged to the New Creation and thus were free from law. They possessed higher knowledge. Their sexual conduct had no moral significance. They were strong enough to expose themselves to the temptation of idolatry. The problem of women's covering in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 reflects the perspective of the people of Corinth on their eschatological status as 'there is no longer male or female' (Gal. 3:28). The section on the Lord's Supper (1 Cor. 11:17-33) might suggest that the Corinthians regarded it as the feast of the eschatological banquet of the Messiah. In the discussion of spiritual gifts (1 Cor. 12:1–14:40), Paul insists that these gifts are for building up the body of Christ but the Corinthians regarded speaking in tongues or ecstatic reaction as a particular possession of the Spirit. In the section on resurrection (1 Corinthians 15), though the Corinthians were most unlikely to believe that they had already been raised from the dead, they surely understood resurrection to new life as present and as part of the eschatological New Creation. Thiselton concludes that eschatology of the people of Corinth is charismatic and ecstatic. The phenomenon of this enthusiasm can be seen from the beginning of the epistle up to chapter 15. The eschatological approach can stand as a single common factor to interpret and reconstruct the entire situation behind 1 Corinthians (Thiselton 1978).

[50] Philo *Spec. Leg*. 3.36, 38.

[51] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 485–87. For a parallel view that the implication of Paul might be his fear of homosexuality, see Scroggs 1974: 534; Horsley 1998: 154; Collins 1999: 407.

disgrace to the man and to his community if a male chose to wear hair long.[52] However, Delobel rejected that 11:14 speaks of man with long hair as being disgraceful. Paul does not imply in this verse that long hair has an effeminate connotation and thus irrelevant to the Corinthian situation. Whether he is referring to long hair or effeminate looks, this transition is not relevant to the context at hand. Murphy-O'Connor's interpretation of why men wearing long hair is considered to be disgraceful is primarily based on contemporary non-biblical texts. Thus, it is highly hypothetical.[53] Murphy-O'Connor has responded to this criticism by saying that men with long hair being associated with

[52] According to Robin Scroggs, many contemporary interpreters believe that the New Testament openly opposes homosexuality in several areas of the text. To study the Greco-Roman culture of homosexuality, Scroggs examines the textual evidence of ancient literature within the temporal scope of the fifth century BCE to the third century CE. The materials reflect the cultural practices and attitudes of the privileged group who wrote the texts. The specific form of homosexuality practised by this group is named pederasty, literally the 'love of boys.' A pederastic friendship was the relationship between a male adult and a younger youth. In the early period in ancient Greece, a woman's role was at home with a much lower level of education. Public culture of this time was male oriented. The ideal beauty for the Greeks was manifested by the physical body of the male youth. The adult male was most attracted to the young male youth when his physical appearance resembled that of a female. Pederasty was practised by a large number of people in the Greco-Roman world. There were no Roman laws condemning it. One particular group of individuals who practised pederasty were called the effeminate call-boys. They prostituted themselves to older male adults. Many of them imitated the toilette of women, rouging their faces and removing body hair. They wore feminine clothes. They let their hair grow long and coiffured it in feminine fashions. Though a pederastic relationship was socially acceptable, there were many other people throughout the centuries who denied its validity. The ancient authors who were the proponents of pederasty argued that to be in love with those who were beautiful was the experience of a kind-hearted and generous soul. This noble love had no match to the love of/with a female. Pederasty represented the most superior nature. The opponents of pederasty argued that sexual pleasure was the base love that desired the body more than the soul. It was consequently considered shameful. These effeminate youths lost their masculinity and lived in an unmanly mode of life. Pederastic relationships did not last long. Scroggs has also investigated male homosexuality within Jewish literature in the Hellenistic period and the New Testament. The texts containing possible references in the Hebrew Bible are Genesis 19, Deut. 23:17-18, Lev. 18:22, 20:13, and Judges 19. Generally, the views on homosexuality were negative in the Jewish literature. For the rabbis, it was certainly a gentile vice. It was regarded as a crime punishable with death in the Mishnah (*m. Sanh*. 7:4). Philo considered homosexuality to be disgraceful, believing it to be a sin rejecting procreation. He attacked the call-boys for their coiffure of hair (Philo *Spec. Leg.* 3.37). Scroggs asserts that the views of early Judaism on homosexuality were influential on the position of the New Testament which is consequentially virtually silent on the matter. Only Rom. 1:26-27, 1 Cor. 6:9-10, and 1 Tim. 1:9-10 mention the issue. In Rom. 1:26-27 homosexual behaviour was used as an illustration of the universal fall of humankind for Paul to support his theological argument: the justice and mercy of God. In 1 Cor. 6:9-10 one who lies with a male would belong to the catalogue of wrongdoers who will not inherit the kingdom of God. The passage of 1 Tim. 1:9-10 is similar to 1 Cor. 6:9-10 in that the homosexual act appears in the vice lists which are lawless and disobedient. These arguments indicate that the vice lists are borrowed from Hellenistic Jewish tradition. However, Scroggs admits that no New Testament author considers homosexuality as a serious problem or addresses it explicitly (Scroggs 1983).

[53] Delobel 1986: 372.

homosexuality does indeed come from non-biblical texts, but that this association existed in the social environment of the early Christ-believers.[54] It is thus justified to hypothesize Paul's reaction to homosexuality in 1 Cor. 11:2-16 when considering Rom. 1:26-27 and 1 Cor. 6:9.[55] Isaksson's and Murphy-O'Connor's arguments are based on the assumption that Corinthian men wear long hair of their own volition. The evidence from contemporary non-biblical texts provided by Murphy-O'Connor to explain why the men wear long hair still leaves the subject as an open-ended question.

As we have reviewed Oster's, Gill's, and Finney's discussions in the Introduction, the fourth suggestion is that Paul was likely referring to the acts of some members of the Corinthian community who might have adopted a form of dress marked as part of Roman

[54] Murphy-O'Connor refers to several Jewish and pagan texts written by Paul's contemporaries to provide a background of the issue of homosexuality possibly addressed in 1 Cor. 11:2-16. For example, Philo states: 'Moreover, another evil, much greater than that which we have already mentioned, has made its way among and been let loose upon cities, namely, the love of boys, which formerly was accounted a great infamy even to be spoken of, but which sin is a subject of boasting not only to those who practise it, but even to those who suffer it, and who, being accustomed to bearing the affliction of being treated like women, waste away as to both their souls and bodies, not bearing about them a single spark of a manly character to be kindled into a flame, but having even the hair of their heads conspicuously curled and adorned…And it is natural for those who obey the law to consider such persons worthy of death, since the law commands that the man-woman who adulterates the precious coinage of his nature shall die without redemption, not allowing him to live a single day, or even a single hour, as he is a disgrace to himself, and to his family, and to his country, and to the whole race of mankind' (Philo *Spec. Leg*. 3.37-38). Pseudo-Phocylides writes: 'If a child is a boy, do not let locks grow on his head. Braid not his crown nor make cross-knots on the top of his head. Long hair is not fit for men, but for voluptuous women. Guard the youthful beauty of a comely boy, because many rage for intercourse with a man' (Pseudo-Phocylides vv. 210–14. translated by P. W. van der Horst 1978). van der Horst's comments that 'long hair is not fit for men' is in parallel with 1 Cor. 11:14. 'The wearing of long hair by a man was often considered a sign of effemination…Jewish writings also protest against this practice' (van der Horst 1978: 250). Murphy-O'Connor remarks that in Pseudo-Phocylides's mind, long hair was associated with homosexuality (Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 485). Musonius Rufus writes: 'A man should cut the hair from the head for the same reason that we prune a vine, that is merely to remove what is useless…would you believe it, boys who are just beginning to grow a beard, and the hair on the head they do not cut all in the same way, but differently in front and behind. In fact that which seems to them good-looking is quite the opposite and does not differ from the efforts of women to make themselves beautiful. For they, you know, plait some parts of their hair, some they let fall free, and some they arrange in some other way in order to appear more beautiful…Clearly such men have become slaves of luxurious living and are completely enervated, men who can endure being seen as womanish creatures, hermaphrodites, something which real men would avoid at all costs' (Musonius Rufus XXI. translated by Cora E. Lutz 1947). Murphy-O'Connor concludes that 1 Cor. 11:2-16 contains similar condemnation of homosexuals compared to these texts; the homosexual is against the natural appearance of a man (v. 14); homosexuality dishonours the man himself (vv. 4, 14) and brings shame upon the community of the Christ-believers (v. 16) (Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 485–87).

[55] Murphy-O'Connor 1988: 268.

ritual. This proposal is supported by more writers. Bruce winter states: 'The possibility cannot be ignored that those Christians who were not among the elite also chose to follow this custom when they undertook to pray or prophesy.'[56] Roy Ciampa and Brian Rosner hold that some men in Corinth who were Romans probably covered their heads during worship and did not feel ashamed of themselves. But this conduct might be associated with pagan piety by Paul and some other Christ-believers. Moreover, Paul is concerned with the necessity of maintaining a clear gender distinction through the practice of head-coverings. The man's head being covered in worship would not reflect his distinct identity. Thus, this would bring shame on his head, that is, upon Christ.[57] Finney explains that a number of men among the Corinthians were adopting the pagan practice of head-coverings. They expected to maintain a level of social distinction and prominence within the community. However, head-coverings function as symbols of status and self-presentation for men in the Roman religious context. In 1 Cor. 10:19-33, Paul discusses pagan sacrifice being devoted to idols, not to God. Behind idols are demons. Thus, pagan sacrifice dishonours God, provoking divine jealousy. In light of 1 Cor. 10:19-33, when the man worshipped with his head covered, he might be considered as honouring idols. As a consequence, God is dishonoured. This is probably the underlying basis for Paul's regulation of the use of head-coverings.[58] Indeed, the same conclusion has been drawn in

[56] Winter 2001: 123.
[57] Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 513–14.
[58] Finney 2010: 45–47. It has been observed that the primary problem that Paul attempts to deal with in 1 Corinthians is the division among different groups of the congregation (Finney 2009: 2). This problem is clearly shown in the earlier chapters of the letter. When Paul appeals to the concordance of the groups in 1:10ff, he speaks out: 'there are quarrels among you.' He repeats the same idea in 3:3-4 when he remarks: 'there is jealousy and quarrelling among you.' In 4:18, he notes that some of the Corinthians had become arrogant. Immediately following 11:2-16, Paul states: 'I hear that there are divisions among you…Indeed, there have to be factions among you' (11:18-19). In terms of the reasons behind the factions, Finney holds that the leaders of different groups engaged in a struggle for honour through power and status, seeking

light of the dress codes of Roman men examined in Chapter 2. In the first-century Roman world, men wore the *toga*, *pallium*, or *pullatus*. In the religious context, the convention was to draw the upper part of the *toga* or *pallium* over the head. This style of male head attire is known as *capite velato*, which is distinctive for the one who performed the pagan sacrifice. The clothing of Corinthian men should be consistent with that of the general Greco-Roman male practice. Paul's demand for men uncovering their heads seems to imply that Paul is criticising particular men who might have adapted Roman devotional gesture *capite velato* at worship.

v. 5a πᾶσα δὲ γυνὴ προσευχομένη ἢ προφητεύουσα ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς (But when every woman prays or prophesies with the head uncovered, she dishonours her head).

Ἀκατακαλύπτῳ is a predicative adjective.[59] In Chapter 1, it was discussed that ἀκατακαλύπτῳ derives from ἀ, 'un-', and the verb κατακαλύπτω, 'to cover'. Ἀκατακαλύπτῳ and the noun ἀνακαλυπτήρια are cognates. The term ἀνακαλυπτήρια derives from ἀνά, 'up, up to', and the verb καλύπτω, 'to cover'. Ἀνακαλυπτήρια was exclusively used in the context of the Greek wedding, meaning 'the unveiling of the bride'. If ἀνακαλυπτήρια means removing her veil upward, ἀκατακαλύπτῳ can be understood as unveiling in a downward direction. Ἀνά carries a sense of upward motion; κατά, a downward motion. The dative ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ (11:5a) defines the manner of the verb καταισχύνει.[60] First Corinthians 11:4 and 11:5 stand in a parallel

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social prestige. For Paul, struggles for power can be regarded negatively by outsiders, bringing dishonour to the *ekklesia* and the gospel (Finney 2009: 3).

[59] BDF, §270; Moulton 1963: 186.

[60] Wallace 1996: 162.

structure to one another. Paul addresses the problems of a man with a covered head or with long hair in 11:4 and of a woman with an uncovered head or with loose hair in 11:5 while praying and prophesying in worship. A woman with an uncovered head dishonours her head.

Ἀκατακάλυπτος (11:5a)

The adjective ἀκατακάλυπτος (BDAG 'uncovered') appears differently in number and case as ἀκατακαλύπτῳ (sing. dat.) in 11:5a and ἀκατακάλυπτον (sing. acc.) in 11:13. Its companion verb and cognate κατακαλύπτω ('to cover') appears differently in number, tense, and mood as κατακαλύπτεται (3rd. sing. pres. mid. ind.) and κατακαλυπτέσθω (3rd. sing. pres. mid. imp.) in 11:6 and κατακαλύπτεσθαι (pres. mid. inf.) in 11:7. The meanings of the two words are disputed. Isaksson has suggested that ἀκατακάλυπτος appears in Lev. 13:45 in the LXX, which describes the uncleaness of a leper. The phrase ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκατακάλυπτος means 'let the hair of his head be loosened'. Thus, ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ (11:5a) must be translated as 'having loose hair hanging down'[61] and ἀκατακάλυπτος (11:13) as 'with her hair loose';[62] κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν (11:7) must mean 'to cover the head with long hair'. The translation for the latter is mainly due to what has been discussed earlier in 11:4 that, according to Isaksson, since priests wore a turban on the head,[63] contemporary Judaism would not prohibit a man from having his head covered in public worship. Furthermore, κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν has to be in agreement with 11:4 and 11:14 where Paul refers to a man with

[61] Isaksson 1965: 166.
[62] Ibid: 183.
[63] Exod. 28:36-40; Ezek. 44:18.

long hair.[64] Isaksson translated the two references to κατακαλύπτω in 11:6 as 'put up her hair'.[65] Hurley has added that Num. 5:18 discusses the punishment for a woman accused of adultery. Here, the LXX reads ἀποκαλύψει τὴν κεφαλὴν in which ἀποκαλύπτω and ἀκατακάλυπτος (Lev. 13:45) are cognates and belong to the word group of -καλύπτω. They have the same Hebrew root: פרע ('to uncover'). It is more reasonable for Paul's Jewish contemporaries to understand ἀποκαλύψει τὴν κεφαλὴν as 'to loosen her hair'. Accordingly, ἀκατακάλυπτος should refer to the loose hair.[66] Hurley translated all three instances of κατακαλύπτω (11:6, 7) as 'put her/his hair up'.[67] William Martin has pointed out that the antithesis between wearing a head-covering and being shaved (11:5b) seems awkward. It is therefore justified to understand 'to cover' as referring to long hair.[68]

Massey refutes Isaksson's and Hurley's theory and proposes an alternative approach. He has made a thorough investigation into many of the ancient Greek texts, from Homer to Athenaeus. His study shows that the adjective ἀκατακάλυπτος, when it is used in association with κεφαλὴ, conveys a sense of having one's head uncovered by removing a garment. The verb κατακαλύπτω is hardly ever used to express human hair as a covering for the head. Rather, it clearly carries the sense of a material covering.[69] In particular, Massey focuses on the comments of Philo and Josephus on Num. 5:18 and finds that their descriptions are similar to each other—the priest removes the woman's head-covering as she is stationed at the gates. Josephus describes the action of the priest as 'removing the ἱμάτιον from the head'.[70] This indicates that Philo and Josephus did not interpret Num.

[64] Isaksson 1965: 173.
[65] Ibid: 171.
[66] Hurley 1972: 199.
[67] Ibid: 203, 204.
[68] Martin 1970: 233.
[69] Massey 2007: 505.
[70] Philo *Spec. Leg.* 3.52-62; Josephus *Ant*. 3.270.

5:18 as something related to loose hair.[71] Massey summarises that ἀκατακάλυπτος can only be translated as 'uncovered' or 'unveiled'. Accordingly, κατακαλύπτω must be translated as 'to cover' in the sense of a head-covering. Thus, the translation of ἀκατακάλυπτος as 'loosening of hair' lacks linguistic support in Greek literature.[72]

Murphy-O'Connor translates ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκατακάλυπτος in Lev. 13:45 as 'his head shall be unbound' and ἀποκαλύψει τὴν κεφαλὴν in Num. 5:18 as 'to unbind her head'. He interprets 'an uncovered head' (1 Cor. 11:5a) as 'disordered hair' instead of 'a head without a head-covering'.[73] 'Unbound hair' in Paul's mind is attested in 11:15b in which nature 'gave her long hair as a wrapper'. Braided hair is mentioned in 1 Tim. 2:9 and 1 Pet. 3:3.[74] But Delobel raises several questions with regard to Murphy-O'Connor's arguments. If the Hebrew verb פרע and ἀκατακάλυπτος meaning 'to unbind' in Lev. 13:45 is correct, the two words have several other meanings, including 'to uncover'. In classical Greek, κατακαλύπτω means 'to cover up' in the sense of an artificial covering without mentioning the head. In the minds of Paul and his readers, it is very likely that 'to uncover a head-covering' is under discussion. The point of 11:15 is that 'nature teaches how women should behave concerning their head: in line with this teaching, they should cover their heads.'[75] Murphy-O'Connor has responded by arguing that Paul's use of περιβόλαιον ('covering, wrap') in 11:15b clearly describes and approves 'what is known of feminine hair-styles of the period; long hair was braided and wrapped around the head.'[76]

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[71] Massey 2007: 519–20.
[72] Ibid: 523.
[73] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 488.
[74] Ibid: 489. See also Martin 1970: 233.
[75] Delobel 1986: 375–76.
[76] Murphy-O'Connor 1988: 269.

Isaksson's, Hurley's, and Murphy-O'Connor's hypothesis of 'long hair' or 'loose hair' is not impossible, but the problems of their arguments are similar to those relating to male hair-styles. First, it is not reasonable for Paul's contemporary Greeks and Romans to understand 'loose hair' as 'unclean' or as a sign of adultery. Next, just as κεφαλή denoting the sense of 'leadership, authority' in a very particular context does not necessarily connote the same meaning in another context, the hair-style of Corinthian women demanded by Paul does not necessarily refer to the braided hair mentioned in 1 Tim. 2:9 and 1 Pet. 3:3.[77] Massey's examination complies with the practices of veiling among Greek women in the Hellenistic period that are investigated in Chapter 1. The ἱμάτιον and καταστολῇ as outer-garments for women are attested in the Greek literature and the New Testament.[78] The two garments have the same style of head-covering. This indicates that a Greek woman at Corinth might wear the ἱμάτιον or καταστολή, being veiled when she attended worship services. Moreover, the comparative analysis of ἀνακαλυπτήρια and ἀκατακάλυπτος in Chapter 1 demonstrates that Paul probably refers to head-covering rather than long hair. As noted in the earlier part of this chapter, the ἀνακαλυπτήρια was exclusively used in the context of the Greek wedding, meaning 'the unveiling of the bride'.[79] Since both ἀνακαλυπτήρια and ἀκατακάλυπτος belong to the word group of -καλύπτω, ἀκατακάλυπτος being also identified as unveiling remains by far the most plausible interpretation of Paul's language.

Καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς (11:5a)

[77] Women appearing with braided hair are actually criticised by the authors of 1 Peter and 1 Timothy because to do so was seen as a sign of lavish adornment against female modesty. It is unreasonable for women to remove such adornment. The antithesis between unbound hair and braided hair seems awkward.
[78] Polybius *Hist.* 11.9.7; 1 Pet. 3:3; 1 Tim. 2:9.
[79] Fig. 1.1; Longinus *[Subl.]* 4.

Paul's use of καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς ('she dishonours her head') to criticise the aberrant behaviour of the Corinthian women runs parallel with what is examined in Chapters 1–2 that the notion of veiling was closely related to female honour in the Greek and Roman cultures. Here, the 'head' refers to the woman herself as well as her husband or man (see below). The Greek term αἰδώς ('sense of honour, shame') was used to depict female qualities with sexual overtones. That veiling is an expression of αἰδώς is confirmed in ancient Greek literature. In Euripides' *Hippolytus* Phaedra veils her head out of her own reflection that excites a feeling of shame (αἰδούμεθα).[80] 'When a woman's clothes come off, she dispenses with her modesty, too (ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή).'[81] 'To put off her shame with her clothes (ἅμα τοῖς ἐνδύμασι καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀποτίθεσθαι).'[82] Here, both καταισχύνω (11:5a) and αἰσχύνη derive their names from the verb αἰσχύνω, 'to make ugly, disfigure'. The Latin equivalent of αἰδώς is *pudicitia* ('chastity, modesty').[83] That *pudicitia* is visualised as veiling is attested in the artistic evidence.[84] Paul appears to borrow the saying from the Greek tradition with slight modifications to convey the significance of female veiling. If this is the case, in the tradition a woman taking off her garment means she loses her αἰδώς; she draws the gaze of other men. This is also a plausible interpretation of Paul's response in the context of 1 Cor. 11:5a. Thus, the woman who removed her veil while praying and prophesying dishonours herself and her man in the sense that she fails to protect her sexuality, which was affiliated to one man; she crosses the social boundaries between men and women.

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[80] Euripides *Hipp.* 243-46.
[81] Herodotus 1.8.3-4.
[82] Diogenes Laertius 8.43.
[83] Livy 10.23.8; Propertius *Elegies* 1.2.
[84] Fig. 2.3; Bieber 1959: 379, Fig. 5b, 11, 18, 21; Stone 2001: 16, Fig. 1.3.

If the issue in 11:5a is the contrast of a woman with her head uncovered (because of the removal of her head-covering) to the covered men in worship bringing shame to his head, Paul states that every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonours her head. Again, the first occurrence of the word 'head' clearly refers to the woman's physical head. As to the meaning of the second occurrence of 'head', there are three proposals. First, some suggest that the second 'head' indicates the person as a whole.[85] Hodge explains that 'head' carrying the sense of 'herself' can be understood from 11:5b, that is, 'as if she were shaven.' She put herself in the same status as those whose hair has been cut off.[86] Delobel, however, refutes that, in the context, 'head' already has a literal meaning (11:4a, 11:5a) and a metaphorical meaning (11:3) and it is unnecessary to introduce a third meaning.[87] Second, other commentators remark that 'head' refers to her husband or to man.[88] Gill explains that this can be reflected in 11:10, where Paul mentions the authority that refers to the head-covering. The woman who is veiled in public signifies the wife's position in society. The unveiled woman would reflect a negative impression upon her husband. Paul's injunction against women's unveiling is to encourage them to observe the traditional value system of society.[89] Third, some interpreters maintain that 'head' has a double meaning: the woman praying and prophesying while she is unveiled dishonours her head in the literal sense, as well as her metaphorical head, that is, her husband or man.[90] This view seems more reasonable. A woman with her head uncovered puts her metaphorical head and herself to shame since a

[85] Barrett 1971: 251.
[86] Hodge 1958: 209. For a similar view, see Collins 1999: 407.
[87] Delobel 1986: 373.
[88] Delobel 1986: 373; Schrage 1995: II, 507; Keener 2005: 92; Fee 2014: 560.
[89] Gill 1990: 254.
[90] Hooker 1964: 411; Wire 1990: 127; Heil 2005: 180; Finney 2010: 50; Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 522.

woman with an uncovered head would be identified as belonging to a group of women who were immodest (11:5b, 6).

Why the woman uncovered her head in public worship and why Paul criticised this behaviour are two subjects of considerable discussion. Isaksson has insisted that a Jewish woman of Paul's day normally went outdoors with her hair bound and adorned with a kerchief, headband, and hair net. The motive of a Corinthian woman wearing her hair long and loosely can probably be found from the eschatological view of the Christ-believers. 'It was the time of the Messianic wedding and therefore every prophetess, as a bride of Christ, should appear with unbound hair, like the Jewish bride on her wedding day.' But Paul criticises that her long flowing hair-style was against the Jewish tradition.[91] F. F. Bruce speculates that a woman who prayed and prophesied with her head uncovered was a hypothesis by Paul. In reality, Corinthian women might not have done anything undesirable. Paul's advice was a reminder for women not to do so.[92]

Some commentators observe that the Corinthian women might imitate the ceremony of a certain mystery religion in which women had their heads uncovered.[93] Schüssler Fiorenza explains in more detail, holding that some of the female Corinthian prophets intentionally loosened their hair since such a hair-style was quite common in oriental cult worship, e.g., that of Dionysius, Cybele, and Isis. They adopted this fashion because they realised their equality in the community (Gal. 3:28). In addition, loose hair with ecstatic

[91] Isaksson claims that married Jewish women in the first century had to arrange their hair a particular way when they went out of doors. This arrangement was done by plaiting the hair and putting it up with the aid of a kerchief, headband, and hair net (Isaksson 1965: 163). This way of dressing hair prevailed in the *ekklesia*. Wearing her hair loosely in public was a sign that a woman wished to be independent of her husband. However, the Corinthian women prophets who wore their hair loosely at public worship were probably not doing so as a sign of their emancipation in the *ekklesia*. Rather, this conduct might be motivated by an over-realised eschatology (Isaksson 1965: 168–69).
[92] Bruce 1971: 104.
[93] Horsley 1998: 154.

endowment was a sign of prophesying. But unbound hair might indicate uncleanness according to Jewish tradition.[94] The hair-style of the priestesses from the ecstatic worship of oriental divinities bears little relevance to the subject of why the Corinthian women uncovered their heads in the worship service of the community.

Many interpreters explain the impetus behind the practice of unveiling by the Corinthian women and Paul's criticisms of this practice through his rhetoric. Wire remarks that the women who prophesy with their heads uncovered might hold their own theological justification for doing so. They might have considered themselves honourable because they know themselves to be a new creation in Christ, made in God's image, 'no longer male and female' (Gal. 3:28). 'Rejecting all social privilege and social disadvantage, they take on a single common identity in Christ and practise gifts of prayer and prophecy without regard to gender.'[95] They had 'put on' Christ and could abandon the head-coverings which had symbolised their honour within the family circle. But Paul comments that they had gone beyond the traditional practice of head-coverings. A woman uncovering her head in public is a statement of independence. It is likely that Paul's injunction on women's head-coverings is to limit their roles in the community.[96]

Some authors analyse the issue of head-coverings from social and cultural perspectives. A few such examinations have been reviewed in the Introduction. The most common suggestion is that Paul's proposed modification to female head-dress in the shared practices of prayer and prophecy is probably a veil. However, scholars disagree about some of the social factors that cause women to uncover their heads. For example,

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[94] Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 227–28.
[95] Wire 1990: 126.
[96] Ibid: 122–30. For a similar view, see Hurley 1972: 200–201; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 490; Thiselton 2000: 829; Hays 2011: 183.

Winter observes that it is possible that a married woman in the Corinthian community might not have felt that it was necessary for her to be veiled in the assembly.[97] Ciampa and Rosner claim that archaeological references to women's hair-styles have shown that some high-status women might no longer have been expected to cover their heads in public.[98] However, that they did not do so was not necessarily uncontroversial for these prominent women. Their conduct might have been deeply concerning to those who held the traditional view on modest women and their head-dresses. In this social background, it is likely that some Corinthian women had begun to appear in the public assembly with their heads uncovered. They might have attracted the male gaze. Paul was anxious about the influence of this Roman lifestyle upon the believers and was thus attempting to prevent it.[99]

The speculations of Ciampa and Rosner and of Winter are consistent with what we have explored in Chapter 2, namely that Roman women might not have been veiled in public in Paul's day, but such women are often associated with wealth, vanity, and pride. We are more convinced that the Corinthian women who removed their veils were not those of the social elite. Rather, the women who Paul was referring to seemed to deliberately remove their veils while praying and prophesying. John Coolidge Hurd postulates that 'Paul argued as persuasively as possible that women should be veiled during the worship of the church. Apparently the Corinthians held the opposite view.'[100] Dennis MacDonald also reconstructed the exact moment when the act of unveiling occurred: 'If we take Paul's language strictly, they came to the public meeting covered,

[97] Winter 2001: 128.
[98] Ciampa and Rosner cite the archaeological references to women's hair-styles from MacMullen 1980.
[99] Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 515–18.
[100] John Coolidge Hurd 1965: 183.

remained covered except when actively participating, and presumably went home covered.'[101]

It is commonly observed that the behaviour of Corinthian women removing their veils involves Gal. 3:27-28, which justifies their unveiling as an act of sexual liberation.[102] Concerning how the women perceived their liberation, the most extensive development is the theory of the androgyne. Wayne Meeks suggests that Corinthian women, inspired by Paul's quotation in the baptismal ritual that 'there is no longer male and female' (Gal. 3:28), thought of the unification of the opposite sexes as a prime symbol of salvation which was expressed by a dramatic act of donning the attire of the opposite sex. Meeks explains that, in Gal. 3:27, Paul speaks of those who were baptised into Christ having clothed themselves with Christ. Here, one of the interpretations for the metaphor of change of clothing in antiquity is that

> [It] may symbolise the death and rebirth of the initiate but also the assimilation of the power of the deity represented by the new garb. Incidentally, transvestism in initiatory rites is not unusual, for the initiate is conceived of as in a liminal state, participating in divine power and therefore momentarily transcending the division between male and female.[103]

The man clothed with Christ symbolises the 'new man' who is renewed 'according to the image of its creator' (Col. 3:10). He is the restored image of God. There is no division of male and female in him.[104] The Corinthian women thought of themselves as such 'new man' or as the restored original divine. They expected to 'make themselves male' by

[101] MacDonald 1987: 84.
[102] Hurley 1972: 201; Scroggs 1972: 288; Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 490.
[103] Meeks 1974: 184.
[104] Ibid: 185.

uncovering their heads so that male and female are to be made 'one'.[105] Depending on Meeks' argument, Dennis MacDonald suggests that the Corinthians were influenced by Philo's interpretation of Genesis 1-3 through the teaching of Apollo, who came from Alexandria (Acts 18:24-25).[106] In Hellenistic Judaism, according to MacDonald, it is supposed that Adam as the image of God (Gen. 1:26-28) had authority over the angels. But Eve was vulnerable to the angels because she did not fully participate in God's image so that she had to cover her head as a sign of subordination. To return to the divine image, she had to give up the female gender by becoming male.[107] Corinthian women prophets believed that they could become male by practising celibacy (1 Cor. 7:1) and through baptism (Gal. 3:28). The sayings of Jesus seemed to motivate and justify Corinthian women's asceticism (Luke 18:29-30, Mark 12:25). Through baptism, they had been liberated from the material world and had achieved androgynous perfection. During praying and prophesying at worship, they uncovered their heads to demonstrate their new status since they believed that they had transcended sexual differentiation.[108]

Indeed, First Corinthians has links with Gal. 3:27-28. It is observed that Gal. 3:27-28 and 1 Cor. 12:12-13 share a common structure and both speak of baptism in Christ. In contrast to Gal. 3:27-28, Paul omitted the male-female pair in 1 Cor. 12:13 when he affirmed baptism in the Spirit as being integrated into one body with reference to the pairs of Jews-Greeks and slaves-free.[109] He probably intended to neglect the male-female pair given that he knew about the problem of Corinthian women removing their veils. It is likely that Paul had previously told the Corinthians that, in Christ, 'there is no longer

[105] Ibid: 202.
[106] MacDonald 1987: 66.
[107] Ibid: 94–99.
[108] Ibid: 100–101.
[109] MacDonald 1990: 165; Wire 1990: 124.

male and female'. Corinthian women prophets had thought that they were new creations in Christ and were not obligated to maintain a gender distinction through the practice of head-coverings in worship.[110] Though we shall never know whether or not garment imagery ('As many of you as were baptised into Christ *have clothed yourselves with Christ*') in Gal. 3:27 was actually known by the Corinthians, the women might have believed that becoming like men was a symbol of their new state of being baptised in Christ. They had sought to put the gospel of freedom into practice by removing their veils — a symbol of subordination. Meeks and MacDonald have provided extensive arguments to lead one to consider the activity of Corinthian women in connection with Paul's words: 'there is no longer male and female' in Christ. Although it is difficult to identify the relationship between the women removing their veils and Gal. 3:27-28 with absolute certainty, this remains the most plausible interpretation of women's motivation.

v. 5b-6 ἓν γάρ ἐστιν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ. εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνή, καὶ κειράσθω. εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι, κατακαλυπτέσθω (For she is one and the same as if a shaved head woman. For if a woman does not cover herself, let her be shorn; but if it is disgraceful for a woman to be shorn or to be shaved, let her be covered).

Here, there are two explanatory γὰρ. They explain why a woman with her head uncovered puts her head to shame (11:5a). Ἓν and τὸ αὐτὸ in the neuter singular refer to an individual who represents a group of people with the same social position. They are followed by the adjectival predicate to exhibit an example of their acts (BDF, §131). They place more emphasis on a certain unusual quality than on the individual, meaning

[110] Meier 1978: 217; MacDonald 1990: 166.

'she is one and the same as if'.[111] Ἐξυρημένῃ (fem. dat. sing. perf. mid. Ξυράω, 'to shave') with the article is the adjectival participle, functioning as the predicate of the pronoun τὸ αὐτὸ. It carries the sense of 'a shaven-headed woman', signifying the identity of this group.[112] The two uses of εἰ introduce a pair of conditional sentences, the first of which explains and reinforces the point of the previous sentence. That is, if a woman dresses her hair in a way that is not covered, then let her be shameful by cutting her hair in the same way as a man does. Εἰ with the indicative κατακαλύπτεται indicates that what has been said is reality instead of assumption (BDF, §372). The use of οὐ refers to a real case. Αἰσχρὸν (adj. neut. sing. nom. αἰσχρός, 'shameful') signifies shamefulness and impropriety in the moral sense.[113] Κείρασθαι and ξυρᾶσθαι (11:6b) are used for the substantival infinitive, functioning as subject or object.[114] 'Paul introduces κείρω as a partial synonym for ξυράω, excepting that the former denotes the act of cropping hair very close to the head, whereas the latter denotes shaving off all hair.'[115] They could be translated as 'to be shorn or to be shaved', referring back to the situations in 11:5b and 11:6a.[116]

In 1 Cor. 11:5b-6, Paul writes that if a woman is to be unveiled while praying or prophesying, it is the same as having her head shaved. According to Paul, if a woman would not veil herself, she should cut off her hair; but if it is disgraceful for a woman to have her hair cut off or to be shaved, she should wear a veil. Here, Paul associates a woman's unveiling with shaving her hair because he thinks both were disgraceful things

[111] Moulton 1963: 21.
[112] BDF, §194; Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 518.
[113] Schrage 1995: II, 508. BDAG renders it as 'to being socially or morally unacceptable, shameful, base'.
[114] BDF, §399; Moulton 1963: 140.
[115] Thiselton 2000: 833.
[116] Collins 1999: 409.

for a woman to do. This raises the question of what the symbolism of a woman with her head shaved in the ancient world would have been. Commentators disagree with one another about this point. Gordon Fee asserts that a woman having her hair cut off or shaved in public, like that of a man, was literally bringing shame upon her 'head'.[117] Raymond Collins suggests that 'shaved women' were indicative of a specific status of women, including adolescent Greek girls who reached puberty and the Vestal Virgins. Women among the believers who had shaven hair were, for Paul, seen to have adopted pagan customs. Thus, the act of shaving hair was disgraceful.[118] Isaksson proposes that Jewish people of Paul's day exercised the vow of the Nazirite and argues that Paul must be referring to a female Nazirite at this point whose vows have come to an end. Her husband disapproved of her making temporary Nazirite vows since she had then to cut off her hair when the period of the vow ended. A shorn woman would displease her husband.[119] Isaksson's proposition is paralleled with that of Duncan Derrett who asserts that the person shamed when a married Jewish woman uncovered her hair in public was her husband. She was regarded as shameless while he, as a result of his wife's action, was put to shame. If she made a vow, she had to cut her hair off. The vow made her appear with her head uncovered in public and must have given her a sense of pride, showing her piety.[120] Curtis Montier, however, rejects Derrett's interpretation and argues that the majority of Corinthian believers would have consisted of Gentiles. They might be unaware of the custom of Nazirite vows.[121] Indeed, the dominant culture of the colonial status of Corinth was that of Rome, and the readers of 1 Corinthians are primarily Greek

[117] Fee 2014: 564.
[118] Collins 1999: 409. For a parallel view, see Bruce 1971: 105.
[119] Isaksson 1965: 170.
[120] Derrett 1973: 101–2.
[121] Montier 2015: 32.

and Roman. As Montier says, the women might not be familiar with the Jewish tradition of Nazirite vows.

Montier proposes that Paul was referring to a punishment for adultery — that is, that the adulteress had to shave her head. Montier conducts an extensive investigation of ancient literary sources that provide different examples (see below) of women cutting off their hair.[122] He also briefly examines the artwork of Greek pottery to elucidate the same point.[123] However, the evidence he presents is insufficient to establish the generalisation of the practice of shaving the head as a punishment of the adulteress. In search of which case is more appropriate to fit into the context of 11:5b-6, the following exploration will focus on the Greco-Roman literary references to the woman cutting off her hair. It is hoped that the exploration might shed light on the reasons why a shaved head was considered as a symbol of shame and signified guilt in connection with misbehaviour.

In *Quaestiones romanae*, Plutarch states: 'In Greece, whenever any misfortune comes, the women cut off their hair and the men let it grow, for it is usual for men to have their hair cut and for women to let grow.'[124] According to Plutarch, then, Greek women cut their hair off during times of misfortune. And yet Paul says that for women, shaving the head was disgraceful. Misfortune was not disgraceful. Thus, a period of misfortune being the reason for a woman cutting her hair off was not the implied point of contention that Paul was taking issue against.

One reference to women's hair being cut off presented by Montier was recorded by Tacitus, who writes in *Germania* that the German husband had the power to punish his wife for her adultery. According to Germanic law, he cut off her hair, stripped her naked,

[122] For example, Tacitus *Germ.* 19; Lucian *De Syria dea* 60; Dio Chrysostom *2 Fort.* 2-4.
[123] Montier 2015: 26–28.
[124] Plutarch *Quaest. rom.* 14.

and expelled her from the house in the presence of her kin. He also drove and beat her through the village.[125] In this sense, she lost dignity and beauty because of immodesty. Modesty was a great virtue of a woman in the ancient world. The loss of modesty for a woman would result in severe consequences. Shaved hair might become a marker of dishonour for an adulteress, signifying the guilt of adultery. When considering the relevance between the cutting off of the adulteress' hair within a German tribe and 1 Cor. 11:5b-6, it is interesting to consider whether the cultural context of the Corinthian practice overlapped that of the German tribe in terms of punishing adulterous woman. Tacitus regards the Germans as aboriginal and barbarians.[126] As such, he is reluctant to praise their marriage code. According to Tacitus, the Germans were strictly monogamous. A German husband and wife were partners in toil and danger, destined to suffer from war. Generally, they lived in village communities where a virtuous marriage was on public show.[127] It is not surprising that their rules on adultery were rigid. Montier comments that even if the primitive tribal way of life in the German tribes was looked down upon by general Roman society, the cutting off of the adulteress' hair is a laudable practice for Tacitus. It 'would serve as a more poignant chastisement of the Romans' lax views on adultery.'[128]

Tacitus also records some cases of adultery within the cultural context of Rome and the punishments that offenders received. An adulteress would be expelled by her kin more than two hundred miles away from Rome.[129] Julia the Younger, the granddaughter

[125] Tacitus *Germ.* 19.
[126] Ibid: 1.
[127] Ibid: 18.
[128] Montier 2015: 27.
[129] Tacitus *Ann.* 2.50.

of Augustus, was condemned for adultery and banished to the island of Trimerus.[130] Aemilia Lepida was put to death for adultery.[131] Neither of these penalties mentions shaving off hair. One common feature in these cases is that both the adulteresses were imperial women. The higher the rank they had, the more severe the punishment they received. Nevertheless, an account from Suetonius concerning Tiberius' policy on punishing women found guilty of committing adultery is useful for interpreting Paul: 'He (Tiberius) authorised the nearest relations to punish by agreement among themselves, according to ancient custom.'[132] Suetonius also mentions one of Augustus' deeds:

> He went so far in restraining the licentiousness of stage players, that upon discovering that Stephanio, a performer of the highest class, had a married woman with her hair cropped, and dressed in boy's clothes, to wait upon him at table, he ordered him to be whipped through all the three theatres, and then banished him.[133]

Here, Augustus seems to be punishing a high status entertainer whose behaviour is immoral. The female associating with him is clearly an unchaste woman. Her hair is cut off and she wears boy's clothes, probably *toga praetexta*.[134]

Another reference presented by Montier of an ancient custom involving shaving the head of a woman caught in adultery is found in one of the *Discourses* attributed to Dio Chrysostom. In his *Fortune 2*, Dio states that a woman called Demonassa had a talent for law-giving. She said that a woman guilty of adultery would have her hair cut off and would be deemed a harlot. Demonassa's daughter became an adulteress and had her hair

[130] Ibid: 4.71.
[131] Ibid: 6.40. For other cases, see Tacitus *Ann.* 11.2; Suetonius *Nero* 35; Suetonius *Tib.*11.
[132] Suetonius *Tib.* 35.
[133] Suetonius *Aug.* 45.4; McGinn remarks that in medieval Italy a number of prostitutes dressed as men and adopted men's hair-styles. This way of dressing probably has ancient origin (McGinn 1998: 210).
[134] A female wearing a *toga* was the sign of a prostitute or an adulteress (McGinn 1998: 156). This *toga* had a narrow reddish purple woven border along one long edge (Sebesta 2001: 46).

cut off according to the law.[135] Though the historical authenticity of the tale is called into question,[136] the idea of the adulteress' hair being shaved is clearly revealed.

To summarise, the literary evidence shows that when Paul states that shaving the head of a woman is shameful, it is also likely that he was referring to a punishment for adultery. Shaving the head was carried out to remove a woman's beauty and separate her from the male gaze. In 1 Cor. 11:5b-6, Paul implied that if a woman were unveiled in the *ekklesia* while praying and prophesying, she would become immodest since her unveiled head would invite the male gaze. To keep her from the male gaze, she should cut off her hair. As a consequence, she would look like an adulteress, which would be disgraceful for her. For this reason and to protect her from public humiliation, she should be veiled.

Why does Paul compare a woman uncovering her head to the one whose head had been shaved or shorn? Several explanations have been offered for these texts. Ciampa and Rosner observe that Paul is providing an illustration to reinforce how serious the woman's public humiliation would be if she chooses to uncover her head while praying and prophesying. A woman with a shaven head is connected with being a sexless person who has no identity as a woman. On the other hand, of course, Paul does not expect to see the humiliation of the woman. The alternative of letting her be shorn is a hypothesis.[137] Raymond Collins thinks that it is an example of Paul's sarcasm. Since the Vestal Virgins and young Greek girls shaved their heads when approaching puberty, Paul implicitly suggests that Corinthian women who are uncovering their heads are adopting pagan practices. He attempts to intensify their sense of shame.[138] Schrage suggests that

[135] Dio Chrysostom *2 Fort.* 2-4.
[136] For an analysis of this passage, see Montier 2015: 29–31.
[137] Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 519–22. For a parallel view, see Horsley 1998: 154.
[138] Collins 1999: 409.

the woman with her head shaved would be thought of as a prostitute in antiquity. Paul is not saying that having loose hair or an uncovered head makes a woman a prostitute. Rather, he wants to exaggerate the extent of the absurdity to which women's behaviour would lead in exactly the same way that he describes those who annoyed believers in Gal. 5:12.

> Bindet die Frau ihre Haare nicht, stünde sie auf einer Stufe mit der Geschorenen (ἐξυρημένῃ). Früher dachte man dabei öfter an eine Dirne…Paulus will also nicht sagen, daß das Ungebundensein der Haare (bzw. das Unbedecktlassen des Kopfes) der erste Schritt in die Prostitution ist, sondern er will wie Gal 5,12 durch Übertreibung *ad absurdum* führen.[139]

Thiselton remarks that

> Paul intends this to enact a rhetorical shock: do you really want to shame yourself, your family, and your God in such a way? Or alternatively: are you really serious about no longer wanting to be honoured as a woman, or do you genuinely want to use 'gospel freedom' to eradicate all that relates to gender distinctiveness?[140]

Conclusion

In 1 Corinthians 11:4-6, Paul uses the metaphorical sense of the term 'head' as well as appealing to the honour-shame culture to further his argument. His arguments are aimed at man and woman. The issues he is concerned with are to do with the man's head being covered and the woman's head being uncovered while praying and prophesying. The man would bring shame to himself as well as to Christ if he put a head-covering on his head;

[139] Schrage 1995: II, 507–8.
[140] Thiselton 2000: 832.

the woman, on the other hand, would bring shame to herself as well as to her husband if she was unveiled (11:4-5a). To demonstrate specifically the extent to which the uncovered female head was shameful, Paul explains elaborately by way of analogy that her uncovered head would have sexual connotations. To avoid such connotation, she should cut her hair off. As a consequence, she would look like an adulteress, which would be disgraceful for her. He concludes that she is to be veiled (11:5b-6).

As noted in this chapter, Greek and Roman veiling practices can be applied to Paul's concern on head-coverings of men and women in 1 Cor. 11:4-6. In the first place, Greek 'veiling' terminology is identified in the text of 11:4-5. Certain Greek idiomatic phrases similar in form to the expression κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων (11:4) involve veiling the head with an artificial covering. Ἀνακαλυπτήρια refers to the ritual unveiling of the bride at a Greek wedding ceremony. Such cases clearly cannot be ignored when attempting to elucidate Paul's expression of Corinthian men covering their heads and women uncovering their heads in the assembly. Ἀκατακάλυπτος used by Paul is a cognate of ἀνακαλυπτήρια. Ἀκατακάλυπτος is attested in the Greek texts, referring to removing a garment from the head. It is certainly appropriate to interpret the Pauline norm that the veil is under consideration. In the second place, Greek usages of honour-shame terminology in relation to clothing shed light on Paul's appropriation of the same language in the text of 11:5a. In Greek sources, the two nouns αἰδώς and αἰσχύνη were used in contexts when a woman would be regarded as abandoning her chastity if she removes her garment. In these cases, the garment undoubtedly serves to protect female respectability. Likewise, Paul used the verb καταισχύνω to criticise Corinthian women removing their veils (11:5a). It is clear that Paul borrowed the expression from the Greek tradition to emphasise the meaning of

veiling. It is reasonable to conclude that Paul's insistence on the head-covering of Corinthian women draws upon contemporary veiling practices.

In light of the comparative analysis of women's sexuality and their social roles drawing upon Greco-Roman culture and the letters of Paul in Chapter 3, the culture finds significant echoes in 11:5. In this culture, respectable women were expected to maintain their sexual purity. Veiling was regarded as a way of controlling female sexuality. A Roman woman of a high social position had opportunities to exercise power and authority within the patronage system. In comparison, Paul indicates that sex outside marriage is considered as committing adultery (1 Cor. 7:10-11). He also marks gender differences by instructing women to be veiled. Thus, a closer examination of 7:10-11 and 11:5 suggests, in fact, that Paul's views on female sexuality find their closest parallel with the dominant culture. Just as some real women (Prisca, Euodia, Syntyche, and Phoebe) in Paul's congregations practised the leadership roles, Corinthian women praying and prophesying prove that they can exercise leadership equally with men. Attributing such roles to women certainly cannot be overlooked when attempting to interpret Paul's language of gender.

Chapter 6

An Exegesis of 1 Corinthians 11:7-16

This chapter will provide an exegetical analysis of 1 Corinthians 11:7-16. It begins with an investigation of the meaning of the words εἰκὼν and δόξα in Greek literature, the LXX, and the New Testament. The exegetically significant features of 11:7-16 are ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ('authority upon the head') and διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους ('because of the angels'). As in Chapters 4–5, an analysis of individual words and concepts will be undertaken; individual scholarly opinions will be critically evaluated.

The structure and content of 11:7-16 suggest that Paul is now providing supporting arguments as to why the man should be 'uncovered' and the woman should be 'covered' when praying and prophesying; for the man wearing a head-covering is the symbol of pagan worship, which would be to bring dishonour upon Christ; the woman with the uncovered head would bring dishonour to her metaphorical head, the man, in cultural terms (11:4-6). Admittedly, most aspects of the arguments in 11:7-16 concerns a woman's situation and obligation. Four reasons can be identified in Paul's remarks for why a woman should be veiled when she prayed and prophesied: the order of creation found in Genesis 1-2 (11:7-9), 'On account of the angels' (11:10), the need for natural decency (11:13-15), and the custom of the churches of God (11:16).

vv. 7-9 Ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων ἡ γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστιν. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀλλὰ

γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα ἀλλὰ γυνὴ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα (A man should not cover his head because he is the image and glory of God, but woman is the glory of man. For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; also man was not created for woman, but woman for man).

Μὲν…δὲ… introduce two independent clauses, indicating the correlation of the clauses. The indicative ὀφείλει (3rd. sing. pres. act. ind. ὀφείλω, 'to be obligated') used with the infinitive κατακαλύπτεσθαι takes the sense of obligation, wish, or expectation. It restrains the assertion of the action ('to cover').[1] Ὑπάρχων (masc. nom. sing. pres. act. ὑπάρχω, 'to be, exist') is the adverbial participle, functioning as the causal clause. Since ἀνὴρ and γυνὴ are generic nouns, the presence of the generic article is not always necessary.[2] Καὶ used with γὰρ loses its force. It refers to the whole sentence, not to a single idea and can be translated 'also' (BDF, §452). Διὰ with the accusative is translated 'for' (BDF, §222). Verses 7-9 apparently employ elements of the biblical creation stories in support of Paul's argument. Verse 7 employs the first creation story (Gen. 1:26-27) while verses 8-9 use the second version (Gen. 2:18ff).[3] Verses 8-9 show that Paul seems to be considering the order of creation narrated in Gen. 2:18-24 which is used by him in the further explanation of why man is the image and glory of God; woman is the glory of man.[4]

Εἰκὼν (11:7)

Literally, the meaning of the statement that man was created 'in the image of God' is that man is in some way like God. But in what respect is man like God? Εἰκὼν (LSJ 'likeness,

[1] Wallace 1996: 452.
[2] Ibid: 254.
[3] Hodge 1958: 210; Barrett 1971: 252; Bruce 1971: 105; Delobel 1986: 381; Wire 1990: 119; Collins 1999: 409–10; Horsley 1998: 155.
[4] Fee 2014: 570.

image, semblance, similitude') means 'image' in various senses. In the Greek world of non-biblical literature, according to H. Kleinknecht,[5] it has the strict sense of an 'artistic representation' (painting, statue, or impress on a coin).[6] It might be a 'reflection' in a mirror.[7] It takes the sense of a 'likeness', an 'embodiment', or a 'manifestation'.[8] The general religious concept is that man has the image of God within himself and is thus the representative of God.[9] For Plato, it carries the metaphorical sense of a 'living image', e.g., the cosmos as a whole is the visible image of the intelligible.[10] In the LXX, apart from Gen. 1:26-27, other references to the image of God in man are Gen. 5:1 (ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Αδαμ, κατ᾽ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν) and Gen. 9:6 (ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ ἐποίησα τὸν ἄνθρωπον). In relation to how to interpret these passages within a perspective of creation, Gerhard von Rad states that these pieces of textual evidence reveal a number of points. First, man is made up of earthly material and the breath of life from God (Gen. 2:7). He is a little lower than God and crowned with glory and honour (Ps. 8:5-9). He is to be designated as a creature which possesses divine elements so that he may control the

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[5] Kleinknecht *TDNT* 2: 388–90.

[6] Herodotus 2.130; Aristotle *Pol*. 8.1340a; Demosthenes *Cor.* 18.91. For example, Herodotus 2.130 reads: 'Near this cow in another chamber statues (εἰκόνες) of Mycerinus' concubines stand, so the priests of Saïs said.' Aristotle *Pol*. 8.1340a reads: 'for example, if a man delights in beholding the statue (εἰκόνα) of somebody for no other reason than because of its actual form, the actual sight of the person whose statue (εἰκόνα) he beholds must also of necessity give him pleasure.'

[7] For example, Euripides *Med*. 1162 reads: 'She took the many-colored gown and put it on, and setting the gold crown about her locks, she arranged her hair in a bright mirror, smiling at the lifeless image (εἰκὼ) of her body.'

[8] Apollodorus 1.5; Pindar *Isthm.*1; *Pyth.* 4. For instance, Apollodorus 1.5 reads: 'she (Demeter) was wroth with the gods and quitted heaven, and came in the likeness (εἰκασθεῖσα) of a woman to Eleusis.' Pindar *Pyth.* 4 reads: 'I say that I am going to bring the teaching of Cheiron; for I come from his cave, from the presence (εἴκοσι) of Chariclo and Philyra, where the holy daughters of the Centaur raised me.'

[9] Kleinknecht *TDNT* 2: 390.

[10] Plato *Tim.* 92c reads: 'And now at length we may say that our discourse concerning the Universe has reached its termination. For this our Cosmos has received the living creatures both mortal and immortal and been thereby fulfilled; it being itself a visible Living Creature embracing the visible creatures, a perceptible God made in the image (εἰκὼν) of the intelligible, most great and good and fair and perfect in its generation—even this one Heaven sole of its kind.' Plato *Crat.* 400c reads: 'But I think it most likely that the Orphic poets gave this name, with the idea that the soul is undergoing punishment for something; they think it has the body as an enclosure (εἰκόνα) to keep it safe, like a prison.' Here, Plato regarded the body as something visible that keeps invisible soul safe.

whole of creation. Man, having dominion over the animals of the earth, is the purpose of man being created with the divine likeness (Gen. 1:26). An earthly ruler sets up his images as signs of sovereignty. Similarly, man represents the authority of God, governing all things. Second, the creation of man is significantly different from that of the animals so that in origin it is man who is brought into a close and permanent relationship with God. The divine likeness is not to be discovered apart from the personality of man, his dignity, or his moral integrity. Although the divine likeness refers to both the spiritual and physical aspects of man, physical likeness is more predominant in the sense of divine nature. This idea is confirmed in Gen. 5:1 where the descendants of the first man, Adam, are mentioned. It is said that Seth, son of Adam, was begotten in the image of likeness of Adam. This statement guarantees the divine image and likeness in all generations. Furthermore, Gen. 9:6 says that the murder of man is prohibited as he is in God's image. To attack a man's body is to violate God's honour.[11]

In David Clines' view, the image of God in man is of considerable significance in the Hebrew Bible. First, man was initially created as an inanimate object from the dust of the ground. The divine spirit inspired him with a principle of life so that he became a living being (Gen. 2:7). This account implies the vitality of man which is possessed by God. The image is indwelt by the divine spirit and manifests divine honour. Meanwhile, man was created as the image of God in the physical sense as well. This corporeal animated man is the totality of his 'solid flesh', his spiritual capacity, creativeness, and his personality since these elements of man cannot be separated from the body. The body is the living form of man's essence and the necessary expression of his individual existence. Second, man's rulership over the animals was given to humans by God with the idea in

[11] von Rad *TDNT* 2: 390–92.

mind of his divine image being represented within them (Gen. 1:26). To make man the image of God is to make him function as the representative of the invisible God in a place where God is spiritually present but physically absent. In Genesis 1, when God brings the world into existence by his Word, the Word connects God with his work. But from the sixth day of creation onward, man, the image of God, acts as a mediator between God and his work in the sense of the Word becoming flesh. Last, 'the image of God' was regarded as characteristic of mankind generally without social distinction (e.g., king and commoner), ethnic distinction (e.g., Israelite and non-Israelite), or gender distinction (man and woman). It finds its full meaning in both man and woman as 'male and female he created them'.[12]

Δόξα (11:7)

In the Greek language, according to Gerhard Kittel,[13] a basic meaning of the noun δόξα (LSJ 'expectation', 'opinion', 'reputation', 'splendour') reflects its connection with the verb δοκέω ('to believe, to think'), implying 'expectation', 'opinion', 'judgment', or 'view'.[14] Δόξα could also indicate 'good standing', 'reputation', or 'renown'.[15] In

[12] Clines 1967: 86–95.
[13] For more details of usage on δόξα, see Kittel *TDNT* 2: 232–37, 242–49.
[14] For example, Herodotus 1.79 reads: 'He marched his army into Lydia and so came himself to bring the news of it to Croesus. All had turned out contrary to Croesus' expectation (δόξαν), and he was in a great quandary; nevertheless, he led out the Lydians to battle.' Aristotle *[Virt. vit.]* 1250b reads: 'To folly belongs bad judgment of affairs, bad counsel, bad fellowship, bad use of one's resources, false opinions (δοξάζειν).' Aristotle *[Virt. vit.]* 1251b reads: 'Goodness is to make the spirit's disposition virtuous, experiencing tranquil and ordered emotions and in harmony throughout all its parts; this is the cause of the opinion (δοκεῖ) that the disposition of a good spirit is a pattern of a good constitution of the state.' See also Aristotle *Rhet*. 1.2.1, 11, 19; Demosthenes *Exord.* 4.1; Plato *Ep*. 309a.
[15] Plato *Ep*. 320b reads: 'I esteem it just that those who are truly virtuous, and who act accordingly, should achieve the reputation (δόξης) they deserve.' Demosthenes *[Syntax.]* 19 reads: 'If anyone is really capable of undertaking a job, he thinks that by exploiting the reputation and renown (δόξαν) of Athens, profiting by the absence of opposition, holding out hopes to you and nothing but hopes, he will be sole inheritor of your advantages.' Euripides *Heracles* 138 reads: 'Are these your weapons for the hard struggle? Is it for this then that Heracles' children should be spared? A man who has won a reputation (δόξαν) for valor in his

addition, δόξα denotes 'glory', though this meaning does not often occur.[16] Josephus follows the traditional Greek uses of δόξα that carry the meaning of 'opinion'.[17] Its senses of 'reputation' or 'good standing' are often found in Josephus.[18] He also used it to indicate 'glory' or 'honour'.[19] In the LXX, there is a very different usage of δόξα from that found in Greek literature. It is hardly used for 'opinion' or 'view' and rarely rendered in the sense of 'reputation', 'honour', or 'glory' of someone except God. Nevertheless, there are a few exceptions.[20] Δόξα repeatedly takes the meaning of 'power' or 'splendour' when ascribed to someone, though this does not draw a clear distinction from the meaning above.[21] Honour and glory are usually brought from power and splendour. The widespread occurrences of δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ in the LXX refer to the 'divine glory' which reveals the nature of God in creation and in his salvific acts.[22] In the New Testament, as in the LXX, the examination of δόξα demonstrates different uses of the word from those found elsewhere in Greek literature. The meaning of 'radiance' or

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contests with beasts, in all else a weakling.' See also Plato *Ep*. 311e; Plato *Leg*. 642a.

[16] Demosthenes *2 Olynth.* 15 reads: 'You must not imagine, men of Athens, that his subjects share his tastes. Glory (δόξης) is his sole object and ambition; in action and in danger he has elected to suffer whatever may befall him putting before a life of safety the distinction of achieving (δόξαν) what no other king of Macedonia ever achieved.' Here, δόξα carries the sense of great achievement and honour.

[17] Josephus *Ant.* 1.155 reads: 'and he (Abram) determined to renew and to change the opinion (δόξαν) all men happened then to have concerning God.' Josephus *Ant.* 2.264 reads: 'Now this is the highest of all the mountains thereabout, and the best for pasturage, the herbage being there good; and it had not been before fed upon, because of the opinion men had that God dwelt there, the shepherds not daring to ascend up to it.'

[18] Josephus *Ant.* 1.2 reads: 'For some of them apply themselves to this part of learning to show their skill in composition, and that they may therein acquire a reputation (δόξαν) for speaking finely.' Josephus *Ant*. 1.165 reads: 'He also made him a large present in money, and gave him leave to enter into conversation with the most learned among the Egyptians; from which conversation his virtue and his reputation (δόξαν) became more conspicuous than they had been before.' Josephus *Ant.* 1.75 reads: 'but (God) determined to destroy the whole race of mankind, and to make another race that should be pure (δόξαν) from wickedness.'

[19] Josephus *Ant*. 1.121 reads: 'For when in after-ages they grew potent, they claimed to themselves the glory (δόξαν) of antiquity; giving names to the nations that sounded well.'

Josephus *Ant*. 2.205 reads: 'One of those sacred scribes, who are very sagacious in foretelling future events truly, told the king, that about this time there would a child be born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites; that he would excel all men in virtue, and obtain a glory (δόξαν) that would be remembered through all ages.'

[20] Gen. 45:13; Job 19:9; Hos. 4:7.

[21] Isa. 17:4, 28:1; 1 Macc. 10:58.

[22] Kittel *TDNT* 2: 244. Some textual references are Jer. 13:16; Ps. 16:15; Exod. 15:11; Num. 14:21.

'glory' is readily identified.[23] It is hardly used for 'opinion' or 'view' and rarely rendered in the sense of 'respect'.[24] Mostly, δόξα is used for describing the glory and majesty of God and splendour of his creation.[25] Δόξα is also used in the New Testament concerning the glorification of Christ.[26]

Returning to 1 Cor. 11:7, Kittel states that δόξα means 'reflection' in the sense of 'image', namely, man is the image and reflection of God and woman is the reflection of man.[27] James Moffatt claims that δόξα could be translated as 'glory' in the sense of supremacy, which indicates a preeminent position and authority, as well as the idea of lordship and mastery.[28] However, A. Feuillet rejects the understanding of δόξα as reflection and supremacy. He argues that δόξα does not carry the sense of 'reflection' in biblical or profane Greek, but that it is widely attested as the sense of 'glory'. In 2 Cor. 8:23, for example, the brothers are messengers of the *ekklesia* and so they reflect the glory of Christ in the sense that they honour and glorify Christ through their messages. Likewise, the glory of God is what glorifies and honours Him. When applying this to 1 Cor. 11:7b, 'man is the glory of God' indicates that man glorifies God and honours him. Woman, too, is the glory of God since man and woman are created by God (Gen. 1:27). Feuillet believes that when Paul states that woman is the glory of man, he alludes to Gen. 2:11-25; a woman was created from part of a man's body as an irreplaceable complement to man. She glorifies man and honours him. Being the glory of man makes woman great and dignified in her role as assigned by God.[29]

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[23] Matt. 4:8; Luke 4:6; 1 Pet. 1:24.
[24] Although see the exception in John 12:42-43.
[25] Luke 2:9; Acts 22:11; Rev. 15:8.
[26] 1 Tim. 3:16; Acts 7:55; 1 Pet. 1:11.
[27] Kittel *TDNT* 2: 237. See also Conzelmann 1975: 187; Horsley 1998: 155; BeDuhn 1999: 308.
[28] Moffatt 1947: 152.
[29] Feuillet 1975: 159–62. For a parallel view, see Fee 2014: 572.

Why does Paul say that 'woman is the glory of man' instead of 'the image and glory of man'? According to Moffatt, Paul ignores the fact that in Gen. 1:27 it is both male and female who are meant to represent God's likeness. What really mattered to Paul was the second creation story (Gen. 2:18-24) in which he recognised that respect for the male before God should be demonstrated by the conduct of the female, particularly through the wearing of a head-covering on her head.[30] Bruce explains that Paul does not deny that woman was created in the image of God. According to Paul, 'male and female he created them' (Gen. 1:27) must mean 'first male and later female' (Gen. 2:22). In other words, the woman was created in the form of the man and for the sake of him; she is the reflection of his glory.[31] Schüssler Fiorenza remarks that the statement does not deny woman's status as 'the image of God'. Rather, it explains why man is the glory of God.[32] Lone Fatum states that in Paul's mind, woman is indeed not the image of God since he associates 11:3-9 with Gen. 1:26-27a rather than 1:27b-28. Genesis 1:27a-b, along with Gen. 2:18-24, constitutes a sexual hierarchy. Paul was clearly explaining gender and sexual distinction in light of creation. His argument is that 'the image of God is an expression of superiority and hierarchic order…likeness of God is in fact a token of a definite and absolute order of creation reflecting the qualitative difference between man and woman.'[33] In response to Schüssler Fiorenza's discussion, Gundry-Volf offers a detailed analysis of why Paul does not deny woman's status as 'the image of God'. She rightly suggests that the main theme of 11:7-9 is 'glory' since the main theme of 11:4-6 is

[30] Moffatt 1947: 152.
[31] Bruce 1971: 105.
[32] Schüssler Fiorenza 1983: 229.
[33] Fatum 1995: 71. For a parallel view, see Ellis 1986: 493. John Meier states that 'since woman is created later, from man, she is not the direct image of God. In fact, the image terminology cannot be used of her at all' (Meier 1978: 219). Hooker suggests that although Gen. 1:27f speaks of authority being given to male and female to rule over the earth, Jewish tradition of exegesis did not attribute this dominion to Eve (*Apoc. Mos.* 24.4; *2 En*. 58.3-6). This view is in agreement with Paul (Hooker 1964: 415).

'shame'. 'Glory' is the exact antithesis of 'shame'. Paul is saying that man is the glory of God by creation; his head attire should be opposite the covered head. Woman is the glory of man; her head attire should be opposite the uncovered head. Paul intentionally fails to mention woman's status as 'the image of God' for the sake of stressing that woman is the glory of man. Paul wants to demonstrate that based on the created order and social order, woman is obligated to bring honour to man by covering her head.[34]

Some scholars have commented on the implications of Paul's injunctions on head-coverings in light of the creation stories. Hooker remarks that the essential point for Paul's argument is the contrast between man and woman in δόξα; it is on this contrast that the different regulations regarding head-coverings are based.[35] Fee says:

> The implication is that by praying and prophesying in a way that disregarded distinctions between the sexes, the woman could bring shame on the man whose glory she is intended to be… She is related to man as his glory, a relationship that somehow appears to be jeopardized by her present actions.[36]

Wire argues that the creation of woman reflects her humble origin. Although Paul did not mention the account of the first sin undertaken by Adam and Eve in their eating of the fruit of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and the woman's leading of the man into sin, he implies that woman's behaviour could bring man, her head, into shame.[37] Collins comments that Paul stresses the role of a woman in a community in which honour and shame dominate the relationship between her and her husband. Playing a complementary role as the glorious partner to her husband is her position as created by

[34] Gundry-Volf 1997: 156.
[35] Hooker 1964: 411.
[36] Fee 2014: 571.
[37] Wire 1990: 119.

God.[38]

v. 10 διὰ τοῦτο ὀφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. (For this reason, the woman is obliged to exercise authority upon the head because of the angels).

After the preceding explanation for why men should uncover the head and women should be veiled when attending public worship from the theological (v. 3), cultural (vv. 4-6), and biblical (vv. 7-9) perspectives, Paul draws a conclusion (v. 10) that veiling is the obligation of the woman, which corresponds to the obligation of the man in 11:7. Ptolemy according to Irenaeus, some Bohairic witnesses, and individual Vulgate manuscripts put κάλυμμα ('veil') in place of ἐξουσίαν. However, this is not found in any Greek manuscript.[39] The indicative ὀφείλει[40] used with the infinitive ἔχειν takes the sense of obligation, wish, or expectation. Διὰ τοῦτο relates to the preceding context: because of what has been argued in vv. 3-9, the woman should have authority upon the head. Ἔχειν ἐπὶ is usually translated as 'to have on, to wear on', referring to the wearing of a head-covering.[41]

Ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς (11:10)

Here, Paul gives two reasons for his statement that women must have ἐξουσίαν on their heads. He firstly uses the prepositional phrase διὰ τοῦτο ('for this reason') to refer back to his arguments in the previous verses (vv. 7-9) and relate to the created order: man is

[38] Collins 1999: 410.
[39] Metzger 1994: 495.
[40] BDAG renders ὀφείλει as 'to be under obligation to meet certain social or moral expectations'.
[41] Delobel 1986: 385.

the image and glory of God; woman is the glory of man. Ἐξουσία literally means 'power, authority, right, capability, domain' in BDAG and 'power, authority, magistracy, resource' in LSJ. But what does Paul mean when he said 'because of these the woman should have ἐξουσίαν upon the head'? Here are three proposals.

Authority of her husband

Some commentators have interpreted ἐξουσία in the sense of 'authority' to which the woman is subjected. This authority is understood to be that of the woman's husband.[42] Therefore, the woman should have the sign of authority upon her head, which is clearly shown in the context. The reason Paul says 'authority' to indicate woman's subjection is that the woman ought to have control over her head by veiling so that it would not be exposed to indignity. If she were to be unveiled, everyone could gaze at her. In the Mediterranean world, the veil was the 'power', symbolising the honour and dignity of the woman. The veiled woman could go anywhere with a sense of security and would receive respect. She would lose authority and dignity if she discarded the veil.[43] But the problem of this understanding is that it attributes to ἐξουσία a passive sense.[44] The head-covering is not understood as the symbol of authority but as the symbol of subjection.[45] Additionally, ἐξουσία understood as the authority of man over woman is unsupported in Greek literature.[46]

Authority from God

[42] Robertson and Plummer 1911: 232; Brun 1913: 306; Moffatt 1947: 153; Hodge 1958: 211.
[43] Robertson and Plummer 1911: 232–33.
[44] Fitzmyer 1957: 51.
[45] Hooker 1964: 413.
[46] Delobel 1986: 386; BeDuhn 1999: 302.

Hooker claims that the man is the head of the woman; the woman is the glory of the man. Her uncovered head would reflect his glory. During worship, her head must be veiled because she is in the presence of God and the angels, and the glory of man must be concealed. If she were to pray and prophesy with her head uncovered, she would be glorifying the man instead of God, who would be inevitably dishonoured. She would also bring her metaphorical head into shame. Meanwhile, her uncovered head would draw the male gaze of the Corinthian congregation. Why should the woman with her head covered while praying and prophesying be described as ἐξουσία? According to Paul, Hooker continues, man naturally plays the active role in worship. If the woman were allowed to pray and prophesy in the congregation, it would indicate a new power being given to her. This power or authority comes from God as 'there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus' (Gal. 3:28) and was called ἐξουσία by Paul. The head-covering symbolises the hidden glory of man. The woman could pray and prophesy under the authority of God if she is covered with the head-covering.[47] Hooker's view on ἐξουσία has received some support,[48] but Delobel rejects it on the following grounds. First, the literary context of verse 10 was how the women dressed her hair in order not to shame her 'head' during worship. Hooker's construction of ἐξουσία seems to divert from this tendency. Second, her argument is so complex that it is doubtful whether the original readers could have understood it.[49]

Authority of her own

Delobel remarks that ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ with the genitive generally carries the sense of

[47] Hooker 1964: 415–16.
[48] Barrett 1971: 253–54; Bruce 1971: 106; Meier 1978: 221.
[49] Delobel 1986: 386.

'have authority over, exercise control over'. Verse 10 would consequently mean 'therefore (= because of the creation order), *the woman has to exercise control over her head*, because of the angels (who are present in worship and watching the observance of that order)'.[50] Jason David BeDuhn has undertaken a thorough investigation of Paul's letters concerning his uses of ἐξουσία. BeDuhn correctly claims that the appearance of this word in Paul's writing usually signifies 'authority' held by the subject, who either has individual freedom and right to act or has power to exercise and control the situations.[51] In the context of 11:10, Paul is indeed concerned with the Corinthians who claimed 'authority' in the sense of exercising control over one's head by veiling, but Paul goes in search of men and women voluntarily conceding the traditional values of the community. Additionally, the verb ὀφείλει (BDAG 'be obligated') in the same verse carries the sense of carrying out one's duty and responsibility. The woman should veil her head as a sign of performing her duty.[52]

Διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους (11:10)

The second basis for Paul's statement on the regulations regarding head-coverings is διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. A great deal of discussion has taken place in relation to these three words. There has yet to be a convincing argument why it is 'because of the angels' that women should have authority over their heads. Three explanations of this phrase have been given.

The evil angels

[50] Ibid: 387.
[51] Rom. 9:21; 1 Cor. 7:37; 8:9; 9:4-6, 12, 18; 2 Cor. 10:8.
[52] BeDuhn 1999: 302.

The first is that the angels are evil and lusted after women like the angels in Gen. 6:1. Since the woman needs protection from this danger, she must have ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς in which ἐξουσίαν can be understood as the sense of 'power'. Her head-covering would appear to be a kind of 'power' that frightens away the evil angels. Meanwhile, the head-covering could hide the woman's beauty so that she must not tempt the angels present at worship.[53] Tertullian explained why the angels are fallen angels. Such angels yearned after female bodies and they are named 'the angel adulterers', taking unwedded 'daughters of men' who have cast stumbling-stones as far as heaven. When standing in the presence of God, unveiled women drive the angels from their confines.[54] But the disadvantage of this interpretation that the woman's veil functions as a 'magical power' (ἐξουσίαν) is that it is argued without any satisfactory evidence to support it in antiquity.[55] Also, 'elsewhere in Paul's letter, angels never play an evil role.'[56] In those instances where evil angels are lured by the beauty of women, they might not occur during the rituals.[57] What part have evil angels played in the worship of God?[58]

The human messengers

Other commentators suggest that ἀγγέλους might imply human messengers.[59] Alan Padgett speculates that these ἀγγέλους might be female messengers such as female church leaders whom Paul sent to deliver messages to Corinth. They had the authority to choose their own hair-styles. However, regarding why Paul commands the female

[53] Meier 1978: 220–21.
[54] Tertullian *Virg.* 7.
[55] Fitzmyer 1957: 52.
[56] Delobel 1986: 385. See also BeDuhn 1999: 307.
[57] BeDuhn 1999: 306.
[58] Hooker 1964: 412; Bruce 1971: 106.
[59] Padgett 1984: 81; Murphy-O'Connor 1988: 271; Winter 2001: 136.

messengers to bound their loose hair (v. 5), Padgett admits that 'we cannot be certain that this is what Paul means by διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους, this interpretation is put forward as at least as plausible as others.'[60] Murphy-O'Connor argues that ἀγγέλους signifying 'human messengers' is attested in Matt. 11:10, Luke 7:24, 9:52, and Jas. 2:25. This meaning accords with the context of 11:10 that human messengers might be envoys from other congregations who watched the Corinthian community during worship.[61] In Paul's view, according to Murphy-O'Connor, women praying and prophesying in public indicates their practice of a leadership function. They had the authority (ἐξουσίαν) to choose their own hair-styles, but they needed to show their new status to ἀγγέλους (human messengers) who were 'guardians' of the tradition that women were to be in a subordinate position and should bound their hair accordingly.[62] Bruce Winter thinks that διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους could be translated as 'because of the messengers'. The word 'messenger' in the first century CE might imply the conveyor who was in charge of examining the operation of community on behalf of one by whom he had been sent. In the Roman world, citizens did not normally worship gods on a weekly basis as did the Christ-believers. In the eyes of the Roman authorities, the assembly of believers might have been seen as an activity of an association in which members were partners of a political leader. It represented a potential threat to public order. As such, given that an outsider could come into the assembly which was open to all, it is the conveyors who seem to be the ἀγγέλους mentioned by Paul. They would watch worship of the believers and report back to the sender.[63] Verse 10, Winter concludes, means that 'for this reason,

[60] Padgett 1984: 81–82.
[61] Murphy-O'Connor 1988: 271–72.
[62] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 497.
[63] Winter 2001: 136–37.

the wife is under obligation to wear the sign of her marriage as she prays and prophesies because of what is absence signaled to the inquisitive outsiders — she portrayed herself as the promiscuous Roman wife, i.e., an unashamed adulteress.'[64]

The good angels

The third explanation of this phrase is that the angels who were present during worship were 'good' ones. They were witnesses of the creation and appeared as the guardians of the natural order.[65] von Lyder Brun has argued that 1 Cor. 11:7 is based on Gen. 1:26 while 1 Cor. 11:8 alludes to Gen. 2:21-23. The Targum reads: 'and God said to the angels who minister before him, who were created on the second day of the creation of the word: "Let us make man in our image, in our likeness."'[66] Here, what is to be observed is that the angels are members of the heavenly council of God and direct witnesses to the creation of man. Paul clearly had the idea of the angels in mind from the story of creation. The angels as watchful observers of the events on earth is attested in 1 Cor. 4:9. This textual evidence suggests that the angels would be present in the place of prayer and prophecy in the *ekklesia*.[67] Meanwhile, the subordinate position of the woman is strongly emphasised in 1 Cor. 11:3. It is justified for Paul to demand that the woman should be veiled in accordance with her humble position because of the angels. The veil functioned as the sign of the power of the man to whom she is subject.[68] Moffatt states:

> Angels more naturally are taken to be good angels who uphold the divine order. The

[64] Ibid: 138.
[65] Robertson and Plummer 1911: 233; Moffatt 1947: 153.
[66] *Tg. Ps.-J.* Gen. 1:26.
[67] Brun 1913: 305.
[68] Ibid: 306.

> angels here are more than a periphrasis for the divine being; they are the divine executive. Paul has in mind the Midrash on Gen. 1:26f., which made good angels not only mediators of the law (Gal. 3:19), but guardians of the created order.[69]

Robertson and Plummer suggest that διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους might carry the meaning of 'because the angels do so' since Isa. 6:2 reads: 'Seraphs were in attendance above him; each had six wings: with two they covered their faces, and with two they covered their feet, and with two they flew.' If angels cover their faces in the presence of the Lord, a woman should do the same as the angels when worshipping in the presence of her metaphorical head.[70] Fitzmyer casts doubt on this interpretation, believing it forces the context. Why should imitating the angels be prescribed for women only?[71]

Fitzmyer instead argues that a function of the angels is to assist sacred worship. This is attested in Rev. 8:3 and a passage in the Qumran literature that mentions the presence of angels in public worship.[72] The text records the rules of congregation that some cases of physical defects of worshippers were excluded from the assembly of God. These cases include any form of human uncleanness, a bodily defect or injury upon the feet or hands, and physical disabilities such as blindness, deafness, or an impairment of eyesight. These rules show that bodily discharge or physical weakness were considered as inappropriate for the sight of the angels as the gathering before the Lord.[73] Fitzmyer notes the relevance

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[69] Moffatt 1947: 152.
[70] Robertson and Plummer 1911: 233–34.
[71] Fitzmyer 1957: 53.
[72] Ibid: 55.
[73] 1QSa ii. 3-11) reads: 'Nor shall anyone who is afflicted by any form of human uncleanness whatsoever be admitted into the assembly of God; nor shall anyone who becomes afflicted in this way be allowed to retain his place in the midst of the congregation. No one who is afflicted with a bodily defect or injured in feet or hands, or who is lame or blind or deaf or dumb, or who has a visible blemish in his body, or who is an old man, tottering and unable to stand firm in the midst of the congregation of the men of renown, for holy angels are (present) in their [congre]gation. If anyone of these persons has something to say to the holy council, let an oral deposition be taken from him; but let him not enter, for he is contaminated,' in

of the rules of congregation in the Qumran literature for the interpretation of 'because of angels' in 1 Cor. 11:10. He asserts that the contexts of the two passages are similar as both are concerned with the sacred assembly. The woman without a head-covering is like one with a bodily defect in light of the Qumran texts. Her behaviour would offend the sight of the angels who were present in the congregation.[74] In other words, Paul implies, according to Fitzmyer, the woman should follow the rules of ritual during worship for the sake of the angels. But Murphy-O'Connor refutes Fitzmyer's interpretation for two reasons. First, it cannot explain ἐξουσίαν.[75] Second, it assumes that Paul might have thought of excluding those who have physical imperfections from the assembly.[76] However, Fitzmyer's proposal was adopted by Delobel, who states that 'Fitzmyer has pointed out that angels in Qumran were supposed to be present in worship and, because of that presence, worshippers have to watch their behaviour in order to avoid imperfections.'[77]

It seems that the argument in favour of 'the good angels' is more convincing. If it is reasonable, what connects the angels with women with their heads covered at worship? Hooker has explained that 'according to one tradition, the angels worshipped Adam at the creation, either by mistake[78] or by divine command.[79] It is possible, then, that Paul thinks there is a danger that the angels might be misled into worshipping man if his "glory" is

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Dominique Barthélemy, J. T. Milik, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert. 1, Qumran Cave 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955): 110, cited by Fitzmyer 1957: 56.
[74] Fitzmyer 1957: 56. For a similar view on angels appearing at the meeting of God's people, see Bruce 1971: 106.
[75] Fitzmyer admitted that Qumran angelology leaves the issue of ἐξουσίαν unsolved (Fitzmyer 1957: 57).
[76] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 496–97.
[77] Delobel 1986: 385.
[78] *Rab. Gen.* 8:10.
[79] *L.A.E.* 12–15.

displayed.'[80] Dennis MacDonald remarks that according to Gen. 1:26-28, in Hellenistic Judaism, the image of God was given to Adam with his authority over the earth. Rabbis assumed that his subjects included angels as well. Thus, angels were supposed to worship man.[81] Conversely, Eve was vulnerable to the spiritual world for she had been deceived by the serpent. The reason for this vulnerability is that she was not fully created in the image of God. As a consequence, she became subordinate to her husband.[82] The veiling of woman was among the punishments placed upon Eve prescribed by Rabbis. It was a sign of mourning for Eve's sin.[83] For Corinthian women, their unveiling at worship might symbolise their restoration to the divine image that would be worshipped by the angels.[84]

vv. 11-12 πλὴν οὔτε γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ἐν κυρίῳ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός. τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (Nevertheless, neither is woman apart from man, nor man from woman in the Lord. For just as woman came from man, thus, also man comes through woman. But everything comes from God).

Following the foregoing statement, these two sentences describe the relationship between man and woman from a different perspective signalled by πλὴν. According to BDAG, the conjunction πλὴν (BDAG 'nevertheless, but, on the other hand') is used here to break off a discussion and emphasise what is important. The paired conjunctions οὔτε… οὔτε… mean 'neither…nor…'. The uses of the conjunctions ὥσπερ and οὕτως suggest an

[80] Hooker 1964: 415, note 2.
[81] 'And she [Eve] spake to the beast: "Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with the image of God How was thy mouth opened How were thy teeth made strong How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God"' (*Apoc. Mos.* 10.3). See also *L.A.E.* 12–15.
[82] Philo *Opif.*167.
[83] *Avot R. Nat.* B 9:25, cited by MacDonald 1987: 94.
[84] MacDonald 1987: 93–95.

analogy or comparison between the roles of man and woman in their relationship. The meaning of the preposition χωρὶς is disputed, though it is rightly translated as 'without' or 'apart from'. Murphy-O'Connor remarks that χωρὶς takes the meaning of 'different from, otherwise than'.[85] But Schrage has objected to this view and argued that if χωρὶς is translated as 'different from', 11:11 would state the equality of man and woman by denying the gender distinctions. Thus, it is preferable to translate χωρὶς as 'without' or 'apart from' in the context of 11:11 with the sense of both equality and otherness of the other between man and woman 'in the Lord'.[86] Here, in 11:11-12, Paul affirms that while it is true that woman is the glory of man, having been created for his sake (v. 9), this does not mean that woman depends on man, being subject to a subordinate position at the disposal of his will. In the Lord one cannot exist without the other. Man and woman are mutually dependent on each other. 'But everything comes from God' states that although woman came from man's side at creation, man being born from woman has also been arranged by God.

Ἐν κυρίῳ (11:11)

'In the Lord' is an important Pauline formula, occurring forty-seven times in his epistles and nine times in 1 Corinthians alone. Along with 'in the Lord', there is the equally distinctive Pauline phrase 'in Christ' (ἐν Χριστῷ). James Dunn has analysed these two phrases under three categories in terms of the presence of major motifs from which Paul elaborated different angles of the identity and life of believers. First, the two phrases refer particularly to the saving work of Christ that is of significance for believers in terms of

[85] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 497, note 60.
[86] Schrage 1995: II, 518. For a similar view, see Gundry-Volf 1997: 161.

their identity as Christ-followers. For example, 'they are justified…through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus' (Rom. 3:24). 'The grace of God that has been given you in Christ Jesus' (1 Cor. 1:4). 'All will be made alive in Christ' (1 Cor. 15:22). Second, Paul speaks of followers of the Christ-movement as being 'in Christ' or 'in the Lord'. This use of 'in the Lord' sums up Paul's perception of the life of believers and relationships among each other. For example, 'so that you may welcome her in the Lord' (Rom. 16:2). 'Greet Ampliatus, my beloved in the Lord' (Rom. 16:8); Timothy was Paul's faithful child in the Lord (1 Cor. 4:17). If the husband dies, his wife is free to marry one who is in the Lord (1 Cor. 7:39). Third, 'in Christ' and 'in the Lord' appear where Paul is convinced in his own action or gets his readers to adopt an attitude, a view, or a practice. Thus, 'in the Lord' can simply denote 'as a believer' or 'as a member of the group who believe in Christ'. This use of 'in the Lord' makes his exhortations more authoritative. For example, Paul is 'persuaded in the Lord Jesus that nothing is unclean in itself' (Rom. 14:14). 'Let the one who boasts, boast in the Lord' (1 Cor. 1:31). Slaves 'called in the Lord' should regard themselves as freed persons in the Lord (1 Cor. 7:22).[87] First Corinthians 11:11 could be viewed as Paul using 'in the Lord' to persuade his recipients to adopt an attitude in which neither man nor woman could be independent from the other.[88] Turning to the commentators' view on 'in the Lord' in 11:11, Judith Gundry-Volf asserts that it carries the Christological sense of 'the realm of salvation defined by Christ'.[89] Thiselton suggests that it carries the sense of 'among the Lord's people' or 'as those in the Lord'.[90] Fee claims that it might refer to the existence of

[87] Dunn 1998: 396–401.
[88] Ibid: 399.
[89] Gundry-Volf 1997: 161.
[90] Thiselton 2000: 842.

believers in the age in which Christ is their Lord. Man and woman have a new relationship of interdependence.[91]

What are the implications of 11:11-12? Thiselton remarks that although the created order might allude to priority of man over woman, the differentiation between them in the gospel is explicitly arranged under the rule of mutual dependence and benefit. In addition, 'the everyday experience of birth reminds man of dependence on woman for his very existence in the world.'[92] Ann Jervis comments that 11:11 is repetition of Paul's earlier teaching that, in the Lord, man and woman maintain a harmonious relationship. This reaffirmation implies that the unity of man and woman does not mean that one could disrespect gender distinctions at worship. The differentiation between the genders established at creation is clearly reflected in the processes of human reproduction. All things are arrangements of God.[93] Murphy-O'Connor observes that 11:11-12 has shown that there is no difference in the social status of man and woman in the Lord, although there exists the differentiation of sexes in Gen. 1:26-27 and 2:18-22. Woman has a new power equal to that of man (11:10-12).[94] Conzelmann suggests that Paul draws a sharp contrast between 11:8 and 11:12. Since man and woman both have one Lord, their relationship is determined to be mutually dependent while their respective sexuality is retained.[95]

v. 13 Ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς κρίνατε. πρέπον ἐστὶν γυναῖκα ἀκατακάλυπτον τῷ θεῷ

[91] Fee 2014: 579.
[92] Thiselton 2000: 842. For a similar view, see Collins 1999: 413.
[93] Jervis 1993: 245.
[94] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 498.
[95] Conzelmann 1975: 190.

προσεύχεσθαι (In your judgment, is it suitable for a woman to pray to God uncovered)?

The preposition ἐν with the datives ὑμῖν and αὐτοῖς serves for the simple dative, carrying an adverbial sense of means ('in your judgment').[96] BDAG renders αὐτοῖς as the reflexive pronoun, 'selves'. The form of the anarthrous participle πρέπον (neut. nom. sing. pres. act. πρέπω, 'to be fitting, be suitable') and the verb of being (ἐστὶν) is the periphrastic construction. Such construction draws attention to the participle and its modifier.[97] The accusative γυναῖκα with the infinitive προσεύχεσθαι (pres. mid. προσεύχομαι, 'to pray') is equivalent to a clause introduced by the subordinating conjunction ὅτι.[98]

Paul now appeals to the Corinthians' own judgment and sense of propriety based on the natural law (11:14-15). He is trying to get the Corinthians to agree with him through two rhetorical questions: 11:13b and 11:14-15. The first one (11:13b) picks up on the same idea in 11:5, by asking about the propriety of women with their heads unveiled at worship and expecting a negative answer. This indicates that Paul reinforces the problem that he addresses earlier.

vv. 14-15 οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ διδάσκει ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἀνὴρ μὲν ἐὰν κομᾷ ἀτιμία αὐτῷ ἐστιν, γυνὴ δὲ ἐὰν κομᾷ δόξα αὐτῇ ἐστιν; ὅτι ἡ κόμη ἀντὶ περιβολαίου δέδοται αὐτῇ (Does not even the nature itself teach you that if man wears long hair, it is a disgrace for him; but if woman wears long hair, it is glory for her because long hair is given as a covering)?

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[96] Moulton 1963: 253.
[97] Porter 1989: 456.
[98] Moulton 1963: 149.

The Majority text, D^1, and Sahidic include ἢ before οὐδὲ in v. 14, but the earliest MSS (e.g., $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, ℵ, A, B, C, D^*, 33, 1739) omit it. The addition of the conjunction may be under the influence of the examples of ἢ οὐκ οἴδατε (1 Cor. 6:2, 16) earlier in the epistle.[99] As to the second occurrence of αὐτῇ in v. 15, $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$, D, F, G, Ψ, and the Majority text omit it while ℵ, A, B, 33, 81, 365, 2464, and the Peshitta keep it. Thiselton suggests that οὐδὲ carries the sense of 'not even'.[100] Ἐὰν with the present subjunctive κομᾷ (3rd. sing. pres. act. sub. κομάω, 'to wear long hair') refers to the condition of the future (BDF, §373). It gives the condition a sense of likeliness of occurrence in the future.[101] Δόξα ('glory') is used in a sense different from but related to that of verse 7. A human being who is obedient to what God intended them to be achieves the highest glory that it is possible for human beings to achieve. To wear her hair long in a womanly fashion is an outward sign that a woman is fulfilling her role in creation.[102]

Paul turns to the second rhetorical question (11:14-15), which questions the nature of the man with short hair and the woman with long hair in terms of honour and shame. He is expecting a positive answer. The word φύσις (LSJ 'origin, growth, nature, constitution, character, the regular order of nature, elementary substance'; BDAG 'natural endowment, natural disposition, natural being, the order of things known as nature') is in the nominative and is personified as the teacher of human beings. Its uses are various and Paul may use it to denote the natural order of things to signify a metaphorical sense, depending on the context of the texts. Here, in 11:14, what is the force of φύσις? Biblical

[99] Kloha 2006: 326.
[100] Thiselton 2000: 844.
[101] Wallace 1996: 696.
[102] Barrett 1971: 257.

scholarship widely accepts the view that φύσις simply refers to the nature of the world made by God concerning the physical indication of the differences between man and woman. C. K. Barrett remarks that

> *Nature* (i.e., God) has made men and women different from each other, and has provided a visible indication of the difference between them in the quantity of hair he has assigned to each; that is, in point of fact men have short, women have long hair, and though art can reverse this difference, the reversed distinction is, and is felt to be, artificial. Whether or not this corresponds with scientific observation, it would certainly correspond with Paul's observation.[103]

Föster states that it simply represents the general order of nature on what is appropriate in the matter of hair-styles.[104] Martina Böhm suggests that the concept of φύσις in this context should not be considered as a natural order in the sense of the Stoic law of nature but the created order in which Adam was created with short hair and Eve with long hair.

> Im Hintergrund steht hier anscheinend unausgesprochen die Ansicht, dass Adam mit kurzem Haar und Eva mit langem Haar erschaffen worden sind. Offenbar war das für Paulus auch ein Aspekt der Schöpfungsordnung.,,Allerdings darf man den φύσις–Begriff hier dann nicht als Naturordnung im Sinne des stoischen Naturgesetzes definieren, sondern muss nachweisen, dass φύσις bei Paulus in einem Zusammenhang mit der Schöpfung steht. [105]

Does Paul mean that women need no extra coverings when they already have long hair by nature? The traditional interpretation of 11:14-15 argues that a woman covering her head is in accordance with nature, which bestowed upon her a natural covering of

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[103] Ibid: 256.
[104] Föster *TDNT* 9: 273.
[105] Böhm 2006: 223.

long hair. Bruce proposes that Paul and his readers knew that nature endows upon men shorter hair than it does upon women. Thus, a man with long hair was regarded as effeminate, whereas a woman with long hair was what she should be. Paul's appeal to nature draws an analogy. Since long hair is a natural covering for women, it alludes to women being veiled.[106] Barrett remarks that, for Paul, nature expects a woman to be covered. If she is to be uncovered, it is not only an offence against custom but also an unnatural behaviour.[107] Craig Keener contends that artificial head coverings were common at the time and Paul employs hair only as an illustration from nature.[108] Delobel states that, according to Paul, men have naturally short hair so that their hair-style should be in line with the teaching of nature. Women have naturally long hair so that they should keep their heads covered in accordance with nature's own hint.[109]

However, some commentators have recently paid attention to the meaning of the preposition ἀντὶ and the noun περιβολαίου.[110] As for ἀντὶ, three possible uses from LSJ can be considered in the context of 11:15: (1) 'instead, in the place of '; (2) 'as the equivalent of, to serve as'; (3) 'equal to, like, as'. BDAG renders three options: (1) 'instead of, in place of'; (2) 'for, as, in place of, indicating that one thing is equivalent to another'; (3) 'because of, for the purpose of'. BDAG suggests 'for, as' for ἀντὶ in 11:15. LSJ renders περιβολαίου as 'that which is thrown round, covering'. BDAG renders as 'covering, wrap, cloak, robe'. Hurley translated ἀντὶ as 'instead of' and περιβολαίου as 'veil'. He states that 'her hair is given her instead of a veil. A woman's hair is the

[106] Bruce 1971: 107–8.
[107] Barrett 1971: 251.
[108] Keener 2005: 91.
[109] Delobel 1986: 373.
[110] Hurley 1972: 215; Padgett 1994: 186–87; Fee 2014: 579–80.

divinely given sign of her role. It is enough; to it man need add no further covering.'[111] Conzelmann remarks: 'If a woman has long hair by nature, then she does not require a further covering; she has sufficient protection by nature.'[112] Fee rejects this view and argues that ἀντὶ takes the sense of 'that one thing is equivalent to another'. The 'long hair' view is implausible. If 'long hair' is the issue, 11:15 has little relevance to the entire pericope. Paul uses 11:15 as an analogy to say that, since woman is given long hair by nature as a covering, she needs to be covered when she prays and prophesies.[113] Against Fee's view on long hair as an analogy of head-covering, Padgett argues that an analogy does not exist. Which use of ἀντὶ is to be chosen makes no difference in the context of 11:15. The three translations of 11:15, then, express the same point that, by nature, a woman has long hair. It is regarded as a covering for her. In 11:15, Paul means that woman has a natural covering—her hair. She does not need an artificial covering because nature has provided long hair to act in this way already.[114] Again, it is difficult to find the purpose of Padgett's reading of 11:15 in the entire passage.

Admittedly, both the traditional interpretation and the alternative reading have been confused because of a lack of logic. Thiselton explains Paul's intention: 'In vv. 14 and 15 his main concern is simply to press the issue of gender differentiation and its expression through some semiotic code such as hair or dress. Semiotic code depends on shared conventions, and social norms generally encourage gender differentiation.'[115] Ciampa and Rosner remark that 11:14-15 continue to reflect Paul's concern on honour and shame. He would have the women consider their head-coverings as a sign of honour and a sign

[111] Hurley 1972: 215.
[112] Conzelmann 1975: 190.
[113] Fee 2014: 579–80. For a similar view, see Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 539–40.
[114] Padgett 1994: 186–87.
[115] Thiselton 2000: 846.

of the authority that they could exercise.[116] Conzelmann points out that the two verses suppose a particular view of the relationship between man and nature. Nature teaches man what is appropriate conduct not only in harmony with nature but also in terms of social norms.[117]

The περιβόλαιον is a veil-term, referring to a large piece of cloth functioning as a covering or a veil if it was used for a garment. It derives its name from περί, 'round about', and βόλαιον, 'throw'. It is attested in the Greek texts when used as a garment.[118] It occurs eleven times in the LXX and some of these are references to garments. Deuteronomy 22:12 reads: **'**You shall make tassels on the four corners of the cloak (τῶν περιβολαίων) with which you cover yourself.' Judges 8:26 reads: 'The weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested was one thousand seven hundred shekels of gold, apart from the crescents and the pendants and the purple garments (τῶν περιβολαίων τῶν πορφυρῶν) worn by the kings of Midian, and the collars that were on the necks of their camels.' The περιβόλαιον and the ἱμάτιον are placed side by side in some of the instances. Exodus 22:25-26 reads: 'If you take your neighbour's cloak in pawn, you shall restore it before the sun goes down; for it may be your neighbour's only clothing to use as cover (τοῦτο περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ, μόνον τοῦτο τὸ ἱμάτιον).' Psalms 101:27 reads: 'They will all wear out like a garment (ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται). You change them like clothing (ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον).' This examination of the περιβόλαιον indicates that it is appropriate to consider the περιβόλαιον (1 Cor. 11:15) as the woman's head-covering. It is an analogy used by Paul to imply that woman is given long hair by nature as a covering; she is expected to be veiled according to the culture. It is justifiable to demand

[116] Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 540.
[117] Conzelmann 1975: 190–91.
[118] Euripides *Her*. 549, 1269; Athenaeus *Deipn.* 6.75, 12.55.

her to be veiled when participating in the *ekklesia*.

v. 16 Εἰ δέ τις δοκεῖ φιλόνεικος εἶναι, ἡμεῖς τοιαύτην συνήθειαν οὐκ ἔχομεν οὐδὲ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ (If anyone thinks to be contentious, we do not have such custom, nor do the churches of God).

After appealing to the Corinthians' own sense of propriety, Paul draws his conclusion by warning against disagreement among the Corinthians. He suggests that he and his fellow apostles would deny the practice that men would cover their heads and women uncovered their heads at worship. The fact that men and women should have appropriate head attire when they pray and prophesy before God is a tradition among the churches of God. Here, the word συνήθειαν (BDAG 'custom, habit, usage') is the subject of discussion. Some suggest that it refers to women praying and prophesying with their heads unveiled.[119] Murphy-O'Connor remarks that it refers to 'permitting men to appear womanish or women mannish'.[120] Padgett thinks that it refers to 'women wear[ing] bound hair and men wear[ing] short hair'.[121] The word 'we' stands for Paul,[122] or Paul and his group who engaged in the gospel mission.[123] '"The churches of God"—including possibly the church of Jerusalem and her daughter-churches as well as those planted by Paul and his colleagues.'[124]

Engberg-Pedersen translates συνήθειαν as 'habit'. He claims that συνήθειαν refers to

[119] Hodge 1958: 214; Wire 1990: 129; Fee 2014: 581.
[120] Murphy-O'Connor 1980: 500.
[121] Padgett 1984: 83.
[122] Wire 1990: 129.
[123] Bruce 1971: 108; Engberg-Pedersen 1991: 685.
[124] Bruce 1971: 108.

the habit of not being contentious.[125] Thus, the point of 11:16b would be that Paul denies being contentious, as do the churches of God. Engberg-Pedersen explains that on the one hand, Paul appeals to the created order and the social norms to support that a woman with an uncovered head before God at worship would bring shame upon her figurative head and herself. On the other hand, Paul speaks of the relationship between man and woman as being independent on the same level 'in the Lord'. This strong contrast is indicated in the word πλὴν. It shows that the sense of 'all are one in Christ' becomes ordinary in the mind of the Corinthians. Paul might have found it difficult to convince the Corinthians to adopt the practice of veiling. Thus, in 11:16, Paul implies that he does not declare himself to be contentious with them and he leaves the issue for the Corinthians themselves to decide.[126] Conzelmann states that 'finally, v. 16 shows that Paul does not completely trust any of his grounds.' Paul's argument from the custom common to all the churches of God indicates that, on the one hand, he wants the *ekklesia* to be unified even in outward things. On the other hand, Paul does not insist on his demand personally. Instead, he treated it as a matter of existing custom.[127]

Wire remarks that Paul ends his arguments by challenging the Corinthians about the reality of custom and church practice. 11:16a shows that Paul recognises the potential objections from the women who do not cover their heads. He chooses to address the issue to the entire *ekklesia* with the hope of proper head attire becoming a discipline. Furthermore, Paul might speculate that the Corinthian women see themselves to be

[125] Ben Witherington III thinks that the habit of being contentious is not impossible in view of 11:18 (Witherington III 1995: 239).
[126] Engberg-Pedersen 1991: 684–89. A parallel view can be found in Hodge 1958: 214.
[127] Conzelmann 1975: 191.

justified in their conduct of unveiling.[128]

Ciampa and Rosner affirm that Paul's point is that the veiling for men and women in public service is not a matter of personal preference but a matter of the well-being of the churches of God in a wider community. This practice plays an integral role for the Corinthians to hold to the traditions that he had passed on to them. In other words, Paul would not compromise with those who challenged the common practices of men being uncovered and women being covered in the churches of God when praying and prophesying at worship.[129]

Conclusion

In 1 Corinthians 11:7-16, Paul offers four reasons as to why the woman should be veiled in public prayer. The first reason is found in 11:7-9. Paul clearly uses elements from the biblical creation stories as his argument. Here, he applies the εἰκὼν theme drawn from the first creation account (Gen. 1:27) to man only, and intentionally fails to mention woman's status as 'the image of God' for the sake of stressing that woman is the glory of man (11:7). Then, Paul uses the second creation story (Gen. 2:18-24) to establish a woman's secondary place (11:8-9) in which man was created first, woman came from man. Paul appears to draw the distinction between man and woman. This interpretation of the creation stories runs parallel with the theme of 11:3 that man is more prominent in his relation to woman. The purpose of 11:7-9 is to emphasise that woman should bring honour to man by covering her head.

The second reason is 'on account of the angels' (11:10). After the brief explanation of

[128] Wire 1990: 129.
[129] Ciampa and Rosner 2010: 540–41.

why woman is the glory of man (11:8-9), in 11:10, Paul introduces the second reason by abruptly drawing the conclusion (διὰ τοῦτο) of the reason for the created order established in 11:7-9. He literarily states that for this reason, the woman is obliged to exercise authority upon her head because of the angels. Ἐξουσία may be understood as an expression of woman's own authority. Διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους may be understood in the sense of 'with a reverence for the angels'. According to certain Jewish traditions, angels would be present at worship. Worshippers had to behave properly. A woman with an uncovered head at worship would be considered inappropriate because of the angels. Paul indicates that since the angels are present at worship, it is appropriate for the Corinthian woman to exercise her power and take responsibility by covering her head.

The text of 11:11-12 is a divergence from the concern over a woman's being 'covered'. Paul's description of the relationship between man and woman 'in the Lord' seems to be inconsistent with the previous discussion since it implies 'mutuality' or 'reciprocity' of the sexes. Here, Paul appeals to the procreation and the notion of God's creation of all things. Paul says that there is not man without woman; man comes through woman. Paul literarily means that man and woman need each other for procreation. 11:12 functions as an explanation of 11:11. Ἐν κυρίῳ may be understood as 'among the people who are saved by declaring the work of Christ'. 11:11-12 serves as a complement to the emphasis in 11:3-10 on woman's secondary place. In the order of creation, man and woman are from each other. Both man and woman have their origin in God. They are mutually dependent on each other.

11:13-15 serves as the third reason of why a woman should cover her head when praying and prophesying. Paul appeals to the Corinthians' own judgment and sense of

propriety (11:13) as well as 'the nature of things' (11:14-15). Φύσις could be understood as 'the natural order of how things are'. Paul draws a sharp contrast between man wearing long hair as a disgrace and woman wearing long hair as her glory to underline the importance of woman being covered. Woman's long hair as a covering is an analogy with woman's head-covering. Paul is saying that just as woman's long hair is the 'way of the nature', woman's head-covering is the 'way of the culture'. In 11:14-15, Paul is concerned with the gender differences and their expressions through shared social norms. He highlights the point that culturally constructed gender distinction is grounded in 'the natural order'.

Paul finally appeals to the custom (συνήθειαν) (11:16). He states that 'we do not have such custom, nor do the churches of God.' The custom refers to the women's praying and prophesying without covering their heads. Paul criticises the women uncovering their heads on the basis of universal church practice. He alludes to the practice of female veiling in the congregations, complying with Greco-Roman cultural norms.

Conclusions

General Observation

Ancient Greek texts from Homer to Longinus, the Septuagint, the New Testament, and ancient Roman texts from Plautus to Cassius Dio, have been considered in this study in an attempt to determine the significance of veiling in the Greco-Roman world and to apply those findings to the interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16. Roman law and Paul's attitude to marriage have been examined; the internal organisation of Roman households has been compared to Paul's view on leadership; the social relationships between Paul and some of the women in his world have been investigated in search of the gender issues raised in 1 Cor. 11:2-16.

A rich veil-vocabulary is attested in Greek literary sources in the periods of Homeric, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek. The earliest forms of female veiling identified in the Homeric epics possibly stressed the high social rank of the veiled woman. By the Classical period, women of a lower rank probably practised veiling too, which is attested in Greek dramatic works. The ἱμάτιον is frequently identified in the Septuagint, the New Testament, and other Greek sources of the Hellenistic period. It is the basic outer garment for men and women. The ἀμπεχόνη, στολή, and καταστολή are attested in the Greek sources of the Hellenistic period. They were used to refer to the garment of men and women with a higher social status. The στολή and καταστολή as the garments for men and women are attested in the LXX and the New Testament. The evidence shows that Greek women would cover their heads when venturing outside the home. In the Greek

religion, the prophetesses were expected not only to be veiled but also to practise celibacy. The veiling practices among Greek women might be attributed to the gendered hierarchy of the Greek society, in which male social activities are generally associated with the public sphere while those of the female are aligned with domestic work. Veiling practices are of importance to the Greek concept of femininity constructed by the male as αἰδώς which carries the symbolic meanings of female modesty, honour-shame, social invisibility, and sexual purity. Accordingly, an act of unveiling conducted by a woman would be considered as losing honour of herself as well as her male kin. The institution of 'veiling' puts women in a subordinate position. It serves as the means of defining women's gender roles which aim at instructing how good Greek women should behave.

As in Greek culture and society, Roman female veiling is suggested by a number of veil-terms in Latin from 200 BCE to 200 CE. The yellow colour of the *flammeum* was reserved exclusively for the bride. The *velamen* and *palla* were worn by respectable Roman women. The *rica* was the head-dress of the priestess of Jupiter. The *suffibulum* was worn by the Vestal Virgins. Much of Roman women's veiling practices functioned in a similar way to those of the Greeks. Roman society and culture are influenced by the Greek philosophy that women were inherently inferior to men. The Latin equivalent of the Greek word αἰδώς is *pudicitia*. The Romans defined similar dress codes of female chastity to those of the Greeks. The number of veil-terms in Latin is fewer than in Greek. The literary evidence indicates that the Romans place more emphasis on the *stola* (a kind of tunic with special features) and *vittae* (headbands) than on the *palla* to signify female chastity. Unlike Greek clothing, Roman clothing had more symbolic values of Roman identity. Certain types of clothing were designed for civic occasions. The artistic

evidence testifies to the disparity of female veiling between the rhetoric and realities for both elite women and freedwomen. Roman women seemed to have more choices as to whether to be veiled during their daily work. Unlike the Greeks, Roman men covered their heads in a religious context. The *toga* and *pallium* are attested in the literary and artistic evidence, in which the garments are worn by the priests to make the pietistic gesture of the *capite velato* when offering a sacrifice to signify a privilege.

The examination of the cultural and social significance of 'the veil' in Greek and Roman antiquity yields considerable insight into the interpretation of 1 Cor. 11:2-16. The codes of head covering and uncovering for Greeks and Romans permeate the social life of the Corinthians, most of whom are Greek and Roman. Men and women possibly wore the ἱμάτιον, ἀμπεχόνη, στολή, καταστολή, *palla, pallium*, or *toga*. Ancient Greek literature provides a number of illuminating parallels to the syntactic pattern attested in 11:4-15. The adjective ἀκατακάλυπτος is attested in the Greek texts, meaning 'unveiled'. When used in connection with κεφαλή, it describes the act of having one's head unveiled. It is appropriate to interpret ἀκατακαλύπτῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ (11:5a) as 'unveiling the head' and γυναῖκα ἀκατακάλυπτον (11:13) as 'an unveiled woman'. Likewise, the verb κατακαλύπτω is attested in the Greek texts, meaning 'to veil'. It is a conventional dress term. It is appropriate to interpret οὐ κατακαλύπτεται γυνή (11:6) as 'a woman not to be veiled', κατακαλυπτέσθω (11:6) as 'to veil', and κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν (11:7) as 'to veil the head'. The περιβόλαιον is attested in the textual sources. It refers to a head-covering or a large piece of cloth functioning as a covering. It is perfectly familiar to native Greeks if περιβολαίου δέδοται αὐτῇ (11:15) is understood as 'a head-covering given to her'. Greek usages of αἰσχύνη and αἰδώς may have been the inspiration for

καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς phrased in Paul's language. When used in connection with a garment, αἰσχύνη and αἰδώς describe the socially significant behaviour of unveiling. Some phrases are identified in the Greek texts similar in form to the expression κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων (11:4) and ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς (11:10). Though used without the object, these phrases imply a kind of garment or a piece of cloth coming from the head. It is reasonable to interpret κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων (11:4) and ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς (11:10) as 'a covering on the head'. Ancient Roman customs concerning the veiling of men in public religious settings could provide a clue as to Paul's criticism of men covering their heads in the Christian assembly.

The survey of 'authority' and 'the roles of women' in Roman values and Pauline literature shows that there are similarities and differences between the two. Authority in the Roman world is bound up with social status, wealth, honour, and gender. This is not accepted by Paul (1 Cor. 1:26-29). He applies the Roman patronage system to the relationships between the believers. For Paul, God is the patron of the believers who can benefit from mutuality and reciprocity (1 Cor. 4:16, 9:19-23, 11:1). The notion of headship for Paul is closely associated with services. Those who play as a role of benefactors can receive gratitude from clients. Leaders serve while the community submits (1 Cor. 9:14-15). This view of headship can assist the interpretation of the 'head' (1 Cor. 11:3) since men no longer hold positions of patriarchal authority. As to the roles of women, the subordinate status of women was readily accepted in Greek and Roman society, but some texts of Paul's letters indicate that he was an advocate of gender equality. Women can exercise leadership in Paul's congregation (1 Cor. 16:19; Rom. 16:1-4; Phil. 4:2-3). He encouraged women to pray and prophesy in the community (1

Cor. 11:5). The Corinthian women should exercise their authority by covering their heads (1 Cor. 11:10). Men and women are mutually interdependent 'in the Lord' (1 Cor. 11:11-12). On the other hand, Paul adopts some elements of gender distinction in Greco-Roman social practices, female morality in particular. His teaching on women with covered heads at worship is the evidence of such adoption. Thus, Paul's view of gender is neither 'subordinationism' nor 'egalitarianism'

The exegesis of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 reveals that Paul appeals to two gender relationships in the text: a hierarchical relationship between man and woman in the wider social context, as well as their new egalitarian roles in Christ. The hierarchical relationship was shaped by the honour-shame moral system of the society in which the Corinthians lived, while their social equality in gender complies with the cultic context of Corinthian worship. Gender distinctions manifested in the veiling practices in the *ekklesia* should respect established customs. Since the honour-shame culture defined a covered head as the symbol of a woman's female identity, her appearance at public worship with her head uncovered would indicate a failure to perform her gender roles as established at creation, where woman was the glory of man, bringing shame to both her literal and metaphorical head. Paul's purpose is to protect the reputation of the Christian community in the broader social environment and to adhere to the proper order in public worship. His intention is not to put women into submission when he offers a new model of headship. Meanwhile, Paul's proclamation of there being no gender distinctions in the Christian assembly comes from the perspective of the life in Christ. For Paul, it is important that not only are all believers one in Christ but that they also display appropriate behaviour as dictated by their gender.

Although the current study offers valuable insights into the culture and social world of the Corinthian community, several questions still remain to be answered: Did the ecstatic worship of oriental divinities exist? How were these cults practised in the New Testament world? What were the hair-styles of the women prophets in these cults? What headgear was adopted by Roman women in the domestic cults?

A Reconstruction of the Situation at Corinth

In 1 Corinthians 11:2-16, Paul is concerned with proper behaviour in the worship of the Corinthian community. He gives his guidance to the young community on the question of head-dresses since some Corinthians might have conducted offensive practices of head-covering by disregarding gender difference at worship. He instructs men to uncover their heads and expects women to be veiled when praying and prophesying.

What probably happened in Corinth was that members of the social elite covered their heads while praying and prophesying. But men who had their heads covered while performing in a religious ceremony was a sign of pagan norm at the time of Paul's writing. Men wore this attire to indicate their higher status and signify Roman devotional gestures. As for the women, there might be some occasions when certain women would appear with their heads uncovered in the assembly. Since Paul affirms in Gal. 3:28 that male and female are all one 'in Christ', these women might have assumed the removal of gender distinctions and, thus, might have taken this baptismal formula to mean that men and women were now entirely equal. In other words, irrespective of whether one is male or female, neither is inferior 'in the Lord'; they have no difference before God. Nevertheless, according to Paul these practices should be reversed.

Paul offers practical reasons for this. His arguments rest on four premises: social conventions, the order of creation, the teaching of nature, and tradition. He establishes three relationships: Christ is the head of every man; the man is the head of a woman; God is the head of Christ (11:3). It can be seen that Paul uses the word 'head' to claim some superiority of man over woman. 'Head', in this context, is more appropriate to take the sense of 'preeminence', although the meanings of 'authority' or 'source' might be implied as well. First, the theme of verses 4-6 is 'shame' and the theme of verses 7-9 is 'glory'; Paul emphasises that woman is obligated to honour man. If the 'head' signifies that which is of 'preeminence', it is to be glorified and honoured. The 'authority' in verse 10 could not be taken as signifying man's authority over woman; verses 11-12 speak of the interdependence of man and woman. They are in a harmonious relationship 'in Christ'. Moreover, 'authority' assures that the Corinthians were familiar with what 'the authority of husband over wife' means in their Greco-Roman culture in which woman's position to man was one of subordination. But Paul's discussion of marriage in 1 Corinthians 7 shows that Paul does advocate a certain degree of equality between the man and the woman in the marital relationship. He explicitly addresses that both men and women hold equal accountability in their duties. Women have equal rights and responsibilities with men. One becomes subject to the authority of another (1 Cor. 7:2-4). Paul permits the wife to divorce her husband (1 Cor. 7:15). This is opposed to Roman marriage, which endorses male domination.

After creating a hierarchy of headships, Paul goes on to appeal to social conventions of veiling in relation to honour and shame (11:4-6). To the men, Paul states that covering the head when praying and prophesying is inappropriate. Some scholars have argued that

certain men in Corinth would wear long hair at worship. This situation might not sound like the one Paul is referring to, although it could be regarded as an unusual occasion. Also, it is unlikely that Jewish members of the community would wear the *tallit* as it was an indicator of scholarly people in early Judaism since most of the Corinthians were Greeks and Romans. Concerning the Roman social and religious background, man with his head covered in a display of love of honour is probably whom Paul is criticising. The wearing of the traditional Roman head-covering was a visible symbol of reverence to one's gods. According to Paul, this act brings shame and dishonour upon the man and upon his metaphorical head, Christ. Paul's advice to women, however, is exactly opposite to that which he gives to men. The veiling of the female head in public was a social expectation in the Greco-Roman context. Paul's injunction on the women's head-dresses in the community is in accordance with the cultural norms of the time. A woman with her head covered was a symbol of modesty. If a woman appeared in public with her head unveiled, she would be considered as sexually immoral and would have the potential to invite the male gaze upon her. Thus, the woman at worship with an unveiled head would bring shame and disgrace upon herself and upon her metaphorical head, her husband. Paul expects that his teaching would remind members of the community of the sense of honour.

Paul turns his argument to the order of creation by alluding to Genesis. He points out: 'For a man ought not to have his head covered, since he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of man' (NASB 11:7). Here, Paul suggests that only man (male) is the image of God. But this statement is different from Gen. 1:27, which reads: 'in the image of God he created them; male and female he created them.' Paul continues

to draw on Genesis 2 to support his idea of male superiority and the differentiation of the origins of male and female, saying that 'man was not made from woman, but woman from man. Neither was man created for the sake of woman, but woman for the sake of man' (11:8-9). According to Paul, a man appears with his head uncovered in worship simply because he is the image of God and a woman with her head covered because the glory of man should be hidden. Verse 10 links the veiling of the women with the angels. The 'good' angels are preferred in this context as guardians of order in place of worship. The strange words 'authority upon the head' in the passage stating 'for this reason, the woman is obliged to exercise authority upon the head because of the angels' (11:10) might carry the sense of the woman exercising her power and taking responsibility by covering her head. The practice of veiling would allow her voice to be heard in prophecy and prayer. Verses 11-12 speak of the creational order of man and woman in light of the everyday experience of human birth as well as the relationship of man and woman 'in the Lord'. Paul claims that man and woman are mutually dependent on each other. Because of gender distinctions, woman was made from man's rib while childbirth is achieved only through the woman. 'All things come from God' (11:12). In this verse, Paul seems to balance his preceding argument in which the male is apparently situated in a very prominent position.

Paul's argument from the teaching of nature is found in verses 13-15. He seeks to emphasise that gender distinctions between male and female are natural within nature itself. A man with long hair dishonours himself; the long hair of a woman is her glory. For Paul, this is common sense and the proper custom. Drawing upon the way of nature, Paul might be implying that the man with his head uncovered and the woman with her

head veiled is the ‘natural’ and proper way in places of worship. Finally, Paul appeals to the practice of head-covering in the churches of God. He remarks that there is no custom of the women uncovering the heads while praying and prophesying in the community. The word ‘custom’ in verse 16 refers to the women uncovering their heads in worship. Paul indicates that the women’s act of unveiling disregards the tradition of the church of God.

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