as to suggest, not the lively steps and gestures of battle, but rather the contortions one would expect of a person beset with the discomfort of diarrhoea, whether the focus was on Kinesias' role (ὑπᾴδων) or that of his chorus or both.

In any case, whether Aristophanes' pun was inspired by an embarrassing health issue associated with Kinesias or with some aspect of his work or possibly with both, Kinesias could be associated with 'shit fits' so to speak. This would have been irresistible comic fodder to someone like Aristophanes, especially when the victim, as a public figure of notice, was an individual who probably had an air of pretentiousness about himself.[28]

In sum, if we see in Kinesias' *'Pyrrhiche'* a 'potty dance', so to speak, the jibe at *Frogs* 153 takes on greater comic potential than Aristophanists have granted it up to now. It is this kind of *pyrrhiche* that, as Dionysus contends, no one ought to have learned.[29]

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doi:10.1017/S0009838808000281

[28] Note his boast at *Birds* 1403–4: *Ταυτὶ πεπόηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον, ὃς ταῖσι φυλαῖς περιμάχητός εἰμ' ἀεί;*

[29] I am grateful to *CQ*'s anonymous reader for very helpful comments.

SWEARING BY HERA: A DEME MEME?

It is well known that both in Plato and in Xenophon, Socrates is represented as having the unusual habit of reinforcing some of his utterances with the oath *νὴ τὴν Ἥραν*. He does this six times in Plato[1] and eight times in Xenophon?;[2] as Dodds noted,[3] in Plato this oath 'always accompanies expressions of admiration', and with one exception[4] this is true of the Xenophontic Socrates as well. We can safely assume that this was a habit of the historical Socrates – one that was imitated, indeed, by another of his pupils, Aeschines of Sphettus.[5] It was a very unusual one, and no convincing explanation of its origin has ever been given. Oaths of the form *νὴ τὴν Ἥραν* or *μὰ τὴν Ἥραν* are otherwise extremely rare, occurring only three times in all of Greek literature other than Plato and Xenophon;[6] with the exception of Ares,

[1] *Apol.* 24E; *Hipp.Ma.* 287A, 291E; *Gorg.* 449D; *Phdr.* 230B; *Tht.* 154D.

[2] *Mem.* 1.5.4, 3.10.9, 3.11.5, 4.2.9, 4.4.8; *Oec.* 10.1, 11.19; *Symp.* 4.54. In addition Xenophon makes Socrates, in reasserting his innocence after his condemnation, draw attention (*Apol.* 24) to the fact that 'it has not been proved that I sacrifice to any new divinities, *or swear by* or recognise any other gods in place of Zeus *and Hera* and the gods associated with them'.

[3] E.R. Dodds, *Plato: Gorgias* (Oxford, 1959), on *Gorg.* 449E.

[4] The exception is *Mem.* 1.5.4.

[5] D.L. 2.83.

[6] In Eur. *IA* 739, however, Clytaemestra swears *μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν Ἀργείαν θεάν*, and we may therefore assume that in the oath *μὰ τὴν ἄνασσαν*, quoted by the Euripidean Hermione (*Andr.* 934) from the lips of her (Phthian) women friends, the *ἄνασσα* is likewise Hera, an appropriate goddess for married women to invoke. *PMG* 960, where someone swears *ναὶ τὰν Ὄλυμπον καταδερκομέναν σκηπτοῦχον Ἥραν* that he/she has 'a reliable guard-house on my tongue', may well be tragic too – a female chorus assuring some hero(ine) that they can be depended on to keep a secret.

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Hera is the only one of the thirteen principal divinities[7] who is never invoked in an oath in any surviving comic text or fragment[8] – an absence which was reasonably enough described, some years ago, as 'a mystery…[since] comedy…is not deficient in expressions of admiration and wonderment'.[9]

Was this just a personal mannerism of Socrates? Was he, as Dodds thought, adapting what was 'normally a woman's oath',[10] and if so what might be the significance of this? Or was the oath by Hera, contrariwise, as Parker has claimed, a 'male oath'[11] – as some other oaths by goddesses were, for example those by Athena and Demeter?[12]

Little seems hitherto to have been made of the fact that in Plato and Xenophon there are persons other than Socrates who swear by Hera – all of them, again, when expressing admiration. Four of these are characters in conversations also involving Socrates. They are Lysimachus, son of the famous Aristeides, in Plato's *Laches* (181A); Callias son of Hipponicus, and his brother Hermogenes, in Xenophon's *Symposium* (4.45, 8.12); and, in the same work, Lycon, the father of Autolycus. Of these, only Hermogenes is ever regarded as a close associate of Socrates[13] – Lysimachus, indeed, seems never to have met him for many years[14] – so they cannot be supposed to have picked the habit up from him. Do they, then, have anything else in common with Socrates?

Three of them certainly do. Lysimachus, as he himself points out, was a member of the same Attic deme as Socrates[15] – that of Alopeke, located just outside the city walls to the south-east, across the Ilissus from the unfinished temple of Zeus Olympios;[16] so too, we happen to know, were Callias and Hermogenes. That, of course, does not

[7] That is, the Twelve Gods with the customary uncertainty as to whether Hestia should be reckoned as one of them (as in Pl. *Phdr.* 247A, where without her the gods number only eleven) or whether (as on the Parthenon frieze) Dionysus should take her place.

[8] R.C.T. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005), 270, n. 2, ascribes the absence of this oath to metrical difficulties; but *νὴ τὴν Ἥραν*, while unsuited to iambics, could easily appear in anapaestic tetrameters (of which there are nearly 1200 in the surviving plays of Aristophanes alone), and *μὰ τὴν Ἥραν* fits perfectly into positions 3–6 of an iambic trimeter (the line would have no caesura, but none is needed in comedy).

[9] A.H. Sommerstein, 'The language of Athenian women', in F. De Martino and A.H. Sommerstein (edd.), *Lo spettacolo delle voci* (Bari, 1995), 61–85, at 67, n. 19.

[10] Dodds (as n. 3).

[11] Parker (as n. 8).

[12] See Sommerstein (n. 9), 66. One woman swears by Demeter in Menander (*Epitr.* 955), but none in Aristophanes; the oath by Demeter alone must be distinguished from that by Demeter and Kore together (*τὼ θεώ*) which is used by women only.

[13] He was one of those who were with Socrates on the last day of his life (Pl. *Phd.* 59B) and is a dialogue participant in Plato's *Cratylus*.

[14] He has heard praise of Socrates from his son Aristeides and other young lads, but it had never occurred to him to ask whether they were talking about the son of his old friend Sophroniscus (*Lach.* 180D–181A); later in the dialogue (187D–E), Nicias feels certain that Lysimachus can never have met Socrates since the latter was a child.

[15] *Lach.* 180D. Socrates' deme is named as Alopeke in Pl. *Gorg.* 495D; Aristeides' in Plut. *Arist.* 1.1 and on the ostrakon *Agora* xxv 34; Callias' (and therefore Hermogenes' also) is known from a fourth-century inscription (*Agora* xix P26.455; the relevant fragments were first published by B.D. Meritt, 'Greek inscriptions', *Hesperia* 5 [1936], 355–441, at 393–413) naming a *Ἱππόνικος Καλλίου Ἁλωπεκ.*, doubtless his son.

[16] J.S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica* (Princeton, 1974), 53, citing Hdt. 5.63.4 (a tomb in Alopeke 'near the sanctuary of Heracles at Cynosarges' – for whose location see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* [London, 1971], 340) and Aeschines 1.99 (a piece of land in Alopeke 'eleven or twelve stadia from the city walls').

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necessarily mean that they *lived* in the deme; indeed, the homes of Socrates[17] and of Callias (the latter is the setting for Xenophon's *Symposium*, and also for Plato's *Protagoras*) were certainly within the city itself. However, it does mean that their recent forebears (Lysimachus' father; Socrates', Callias' and Hermogenes' paternal grandfathers) had lived in Alopeke in 508/7 B.C.E., and that would not be too long ago for a linguistic habit once typical of the village to maintain itself among its former inhabitants and their descendants, particularly since these retained a strong corporate identity and met periodically at deme assemblies and festivals.[18]

What of Lycon? We do not know for certain what deme he belonged to. Considerable confusion has been caused by the Platonic scholiast[19] who identified the father of Autolycus with Lycon of Thoricus, one of those who prosecuted Socrates in 399 B.C.E. Storey in 1985[20] showed that this was merely an irresponsible guess and that Autolycus' father and Socrates' accuser must be different men; to his arguments it may be added that if Lycon in the late 420s had a son old enough to win the boys' *pankration* at the Panathenaea (Xen. *Symp.* 1.2) and could describe himself as too old for the gymnasium (ibid. 2.4) he could hardly have been much, if at all, under seventy in 399. If, then, the scholiast has confused two (perhaps, as we shall see, three) persons of the same name, which of them belonged to the deme of Thoricus? We may note, first of all, that the scholiast does not know the deme affiliations of Socrates' other two accusers, even though that of one of them is actually mentioned elsewhere in Plato,[21] so it is unlikely that his knowledge of Lycon's derives, however indirectly, from the actual text of the indictment against Socrates (which will have given the names *and demes* of the three accusers); rather, he probably owes this knowledge to the same *komodoumenoi*-source to which, as Storey points out, he is indebted for his other data. Most of that data relates to the Lycon prominent in the late 420s, the father of Autolycus and the husband (or lover) of Rhodia (or of a Rhodian).[22] But there is also a citation of a comedy by Metagenes (fr. 10) speaking of a Lycon who took a bribe to betray Naupactus yet still walks free in Athens. This man is regarded by Storey, almost certainly correctly, as distinct from the father of Autolycus; he may or may not also have been distinct from Socrates' accuser. So it is possible that there are three different Lycons relevant to our inquiry. One, and probably only one, of them belonged to Thoricus. We cannot be sure that Autolycus' father was that one.

Having said all that, there is of course no evidence whatever that Autolycus' father was a member of any *other* deme, let alone that he was of Alopeke. And I am not about to suggest that he was. By the time he prefixes his praise of Socrates with *νὴ τὴν Ἥραν*, he has heard three of those at the party use this expression – Callias, Hermogenes and Socrates himself; and since the time when Callias first did so, no one else has used any oath-expression naming an individual god, except for the commonplace oaths by Zeus that peppered every Athenian conversation. Perhaps, then, we are meant to suppose that Lycon has noticed that *νὴ τὴν Ἥραν* seems to be in vogue as a formula for introducing expressions of admiration – and he duly follows

[17] Who, according to Phaedrus in Pl. *Phdr.* 230D, never normally went beyond the walls.

[18] Cf. Pl. *Lach.* 187E (which, admittedly, implies that Socrates as an adult had rarely if ever attended such gatherings), and see D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica, 508/7–ca.250 B.C.*: A Political and Social Study (Princeton, 1986) (esp. 86–120, 176–222).

[19] *Σ* Pl. *Apol.* 23E.

[20] I.C. Storey, 'The symposium at *Wasps* 1299ff.', *Phoenix* 39 (1985), 317–33, at 322–4.

[21] Meletus of Pithos: Pl. *Euthph.* 2B.

[22] On Lycon's wife (or mistress) see A.H. Sommerstein, *Aristophanes: Lysistrata* (Warminster, 1990), 167–8 (on Ar. *Lys.* 270) and I.C. Storey, *Eupolis, Poet of Old Comedy* (Oxford, 2003), 91–2.

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this fashion. Alternatively (and perhaps preferably), he may simply be aping his very rich host Callias.

I suggest, therefore, that the habit of swearing by Hera, especially when expressing admiration, was essentially, as I have put it in the title of this paper, a deme meme, characteristic of Alopeke (and perhaps, as we shall see, of one or two other demes in its immediate neighbourhood). It will have been well established in the village by the time of Cleisthenes, and maintained itself among the inhabitants and their descendants throughout the fifth century.[23] Perhaps it became to some extent known to outsiders as a feature of Alopekean speech, which would explain how Plato and Xenophon managed, between them, to put it in the mouths of four Alopekeans (including Socrates) and only (at most) one member of any of Attica's 138 other demes; but it is also possible that it was perceived at the time merely as a peculiarity of particular individuals and families – after all, Callias was a prominent public figure whose speech habits will have been familiar to all Athenians, and Plato at least, even if he was too young to have known Lysimachus,[24] will certainly have been acquainted with his son Aristeides, who had associated with Socrates for some time but gave him up before he could derive full benefit from the relationship.[25] Socrates, at any rate, used this oath-formula so frequently that it became strongly associated with him in particular, and from him it passed to some of his pupils (or those who considered themselves such) who had no connection with his deme, such as Aeschines of Sphettus (as we have noted) and also Xenophon, who puts it into the mouth of at least one, and possibly two, characters in his *Cyropaedia*.[26] After that the meme disappears, to resurface only once, many centuries later, in a letter of Aristaenetus.[27]

Why Alopekeans in particular should have developed a tendency to swear by Hera we do not know. We do know, however, that this is not the only evidence that Hera enjoyed a special position in this deme. Hera was not, in general, a popular goddess in classical Athens,[28] and her name is not in that period a common formative element in the Athenian onomasticon. *LGPN* ii lists only four Athenians living before 300 B.C.E., and whose deme affiliation is known, bearing names that incorporate hers,[29] one each

[23] But probably not all Alopekeans used it. Socrates' close friend Crito, and therefore also his son Critobulus, were also Alopekeans (Pl. *Apol.* 33D–E); the former is a character in three dialogues of Plato (that named after him, plus *Phaedo* and *Euthydemus*), the latter appears several times in Xenophon (he is Socrates' primary interlocutor in the *Oeconomicus*), but neither is ever represented as swearing by Hera.

[24] Lysimachus is spoken of as if still alive in *Meno* (94A), whose dramatic date seems to be 403 or 402 (R.W. Sharples, *Plato: Meno* [Warminster, 1985], 17); but Plato is often careless about such matters.

[25] Pl. *Tht.* 150E–151A.

[26] Xen. *Cyr.* 8.4.12 and perhaps also 1.4.12, where only one of the three main groups of MSS (*y*) reads μὰ τὴν Ἥραν, the rest having μὰ τὸν Δία: *y* is not uncommonly right alone, and the reading of the other families looks like a banalisation, but on the other hand this would be the only passage in Plato or Xenophon in which Hera figures in a *negative* oath.

[27] Aristaenetus *Epist.* 1.19.1.

[28] 'All the functions belonging to a poliadic deity which Hera exercises in Samos or Argos are swallowed up in Attica by Athena. None of the other optional extensions of Hera's powers seems here to have been made, either…. She is reduced to her smallest possible extent' (Parker [n.8], 441).

[29] I leave out of account names which are derived, or compounded, from that of Heracles. I also omit the Herodorus of *IG* i^3 1018 (tentatively assigned by the inscription's first publisher, and by *LGPN*, to Rhamnus), since it is unsafe, in an inscription from the end of the sixth century, to draw any inference about a person's deme affiliation from the mere *absence* of a demotic.

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named Heracleitus, Herodorus, Herotheus and Heroscamandrus. And of these four, two come from Alopeke[30] and the other two come from small demes (Diomeia and Otryne) which probably or possibly lay close to it.[31] Even leaving aside the latter, and given that Alopeke, which supplied ten of the 500 Athenian councillors,[32] may be presumed to have had about 2 per cent of the Athenian citizen population, it can be calculated that the odds against there being, by pure chance, two Alopekeans in a random sample of four Athenians are more than 400 to one.[33]

We do not know what it was about the communities of this little patch of suburban Attica that made them take this special interest in Hera, but there must have been something. The most plausible speculation would be that Hera had a locally significant cult centre in the Alopeke deme, as she is known to have had, for example, at Erchia[34] and at Tricorythus.[35] What we do know is that the Alopekeans must have felt they had *some* kind of special relationship with Hera, and that this relationship had an impact on the language they spoke, furnishing us with an interesting example

[30] Heracleitus, *IG* ii^2 5582; Heroscamandrus, *IG* i^3 1512. The latter name reappears in the deme several generations later (*IG* ii^2 5553 [tombstone, mid third century] and 1706.50 [thesmothete, 225/4]; doubtless grandfather and grandson), and never in any other.

[31] Herodorus of Diomeia (*IG* vii 315.1 and *SEG* xv 289.5); Herotheus of Otryne (*IG* ii^2 7015). Diomeia is usually located in the neighbourhood of the Cynosarges sanctuary (so Traill [n.16], 39; Travlos [n.16], 160, 287–9, 340 – but his term 'Diomeian Gate' has no ancient authority), on the basis of Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. *Κυνόσαργες*. R.C.T. Parker, 'Two guesses about Attic cult', in H.D. Jocelyn (ed.), *Tria Lustra: Essays and Notes Presented to John Pinsent* (Liverpool, 1993), 25–8, at 25–6, pointed out that this was an unsafe inference, because the Stephanus passage can be read as *distinguishing* between the two places Cynosarges and Diomeia, and suggested a location for Diomeia *north* of the city ('a little west of the modern National Archaeological Museum'), citing the mention of a priest of the hero Diomus in a decree (*IG* ii^2 1247) of the *genos* (?) of the Mesogeioi whose centre, at least in the third century, is known to have been in that area and is known to have been a sanctuary of Heracles. All that this shows, however, is that Diomus was honoured by the Mesogeioi as well as at Cynosarges; one of the two sanctuaries must have been outside his eponymous deme – but we cannot tell which. As for Otryne, it was in the same tribe (Aegeis) as Diomeia; we have no direct evidence for its location, but W.E. Thompson, 'Kleisthenes and Aigeis', *Mnemosyne* 22 (1969), 137–52, at 149, gave grounds for placing it, like Diomeia, in the city trittys, and D.M. Schaps, 'Antiphanes fragment 206 and the location of the deme Otryne', *CP* 77 (1982), 327–8, showed that a passage (Antiphanes fr. 206 Kock = 204 K–A) which had often been thought to imply that Otryne was on the coast more probably implied the contrary. Both Diomeia and Otryne were very small demes, with only a single councillor each; if they were close to the large deme of Alopeke, they will probably have been very much under its influence.

[32] See Traill (n. 16), 22–3 and Table X.

[33] By the binomial theorem, if the probability of an individual having a certain characteristic (here membership of the deme Alopeke) is 0.02, the probability of there being two individuals with that characteristic in a sample of four taken from a large population is 6 $(0.98)^2$ $(0.02)^2$ = 0.002305. The probability of there being *more* than two such individuals in such a sample is orders of magnitude smaller.

[34] In the 'Greater Demarchia' of Erchia (*SEG* xxi 541) there is mention of a sacrifice to Hera on 20 Metageitnion (I.6–11) and of a major event on 27 Gamelion (the day of the only pan-Attic festival of Hera, the Hieros Gamos; see Parker [n. 8], 42, 76, 441) when sacrifices were made at Hera's sanctuary not only to Hera herself but to Zeus Teleios, Poseidon and the Kourotrophos (II.32–9, III.38–41, IV.28–32). The latter ranked sixth among Erchian festivals in the cost of its sacrifices, and the only deities more prominent than Hera in the Erchian calendar are Zeus, Athena and Apollo.

[35] R.B. Richardson, 'A sacrificial calendar from the Epakria', *AJA* 10 (1895), 209–26, at 219, n. 23.

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of a dialect feature associated very specifically not just with a single *polis*, but with a small subpart of one.[36]

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[36] This paper was presented as part of the panel on 'Uses of Oaths in Greek Literary Texts' at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association at San Diego in January 2007. I am most grateful to the Leverhulme Trust, sponsors of my research project on *The Oath in Archaic and Classical Greece*, of which the panel formed part; to the School of Humanities and the Humanities Research Centre of the University of Nottingham, which provided additional financing for the visit; and above all to my colleagues on the project and the panel, Andrew Bayliss, Isabelle Torrance, Kyriaki Konstantinidou and Lynn Kozak, but for whom none of this would have happened.

KOMANOC

The Greek name that one renders as 'Comanus' is not uncommon in Hellenistic times.[1] Its most famous bearers all lived in the second century B.C. – the grammarian of Naucratite origin, now mainly known as addressee of a treatise by Aristarchus; the influential adviser of the young Ptolemy VI Philometor (with whom the homonymous grammarian is sometimes identified);[2] and the Cilician slave whose brother Cleon was one of the instigators of the first Sicilian slave revolt.

How should one spell and accentuate their name? Today the orthodox form is *Κομανός*;[3] but in the past some also opted for *Κόμανος*,[4] *Κωμανός*,[5] and *Κώμανος*.[6]

[1] See P. M. Fraser, *CR* 67 (1953), 43; M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (Paris, 1949), 458; W. Peremans, E. Van 't Dack, L. De Meulemeester-Swinnen, H. Hauben, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica. VII: Index nominum* (Leuven, 1975), 189.

[2] H. M. Hubbell, 'A grammatical papyrus', *CPh* 28 (1933), 189–98, at 196; F. Solmsen, 'Comanus "of the First Friends" ', *CPh* 40 (1945), 115–6.

[3] E.g. P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Vol. I: The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica* (Oxford, 1987), 269; A. R. Dyck, *The Fragments of Comanus of Naucratis* (Berlin, 1988), 217–67; F. Montanari, 'Komanos', *Der neue Pauly: Band 6* (Stuttgart, 1999), 673.

[4] E.g. I. Bekker, 'Apollonii Dyscoli, grammatici Alexandrini, de pronomine liber', in F. A. Wolf and P. Buttmann, *Museum antiquitatis studiorum* 1/2 (1811), 253–476, at 263 [= A.D. *Pron.* 4.18]); T. Gaisford, *Etymologicon Magnum* (Oxford, 1848), 1788 [= *EM* 629.32]); W. L. Westermann, 'Komanos of the first friends (187(?)–161 B.C.)', *APF* 13 (1938), 1–12, at 2 [= *PCol* 8.208.7].

[5] E.g. K. Linke, *Die Fragmente des Grammatikers Dionysios Thrax* (Berlin, 1977), 1–77, at 20 [= D.T. *Frg.* 20]; P. Maas, *Apollonius Dyscolus. De pronominibus pars generalis* (Bonn, 1911), 4 [= A.D. *Pron.* 4.18]; J. Nicole, *Les scolies genevoises de l'Iliade* (Paris, 1891), 1.205 [= *Σ* Ge *Il.* 21.363].

[6] A. Pertusi, *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies* (Milano, 1955), 45 [= *Σ* Hes. *Op.* 97a].

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