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

University of Nottingham ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN
alan.sommerstein@nottingham.ac.uk
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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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I

As for the spelling, medieval manuscripts exhibit both *Κομανος*[7] and *Κωμανος*.[8] Direct witnesses, however, leave no doubt as to what the correct form is: *Κωμανος* is never found, whereas *Κομανος* appears in more than twenty papyri and seven inscriptions.[9]

Given its spelling, the proper noun *Κομανος* in all likelihood derives from the homographic ethnic noun, itself in turn derived from the place name (*τὰ*) *Κόμανα*.[10] Two cities in eastern Anatolia were so called: one was in the Cappadocian region Cataonia, on the river Sarus (Seyhan); the other, in the Pontus, on the river Iris (Yeşil Irmak). In Hellenistic times, both served as cult centres of the goddess Ma; the Pontic Comana, however, was said to have derived its cult from the Cappadocian Comana.[11] The latter seems to be Kummanni, an important Hittite sanctuary.[12] Yet the name 'Kummanni' itself predates the Hittites: it goes back to the Hurrians.[13]

II

As to the accentuation, according to Herodian one should write *Κόμανος* if the following two conditions are satisfied: the middle syllable is short; and the word has no feminine form:

(i) *Vindob. Hist. gr.* 10 fol. 25^{v}, ll. 3–6[14]

3 *τὰ εἰς νος λήγοντα ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχον[τα πρὸ τοῦ] τέλ[ου]ς [τὸ α συνεσταλμ]ένον, εἰ μὴ παρασχηματίζοιτο εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος, προπαροξύνεσθαι θέλει,*
4
5 *εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ α <τὸ δ ῆ ε ῆ ι>. ἡ δὲ παράθεσις τῶν λέξεων δηλοῦσα [*
6 *στέφανος, εἴτε τὸ προσηγορικὸν εἴτε τὸ κύριον, [*

3 *ἔχον[τα πρὸ τοῦ] τέλ[ου]ς [τὸ α συνεσταλμ]ένον* supplevi | **5** post *τοῦ α* addidi *τὸ δ ῆ ε ῆ ι*.

Nouns that end in *-νος*, are over two syllables, and have a short *α* before the termination will be proparoxytone unless they can be transformed into the feminine gender, or unless a *δ*, *ε*, or *ι*

[7] E.g. Paris. 2548 (saec. X) at A.D. *Synt.* 2.202.3; Paris. 2771 (saec. X) at *Σ* Hes. *Op.* 97a; Marc. 451 (saec. XII) at Phot. *Bibl.* 244.386a23 = D.S. 34.2.20.

[8] E.g. Marc. 822 (saec. X) at *Σ Il.* 1.97–9; Marc. 450 (saec. X) at Phot. *Bibl.* 244.386a23 = D.S. 34.2.20.

[9] Some of these date back to the second century B.C.: *PCol* 8.208.7; *PMich* 3.190.8; *PTebt* 1.79.17–58; *PTebt* 1.99.55; *PTebt* 3.893.11; and the chronological *πρόξενοι*-list from Delphi: *SIG*^{3} 585.143; *SGDI* 2581.143.

[10] So already F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1917), 539. The toponym is proparoxytone: see the rule at Herod. *Cath.* 382.23, which Lentz derived from Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* 2.11.

[11] Strabo 12.3.32; cf. W. Ruge, *RE* XI (1921), 1126.

[12] See, e.g., H. M. Kümmel, 'Kummanni', in D. O. Edzard, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie. Bd.6: Klagegesang – Libanon* (Berlin, 1983), 335.

[13] See A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna and the problem of Hittite geography* (New Haven, 1940), 5; cf. R. Lebrun, 'Kummanni et Tarse, deux centres ciliciens majeurs', in É. Jean, A. M. Dinçol, S. Durugönül (edd.), *La Cilicie: espaces et pouvoirs locaux* (Istanbul, 2001), 87–94, at 87. Hurrian is clearly related only to Urartian.

[14] H. Hunger, 'Palimpsest-Fragmente aus Herodians *Καθολικὴ Προσῳδία*, Buch 5–7', *JÖByz* 16 (1967), 1–33, at 28. Prof. Dr. K. Alpers is currently re-editing the fragments; all new readings, here and on pp. 333 and 334, are his.

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stands before the α. But the juxtaposition of words signifying… For example, στέφανος – whether the appellative or the proper noun – ,…

Choeroboscus, in an epimerism on the word οὐρανός, will repeat the first part of Herodian's rule almost verbatim:

(ii) Choerob. *In Psalm.* 79.11 Gaisford τὰ εἰς νος ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβὰς ἔχοντα πρὸ τέλους τὸ α συνεσταλμένον προπαροξύνεται, εἰ μὴ σχηματίζοιτο εἰς θηλυκὸν γένος· οἷον στέφανος, γέρανος.

Nouns that end in -νος, are over two syllables, and have a short α before the termination are proparoxytone unless they can be transformed into the feminine gender: for example, στέφανος, γέρανος.

Pseudo-Arcadius' version is more complete but less literal:

(iii) [Arcad.] 73.8 Schmidt ~ Herod. *Cath.* 178.13 Lentz τὰ εἰς ανος τοῦ α βραχέος ὄντος, εἰ μὴ θηλυκὰ ἔχοι, εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ α τὸ δ ἢ ε ἢ ι ὑπάρχοι, προπαροξύνεται· στέφανος, κλίβανος, λίβανος, χόανος.

Nouns that end in -ανος, the α being short, are proparoxytone unless they have a feminine, or unless there is a δ, an ε, or an ι before the α: for example, στέφανος, κλίβανος, λίβανος, χόανος.

If the noun in question fails rule (i) because it has a feminine form, then one should accentuate it as Κομανός:

(iv) [Arcad.] 73.19 = Herod. *Cath.* 179.21 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ανος τριγενῆ ὀξύνεται· στεγανός (ὁ πυκνός), πιθανός (ὁ πρᾶος), ἱκανός, ὀρφανός.

Three-gendered nouns in -ανος are oxytone: for example, στεγανός (compact),[15] πιθανός (docile),[16] ἱκανός, ὀρφανός.

Rule (iv) or its equivalent is no longer preserved in the Viennese palimpsest. Yet there is no reason to doubt its Herodianic provenance.

Proper and appellative nouns do not qualify for rule (iv), because they are not three-gendered. In the case of a proper noun such as Στέφανος, some may be tempted to think a feminine form exists, viz. Στεφάνη; however, the proper noun Στέφανος itself is not two- or three-gendered, for its gender can never be determined by the gender of another word: according to rule (i), then, the word is proparoxytone – which is what Herodian says. Similarly, the appellative γέρανος is proparoxytone although it may be used not only in the masculine but also in the feminine gender. Hence, according to (iv), the ethnic noun should be written Κομανός.

Whether or not the corresponding proper noun is oxytone depends on the length of its second syllable. Choeroboscus, in the already mentioned passage on οὐρανός, proposes a rule that purports to settle the question:

(v) Choerob. *In Psalm.* 79.6 τὰ διὰ τοῦ ανος, εἰ μέν εἰσιν ὑπὲρ δύο συλλαβάς, συστέλλει τὸ α· οἷον στέφανος, γέρανος, οὐρανόι – εἰ μὴ ποιητικῶς ἐκτείνονται. εἰ δέ εἰσιν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς συλλαβάς, ἐκτείνουσι τὸ α· οἷον Ἡρωδιανός, Ἰουστινιανός – πλὴν τοῦ Ὠκεανός.

[15] Cf., e.g., *Synagoge* c 196 Cunningham; Hsch. c 1681 Hansen.
[16] Cf., e.g., Hsch. ε 6701 Latte; Phot. *Lex.* ε 2175–7 Theodoridis.

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Nouns in -*ανος* have a short *α* if they are over two syllables: for example, *στέφανος, γέρανος, οὐρανός* – unless they are long by poetic licence. But if they are over three syllables, they have a long *α*: for example, *Ἡρωδιανός, Ἰουστινιανός* – excepting *Ὠκεανός*.

Again, rule (v) may well represent Herodianic thought: it immediately precedes rule (ii), which we know stems from Herodian; the three examples of its first half are all discussed by Herodian in the context of rule (i); and it also appears to agree with Herodian's teaching.[17] Accordingly, the proper noun *Κομανος* contains a short *α* and thus is proparoxytone.

The palimpsest confirms this prediction, for one of the numerous examples illustrating canon (i) is – *Κόμανος*. The word clearly appears in both the main text and the left-hand margin.[18] The main text (fol. 25^{v}, l. 23) reads

κομανος· κοπανος·…

The lemmata in the margin (ll. 39–40) read

KOMANOC

KOΠANOC

Hence Herodian considers the proper noun proparoxytone. This fact has not yet been recognised: editors and lexicographers alike appear to regard the word as an otherwise unattested appellative noun.[19]

To come back to where we began – when speaking of Comanus the courtier, of Comanus the grammarian, and of their namesakes one should from now on use the form *Κόμανος*.[20]

Geneva A. U. SCHMIDHAUSER
as817@cam.ac.uk
doi:10.1017/S000983880800030X

[17] Cf. Herodian. *Cath.* 179.24.

[18] The main text is written in minuscules, in a hand dating from about 900 (cf. O. Primavesi and K. Alpers, 'Empedokles im Wiener Herodian-Palimpsest', *ZPE* 156 [2006], 27–37, at 34). The marginal text is written in small uncials and in what appears to be another, later hand. In the case of *Κόμανος*, where Hunger mentioned only the lemma (p. 28), it was important to verify that the word appears *tel quel* also in the main text, for in some cases the marginal text is based upon a false reading: for example, in the text the word discussed immediately before *κομανος* is *λασανος*; this was misread by the person who added the lemmata, for the word standing immediately above *KOMANOC* is *ΛOΠANOC* (which Hunger misreported as *ΔAΠANOC*).

[19] E.g. P. G. W. Glare and A. A. Thompson, *Greek-English Lexicon: Revised Supplement* (Oxford, 1996), 181: '*κόμανος, ὁ*, unexpld. wd., Hdn.*fr.* p. 28 H.'

[20] I wish to thank the Austrian National Library and especially Prof. Dr. Ernst Gamillscheg for permission to publish the new readings of *Vindob. Hist. gr.* 10; I would also like to thank Dr. Philipp Brandenburg for helpful discussion; and I am most grateful to Prof. Dr. Klaus Alpers for generously providing me with a detailed description of fol. 25^{v} of the palimpsest.

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