

Chrysostom & Epiphanius: Long Hair Prohibited as Covering in 1 Cor. 11:4, 7
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πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων καταισχύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. ...
Ἄνὴρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων.
(1 Corinthians 11:4, 7)

A survey of extant early church fathers' interpretations of 1 Cor. 11:4 and 7 exposes two significant interpreters, Chrysostom and Epiphanius, who diverge from the standard "the-covering-is-a-veil" consensus into closer alignment with an emerging modern consensus: the covering is hair.¹ This paper critiques two recent surveys of extra-biblical Hellenistic data regarding κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων by Ben Witherington III and Preston Massey² and explores what is known of Epiphanius's and Chrysostom's understanding of 1 Cor. 11:4 and 7. An appendix proposes an interpretation of the early church's standard interpretive consensus.

An Analysis of κατὰ [τῆς] κεφαλῆς in Extra-Biblical Literature

Ben Witherington III and Preston Massey have each argued separately from extra-biblical linguistic evidence that Paul's language in 1 Cor. 11:4-7 cannot refer to anything other than a

¹ In a recent article, Francis Watson commented that the understanding that 1 Cor. 11:2-16 is addressing hair and not veils is beginning to acquire the status of "a broad consensus in recent scholarship." "The Authority of the Voice: A Theological Reading of 1 Cor 11.2-16," *NTS* 46 (2000): 534 n. 20. Examples of interpreters holding this position include: Philip B. Payne, "Wild Hair and Gender Equality in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *Priscilla Papers* 20, no. 3 (2006): 9-18; Alan F. Johnson, *1 Corinthians*, ed. Grant R. Osborne, *The IVP New Testament Commentary Series* (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2004); Giancarlo Biguzzi, *Velo e silenzio. Paolo e la donna in 1Cor 11,2-16 e 14,33b-36* (SupplRivBib, 37; Bologna, 2001); Marlis Gielen, "Beten und Prophezeien mit unverhülltem Kopf? Die Kontroverse zwischen Paulus und der korinthischen Gemeinde um die Wahrung der Geschlechtsrollensymbolik in 1 Kor 11,2-16," *ZNW* 90.3-4 (1999): 220-249; Raymond Collins, *First Corinthians (Sacra Pagina Series 7)*; Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1999); J. D. G. Dunn, *The Theology of Paul the Apostle* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 590-91; Horsley, *1 Corinthians*, Abingdon New Testament Commentary (Nashville: Abingdon, 1998), 153-54; David E. Blattenberger III, *Rethinking 1 Corinthians 11.2-16 Through Archaeological and Moral-rhetorical Analysis* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1997). Judith M. Gundry-Volf, "Gender and Creation in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16: A Study in Paul's Theological Method," in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 151-71; Wolfgang Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther (1 Kor 6,12-11,16)*, 491-94; Alan Padgett, "The Significance of ἀντί in 1 Corinthians 11:15," *Tyndale Bulletin* 45 (1994): 181-7; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Once Again," *CBQ* 50 (1988): 265-74; "Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16," *CBQ* 42 (1980): 482-500; J. Keir Howard, "Neither Male nor Female: An Examination of the Status of Women in the New Testament," *The Evangelical Quarterly* 55 (1983): 31-42; Stephen A. Reynolds, "Colloquium," *WTJ* 36 (1973): 90-91; James B. Hurley, "Did Paul require Veils or the Silence of Women: A Consideration of 1 Cor 11:2-16 and 14:33b-36," *WTJ* 35 (1973): 190-220; William J. Martin, "1 Corinthians 11:2-16: An Interpretation," in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. Gasque-Martin (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970), 231-41. For others holding this view, see Jason David BeDuhn, "'Because of the Angels': Unveiling Paul's Anthropology in 1 Corinthians 11," *JBL* 118 (1999): 296 n. 7.

² Ben Witherington III, *Conflict & Community in Corinth: A Socio-rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 233-34; Preston T. Massey, "The Meaning of κατακαλύπτω and κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων in 1 Corinthians 11.2-16," *New Testament Studies*, 53.4 (2007): 502-523.

material head-covering. This section of the paper addresses the question does the phrase in v. 4 *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* necessarily to refer to a material head-covering?

The phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* literally reads “down/on (the) head having.” This phrase occurs nowhere else in the NT or the Septuagint. A search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*³ and the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri⁴ reveals that the exact construction *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* occurs nowhere else in extant Greek literature.⁵ This lack of evidence makes it difficult to discern Paul’s meaning.

Data Advanced by Ben Witherington

In 1995 Ben Witherington published a commentary on 1 Corinthians in which he states, “the discussions by Murphy-O’Connor, Hurley, Padgett, and others of hair and hairstyles are quite beside the point. The issue is headcoverings. . . . Plutarch uses the same phrase that Paul does, *kata kephales*, to refer to something resting on the head, not hair and much less long, flowing hair (*Regum* 200F; *Aitia Romana* 267C; *Vitae Decem Oratorae* 842B; *Pyrrhus* 399B; *Pompeius* 640C; *Caesar* 739D).”⁶

To the average commentary reader, the extended list of citations Witherington gives from Plutarch⁷ would give the impression of a significant array of evidence for the material-covering position. There are, however, several problems with this evidence.

³ <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>. This database catalogs most literary texts written in Greek from Homer to the fall of Byzantium in AD 1453.

⁴ <http://papyri.info/>. This site allows users to search the Advanced Papyrological Information System (APIS), the Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (DDbDP) and the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (HGV) simultaneously.

⁵ Specifically, the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* without an explicit direct object for *ἔχων* occurs in no (electronically available) extant Greek literature from the 8th c. BC to the 3rd c. AD, unless in church fathers who are quoting this passage. This is true regardless of whether *κεφαλῆς* is anarthrous or not. A search of the *Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri* at Papyri.Info yielded only three instances of *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς*, all of which were dated after AD 200. Further, in none of these cases did the phrase refer to covering the head but to the head as the location of a blow or wound. In *Les Papyrus Fouad I* 29.11, (AD 224), a father complains of his son’s head being wounded by someone throwing a stone (*ρίψαντος ἐξ αὐτῶν τινος λίθον, τραυματίαιος ὁ υἱός μου, ἀπὸ μακρόθεν ἐστηκώς, ἐγένετο κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς*). *P.Oxy.* 33.2672dupl (AD 218), lines 15-18, also registers a complaint regarding someone being struck on the head with a stone (*καὶ λίθῳ με ἐνετίναξεν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς*). *P.Oxy.* 16.1885, (c. AD 509), line 8 speaks of someone being struck repeatedly on the head and receiving a mortal wound (*κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς κόψας ἀφειδῶς καὶ θανατηφόρον ἐπενεγκῶν*).

⁶ Ben Witherington III, *Conflict & Community*, 233. As the following discussion will demonstrate, Witherington is certainly correct that *κατὰ κεφαλῆς* by itself does not refer to hair or long, flowing hair. The articles Witherington is referring to include Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “Sex and Logic in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16.” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 42 (1980): 482-500; “1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Once Again.” *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 50 (1988): 265-274; James B. Hurley, “Did Paul require Veils or the Silence of Women: A Consideration of 1 Cor 11:2-16 and 14:33b-36.” *Westminster Theological Journal* 35 (1973): 190-220; Alan Padgett, “The Significance of *anti* in 1 Corinthians 11:15.” *Tyndale Bulletin* 45 (1994): 181-187; “Paul on Women in the Church: The Contradictions of Coiffure in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16.” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* (1984): 69-86.

⁷ Plutarch (c. AD 46-120), a contemporary of the Apostle Paul and Josephus, was among other things a Greek historian and biographer, best known for his works *Parallel Lives* and *Customs (Moralia)*.

The first problem is that two of the cited sources are irrelevant: *Vitae Decem Oratorae* 842B and *Pyrrhus* 399B. In both of these texts the phrase *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς* occurs in the context of someone being struck on the head, in the first with a staff and the second with a sword. Neither have anything to do with head coverings.⁸

Second, although the rest of the texts cited from Plutarch do provide partial parallels to Paul's construction, each of them has one significant difference.

(1) Plutarch's *Moralia*, "Sayings of Romans" 200F, provides the closest parallel to 1 Cor. 11:4. Recounting Scipio the Younger's arrival in Alexandria to inspect the city for the Roman Senate, Plutarch says, "after disembarking, he was walking with his toga covering his head."⁹ Although this statement has been often cited as confirmation that Paul was referring to a material head covering,¹⁰ most commentators ignore the fact that Plutarch supplies an explicit object *ιμάτιον* ("toga") for *ἔχων* ("covering"), whereas Paul does not. In other words, Plutarch's line explicitly identifies that a garment was covering Scipio's head.

(2) In his *Lives*, *Pompey* 640C, Plutarch describes Demetrius as: "that fellow would be already reclining at table in great state, having the hood of his toga drawn down behind his ears."¹¹ Again, in contrast with Paul's language, the verbal *ἔχων* ("having") has *τὸ ἱμάτιον* ("toga") as its explicit direct object.

(3) In his *Lives*, *Caesar* 739D, Plutarch describes Caesar's reaction when he realized Brutus was against him: "but when he saw Brutus with his sword drawn in his hand, then he pulled his garment over his head, and made no more resistance."¹² In this instance, again notice that the verb *ἐφειλκύσατο* ("pulled") has *τὸ ἱμάτιον* ("garment") as its explicit direct object.

(4) In his *Roman Questions* 267C, Plutarch recounts the supposed reasons why the first three divorces in Roman history took place: "the second was Supicius Gallus, because he saw his wife pull her cloak over her head."¹³ As in the previous example, *τὸ ἱμάτιον* ("cloak") is the explicit direct object of *ἐφέλω* ("pull").

⁸ I suspect that a research assistant is responsible for this mistake and that Witherington himself did not actually think these were relevant references.

⁹ *Regnum* 200F: ἀποβὰς ἐβάδιζε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχων τὸ ἱμάτιον. *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. by Frank Cole Babbitt, *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), vol. 3, p. 190-91.

¹⁰ For example, David E. Garland, *1 Corinthians*, Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 517; Charles H. Talbert, *Reading Corinthians: A Literary and Theological Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (New York: Crossroads, 1987), 87; Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 506-7.

¹¹ *Pompeius* 640C: ἐκεῖνος ἤδη κατέκειτο σοβαρός, ἔχων δι' ὤτων κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον. Translation adapted from *Pompey* 40.4.6-7 in *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. by Bernadotte Perrin, *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), vol. 5, p. 218-19.

¹² *Caesar* 739D: ὅτε Βροῦτον εἶδεν ἐσπασμένον τὸ ξίφος, ἐφειλκύσατο κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ παρήκεν ἑαυτόν. *Caesar* 66.7.1 in *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. by Bernadotte Perrin, *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), vol. 7, p. 598-99.

¹³ *Aitia Romana* 267C: δεύτερος δὲ Σουπίκιος Γάλλος ἐφελκυσμένην ἰδὼν κατὰ κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον. *Plutarch's Moralia*, trans. by Frank Cole Babbitt, *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,

In each of the four examples above, the construction *κατὰ κεφαλῆς* is not used by itself to indicate something resting on the head as was claimed.¹⁴ Rather it is used to indicate where the person's *ἱμάτιον* was being worn. In every case the verbs *ἔχω* ("to have") and *ἐφέλω* ("to draw") have *ἱμάτιον* ("toga, garment") as their explicit direct object which identified what was being worn on or drawn over the head (*κατὰ κεφαλῆς*).

Third, Witherington does not inform his reader that the phrase *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς* by itself has a wide range of usages, many of them having nothing to do with material head coverings or even "something resting on the head."¹⁵ For example, it may mean "at the head" as in—"he killed his brother in a match by throwing a discus at his head."¹⁶ It may mean "headlong, head first" as in—"[Gaius] might be cast down headlong."¹⁷ Or, it may mean "on the head" as in—"I would take pickle sauce and go [and] pour it on his head."¹⁸ The fact that *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς* is used in a broad variety of contexts is significant because it undermines the claim that this phrase transparently refers to a material head-covering.

Finally, it is particularly noteworthy that in Plutarch's discussion of why Romans cover their heads when worshipping¹⁹ and why Roman sons cover their heads but daughter go with uncovered heads when escorting their dead parents to the grave,²⁰ the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς* with or without *ἔχων* ("having") is entirely absent.²¹ In these contexts, to denote a covered head, Plutarch uses terms for being covered or veiled: *συγκεκαλυμμένοι* ("veil completely"), *ἐπικαλύπτεσθαι* ("cover over, shroud"), *ἐγκεκαλύμμεναις* ("veil, wrap up"), or the expression "pulling the toga up to the ears" (*ἄχρι τῶν ὠτων ἀνελάμβανον τὸ ἱμάτιον*). To denote an uncovered head he uses the following terms: *γυμναῖς* ("naked"), *ἀκαλύπτοις*, *ἀπαρακαλύπτω* ("uncovered"), or *ἀποκαλύπτονται* ("to uncover"). Strikingly, none of this specific vocabulary occurs in 1 Cor. 11. In other words, in the very context in which it would be most natural to use *κατὰ κεφαλῆς* if it normally referred to a head covered with something material, Plutarch does not use the phrase.

1962), vol. 4, pp. 26-27. This exact same statement may be found in Posidonius (c. 135-51 B.C.), *Testimonia et fragmenta*. Plutarch may be quoting Posidonius or both may be dependent on a common source.

¹⁴ Witherington, *Conflict & Community*, 233.

¹⁵ *Conflict & Community*, 233. Witherington's assertion, "the discussions by Murpy-O'Connor, Hurley, Padgett, and others of hair and hairstyles are quite beside the point. The issue is headcoverings," appears to reflect his personal certainty more than it does the nature of the available evidence.

¹⁶ Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Library and Epitome*, 3.12.6: *συγγυμναζόμενον αὐτὸν βαλὼν δίσκῳ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς κτείνει*.

¹⁷ Josephus, *Antiquities*, 19.71: *διαρριπτοῦντα ὥσαι κατὰ κεφαλῆς*.

¹⁸ Epictetus, *Discourse*, 2.20.29: *ἔβαλον ἂν γάριον καὶ ἀπελθὼν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦς κατέχεον*. For other uses of this phrase, see Josephus who uses phrase *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς* three times to refer to something happening to someone's head and none of them have anything to do with veils or hair (*Antiquities*, 1.50.4; 2.252.2; 13.117.5).

¹⁹ *Moralia* 266C-E.

²⁰ *Moralia* 267A-B.

²¹ As noted before, the phrase does occur in *Moralia* 267C in his parenthetical remark about divorce, but that has no direct bearing on why Roman sons escort their parents to their grave bare headed.

Data Advanced by Preston Massey

In his 2007 article, under the section “The Meaning of *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων*,” Preston Massey asserts that *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* “though generally used with an object (but understood without the object), always implies some kind of garment or cloth coming down from the head.”²² He then footnotes (n. 71) the following statement:

Besides the references already cited, *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον* (a covering down from the head) may be found in the following texts: Dionysius of Halicarnassus *The Roman Antiquities* III.71, VI.3.3, XI.26.4, XII.16.4, XV.9.7, XIX.8.3; Plutarch *Pompey* XL.4; *Caesar* LXVI.12 The Sayings of the Romans 200F; The Roman Questions 266C and 267C; Fortune of the Romans 319C (which has the similar *ἀφείλεν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον*; and Josephus, *Ant.* III.270.²³

Contrary to Massey’s claim, as noted before,²⁴ the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* does not occur in the extant literature unless it has an explicit direct object. It is, therefore, illegitimate to claim that it is “understood without the object” to always imply “some kind of garment or cloth coming down from the head.” Nonetheless, Massey’s footnote appears to be an impressive list of citations supporting his conclusion that *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* refers to a material covering.

Upon inspection, however, two major problems appear. First, three of the six references to Dionysius of Halicarnassus do not contain the phrase *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον* as was claimed. In fact, they have nothing to do with head coverings. Specifically, in *Roman Antiquities*, VI.3.3, Dionysius refers to Postumius “setting up camp high above” (lit. on the head of; *κατὰ κεφαλῆς*) his enemies; *Roman Antiquities*, XI.26.4, line 6, describes how Siccius’ enemies got above him (*κατὰ κεφαλῆς*) and rolled stones on him, killing him; and *Roman Antiquities*, XIX.8.3, line 6, describes Meton being thrown out of the theater head first (*κατὰ κεφαλῆς*).²⁵

The second problem is that citing texts that contain terms such as *ἱμάτιον* (“toga”) or *περιβολὴν* (“garment, mantle”) does nothing to prove that the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων*, which does not contain such terms, refers to a material covering. That is similar to saying that since the phrase “with a hat on his head” occurs frequently in English literature, the blank in the phrase “with _____ on his head” must refer to a hat.

Less significant, but still noteworthy, the other texts Massey cites do not contain the exact phrase *κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον* but use language similar to that found in the Plutarch examples previously discussed.²⁶

(5) In *Roman Antiquities* 3.71.5, Dionysius of Halicarnassus describes a statue as: “This statue ... was shorter than a man of average stature, having a mantle over the head.”²⁷ Here

²² Preston T. Massey, “The Meaning of *κατακαλύπτω* and *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* in 1 Corinthians 11.2–16,” *New Testament Studies*, 53.4 (2007): 522. This article developed from Massey’s dissertation, “The Veil and the Voice: A Study of Female Beauty and Male Attraction in Ancient Greece” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2006).

²³ Massey, “The Meaning of *κατακαλύπτω* and *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* in 1 Corinthians 11.2–16,” 522.

²⁴ See footnote 5 above.

²⁵ This is not simply a case of citing the wrong reference in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, since a TLG search of Dionysius’ works turns up no other instances of this phrase.

²⁶ Plutarch’s *The Roman Questions* 266C reads “having a toga on their head” (*ἐπὶ [not κατὰ] τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντες τὸ ἱμάτιον*), a similar phrase but one in which, has been noted in all the previous examples, the direct object of *ἔχοντες* is explicit unlike the situation in 1 Cor. 11:4.

“mantle” (περιβολήν), a cognate of the term “covering” used in 1 Cor. 11:15 (περιβόλαιον), is used rather than “toga” (ιμάτιον). Note that Dionysius supplied an explicit direct object for “having” (ἔχουσα), indicating what was on the head of the statue.

(6) In *Roman Antiquities* 12.16.4, Dionysius describes Camillos preparing to depart after praying: “Camillos ... since he had prayed and had drawn his garment over his head, desired to turn”²⁸ Here the verb “had drawn” (ἔλκω) has “garment” (ιμάτιον) as its explicit direct object and “over the head” (κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς) indicates where Camillos drew his garment.

(7) In *Roman Antiquities* 15.9.7, Dionysius describes a Roman praying: “When he was about to depart, he drew his garment over his head and held up his hand to the sky, as the custom is, and made prayer to the gods.”²⁹ Once again the direct object “garment” (περιβολήν) of the verb “drew” (ἔλκω) is explicit.

From all the foregoing evidence, it should be clear that κατὰ κεφαλῆς is the natural phrase that would be used to describe where a person would wear a veil or mantle—“on the head.” On the other hand, where else but κατὰ κεφαλῆς (“on the head”) would one wear hair? The fact that Hellenistic writers regularly make use of this phrase in non-veiling contexts,³⁰ without any qualification to indicate that a material covering is not in view, provides solid evidence that κατὰ κεφαλῆς does not normally denote or connote a condition of having the head covered with anything. Massey, therefore, is incorrect when he states that κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων “always implies some kind of garment or cloth coming down from the head.”

κατὰ κεφαλῆς in the LXX

There is one occurrence of the phrase κατὰ κεφαλῆς as a description of a covered head in the Septuagint. In Esther 6:12, Haman is described as hurrying home mourning, with his head covered. The LXX translates the Hebrew phrase שָׂרַר יָפְתִּי “head being covered” with κατὰ κεφαλῆς.

Several items are noteworthy here. First, the phrase κατὰ κεφαλῆς was not used with the verb ἔχω as in 1 Cor. 11:4. Second, the fact that Sinaiticus has a scribal correction which corrects κατὰ κεφαλῆς to κατακεκαλύμμενος κεφαλῆν (“having an covered head”; see Figure 1) suggests that at least one Greek scribe felt that κατὰ κεφαλῆς was too ambiguous a rendering and changed it to a more explicit construction. In other words, Esth. 6:12 suggests that κατὰ κεφαλῆς may be used to refer to “a covered head.”

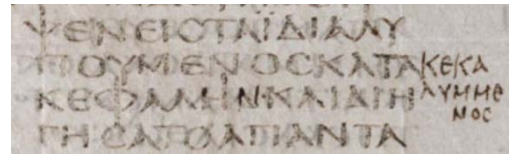


Figure 1: Esther 6:12 in Sinaiticus

²⁷ εἰκόνα ... ἐλάττων ἀνδρὸς μετρίου τὴν περιβολὴν ἔχουσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς. Author’s translation. Cf. *The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, trans. by Earnest Cary, *Loeb Classical Library* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), vol. 2, pp. 254-55.

²⁸ ὁ Κάμιλλος ... ἐπειδὴ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐποίησατο καὶ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἴλκυσε τὸ ἱμάτιον, ἐβούλετο μὲν στραφῆναι ... Ibid.

²⁹ Μέλλων δ’ ἀπίεσαι τὴν τε περιβολὴν κατὰ κεφαλῆς εἴλκυσε καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, ἀρὰς ἐποίησατο τοῖς θεοῖς. Author’s translation.

³⁰ Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities*, VI.3.3; XI.26.4, line 6; XIX.8.3, line 6; Plutarch, *Vitae Decem Oratorum* 842B; *Pyrrhus* 399B; *Les Papyrus Fouad I* 29.11; *P.Oxy.* 33.2672dupl, lines 15-18; Josephus, *Antiquities*, 1.50.4; 2.252.2; 13.117.5.

However, in light of all the foregoing evidence, “a covered head” is neither the necessary meaning nor the normal usage of this phrase. Further, it is illegitimate to isolate the investigation of *κατὰ κεφαλῆς* from its syntagmic relationship to the verb *ἔχω*.³¹

Conclusion regarding *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχω*

What should we conclude from the foregoing analysis? First, it is clear that the precise phrase Paul used is unusual.³² Second, as Esther 6:12 shows, the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς* without the verb *ἔχω* could be used to refer to a covered head. However, since Paul does not use this phrase by itself, the parallel while suggestive is not conclusive. Third, in regard to the examples found in Plutarch and Dionysius, in each case where *ἔχω*, *ἔλκω*, or *ἐφέλκω* occur with *κατὰ κεφαλῆς*, they invariably have an explicit object. Paul, on the other hand, does not supply an explicit object for *ἔχων*.

In both Classical and Hellenistic Greek the verb *ἔχω* takes *κόμην* (“long hair”) as a direct object to describe a person who has let their hair grow long. For example, in his play, *Birds*, Aristophanes writes: “Since then you are a slave, [how is that] you have long hair (*κόμην ἔχεις*)?”³³ In another play by Aristophanes, *Clouds*, a father laments that he is being ruined by his son who “has long hair (*κόμην ἔχων*) [and] races horses and chariots.”³⁴ In “Proverbs which Alexandreus Used,” Plutarch includes the following description: “Concerning the long-haired one in Samos: A certain Samian was a boxer, who being mocked as weak by his opponents since he had long hair (*κόμας εἶχεν*), having entered the competition, overcame them.”³⁵ A commentator on Aristotle from the 1-2 c. BC describes a group of people whose men had long hair (*κόμην ἔχουσι*) down to their knees and below.³⁶ These examples demonstrate that it is not impossible or even unlikely that *ἔχων* (“having”) in the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* (“having on his head”) could be understood as having *κόμην* (“long hair”) as its unstated object, especially in light of Paul’s use of this term in vv. 14-15. The previous examples lead us to consider two early church interpreters who understood the covering Paul was forbidding to men to include or to be long hair.

³¹ For an explanation of the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships of words or phrases within the context of a sentence, see Cotterell and Turner, *Linguistics and Biblical Interpretation*, 155-61, 188-89.

³² For a similar conclusion, see Blattenberger, *Rethinking 1 Corinthians 11:2-16*, 36.

³³ Aristophanes, *Birds*, line 911: ἔπειτα δῆτα δοῦλος ὦν κόμην ἔχεις; Aristophanes lived c. 446–386 BC and was a comic playwright in ancient Athens.

³⁴ Aristophanes, *Clouds*, line 14: ... διὰ τουτονὶ τὸν υἱόν. ὁ δὲ κόμην ἔχων ἱππάζεται τε καὶ ξυνωρικεύεται ὄνειροπολεῖ θ’ ἵππους.

³⁵ Τὸν ἐν Σάμῳ κομήτην: Σάμιός τις ἐγένετο πύκτης, ὃς ἐπὶ μαλακίᾳ σκωπτόμενος, ἐπειδὴ κόμας εἶχεν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν, συμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησεν (author’s translation). Παροιμίαι αἱς Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐχρῶντο. Centuria 2.8.2 in F.G. Schneidewin and E.L. von Leutsch, *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1839; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965): 337.

³⁶ ἐπειδὴν δὲ νεανίσκοι γένωνται, κομῶσι, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες Πυγμαῖοι κόμην ἔχουσι μακροτάτην μέχρι ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα καὶ ἔτι κατωτέρω καὶ πώγωνα μέγιστον πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε ἔλκεσθαί φασιν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ποσίν, ἄτε μικρῶν ὄντων, τοὺς πώγωνα, ἐξόπισθεν δὲ τὴν κόμην εἶναι πολὺ κάτωθεν τῶν γονάτων. S. P. Lampros, *Excerptorum Constantini de natura animalium libri duo. Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome in Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* suppl. 1.1 (Berlin: Reimer, 1885), ch. 2.67, line 7.

John Chrysostom on 1 Corinthians 11:4

John Chrysostom (A.D. 347-407) was an elder at the church in Antioch where he earned a reputation as a “golden-mouthed” preacher. He was later appointed, against his will, archbishop of Constantinople. During his time in Antioch he preached a series of expository sermons through 1 Corinthians and devoted an entire sermon to 1 Cor. 11:2-16. In reference to v. 4 Chrysostom understood Paul to be addressing men who were wearing long hair and were covering their heads when praying:

the men went so far as to wear long hair as having spent their time in philosophy, and covered their heads when praying and prophesying, each of which was a Grecian custom.³⁷

Chrysostom argues that Paul is forbidding men from wearing anything on their heads, including long hair:

Now regarding the man, it is no longer about a covering but about wearing long hair, that [Paul] forms his discourse. To be covered then [Paul] only forbids, when a man is praying; but wearing long hair he discourages at all times. ... For this reason also [Paul] said at the beginning, “Every man praying or prophesying, having any thing on his head, dishonoreth his head.” He did not say, “covered,” but “having any thing on his head;” signifying that even if a man should pray with a bare head, yet if he have long hair, he is like one who is covered [with a material covering]. “For the hair,” says [Paul], “is given for a covering.”³⁸

Three aspects of Chrysostom’s explanation of verse four are particularly noteworthy. First, He contrasts the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* with *κεκαλυμμένος* (“being covered”)—a verb that he uses repeatedly in the sermon to refer to being veiled³⁹—and he explicitly denies that *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* means *κεκαλυμμένος* (“being covered” [with a material veil]).

Second, he affirms that Paul used the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* in order to show that even if a man prays with a bare head, but has long hair, it is the same as if his head were covered. In other words, Chrysostom understands Paul to mean something like “a man may not pray or prophesy with anything on his head,” excluding both long hair and a material covering.

Third, Chrysostom uses the phrase *κόμην ἔχει* (“may have long hair”), implying that he regards *κόμην* (“long hair”) as a legitimate implicit object of *ἔχων* (“having”) in the phrase *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* in verse four.

³⁷ *Homily 26 (11:2-16)*, under verse 2, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, vol. 12, p. 149. Greek text: οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ ἐκόμων, ἅτε ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατριψάντες, καὶ περιεβάλλοντο τὰς κεφαλὰς εὐχόμενοι καὶ προφητεύοντες· ὅπερ ἐκάτερον Ἑλληνικοῦ νόμου ἦν. In *epistulam i ad Corinthios* in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)*, vol. 61, p. 213.

³⁸ Translation adapted from *Homily 26 (11:2-16)*, under verse 4, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, vol. 12, p. 152. Greek text: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκέτι τὸν τοῦ καλύμματος, ἀλλὰ τὸν τῆς κόμης οὕτω γυμνάζει λόγον· καλύπτεσθαι μὲν γὰρ τότε μόνον κωλύει, ὅταν εὐχῆται, κομᾶν δὲ αἰεὶ ἀποτρέπει. ... οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ὅτι «ἐὰν κομᾶ, ἀτιμία αὐτῷ ἐστίν». οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐὰν καλύπτηται, ἀλλ’ «ἐὰν κομᾶ». διὸ καὶ ἀρχόμενος ἔλεγε· «πᾶς ἀνὴρ προσευχόμενος ἢ προφητεύων, κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων». οὐκ εἶπε, κεκαλυμμένος, ἀλλὰ, «κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων», δεικνὺς ὅτι καὶ γυμνῇ εὐχῆται τῇ κεφαλῇ, κόμην δὲ ἔχει, ἴσος ἐστὶ τῷ κεκαλυμμένῳ. ἢ γὰρ «κόμη», φησὶν, «ἀντὶ περιβολαίου δέδοται». In *epistulam i ad Corinthios* in J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca)*, vol. 61, p. 217.

³⁹ Chrysostom uses forms of *καλύπτω* at least 15 times throughout his sermon to refer to veil head.

Epiphanius of Salamis on 1 Corinthians 11:7

Epiphanius (c. A.D. 315-403), Bishop of Salamis and Metropolitan of the Church of Cyprus, stands out from other ancient Christian writers because he understood the covering forbidden to men to be long hair. He cites 1 Cor. 11:7 in five different contexts in his polemical work *Panarion*. In each case, he cites the verse as: “A man ought not to wear long hair [κομᾶν] because he is the image and glory of God.”⁴⁰ For example, he cites 1 Cor. 11:7 in addressing Manicheism’s misunderstanding of the value of the body:

And once more, the same apostle says in another passage, “A man ought not to have long hair forasmuch as he is the glory and image of God.” And you see how he called hair the glory of God, though it is grown on the body and not in the soul.⁴¹

There is no manuscript or versional evidence for this rendering of verse seven.⁴² It seems most likely, therefore, that it reflects Epiphanius’s understanding of verse 7 that κατακαλύπτεισθαι (“to be covered”) refers to “having long hair” (κομᾶν). This relatively early interpretation is noteworthy because it calls into question the argument advanced by Massey that “a study of the verb κατακαλύπτω will permit a translation only of textile head coverings.”⁴³

Commenting on the practice of some “esteemed brethren” in the cloisters of Mesopotamia, Epiphanius notes that they:

have been detected in another form [of error], that of deliberately having their hair long like a woman’s and wearing sackcloth openly. ... Visible sackcloth is out of place in the catholic church, as is uncut hair, because of the apostle’s injunction, “A man ought not to have long hair, inasmuch as he is the image of God.”⁴⁴

⁴⁰ ἀνὴρ, γὰρ φησιν, οὐκ ὀφείλει κομᾶν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion* in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922, 1933), vol. 2, pp. 122, 167; vol. 3, pp. 91, 236, 492. Epiphanius also quotes this verse in the same way in his letter to John of Jerusalem. However, the Greek text of Epiphanius’s letter is fragmentary and does not contain this excerpt. P. Maas, “Die ikonoklastische Episode in dem Brief des Epiphanius an Johannes,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 30 (1929-1930): 281-283. Fortunately, Epiphanius asked Jerome to translate the letter into Latin, and we have a copy of the entire letter through Jerome. “Letter LI. From Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, to John, Bishop of Jerusalem” in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 2, vol. 6, p. 88.

⁴¹ Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis: Books II and III (Sects 47-80, De Fide)*, trans. by Frank Williams, *Nag Hammadi Studies*, 36 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 271. Greek text: ὁ αὐτὸς ἀπόστολος «ἀνὴρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κομᾶν, δόξα καὶ εἰκὼν θεοῦ ὑπάρχων». καὶ ὁρᾷς ὡς δόξαν θεοῦ ἔφη τὴν κόμην, ἐπὶ σώματος φερομένην καὶ οὐκ ἐν ψυχῇ; ... καὶ μάτην οὗτος κομποποιεῖ, μᾶλλον δὲ χλεύην ὑφίσταται παρὰ τοῖς τὴν τελείαν φρόνησιν κεκτημένοις. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion*, vol. 3, p. 91.

⁴² Reuben J. Swanson, ed., *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: 1 Corinthians* (Wheaton: Tyndale House Publishers, 2003), 165. So also NA²⁷.

⁴³ Massey, 502.

⁴⁴ Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, 634. Greek text: οἱ κατὰ Μεσοποταμίαν ἐν μοναστηρίοις ὑπάρχοντες εἶπουν μάνδραις καλουμέναις, κόμαις γυναικικαῖς <χρῆσθαι> προβαλλόμενοι καὶ σάκκω προφανεῖ ἐπερειδόμενοι. ... ἀλλότριον γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας σάκκος προφανῆς καὶ κόμη <μῆ> ἐκτεμνομένη ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος τῶν ἀποστόλων. «ἀνὴρ, γὰρ φησιν, οὐκ ὀφείλει κομᾶν, εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα θεοῦ ὑπάρχων». K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion*, vol. 3, p. 492.

Epiphanius continues his argument by addressing the issue of the Nazirites' long hair.⁴⁵ He argues that "long hair was proper only for Nazirites" and that it is a shame for Christian men to wear long hair, citing 1 Cor. 11:14. Since the ascetics were appealing to the OT Nazirite vow, it is clear that they were allowing their hair to grow uncut. This means Epiphanius' use of *κομᾶν* ("to have long hair") necessarily refers to wearing long, uncut hair.⁴⁶

Although there do not appear to be any extant comments by Epiphanius on 1 Cor. 11:5-6, precisely the same verb that occurs in v. 7 (*κατακαλύπτεσθαι*) also occurs twice in v. 6 (*κατακαλύπτεται* and *κατακαλυπτέσθω*). If Epiphanius understood *κατακαλύπτεσθαι* ("to be covered") in v. 7 to mean *κομᾶν* ("to wear uncut hair"), then it is most likely that he would have understood the same verb in v. 6 to have that meaning as well. Given that understanding the verse would read, "If a woman does not have uncut hair, then let her shear the rest off; but since it is a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her allow her hair to grow uncut."⁴⁷

The purpose of looking at Chrysostom and Epiphanius is not to appeal to their exegesis as authoritative. Rather, the purpose is to note that well-educated, native Greek speakers 250 years after Paul did not understand *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* or *κατακαλύπτω* to be necessarily referring to a material head-covering. Rather, Chrysostom took *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* as a generic phrase meaning "having anything on his head" which prohibited both a veil and long hair. Epiphanius understood the verb *κατακαλύπτω* to be referring to having long, uncut hair.

Conclusion

Since the ultimate arbiter of meaning is always context, the interpreter of 1 Cor. 11:2-16 should seek for the implied object of *ἔχων* in the context. If nothing in the context argued for a covering other than a garment (*ἱμάτιον*) as the object of *ἔχων*, this would be a legitimate inference to draw from the evidence. However, several significant contextual reasons support the conclusion that Paul intends the Corinthians to identify the implicit object of *ἔχων* as *κόμη* and not a material covering. First, Paul's argument from man's created status as the glory of God implies that whatever practice would dishonor man's head (Christ) would always dishonor his head. Since it is unlikely that God would require OT priests to do something that would dishonor him (wear a material head-covering when performing their mediatorial office), it is unlikely that Paul has wearing material head-coverings in view. Second, the connections created by Paul's

⁴⁵ Apparently certain ascetics extended this appeal claiming that Jesus was a Nazirite. In a work we possess only in fragmentary form, Epiphanius refutes the claim that Jesus was a Nazirite and thus wore long hair: "For they write that the savior had long hair based on the hypothesis that because he was called a Nazoraion, since the Nazirites have long hair, but they are [wrong] for the savior drank wine, but the Nazirites did not drink it" (author's translation). Greek text: *κόμην γὰρ ἔχοντα τὸν σωτῆρα γράφουσιν ἐξ ὑπονοίας διὰ τὸ Ναζωραῖον αὐτὸν καλεῖσθαι, ἐπεὶ περ οἱ Ναζιραῖοι κόμας ἔχουσιν. σφάλλονται δὲ οἱ τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶ συνάπτειν πειρώμενοι· οἶνον γὰρ ἔπινον ὁ σωτῆρ, ὃν οἱ Ναζιραῖοι οὐκ ἔπινον.* "Epistula ad Theodosium imperatorem" (fragment 24) in Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1928; repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964): 361.

⁴⁶ Epiphanius, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*, 635. His citation of 1 Cor. 11:14 in the context of discussing the Nazirites' uncut hair demonstrates that *κομάω* could refer to uncut hair.

⁴⁷ εἰ γὰρ οὐ κατακαλύπτεται [=κομᾶ] γυνή, καὶ κειράσθω· εἰ δὲ αἰσχρὸν γυναικὶ τὸ κείρασθαι ἢ ξυρᾶσθαι, κατακαλυπτέσθω [=κομάτω].

glory-shame motif in vv. 4-7 and 13-15 support the conclusion that the covering he has in mind is *κόμη*. Finally, since Paul grounds his argument in a headship structure reflective of the economic Trinity (v. 3), in the order and purpose of Creation (v. 8-9), in what the created order (*φύσις*) suggests is fitting (vv. 13-14), and concludes with an appeal to the universal practice of the early church (v. 16), it is likely that he has in view a covering which is transtemporal and universally applicable: *κόμη*.

Appendix A: An Interpretation of the History of Interpretation

Given the broad consensus of the history of interpretation on this passage, how does one justify the assertion that *κόμη* is the covering at issue? This is certainly a fair question, and one that should be addressed directly.

First, it is important to realize that the “*κόμη*-only” position is not an abandonment of the church’s historic understanding of this passage. The church fathers and early commentators consistently understood that Paul, and thus God, forbade men to have *κόμη* and expected it of women. The position espoused here stands in continuity with this aspect of church’s historic position, while dissenting from the common understanding that an additional covering (the veil) is also in view.

Second, several factors provide a plausible explanation for what I regard as a misunderstanding of Paul’s language regarding a covering: (1) the ambiguity of Paul’s language, (2) the Mediterranean cultural ethos, (3) early glosses in Greek manuscripts and early translations of the passage in Latin and Coptic, (4) the influence of Irenaeus and Tertullian, and (5) inattention to Paul’s theological argumentation in 1 Cor. 11:7.

The Ambiguity of Paul’s language

The language Paul uses is unusual in some places and ambiguous in others. The fact that native Greek speakers understood *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* differently attests to its ambiguity. In addition, the language Paul uses, although admittedly ambiguous, readily lends itself to being understood in reference to a material covering. As in inductive survey of the uses of the *καλύπτω* word group readily demonstrates, it was commonly used in reference to material coverings being on or not on the head. The absence of any information regarding the precise nature of what was going on in Corinth compounds the difficulty of understanding Paul’s language.

The Mediterranean cultural ethos

Jewish, Greek, and Roman cultures all supported the use of a veil for feminine modesty.⁴⁸ Although not universally required, when modesty was a consideration, the veil was almost universally considered appropriate.⁴⁹ Precisely who was to wear one (virgin or married), and where it should be worn (in public only or both in public and in private) were matters of cultural diversity.

⁴⁸ For an extended demonstration of Greek use of the veil in pre-classical, classical, and post-classical periods of Greek culture, see Preston Massey, “The Veil and the Voice: A Study of Female Beauty and Male Attraction in Ancient Greece” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2006), pp. 202-51; Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Oakville, CT: David Brown Book Co., 2003), esp. 55-80. See also, Blattenberger, *Rethinking 1 Corinthians 11.2-16*.

⁴⁹ Massey’s analysis of Greek literature up to the first century A.D. identifies seven different meanings which may attach to the wearing of a veil (1) a veil symbolizes a woman is married, (2) a veil maintains a woman’s modesty, (3) a veil communicates marital fidelity, (4) a veil protects a woman from undesired gazes, (5) a veil may be used to show respect to a man, (6) a veil functioned as a gender-distinguishing piece of clothing, and (7) a veil may be used to adorn or beautify. The non-use of the veil could signal grief at a death, disrespect to a man, or promiscuous availability and was considered shameful. “The Veil and the Voice,” pp. 252-80.

Further, it has become increasingly well-documented that it was a common 1st c. Roman practice for men to veil their heads when worshipping.⁵⁰ Although the evidence for the precise origin of the use of the *tallith* by Jews is inconclusive, the OT practice by priests certainly creates a background amenable to the practice, and the Talmud may well have canonized practices whose origin dates well before the 3rd century AD. The use of some form of head-covering for various purposes throughout the Roman Empire in combination with the common usage of elements of Paul's language provides a plausible setting in which Paul's instructions could fairly easily be construed to be addressing veiling concerns.

Early Glosses and Translations of 1 Cor. 11:10

Irenaeus (c. 120-202) cites 1 Cor. 11:10 as “A woman ought to have a veil upon her head, because of the angels.”⁵¹ If Irenaeus were simply quoting the text the way the Valentinians did, he might be expected to point out their error. Since he does not, as noted in Schaff and also suggested by Dillon and Unger,⁵² this may indicate that an early marginal gloss for the word “authority” (ἐξουσίαν) actually made it into the text of some early copies of Paul's letter to the Corinthians.⁵³ Given the way Irenaeus cites this verse, it is possible that his copy of 1 Corinthians had been corrupted and read “veil” (κάλυμμα) instead of “authority” (ἐξουσίαν) in 11:10.

There are currently no extant copies of 1 Corinthians in Greek that have “veil” (κάλυμμα) in verse 10.⁵⁴ This fact suggests perhaps that the dispersal of such copies was not wide spread. There are, however, early translations that have the word *veil* instead of *authority* in verse 10. Adam Clarke notes that “some copies of the Itala (Old Latin) have also *velamen*, a veil. ... and in an ancient edition of the Vulgate, ... the verse stands thus: *Ideo debet mulier velamen habere*

⁵⁰ David W. J. Gill, “The Importance of Roman Portraiture for Head-coverings in 1 Corinthians 11:2-16.” *Tyndale Bulletin* 41, no. 2 (1990): 245-260; Richard Oster, “Use, Misuse and Neglect of Archaeological Evidence in Some Modern Works on 1 Corinthians (1Cor 7,1-5; 8,10; 11,2-16; 12,14-26).” *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 83 (1992): 52-73; Ben Witherington III, *Conflict & Community in Corinth: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995); Craig S. Keener, *1-2 Corinthians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁵¹ Interestingly, Epiphanius quotes Irenaeus extensively in his *Panarion* and preserves Irenaeus' quotation of 1 Cor. 11:10 precisely as found in Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*: δει̅ την̅ γυνα̅ϊκα̅ κάλυμμα̅ ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς διὰ τοὺς ἀγγέλους. K. Holl, *Epiphanius, Ancoratus und Panarion in Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915), vol. 1, p. 423.

⁵² Schaff, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, p. 327. Unger and Dillon confirm that Irenaeus's text reads *kalumma* at this point. They conclude that *kalumma* “must have been in the Western text that the Gnostics used, or they changed from power to veil according to the sense of the symbol to fit their purpose.” *St. Irenaeus of Lyons: Against the Heresies*, 173-74.

⁵³ Just as we make marginal notes in books today, it was not unusual for early Christians to make marginal comments in their copies of New Testament manuscripts. When these manuscripts were copied later, sometimes the copyist would mistake a marginal note for a marginal correction, and insert into the text or replace the original text with the marginal text. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 194-95.

⁵⁴ Swanson, *New Testament Greek Manuscripts: 1 Corinthians*, 165. So also NA²⁷. Swanson does note four manuscripts that have *κάλυμμα* in v. 4; however, all of these mss date from 9th c. or later (e.g., (424 999 1315).

super caput suum: et propter angelos.”⁵⁵ As noted in the UBS⁴ apparatus, part of the Bohairic Coptic tradition reads *veil* as well.⁵⁶ Given the relative literalness of this translation, it is likely that the Greek manuscript(s) used to produce these translations had *κάλυμμα* in verse 10.

If Greek manuscripts were circulating which read *κάλυμμα* instead of *ἐξουσίαν* such manuscripts would have effectively rendered any other interpretive options impossible for those who read them. Should anyone have suggested a different understanding, the response would have been, “Paul says ‘veil,’ so it has to be about veils.”

The Influence of Irenaeus and Tertullian

Both Irenaeus and Tertullian exercised considerable influence over Christian interpretive consensus as it developed in the 3rd century, particularly in the West. The influence of both men is evident in the frequency with which they are cited by contemporary and subsequent church fathers and in church councils. Tertullian in particular was very vocal in insisting that women be veiled at all times, not merely when worshipping. The forcefulness of their writings as well as the breadth of their influence were factors contributing to the dominance of the material-covering view.

Inattention to Paul’s Theological Argumentation

An exploration of extant ancient Christian commentary on 1 Corinthians 11:7 discovers extended discussions of what it means for men to be in the image of God, whether women share the image of God, what the image and glory of God are and how man is the glory of God. What is missing from ancient commentaries is consideration of how verse seven supports and relates to Paul’s theological argument within the passage as a whole. Specifically, it appears that no attention was given to the theological implications of Paul’s argument in 1 Cor. 11:7 for the divinely required practice of priests wearing a material head-covering (Exod. 28:4, 40).⁵⁷ Paul’s argument that man’s status as the glory of God obligates him to pray and prophesy with an uncovered head flies directly in the face of God’s design of caps and turbans for those leading His people in worship—if the covering to which Paul refers is a material head covering.

The implications of Paul’s statement for Exodus 28:4, 40 appears to have been in ancient commentators’ “blindspot” as they traveled through this text. Potential explanations for this oversight include the (1) de-emphasis on the OT that resulted from hostility between the synagogue and the church in first and second centuries,⁵⁸ (2) the early rise of allegorical readings

⁵⁵ Clarke, *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, 132. The quality of Old Latin translations was sufficiently varied that Jerome was commissioned to produce a faithful translation into Latin. Jerome’s translation is known as the Vulgate.

⁵⁶ Aland, Barbara, et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament*, 4th rev. ed. (Westphalia: United Bible Societies, 2001), 592.

⁵⁷ Almost all the discussion of 1 Cor. 11:7 revolves around the significance of the man as the image and glory of God and woman as the glory of man. For example, see Chrysostom, *Homily 26* (11:2-16), under verse 7, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, series 1, vol. 12, p. 153.

⁵⁸ For further discussion, see Craig A. Evans, “Christianity and Judaism: Parting of the Ways,” in *The Dictionary of the Later New Testament and its Developments* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 1997), pp. 159-170, and Philip S. Alexander, “‘The Parting of the Ways’ from the Perspective of Rabbinic Judaism,” in *Parting of the Ways: Jews and Christians* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), pp. 1-26.

of Scripture, and the OT especially, that minimized attention to the literal meaning of the text, and (3) theological issues relating to Christology and the meaning of man as the image of God that obscured the implications of Exodus 28 for this text. The reasons for lack of attention to this issue probably varied from person to person. Regardless, this absence of wholistic attention to the way in which Paul develops his theological argument made it easier to read the text as requiring a material covering.

Conclusion

The momentum of the Mediterranean cultural ethos in combination with Paul's ambiguous language would have been strongly in the direction of a material head-covering. Factoring in the additional possibility that the word *veil* was mistakenly introduced into early copies of 1 Corinthians, the influence of Irenaeus and Tertullian on the early church's understanding of this passage, and the general inattention to Paul's theological argumentation, it is hardly surprising that the history of interpretation is what it is. What is interesting is evidence in Epiphanius and Chrysostom that elements of the passage were understood by some in the way the proponents of the "κόμη is the covering" position are arguing. Taken together these factors provide a plausible explanation for the development of the dominant understanding of this passage.