IOYNIAN (Romans 16:7)
and the Hebrew Name *Yĕḥunnī*

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ἀσπάσασθε Ἀνδρόνικον καὶ IOYNIAN τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου καὶ συν-
αιχμαλώτους μου, οἵτινές εἰσιν ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις.

Greet Andronicus and Junia/s, my relatives who were in prison with me; they
are prominent among the apostles. (Rom 16:7)

There has been considerable exegetical discussion over the last thirty years
about whether IOYNIAN in this verse (to be preferred over the IOYΛIAN of some
manuscripts) should be interpreted as a male or a female name. A broad consen-
sus in favor of the latter interpretation seems to have emerged.[1] The scholarly dis-

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[1] See, e.g., Bernadette Brooten, "Junia . . . Outstanding among the Apostles (Romans 16:7),"
in *Women Priests: A Catholic Commentary on the Vatican Declaration* (ed. Leonard Swidler and
Arlene Swidler; New York: Paulist, 1977), 141–44; Valentin Fàbraga, "War Junia(s), der hervor-
ragende Apostel (Rom. 16,7), eine Frau?" *JAC* 27/28 (1984/85): 47–64; Peter Lampe, "Iunia/Iunias:
Sklavenherkunft im Kreise der vorpaulinischen Apostel (Röm 16₇)," *ZNW* 76 (1985): 132–34;
Ray R. Schulz, "Romans 16:7: Junia or Junias?" *ExpTim* 98 (1986–87): 108–10; Richard S. Cervin,
"A Note Regarding the Name 'Junia(s)' in Romans 16:7," *NTS* 40 (1994): 464–70; John Thorley,
"Junia, A Woman Apostle," *NovT* 38 (1996): 18–29; U.-K. Plisch, "Die Apostolin Junia: Das
exegetische Problem in Röm 16.7 im Licht von Nestle-Aland²⁷ und der sahidischen Überliefer-
ung," *NTS* 42 (1996): 477–78; Richard Bauckham, *Gospel Women: Studies of the Named Women
in the Gospels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 166–86; Linda Belleville, " Ἰουνίαν . . .
ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις: A Re-examination of Romans 16.7 in Light of Primary Source
Materials," *NTS* 51 (2005): 231–49; Eldon Jay Epp, *Junia: The First Woman Apostle* (Minneapolis:
Fortress, 2005). A dissenting view is represented by John Piper and Wayne Grudem, "An Overview
of Central Concerns," in *Recovering Biblical Manhood and Womanhood: A Response to Evangeli-*

cussion and its widely shared outcome have recently even inspired an American journalist to write a full-length popular book on the "lost apostle" Junia.[2]

When we compare the evidence adduced in favor of Ἰουνιᾶν as a masculine name with that brought forward in support of Ἰουνίαν as a feminine name, there is really no contest. The latter clearly wins the day. However, before we conclude that the Latin name Junia is the only serious candidate for a reasonable interpretation of IOYNIAN in Rom 16:7, we need to consider another possibility, namely, that it reflects a Semitic, specifically a Hebrew, personal name. After all, it would not be surprising if a person whom Paul numbers among his kinfolk (συγγενεῖς) should turn out to have a specifically Jewish name, comparable to the Μαρία of the previous verse.[3]

This is an option that is usually not considered by commentators.[4] An exception is John Thorley, but he raises the possibility of a Semitic original only to dismiss it. He writes, "The noun (whether IOYNIAN or IOYΛIAN) is definitely not of Semitic or Greek origin. This initial vowel combination is very uncommon in Greek, Hebrew, or Aramaic/Syriac and no obvious roots for the name exist in these languages."[5] This statement overlooks the fact that a frequent name in the NT is spelled Ἰούδας, representing the Hebrew name yĕhûdâ, and that the LXX includes more than a score of other proper names beginning with Ἰου-.[6] In the Greek transliteration of Hebrew names, the guttural letters of the Hebrew alphabet (א, ה, ח, and ע) are generally not represented. The Greek alphabet did not have equivalents for these letters, and in any case the Hebrew spoken in late Second Temple times often dropped the phonemes they represented.[7] It is therefore not at all unusual for the initial letters Ἰου- to represent the beginning of a Hebrew name in which the second consonant is a guttural.

Furthermore, there are many Hebrew names that are hellenized as first declen-

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cal Feminism (Wheaton, IL: Crossway, 1991), 60–92. However, Grudem now agrees that a feminine name is more likely. See his *Evangelical Feminism and Biblical Truth: An Analysis of More Than One Hundred Disputed Questions* (Sisters, OR: Multnomah, 2004), 226.

[2] Rena Pederson, *The Lost Apostle: Searching for the Truth about Junia* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006).

[3] On Μαρία as the hellenized form of מִרְיָם, see BDF §53 (3).

[4] I leave aside Bauckham's rather different suggestion that Junia is the Latin name adopted by Joanna (Luke 8:3 and 24:10) as the "sound-equivalent" of her Hebrew name, while Andronicus is the Greek name adopted by her husband Chuza (*Gospel Women*, 181–86).

[5] Thorley, "Junia," 20.

[6] See Hatch-Redpath, "Appendix I: Greek Proper Names," 85–87; see also Tal Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, part 1, *Palestine 330 BCE—200 CE* (TSAJ 91; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 112–18, 241.

[7] BDF §39(3). Cf. Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ)* (STDJ 6A; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 505–11; Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), §200.11; Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 28 (§2.5.1).

sion masculine nouns following the paradigm of Νικίας or Λυσίας, which have a genitive in -ίου, and an accusative in -ίαν.[8] In the NT, some fifteen personal names belong to this inflectional type, occurring a total of ninety-six times.[9] By analogy with these names, ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ could well be the accusative of a masculine name, as illustrated by Matt 1:8–11, where four such masculine names occur in the accusative in quick succession: Ὀζίαν, Ἐζεκίαν, Ἰωσίαν, and Ἰεχονίαν. In fact, prior to the twentieth-century vogue of printing ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ as Ἰουνιᾶν, this was the common way of interpreting it.[10] It is likely that this widespread interpretation of the name at least partially accounts for the fact that all accented manuscripts of Rom 16:7 have the reading Ἰουνίαν (with acute accent).[11] It would be a mistake to conclude from this that the scribes of these manuscripts all interpreted ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ as a feminine name.[12] It is with good reason that the most recent printings of UBS[4] have omitted the misleading annotation "Ἰουνιᾶν (*masculine*) . . . Ἰουνίαν (*feminine*) . . . ," as though the latter form could not be masculine.[13]

The high incidence in the NT of first declension masculine names, especially those ending in -ίας, is rooted in a linguistic precedent set by the LXX translators. As H. St. J. Thackeray explains in his discussion of proper names in the LXX:

> A large number of Hebrew masculine proper names end with the Divine name Yahweh in a more or less abbreviated form, usually יָה- (also יָהוּ-, יְ-). These are in the majority of cases Hellenized by the adoption of the old termination -ίας

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[8] Although in the NT personal names of this declensional type generally have a genitive in -α, those with a nominative in -ίας regularly have a genitive in -ίου (BDF §55.1*a*).

[9] The fifteen are Ἀνανίας, Βαραχίας, Ἐζεκίας, Ζαχαρίας, Ἠλίας, Ἠσαΐας, Ἰερεμίας, Ἰεχονίας, Ἰωσίας, Λυσανίας, Λυσίας, Μαθθίας, Ματταθίας, Ὀζίας, and Οὐρίας.

[10] See, e.g., Edward Robinson, *A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament: A New Edition . . . by S. T. Bloomfield* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1839), 395; *The Analytical Greek Lexicon* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1870), 202; Carl L. W. Grimm, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum in Libros Novi Testamenti* (2nd ed.; Leipzig: Arnold, 1879), 213; Joseph Henry Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1889), 306; George Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Dictionary of the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 218. According to Epp (*Junia*, 25–27), additional nineteenth-century scholars who took this view included Joseph B. Lightfoot and Benjamin Wilson. Epp himself takes strong exception to the view that Ἰουνίαν could be interpreted as a first declension masculine noun (*Junia*, 30–31, 39).

[11] See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994), 475; Belleville, "Re-examination," 238–39.

[12] *Pace* Belleville, who repeatedly refers to "the feminine acute accent" ("Re-examination," 238–39).

[13] See *The Greek New Testament* (4th ed.; 3rd printing; ed. Barbara Aland et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1998), ad loc. The misleading annotation is still found in the second printing of 1994. (Note that UBS[4] in its latest printings [including the tenth, 2005] unfortunately continues to refer to "Ἰουνίαν *fem*." in the annotation on Ἰουλίαν in Rom 16:15.)

(as in Νικίας), and forms in -(ε)ίας, -αίας declined according to the first declension abound.[14]

The accuracy of this statement can be easily confirmed by a glance at Hatch and Redpath's compilation of proper names in the LXX, which contains some 170 different examples of names declined like Νικίας.[15] The frequency of these names can be illustrated by LXX Zeph 1:1: Λόγος κυρίου, ὃς ἐγενήθη πρὸς Σοφονίαν τὸν τοῦ Χουσι υἱὸν Γοδολίου τοῦ Αμαρίου τοῦ Εζεκίου ἐν ἡμέραις Ιωσίου υἱοῦ Αμων βασιλέως Ιουδα.[16] Of the eight proper nouns in this verse, five belong to the declensional type of Νικίας, namely, Σοφονίας, Γοδολίας, Ἀμαρίας, Ἑζεκίας, and Ἰωσίας, and the eighth illustrates the point about Greek proper nouns in the LXX beginning with Ἰου-.

As Thackeray points out, names in the LXX declined like Νικίας regularly reflect Hebrew names that end in *-yāh, -yāhû,* or *-î.* In fact, some reflect all three. Thus Ἀνανίας is used to represent not only *ḥănanyāhû* but also its shorter variants *ḥănanyāh* and *ḥănānî.*[17] Similarly, Ζαχαρίας and Οὐρίας in the LXX each render Hebrew names with all three endings.[18] Besides names like these (all three of which occur in the NT as well), we also have an example such as Νεμεσσίας, where the Hebrew name in question, נִמְשִׁי, also ends in *-î,* but where there is no record of a fuller theophoric name corresponding to it.[19]

It is not unreasonable, therefore, to suggest that IOYNIAN in Rom 16:7 represents the first declension masculine name Ἰουνίας, and that this in turn is the hellenized form of a Hebrew name. The Hebrew name required would have to end in *-yāh(û)* or *-î* and have a guttural as second consonant. I propose that a plausible candidate for such a name is יְחֻנִּי (to be vocalized *yĕḥunnî*), probably a shortened form of יְחֻנִּיָה(וּ)* (*yĕḥunnîyāh[û]*), "may Yahweh be gracious."[20] To assess the merits of this proposal, we need to take a look at the way Hebrew theophoric names are normally constructed.

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[14] H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (1909; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1987), 161.

[15] Hatch-Redpath, "Greek Proper Names," passim. There are twenty-nine examples under the letter *alpha* alone. (Following Hatch and Redpath, I have treated names like Ἀβδείας and Ἀβδίας as orthographic variants of the same name.)

[16] The text cited (including the omission of breathings on the personal names) is that of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum,* vol. 13, *Duodecim prophetae* (ed. Joseph Ziegler; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943), 275.

[17] Hatch-Redpath, "Greek Proper Names," 17.

[18] Ibid., 66, 125–26.

[19] See MT 2 Kgs 9:20 and LXX 4 Kgdms 9:20. Compare also Μαλαχίας as the title of Malachi in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (Hatch-Redpath, "Greek Proper Names," 106).

[20] For names ending in יָה(וּ) I have used the transliteration *-îyāh(û)* (with single *y*), following the usage of Jeaneane D. Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew* (JSOTSup 49; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 51, and passim.

It is well known that such names, following a pattern that was widespread in the ancient Near East, usually consisted of a divine name and a verbal form.[21] The divine name (e.g., *ba ᶜal* or *ʾēl*) sometimes came first, as in *ʾelnātān,* but could also come second, as in *nĕtan ʾēl,* both forms meaning "El has given." In Israel the most common theophoric element was a shortened form of the tetragrammaton: *yĕhô-* or *yô-* in initial position, and *-yāhû* or *-yāh* in final position.[22] The verbal form was usually in the perfect, as in the two examples given, but the imperfect (or jussive) was also used, especially in initial position (e.g., *yĕḥezqē ʾl,* "Ezekiel," meaning "May El strengthen").[23]

As these examples illustrate, the regular rules of Hebrew phonology come into play when names are formed. When the two-word sentence *nātan ʾēl* becomes a one-word proper noun, the vocalization of the verbal element changes, because the stress moves to the theophoric element, which now constitutes (or includes) the final syllable of the new phonetic unit. Thus, the first vowel of *nātan* is reduced to a shewa: *nĕtan ʾēl.* Another phonetic feature of such sentence names is that an /ī/ (which Noth calls a *Bindevokal*) is frequently inserted between the nominal and verbal elements of the name, as in *ṣidq-ī-yāhû* and *yahăz-ī-ʾel.*[24]

A verb that was especially common in Hebrew names was *ḥānan,* "to be gracious." We find it in a whole series of biblical and extrabiblical Hebrew names: not only *ḥănanyāh(û),* and its short form *ḥănānî,* but also *ḥănam ʾēl* (with dissimilation), *yĕhôḥānān, yôḥānān, ʾelḥānān,* and even *bᶜlḥnn.*[25] The same verbal root also occurs frequently in the names attested in other Northwest Semitic languages.[26] For example, a Moabite name consists of the simple verbal form *yḥn,*[27] and a common Phoenician one is *yḥnbᶜl,* "may Baal be gracious."[28] Given the many permutations of Hebrew names incorporating forms of this verb, one might expect that a

[21] See Martin Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (1928; repr., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966), 20; and Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 84, 89.

[22] Noth, *Personennamen,* 101–8; and Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 32–38.

[23] Noth, *Personennamen,* 27–28; and Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 89, 98–100. "May strengthen" (etc.) is only one of a number of possible translations of the prefix conjugation in names. As Fowler points out (p. 89), it does not necessarily express a wish (*pace* Noth, *Personennamen,* 195, who designates virtually all such names as *Wunschnamen*).

[24] Noth, *Personennamen,* 33–36; and Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 134–35.

[25] Noth, *Personennamen,* 187; and Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 82, 345.

[26] Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 182, 191, 214, 266, 290.

[27] See Nahman Avigad and Benjamin Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1997), 378 (no. 1024). Avigad vocalizes the name (the last letter of which is uncertain) as *yaḥun.* On names consisting of a simple verb in the imperfect, see Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 168.

[28] Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements* (Studia Pohl 8; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1972), 128, 209. The name *yḥnbᶜl* is attested six times.

Hebrew name corresponding to the Phoenician *yḥnbʿl,* specifically *yḥnyh(w)* or its short form *yḥny,* would also be part of the Jewish onomasticon.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the abbreviated Hebrew name יחוני, meaning "May he be gracious," has come to light in the epigraphic discoveries of the twentieth century.[29] Two undisputed examples have been found. (1) In 1904 Robert Macalister found the name *yḥwny* inscribed on an ossuary near Gezer. Although he dated it broadly to Hellenistic times,[30] subsequent scholars have lowered this date to the Herodian era,[31] or even between 70 and 135 C.E.[32] When it was first published, the philologist Stanley A. Cook explained the newly attested name as follows: "יחוני, probably from יחוניה, 'may Yah be gracious.'"[33] (2) A second occurrence of the name יחוני was found in 1953 inscribed on another ossuary in the "Dominus Flevit" necropolis on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem.[34] Both the excavator (Bellarmino Bagatti) and the epigrapher (József T. Milik) dated it to the period after 70 C.E., perhaps as late as 135.[35] It is of interest to note that Bagatti argued that the chamber in which this ossuary was found might well be the burial place of a number of early Jewish Christians,[36] and that the inscription of the ossuary next to it in this chamber could be read "Simon bar Yonah" (cf. Matt 16:17).[37] Although both these claims proved to be controversial,[38] they do highlight the fact that this

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[29] On abbreviated Hebrew names beginning with an imperfect verbal form, see Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 160, 166, 168.

[30] Robert A. S. Macalister, "Ninth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of Gezer," *PEFQS* 36 (1904): 337–43; idem, *The Excavation of Gezer* (3 vols.; London: Murray, 1911–12), 1:395–400. See also Samuel Klein, *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum (Ossuar-, Grab-, und Synagogeninschriften)* (1920; repr., Hildesheim: Dr. H. A. Gerstenberg, 1971), 53 (= *CIJ* 2:223, no. 1177).

[31] William G. Dever, "Gezer," *ABD* 2:1003; similarly Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names,* 377 (no. 9). Note that Ilan dates all ossuaries to before the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 C.E. (p. 52, §7.6.1).

[32] Levi Y. Rahmani, *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1994), 23, followed by Rachel Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period* (JSJSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 520.

[33] See the note by the editor on p. 342 of Macalister, "Ninth Report." Stanley A. Cook (later Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge) was the editor of the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund from 1902 to 1932.

[34] See József T. Milik, "Le iscrizioni degli ossuari," in Bellarmino Bagatti and József T. Milik, *Gli Scavi del "Dominus Flevit" (Monte Oliveto—Gerusalemme),* parte 1, *La Necropoli del Periodo Romano* (Jerusalem: Tipografia dei PP. Francescani, 1958), 83.

[35] Bagatti, *Gli Scavi,* 44, 179; Milik, "Le iscrizioni," 105. The post-70 date applies to the complex of burial chambers (*vani*) numbered 65–80. The ossuary bearing the name *yḥwny* was one of fourteen found in no. 79. Ilan disagrees with this dating, opting instead for "Pre-70 CE" (*Lexicon of Jewish Names,* 377, no. 10); see n. 31 above.

[36] Bagatti, *Gli Scavi,* ch. 6.

[37] Bellarmino Bagatti, "Scoperta di un cimitero giudeo-cristiano al 'Dominus Flevit,'" *SBFLA* 3 (1953): 149–84, here 162. Milik also considers this reading possible but is uncertain about some of the letters of "Yonah" ("Le iscrizioni," 83).

[38] See Markus Bockmuehl, "Simon Peter's Names in Jewish Sources," *JJS* 55 (2004): 58–80, here 67–69.

ossuary inscription, like the one found near Gezer, brings us very close to the time and milieu of the apostle Paul.

In the epigraphical literature of the twentieth century there is also a third attestation of the name, but this has recently been cast into doubt. According to epigrapher David Diringer, a jar handle that was excavated at Lachish in the 1930s, which could be dated to around 700 B.C.E., was stamped with a seal impression containing the name *yḥny* (with some uncertainty about the second letter).[39] However, according to Nahman Avigad, the inscription in question is one of a series of seven extant impressions of the same seal, and the name in question should actually be read as *ywbnh*.[40]

Whether the Lachish jar handle is included or not, these finds establish quite securely that the name *yḥwny* was an actual Hebrew name that is attested in ancient Israel in the first century C.E., if not earlier. Although the ending *-y* in a name does not guarantee that the theophoric element of the fuller form is *-yāh(û)*,[41] the latter is much more likely than any other divine name.[42] It is therefore probably safe to assume, with Cook, Gustaf Dalman, Otto Eissfeldt, and Ran Zadok, that יחוני is a short form of יחוניה*.[43]

But how should the short form *yḥwny* be vocalized? With respect to the final *yod*, it most likely represents *-ī* (so Macalister, Jean-Baptiste Frey, Milik, and Rachel Hachlili[44]), since this is by far the most common ending of shortened names in Hebrew.[45] As for the phonetic value of the *waw*, this will depend on the vocaliza-

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[39] David Diringir, "On Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions Discovered at Tell Ed-Duweir (Lachish)—I," *PEQ* 73 (1941): 38–56, here 51, and Plate IV, no. 6. See also idem, "Chapter 10: Early Hebrew Inscriptions," in Olga Tufnell, *Lachish III (Tell ed-Duweir): The Iron Age; Text* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), 331–59, here 340–41, and Plate 47, no. B,6 in the accompanying volume *Plates*. The stamp is no. 100.392 in Graham Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[40] Avigad and Sass, *West Semitic Stamp Seals,* 249 (no. 678D). I am grateful to Alan Millard for alerting me to this revised reading.

[41] Noth, *Personennamen,* 41; Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 153–54.

[42] It occurs more than twice as often as its nearest competitor (*ʾēl*); see Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 32.

[43] Cook in Macalister, "Ninth Report," 342 (editorial note); Gustaf Dalman as cited in Klein, *Corpus Inscriptionum,* 53; Otto Eissfeldt, "Onias," *RE* 18:1, 474–75; Ran Zadok, "Das nachbiblische jüdische Onomastikon," in *Trumah 1: Hochschule für Jüdische Studien Heidelberg* (ed. Moshe Elat et al.; Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert, 1987), 247, 309. Fowler adopts a more cautious formulation: "The name *yḥny* [of the disputed Lachish jar handle] may also be a sf. [short form] from the root *ḥnn* 'to show favour, be gracious' and a theophoric element" (*Theophoric Personal Names,* 167). Although *yḥwnyh* is the most likely longer form of *yḥwny,* the argument of this essay works equally well if its longer form is assumed to be *yĕḥunnīʾēl* (for example) rather than *yĕḥunnīyāh.*

[44] Macalister, "Ninth Quarterly Report," 342; Frey in *CIJ* 2:223 (no. 1177); Milik, "Le iscrizioni," 83; Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs,* 217.

[45] Noth, *Personennamen,* 38; and Ran Zadok, *The Pre-Hellenistic Anthroponymy and Prosopography* (OLA 28; Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 156–57. In the MT the final *yod* of short forms of

tion of the longer theophoric form from which *yhwny* is presumably derived. Eissfeldt vocalizes this longer form as יְחוֹנְיָה or *yĕḥônyāh*, but this is clearly a mistake.[46] As Zadok has pointed out, the verbal element of **yhwnyh* fits the pattern of an imperfect of the *yaqull* type.[47] This means that it follows the paradigm of a geminate verb with /u/ as its original stem vowel.[48] In this paradigm the /u/ of the stem is retained in forms of the imperfect that have a stress-bearing afformative. In those forms the general rule is that the closed and unstressed stem syllable **qull*, characterized by both the doubling of the second root consonant and the short vowel /u/, is preserved unchanged in Hebrew.[49] Although this rule allows of some exceptions in the Tiberian tradition of Masoretic vocalization, where this /u/ sometimes becomes /ŏ/, it is quite strictly observed in the Babylonian tradition.[50] Forms of geminate verbs in the imperfect *qal* that illustrate this rule include יְמֻשֵׁהוּ (Gen 27:22), יְסֻבֶּהוּ (Job 40:22), and תְּסֻבֶּּתָה (Gen 37:7). In the case of the verb חָנַן, the rule accounts for such forms as וִיחֻנֶּךָ (Num 6:25), יְחֻנֶּנּוּ (Isa 27:11), and וַיְחֻנֶּנּוּ (Job 33:24). Eissfeldt's mistaken vocalization *yĕḥônyāh* also fails to take into account another phonetic rule that applies to the imperfect forms of verbs like חָנַן: when the stress-bearing afformative after the stem syllable **qull* begins with a consonant, the characteristic "separating vowel" of geminate verbs is inserted between the stem syllable and the afformative in question.[51] This is illustrated in the last four of the biblical texts just cited.

All of this means that, according to the regular phonetic patterns of Hebrew,

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theophoric names beginning with an imperfect verb is usually vocalized as *-ay* (see Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 160, 166), but in about half of the cases the ending *-î* is reflected in the LXX or Vulgate. In any case, *yĕḥunnay* could also be a short form of **yĕḥunnîyāh* (*Theophoric Personal Names,* 162–64).

[46] Eissfeldt, "Onias," 474.

[47] Zadok, *Anthroponymy,* 134.

[48] That the verb *ḥānan* follows this paradigm is not in dispute. See Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments,* Erster Band (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1922), 427 (§58c). Note that the original stem vowel /u/ is still clearly in evidence in the Amorite name *ya-ḫu-un-AN-(?)*—a name that appears to be an early analogue of the postulated Hebrew name **yĕḥunnîyāh*. See H. B. Huffmon, *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965), 40, 80, 200. See also Ignace J. Gelb, *Computer-Aided Analysis of Amorite* (AS 21; Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980), 250.

[49] See GKC §67k, n; Rudolf Meyer, *Hebräische Grammatik* (3rd ed.; 4 vols.; Sammlung Göschen; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–82; repr. as one volume, 1992 [pp. 263–64]), §79.1.c and 2.a; Joshua Blau, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (2nd ed.; Porta Linguarum Orientalium n.s. 12; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 37 (§9.3.5); Joüon-Muraoka, 1:228 (§82g).

[50] G. Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (1918 and 1929; repr. as one volume, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962), 1:150 (§26n); Blau, *Biblical Hebrew,* 10 (§3.4); and Joüon-Muraoka, 44 (§6j, n. 3).

[51] GKC §67d; see also Joüon-Muraoka, 228 (§82f).

the name **yhwnyh* would be pronounced *yĕḥunnīyāh,* in which the theophoric element *-yāh* is the stress-bearing afformative, and the /ī/ is the *Bindevokal* of theophoric names, which here functions simultaneously as the separating vowel of geminate verbs.[52] It follows from this that *yḥwny,* as the shortened form of the full theophoric name (but still with a stress-bearing afformative) would have been pronounced *yĕḥunnī.*[53]

This conclusion is supported also by the use of the vowel letter *waw* in *yḥwny.* The short vowel /u/ is frequently represented by *waw,* even in the MT.[54] In fact, biblical examples of this spelling include cases where the /u/ represented by *waw* is precisely what we are discussing—the preserved original stem vowel in the imperfect of a geminate verb (see יְסוּבְּנִי in Ps 49:6, and יְדֻקְּנִי in Isa 28:28[55]). On the other hand, the short vowel /ŏ/—the *qāmeṣ ḥāṭûf* to which the /u/ in this position is sometimes changed in the Tiberian vocalization—is very rarely represented by *waw.*[56] In short, the conventions of ancient Hebrew orthography also favor the conclusion that the *waw* in *yḥwny* represents /u/, not /ŏ/.

There is a further point that supports the pronunciation of **yhwnyh* as *yĕḥunnīyāh.* The verbs of the Aaronic blessing of Num 6:24–26, which the priest pronounced over the people twice daily in the temple, and weekly in synagogues, were often used in the construction of Hebrew names.[57] The ancient blessing contained as the second of its three components the sentence "may Yahweh make his face to shine over you, and be gracious to you," in which the last clause renders the Hebrew וִיחֻנֶּךָּ (*wîḥunnekkā*). This familiar benediction finds echoes in other parts of the Hebrew Bible, and in the sectarian literature of Qumran it becomes a kind of stock phrase, always spelled *plene* as *yḥwnkh,* and presumably pronounced *yĕḥunnekkāh.*[58] The postulated name **yĕḥunnīyāh,* by replacing the pronominal

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[52] Since to my knowledge there are no other attested examples in the MT (or elsewhere) of theophoric names beginning with the imperfect of a geminate verb, the coincidence of *Bindevokal* and separating vowel in this case is an inference based on analogy.

[53] *Pace* Sandra L. Gogel, who vocalizes the disputed *yḥny* of the Lachish jar handle as "Yaḥani," apparently unaware of the later attestations of the name spelled *plene* (*A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew* [SBLRBS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998], 489).

[54] Muraoka states that this spelling occurs "rather frequently" in the MT when followed by gemination (Joüon-Muraoka, 47 [§7b]). He refers to Francis I. Andersen and A. Dean Forbes, *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible: Dahood Memorial Lecture* (BibOr 41; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1986), 95-98, which lists fifty-one examples in the MT.

[55] On the latter spelling, see *HALOT,* s.v. דקק.

[56] Joüon-Muraoka, 48 (§7b, n. 4). Since the name יחוני (spelled *plene*) is found only in ossuary inscriptions, it is significant that these inscriptions elsewhere appear never to have a *waw* representing *qāmeṣ ḥāṭûf.* For example, the name גלית, "Goliath," is spelled without *waw* in the inscriptions of the ossuaries numbered 783, 799, and 801 in Rahmani, *Jewish Ossuaries.*

[57] Klaus Seybold, *Der aaronitische Segen: Studien zu Numeri 6, 22–27* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 12, 34.

[58] See Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994),

suffix *-kā* of this blessing formula with the divine name *-yāh,* in effect supplies the understood divine subject: "May Yahweh be gracious." Such a name would constitute an overt allusion to the priestly blessing, and would hardly have adopted a vocalization of the stem syllable different from that of the sacred liturgical formula.

In this connection it is also important to point out that *yĕḥunnī* is not to be confused with the Hebrew original of the common Jewish Greek name Ὀνίας. The latter is first found in Sir 50:1, where the corresponding name in the Hebrew text is *yôḥānān.*[59] This correlation of Greek Ὀνίας and Hebrew *yôḥānān* is found also in Josephus, 2 Maccabees, and Strabo, while in other contexts Ὀνίας regularly reflects one or another of the numerous variations of *yôḥānān* that were current among the Jews (e.g., *ḥwnyw, nḥwnywn, ḥ(w)nyh, ḥ(w)ny, ḥny ʾ*).[60] The attempt to derive one of these variations, namely, *ḥwny* (= Ὀνίας), from the similar-looking *yḥwny* (so Dalman, Eissfeldt, and Zadok[61]) fails to recognize that *yḥwny* is a shortened form of a theophoric name like **yḥwnyh* (imperfect verb plus divine name), not of *ywḥnn* (divine name plus perfect verb), and that its stem vowel (given the usual inflection of geminate verbs like *ḥānan* and the *plene* spelling of *yḥwny*) is /u/, not /ō/. But quite apart from this, the postulated elision of the verbal prefix *y-* in names, such that *yḥwny* could become *ḥwny,* is virtually without precedent.[62] I suspect that it is this assumed connection of *yḥwny* with Ὀνίας that has led scholars ever since Macalister to vocalize *yḥwny* as *yĕḥonī* rather than *yĕḥunnī.*[63]

The longer form **yḥwnyh* is not found in the MT or rabbinic sources, nor has it been found in inscriptions. However, whether we take our point of departure in the attested short form *yḥwny* (*yĕḥunnī*) or the hypothetical full form **yḥwnyh* (*yĕḥunnīyāh*) from which it is probably derived, both names are plausible candidates for a Hebrew name that would have been represented in Greek as Ἰουνίας,

148–50; cf. Heinz-Josef Fabry in *TDOT* 5:36. The expression is vocalized *yĕḥunnĕkāh* in Eduard Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran, Hebräisch und deutsch, mit masoretischer Punktation: Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen* (Munich: Kösel, 1964), 6 *bis.*

[59] See Solomon Schechter and Charles Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Geniza Collection* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899), XLVI, 63.

[60] Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names,* 377–79.

[61] Dalman in Klein, *Corpus Inscriptionum,* 53; Eissfeldt, "Onias," 484; Zadok, "Das nachbiblische jüdische Onomastikon," 247, 309.

[62] See Noth, *Personennamen,* 27 n. 1; and Fowler, *Theophoric Personal Names,* 153. Zadok speaks of this proposed derivation as a "special case" (*Sonderfall*) ("Das nachbiblische jüdische Onomastikon," 309). He now agrees that Ὀνίας does not reflect *yḥwny* (personal communication). Ilan's view, that *yḥwny* is "the name חוני with a theophoric prefix" (*Lexicon of Jewish Names,* 378 n. 25), is equally unpersuasive. She offers no parallel for such an expansion of an abbreviated name by a theophoric prefix.

[63] Macalister, "Ninth Quarterly Report," 342; Jean-Baptiste Frey in *CIJ* 2:223; Milik, "Le iscrizioni," 83; Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs,* 217.

-ου. As we have seen, the first declension masculine paradigm represents a common way of adapting Hebrew names in *-yāh(û)* or *-ī* to the Greek language, and the representation of *yĕḥu-* by Ἰου- also has many parallels. As with Ἰούδας and its cognates, the guttural letter (with its preceding shewa) simply disappears from the Greek spelling, just as *-ĕḥ-* disappears in Ἰεζεκιελ, the standard Greek transliteration of *yĕḥezqēʾl*, "Ezekiel." As for the representation of the doubled consonant in *yĕḥunnī* by the single consonant in Ἰουνίας, this too follows a familiar pattern.[64]

The foregoing has argued that it is not unreasonable, from a philological point of view, to interpret ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ in Rom 16:7 as the Greek form of a Hebrew name. The argument is simple and can be summarized in three steps. (1) A Hebrew name *yḥwny*, meaning "may he be gracious," is attested in Paul's own day. (2) This name would most likely have been pronounced *yĕḥunnī*. (3) In biblical Greek, the name *yĕḥunnī* would have been hellenized as the first declension masculine noun Ἰουνίας.

It might be objected against this interpretation that the Greek name Ἰουνίας is not found elsewhere. However, further reflection shows that this objection carries little weight. Since the original Hebrew name *yĕḥunnī* is attested in only two or three places—all of them outside the Hebrew Bible—it is to be expected that its Greek form Ἰουνίας will be found rarely, if at all. In fact, a survey of Hebrew and Aramaic names in the Greek Bible reveals that many of these are *hapax legomena*. This is true not only of indeclinable forms like Ῥησά (Luke 3:27) and Ἐλμαδάμ (Luke 3:28) but also of names that have been adapted to regular Greek declensions, like Χουζᾶς (Luke 8:3) and Κλωπᾶς (John 19:25). More specifically, the same pattern is observed in names declined like Νικίας. An examination of the approximately 170 examples of such names in the LXX (see n. 15 above) reveals that dozens of them are absolute *hapax legomena* in ancient Greek. A few representative examples, drawn from names beginning with the first six letters of the Greek alphabet, are the following: Ἀβαδίας (1 Esdr 8:35), Βοραλίας (1 Esdr 5:8), Γαμαρίας (Jer 36 [29]:3), Δαλίας (Jer 43 [36]:12), Ἐσελίας (4 Kgdms 22:3), and Ζαμαρίας (1 Chr 7:8).[65] These names occur only once in the LXX and, to my knowledge, are not attested elsewhere in antiquity.[66] It appears that it is very com-

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[64] See BDF §40; Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 22 (§2.3.4).

[65] The LXX names are here given as they are found in *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (ed. Alfred Rahlfs; Editio minor; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

[66] They are not listed, for example, in Gustav E. Benseler, *Dr. W. Pape's Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* (2 vols.; Braunschweig: Viehweg, 1863–70, 1875), or in Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 257–312 ("Greek Names—Male"), or in Ran Zadok, "On the Post-Biblical Jewish Onomasticon and Its Background," in *Dor Le-Dor: From the End of Biblical Times up to the Redaction of the Talmud; Studies in Honor of Joshua Efron* (ed. Aryeh Kasher and Aharon Oppenheimer; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1995), V–XXVIII, here XXIV–XXVI.

mon in biblical Greek to find hellenized forms of Hebrew names—especially those belonging to the same declension as Ἰουνίας—that are attested nowhere apart from their single biblical occurrence.[67] Consequently, the fact that there are no attestations of the name Ἰουνίας apart from Rom 16:7 is hardly surprising.

Finally, although the Hebrew name *yĕḥunnī* is attested only for men, both it and the assumed longer form **yĕḥunnīyāh(û)* could in principle be women's names as well, since Hebrew sentence names are used indiscriminately for both genders.[68] However, the case is different for Greek names like Νικίας. To the best of my knowledge, they are used exclusively of men, in both secular and biblical Greek.[69] If the ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ of Rom 16:7 belongs to this declensional type, then it is almost certainly a man's name.[70]

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[67] Except, of course, in religious literature referring to these scriptural passages.

[68] See Noth, *Personennamen*, 62.

[69] Ilan lists a Greek woman's name Λυσίας (*Lexicon of Jewish Names*, 322), but this appears to be based on a confusion between the masculine name Λυσίας (genitive Λυσίου) and the feminine name Λυσίας (genitive Λυσιάδος). See Benseler, *Dr. W. Pape's Wörterbuch*, 2:829. In any case, the name in question is found only in a Coptic text, where it is actually spelled "Lysia." See also Richard Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 8, 42.

[70] This conclusion still leaves open the question whether it is more likely that the ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ of Rom 16:7 reflects a Hebrew masculine name or a Latin feminine one. The answer to that question depends largely on how one assesses the likelihood that Paul would have considered a woman to be "prominent among the apostles" (see Metzger, *Textual Commentary*, 475). To some, probability will still favor the quasi consensus of recent scholarship that ΙΟΥΝΙΑΝ in Rom 16:7 refers to a woman. To others, the epigraphic and philological evidence for the existence of a Hebrew name Yĕḥunnī/Ἰουνίας will tip the scales in favor of a male apostle. In my own opinion, a plausible (but not a decisive) case can be made for either position.