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which has been the glory, and perhaps to some extent the salvation, of English religion and of the English Church—the capacity of the office of the clergyman for harmonizing all the elements of our nation. An English clergyman who is a true disciple of the "Country Parson" of George Herbert will regard every gift, whether of body or of mind, of birth or of fortune as having its proper place and influence in his work. Herbert's fellows, to whom Mr. Shorthouse refers, did not, at least in any similar degree, render the Church this service. They preferred to seclude themselves from the world, and sought their ideal in a dim and monastic way of life. Perhaps there are tendencies in our time which also point in too great a degree to the separation of the profession of the clergyman from English life as a whole. Against such a danger George Herbert will ever be the best, and we may hope a sufficient, antidote. As the weaknesses of men are turned by God to His own purposes, so we see cause to be thankful that George Herbert was allowed for a while to yield to the temptations of Courts and of Universities, in order that, in his mature age, he might not so much renounce them all, as show how it is the glory of the Church of England to turn to account all the lessons they can give, and to weave together in one holy bond the best elements of our life.

HENRY WACE.

## ART. II.—ON THE USE OF THE TURBAN AND VEIL IN HOLY SCRIPTURE.

SOME places in the Old and New Testaments, relating to the covering and treatment of the head, have been encumbered with a mass of misapplied learning from want of closer attention to the actual usages of the time and country. The "Speaker's Commentary," with all its excellencies, has not supplied all the advantage in this particular that might have been expected from modern criticism. The Revised Version, too, perpetuates in one place a mistranslation of really mischievous effect, which could hardly have occurred with proper attention to the well-known head-dress of the Asiatic Jews.

The turban was certainly in use among the Hebrews before the time of Moses. The mention of the costly turbans of kings, nobles, and ladies by no means warrants the inference that in other classes "the head was usually uncovered" ("Bible Dictionary," i. 767). Some defence against the Eastern sun must always have been necessary. The ancient Egyptians are depicted with thick caps and wigs. The Bedouins of the

Description Descri

Western Art, while representing our Lord and His disciples in a conventional attire of Oriental aspect, almost invariably omits the turban which they certainly wore. Mr. Holman Hunt's picture restores it from modern life on the Rabbis of the temple. Probably then, as now, the several classes and professions had their distinctive uses. By the shape and colour of his turban St. Paul would be known in the synagogue as a Rabbi (Acts xiii. 15). So, too, our Lord Himself (Luke iv. 16); but we are not obliged to imagine them disfigured by the hideous rolls depicted by Mr. Hunt.

Let us now proceed to examine a few of the explanations

given in the "Speaker's Commentary":

1. Gen. xli. 14.—The Bishop of Winchester observes that "the Hebrews cherished long beards, but the Egyptians cut both hair and beard close (Herodotus, ii. 36). Joseph, therefore, when about to appear before Pharaoh, was careful to adapt himself to the manners of the Egyptians." The inference appears to be that Joseph shaved off his beard. According to Herodotus, the ancient Egyptians shaved both head and body all over; and this is confirmed by the monuments. Foreigners, however, are depicted with beards; and as Joseph was known to be a Hebrew (xl. 15), he would hardly be required to sacrifice his national distinction. The shaving would appear to be imperative only on priests and slaves. The Pharaohs themselves are represented with beards—generally supposed to be false. If so, they may imply, like their wigs, some dissatisfaction with the native African growth in comparison with the luxuriant tresses and beards of their Asiatic neighbours. In any case, there could be no objection to Joseph appearing before the king with his beard. What he did was just what an Oriental Jew or Moslem would do in similar circumstances now—he shaved his *head* and put on a clean turban.

2. Job xxix 14.—The "diadem" (Heb. tsaniph, "wound round") is explained by Canon Cook to be a "turban of costly shawls." The word itself implies nothing of the material: it is rendered "hood" in Isa. iii. 23, "diadem" in Isa. lxii. 3, and "mitre" in Zech. iii. 5. The last we know was of fine linen: ladies would wear silk or muslin, and the rich nobles shawls. These luxurious articles naturally challenged attention; the attire of the humbler classes passed without remark. It seems likely that the ancient turban (like the modern) was often composed of two parts: a stiff skull-cap and a roll of stuff wound round and concealing it. Sometimes, however, the cap rises in a cone above the roll. Other turbans are twisted together so as

to form a cap in one piece. Jewels and ornaments of precious metals are still worn in the turbans of the wealthy.

3. Exod. xxviii. 37, 40.—Aaron's "mitre" (Heb. mitsnepheth. a cognate word with the last) is described by Canon Cook as "a twisted band of linen coiled into (round?) a cap, which in modern usage would be called a turban." The "bonnets" or (as he prefers to render) "caps" of his sons were "caps of a simple construction, which, according to a probable explanation of the name, seem to have been cup-shaped" (migbaah). A cup-shaped cap could only be a skull-cap, the foundation of the turban. Josephus, who was himself a priest, describes the head-dress, both of the high-priest and the common priests, as "made of thick swathes coiled round many times, and firmly fixed on the solid part of the head not to fall off during the service of the sacrifices." "The high-priest's mitre," he says, "was wrought like that of the other priests:" the difference being that his turban had an upper (perhaps smaller) coil of blue encircled with a golden tiara, out of which rose the calvx of a flower in gold (Ant. iii. 7). If the turbans of the second rank were crowned with a less costly ornament of the same kind, it might account for their being named from a cup. The Hebrew doctors, quoted by Bishop Patrick, say the migbaahs came lower down on the forehead than the tsaniph, "and rose up higher like a hillock." Both were probably caps round which the coils of fine linen were bound: a common form of turban in India at the present day.

The writer in the "Bible Dictionary" (i. 766) thinks the sacerdotal vestments the earliest notice of any covering of the head among the Hebrews, and infers that the practice was limited to the priests: an inference equally applicable to every other vesture. It is far more likely that the priests wore the usual articles of attire, enriched and adorned for "glory and beauty," than that new garments were devised for their special use. The uncovering of the head in Numb. v. 18 means removing the woman's veil; and the leper's "bare," or rather "neglected," head (Lev. xiii. 45) is quite consistent with

the ordinary use of the turban.

4. Lev. x. 6.—In like manner the turban explains the command to Aaron and his sons not to uncover their heads at the death of Nadab and Abihu. The original word, "set free" or "loose," is better understood of dashing off the turban, in a transport of grief, than of letting the hair go dishevelled ("Speaker's Commentary"). As the priests (at least) wore turbans, their hair must have been close-clipped. As shaving the head with the razor was forbidden to the priests, we may perhaps infer that the scissors were generally employed by the Jews, as by the Moslems in India at the present time. The

Hindoos shave the whole head, or the fore part and top of it, with the razor.

5. Numb. vi.—Shaving the head is found only in connection with the vow of the Nazarite, properly Nazirite-one "separated" or consecrated to God. The separation was performed in the courts of the sanctuary, and during the period of it "no razor was to come upon the head." The turban being laid aside, the growing hair is termed the "consecration of his God upon his head" (verse 8). His abstaining from wine, like the priests, probably denotes a partaking with them in the service of the sanctuary. At the close of the retreat the head was shaved with a razor, and the hair burned in the fire under the sacrifices of the peace-offerings. Some commentators, misled by heathen precedents, mistake this for the fire on the altar, and imagine a prefiguration of eucharistic communion ("Speaker's Commentary"). No such offering was admissible on the altar of Jehovah. The fire, as Bishop Patrick shows, was in the court of the women, on which the peace-offering was boiled. The locks of hair were not sacrificed, as by the heathen, but simply disposed of in the fire under these vessels; much as with ourselves the remnants of the Holy Eucharist are reverently consumed in the church. The oblation was the free growth of the head before the shaving. Hence the "undressed" vine, left to grow of itself in the Sabbatical years, is in the original a Nazirite (Lev. xxv. 5, 11). The illustrations adduced by commentators from the heathen poets are all irrelevant and misleading.

It is to be observed that the tonsure took place at the conclusion of the vow: there is nothing to support the conjecture that it was preceded by a similar act. The direction to shave the head when the separation was interrupted by accidental defilement (verse 9), marked the conclusion of the broken period, not the commencement of another. From the Mishna "it seems that the act of self-consecration was a private matter, not accompanied by any prescribed rite" ("Bible Dic-

tionary," ii. 471).

The law is silent also on the period of the consecration. The usual time is said to have been thirty days, sometimes extended to sixty or a hundred. Josephus has a story of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, who took a vow for seven years, and on arriving at Jerusalem to offer the sacrifices, was informed that time spent out of the Holy Land did not count, and she began another term at Jerusalem which, by an interruption through defilement, was eventually extended to twenty-one years in all (Ant., xx. 2).

6. Judges xiii. 7.—Samson was a Nazirite for life dedicated by his parents before his birth. So probably Samuel (1 Sam.

i. 11) and John the Baptist (Luke i. 15). Though the word is not used of either, the first two have the long hair mentioned, and the last the abstinence from wine. Samuel is the only one dedicated to the sanctuary, which may account for his acting as a priest, since the Nazirites are said to have shared the priestly privilege of entering the Holy Place. In the case of Samson the hair was the symbol of strength, spiritual and physical. The same peculiarity appears in Elijah, the "lord of hair" (2 Kings i. 8). All these would discard the turban, the use of which by Elisha elicited the epithet of "bald head"

from the youths of Bethel (2 Kings ii. 23).

7. Sam. iv. 7, 8.—According to Gesenius, De Wette, and other modern writers, the appellation of Nazirite is here given to the young princes of Israel in the same sense as to Joseph in Gen. xlix. 26; cf. Deut. xxiii. 16. This is disputed by the Dean of Canterbury ("Speaker's Commentary"), but may perhaps receive confirmation from the example of Absalom (2 Sam. xiv. 26). The hair, as the visible sign of the separation, was the Nazirite's "crown of glory." A similar distinction might be affected by those whose rank placed them above the exposure to the sun, which necessitated the turban. In itself the hair is a proof of health and vigour, and an object of admiration. A singularity which marked the piety of the true Nazirite would have attractions of another kind to the highborn cavalier.

8. Acts xviii. 18.—The question whether it was St. Paul or Aquila who "had a vow" was probably raised to avoid ascribing to the Apostle a transaction which the commentators were unable to explain. The natural and most obvious view will hardly be doubted, when the incident is disembarrassed of

the conjectures of the commentators.

Whitby, observing that St. Paul alone continued the journey to Jerusalem, while Apollos was left at Ephesus (v. 19) concludes for St. Paul; adding, "This is certain, that it was the vow of Nazaritism now finished, and which by Philo is called the 'great vow,' which caused this votary to shave his head." These remarks are curiously contradictory. The Nazirite's vow could only be completed at Jerusalem, where the head was shaved in the Temple. This is the reason for ascribing the vow to St. Paul, who went to Jerusalem; but if the vow was finished at Cenchrea, it could not be the Nazirite rite, and there is nothing to decide between the Apostle and his companion.

Dr. Espin writes in the "Speaker's Commentary" (Numb. vi. 18): "St. Paul is said to have 'shorn' (the word should have been 'polled') his head at Cenchrea because he had a vow. The vow can hardly be that of a Nazirite, though that mentioned in Acts xxi. 23 no doubt was so." The verbal

correction is meant to mark the use of the scissors in distinction from the razor, but this is the true meaning of "shorn" (comp. 1 Cor. xi. 6). The rare word "polled" properly means "shaved," and is so rendered in one of the three places where it occurs in the Authorized Version (Micah i. 16).

In the Acts it is not said that the head was shorn because he had a vow. This is inferred from the vow being supposed to be the Nazirite, and there is certainly no authority for imagining any other vow. All the forms named by Josephus are manifestly developments or corruptions of the Nazirite, and neither St. Paul nor Aquila are to be suspected of will-wor-

ship, or superstition.

The Bishop of Chester is unable to explain the nature of the vow, nor to determine "whether the cutting off of the hair was the commencement or the termination of the period of the The locality and the absence of the prescribed offerings show that it could not have been the Nazirite vow" ("Speaker's Commentary," Acts xviii.). Why then should the tonsure denote either the commencement or the termination of the period, or indeed be at all connected with the vow? In fact the Bishop suggests another reason for it, which will presently be considered. The "shaving" first adduced in proof of the Nazirite vow is shown on closer examination to be proof to the contrary. But if the tonsure turns out to be not "shaving," and to be in no way connected with the vow, it proves nothing on either side; and no other vow being known, the older view returns on a better footing.

Bengel, still clinging to the inveterate prejudice connecting the tonsure with the vow, takes it to mark the commencement of the vow, in the sense that St. Paul then undertook a selfobligation to proceed to Jerusalem to perform the Nazirite This is a satisfactory account of the vow; only the selfobligation must certainly have been undertaken before leaving Corinth for the voyage, and therefore could not have been connected with the tensure at the port of embarkation. "vow the vow" of a Nazirite required no tonsure or other ceremony; the act of self-consecration might be undertaken at any time or place. To speculate on the cause of such a resolution is as irrelevant as to inquire into the motives of a clergyman joining a modern retreat. All that St. Luke says is that "he had a vow." He does not say it was the cause of having his head shorn, any more than of taking leave of the brethren. The Authorized Version and Revised Version translate one of these acts by a verb and the other by a participle, but in the Greek both are aorist participles in construction with the verb "sailed;" the Vow is the subject of another verb "had." The vow was the

cause of his leaving Corinth, and so of all the incidents of his embarkation, but there is no hint of any special relation to the tonsure. We find the Apostle proceeding with all speed to Jerusalem, refusing to stay at Ephesus, where he landed his companions, in words distinctly implying an imperative obligation at the Temple (Acts xviii. 21). If the Revised Version is right in omitting these words, still the obligation is apparent from the facts. That nothing is recorded at Jerusalem is consistent with St. Luke's method, if nothing more took place than the completion of a purpose already mentioned: if anything happened to defeat the intention we should expect to hear of it. Our conclusion is, that the vow which St. Paul had on him at sailing from Cenchrea was the Nazirite vow, and was duly fulfilled at the Temple in accordance with the law. The rite in Acts xxi. was a second retreat of the same kind, and, as before, we find notices of a previous "vow" or self-imposed obligation (Acts xix. 21, xx. 16-22, xxi. 24). It must have been a strong sense of religious obligation to warrant a perseverance in the face of such warnings of the Holy Ghost (xxi. 4, 11).

It remains to inquire into the true reason of the Apostle's head being shorn at Cenchrea? The Bishop of Chester, referring to 1 Cor. xi. 14, thinks, "that wearing his hair long must have been humiliating to his feelings." But why wear his hair at any time longer than he liked? And why delay the relief to the port of embarkation? Bengel answers the question, without knowing it, when he says that in leaving Corinth for Judea—probably in a Syrian ship—the Apostle resumed the Jewish habit. In other words, having worn his hair in Greece according to Greek usage, he cut it close on

leaving Europe to resume the national turban.

9. I Cor. xi. 4.—This strange obliviousness of the turban has made the Apostle say in both Versions, Authorized and Revised, that "a man praying or prophesying with his head covered dishonoureth his head." The Greek means "covered with a fall, or veil," and the passage has reference to the face. not the head, which the Jews always covered with the turban in the Temple services. Throughout the East the mark of reverence is to cover the head; to expose it in public, or in presence of a superior, is a gross indecency. The tradition remains with the Jews in Europe, after abandoning the turban for ages. They wear their hats in the synagogue, and put them on to kiss the book in our courts of justice. Yet our missionaries in India, misled by the false translation, make their people take off their turbans in church, to the effectual dishonour of their poor shaven pates. Ludicrous as this appears to a visitor, the missionaries are outdone by the learned

Bengel, who, after observing that our Lord and His disciples worshipped with the head covered after the manner of the Jews, solemnly inquires how far the Apostle's prohibition applies to the use of wigs! He observes that the covering forbidden to the man is enjoined upon the woman; if the injunction is not satisfied by wearing a wig, why should the prohibition be violated by it? His determination is, that a modest imitation of nature in supplement of natural defect, and for health more than ornament—perhaps his own case—is permissible; but a large bushy periwig, with flowing curls unlike anything in nature, and the offspring of luxury and vanity, is decidedly unlawful. This is hard upon our English judges. On the whole, he concludes that if St. Paul could be consulted, he would forbid wigs altogether, though he might not go so far as to deny them to those with whom they were in actual use.

Hardly better than this solemn trifling is the dispute raised by the commentators on the "head" to which the dishonour is done by the presence or absence of the covering. Professor Evans follows Whitby in maintaining that it is the "metaphorical" head; i.e., Christ in the man's case, and the man in the woman's. Bengel, returning to his usual good sense, is for the natural head, and Alford combines the two. The Professor thinks it a "strange idea that a man's head should be put to shame," but surely that was the very punishment of the pillory; and the "shame of my face" is a familiar expression. Of the woman the Apostle expressly says her hair is her glory (not the man's), and the absence of it her shame. It should follow, that by parity of reason, the covering is the man's shame, not Christ's. The dishonour is naturally referred to the part which occa-

sions it.

In the case of the woman, the Revised Version gives the proper words, "veiled" and "unveiled." The veil is enjoined to the woman, and forbidden to the man, in "praying and prophesying;" i.e., plainly in public worship, and (as Whitby notes) in the church. To avoid an imaginary contradiction with 1 Cor. xiv. 35, Leclerc and other commentators suppose that the reference is not "to the full congregation, but to less formal meetings for devotion; e.g., in a church held in a house where they are allowed to pray aloud, and to utter inspirational discourses." Surely the publicity of the assembly is the whole reason for the veil; in the "house" it was laid aside. Moreover the mention of the "angels" in verse 10 is admitted to refer to their "unseen presence in the holy congregation." If so, it at once disposes of a gloss, which would allow the woman to be unveiled in the church. What is forbidden in 1 Cor. xiv. 34, 35, is "speaking

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Speaker's Commentary;" so Bengel, but with some confusion.

in the church;" i.e., making a speech to the congregation. Women might join in the worship, as they do still by responding to the prayers and singing, "keeping silence" during the sermon. "Discourses" would hardly have been delivered anywhere from behind a veil.

The wealth of learning accumulated on the meaning of the veil is something prodigious. The commentators tell us it is "a badge of subordination in the wearer, worn by an inferior when he stands visible before his visible superior. Angels in the presence of God veil their faces: woman veils her face in the presence of man, her visible superior; but man does not veil because Christ, his immediate superior, is not visibly present. For a veil is a symbol seen of subjection to one who is seen" ("Speaker's Commentary"). All this is purely gratis dictum. The Apostle has not a word of subjection, or of symbolism, or of the distinction between a visible and invisible presence. Moreover, the facts are the other way if angels veil their faces in the presence of God (which is, perhaps, not proved by Isa. vi. 2). In a passage cited by Bengel from Jac. Faber Stapulensis, it is argued that angels and men address God unveiled, because immediately created by Him; but the woman must have a veil as the symbol of her creation, mediante viro: and he interprets the propter angelos of verse 10, as meaning that the angels would be offended at her presumption in equalling herself with them. Moses took off the veil when "face to face" with Him in the tabernacle, and wore it only in the visible presence of his *inferiors*. So, too, the woman when face to face with her husband lays aside her veil; she wears it to avoid being seen by those who have no right to approach her. Neither is it easy to think that "visibility" would have weighed so much with the Apostle, whose rule was to look not at the things which are seen, but to those which are not seen. His own explanation is that "man is the image and glory of God, but the woman is the glory of the man" (v. 7). This implies nothing of the subjection or inferiority which the commentators harp upon. The woman no less than the man is the image and glory of God (Gen. i. 27), and Christ is equally her Head. The two sexes are one species, and neither is without the other in the Lord (verse 11; comp. Gal. iii. 28). But the woman has an additional privilege of her own: she is the glory (not the image) of the man, made out of him and for him, a help meet for him (Gen. ii. 20). To be made out of man, who was formed of the dust of the ground, is no proof of inferiority, nor is it anything but a glory to be made for him. The glory of God is revealed in the face of Jesus Christ (2 Cor. iv. 6). It is not a transitory glory, as in the face of Moses, who put on a veil to hide its

departure (2 Cor. iii. 13), but a glory that remaineth (ibid. verse 11). Hence the man, representing the species of which Christ is Head, "ought not to veil his head," but with "open face" show forth the glory of God. The spiritual liberty of the woman is no less; but being comprehended in the man, it is sufficiently expressed in him. To her the "open face" is forbidden by her being the glory of the man. This glory is not revealed; it derives all its brightness from privacy, and is destroyed by publicity. A woman without a veil might as well be shaven or shorn. "For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head." It is indecent to appear without it. The "power" is undoubtedly the veil: "authority" (R. V.), with the interpolation "sign of," are needless changes, and the marginal rendering, "have authority over her head," is quite erroneous. The word is of frequent occurrence in this Epistle; and in chapter ix., Canon Evans gives the true translation—" privilege." privilege, as in all other cases, belongs to the person who bears the symbol. To convert it into a badge of inferiority, the commentators invent a "correlation of cause and effect" by which the veil is made a sign of the man's authority over the woman. This "contorta ac nimis arguta interpretatio" (Schleusner) is admitted to be uncommon; it might well be said, unprece-The example given from Macbeth, "present him eminence both with eye and tongue," fails in the very point of comparison. The eye and tongue of the courtier denote the eminence of the prince; but when did a diadem denote the subjection of the wearer? The Apostle says the woman's hair is "a glory to her, because it is given her for a covering" (verse 14). For the same reason the veil is a glory to her; and is always so accounted by those who use it. It is a mark of rank and distinction, of a delicacy and refinement above the vulgar gaze. As a token of modesty, it is one of the honours of the weaker sex; not less an honour because it also shields the most valued prize of man. Like the natural covering, the veil is the glory of the woman, because she is the glory of the man.

In short, it is not a question with St. Paul of the equality of the sexes, but of decency and decorum. All raiment is for "glory and beauty" (Ex. xxviii. 2; cf. Matt. vi. 29). If any be contentious, the Apostle overrules argument by a peremptory decision; nothing is suffered in the churches of God that offends against the established rules of propriety. These being always conventional, there can be no thought of "a Ritual law expressive of the moral" ("Speaker's Commentary"). If the tallith which is said to have been worn by the Jews (Lightfoot, Hor. Heb.) by a corrupt following of Moses, or the purple veil which the Roman sacrificer used to shut out a hostile face (Æn. iii. 405), could be objects of imitation in the Church at

Corinth, the Apostle's ordinance would be so far anti-ritualistic. The Greeks, however, sacrificed bareheaded, and this is more likely to have been followed by the Corinthian Christians. St. Paul himself dispensed with his turban in compliance with Greek usage. In regard to the sex more immediately intended in the ordinance, it is well known that the Jewish women were veiled in public (Tert. de Cor. iv). The Apostle's appeal to their own sense of propriety shows the custom of the Corinthians. The "contentious" were innovating on local usage no less than that of the "Churches of God. Their plea may have been the equality of the sexes in Christian privileges; but the Apostle takes another ground. When his words were quoted as applying to married women only, Tertullian in refuting the gloss, alleged that "throughout Greece and certain of its barbarian provinces, the majority of churches keep their virgins covered " (De virg., vel. ii.). At Cenchrea, also, the veil was worn by unmarried women "out of church" (ibid. xiii.). The ordinance was for "every woman," married or single, (children only excepted); but, like St. Paul, Tertullian rests it on the rules of modesty, rather than of "ritualism." The interpretation of the "angels" (verse 10) as evil spirits, though followed by Whitby, is now generally rejected; as well as that which would understand the word of heathen spies (comp. The Apostle means, of course, the holy angels; but the reference to Isa. vi. may well be doubted, since their example would be more binding on men than women. presence of angels in the public worship of God is often alluded to, both in the Old and New Testaments (comp. Ps. cxxxviii. 1; Eccl. v. 6; 1 Cor. iv. 9; Eph. iii. 10) as implied in the presence of God. St. Paul here adverts to it as another reason for preserving the strict rules of decorum, "for God is not the author of confusion but of peace, as in all the churches of the saints (xiv. 33, comp. 26).

The passage is best illustrated from 2 Cor. iii. 12-18. If the allegory of the "open face" had been used in St. Paul's oral teaching at Corinth, it may have afforded ground for the pretence of the contentious. The Apostle seems to keep it in mind as regards the man, with respect to whom there was no controversy; but in regard to the woman, the actual point of the contention, he sets the practical laws of modesty above all mystical considerations. No spiritual privilege can justify their violation, just as inspiration itself is not to bring division

into the Church (xiv. 33).

It follows that nothing either of a ritual or moral nature is contained in the Apostle's ordinance; it is simply a prohibition against disturbing the established laws of propriety and reverence on pretext of spiritual privileges.

George Trevor, D.D.