

DRESS CODES AT ROMAN CORINTH AND TWO HELLENIC SITES: WHAT
DO THE INSCRIPTIONS AT ANDANIA AND LYCOSURA TELL US
ABOUT 1 CORINTHIANS 11.2-16?

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Introduction: The Status Questionis

First Corinthians 11.5 reads: ‘And every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonors her head’. Given this appeal for women to be veiled, it is surprising that this puzzling text is then followed up in v. 15 with an equally troubling statement: ‘if a woman has long hair, it is her glory’. Specialists working in the field of New Testament backgrounds have been perplexed for years by the particular dress code contained in the pericope of 1 Cor. 11.2-16. Roman historians have also entered into the discussion. Elaine Fantham has recently added to the discussion by labeling the text as ‘notorious’.¹ There are several reasons for the notoriety of this text. Among them is the persistent claim that this text does not contain a reference to veiling.² Rather, some see the text as describing only the décor of long hair. Those who have challenged the traditional view that 1 Cor. 11.2-16 treats the subject of veiling do so upon the basis of a claim for an alleged cultural practice of wearing a veil only at a wedding ceremony

1. Elaine Fantham, ‘Covering the Head at Rome: Ritual and Gender’, in Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (eds.), *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 158-71 (159).

2. A. Padgett, ‘Paul on Women in the Church: The Contradictions of Coiffure in 1 Corinthians 11.2-16’, *JSNT* 20 (1984), pp. 69-86 (70): ‘We thus join a growing number of scholars in rendering *kata kephales echon* as “having long hair coming down from the head”’. See also Francis Watson, ‘The Authority of the Voice: A Theological Reading of 1 Cor 11.2-16’, *NTS* 46 (2000), pp. 520-36 (534 n. 20): ‘the “unbound hair” view represents a broad consensus in recent scholarship’.

and upon the basis of insisting that 1 Cor. 11.14-15 determines the meaning of 1 Cor. 11.4.

Beginning with alleged cultural claims, one of the very first to challenge the traditional view was Gerhard Delling with his *Paulus' Stellung zu Frau und Ehe* in 1931. In this monograph he introduced two new arguments for understanding Greek veiling customs. First, he advanced the notion that veiling was not a Hellenic custom for women at all except on their wedding day.³ Secondly, Delling claimed that the apostle Paul introduced to the Corinthian congregation the Jewish practice of women wearing a veil at worship.⁴

Delling, as far as I know, is the first to develop a serious argument that veiling was not the normal custom among Greek citizens. It must be added to his credit, however, that Delling was quick to acknowledge that his proposition involved 'no small difficulty' ('nicht geringe Schwierigkeiten'). In 1972, Annie Jaubert, building upon the earlier work of Strack-Billerbeck (but without mentioning Delling), arrived at similar conclusions.⁵ She advanced three principles for understanding

3. G. Delling, *Paulus' Stellung zu Frau und Ehe* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1931), p. 98. A variation of this thesis is advocated by Douglas R. Edwards, 'Dress and Ornamentation', *ABD*, II, pp. 232-38 (237). In the monumental and often-cited *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Albrecht Oepke builds upon the conclusions of Delling by essentially saying the same thing ('κάλυμμα', *TDNT*, III, pp. 563-65): referring to Delling at the bottom of p. 563, he states, 'Paul is thus attempting to introduce into congregations on Greek soil a custom which corresponds to oriental and especially Jewish sensibility rather than Greek'.

4. Delling, *Paulus' Stellung*, p. 98, states, 'Paulus hatte in den von ihm gegründeten Gemeinden—wahrscheinlich war er auch in den judenschristlichen Gemeinden üblich—als autoritative Lehrtradition den Brauch eingeführt (v.2), dass die Frauen verschleiert in den gottesdienstlichen Versammlungen erschienen—oder aber sich für die gottesdienstliche Betätigung verschleierten. Wie er das überall durchgesetzt haben mag, das zu verstehen, bereitet uns nicht geringe Schwierigkeiten. Dass dies die historische Entwicklungslinie sei, ist endlich auch die Meinung der alten Kirche selber: das Schleiertragen sei eine fest tradierte jüdische Sitte gewesen, die durch den Apostel autoritative Geltung bekommen sollte für die Christen.' See also W. Schrage, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther (1 Kor 6,12–11,16)* (EKKNT, 7/2; Zürich: Benziger, 1995), pp. 487-533 (491-92), in which he mentions Delling in nn. 11, 12, 13 and 15.

5. A. Jaubert, 'Le voile des femmes', *NTS* 18 (1972), pp. 419-30 (424), says: 'On suppose donc que c'est usage culturel païen que des corinthiennes auraient transporté dans les assemblées chrétiennes, au scandale sans doute des chrétiens d'origine juive'. See also B. Kötting, 'Haar', *RAC* 13 (1986), p. 195: 'Für Paulus ist

the Pauline admonition about veiling in 1 Cor. 11.2-16: (1) that Greek veiling customs varied from city to city,⁶ (2) that native Greek women believers had brought into the Corinthian worship assembly the pagan practice of appearing bare headed during worship to the shame and embarrassment of the Jewish Christians at Corinth, and (3) that Paul's reaction to this innovative movement by the Hellenic Christian women was to introduce the attire of veiling that is founded on and respectful of Jewish sensitivities. To support her case, Jaubert marshals an abundance of citations from rabbinical writings, arguing two main points.

The first is that Greek veiling customs were not uniform throughout Greek culture, and the second is that Jewish veiling customs were standardized, even though Jewish males were notorious for their diversity of opinions on almost any subject matter. A reactive movement by the Hellenic Christian women was then to introduce the attire of veiling that was founded on and respectful of Jewish sensitivities.⁷ Jaubert thus stakes out a case with a double set of doubtful disclaimers: Greek women, from their previous experience of pagan worship, are used to appearing in public bare headed, and Paul, in response to this impropriety, imposes the Jewish custom of veiling upon Greek nationals, in order to prevent a sense of indecency in community worship. Thus, Jaubert, along with others,⁸ implies that we cannot

die Haar tracht von Bedeutung für die gottesdienstliche Ordnung. Die Frau soll langes Haar u. Schleier tragen...Paulus passt sich damit der jüd. Sitte an (Strack/Billerbeck 3, 440/3).'

6. Jaubert, 'Le voile', p. 424, says: 'Si nous tournons du côté grec, il est admis que pour les femmes grecques il était plus décent de sortir dans la rue la tête voilée; mais les coutumes devaient varier selon les cités et il serait bien difficile de savoir quelle était la coutume à Corinthe.'

7. Jaubert, 'Le voile', p. 424, finally concludes: 'C'est un argument de plus pour montrer que la réaction de Paul est fondée sur des habitudes judéo-chrétiennes'.

8. See also Marlis Gielen, 'Beten und Prohezeien mit unverhülltem Kopf?', *ZNW* 90 (1999), pp. 220-49 (227): 'Bezieht man nämlich die Aussagen der VV.4.5a auf eine Kopfbedeckung, so besitzen sie Adressaten und Adressatinnen im römisch-hellenistischen Kulturraum des 1. Jhds. n. Chr. durchaus keine selbstverständliche Plausibilität. Denn hier ist die Kopfbedeckung weder im profanen noch im kultischen Bereich ein eindeutiges (weibliches) Geschlechtsrollensymbol.' I need to paraphrase Gielen's main conclusion. The kernel of her argument is that there is no independent evidence from the Greco-Roman world to corroborate the Greek practice of wearing a veil as a social obligation, neither in secular nor in religious

document the practice of a Greek veiling custom characteristic of Greek women. The alleged barrier to a uniform veiling practice for all of Greece, especially Roman Corinth, is the alleged absence of evidence. I mention the work of Jaubert because she is a respected French scholar, and because she is so frequently referred to by other scholars. It will be salutary to single out the key element in her proposal: veiling customs were not uniform throughout Greek culture. It is this claim that is of particular interest in the present study.

A more recent example comes from Jorunn Økland who has also staked out a claim that veiling was not the rule in Roman Corinth. She even frames her conclusion with emphatic italics: ‘*And Paul’s demand that women should be veiled would not make the ekklesia space conform more to the norms of public space, as veiling was not the rule in early Roman Corinth*’.⁹ Økland’s argument on this score thus amounts to an old mannequin dressed in a new garment. She continues the trend of arguing that it was not a custom for Greek women to appear in public without their heads veiled with a material head covering. Inasmuch as the wearing of a veil by married women is generally held by most classical scholars to be the Greek norm,¹⁰ these positions by Delling, Jaubert and Økland invite investigation. Furthermore, since their arguments span an intermittent period of seventy-five years (1929,

settings. Another recent interpreter who builds on the long hair thesis is Richard B. Hays, *First Corinthians* (Louisville, KY: John Knox, 1997), pp. 185-86. More recently, see Martina Böhm, ‘Beobachtungen zur paulinischen Schriftrezeption und Schriftargumentation im 1. Korintherbrief’, *ZNW* 97 (2006), pp. 207-34. As I will argue, the language from Greek inscriptions does not force the conclusion that women are removing their head coverings.

9. Jorunn Økland, *Women in their Place: Paul and the Corinthian Discourse of Gender and Sanctuary Space* (JSNTSup, 269; London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), p. 233. Because she italicizes her observation, this seems to indicate a prominent place in her argumentation. This claim does appear to be a pivotal piece for supporting her thesis that Paul is endeavoring to impose a Jewish temple template over the Corinthian church. Therefore, her claim carries with it a risky proposition. If correct in her claim, her thesis gains strength. If incorrect, this mistake would likely place her thesis in grave danger and threaten it with collapse.

10. See, for example, Maria Millington Evans, *Chapters on Greek Dress* (London: Macmillan, 1893), pp. 57-79; Caroline M. Galt, ‘Veiled Ladies’, *AJA* 35 (1931), pp. 373-93; L. Stone, *Costume in Aristophanic Comedy* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1977); L. Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite’s Tortoise: The Veiled Woman of Ancient Greece* (Swansea, UK: University of Wales Press, 2003).

1972 and 2004), they attest to the longevity of this position. It must be added as well that these three scholars are only a smaller sampling of a larger pool of those who reject the traditional view of veiling.¹¹

The second challenge for claiming the text does not treat material head coverings is based upon linguistic or textual considerations. Others have joined the chorus of those who reject veiling as a national norm for Greek-speaking people. Many of these proposals focus upon language such as the precise meaning of ‘having *something* on the head’ (κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων) in 1 Cor. 11.4. Advocates of the long-hair theory point to this very verse for support by alleging that a direct object, suspended until now, finally comes into view—long hair, and that veiling is not under consideration at all. Jerome Murphy O’Connor championed this interpretation for over thirty years. In his updated treatment of this text, he wrote: ‘Given the literary unity of 11:3-16, the emphasis on the length of hair in vv. 14-15 must be read back into vv. 4-6’.¹² Murphy O’Connor thus argued that long hair is the proper interpretation throughout the text. In order to sustain this argument, he imposed the notion of long hair upon the verbs describing a head covering. In other words, according to his argument, long hair alone, not veiling, is the proper interpretation at all points. What can be said in response to this claim?

Part of the purpose of this study is to challenge the claim that veiling was not a Greek custom for women in Roman Corinth. This study uses epigraphy to probe the background of 1 Cor. 11.2-16. The focus is upon the two key inscriptions found at Andania and Lycosura. From these inscriptions an examination is made regarding the twin issues of a married woman’s head coverings and female hairstyles. An initial

11. Hays, *First Corinthians*, p. 185: ‘It was not the normal custom for women in Greek and Roman cultures to be veiled’. See also David E. Blattenberger, *Rethinking 1 Corinthians 11:2-16 through Archaeological and Moral-Rhetorical Analysis* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity, 36; Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997); and Böhm, ‘Beobachtungen’, pp. 207-34. Credit for energizing this enduring controversy should be given to Abel Isaksson, *Marriage and Ministry in the New Temple: A Study with Special Reference to Mt. 19.13-12 [sic] and 1 Cor. 11.3-16* (Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis, 24; Lund: Gleerup, 1965), pp. 165-96.

12. Jerome Murphy O’Connor, *Keys to First Corinthians: Revisiting the Major Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 173. This chapter (‘1 Cor 11:2-16 Once Again’) was originally published in *CBQ* 42 (1980), pp. 482-500 and reprinted in *CBQ* 50 (1988), pp. 265-74.

conclusion is reached that the two inscriptions may indeed throw light on why Paul can mention both the veil (vv. 4-7, 13) and long hair (vv. 14-15). The final conclusion is that the text's inclusion of both veils and long hair is neither mutually exclusive nor contradictory. Given the cultural realities of the time, a reference to both makes logical sense and is appropriate. Special attention will be given to the Greek words *πλόκαμος* ('braided' or 'plaited' hair) and *θρίξ ἀναπεπλεγμένη* ('hair that is bound up'). Although both texts come from inscriptions and have been used in support of the thesis that married women in Greek ritual appear with their hair loosened and without the benefit of a head covering,¹³ this study will further conclude that evidence from the Andania and Lycosura inscriptions has been misused to justify such a premise. On the positive side, evidence from these two inscriptions regarding dress codes for Greek national rituals does provide a possible link as to why Paul mentions long hair at v. 15.

The Inscription at Andania

Andania and Lycosura have traditions that reach far back into Greek antiquity.¹⁴ Andania itself is a community located in the region of Messenia in the southwestern part of the Peloponnese, approximately ten miles southwest of Lycosura and perhaps only seventy-five miles from Corinth. The inscription in question has been dated to a period in 95–90 BCE.¹⁵ This dating and the distance of Andania from Corinth

13. See, for example, Llewellyn-Jones, *Aphrodite's Tortoise*, pp. 168-69, who observes that these two known texts describing the cult of Demeter demonstrate that women remove their veils and unbind their hair. He says, however, 'But these sacred laws do not reflect the social norm... Therefore women are told to appear in pure white robes with their hair hanging loose and their heads unveiled in direct contradiction to the standard daily custom.' I will argue half of his conclusion: women were to appear with head covered.

14. I note Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion: Archaic and Classical* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 279: 'Not far from Andania lies Arcadia where alone, as Herodotus asserts, pre-Dorian Demeter mysteries were preserved. The mythical origins of the Arcadians are linked with Lykosoura, "the oldest city in the world".' This claim for being the oldest city rests upon Pausanias (8.38.1). Pausanias (8.37.8) further says that the Arcadians worshiped Despoina (the Mistress) more than any other god.

15. See Kern, 'Andania', *Pauly-Wissowa RE* (Stuttgart: Wetzler, 1895), II, p. 2117.

suggest a possible source of influence upon the Corinthian church, if only by close proximity. It must be admitted, however, that an argument based upon ‘close proximity’ is only a speculation. There is no definite way, as if one were connecting dots, to establish a reliable line of influence from Andania to Corinth, although this is not to say that such influence did not exist. It is a question only of proving such a connection.¹⁶

Two competing issues must be considered. The first is what Joan Breton Connelly calls the ‘highly localized character’ of Greek religion;¹⁷ this makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions about the general influence of a particular cult. The second is the recognition by Hugh Bowden that the Andanian Mysteries ‘were still very much alive over two hundred years later when Pausanias visited the city’.¹⁸ To this, we may add Eran Lupu’s comments on *LSCG* 65: ‘it is the longest and most detailed sacred law in existence, comprising 194 almost perfectly preserved lines’.¹⁹ Thus, the disadvantage of the local nature of the cult must be weighed against the advantage of its longevity and the well-preserved condition of this inscription. Furthermore, pride of place goes to the cultic requirements of Andania, as no text ‘gives a more detailed picture of requirements for ritual dress than does the extraordinary inscription from Andania’.²⁰ Connelly’s assessment rates epigraphic evidence as the most valuable kind, and of this evidence the most

16. For the argument that it is a mistake to make sweeping generalizations about Greek religion rather than considering regional variations, see Richard E. DeMaris, ‘Demeter in Roman Corinth: Local Development in a Mediterranean Religion’, *Numen* 42 (1995), pp. 105-17.

17. J.B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Woman and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 17.

18. Hugh Bowden, *Mystery Cults of the Ancient World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 70.

19. Eran Lupu, in H.S. Versnel, D. Frankfurter and J. Hahn (eds.), *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 105. As Lupu also points out, Pausanias 4.33.5 (Messenia) regarded the Andania Mysteries as second only to the Eleusinian in ‘sanctity’ (σεμνότητος). For *LSCG* 65, see Franciszek Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cites grecques* (École Française d’Athènes, 11; Paris: Boccard, 1969), p. 122.

20. Connelly, *Portrait*, p. 86. Of particular value in Connelly’s reconstruction is the inscriptional evidence from both Andania and Lycosura. She mentions Andania on pp. 45, 86, 90-92 and 106.

important one is that of Andania. Of the epigraphic evidence in general, Connelly says:

Inscriptions are our richest source of information on ancient priesthods, providing us with narrowly focused views into the realities of cult organization... Epigraphic evidence thus gives insight into realities unattested in literary texts and focuses on the micrology of the lived experience. It reminds us of the dangers of privileging texts written largely by, for, and about men living in and around Athens during just a few hundred years' time.²¹

Stefan Lössch, a key scholar who relied heavily upon these two texts for his thesis, advanced a series of five steps as a prelude for understanding the text of 1 Cor. 11.2-16.²² First, the critical issue is *both* the veil and the hair. Secondly, he argued that the veil was originally imposed upon the Greek nationals by Paul who did not want to offend Jewish sensitivities.²³ In this proposal, Lössch found support from several predecessors.²⁴ Thirdly, the impulse for removing the veil does not come from the Jewish women but the Greeks.²⁵ Fourthly, owing to their past experience in Greek cult when veils were not required of them, the women are simply reverting back to what was natural and normal for them in the first place. Lössch's final conclusion is that, in the Corinthian controversy, Paul drew a line between pagan

21. Connelly, *Portrait*, pp. 12-13.

22. Stefan Lössch, 'Christliche Frauen in Corinth (1 Cor. 11,2-16): Ein neuer Lösungsversuch', *ThQ* 127 (1947), pp. 216-61.

23. Lössch, 'Christliche Frauen', p. 230: 'Dass dies die historische Entwicklungslinie gewesen sei, ist endlich auch die Anschauung der ältesten Kirche selber: das Schleiertragen sei eine fest tradierte jüdische Sitte gewesen.' See also p. 251: 'Frauen dieser Umwelt waren es aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, von denen das treibende Motiv hereingetragen wurde, daß die korinthische Christengemeinde eine ihnen früher her heidnische Kultsitte zu übernehmen habe und damit die aus dem Judentum überlieferte Sitte des Schleiertragens beim Gottesdienst fallen lassen müsse.'

24. For example, Lössch, 'Christliche Frauen', p. 221, cites M. Ginsburger: 'En ceci Paul était en parfait accord avec les Juifs; car les Juifs aussi étaient d'avis que la convenance exigeait de la femme de se voiler la tête.'

25. Lössch, 'Christliche Frauen', p. 230: 'Die erste Anregung zur Ablegung des Schleiers kann in Corinth nicht etwas einzig von judenchristlicher Seite ausgegangen sein'.

and Jewish practice and privileged the latter over the former.²⁶ In order to prove the validity of the above five points, Lösch attempted to show that the two inscriptions do not impose the wearing of a veil upon married women. I now examine the inscription at Andania.

First of all, the section containing a key prohibition falls within the larger context of two specific categories: *στέφανος* (head gear or head apparel) and *εἵματισμός* (clothing). The *στέφανος* is only a rubric, not a particular piece of head covering. Under this rubric three pieces are identified: the holy men and women are each to wear a *πίλος λευκός* (a white felt cap); the *προτομύσται* or ‘initiates’ are to wear a *σπλεγγίς* (possibly an elastic golden band);²⁷ and ‘all’ (*πάντες*) are to wear a *δάφνη* (a wreath of some kind). A disclaimer or qualifier must be added that the *πάντες* is restricted to only these three groups mentioned. This becomes clear in the next section where the women are told not to wear a *δάφνη*. The *σπλεγγίς* is placed under a time constraint as it is to be removed sometime later in the ritual at a given signal. No further breakdown is given of head attire. The men are given no instructions not to wear a veil; the women are given no instructions for wearing one. One of two conclusions can be drawn from this silence: it is either assumed that the men are not wearing a veil but the women are, or just the opposite. This is all that can be extracted from the Andania inscription regarding veiling.

The second major category is that of *εἵματισμός* or ‘clothing’. At this point the instructions become more detailed. Also, we find the negative particle *μή* used some twenty times, indicating, in my judgment, a strict concern for respecting the proper dress code of the cult. It is here that the following lines come into play. This text addresses male priests, worshipers in general, women, visitors or inquirers (*αἱ ιδιώται*, the

26. Lösch, ‘Christliche Frauen’, p. 246: ‘Von jetzt an mit geflochtenem Haarbund und verschleierten Hauptes und Gesichtes den gottesdienstlichen Feiern der Christen, sei es betend oder gar mit der Gabe der Prophetie beglückt, beizuwohnen, will ihnen als undenkbar gelten. Die ganze kultische Überlieferung, aus der sie gekommen, sprach dagegen.’ And also p. 258: ‘Mit seiner Entscheidung der corinthischen “Schleierfrage” hat Paulus einem Eindringen heidnischer Kultsitte in eine der ältesten Christengemeinden innerhalb des heidnischen Missionsgebietes das Tor verschlossen. Aus dem Judentum übernommener “Überlieferung” (v.2) hat er das ausschließliche Vorrecht über jene gewahrt.’

27. Hermann Sauppe, *Mysterien-Inschrift aus Andania* (Göttingen: Abhandlung der Gott. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1859), p. 13, cites Pollux, *Onom.* 7.179: ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτερόντι σπλεγγός, δέρμα κεχρυσωμένον.

ιδιώτης is the ‘visitor’ or ‘inquirer’ mentioned at 1 Cor. 14.16, 23 and 24), female servants or slaves, female priestesses and maiden daughters.²⁸ Maiden daughters are addressed specifically at line 17:

αἱ δὲ παῖδες...μὴ ἔχέτω δὲ μηδεμία χρυσία μηδὲ φύκος μηδὲ ψιμμίθιον
μηδὲ ἀνάδεμα...μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀναπεπλεγμένας μηδὲ ὑποδήματα.²⁹

As for the children...let them not wear any gold, rouge, or lead, nor a headband. Neither should they wear plaited hair nor should they dress in sandals.

My initial observation is that these two lines address only unmarried daughters. After each class of people is addressed, there is a break indicated by a form of the verb ἔχω (‘to have’) followed by seven imperatives or participles.³⁰ These breaks, following a predictable pattern, allow us to see when a change in subject occurs. Notable is the absence of any mention of a head covering in the above inscription. The inscription addresses virgins and contains an exhortation consistent with the hairstyles of unmarried women.³¹ Likewise significant is the

28. οἱ ἱεροί...οἱ τελούμενοι...αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες...αἱ ιδιώται...αἱ ιδιώται...αἱ δὲ παῖδες...αἱ δὲ δοῦλαι...αἱ δὲ ἱεραί...αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες...αἱ δὲ παῖδες (a second time)...αἱ ἱεραί.

29. I have made use of two texts: Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées*, pp. 120-34; and Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Dittenberger (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (3 vols.; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1917), II, p. 736. Both editions unequivocally describe maiden daughters. These daughters are distinguished from the married women. Plutarch, *Sept. sap. conv.* 163 uses the phrase ἄγαμοι παῖδες (‘unmarried daughters’); while in *Cim.* 6.45 he describes a certain Cleonicé as a παρθένον τινά...τὴν παῖδα...τὴν παρθένον. Additionally, Plutarch, *Luc.* 31.2 adds adjectives, qualifying both ‘women and children’ (παῖδες αὐτῶ νήπιοι καὶ γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες). Of course, παῖδος is used frequently in other texts to describe children in general. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.254 also identifies τὴν παῖδα as a ‘virgin’. Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 26.12.4 makes a distinction between παρθένοι and παῖδες (‘virgins’ and ‘children’).

30. ἐχόντω...ἐχόντω...ἐχόντω...μὴ ἔχον...ἔχον μὴ...μὴ ἔχέτω...ἐχόντω.

31. Pausanias 10.25.10 (Phocis), describing for his readers a mural of the Trojan War, says that the Trojan married women are represented as already captured and in a state of mourning. However, an exception is made in the depiction of these women. Andromache and Medesicaste are portrayed as ‘wearing their veils’ (καλύμματα εἰσιν ἐπικείμεναι), but Polyxena, a virgin, is described as having her hair ‘braided’ (ἀναπέπλεκται) ‘according to the custom of virgins’ (κατὰ τὰ εἰθισμένα παρθένους). This is clearly a contrast between married and unmarried women. The distinguishing feature is their hairstyles and head coverings. Pausanias does not indicate anything unusual about their attire.

fact that the context is concerned with luxuriant overdressing, especially the use of gold ornaments. The emphasis of their dress accents simplicity. More important is the syntax of the sentence. The words *μηδὲ ἀνάδεμα...μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀναπεπλεγμένας* are not in opposition but apposition, not set off in a contrast but balanced as coordinates.³² The noun *ἀνάδεμα* (and its cognates) does not describe ‘unbinding’ but ‘binding up’.³³

The word *ἀναπεπλεγμένη* implies a hairstyle that is plaited or curled, not unbound. It would make no sense to tell a woman she cannot wear her hair up or down. Rather, as I will argue, the addressee is not to wear a headband or plaited curls.³⁴ Married women are not included in the

32. This can be illustrated from Homer, *Il.* 22.468-470. Hector’s wife removes from her head the following objects: the *δέσματα σιγαλόεντα* (‘bright band’), the three items of *ἄμπυκα, κεκρύφαλον, πλεκτήν ἀναδέσμην* and then finally the *κρήδεμνον* (‘veil’). The two accessories *δέσματα* and *ἀναδέσμην* clearly refer to items used in binding up hair. *κρήδεμνον* is unequivocally a veil. A woman may remove her veil without unbinding her hair, but she cannot unbind her hair without first removing her veil. She may, of course, wear her hair down and still have it covered with a veil. Most significantly, however, is the fact that a woman may wear her hair either up or down, curled or plaited, and topped off with a veil.

33. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* uses a form of the noun twice: *φορεῖν καὶ πλοκαμίδης ἀναδεδεμένους χρυσοφορεῖν* (12.518e), and *κορύμβους δ’ ἀναδούμενοι τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας* (12.512c). Both passages suggest the process of binding up; both passages contain references to gold ornamentation; both passages indicate that this is a hairstyle used by men. The second passage is a clear echo of Thucydides 1.6.3 (*καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν*). Athenaeus and Thucydides both discuss this hairstyle in the context of *τρυφή*. Lucian, *Gall.* 13 describes Pythagoras as facing danger with his hair in a bound up condition of *χρυσίῳ ἀναδεδεμένος τοὺς πλοκάμους διακινδυνεύσειν...τὰς κόμας...συναναπεπλεγμένοι τῷ χρυσίῳ*. In other words, hair in a style of ‘braids or plaits’ (*πλοκάμος*) tends to be ‘bound up’ (*ἀναδεδεμένος*). This style, in turn, tends to a further description of *συναναπεπλεγμένοι*. When facing the danger of armed conflict, Lucian makes it clear that he does not favor such a style. It is ‘better’ (*ἄμεινον*) to wear iron. The contrast is not so much the actual style of the hair, but the additional elaboration of gold.

34. I am unable to agree with Jerome H. Neyrey, ‘Body Language in 1 Corinthians: The Use of Anthropological Models for Understanding Paul and his Opponents’, *Semeia* 35 (1986), pp. 129-70, who says: ‘The woman’s hair should be plaited, braided, and wrapped around her head. That is what is lacking according to Paul in 11.5, 6, 15. Plaited hair which is wrapped around the head in orderly fashion symbolizes control over the surface of the body, the part of the woman which is in direct contact with the social world. Plaited and braided hair denotes a clear social

exhortation.³⁵ What, if any, is the significance of such absence? Either what is said to the unmarried daughters applies equally well to the married women or it does not. I see no reason to exclude an equal application to the women who are married. The only limitation would be the tacit assumption that the married women are to wear a veil, whereas no such injunction would apply to the unmarried daughters.

These daughters are not to appear with gold jewelry, makeup, headband and sandals or with their hair *ἀναπεπλεγμένας*. Obviously, the adjective *ἀναπεπλεγμένας* (from the verb *ἀναπλέκω*) is critical to the interpretation. What then does *ἀναπλέκω* mean? Hermann Sauppe in 1859 offered the following amplified translation: ‘*ἀναπεπλεγμένας*. Also *aufgelöste* und über den Nacken hinabhängende Haare sollen die Theilnehmerinnen des Zuges tragen’ (‘Thus, the participants of the festival should wear their hair unbound and falling over the back of the neck’).³⁶ Lösch, pursuing the lead laid down by Sauppe, followed up this with nearly an identical translation: ‘*aufgelöste* und über dem

role and clear sexual differentiation’ (p. 152). Neyrey’s conclusion about plaited or braided hair cannot be sustained from the vocabulary of hairstyle language. For example, Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 3.36 (PG 8) instructs Christian women to bind up their hair along the neck with a plain hairpin (*τὰς τρίχας καὶ ἀναδεῖσθαι τὴν κόμην εὐτελῶς περόνη τινὶ λιτῆ παρὰ τὸν αὐχένα*), exhorting them also to assist their modest hairstyle with simple care for genuine beauty (*ἀφέλεια θεραπεία σὺν αὐξούσαις εἰς κάλλος γνήσιον τὰς σώφρονας κόμας*). Clement’s emphasis in this text clearly stresses a theme of simplicity: a *plain* hairpin (*περόνη τινὶ λιτῆ*), *modest* hairstyle (*τὰς σώφρονας κόμας*) and with *simple* care (*ἀφέλεια θεραπεία*). He then contrasts this modest and discreet hairstyle with the meretricious ‘braiding and plaiting of the hair’ (*αἱ περιπλοκαὶ τῶν τριχῶν αἱ ἑταιρικαί*). Clement does not picture for the church a feminine hairstyle, which is bound up at the top of the head. The binding of the hair occurs ‘along the neck’ (*παρὰ τὸν αὐχένα*). One can presume that the reason for this style is due to the temptation to subsequently plait, braid and curl the hair.

35. Marvin W. Meyer, *The Ancient Mysteries: A Sourcebook of Sacred Texts* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1987), p. 53, translates the Greek as: ‘None of the women are to wear...’. Daniel Ogden, ‘Controlling Women’s Dress: *gynaikonomoi*’, in Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (ed.), *Women’s Dress in the Ancient World* (Swansea, UK: The Classical Press of Wales, 2002), pp. 203-25 (214), translates the line as: ‘Let no female have gold jewellery, nor rouge, nor white lead, nor a hairband nor plaited hair’. The structure of the inscription argues for something more specific. This inscription follows a predictable pattern.

36. Sauppe, *Mysterien-Inschrift*, p. 14. See also Kern, ‘Andania’, *RE*, II, pp. 2115-2119.

Nacken herabwallende Haare sollen die Teilnehmerinnen des Festzugs tragen' ('the participants of the procession should wear their hair unbound and flowing over the neck').³⁷ Thus, Sauppe and Lösch both argued that the word should be understood in the sense of 'to unbind' or 'to loosen the hair', so that the hair falls freely over the back of the neck. Their translation takes into consideration the presence of the negative particle *μηδέ* ('not' or 'neither'), so that the reader needs to be alert to this alteration. In other words, their translation reflects the negative by stating the prohibition in a positive manner by how they are to dress, not how they are not to dress. Hair in a condition of *μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀναπεπλεγμένας* ('hair not bound up') portrays a natural style that is without plaits, without braids and falls freely down over the back of the neck. I find no reason to object to their translation.

Three key questions now surface: (1) what is the significance of hair in the stylistic condition of *ἀναπεπλεγμένας*; (2) what is the reason for the prohibition of such a style; and (3) how does the information from questions one and two influence one's understanding of 1 Cor. 11.2-16?

In order to gain an understanding into the stylistic condition of *ἀναπεπλεγμένας*, we turn to Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.510a-528e, in which he follows the theme of luxurious self-indulgence as found among nations and cities. In order to build his case, he brings forward the unfortunate end of some twenty different cultures.³⁸ Under the rubric of self-indulgence, he places a collection of vices that can be sub-grouped as moral softness, extravagance, insolence and pleasure. A key word for him is *τρυφή*, which can be translated simply as 'luxury'. The condition of *τρυφή* is a slippery slope of moral laxity leading to social 'disintegration' (*διαφθείρω*) and eventual 'ruin' (*ἀπωλεία*).³⁹ Athenaeus continually uses terms that suggest the crossing of moral boundaries. Although he makes it plain to his readers that he is not opposed to

37. Lösch, 'Christliche Frauen', p. 239.

38. Athenaeus's *Deipnosophistae* selects some twenty different cities or nations for review: Persians/Medes (513e-514d), Lydians (515d), Etruscans (517d), Sybarites (518c-521f), Syracusans (521b), Crotonians (522a), Tarentines (522d), Iapygians (522f), Iberians (523c), Sirians (523c), Milesians (523e), Scythians (524c), Abydusians (524f), Samians (526a), Thessalians (527a), Aetolians (527b), Syrian cities (527e), Arycandians (528a), the people of Capua (528b), Curetes (528c) and Cumaeans (528e). In this catalog of communities, only the Iberians escape an unfortunate end.

39. For *διαφθείρω*, see 520c, 521f and 526e. For *ἀπωλεία*, see 520c, 522f and 526a.

‘enjoyment’ (ἀπόλαυσις) per se (510b), he objects to weakened social conditions resulting from the excessive pursuit of pleasure. Therefore, he claims that the experience of pleasure is not wrong in itself, but it must not bring regret.⁴⁰ Athenaeus provides the reader with a long list of clues regarding how a culture can depart from moderation and by so doing can come to an unfortunate end. He has a whole set of terms to describe a moral decline in which ‘moderation’ (ἐπιεικῶς) is thrown off, and then ‘loose indulgence’ or ‘excessive luxury’ (ὑπερβολή τῆς τρυφῆς) takes over.⁴¹ His dictionary of boundary-crossing includes such expressions as choosing pleasure at the expense of virtue (510c), being led astray by pleasure (511a), possessing desire that goes beyond necessity (511f),⁴² no longer being satisfied with enough (515b) and pursuing pleasure so ‘headlong’ that it amounts to ‘hunting’ for sorrow.⁴³ Perhaps his favorite boundary-term for this downward slide is ὑπερβολή or any of its cognates.⁴⁴

We now come to the key text of *Deipn.* 12.525e. This text is situated in a description of the Samians, who, becoming addicted to luxury, run aground on this reef of moral weakness (the fifth reference) and end up losing their city (526a). This colorful metaphor of running aground on a reef occurs three times before 525e (521d, 522a, 523a) and twice after (526a, 528b). This places the example of the Samians as the centerpiece of the wreckage. At precisely this point, Athenaeus prefaces the disaster with the following commentary at 525e:

κατεκτενισμένοι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὸ μετάφρονον καὶ τοὺς ὤμους...βαδίζειν εἰς Ἡραῖον ἐμπεπλεγμένον...οἱ δ' αὐτῶς φοίτεσκον ὅπως πλοκάμους κτενίσαιντο εἰς Ἡρης.

40. 513a: ἀμεταμέλητον. See also 513b.

41. 517b, 525c, 526a, 526d. See especially 519f: πάντα ἐκτρυφῆσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ζῆσαι ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον ἐκλελυμένως.

42. 511f: ἡ πέρα τούτων καὶ ἀλλοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἢ τοιούτων ἐπιθυμία.

43. 511a: τὸ οὖν ἡδονὰς διώκειν προπετῶς ἐστὶ θηρεύειν.

44. ὑπερβολήν: 517b, 519f, 521d, 522a, 526a. See also 525c: διὰ τὸ πλεον ἀνεθῆναι. In a similar ideological content but placed elsewhere in context (4.144d), Athenaeus, *Deipn.* states: τὸ γὰρ τὰ εἰσθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἡδονὰς. Something excessive and potentially harmful is that which goes beyond the norm.

When they celebrated the Heraia festival, they marched with their hair combed down over their backs and shoulders...to march to Hera's temple with braided hair.⁴⁵

There are four words of special interest in this text: (1) *κατεκτενισμένοι*, (2) *τὰς κόμας*, (3) *ἐμπεπλεγμένον* and (4) *πλοκάμους*. The first task is to determine the exact meaning of these words. Secondly, what does the text imply? We begin with the verb *κατακτενίζω* used twice in the text. This verb can describe the simple process of combing out hair that has become entangled because of exercise and sweat.⁴⁶ When used in this sense, the verb implies no more than simple good grooming. However, the verb is also used to convey insinuations of effeminacy.⁴⁷ Here, good grooming crosses over into notions of a sexual nuance. The word, when used to depict sexual shades of meaning, suggests just the opposite: the eventual braiding *up* of hair. The hair is first combed out.⁴⁸ Then, it is stylistically braided or

45. Translation is by S. Douglas Olson in the recently revised Loeb edition (2010). G.B. Gulick, in the older Loeb edition (1943), translated these lines as: 'they marched with their long hair carefully combed down over the breast and shoulders...marching to the Heraeum with braided hair.' Gulick understood *τὸ μετάφρονον* as meaning the 'breast'. However, *τὸ μετάφρονον* more properly describes the 'back'. The same description is found in Homer, *Od.* 8.528. In the Homeric text, the vantage point is 'from behind' (*ὄπισθε*), making it plain that it is the back and shoulders, which are in view, not the chest. Nancy Serwint, 'The Female Athletic Costume at the Heraia and Prenuptial Initiation Rites', *AJA* 97 (1993), pp. 403-22, argues that the hair is unbound and hangs down loose: see pp. 404, 406 and 408.

46. Euripides, *Hipp.* 1174 describes the grooming of horses as: *ψήκτραισιν ἵππων ἐκτενίζομεν τρίχας* ('we were combing the horse's coats with our currycombs').

47. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 8.7 describes a group of men as: *τὰ ξανθὰ καὶ διεκτενισμένα μαιράκια* ('their blond and effeminately combed locks').

48. *κατακτενίζω* suggests the idea of combing out the hair, rather than styling it. *τρίχας* would be straight hair that needs combing out because it has become tangled from a combination of exercise and sweat. The noun *πλόκαμος* implies styling. An illustration of this can be seen from Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.3.8 as he describes the cutting and styling of hair. He begins with the verb in question (*κτενιζόμενους*) and then further qualifies it with the expression *ἀπλῶς δ' ἢ τὰς κόμας φιλοτεχνία συνέστηκε περί τε θρέψιν καὶ κουράν τριχός* ('In general, the art of styling [at that time] arranged long hair by nurturing and cutting the hair while straight'). Strabo is describing a custom from the past that was applicable to both girls and young boys. In other words, the participle *κτενιζόμενος* involves what Strabo defines as *θρέψιν*

combed into curls (πλοκάμους κτενίσαιντο).⁴⁹ This grooming process clearly describes two stages. The hair is first combed out and is allowed to fall freely over the neck and around the shoulders. The second step is to weave the hair into ‘braids’ (πλοκάμους). The noun πλόκαμος, derived from the verb πλέκω, denotes the idea of braiding, curling or entwining. Thus, hair that is described with the word πλόκαμος is the noun equivalent of hair that is styled as ἀναπεπλεγμένος. Furthermore, the word is consistently used in texts denoting sexual innuendo when describing hair.⁵⁰ In other words, this text shows the transgression of a moral boundary line. Hair that moves from a condition of κομή to πλόκαμος has crossed over into τρυφή. In fact, Athenaeus actually prefaces this citation by placing the description of braided hair in the context of τρυφή (525e). Thus, the citation is bookended by statements, before and after, describing τρυφή. Athenaeus has nothing positive to say about this flamboyant manner of styling the hair. In the same context (525f), he proceeds to describe pejoratively the same men with their hair so styled as to wave in the air even though fastened with golden bands.

A question then arises: does the participle ἐμπεπλεγμένον mean the same as the adjective ἀναπεπλεγμένος? Liddell, Scott, and Jones lists Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.* 1264: πλεκταῖσιν αἰώραισιν ἐμπεπλεγμένην (‘hanging in a twisted noose’).⁵¹ The words ‘twisted noose’ (πλεκταῖσιν

καὶ κουρὰν τριχός. The hair is ‘long’ (κόμας), yet ‘un-styled’ (τριχός). The word θρέψις, listed by LSJ as meaning ‘nourishing’, needs refining. This noun derives from the verb τρέφω, meaning to ‘nourish’, to ‘foster growth’, or to ‘let grow out’. When applied to hair, the word is equivalent to letting the hair grow long (for example, see Josephus, *Ant.* 5.312). The word θρέψις most likely does not imply ‘styling’ but ‘growth’.

49. Plutarch, *Quaest. conv.* 621E: προστάτοντες ἄδειν χελλοῖς ἢ κτενίζεσθαι φαλακροῖς (‘[as] they order stammerers to sing, or bald men to comb their hair’).

50. The term εὐπλόκαμος is consistently associated with sex and beauty as, for example, Hesiod’s *Catalogues of Women* shows Eriopis (frag. 63 in the LCL, frag. 50 in *FHG* and the OCT). A similar text may be found in Pausanias 1.19.1 (Attica): καὶ πεπλεγμένης ἐς εὐπρεπὲς οἱ τῆς κόμης (‘and with his hair neatly plaited’). Pausanias does not stop with the description of Theseus but also records the crowd reaction to such dress: ἤρουντο σὺν χλευασία, ὅ τι δὴ παρθένος ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου πλανᾶται μόνη (‘they mockingly asked why/what a virgin was wandering around by herself’). The hairstyle of Theseus is not just feminine but virginal and possibly seductive, notably in the season or bloom of marriageable age.

51. Translation by Hugh Lloyd-Jones in the LCL edition.

αἰώραισιν) suggest the idea of strands, either hair or rope, being in a condition of something twisted or entwined. As we return now to the narrative of Athenaeus and apply the notion of twisting, plaiting and curling to hair styles, from the perspective of Athenaeus, this demeanor of a personal hairstyle comes under judgment as being indulgent. The demeanor of this hairstyle inevitably leads to ‘ruin’ (ἀπωλεία) (520c). Some things, he finally notes, are better left confined to the house rather than the public.⁵²

Athenaeus is not alone. This is the literary tradition for braided or artificially curled hair. A cluster of texts exists to assist us. For example, in Homer’s *Od.* 5.125, ‘fair-tressed’ (εὐπλόκαμος) Demeter, giving in to her passion, had sex with Jason; Aphrodite of golden well-crowned hair commits adultery with Ares (8.267, 337); and in Euripides’s *El.* 1071, Electra accuses Clytemnestra of adorning her long golden hair with braids or curls before her act of unfaithfulness: ξανθὸν κατόπρῳ πλόκαμον ἐξήσκεις κόμης (‘Before a mirror you adorned [your] long hair into blond curls/braids’). Hairstyles, whether of male or female, containing the noun πλόκαμος convey notions of sexuality. One of these effeminate manners is the fashionable styling of hair by means of binding up or braiding, and then topping it off with gold jewelry (512c). The evidence suggests that whenever braiding is introduced into a text, long flowing hair is not the end result of the completed hairstyle.⁵³

52. 524c: οἴκοι τὰ Μιλήσια κάπιχώρια καὶ μῆ ἐν ᾧ μεσῶ. See also 517e: πλησιάζοντες ταῖς γυναιξίν ἀπάσαις, οὐδὲν δ’ αἰχρόν ἐστι Τυρρηνοῖς οὐ μόνον αὐτοῦς ἐν ᾧ μεσῶ.

53. As Strabo, *Geogr.* 15.1.71 also indicates: ἀναπλεκόμενους δὲ μιτροῦσθαι τὰς κόμας (‘they wear long hair braided and bind it with a mitra/headband’). For an artist’s representation of this hairstyle, see Evelyn B. Harrison, ‘Greek Sculptured Coiffures and Ritual Haircuts’, in *Early Greek Cult Practice: Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute of Athens* (Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae, 38; Stockholm: Paul Åströms, 1988), pp. 246-58 (252), fig. 8. For representations of fully veiled women, see Peter C. Bol, *Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst* (Frankfurt: Schriften des Liebieghauses, 2002), pp. 428-31, Fig. 204. For the view that we do not know what Roman women actually looked like in real life, see Rolf Winkes, ‘Portrait and Propaganda’, in Diana E.E. Kleiner and Susan B. Matheson (eds.), *I Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society* (Austin: University of Texas, 2000), pp. 29-42 (29): ‘All we know is what they wanted to look like’.

A text from Philo further reinforces the notion that the verb *ἀναπλέκω* does not mean ‘to unloose’ or ‘to unbind’, but rather, ‘to braid up’. In his *Spec.* 3.37, Philo offers a parallel text describing similar dress in nearly identical language. In describing the dress of effeminate men, he says: περιφανῶς οὕτως τὰς τῆς κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἀναπλεκόμενοι καὶ διακοσμούμενοι καὶ ψιμμυθίῳ καὶ φύκεσι καὶ τοῖς ὁμοιοτρόποις τὰς ὄψεις (‘they openly braid up the hairs of their heads and they apply to their faces lead, rouge and other similar things’).⁵⁴ I note a threefold point of contact with the inscription from Andania: ‘braided hair’ (*ἀναπλεκόμενοι*), the use of ‘white lead’ (*ψιμμύθιον*)⁵⁵ and ‘rouge’ (*φῦκος*). However, the contexts are different—one a prohibition in pagan worship, the other a denunciation of homosexuality; moreover, the cultures are not the same—one Jewish, the other Greek. The similarities in language and tone are transparent. Braided hair is prohibited for the women in one text and denounced in the other as effeminate for men.

One additional textual example may suffice. In Lucian, *Pro imag.* 5, he parodies the beautifying process by taking an unattractive woman and giving her ‘soft curly hair that is braided’ (*τὰς τρίχας...καὶ οὐλοῦς τινὰς πλοκάμους ἀναπλεκόντων*). Lucian, it may be noted, begins with *τὰς τρίχας*, a word that describes straight or unstyled hair and then proceeds with the beautifying process itself, with the end result being *πλοκάμους* (braided hair). This is yet another text reinforcing the idea that *ἀναπλέκω* more accurately means ‘to braid, plait, or make curly’.⁵⁶

54. F.H. Colson in the LCL translates the text as: ‘conspicuously they braid and adorn the hair of their heads, and how they scrub and paint their faces with cosmetics and pigments and the like’.

55. The use of white lead is a characteristic of women (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 12.528f: ἐψιμμυθιωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον γυναικιστί).

56. Literary passages using the verb *ἀναπλέκω* in the context of braided hairstyles show flexibility. The verb *ἀναπλέκω* may involve a kind of braiding that depicts curls. This is the plain sense of Lucian’s *Pro imag.* 5. Other texts may describe a binding up of the hair that is tied with a knot at the top of the head. This is the sense of Lucian, *Nav.* 3 and Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 13.512c. The verb *ἀναπλέκω* may describe either male or female hairstyles (as the texts above portray, as well as Pausanias 1.10.29.1 [Attica], which describes Theseus). The critical point is that the verb *ἀναπλέκω* is not conventional language used to describe the act of loosening the hair. For the Greek verbs employed to depict the loosening of a woman’s hair, see Preston T. Massey, ‘The Meaning of *κατακαλύπτω* and *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων* in 1 Cor 11.2-16’, *NTS* 53 (2007), pp. 502-23. Further evidence for understanding

Furthermore, when Greek authors deploy this word, their intention is to associate the hairstyle with notions of sexual attraction. Thus, the reason for the prohibition in the Andanian inscription is to prevent such notions from influencing the ambience of public worship.

The Inscription at Lycosura

The second text labeled by Dittenberger is *Lycosurae lex sacra saec.II*.⁵⁷ Lycosura is located in the region of Arcadia, approximately ten miles northeast of Andania and perhaps another sixty-five miles further away from Corinth. The date for this temple has been assigned to the period of 200–100 BCE, with a revival of interest occurring in the time of Hadrian.⁵⁸ The key section of the inscription contains the following lines (10-11):

μη ἐξέστω παρέρπην ἔχοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῶν τὰς Δεσποίνας μὴ χρυσία ὅσα μὴ
 ἰν' ἀνάθεμα, μῆδὲ πορφύριον εἵματισμόν...μῆδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀμ-
 πεπλεγμένας, μῆδὲ κεκαλυμμένους.⁵⁹

braiding as an additional stylistic twist that adorns long loosened hair is a text from Xenophon of Ephesus in his *Ephesiacorum libri V: de Amoribus Anthiae et Abrocomae* 2:6 (Greek text edited by A.D. Papanilolaou; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973). In this text, Xenophon describes the lovely Anthia as having κόμη ξανθή, ἢ πολλή καθειμένη, ὀλίγη πεπλεγμένη. καθειμένη describes hair that is let loose or hanging down; πεπλεγμένη portrays a style that is plaited or perhaps curled; what is most interesting, however, is that the Greek verb κατακαλύπτω as used in 1 Cor. 11.5 is never found in such texts describing the styling of hair. In other words, κατακαλύπτω describes veiling with a textile covering.

57. See also Franciszek Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cites grecques* (Paris: Boccard, 1969), p. 68.

58. Ernest Meyer, 'Lykosura', *Pauly-Wissowa RE* (1927), XXVI, pp. 2418-2432 (2430): 'der Tempel müsse im 2. Jhd. v. Chr. Erbaut und in römischen Zeit erneuert durch die Vorhalle in Marmor erweitert worden sein...im Tempel reichen in gleichmäßiger Reihe vom Ende des 2. Jhdts. v. Chr. Bis in hardianische Zeit'. For a similar judgment, see Madeleine Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* (Études Péloponnésienes 9, Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1985), p. 175. Jost indicates that Hadrian may have taken a special interest in this temple. See also Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1961), p. 82: 'Der in augusteischer Zeit umgebaute Tempel der Despoina in Lykosura wurde im Anfang der hellenistischen Zeit errichtet und die grossartige Kultgruppe des Damophon im Anfang des 2. Jahrhunderts kam hinzu'.

59. SIG 3.999 = LSCG 68.

It is not permitted for people⁶⁰ to enter publicly into the sanctuary of Despoina wearing anything gold unless for the purpose of an offering⁶¹ ...nor a purple garment...nor for women having braided hair; nor is the man to wear a head covering.

This inscription, containing instructions for devotees of Despoina, also prohibits, among other things, the wearing of gold and the braiding of hair. It specifically exhorts *men* not to wear a veil. No clear breakdown of gender or social class is provided. The two inscriptions contain overlapping injunctions. Quite noticeable is the reappearance of the expression *μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀμπεπλεγμένας* ('neither should they wear braided hair'). This is identical to the prohibition from Andania: the women are not to appear with braided hair. At this point there occurs a divergence between the two texts; the controversial expression *μηδὲ κεκαλυμμένος* ('neither should a man be veiled') comes into play. Why is the line controversial? And how are we to interpret or translate these words? We examine the translation first. Albrecht Oepke in the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament (TDNT)* conceded that the phrase is grammatically correct but claimed that it is out of place in this context.⁶² He proposed emendation and recommended that the feminine participle be substituted for the masculine. This conclusion thus coincides with his overall rejection of the view that 'Paul was simply endorsing the unwritten law of hellenic and Hellenistic feeling for what was proper'.⁶³ Oepke affirms his rejection of this Hellenistic law by saying, 'But this view is untenable'.⁶⁴ He then reinforces his position: 'But it is quite wrong that Greek women were under some kind of compulsion to wear a veil in public'.⁶⁵ Oepke places his proposal for emendation in the service of buttressing his argument that women do not wear veils in Greek worship. He then caps off his

60. The participle *ἔχοντες* is properly masculine in gender, but in this context most likely includes both men and women as each are mentioned in the inscription.

61. This noun may be either a 'curse' or an 'offering'. LSJ does not resolve the matter. The indecisiveness is due to the construction *μη ἵν'*; I have chosen 'offering' as the preferred translation. It is possible that a secondary meaning is implied: should a person enter the sanctuary wearing gold and not give it up as an offering, the consequence would be to come under a curse. I wish to thank Dr. David Branscome, classics professor at Florida State University, for this possible solution.

62. A. Oepke, 'κατακαλύπτω', *TDNT*, III, p. 562.

63. Oepke, 'κατακαλύπτω', p. 562.

64. Oepke, 'κατακαλύπτω', p. 562.

65. Oepke, 'κατακαλύπτω', p. 562.

treatment: ‘Paul is thus attempting to introduce into congregations on Greek soil a custom which corresponds to oriental and especially Jewish sensibility rather than Greek’.⁶⁶ At this juncture Stefan Lösch, whom I cited earlier, reenters the picture by arguing also that the above Greek lines should be translated ‘so daß die Übersetzung lauten müßte: “nicht mit geflochtenen Haaren und nicht mit verhüllten, i.e., mit aufgelösten Haaren und nicht verschleiert”’ (‘so that the translation should run: “not with plaited hair and not veiled, i.e., not with unbound hair and not veiled”’). Lösch understands ‘geflochtenen Haaren’ (hair that is plaited, woven or intertwined) as ‘aufgelösten Haaren’ (hair that is unbound or loosened).⁶⁷ When combined with the negative phrase *μηδὲ τὰς τρίχας ἀμπεπλεγμένας* (‘neither their hair braided’) this description implies a simple condition of hair that is un-styled, unbraided and uncurled. Up to this point, I agree. However, Lösch makes it clear, siding with Oepke, that the female participants should not appear wearing a veil in public worship: ‘nicht verschleiert’, as he states it. Lösch and Oepke thus line up together by rejecting the wearing of a veil for women, and they adopt similar translations to justify their case. A novel emendation undergirds their logic, and a consequence of this reasoning is that the text becomes a key element to their thesis.

We turn now to an alternate explanation for the text. Dittenberger offered his own interpretation of gender by means of an expanded paraphrase: *μηδὲ παρέρπην τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς τρίχας ἀμπεπλεγμένας μηδὲ [τοὺς ἄνδρας] κεκαλυμμένος* (‘the women are not to appear in public with braided hair; [the men] are not to wear head coverings’).⁶⁸ Dittenberger did not question why *κεκαλυμμένος* is in the masculine gender and allowed it to stand. However, in order to make sense of the injunction, he parenthetically added the words *τοὺς ἄνδρας* as an internal accusative to qualify that *κεκαλυμμένος* clearly applies to the men. Dittenberger is not alone. Sokolowski in his edition also allowed

66. Oepke, ‘κατακαλύπτω’, p. 563.

67. Lösch, ‘Christliche Frauen’, p. 242. See also p. 243: *βαδίζειν εἰς ἡραῖον ἐμπεπλεγμένον* = ‘Hera-Fest gehen mit geflochtenem Haar’, and also p. 244: ‘die *ἱεραὶ* haben zur Teilnahme am Festzug und Opfer nicht bloß nicht mit geflochtenen Haaren zu erscheinen; sie dürfen auch nicht mit verhüllten Haaren, i.e., nicht als verschleierte sich einfinden.’

68. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

the masculine to stand. However, Sokolowski saw no difficulty with the masculine *κεκαλυμμένος* and makes no comment upon it.

As we compare these two different perspectives, how can we adjudicate the issue? Clearly, both Oepke and Lösch needed this proposed emendation in order to build their case that Greek women were under no obligation to wear a veil in worship. Dittenberger's translation, to the contrary, allows us to see just the opposite: it cannot be assumed that these women did not wear a veil to worship. Proceeding further, if Dittenberger's retention of *κεκαλυμμένος* as applying only to men is correct, then a plausible conclusion is that this line has nothing to do with women. Additionally, if Dittenberger was correct in applying the words *τὰς τρίχας ἀμπεπλεγμένας* only to women, then the inscription says nothing about a woman being unveiled. If this is the case, then a reasonable conclusion yields a twofold result: there is only a prohibition forbidding the wearing of braided hair and, conversely, the wearing of a veil may be logically assumed for women. If this is correct, a secondary implication means that an injunction focused upon hair does not mutually exclude material head coverings.

It is tempting to jump to the conclusion that, just because hairstyles are in view, this therefore excludes veiling. In Greek culture this would not hold true. Depending upon the context, both hairstyle and head covering with a material veil may be assumed. Furthermore, only the men are told not to veil themselves. If only the men are instructed not to wear head coverings, we cannot assume that the women are not veiled. In fact, it is the safer interpretation to assume just the opposite: the men are not to wear a veil; the women are to distinguish themselves and their sexual identity and their marital state by the wearing of a textile head covering. Thus, men and women are identified by their separate head dress. If Dittenberger's interpretation is allowed to stand, how can his reading help us understand the situation at Corinth?

First of all, this provides evidence of a kind that women wore veils at public worship. Secondly, if we combine the results of Dittenberger and Sokolowski, as well as Lösch and Oepke, regarding hairstyles only for women, this opens up a possible door for a proper interpretation of why Paul mentions long hair at v. 15. We must not lose sight of a salient observation made by Dittenberger, Oepke and Lösch: all three have called attention to the issue of braided or curled hair. Do the injunctions at Andania and Lycosura help us understand the reference to hair at 1

Cor. 11.15? I believe they do. Not to be overlooked in the context is the prohibition not to wear flamboyant and sexually suggestive dress, especially with the ornament of gold. In fact, texts dealing with braiding tend to incorporate the ornament of gold, which is an additional cultural affront to Greek men.

A further text may now be mentioned. It may provide an additional clue into why we have both veils and hair mentioned in 1 Cor. 11.2-16. When Hera is preparing to seduce Zeus in Homer's *Il.* 14.175-185, 'with her hand, she combs and plaits her hair' (χαίτας πεαμένη χερσὶ πλοκάμους ἔπλεξε);⁶⁹ then she looks among her δαίδαλα πολλά ('many embroidered things'). Among them is the 'beautiful veil' (κρηδέμνω...καλῶ). An inescapable conclusion here is the binary of hairstyle and veil. Hera plaits or braids her hair; yet she still covers it with a veil. Plaited hair, even with a head covering, is an advertisement for sex.⁷⁰ Hesiod's *Theo.* 560-610 gives a parallel version to the myth of Pandora. If we set these two creation myths side by side, similarities emerge.⁷¹ Prominent among them is the key line at 575: κατὰ κρήθην δὲ καλύπτρην δαιδαλέην χείρεσσι κατέσχεσθε ('down from her head she spread with her hands an embroidered veil'). Both passages speak of a head covering, and this covering is described with the adjective δαιδαλέην ('embroidered'), which suggests something not for everyday wear but an adornment for a special occasion such as a wedding. The last item to be added is her veil, indicative of a beautifying climax to the grooming of her hair. What is significant, however, is that woman is veiled at the moment of creation and at the moment of presentation to a

69. The only time that *χαίτη* is used to describe a woman's hair in Homer is found here where it applies to Hera. Much more frequently this word can be found applying to either men or horses. The additional word *πλόκαμος* is more commonly used for depicting women, used twenty-eight times and only to describe women. *χαίτη* describes long hair, like a horse's mane, in a loosened or unbound condition, while *πλόκαμος* is braided or curled hair, sometimes translated as 'tresses' or 'ringlets'.

70. R.L. Hunter in his commentary *Apollonius of Rhodes Argonautica Book III* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 103, describes the phrase *πλέξασθαι πλοκάμους* as a part of 'preparations to seduce'.

71. For arguments on how these two myths diverge, see Nicole Loraux's treatment of the dissimilarities in *The Children of Athena* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 72-110.

man.⁷² Coincidentally, this literary image provides a mirror enabling us to see a possible background for interpreting 1 Cor. 11.2-16, in which Paul indicates that long hair is a ‘glory’ for a woman; yet the biblical text also speaks of a veil.⁷³ The Homeric scene of Hera adorning herself with a veil in order to make herself attractive to Zeus easily connects to 1 Cor. 11.2-16. If this line of logic is correct, this leads to a thematic conclusion of this study: the braiding of hair and the wearing of a veil are not mutually exclusive. No conflict or contradiction needs to be read into such descriptions. The presence of one does not necessarily imply the absence of the other. Stated otherwise, a woman may appear wearing a veil over her braided hair. The appropriate setting, however, for braided hair is not public worship. The privacy of one’s home within the circle of the family would be more appropriate—unless one is looking for love outside of marriage. In the confines of one’s home, braided hair when topped off by a veil would thus signal ceremonially the act of marriage. The text from Lycosura, therefore, may be a prohibition against braided hair but not against a material veil. What remains beyond the limitations of this study is why these women would discard their veils at worship. The two inscriptions do not provide an answer to that question.

A Connection with 1 Tim. 2.9 and 1 Pet. 3.3

Whenever braiding or the plaiting of hair is mentioned in ancient Greek texts, the context focuses upon both ostentatious and risqué behavior. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 6.10 makes use of a commonplace trope involving virtue and vice in women’s dress. Vice is adorned with gold and ‘plaited hair’ (χαίτης ἀναπλοκαῖς). Virtue is dressed ‘simply’

72. The reasons for her veiling are not decorative or celebratory but secretive and perhaps even protective. At 590 she is further revealed as a καλὸν κακόν... δόλον αἰπύν, ἀμήχανον ἀνθρώποισιν (‘a beautiful evil... sheer guile, not to be withstood by men’). There may be decoration here as she is also given golden raiment. Hesiod, however, takes this as beguiling. It is almost as if he takes the veiling custom, already current in his time, and reinvests it with a deeper and sinister meaning; the veil covers up her alleged inner deceitful nature. Otherwise, her unprotected and uncovered appearance cannot be resisted by men.

73. For the further argument that 1 Cor. 11.2-16 describes the wearing of a veil without totally obscuring the discreet and modest décor of her hair, see Preston T. Massey, ‘Long Hair as a Glory and as a Covering: Removing an Ambiguity from 1 Cor 11:15’, *NovT* 53 (2011), pp. 52-72.

(λιτήν). Diodorus Siculus, *Hist.* 12.21, says that the wearing of gold is the dress of a courtesan. A text from the Palatine Anthology (6.219) further confirms my contention. A male, dressed in the manner of a woman, is described with plaited tresses and a veil (πλοκάμους...ἄμματι κεκρυφάλων) ('with plaited tresses and a veil'). An additional supporting point may be made by an appeal to a cognate verb. Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 357A describes Isis beautifying the 'maidservants' (θεραπαινίδας) of Queen Athenais by 'plaiting their hair' (κόμην παραπλέκουσαν). When the queen saw the hairstyle, she had a longing for the same makeover. In the ancient Greek world, the way you glamorized a woman's beauty was through the styling of hair. Such images as this famous *koré* may offer a background of sorts. If so, the ritual regulations from Andania and Lycosura could possibly suggest a prohibition against turning the sacral event into a beauty contest.⁷⁴ Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 528e indicates that 'luxuriant curls' (χλιδῶν τε πλόκαμος ὥστε παρθένοις ἀβραῖς) are a sign of both extravagance and unmarried beautiful girls. Homer, *Od.* 6.231 describes Odysseus in terms of sporting 'long curly hair' (οὐλας...κόμας) like the hyacinth flower, a metaphor for sexual virility. Finally, in Lucian, *Pro imag.* 5, he parodies the beautifying process by taking an unattractive woman and glamorizing her with soft curly hair in braids (τὰς τρίχας...καὶ οὐλους τινὰς πλοκάμους ἀναπλεκόντων) ('they plait some hair into soft curly braids').

Proceeding further, two passages in the New Testament touch upon the topic of dress and modesty. First Timothy 2.9 says: 'not with braided hair or gold or pearls or expensive clothing' (μὴ ἐν πλέγμασιν ἐν χρυσις ἢ μαργαρίταις ἢ ἱματισμῶ πολυτελεῖ), and 1 Pet. 3.3 says: 'let not your adornment come from outward beauty, such as braided hair and the wearing of old gold jewelry and fine clothing' (ἔστω οὐχ ὁ ἕξοθεν ἐμπλοκῆς τριχῶν καὶ περιθέσεως χρυσίων ἢ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμος). Both texts deal with excessive and extravagant dress for women.⁷⁵ Both

74. Indeed, such a suggestion may not be far-fetched as the famous and notorious beauty contest involving Aphrodite forms the background to the Trojan War.

75. For discussion on Roman hairstyles and their relationship to *luxuria*, see Alicia J. Batten, 'Neither Gold nor Braided Hair (1 Timothy 2.9; 1 Peter 3.3): Adornment, Gender and Honour in Antiquity', *NTS* 55 (2009), pp. 484-501. For the Roman view of female hair styling, see Elizabeth Bartman, 'Hair and the Artifice of

texts fit comfortably into the conservative culture of Mediterranean modest dress behavior, conforming especially to the injunctions found at Andania and Lycosura. The counterculture of luxuriant and flamboyant dress includes the wearing of gold and pearls;⁷⁶ this also includes the wearing of braided, plaited or curly hair. Neither text assumes that a veil is dispensed with. The one element that may separate the two texts is the particular situation. First Timothy 2.9 may suitably fit that of a worship setting; 1 Pet. 3.3 may refer to a general dress code for women when out in public. In view of the instruction in 1 Cor. 11.2-16, for a woman to wear a head covering, the two texts above may assume that the women in question are wearing veils as no admonition is given to do so. This, I maintain, is not evidence that women did not wear veils out in the public. On the contrary, it is more probable that simply wearing a head covering did not automatically resolve all matters concerned with modest dress. There was also the matter of hairstyle.⁷⁷

If we combine together the three texts of 1 Cor. 11.2-16, 1 Tim. 2.9 and 1 Pet. 3.3, a coherent picture emerges. Like a coin with two sides, the Corinthian text recommends the wearing of a veil with a natural hairstyle without mentioning braids; the 1 Timothy and 1 Peter passages prohibit the wearing of braided hair without mentioning a veil. Placing all three texts together, the ideal would be for a woman at church (or out in public) to wear her hair in a natural state covered with a veil.

One way to observe that a natural hairstyle is under recommendation would be the presence of the ends of a woman's hair falling—unbraided—over the shoulders while covered with a veil. A literary portrait in Philostratus, *Imag.* 2.9 expresses well the idea that a married

Roman Female Adornment', *AJA* 105 (2001), pp. 1-25. However, I do not subscribe to the view that Roman high fashion has upset the applecart at Corinth.

76. See also *T. Jud.* 13.5: *καὶ αὐτὴν κοσμησάς ἐν χρυσῷ καὶ μαργαρίταις* for similar language and thought.

77. For an artist's representation of a woman sporting a curly hairstyle while wearing a head covering, see G. Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), fig. 98; for a visual representation of a woman's hair in a braided style with a veil, see Bol, *Die Geschichte*, Abb. 29: 'Kopie der Sitzenden Penelope'. I need to clarify that this representation of Penelope is strictly the sculptor's own conception. In Homer's *Odyssey*, Penelope's hair is never described. See also Bernard Andreae, *Skulptur des Hellenismus* (Munich: Hirmer, 2001).

woman's hair, when covered by a veil, can fall over her shoulders in a natural hairstyle. This natural look would thus convey a sense of modesty:

ἄπεισι δὲ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ Πρωτεσίλῳ καταστεφθεῖσα οἷς ἐβάκχευσεν, οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἡ τοῦ Καταπέως οἶον θυσίας σταλεῖσα ἀλλ' ἀσκεύστον τὸ κάλλος καὶ οἶον ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραδάτου ἣ φυλάττει αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπάγει, χαίτην μὲν οὕτω μέλαιναν τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ περιχέασα τοῖς ὤμοις καὶ τῷ αὐχένι, δέρην δὲ λευκὴν ὑπεκφαίνουσα.

And she departs, not like the wife of Protesilaüs, wreathed with the garlands of the Bacchic rites she had been celebrating, nor yet like the wife of Capaeus, decked out as for sacrifice; but she keeps her beauty unadorned and just as it was while Abradates was alive, and takes it thus away with her, letting her thick black hair fall unrestrained over her shoulders and neck, yet just showing her white throat.⁷⁸

This text focuses on the modest dress of the wife of the deceased Abradates. She, as his widow, is now in a state of grieving the loss of her husband. She is contrasted with two other women, both depicted in conditions of extreme mourning.

The first woman mentioned is the wife of Protesilaüs; she was noted for her great grief at the loss of her husband at Troy.⁷⁹ Philostratus, however, recasts her Homeric grieving demeanor into a celebrating Bacchant.⁸⁰ The second woman, the wife of Capaneus (also a Homeric casualty in the *Iliad*), is widowed and now bereaving her loss as well. She is likewise recast as 'decked out' (σταλεῖσα), as if for a sacrifice.⁸¹ In both cases these two grieving women are linked pejoratively to pagan rites. The intended association is that of wild and bizarre behavior. The third woman, mentioned first in my description, is the

78. I have followed, word for word, Arthur Fairbanks's translation in the LCL edition.

79. Homer, *Il.* 2.698-702.

80. An illustration of this behavior may be found in a text from Tacitus's *Annals* 11.31 (translation by J. Jackson in the Loeb edition): 'and she was celebrating a mimic vintage through the grounds of the house. Presses were being trodden, vats flowed; while, beside them, skin-girt women were bounding like Bacchanals excited by sacrifice or delirium. She herself was there with dishevelled tresses (*crine fluxo*) and waving thyrsus; at her side was Silius with an ivy crown, wearing the buskins and tossing his head (*iacere caput*).' I do not see such a text as aptly describing the situation at Corinth.

81. The verb *στέλλω* often conveys the sense of to 'dress', to 'arrange', even to 'furl the sails' (Homer, *Od.* 3.1011).

wife of Abradates. Like that of the other two women, she, too, is a figure from the distant past. At this point, the similarities end, and the differences begin.

First, she has a name: Pantheia. (She may have been well-known owing to Xenophon's description of her in his *Cyropaedia*.⁸²) Secondly, unlike the first two women, she is set apart for exemplary praise; praise is bestowed upon her because she avoids the extravagant signs of grieving. As if her husband were still alive,⁸³ she keeps her beauty 'unadorned' (ἀσκεύαστον). Instead of exercising the right to mourn her loss by disheveling her hair and thereby making herself less attractive, she remains dignified. She neither disfigures herself nor adorns herself. Thus, Philostratus shifts his description away from the specific mourning behavior of disfigurement to plain and simple dress that illustrates discretion and modesty. Pantheia neither disfigures herself nor over-figures herself by beautification. In other words, she does not dishevel her hair (a sign of mourning), nor does she sport braided hair (a sign that she is advertising availability). She has allowed herself no concessions to the plight or privilege of her widowhood. Furthermore, she is then portrayed as 'guarding her beauty as she goes away' (φυλάττει αὐτὸ καὶ ἀπάγει). What could this expression possibly mean? As Xenophon originally insinuated, Pantheia wished the earth to cover her in death as it did her husband. Therefore, in the condition that she went away (with head and hair presumably covered), she accordingly wished the earth to cover her as well. Finally, even though a widow, she forgoes the freedom of removing the veil in order to grieve; the only things visible are the ends of her black hair falling over her *shoulders* and the whiteness of her *throat*. Except for these two features, which are visibly showing, we must assume that nothing else can be seen. Philostratus makes a special point of mentioning that Xenophon did not describe Pantheia's hair. Likewise, Philostratus remains restrained, preserving the picture of Pantheia as the embodiment of modest behavior. This text may illuminate the text of 1 Cor. 11.2-16. Since Paul mentions that a woman's hair is her 'glory', it must be assumed that some part of it is visible, either the front bangs or the ends falling down over the shoulders. This would conform to the image of modesty as developed by Philostratus.

82. Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6.4.3.

83. The expression ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραδάτου ἦ ('under the authority of a husband') suggests a wife who is still under the authority of a husband.

Conclusion

Lösch's use of these two inscriptions forces the interpreter to face multiple issues: (1) does the language support the view that only long hair is the practice envisioned; (2) do inscriptions or literary depictions of married women wearing their hair loose in religious rites indicate specifically that these women are not wearing a veil; and (3) does the wearing of curls or plaits by a married woman imply *a priori* that she is not wearing a head covering? My investigation into these issues concludes that the evidence from these two inscriptions does not support the contention that women depicted with braided hair proves that the wearer has removed the head covering. Furthermore, neither does the evidence from inscriptions indicate that women are actually sporting braided hair. In the final analysis, then, Lösch has created a pseudo-problem. There is no contradiction in the Greek language if a woman wears plaited or braided hair accompanied by the accessory of a veil.⁸⁴ Although men object to plaited or braided hair, a woman's braided hair does not automatically eliminate the presence of a head covering. Consequently, it is a mistake to argue that Greek women in pagan ritual appear without a veil upon their head.

Although efforts have been made to document the loosened hair theory (without head coverings) based upon these inscriptions from Andania and Lycosura, I could find no conclusive evidence from these lines that married women appeared without veils in Greek cultic ritual. If so, it is less likely that connections to pagan worship are the cause behind 1 Cor. 11.2-16. If my conclusion is correct, then the sudden switch in the text of 1 Cor. 11.13-15 from veiling to long hair becomes more intelligible. Paul is not saying that long hair replaces veiling. On the contrary, veiling is a reflection or extension of long hair.⁸⁵ A

84. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 525e-f describes men in a reversal of custom (during the festival of Hera), in parallel like fashion, marching with braided long hair waving in the breeze but adorned with golden head pieces (χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὡς χαίται δ' ἠωρεῦνται ἀνέμῳ).

85. Inasmuch as the expression λιπαρὰς κόμας (*Anacreontea* 17.3) indicates 'shining hair', the veil, when described as λιπαρή (as in Homer, *Il.* 22.406: λιπαρήν...καλύπτρην), may be an extension or reflection of the luster of hair. In this sense, the veil does not necessarily conceal or dull the brightness of hair but heightens its natural beauty. This, of course, would vary from woman to woman, and from veil quality to veil quality. This is a characteristic of clothing in general: clothing can reveal or conceal, enhance or diminish a woman's natural beauty. Thus

woman's hair is to be in a natural state, neither curled nor braided. And it is to be covered with a veil.⁸⁶ The veil thus follows the contour of a woman's long hair and accentuates the 'glory' (δόξα) of her natural beauty without creating the social stigma of either immodesty or ostentatiousness.⁸⁷ The emphasis upon her dress is not one of glamour but one of simplicity.

Unless there is a mention of the specific act of unbinding hair, the assumption must be that the head covering only has been removed *at that moment*. This gives rise to a relevant question: why does Paul mention at v. 15 that long hair is a glory for a woman (γυνή δὲ ἐὰν κομᾶ, δόξα αὐτῆς ἐστίν) ('if a woman has long hair, it is her glory')? These words are a principal reason why those who dismiss head coverings as the issue turn to hairstyles for the solution. The mistake is one of assuming *a priori* that these women of Corinth have come to church with their hair bound up and unveiled, rather than assuming the opposite: the women have arrived with their hair *already* unbound in a simple hairstyle yet appropriately covered with a textile headdress.⁸⁸ Perhaps a modern analogy may illustrate the point. The female breast

I cannot agree with Jerome Murphy-O'Connor's proposal ('1 Corinthians 11:2-16 Once Again', *CBQ* 50 [1988], pp. 265-74 [274]) that the reference to περιβόλαιον in v. 15 should be understood as long hair that has been given to the woman as a 'wrapper'.

86. For the argument that the περιβόλαιον of 1 Cor. 11.15 should be understood as 'testicles', see Troy W. Martin, 'Paul's Argument from Nature for the Veil in 1 Corinthians 11:13-15: A Testicle Instead of a Head Covering', *JBL* 123 (2004), pp. 75-84. Martin's article cannot be taken seriously. It is better to take περιβόλαιον in the same sense as employed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 15.9.7): μέλλων δ' ἀπιέναι τὴν τε περιβολὴν κατὰ κεφαλῆς εἴλκυσε ('about to depart, he pulled his cloak over his head').

87. In the ancient Greek world (and in our world today), the way you glamorize a woman's beauty is through the styling of her hair.

88. An example of this dress style is Callimachus's description of a woman's processional at the Thesmophoria as it winds through the city in *Hymnus in Cererem/Demeter* (5). Callimachus constructs a command to the βέβαλοι or 'uninitiated', telling them: μηδ' ἀπὸ τῷ τέγος μηδ' ὑψόθεν αὐγάσσησθε μὴ παῖς μηδὲ γυνὰ μηδ' ἄ κατεχεύσατο χαίταν ('let not child, nor maid, nor wife gaze from the roof nor high place with hair unbound'). These uninitiated females, being outside the train of the procession, are to have their hair bound up. At 6.125, Callimachus returns to this matter but from a slightly different viewpoint. His focus is now on the initiates, and he pictures them as they proceed on their way: ὦς πόδας, ὦς κεφαλὰς παναπηρέας ('unsandaled with hair unbound').

may also be considered integral to a woman's charm or 'glory'. When discreetly covered with a modest blouse, a woman's figure can still be attractive. An appropriate blouse naturally follows the contour of the female figure yet modestly so. Conversely, the removal of the blouse in a public setting signals a sense of immodesty.

The concern of the text is not that these women, while at worship, are unbinding their hair, but rather, that they have uncovered it through the removal of the veil. The line *γυνή δὲ εἰάν κομᾷ, δόξα αὐτῇ ἐστίν* ('if a woman has long hair, it is her glory') clearly indicates that long hair for a woman is her pride and glory. Her hair should not be understood as bound up, but as in a natural state of hanging down loose and modestly covered with a veil. The two inscriptions from Andania and Lycosura, along with the text of 1 Cor. 11.2-16, conform more to the image of Philostratus's modest Pantheia than they do to the picture of immodest Bacchantes dancing in wild celebration.