

Ἰουνιαν . . . ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις: A Re-examination of Romans 16.7 in Light of Primary Source Materials

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Church tradition from the Old Latin and Vulgate versions and the early Greek and Latin fathers onwards affirms and lauds a female apostle. Yet modern scholarship has not been comfortable with the attribution, as the masculine circumflex of the Erwin Nestle and United Bible Societies' Greek editions from 1927 to 2001 and the masculine *Junias* in translations from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s show. More recently, the New English Translation (NET) and the English Standard Version (ESV) concede a feminine but change the attribution from the time-honored 'of note *among*' to 'well-known *to* the apostles'. However, an examination of primary usage in the computer databases of Hellenistic Greek literary works, papyri, inscriptions, and artifacts confirms the feminine Ἰουνία and shows ἐπίσημοι ἐν plus the plural dative bears without exception the inclusive sense 'notable among'.

A respectable number of women are singled out in the NT for their ministerial standing and accomplishments. This is especially true of women in the Roman church. Paul greets Prisca as a Christian co-worker (τοὺς συνεργούς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, Rom 16.3) and Junia as an apostolic colleague who had been imprisoned with him (συναιχμαλώτους μου, Rom 16.7). Mary 'worked very hard' (πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν) for the Roman believers (Rom 16.6), while Tryphena, Tryphosa, and Persis 'labored much in the Lord' (τάς κοπιώσας ἐν κυρίῳ, Rom 16.12). The language Paul uses for the ministries of these women is that which he uses for his own missionary labors and the labors of other colleagues such as Urbanus (Rom 16.9), Timothy (Rom 16.21; 1 Thess 3.2), Clement (Phil 4.3), Apollos (1 Cor 3.9) and Titus (2 Cor 8.23).

Among the leaders recognized at Rome, Junia receives highest marks. Paul greets her and a co-worker named Andronicus as 'my relatives' (τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου), 'co-captives' (συναιχμαλώτους μου), 'notable among the apostles' (ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις), and 'in Christ before I was' (οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ, Rom 16.7). While church tradition from the Old Latin, Coptic, Syriac and Vulgate versions and the early Greek and Latin fathers onwards affirms a

female apostle,¹ twentieth-century translators have not been especially comfortable with the attribution. Translations from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s reflect this unease by rendering Ἰουνιαν as the masculine Junias.² More recently, the New English Translation (NET) and the English Standard Version (ESV) concede the feminine Junia but change the attribution ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις from the long-standing 'of note among the apostles' to 'well-known to the apostles'.³

With the advent of computer databases of ancient Greek literary works,⁴ papyri and inscriptions,⁵ and archaic and classical texts and artifacts,⁶ lexical and grammatical decisions of import for NT study can be determined with greater ease and confidence. This is certainly the case with the name Ἰουνιαν and the phrase ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. Indeed, an examination of primary usage in the available databases confirms the feminine Junia and the traditional attribution 'of note among the apostles'. It also shows that the masculine Junias and the attribution 'well-known to the apostles' are without linguistic or grammatical foundation.⁷

1 See, for example, the Vulgate: *salutate Andronicum et Juniam . . . qui sunt nobiles in apostolis* ('Greet Andronicus and Junia . . . who are of note among the apostles'). Greek fathers include Origen ('Junia': PG 14.1279–80, 1289–90); Chrysostom ('Junia': PG 60.669–70); Theodoret ('Junia': PG 82.219–20); John of Damascus ('Junia': PG 95.565); Oecumenius ('Junia': PG 118.629–32) and Theophylact ('Junia': PG 124.551–2). Latin fathers include Ambrose ('Julia': PL 17.179B), Jerome ('Julia': PL 26.617–18; 'Junia': PL 23.895; 29.744A; 30.715B), Primasius ('Julia': PL 68.505), Sedulius-Scotus ('Junia': PL 103), Claudius of Turin ('Junia': PL 104); Rabanus Maurus ('Junia': PL 111.1607D; 'Julia': PL 112), Haymo ('Junia': PL 117.505), Hatto of Vercelli ('Julia': PL 134.282A–B, A Lanfranc ('Junia': PL 150.153–4), Bruno of Querfurt ('Julia': PL 153.119; 'Junia': PL 153.120), Peter Abelard ('Julia': PL 178.973B–C), Guillelmus Abbas ('Junia': PL 180), Herveus Burgidolensis ('Junia': PL 181) and Peter Lombard ('Julia': PL 191.1527; 'Junia': PL 191.1528). The variation between 'Junia' and 'Julia' reflects the textual variation among the Vulgate manuscripts.

2 Greek MSS down to the ninth century lacked an accent. Technically, the accusative Ἰουνιαν with a circumflex would be masculine and with an acute would be feminine. However, when an accent was added in the ninth century, it was a feminine acute. Within the text tradition itself, the only variation is also feminine.

3 *The New English Translation Bible (Biblical Studies, 1996–2001)* <http://www.bible.org/net_bible>. *The English Standard Version* (Wheaton, IL: Crossway Bibles, 2001).

4 *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (CD ROM; Irvine: University of California, 2002) (hereafter *TLG*).

5 *The Packard Humanities Institute* (CD ROM; Los Altos, California, 2002) (hereafter *PHI*).

6 *The Perseus Project* (CD ROM; ed. Gregory Crane; Somerville, MA: Tufts University, 1997) (hereafter *Perseus*).

7 'Well-known to the apostles' for ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις has been recently argued by Michael Burer and Daniel Wallace in 'Was Junia Really an Apostle? A Re-examination of Rom 16.7', *NTS* 47 (2000) 76–91.

Text and context

Ἰουλιαν is linked in the greeting of Rom 16.7 with the masculine Ἀνδρόνικον. While the exact relationship of this pair cannot be determined definitively (both spouses and siblings are paired in Rom 16), what can be ascertained are the following: First, both were Jewish. Paul refers to them as τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου. Second, both have Greek transcribed Latin names⁸ that are frequently found in Greek and Latin literature, papyri, and inscriptions of the day.⁹ Third, both are lauded as apostles of note, who were συναιχμαλώτους μου – a phrase used elsewhere of co-workers such as Aristarchus and Epaphras (Col 4.10; Phlm 23). This suggests church planting activity with an evangelistic component comparable to Paul's own (Rom 16.7; cf. Acts 16.19–24; 2 Cor 11.23). Fourth, both preceded Paul as Jesus' followers. Paul states that they were 'in Christ' before he was (οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ). Ἀνδρόνικον and Ἰουλιαν could have been among τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν (assumed to be a group larger than τοῖς δώδεκα) or among the πεντακοσίοις ἀδελφοῖς to whom Christ appeared (1 Cor 15.6–7).¹⁰ On the other hand, their Latin names could well point to their having been among οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, who responded to Peter's preaching at Pentecost (Acts 2.10).¹¹ Although certainty eludes us, in any event they would be counted among the apostles in the same sense true of Barnabas, Silas, and Apollos (1 Cor 4.6, 9; 9.5–6; Gal 1.19; 1 Thess 1.1; 2.7).¹²

8 See John Thorley, 'Junia, A Woman Apostle', *NovT* 38 (1996) 18–29, 20–1.

9 The best-known perhaps are first-century BCE astronomer Andronicus of Cyrrhus and first-century BCE Greek philosopher Andronicus of Rhodes, noted for his meticulous editing of and commentary on Aristotle's works (e.g. *Strabo* 13.1.54; 14.2.13). There was also third-century BCE Lucius Livius Andronicus, a Greek slave who was freed by a member of the Livian family and then earned his living teaching Latin and Greek in Rome. Jacob Wettstein makes mention of an Andronicus Hypocrites and Pompilius Andronicus (*Novum Testamentum Graecum* 2 [Amsterdam, 1752]). See Peter Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten* (WUNT 2.18; Tübingen: Mohr, 1987) 156–64. The best-known is undoubtedly Junia Tertia, the sister of Brutus. Junia Calvina, Junia Silana, and Junia Torquata are mentioned in Wettstein's *Novum Testamentum Graecum*. There are no recorded Greco-Roman instances of a masculine Junias.

10 See Richard Bauckham for the intriguing proposal that Ἀνδρόνικον and Ἰουλιαν were Chuza and Joanna of Lucan tradition, who took on Roman names at the point they embarked on missionary work in Greco-Roman circles (*Gospel Women: Studies of the Named Women in the Gospels* [Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002] 181–203).

11 For a hypothesis connecting Andronicus and Junia(s) with the foundation of the Roman church, see George A. Barton, 'Who Founded the Church at Rome?', *ExpT* 43 (1931–2) 359.

12 Cf. B. W. Bacon, 'Hellenistic Christians who were scattered abroad in the persecution that arose about Stephen' and so 'apostles' or missionaries in the wider sense of being commissioned by the churches as Paul and Barnabas had been commissioned by the church in Antioch (Acts 13.2; 14.4; 'Andronicus', *ExpT* 42 [1930–1] 302–3). Early church tradition reflects the same broader usage. Jesus appeared to 'the Twelve' and then at a later point to 'all the apostles' (1 Cor 15.5–7).

The name

The relevant databases shed further light on Ἰουνίαν. A search of *TLG* produces six extra-biblical references to Junia and one to Junias. Some have precipitously concluded from the paucity of Greek literary references that the evidence is inconclusive and that Junia was not a common woman's name in the Greek-speaking world.¹³ But this is hardly a surprising yield from a literary database, where only the names of famous personae appear. Also, the yield is not surprising given that Ἰουνίαν is a Greek transcription of a Latin name.¹⁴ A search of Latin anthologies yields hundreds of instances. Junius was a common Latin *nomen gentilicum* – the most notable being Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Junius Brutus. Any woman born to this clan would typically be named Junia (compare Julia in the Julius clan). It is a name attested particularly by historians. Seutonius's *Twelve Caesars* has a Junia Calvina (*Vespasian* 23.4) and Junia Claudilla (*Caligula* 12.1–2). Tacitus mentions in his *Annals* a Junia Calvina (12.4; 14.12), a Junia Silana (11.12; 13.19; 14.12), and a Junia Tertia (3.76). The epigrams of the *Latin Anthology* include a Junia Sabina (1584) and Junia Victoria (141), and the Latin inscriptions have (among others) a Junia Gemella (*ILS* 8153), a Junia Cyrilla (*ILS* 3846), and a Junia Flaccinilla (*ILS* 1107).¹⁵

The notable female persona in the *TLG* database is Brutus's half-sister and Cassius' wife, Junia Tertia ('Junia III'): καίπερ οἰκείους ὄντας Ἰουνίαν γὰρ ἀδελφῆ Βρούτου συνῶκει Κάσσιος (Plutarch, *Brutus* 7.1–2). The other five references appear in the fourth- through seventh-century Church Fathers. Here, the Junia of Rom 16.7 is not only recognized as an apostle but is also lauded as one of note by John Chrysostom (Βαβαί, πόση τῆς γυναικὸς ταύτης ἡ φιλοσοφία, ὡς καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀξιωθῆναι προσηγορίας ['Oh how great is the devotion of this woman Junia that she should be even counted worthy of the appellation of apostle!'] *Homilies on Romans* 31), Theodoret (Ἐπειτα ἐπισήμους εἶναι λέγει, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς διδασκάλοις, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς τυχοῦσι διδασκάλοις, ἀλλ' ἐν

¹³ See, e.g., Wayne Grudem and John Piper, 'An Overview of Central Concerns', *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangelical Feminism* (ed. J. Piper and W. Grudem; Wheaton, IL: Crossway Books, 1991) 79–81. Grudem and Piper claim to have done a comparable search of the *TLG* database, but their search yielded only three beyond Rom 16.7 instead of the seven actually present in the database. Daniel Wallace's footnote on Rom 16.7 in the NET repeats the inaccuracy: 'The feminine name *Junia* . . . is quite rare in Greek (apparently only three instances of it occur in Greek literature outside Rom 16.7, according to the data in the *TLG*.) Compare the more recent Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood's 'Question 38' in 'Fifty Crucial Questions', 2003, <http://www.cbmw.org/questions/38>. Except where indicated the following data is taken from *TLG*.

¹⁴ The initial *Iou*-vowel combination is quite uncommon in Greek. See Thorley, 'Junia', 20.

¹⁵ For further discussion, see Richard Cervin, 'The Name 'Junia(s)' in Romans 16.7', *NTS* 40 (1994) 464–70.

τοῖς ἀποστόλοις [‘Then to be called ‘of note’ not only among the disciples but also among the teachers, and not just among the teachers but even among the apostles’], *Paul’s Epistles* 82.200), and John of Damascus (καὶ τὸ Ἀποστόλους εἶναι, μέγα . . . ἐν τούτοις ἐπισήμους εἶναι, ἐννόησον ἡλίκον ἐγκώμιον [And to be called ‘apostles’ is a great thing . . . But to be even *amongst these of note*, just consider what a great encomium this is’], *Paul’s Epistles* 95.565). Her name also appears in the fifth-century *Catena* (519.32). And she is singled out in the seventh-century *Chronicon Paschale* along with Phoebe, Tryphosa, Eunice, Prisca, Persis, Mary, Julia, Claudia, Arphia, Tryphena, and Lois as περὶ ὧν ἐπιστέλλων Παῦλος ἐμνημόνευσεν.

Epiphanius’s fourth-century *Index Discipulorum* 24.125.18–19 has a masculine Ιουνίας instead of feminine Ιουνία. Some make much of this,¹⁶ but Epiphanius’s index also includes a masculine Πρίσκας instead of the feminine Πρίσκα of apostolic and church tradition (ξγ’. Πρίσκας, οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Παῦλος μέμνηται, . . . ξδ’. Ιουνίας, οὗ καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Παῦλος μέμνηται). Epiphanius’s statement that Junias became the bishop of Arameia in Syria (ἐπίσκοπος Ἀραμείας τῆς Συρίας ἐγένετο) is sometimes pointed to as a clear indication of masculinity. Yet Epiphanius also states that Priscas became bishop of Colophon (ξγ’. Πρίσκας, ἐπίσκοπος Κολοφῶνος), while Aquila became bishop of Heraclea (ξβ’. Ἀκύλας, . . . ἐπίσκοπος Ἡρακλείας ἐγένετο). Both the gender confusion and the disparate locations call into question the overall reliability of the document. Additionally, there is some question about the authorial attribution of *Index Discipulorum*: it was only first attributed to Epiphanius in the ninth century.¹⁷ Significantly, Epiphanius is the lone exception among the Greek church fathers and commentators down to the twelfth century.

Origen’s *Epistle to the Romans* 10.39 is sometimes invoked in support of a masculine Junias.¹⁸ However, Origen’s actual commentary on Rom 16.7 has the feminine, both in Latin translation (*Salutate Andronicum et Juniam*) and in the body of the commentary (*Andronicum et Juniam concaptivos esse testatur*, 10.21 [PG 14.1280]).¹⁹ The masculine Junias comes later (*et non solum isti, sed et Andronicus, et Junias, et Herodion*), when Origen is commenting on Rom 16.21 and noting those who shared Paul’s racial heritage as ‘Jews’ (*Paulo secundum carnem cognati*

16 See Grudem and Piper, *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, 80.

17 See Bauckham, *Gospel Women*, 141 n. 242 and Bernadette Brooten, “Junia . . . Outstanding among the Apostles” (Romans 16.7), *Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration* (ed. Leonard and Arlene Swider; New York: Paulist, 1977) 141 n. 242.

18 See, e.g., Grudem and Piper (*Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood*, 80), who claim that the *Epistle to the Romans* 10.39 coupled with *Index Discipulorum* 24.125.18–19 make the weight of ancient evidence support a masculine ‘Junias’ in Rom 16.7. Compare the more recent 2003 ‘Question 38’ in ‘Fifty Crucial Questions’, <http://www.cbmw.org/questions/38>.

19 *-am* is the Latin accusative ending of a transcribed feminine Greek name. See n. 29 below.

et consanguinei esse potuerunt, 10.39 [PG 14.1289]). The consensus of patristic scholars is that Junias is a corruption of Junia, for Origen acknowledges early on in this section that Andronicus and Junia are 'notable among Christ's apostles' (*et ideo nobiles eos in apostolis dicat*) and 'apostles before him' (*et in his apostolis qui ante eum fuerunt*). And he speculates that they were among the group of 72 that Jesus commissioned (*quod fortassis ex illis septuaginta duobas qui et ipsi apostoli nominati sunt* [PG 14.1280]; cf. Luke 10.1–20). The flaw lay in Rufinus's Latin translation of Origen's commentary on Romans. Now we have a complete critical edition, which shows that Junias is a variant in two of three twelfth-century manuscripts that belong to a single subgroup, while earlier manuscripts have Junia.²⁰

Not cataloged in *TLG* but found in J. P. Migne's *Patrologiae Graeca* (PG) are sixth-century Oecumenius (*Junia*: PG 118, cols. 629–32) and eleventh-century Theophylact (*Junia*: PG 124, cols. 551–2).²¹ Both pay tribute to the fact that a woman is not only named 'an apostle' (μέγα μὲν καὶ τὸ εἶναι ἀποστόλους) but also 'notable among them' (τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπίσημους ἐν αὐτοῖς, μέγιστον [*maximum vero inter hos esse insignes*]). Also to be observed is the unbroken tradition among the Latin fathers from Ambrose in the fourth century through to Lombard in the twelfth century of a female Julia (Ambrose, Jerome, Rabanus Maurus, Hatto of Vercelli, Bruno of Querfurt, Peter Abelard) or Junia (Jerome, Primasius, Sedulius-Scotus, Claudius of Turin, Rabanus Maurus, Haymo, Lanfranc, Bruno of Querfurt, Peter Lombard, Guillelmus Abbas, Herveus Burgidolensis) who was 'notable among the apostles' (*insignes or nobiles in apostolis*).²² There is also the common speculation among the Latin fathers that 'notable among the apostles' refers to the group of 72 that Jesus commissioned and sent out (*quod fortassis ex illis septuaginta duobus apostolis fuerint et ipsi nobiles*; Haymo, Rabanus Maurus, Hatto of Vercelli, Bruno of Querfurt, Herveus Burgidolensis).²³

Patristic evidence for a feminine Junia has long been available, yet translations from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s consistently rendered Ἰουνιαν in Rom 16.7 as

20 C. P. Hammond Bammel, *Der Römerbriefkommentar des Origenes: Kritische Ausgabe der Übersetzung Rufins* (3 vols; Vetus Latina, Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 16, 33, 34; Freiburg: Herder, 1990, 1997, 1998). For further discussion, see Eldon J. Epp, 'The Junia/Junias Variation in Romans 16,7', *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis: Festschrift J. Delobel* (ed. A. Denaux; Leuven: Leuven University, 2002) 251ff.

21 J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Graeca* (PG) (Paris [1857–98]).

22 The variation between 'Junia' and 'Julia' in the Church fathers reflects the variation in the Alexandrian and Western text traditions: Ambrose ('Julia'), Jerome ('Julia' and 'Junia'), Primasius ('Julia'), Sedulius-Scotus ('Junia'), Claudius of Turin ('Junia'); Rabanus Maurus ('Julia' and 'Junia'), Haymo ('Junia'), Hatto of Vercelli ('Julia'), A Lanfranc ('Junia'), Bruno of Querfurt ('Julia' and 'Junia'), Peter Abelard ('Julia'), Guillelmus Abbas ('Junia'), Herveus Burgidolensis ('Junia') and Peter Lombard ('Julia' and 'Junia').

23 *PL* 117.505 (Haymo); 111.1607 (Rabanus Maurus); 134.282 (Hatto of Vercelli); 153.120 (Bruno of Querfurt); 181 (Herveus Burgidolensis).

a masculine (e.g. RSV [1946], Schlachter Version [1951], Netherlands Bible Society [1951], Phillips [1958], Reina-Valera Revised [1960], NEB [1961], NASB [1963], JB [1966], TEV [1966], NEB [1970], NIV [1973], Nouvelle Geneva Edition [1979]).²⁴ That bias played a part is suggested from the fact that a feminine name is consistently found in earlier translations, including the Wycliffe Bible (1382), the Göttingen Gutenberg Bible (c.1454), Tyndale's New Testament (1526–35), the Great Bible (1537), the Geneva Bible (1560), Bishops (1568), Rheims (1582), the KJV (1611), Bible Kralicka (1613), Italian Giovanni Diodati Bibbia (1649), the Finnish Bible (1776), Webster's Bible (1833), Reina-Valera (1858, 1909), the Revised Version¹⁸⁸¹ (1881),²⁵ Weymouth (1902), and the BBE (1949). More recent revisions (including the NKJV [1979], Revised NAB [1988], NRSV [1989], REB [1989], La Sacra Biblia Nuova Riveduta [1994], Nova kralicka Bible [1998]), TNIV [2002]) and newer translations (e.g. New Century Version [1987], God's Word [1995], NLT [1996], Münchener NT [1998], Holman Christian Standard Bible [2001], NET [2001], ESV [2001] and Slova na cestu [2002]) do too.²⁶

The shift to the masculine 'Junias' is largely due to accenting in modern editions of the Greek NT. The Nestle editions from 1927 to 1993 and the United Bible Societies' editions from 1966 to 1993 have the masculine circumflex Ἰουνιάων. The change from the feminine-accented Ἰουνίαων occurred with Erwin Nestle's new edition in 1927 of his father Eberhard Nestle's *Novum Testamentum Graece*. All subsequent editions (including the most recent 27th edition) have the

24 The Bible in Basic English (BBE 1949, 1964) and the NAB (1970) are exceptional for their feminine Junia. German translations from Luther onwards, Dutch translations, and French translations were consistently masculine, while Italian and Spanish translations (until recently) were feminine. There is no linguistic basis for the masculine. The text of the earliest Germanic version (purportedly translated about cæ 350 by Ulfilas [Wulfila]) is fragmentary and does not include Rom 16.7, but it is dependent throughout on the Byzantine text type, which has a feminine accent. The earliest French translation of the NT (by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples in 1522) is dependent on the Byzantine text type as well. Dutch translations were renditions of Luther's Bible (e.g. Jacob van Liesverdt's 1526 translation). Luther translated from Erasmus's second edition of the Greek NT, which has a feminine accent. So the source of the masculine Junias may well reflect Luther's personal disposition against an apostolic attribution.

25 The 1881 edition of the English Revised Version and subsequent editions have the masculine in the text and the feminine in the margin. The first edition of the ASV has the masculine in the text and the feminine in the margin, but subsequent editions omit the marginal feminine reading altogether. Edwin Palmer's H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1881) is the Greek NT with the readings adopted by the revisers of the AV, but it is not responsible for the revisers' departure from the feminine acute accent.

26 Compare Portuguese (*Junia*, 1978), Finnish (*Junialle*), Lithuanian (*Junija*, 1972), Slovenian (*Junita*, 1975), Rumanian (*Junia*, 1975), and Polish (*Junia*, 1975) versions. The exceptions are the NJB, the CEV and the NASU revisions, which retain the Junias of the JB, TEV and NASB respectively. The likely explanation is a dependence on the masculine circumflex in the Nestle–Aland and UBS editions of the Greek NT.

masculine circumflex. The Erwin Nestle–G. D. Kilpatrick 1958 edition and the Erwin Nestle–Kurt Aland 1960 edition have the masculine circumflex too. Initially, the feminine accent appeared in the apparatus as the reading of ‘HTW’ (Westcott–Hort, Tischendorf and Weiss Greek editions). This continued to be noted until Kurt Aland’s revision of the 25th edition, when the feminine acute in the apparatus disappeared altogether. All editions of the United Bible Societies’ *The Greek New Testament* have the masculine circumflex as well. The rationale given by the majority opinion in the most recent edition of Bruce Metzger’s *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* is the unlikelihood that a woman would be among those styled ‘apostles’.²⁷

Yet, from the time accents were added to the text until the early part of the twentieth century, editions of the Greek NT printed the feminine acute accent and not the masculine circumflex: Erasmus (1516–35), Estienne (1546–51), Beza (1565–98), Elzevir (1624–33), Alexandro (1678), Bengel (1734), Wettstein (1751), Griesbach (1774–1805), the Wittenberg Edition (1807), Schott (1811), Knippius (1829), Scholz (1830), Lachmann (1831–42), Bloomfield (1837), Tischendorf (1841–69), Hahn (1842), Buttman (1842–6), Tregelles (1857), Westcott and Hort (1881), Scrivener (1881), Sanday (1881), Weymouth (1892), Weiss (1894), Eberhard Nestle (1898–1904), Souter (1910), and von Soden (1913). The modern Greek NT (1967), Antoniadis’s Greek edition (1988) and Silver Mountain’s *Bible Windows* Greek NT have a feminine acute accent as well.²⁸

The earliest uncials Ɱ A B* C D* F G P have no accent. B², D², ψ^{vid}, L, 33, 81, 104, 1739, and Byz [L] have the feminine acute accent. The earliest versions (Old Latin, Vulgate,²⁹ Syriac,³⁰ and Coptic) have a feminine name. Within the text tradition itself, the only major variation is also feminine – Ἰουλία (or Latin *Julia*) P⁶⁵, 6, Itala^{ar,b}, Vulgate^{ms},³¹ Bohairic and Ethiopic versions, and early Latin fathers Ambrose and Primasius. The UBS’s fourth revised edition of the Greek NT

27 See Bruce Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 2nd edn 1994) 475.

28 The single exception is Alford’s 1884–8 editions of the Greek NT.

29 Old Latin and Vulgate: *Salutate Andronicum et Juniam . . . qui sunt nobiles in apostolis* (‘Greet Andronicus and Junia . . . who are of note among the apostles’). John Thorley notes that, while an *-am* accusative in Latin could be either masculine or feminine, transcription of Greek names followed stricter rules. Greek feminine names in *-a* are always transcribed *-a*, while Greek masculine names in *-as* are transcribed as *-an*. The spelling *Junian* was essential in Latin in order to distinguish it from the common female name *Junia* (‘Junia’, 21–3). Both Greek and Latin fathers confirm the feminine. See above.

30 All feminine names ending in Greek in *-a* are transcribed with a short *-a* in the Syriac text: Thorley, ‘Junia’, 21–3.

31 Vulgate manuscripts vary as follows: *Juniam* FKC.Acv, *Julium* R, *Juliam* [the rest]. That these were current early on is evident from Jerome’s inclusion of both *Juniam* and *Juliam* (PL 23.851; 26.618; 29.744; 30.714–15).

obscures this fact and misleads by listing early manuscripts without accents in support of a masculine Junias and later manuscripts with accents in support of a feminine Junia. It also rates the masculine as virtually certain: {A} Ἰουνιᾶν (*masculine*) & A B* C D* F G P, *but written without accents* // Ἰουνίαν (*feminine*) B² D² Ψ^{vid} 0150, 33, 81, 104, 256, 263, 365, 424, 436, 459, 1175, 1241, 1319, 1573, 1739, 1852, 1881, 1912, 1962, 2127, 2200, *Byz*. The fact of the matter is that when copyists began to add accents, they added (without exception) a feminine acute, and not a masculine circumflex. This is irrespective of date, text type and geographical location. Even the meticulous, cautious copyist of minuscule 33 adds a feminine acute accent. The Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft's sixth printing in 2001 of the United Bible Societies' fourth revised edition happily has corrected the mistake and omits the masculine circumflex in both the text and the apparatus.

An appeal is sometimes made to Ἰουνιᾶς (*Junias*) being a Latin nickname contracted from the masculine Ἰουνιανός (*Junianus*) and hence the latter's absence from ancient sources. Yet it is Greek nicknames, and not Latin ones (such as this one), that were abbreviations of longer names (e.g. Ζηνας for Ζηνοδορος [Titus 3.13]; Κλεοπας for Κλεοπατρος [Luke 24.18]; Ἐπαφρας for Ἐπαφοδιτος [Col 1.7]); Ἀντιπας for Ἀντιπατρος [Acts 2.13]). Latin nicknames were typically formed by lengthening the name, not shortening it – hence Πρίσκιλλα for Πρίσκα (Acts 18.2, 18, 26; cf. Rom 16.3; 1 Cor. 16.19; 2 Tim 4.19).³² Similarly, Latin names borne by Greek speakers were also shortened (e.g. Λουκας for Λουκιανός). When there was a final *-i* in the stem of the shortened name, it was omitted in the transcribing – so the shortened form of Ἰουνιανός (if it existed) would be Ἰουνᾶς, not Ἰουνιᾶς.³³ Then too, it is not Paul's habit to use nicknames (e.g. Prisca, not Priscilla [Rom 16.3; 1 Cor 16.19; 2 Tim 4.19]) or shortened forms (e.g. Silvanus, not Silas [2 Cor 1.19; 1 Thess 1.1; 2 Thess 1.1]).³⁴

The nineteenth-century Greek grammarian George Winer is cited by lexicographer Joseph Thayer in support of Ἰουνιᾶς as a contraction for Ἰουνιανός, but the documentation is wrongly claimed, for Winer does not include Ἰουνιᾶς as a contraction of a Greek proper name.³⁵ Ἰουνιᾶς as a contraction of Ἰουνιανός (*Junianus*) originates in the English-speaking world with Thayer's 1885 translation and expansion of Willibald Grimm's and Christian Gottlieb Wilke's *Clavis Novi*

³² See Thorley, 'Junia', 24–6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 25. See also P. Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris, 1933) 31–2. Bauckham rightly notes that the non-existence of a contracted form is hardly surprising since Ἰουνιανός itself is rare (found only once; *Gospel Women*, 168 n. 253).

³⁴ See Ray Schulz's documentation in 'Romans 16.7: Junia or Junias?', *ExpT* 98 (1986–7) 110.

³⁵ George Winer, *A Grammar of the Idiom of the New Testament*, trans. Joseph Thayer (Andover: Warren F. Draper, 1870) 102–3. *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms* (Leipzig, 1822). Winer only treats the contractions of Greek proper names and not Latin ones such as 'Junianus'.

Testamenti Philologica Lexicon.³⁶ Thayer inserts the alternative -υιᾶς as contracted from *Junianus* and solicits the reader to compare Winer – although he notes the AV's *Junia* (a woman's name) as 'possible'.³⁷ The inaccuracy is perpetuated by users of Thayer's lexicon even to date.³⁸ This would be an understandable conjecture – especially given Wilke's identification of Ἰουνίαν as a masculine ὁ Ἰουνίας – were it not for uniform manuscript, versional and patristic evidence to the contrary. Because it was the standard lexicon until the mid-1950s, its influence was profound.³⁹ Yet it ignores commentators such as M.-L. Lagrange, who already in 1914 noted the complete absence of the name Ἰουνιᾶς.⁴⁰

The simple fact is that Ἰουνιᾶς is absent from the Koine of the day. It does not appear in any inscription, letterhead, piece of writing, or epitaph – the places where a nickname would tend to surface. Its absence is not surprising from the standpoint of Roman epigraphy. Latin epigraphers indicate that masculine names ending in -ius were rendered as Greek names in -ιος (e.g. *Lucius*/Λυκιοῦς) or transcribed as -ας (e.g. *Lucius*/Λυκαῦς) and not -ιας – as some have led us to believe. The accusative form in Greek would be masculine Ἰουνιον or Ἰουναν – leaving no room for a Ἰουνιαν.⁴¹

The feminine Ἰουνία, however, appears widely and frequently. Indeed, a search of the *PHI* non-literary database yields a different result from the literary database. In the Greek-speaking world of Paul's day, Ἰουνιᾶς does not appear

36 Christian Gottlieb Wilke, *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica Lexicon* (Dresden, 1841). The Latin philologist Willibald Grimm subsequently revised Wilke's work in 1868–88 (Leipzig: Arnold), which Joseph Henry Thayer translated and expanded in 1885 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark).

37 Joseph Henry Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: Harper and Brothers; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2nd edn 1885) 306. Nineteenth-century grammarians and lexicographers who postdate Wilke list both masculine and feminine as options. See, for example, Alexander Buttman, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs* (Berlin, 1859) 18.

38 See, for example, Ἰουνιαν can be masculine from Ἰουνιᾶς (a contraction of *Junianus*) or feminine from Ἰουνία – probably the former', in *The Expositor's Bible* (vol. 5; ed. W. Robertson Nicoll; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1943) 621. Cf. Henry Alford, *The Greek Testament; with a critically revised Text, a digest of various readings, marginal references to verbal and idiomatic usage, Prolegomena, and a critical and exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers* (vol. 2; London, 1871).

39 Translations influenced by Wilke's 1841 *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica Lexicon* (Grimm's 1868–88 revisions and Thayer's 1885 English translation and expansion) include Darby (1867), Fenton (1884), the RV (1881)/ASV (1901), Rheims (1889), Young (1900), Louis-Segond (1910), Moffatt (1913–17), and Goodspeed-Smith (1931).

40 M.-L. Lagrange, *Saint Paul's Epitre aux Romains* (Paris: Gabalda, rev. edn 1950) 366. Prior to papyriological discoveries and study in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there doesn't appear to have been sufficient familiarity with non-literary usage to recognize that Ἰουνιαν was feminine.

41 See Cervin, 'The Name 'Junia(s)' in Romans 16.7', 464–70.

even once. Ἰουνία, on the other hand, appears in wide-ranging first-century inscriptions from such locales as Ephesus, Didyma, Lydia, Troas, Bithynia, and Rome:

Ephesus (1st century CE)

Eph Ionía 627.1 [σύν -]φ καὶ Μελ[ίτ]ωνι [- Λου]κιανῆ? καὶ Κλαυδίδία [- τῆ γυναικί κ]αὶ τοῖς τέκνοις [ἡμῶν - Ἰουνία καὶ Μελίτη

Eph Ionía 788*5.1 Κομνία Ἰουνία σὺν τῷ βωμῷ τὴν Εἷσιν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν· πρυτανεύοντο[ς Τιβερίου] Κλαυδίου) Δη[μοσ]τ[ράτ]ου.]

Eph Ionía 822.1 Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσσία Κομνία Ἰουνία εὐχὴν· ἀναθεῖσα τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων σὺν παντὶ τῷ περὶ αὐτὸ κόσμῳ καὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκεν.

Eph Ionía 2373.1 [- δ]ώσε[ι τῷ ἱερωτάτ]ω [ταμείω. τὸ ἀντίγρ[α]φ[ον] τούτου ἀπετέθη ε]ἰς τὸ ἀρ[χείον -] [- βούλο]μαι δὲ Ἰουνίαν Μα[- τεθῆναι -]·νομαὶ δίδονται ἐπὶ τῶν τειμῶν αὐτῶν -]

Didyma (1st century CE)

Did Ionía 225.1 προφητεύοντος Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Νι[κ]ηράτου, ὑδροφορούσης Ἰουνίας Π[-] τίλλης,ν τα[μειύοντος] Ἀντιγόνου [τοῦ Ἀπολ]λωνίου Πα[-]μος

Lydia NW (1st century CE)

TAM V Asia Min 1403.5.1

Μενεκράτει Πίμπρωνι ἐτῶν 18 Μενεκράτης καὶ Ἰουνία οἱ γονεῖς [τὸ] μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασαν ἔχον [κατά]στασιν, καθὼς διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων σεση[μειώται] ἐπὶ στεφάνηφόρου Κλαυδίου [- - -] Αἰλιανοῦ ἥρωος τὸ δεύτερον.

Troas (1st century CE)

KyzLDascyl 1 2077 εσκι μανψαζαξ̄ ποιμανενογ πυνηροφθεντιξητ δρομισξη 2 τῷ θείῳ Ἀπόλλωνι δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμ[ου] 4 μισθῆναι τότε παιδίον αὐτοῦ Ἰουνίαν ἄμεμπ[τον]

Bithynia (1st century CE)

IK Prusias Hyp Asia Min 93.1 M. Ἰούνιος Νεικόσστρατος, ζήσας κοσμίως ἔτη νε'. τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν Ἰουνία Θαλασσία μνήμης χάριν. χαῖρε.

Rome

CIJ Judaica 10.1

ἐνθάδε κείτε [Ἀν]νία [Ἰου]νία Νοετα νηπία.

CIJ Judaica 303.1

[ἐνθ]άδε κείται Ἰουνία Ἀντιπᾶ [ἐτ]ῶν μηνῶν ἡμερῶν. εὐψύχι, εὐφρόνι.

It is to be noted that Ἰουνία first appears in papyri and inscriptions in the first century CE. After its debut, it surfaces with regularity especially on tombstones in and around Rome (e.g. *CIJ* 10.1; *IG* II; *Ag* 172; *SEG* I, II; *IGX* 2; *Spomenik* 4, 10; *BMusImp* 1–2; *IGXII*; *RECAM* II; *Bosch* 1–2; *AS* 27).⁴² One explanation is that Ἰουνία

⁴² Taken from *PH* 1 (see n. 5). For additional primary sources, see Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen*, 156–64.

was a name acquired through manumission from the households of the prestigious Junius clan. Freedmen and freedwomen often adopted the *nomen gentilicium* of their patrons.⁴³ An alternative is that Junia was born into a Diaspora Jewish family that acquired Roman citizenship and adopted the *gens* Junius (comparable to Paul's family [Acts 22.28]). It may also be that Junia gained (or took) her name through connection with a well-known Palestinian clan like the Herodians.⁴⁴

The grammar

Evidence for the name Junia (and the lack of such for Junias) is so compelling that virtually all scholars now concede that Ἰουνίαν in Rom 16.7 is feminine. Even so, there is ongoing discomfort with a feminine apostolic attribution. This is reflected in the recent NET and ESV, where Ἰουνίαν is rendered as feminine but the attribution ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις is treated as *exclusive* ('esteemed *by* the apostles', 'well known *to* the apostles') rather than *inclusive* ('honored *as one of* the apostles', notable *among* the apostles).⁴⁵ The exegetical underpinnings for an exclusive usage are provided by Michael Burer and Daniel Wallace in a recent *New Testament Studies* article.⁴⁶ It is argued that every known instance of the adjective ἐπίσημος with the preposition ἐν and the personal dative (inside and outside the NT) bears the *exclusive* sense 'is well-known *to*' rather than the *inclusive* 'notable *among*'. When Greek writers want to express the *inclusive* sense, it is claimed that a genitive personal modifier, rather than a dative personal adjunct, is used.⁴⁷

Burer and Wallace's analysis is problematic in a number of respects. First, the standard Greek lexicons do not support such a meaning. The Greek adjective

43 See Peter Lampe, 'Junia/Junias: Sklavenherkunft im Kreise der vorpaulinischen Apostel (Rom 16.7)', *ZNW* 76 (1985) 132, and Thorley, 'Junia', 20.

44 See Bauckham, *Gospel Women*, 186.

45 This unease is by no means new. See, for example, nineteenth-century scholars A. Barnes, D. Brown, Adam Clarke, W. M. L. De Wette, C. F. A. Fritzsche, Charles Hodge, H. A. W. Meyer, F. A. Philippi, M. Stuart, and C. J. Vaughan, who suggested 'well spoken of *by* the apostles' or 'well known *to* the apostles'. Contrast, however, nineteenth-century scholars H. Alford, B. Jowett, Herman Olshausen, L. I. Rückert, W. Sanday, and F. A. G. Tholuck, who argued that the grammar and language can only bear the meaning 'eminent' or 'of note *among* the apostles'.

46 Burer and Wallace, 'Was Junia Really an Apostle?'. Compare Wallace's footnote on Rom 16.7 in the NET: 'she was not an apostle but along with Andronicus was esteemed by (or among) the apostles. As well, the term "prominent" may simply mean "well known", suggesting that Andronicus and Junia(s) were well known to the apostles.'

47 Burer and Wallace, 'Was Junia Really an Apostle?', 86–7.

ἐπίσημος is uniformly treated as a compound of ἐπί ('upon') and σῆμα ('mark'), yielding the literal sense 'having a mark, inscription', 'bearing the marks of', and the metaphorical sense of 'remarkable', 'notable'. Junia then is a 'distinguished' or 'remarkable' *member of* (and not simply *known to*) the apostles (*LSJ* s.v.).⁴⁸ Burer and Wallace appeal to J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida's *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* as supporting 'well-known to'. However, the entry at 28.31 reads 'pertaining to being well known or outstanding either because of positive or negative characteristics - "outstanding", "famous", "notorious", "infamous"'.⁴⁹ Indeed, Louw and Nida render Rom 16.7 as 'they are outstanding *among* the apostles'.⁵⁰

Second, the standard grammars do not sustain such a rendering.⁵¹ Primary usage of ἐν and the plural dative (personal or otherwise) inside and outside the NT (with rare exception) is *inclusive* 'in'/'among' and not *exclusive* 'to' (as claimed by Burer and Wallace).⁵² The following are representative:

Matt 2.6 But you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are by no means least *among the rulers of Judah* (ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰουδα).

Acts 4.34 There were no needy persons *among them* (ἐν αὐτοῖς).

1 Peter 5.1 I appeal to the elders *among you* (ἐν ὑμῖν) as a fellow elder.

While dative personal nouns are typically used to show the recipients ('to'/'for'), this is not the case for the preposition ἐν plus the dative. There is the rare instance in the NT of ἐν plus the dative of persons as equivalent to the simple dative. In these cases, however, the phrase is used with an action verb or idea to denote

48 *LSJ*: 1. having a mark, inscription; 2. bearing the marks of; 3. notable, remarkable; of persons 'notable'. *BAGD*: 1. of exceptional quality, splendid, prominent, outstanding (*outstanding among the apostles*, Rom 16.7); 2. notorious (s.v.). *MM*: 1. stamped, marked; 2. notable (s.v.). *LPGL*: 1. stamped, marked, spotted; 2. notable (s.v.). *Louw-Nida* 1. well-known, outstanding; 2. famous, notorious (s.v.).

49 Cf. 1 Macc 11.37: 'So then take care to make a written copy of these things and let it be given to Jonathan and placed on the holy mountain in a conspicuous place' (ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ), and 1 Macc 14.48: 'And they said to place this writing on bronze tablets and put them in the precinct of the sanctuary in a conspicuous place (ἐν τόπῳ ἐπισήμῳ).'

50 J. P. Louw and E. A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989) 84 n. 39.

51 See, e.g., Nigel Turner, who states that 'in' or 'among' for ἐν plus the plural dative is the primary meaning in Hellenistic Greek, even NT Greek (*Syntax* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1963] 261). See, for instance, 2 Thess 1.4, ἄστε αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ ('Therefore we ourselves express pride in you *among God's churches*').

52 For a substantial list of NT examples of an adjective followed by ἐν plus the personal plural dative as 'inclusive', see A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1934) 587.

advantage or *disadvantage* to/for someone.⁵³ Even so, that is not the case with Rom 16.7 and so the standard grammars and lexicons do not include it:⁵⁴

Matt 17.12 καὶ οὐκ ἐπέγνωσαν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ ἐποίησαν ἐν αὐτῷ ὅσα ἠθέλησαν (And they did not recognize him, but they *did to him* whatever they pleased).

Mark 14.6 καλὸν ἔργον ἠργάσατο ἐν ἐμοί (She *has performed* a good service *for me*).

1 Cor 9.15 οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ ταῦτα, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται ἐν ἐμοί (Nor am I writing this so that they may be applied in my case (i.e. may be *done to/for me*)).

2 Cor 4.3 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν κεκαλυμμένον τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν, ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἐστὶν κεκαλυμμένον (And even if (as some claim) our gospel is veiled, it *has been veiled to those* who are perishing).

2 Cor 8.1 Γνωρίζομεν δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δεδομένην ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Μακεδονίας (We want you to know, brothers and sisters, about the grace of God that has been *granted to the churches of Macedonia*).

There is also the exceptional case, as with Rom 1.19, where ἐν plus the plural dative is used to vary the style from the simple dative within the sentence structure: διότι τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φανερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφάνερωσε ('For what can be known about God *is apparent to them*, because God *has made it apparent to them*'); and 1 Cor 14.11, where ἐν was undoubtedly inserted by Paul to prevent λαλῶν from being construed with ἐμοί ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι βάρβαρος καὶ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν ἐμοί βάρβαρος ('I will be a foreigner *to the speaker* and the speaker [will be] a foreigner *to me*') (versus 'he who speaks to me is a foreigner').⁵⁵

Third, Burer and Wallace assume a conclusion not found in the evidence. Despite their assertions to the contrary, they fail to offer one clear biblical or extra-biblical Hellenistic example of an 'exclusive' sense of ἐπίσημος ἐν and a plural noun to mean 'well known to'. The authors themselves admit this early on, but then go on

⁵³ Nigel Turner's classification: see *Syntax*, 264. Some would include Luke 2.14, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας, and Gal 1.16, ἀποκαλύψαι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἐμοί – although the former can be equally 'on earth peace among those with whom he is pleased' (ASV, RSV, ESV, NAS, NASU, NRSV) and the latter 'to reveal his Son *in me*' (ASV, GNV, KJV, NAS, NAU, NIV, NKJ). 1 Cor 4.2 is not an example: ὧδε λοιπὸν ζητεῖται ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις, ἵνα πιστὸς τις εὑρεθῇ ('Here, further, it is sought *in stewards*, that a person be found faithful'). Nor is 1 Cor 7.15 probably one: ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ὑμᾶς ὁ θεός, 'God has called you to live *in peace*'.

⁵⁴ E.g. BDF, Nigel Turner, C. F. D. Moule, A. T. Robertson, Max Zerwick, and Stanley Porter.

⁵⁵ So Turner, *Syntax*, 264, and M. Zerwick (*Biblical Greek* [Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1963], 41). Alternatively, ἐν ἐμοί could mean 'in my view' or 'in my eyes', as is sometimes found in Attic poetry. See F. Blass, A. DeBrunner, and R. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1961) #220 (1).

to conclude otherwise.⁵⁶ More, in this pool (despite claims to the contrary) the Hellenistic parallels to ἐπίσημος ἐν plus the dative plural bear the inclusive meaning 'a notable member of the larger group' and not the exclusive 'well-known to':⁵⁷

Add. Esther 16.22 [8.22] (1st century): καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν ἐν ταῖς ἐπωνύμοις ὑμῶν ἑορταῖς ἐπίσημον ἡμέραν μετὰ πάσης εὐωχίας ἄγετε (So then you shall observe this with all good cheer as a notable day among your commemorative festivals).

TAM II, 1–3 838 (Asia Minor): ὁ καὶ Κτασάδας β', ὁ πολεῖτης ἡμῶν, ἀνὴρ γένει καὶ ἀξία πρῶτος τῆς 'πολεος' [sic] ἡμῶν, ἐπίσημος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔθνει, ... (... foremost in our city but also prominent in the nation [i.e. prominent among the nationals] ...).

TAM II west wall. coll. 2.5 (Asia Minor): [-----, πατὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου [δις τοῦ Καλ[λιάδου οὐ μόνον ἐ]ν τῇ [π]ατρίδι πρῶτου, ἀλλὰ [καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔθ]νι ἐπίσημου[ς] (-----, not only foremost in his native town but also prominent in the nation [i.e. among the nationals] ...).

TAM II west wall. coll. 3.12 (Asia Minor): προγόνων Λυκτικῶν καὶ ἐ]ν μὲν ταῖς πατρίσιν πρωτευόντων, [ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔθ]νι ἐπίσημων καὶ λαμπρῶν καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἀρχή[ν] (... president of the Lycians and not only foremost in our native towns but also esteemed and illustrious in the nation [i.e. among the nationals] ...).

Fd Xanthos VII Asia Minor 76-1-12 [--]: προγόνων Λυκτικῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ ναυαρχῶν τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων συμμαχίαις ἐπίσημον γενόμενον, γραμματεῦσαντα τοῦ Λυκτικῶν ἔθνους λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ... (... president of the Lycians, general and admiral of the nation, prominent among Rome's allies, secretary of the Lycian nation, illustrious and great ...).

Philo, *On Flight and Finding* 9–10 (1st century): ὁ Λάβαν ... ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις ἡ ἀποιος ὕλη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἡ ἀμαθὴς Ἰακώβ ἐστίν, ὅς ἐπιστατεῖ τῆς ἐπίσημου ποικίλης ἀγέλης ... ἐπίσημον δὲ πάλιν καὶ ποικίλον ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις τὸ εἶδος (While Laban ... had a flock devoid of all distinctive marks, ... Jacob ... had a flock whose appearance was distinctive and varied in the whole universe).

Josephus, *Jewish War* 2.418 (BJ; 1st century): καὶ πρέσβεις οὓς μὲν πρὸς Φλόρον ἔπεμπον, ... οὓς δὲ πρὸς Ἀγρίππαν, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι Σαυλός τε καὶ Ἀντίπας καὶ Κοστόβαρος ... (So the men of power sent ambassadors; some to Florus ... and others to Agrippa, eminent among whom were Saul, Antipas, and Costobarus ...).

Lucian, *On Salaried Posts in Great Houses* 28.4 (2nd century): χρή οὖν χερσαίου βατράχου δίκην διψῶντα κεκραγῆναι, ὡς ἐπίσημος ἔσθι ἐν τοῖς ἐπαινοῦσι ... (So you must raise your thirsty voice like a stranded frog, taking pains to be conspicuous among those who praise [the mistress' page] ...).

⁵⁶ Burer and Wallace, 'Was Junia Really an Apostle?', 86–7; cf. 87 and 90, 'every instance'.

⁵⁷ As discussed by Burer and Wallace who do in fact concede that the one certain instance (Lucian, *On Salaried Posts* 28) in fact supports the traditional view of Rom 16.7.

Lucian, *Dialogues of the Dead* 438: Καὶ ἄλλοι μὲν πολλοὶ συγκατέβαινον ἡμῖν, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐπίσημοι Ἴσμηνοδώρος τε ὁ πλούσιος ὁ ἡμέτερος καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὁ Μηδίας ὑπαρχος καὶ Ὀροίτης ὁ Ἀρμένιος (We had quite a crowd with us on our way down; *most distinguished among whom* were our rich countryman Ismenodorus . . .).

Lucian, *Harmonides* 1.17: ἡ δόξα ἢ παρά τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὸ ἐπίσημον εἶναι ἐν πλήθει (.. the fame which is given by the multitude and to be *the conspicuous one in a crowd*).

Fourth, Burer and Wallace's pool of twelve texts is exceedingly small to support their sweeping conclusion that 'every instance of ἐν plus *personal* nouns supported the exclusive view'.⁵⁸ And the reporting is faulty throughout. One is a mistake of referencing: Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* 438 is wrongly documented as *The Passing of Peregrinus* 22.2. This is quite unfortunate as the inclusive parallel to Rom 16.7 is exact:

ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐπίσημοι Ἴσμηνοδώρος . . . (most distinguished among whom were Ismenodorus . . .)

οἵτινές εἰσιν ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις (they were most distinguished among the apostles)

Equally egregious are the misrepresentations of the Greek text. *Fd Xanthos* VII Asia Minor 76-1-12 [-.] is cited as dealing with someone who is 'well known to but is not a part of' a larger group'. Yet the subject matter has to do with a prominent ally *among* Rome's alliances: ἐν ταῖς ὑπὲρ Ῥωμ[αίων] συμμαχίαις ἐπί[σημον?] γενόμενον. *Ps. Sol.* 2.6 is presented as an *exclusive* biblical parallel to Rom 16.7, yet it is only so because it is not cited accurately. It can only be made a parallel to Rom 16.7 if the preposition ἐν before ἐπισήμῳ is deleted, permitting ἐπισήμῳ to be read as a masculine adjective ('a notorious [person]', 'spectacle') modifying the preceding noun σφραγίδι ('seal'):

The sons and daughters (were) in harsh captivity, their neck in a seal (σφραγίδι ὁ τράχηλος αὐτῶν), a spectacle (ἐν ἐπισήμῳ) among the gentiles (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).

But that strains the plain sense of the grammar in every way. It is much more likely that ἐπισήμῳ is a neuter noun ('a mark', 'brand') and that ἐν σφραγίδι and ἐν ἐπισήμῳ are synonymous phrases for 'marked with the owner's brand or name' (*LSJ* s.v.).⁵⁹ The description would then have to do with the branding of slaves with the tokens of their master, making their captivity *πονηρῶς*:

⁵⁸ Burer and Wallace, 'Was Junia Really an Apostle?', 87.

⁵⁹ For the allusion to the branding of slaves with the tokens of their master, see John Gray, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English* (ed. R. H. Charles; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 2.632 n. 6. See also R. B. Wright, 'Psalms of Solomon', *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (2 vols; ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983-5) 2.652 n. i.

The sons and daughters (of Jerusalem) were in grievous captivity, their neck *with* a seal (ἐν σφραγίδι), *with* a slave-brand (ἐν ἐπισήμῳ) among the Gentiles (ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).⁶⁰

Similarly, Lucian's *Harmonides* 1.17 is a parallel only if the article τό before ἐπίσημον is dropped. Otherwise, the actual phrase in question, τὸ ἐπίσημον εἶναι ἐν πλήθει, translates as an *inclusive* and not an *exclusive* notion. Harmonides' desire as a pipe-player is to be 'the conspicuous one *in a crowd*' – that is, to be distinguishable from *among*, from *those round about* – and not 'well-known to the crowd' or 'set apart from the πολλοί'. The *neuter substantival* adjective, τὸ ἐπίσημον, followed by ἐν plus the *anarthrous* dative plural noun πλήθει, can support nothing less.

Tombstone inscriptions in Asia Minor are cited as supportive of an *exclusive* use of ἐν plus the plural dative. Yet the exact parallelism of ἐπίσημος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔθνει and πρώτου τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν suggests an *inclusive*, not an *exclusive* one. Each one lauds an individual who distinguished himself from his peers – as 'prominent' not only *in his native town* 'but also *in the nation*'.

Two parallels are eliminated through special pleading. Josephus's *Jewish War* 2.418 is contested because of the presence of the relative pronoun οἷς plus ἦσαν instead of the simple article τοῖς. Yet, while not formally equivalent, the functional equivalency of these two constructions is beyond grammatical doubt. *Add. Esther* 16.22 is dismissed because the dative plural is neuter versus masculine, yet it is not at all clear why ἐν plus the personal dative should be grammatically different from ἐν plus the impersonal dative.⁶¹

Of all the examples listed by Burer and Wallace as *exclusive*, only Euripides' *Hippolytus* 103 is truly so. But it is also five centuries earlier than the other examples and at a time when ἐπίσημος had not yet acquired a comparative sense.⁶² Even so, the translation 'well-known to' is not felicitous. Scholia on this text define κάπσιμος as 'renowned', 'notorious' (and not Burer and Wallace's 'glorious to').⁶³ The contrast is between Hippolytus's distance and Artemis's nearness to humans: 'I greet her from a distance, pure as I am', he states. The servant

60 R. B. Wright is surely wrong to translate ἐν ἐπισήμῳ as 'a spectacle to' ('Psalms of Solomon'). It is pure speculation and without lexical support. John Gray's translation 'branded (?) (was it) among the nations' better reflects the Greek (*Apocrypha*, 2.632). Gray's entire translation is: 'The sons and the daughters were in grievous captivity. Sealed (?) (was) their neck.

branded (?) (was it) among the nations.'

61 For further discussion, see Bauckham, *Gospel Women*, 178–9.

62 Bauckham also notes that the nouns here are neuter collectives, while the nouns in other examples are masculine individuals (ibid.).

63 σεμνή γε μέντοι κάπσιμος ἐν βροτοῖς ('Aphrodite, glorious to mortals' Ibid.). See also Rex Warner, *The Hippolytus of Euripides* (London: The Bodley Head, 1949) and Michael R. Halleran, *Euripides: Hippolytus* (Warminster, England: Aus & Phillips, 1995).

rejoins with 'She is proud, nonetheless, and renowned among mortals' (σεμνή γε μέντοι κάπσιμος ἐν βροτοῖς). Ἐν plus the dative plural βροτοῖς, therefore, bears its usual local sense of 'among mortals' (albeit exclusive).⁶⁴

Conclusions

An examination of primary usage in Greek and Latin databases confirms the traditional feminine *Junia* (or possibly *Julia*) and the time-honored attribution 'esteemed among the apostles'. It also demonstrates that the masculine *Junias* and the attribution 'well-known to the apostles' lack grammatical and lexical support. Indeed, not even one first-century parallel can be adduced. Over against this is the uniform *inclusive* use of ἐπισήμοι ἐν plus the dative plural usage and the unbroken tradition among the Greek and Latin fathers from Origen in the third century and Ambrose in the fourth through Lombard in the twelfth century of a woman who was not only 'notable among the apostles' (*insignes* or *nobiles in apostolis*) but lauded as such and situated in the group of 72 that Jesus commissioned and sent out (*quod fortassis ex illis septuaginta duobus apostolis fuerint et ipsi nobiles*; Haymo, Rabanus Maurus, Hatto of Vercelli, Bruno of Querfurt).

Although Burer and Wallace argue for an *exclusive* rendering of ἐπισήμοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις ('well-known to the apostles'), all patristic commentators attest to an *inclusive* understanding ('prominent among the apostles'). The simple fact is that if native, educated speakers of Greek understood the phrase to be inclusive and Ἰουνίαν to be feminine, the burden of proof lies with those who would claim otherwise. Indeed, the burden of proof has not been met. Not even reasonable doubt has been established, for all the extra-biblical parallels adduced support an inclusive understanding. The sole basis is a theological and functional predisposition against the naming of a woman among the first-century cadre of apostles.

Much work has been done by socio-historians in the last two decades that shows the wide-ranging roles of women in first-century Jewish and Greco-Roman culture. First-century Greco-Roman inscriptions, papyri, and statuary show that women under Roman law enjoyed far more freedoms and privileges than has traditionally been supposed. These privileges ranged from equal ownership and disposal of property, the right to terminate a marriage, and sue for child support and custody, to make a will, hold office (both political and religious), swear an oath, and give testimony.⁶⁵

64 See Richard Hamilton, *Euripides' Hippolytus: Commentary* (Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr Greek Commentaries, 1980, 1982) 8 line 103.

65 The Babata archive accords with what is found in early mishnaic legal materials. A woman of independent means could bring suit for damages (*m. B.K.* 1.3), sell property in her possession (*m. Ketub.* 11.2), testify in court (*m. Ketub.* 2.5–6), swear an oath (*m. Sheb.* 5.1; *m. Ketub.* 9.4;

There was something of a women's liberation movement at work in Greco-Roman society at the turn of the millennium. As a result, greater numbers of women came to the fore in formerly male-dominated arenas. The inseparability of religion and society meant that women (particularly wealthy ones) typically adopted more than one leadership role. That there would be a female leader and church planter of such note in the apostolic ranks of the early church should come as no surprise against the backdrop of such a religio-cultural milieu.