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GREEK ACCENTS ON EGYPTIAN NAMES

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 119 (1997) 177-184

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“Keine Gewähr hat die von den Herausgebern schematisch durchgeführte Akzentuierung fremder Namen in Inschriften und Papyri” (E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik, Band I, 1939, p.395)

Ancient Greek authors of the classical, hellenistic and Roman periods wrote their works in scriptio continua, without accents and with very few punctuation signs. These were invented by scholars, first in hellenistic Alexandria, where Homer was the main beneficiary², and generalised only after the introduction of the minuscule in the 9th century A.D. Modern editions of Homer, Herodotus or Aristotle all have word division, full accentuation and punctuation. For the accentuation the rules are laid down by the ancient grammarians, and modern editors follow, with few exceptions, the tradition of the Byzantine copyists. These copyists accentuated not only Greek words, but also foreign words and names, e.g. Latin names in the authors of the Roman and later periods, Persian and Egyptian names in Herodotus or Plutarch, Semitic names in the Bible, Germanic or Arabic names in the Byzantine historians³. In this too they are generally followed by modern editors.

In Greek epigraphy⁴, however, a different tradition has grown in the course of the 19th century, and foreign names are usually not accentuated. Non-accentuation here serves as a marker to warn the reader that the word or name in question is not Greek. From time to time this epigraphical convention is given as an example to be followed also by papyrologists (editors of literary texts are not criticised for following the manuscript tradition).

As recently as 1986 O. Masson writes: “Je suis d’avis de supprimer les accents [sur les noms indigènes de l’Asie Mineure]. Il me paraît d’ailleurs logique que le même procédé soit adopté pour d’autres onomastiques indigènes: il est vain de vouloir accentuer des noms thraces, cariens ou galates, et les papyrologues devraient bien décider d’abandonner les esprits et les accents dont ils décorent généreusement tant de noms égyptiens en graphie grecque, à la mode de Fr. Preisigke (voir *Namenbuch*, p. 4*)”.⁵ A similar advice was given by G. Horsley at the Copenhagen congress⁶: “By the mere decision to accent practically every surviving word in an edited text, the editor fails to mark visually for the reader those names (and other words) which are not Greek”. Two reasons are given to drop the accents on foreign words and names: non-accentuation should mark the foreign character of the words in question and the accents given by papyrologists have no scientific value.

Neither of these will convince papyrologists to give up accents: against the first reason it can be argued that epigraphists do not drop the accents of Latin names in their publications and therefore use their criterium selectively and, more importantly, that there is no reason to use the accents for anything else than for showing where the stress fell on the word; in epigraphical usage accentuation is used for something novel, deviating from the tradition in classical scholarship since the Byzantines. Should we

¹ With thanks to all those who read and criticized earlier versions of this paper, especially T. Drew-Bear, D. Hagedorn, P. Huyse, J. Irigoien, J. Noret and P. van Minnen.

² For accents in the literary papyri, see E.G. Turner - P.J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, London 1987, p. 11.

³ Only exceptionally does a copyist leave a rare word, Greek or foreign, without accent. In the editions of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* this is always marked in the apparatus.

⁴ Except for epigraphy of Egypt, where the papyrological conventions are followed, even in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*!

⁵ O. Masson, ZPE 64 (1986), p.175 = *Onomastica Graeca Selecta* II, Nanterre s.d., p. 499.

⁶ G. Horsley, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists*, Copenhagen 1994, pp. 61-62.

then also put all Greek and other foreign words and names in Latin inscriptions in italics, in order to mark them as non-Latin⁷? Against the second argument, they will implicitly hold the papyrological tradition. And here their position is much less strong. When a papyrologist has to put an accent on an Egyptian name, he usually consults the *Namenbuch* of Preisigke and the *Onomasticon* of Foraboschi. Neither of them is, however, fully consistent and they often diverge from one another. The result is a bewildering variety and inconsistency between different editions and even within a single edition, which was keenly felt by the editors of the Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri (information provided by dr. Louise Smith).

In the following working note, I have first put the basic question: is it possible to find out how the Greeks accentuated foreign words and/or names? For this I have taken the Latin as a starting point. After we have given an affirmative answer to this question for the Latin words and names, I will apply the same principle to the Egyptian names and work out a set of ground rules which can be applied in future papyrological publications.

1. How did Greeks accentuate foreign words and names?

First and foremost, we should **not** a priori accept that Greek accentuation of foreign words followed the accentuation of the foreign language. In some languages this is indeed the case (e.g. Greek loanwords in Italian⁸), but other languages simply apply their own accentuation rules to foreign words. French is a clear instance: any person using French knows he has to change the accent in his name when speaking that language: Pestman becomes Pestman in French, Hagedorn becomes Hagedorn, Wagner is Wagner when he happens to be from Strasbourg (Straßburg). But Latin is no different in this respect: Auerbach becomes Auerbachius, Πλούταρχος and Θουκυδίδης are pronounced Plutarchus and Thucydides.

The way Greek handles Latin foreign words and names is well-known through numerous texts from the Byzantine period. We have not found any detailed study on the subject, however. Schwyzer's *Grammatik* (I, p. 395) states that "Im allgemeinen wird die fremde Akzentstelle, soweit sie bekannt und im Griechischen möglich ist, beibehalten". He refers for this to a statement by J. Wackernagel: "Die Griechen mit ihrem verhältnismäßig freien Akzent konnten sich der lateinischen Betonung fast völlig anbequemen und haben die übernommenen lateinischen Wörter in der Regel auf der gleichen Silbe betont wie die Römer selbst⁹". Both, however, have to explain a series of exceptions, e.g. Latin *centurio*, *Scipio* becomes Greek κεντουρίων, Σκιπίων (the place of the Latin accent goes against one of the basic rules of Greek accentuation); the endings -īcus, -ānus, -ēnus, with accent on the penultima in Latin, become -ικός, -ανός and -ηνός respectively. Thus *Traianus* and *Hadrianus* became Τραιανός and Ἀδριανός in Greek (in English the accent changes again into *Trajan* and *Hadrian*).

We dare to disagree here with Wackernagel and to affirm that the Greek accent depended first and foremost on the rules of Greek, not on those of Latin accentuation, as is the case with loan-words in most languages. If the Greek rules allowed the Latin accent to stay on the same place as in the original language, then the place of the accent did not as a rule change, why should it; but as soon as the Latin accent clashed with the rules of Greek accentuation, either general or specific, the rules of Greek accentuation took precedence: therefore *conductor* does not change its accent when it becomes Greek κονδοούκτωρ, but *excubitor* has to change into ἐξκουβίτωρ; *agraria* and *centuria* become ἀγραρία and κεντουρία; adjectives in -ανός and -ηνός have the accent on the last syllable in Latin loan-words as in Greek words; Latin *cassis* (helmet) becomes Greek κάσσις, with a change of accent, because words ending in -ίς, -ίδος are oxytone (H.W. Chandler, *A practical introduction to Greek accentuation*, Oxford 1881 [reprint 1983] § 644c; J. Vendryès, *Traité d'accentuation grecque*, Paris 1904 § 233).

⁷ In many Coptic text editions Greek loan-words are given in italics in the translation in order to mark them as foreign to the native idiom.

⁸ Thus Italians say *Taranto*, Gr. Τάραντον, even though in Latin the accent was on the penultimate syllable: *Tarentum*.

⁹ *Indogerm. Forsch.* 43 (1925), pp. 48-59 (= *Kleine Schriften II*, Göttingen 1969, p. 1188-1198).

Greek loan-words apparently do not take account of the Latin accentuation rule that the accent should fall on the penultima whenever it is long; thus we find κωδίκιλλος, λίβελλος, μάγιστρος, πραιφεκτος for *codicillus*, *libellus*, *magister*, *praefectus*¹⁰.

The rules of Greek accentuation for substantives depend on the declension types to which a word belonged. When foreign words receive a Greek ending, they automatically become part of a Greek declension type and **we can simply apply the rules of Greek accentuation** to them. The accents in our manuscripts are those of Byzantine copyists and scholars, not those of the original manuscripts of the classical authors themselves, since they did not yet use accents. Now it is clear that these Byzantines felt the accents to be dependent on the declension types; for Egyptian as for Latin and Hebrew¹¹ words and names this is proven by their editions of Herodotus, Plutarch, Diodorus and Christian authors.

2. Accents on Egyptian names and words with Greek endings

The notion that one should try to reconstruct the original Egyptian (Coptic) accent seems to have been introduced by Wilcken¹². His rules are more or less followed in Preisigke's *Namenbuch*, the basic reference work of papyrologists¹³. The above discussion leads us to break with this habit and to use a different approach.

For most Greek substantives the accent of the nominative singular is determined by the declension type, that of the other cases is derived from the accent in the nominative according to the general rules of Greek accentuation. Only for a few less frequent categories no Greek declension-type is available. Most of them are names with a diphthong in the nominative ending. They have been grouped under 6c and 6d below, and only for this groups no firm ancient authority exists.

The Egyptian prototype remains important, however, for two other purposes: we can confidently put a breathing before a word beginning with a vowel in Greek if we know the Egyptian origin. If the word starts with *h* in Egyptian then there should be a rough breathing (e.g. *Hr* -> ῥωρος; *Hry* -> ῥριευς); if it starts with an aleph or a *w* in Egyptian, then we should put a soft breathing (*Imn-iw* -> Ἰμενευς; *Wb3s.t-i.ir.di-s* -> Οὐβαστορταις). If the Egyptian equivalent is not known, no breathing should be written¹⁴. The second thing the Egyptian (and Coptic) origin can teach us is if a group like *αι*, *αυ*, *ωυ* etc. in Greek is to be treated as a diphthong or as two syllables, e.g. *iw* in *Imn-iw* corresponds to the diphthong *HY* in Coptic, or *Neχθερωυς* corresponds to *Nht-r.r=w*, Copt. ΕΡΟΥ (here the parallel form *Neχθερως* also shows there is only one syllable); whereas *Πα-ις* has two syllables as is clear from the Egyptian prototype *Pa-hy* and *Φμο-ις* corresponds to Coptic ΜΟΥΙ (two syllables). Therefore we will accentuate Πάις and Φμόις (it is not necessary to put a trema, since the accent makes clear that the word

¹⁰ We took our examples from Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto*, Papyrologica Castrorotaviana, 2nd edition, Barcelona 1991, but the accents in Daris are not to be trusted; they have here been checked against the dictionaries of Liddell-Scott-Jones, where the accents are based on manuscript tradition, and of Sophocles, a Greek native speaker.

¹¹ For the accent on Hebrew names with Greek endings in the New Testament, see F. Zorell, *Lexicon Graecum Novi Testamenti*, Paris 1961, p. xiv: "ex semitibus nominibus ea quae terminationes declinabiles graecas quodammodo evaserant graeca, accentum quoque ab hebraica forma independentem et nominibus graecis eiusdem terminationis similem nacta sunt".

¹² U. Wilcken, *Actenstücke aus der königlichen Bank zu Theben*, 1886, pp. 35-36 (= *Berliner Akademieschriften zur alten Geschichte und Papyruskunde* I, Leipzig 1970, pp. 71-72).

¹³ F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, p. 4, defends his position as follows: "Was die Akzentfrage betrifft, so sind vom wissenschaftlichen Standpunkte aus diejenigen Gelehrten zweifellos im Rechte, welche die Akzente für griechisch geschriebene ägyptische und semitische Namen überhaupt ablehnen Aus rein praktischem Grunde hat sich daher ... die Gepflogenheit herausgebildet Akzente zu setzen. ... die übrigen Gelehrten aber mögen sie als Andeutung dafür annehmen, welche Silbe von den ägyptischen Griechen vermutlich betont worden sein wird, und wie wir heute praktisch das Wort aussprechen wollen". D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum papyrologicum*, Milano - Varese, 1971, follows the accentuation of the different editors (see Introduction § F).

¹⁴ Among the rare exceptions are ῥατις and ῥιβις, where the Egyptian *h* of *Hp* and *hb* is not rendered in the Greek, as can be seen in the manuscripts of Herodotus and others, and also in the Latin transcriptions.

contains two syllables, though the Byzantine scribes habitually marked syllabic division between two vowels with a diaeresis).

1. Names ending in -ις, gen. -εως or -ιος

These names follow the declension of δύναμις, gen. δυνάμεως or δυνάμιος (the latter is in fact the Ionic dialectical form) for which the general rule is: proparoxytone accent wherever possible.

Our manuscripts of Herodotus and Plutarch generally follow this rule: Ἄμασις, Ἄνουβις, Ἄρουηρις¹⁵, Ἄσσυσις, Βούβαστις, Θούηρις, Νίτωκρις, Ὀσιρις, Πατάρβημις, Πετόσιρις, Σέσωστρις. Preisigke prefers to put the accent on the penultimate and to make it a circumflex when in his opinion the vowel is long. Therefore in papyrological editions Πετοσίρις and Ἄμᾶσις are the usual forms. In my opinion this accentuation, which supposedly renders the Egyptian accent, is in fact influenced by our Latin pronunciation of the names.

The rule is clearly stated by Choiroboskos, *Gramm. Graeci* IV.1, p. 196 τὰ εἰς -ις ὀνόματα Αἰγύπτια ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον διὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ -ως κλίνονται, with as examples Χοίς Χόεως, Ἄθλιβις Ἄθλιβεως, Σοίς Σόεως, Θμοίς Θμόεως, Ταμίαιθις Ταμίαιθεως (cf. also *Gramm. Graeci* IV.2, p. 405; see Chandler § 642).

2. Names ending in -εως, gen. -εως

When these names have a genitive in -εως, they clearly follow the declension of ἱππέως, genit. ἱππέως or Ἀχιλλεύς, and they should have the same accent i.e. an oxytone accent in the nominative, e.g. Ἐριεύς Ἐριέως and Θετεύς Θετέως.

Sometimes for the same names the genitive is in -ευτος. There is no Greek paradigm for words in -εως -ευτος. So there is no reason to change the accent of the nominative; it simply remains Ἐριεύς, Ἄμεννεύς. In the genitive the general rule of Greek accentuation (long penult before short ultima receives a circumflex) results into the forms Ἐριεῦτος and Ἄμεννεῦτος.

Examples in classical authors are hardly existant: Οὐχορεύς (Diodorus).

3. Names ending in -ης, genit. -ου

These names follow the declension of πολίτης, gen. πολίτου, e.g. Παράτης Παράτου, Ἀρποκράτης Ἀρποκράτου, Κολλούθης Κολλούθου.

Here, for once, the rules of Greek accentuation, the classical authors and Preisigke agree and there is no problem.

In a few cases the same name is alternatively attributed to the πολίτης declension and to the δοῦλος declension (as also happens for Greek words ending in -άρχης and -αρχος). I propose to apply the general rules of Greek accentuation, thus Κόλλουθος¹⁶, Κολλούθου and Πάρατος, gen. Παράτου. If a name is preserved in the genitive, there is a problem here which nominative we have to reconstruct. But this is not a problem of accentuation.

The great majority of Persian personal names belong to this declension and are treated in the way described above in the Byzantine manuscripts. Here again there are a few cases where there is hesitation between -ης and -ος, and here too the manuscripts show a change in accent according to the rules of Greek accentuation, e.g. Ἀρταβάζης vs. Ἀρτάβαζος, cf. Ph. Huyse, *Iranische Namen in den griechischen Dokumenten Ägyptens, Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, Band V.6a, Österr. Akad. Wiss., Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Wien 1990, p. 36.

¹⁵ Sic, see Plutarch, de Iside 355F. An approach from the Egyptian etymology would suggest Ἄρουηρις, because the -ου- stands for Egyptian *w*: *Hr-wr*. But Greek could very well treat this as a full vowel.

¹⁶ The accent of Κόλλουθος is guaranteed by the manuscripts of the *Historia Lausiaca*.

4. Names ending in -ης, gen. -εους or -ειους

These names follow the declension of Περικλῆς, genit. Περικλέους (not that of Δημοσθένης as one would expect; see E. Mayser, *Grammatik* I.2, p. 41). We accentuate them accordingly (and here we are in agreement with Preisigke). We keep the circumflex accent when an alternative genitive in -ητος is used, so a name which is found in a nominative case in a papyrus can always be accented in -ῆς. According to E. Mayser, *Grammatik* I.2, p. 34, the Ionic type Θαλῆς, Θαλῆτος is here taken as a model¹⁷.

e.g. Μεγχῆς, Μεγχέους and Μεγχείους; alternative Μεγχῆς, Μεγχῆτος.
 Φατρῆς, Φατρέους and Φατρείους; alternative Φατρῆς, Φατρῆτος.
 Μαρρῆς, Μαρρέους and Μαρρείους; alternative Μαρρῆς, Μαρρῆτος.

The rare examples in classical authors: Ἀπρίης, acc. Ἀπρίην, gen. Ἀπριέω and Μένδης, Μένδητος in Herodotus do not follow this pattern, but belong to another declension type, for which see *Gramm. Graeci* III.2, p. 680 and IV.1, p. 160. Their accentuation cannot therefore be taken into account. Since the pattern -ης, -εους is not found in classical authors for foreign names, we cannot hope to find comments of ancient grammarians on this problem.

Here we reluctantly depart from the general rules of Greek accentuation, where names ending in -ης are either paroxytone or oxytone (Vendryès § 234; Chandler § 634). The reason is the irregular accentuation of this group in Greek words and the parallel use of two paradigmata for the same Egyptian names.

5. Names ending in -ος, genit. -ου

These names follow the declension of δούλος, genit. δούλου.

As a general rule such personal names in Greek retract the accent as far as possible (typical instances of this rule are adjectives or substantives such as στρατηγός and σιμός, which, when they become personal names, change their accent into Στράτηγος and Σίμος). This is also what we propose to do for foreign names, e.g. Πετέσουχος, Ψαμμήτιχος, Κόλλουθος,

In the authors we find only very few examples, e.g. Ψαμμήτιχος, Ὠρος and, for the New Testament, Λάζαρος, Ἰάκωβος and Ἰώσηπος (different from the Latin *Jacobus*, *Josephus* and from the non-declined Old Testament forms Ἰακώβ, Ἰωσήφ).

But this general rule is not applied to some subgroups, the most important of which is that of words ending in -ιος. Proper names ending in -αίος for instance, are normally properispomena (Chandler § 252, Vendryès § 207 e.g. Πτολεμαίος) and this subrule should be applied to the Egyptian names ending in *i.ir.dy.s*. The name of Ἀμυρταίος, the XXIX dynasty king of the Delta, is usually accentuated as Ἀμυρτάιος in our lexica, but in fact the nominative is attested neither in Herodotus nor in Diodorus, so that the accent is a reconstruction by modern scholars. In Manetho we find Ἀμύρτεος and Ἀμυρτάιος. But we can compare the accentuation of Semitic names such as Ματθαίος and Βαρθολομαίος in the New Testament manuscripts, which follow the same subrule.

Another subgroup are names in -ίνος: when the iota is long, it has a circumflex (Chandler § 293.2; Vendryès § 211). This special case is also followed for foreign names as e.g. Μυκερίνος in Herod. II 129 and Diodorus I 64, but also in Roman Σαβεῖνος.

6. Names ending in vowel or diphthong + ς, genitive in -τος

I have grouped here first the names for which a Greek paradigm seems to exist, then those for which there are no parallels in Greek and therefore no clear-cut rules.

¹⁷ This same accentuation is also proposed by F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, II, Milan 1981, pp. 72-74.

6a. -ας, gen. -α and -ατος

The Greek examples are usually hypocoristics (see L. Robert, *Hellenica* XI-XII, p. 231 and *Noms Indigènes*, index p. 552); and (later) names of occupations¹⁸; here the accent is a circumflex on the alpha. It is not clear if this is also the right accent for the Egyptian names, but there is no precedent in classical authors for this declension, so I follow the tradition: Πανᾶς Πανᾶτος. There are only few Egyptian names in this group¹⁹. Diodorus calls the first pharaoh Menes Μηνᾶς, conform to this rule; the same accentuation is found for some Semitic names in the New Testament, e.g. Θωμᾶς, Βαραββᾶς.

6b. -ις, -ιτος

Names like Πάις Πάιτος, Φμίοις Φμίοιτος, Σίσιοις Σισίοιτος are different from names in -ις, -εως / -ιως, though they have the same accent in the nominative. They apparently follow the type χάρις and even have the accusative in -ιν, just as χάρις. To this group should also be reckoned Ἄμοις, Ἀμύρταις, Ἄνοσις, Ἄρμαις, Θάσις, Θετόρταις, Λόβαις, Πάρις, Πάσις, Πάχοις, Πόρτις, Φάβις; cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik* I.2, p. 32.

6c. -ους, -ουτος

Σποτοῦς Σποτοῦτος, Σαταβοῦς Σαταβοῦτος

There is no declension pattern of this type and no precedent in the authors, but the type is common for Greek feminine names and nouns in the Roman period, e.g. Ἐπαφροῦς, Εὐτυχοῦς, Ζωσιμοῦς, where it contrasts with masculine forms in -ᾶς (Ἐπαφρᾶς etc.), as was shown by W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, Göttingen 1966, pp. 308-310. Cf. also the accent of the Egyptian name Νεμανοῦς in Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 357C.

6d. -ως, -ωτος

The Greek provides only few examples, but acute on the penultimate is the rule: γέλως, ἔρως, μελίχρως, καλλίφως (cf. Chandler § 667).

This is confirmed by Herodian, *Gramm. Graeci* III 1, p.245: τὰ εἰς -ως Περσικὰ ἢ Αἰγύπτια παροξύνεται, Φάργως, Ἰνάρως, Παραμίζως, Σαβάκως. But a different rule is given by Johannes Charax, *Gramm. Graeci* V.1, p.393: τὰ εἰς -ως Αἰγυπτιακὰ καὶ Περσικὰ ὀξύνεται ὁμοίως τε τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς κλίνεται, ὁ Ἰναρώς τοῦ Ἰναρώ, ὁ Νεκῶς τοῦ Νεκῶ, ὁ Μανεθῶς τοῦ Μανεθῶ. Again different is Choeroboskos, *Gramm. Graeci* IV.1, p. 254: εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ Περσικὰ ὀνόματα καὶ Αἰγύπτια εἰς -ως λήγοντα, ἅτινα τὴν αὐτὴν κλίσιν ἐπιδέχονται τοῖς εἰς -ως Ἀττικοῖς· οὐ μέντοι προπαροξύνονται κατὰ τὴν εὐθείαν, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πτώσεσιν· ἔστι γὰρ Ἰναρῶς (ὄνομα βασιλέως) Σαραμιζῶς (ὄνομα εὐνούχου) Σαβακῶς Μανεθῶς. The ancient grammarians clearly disagreed, but since in the papyri these names do not follow the Attic declension, but the type of γέλως Herodian's rule should be applied to them.

The manuscripts of Herodotus, Diodorus, Thucydides and Plutarch are not very helpful: manuscripts are contradictory²⁰, editors strive at uniformity without taking much account of the manuscripts²¹ and the declension type is usually λαγῶς λαγῶ, not γέλως γέλωτος.

For several names of this group -ως -ωτος is a variant of -ους -ουτος and -αυς -αυτος. Here there is a w in Egyptian, which is sometimes rendered in Greek and sometimes dropped, because Greek did not

¹⁸ See e.g. O. Masson, ZPE 11 (1973), pp. 1-19 = *Onomastica Graeca Selecta*, Paris s.l., p. 163-181.

¹⁹ For names of this types, see the survey in F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, II, pp. 16-17.

²⁰ J. Noret rightly points out that "les copistes ont dû improviser lors de la translittération, puisqu'il n'y avait pas de tradition. Il en va différemment des noms chrétiens ou passés du paganisme au christianisme".

²¹ Thus Babbitt's note in Plutarch, *Moralia* V (Loeb edition), p. 42 suggests that the manuscripts generally have Μανέρως, but in the most recent edition of *De Iside et Osiride*, J.G. Griffith has changed this all over into Μανερῶς.

have the group ωυ: Ἰνάρωϛ, Ἰνάρωϛϛ, Πετωϛ, Πετωϛϛ, Πεταυϛ. I suggest to follow the general rule of Greek words in -ωϛ, which is confirmed by Herodian: Ἰνάρωϛ, Ἰνάρωϛϛ, Ἰνάρωτοϛ, Ἰνάρωτοϛτοϛ. The group ωυ is then considered a diphthong.

7. Toponyms in neuter plural

should be proparoxytona according to the general rule that neuter words have the accent as far to the front as possible. This also applies to Biblical toponyms as Ἱεροσόλυμα or Σόδομα.

E.g. Ὁξύρυγχα, Κερκέσουχα, Μάγδωλα, Τέντυρα (attested in the *Vita Graeca* of Pachomius, ed. F. Halkin, *Subsidia hagiographica* 19, 1932, index p. 465).

8. Individual cases

Here we would add a list of special cases which do not fit a pattern or of which there are not enough examples to try to establish a pattern.

Πετεχῶν Πετεχῶντοϛ as Ξενοφῶν Ξενοφῶντοϛ (cf. also Σολομῶν Σολομῶντοϛ in the Old and New Testament).

Μέμφιϛ Μέμφιδοϛ, as Ἄρτεμιϛ Ἀρτέμιδοϛ; cf. *Gramm. Graeci* III.2, p. 699 and I V.1, p. 196.

3. Accents on Egyptian words without Greek endings.

If the principle that the Greek accent is determined by the Greek declension is accepted, then three possibilities are theoretically available:

1. non-declined names are left without accent (as is done by epigraphists)
2. the accentuation is based on manuscript tradition (as in the LXX)
3. the accentuation follows that of the original language.

For “Trümmersprachen”, such as Thracian, Lycian, Carian, Celtic etc. the solution of not putting any accents at all, appears in fact to be the best choice²². For languages where there is an abundant manuscript tradition, one hopes that possibilities 2 and 3 would confirm each other: if the accentuation of the original language is known and if the Greek manuscripts put the accents on the same syllable as in the original language, then it should be possible to put forward well-founded general rules for accentuation.

The test-case for this is clearly the LXX: the accentuation of ancient Hebrew can to a large extent be reconstructed, and the medieval manuscripts (ancient manuscripts as a rule have no accentuation) generally put accents also on the numerous undeclined Hebrew proper names. Notwithstanding this scholars have been very hesitant in their accentuation. The older edition by Swete, disregarding the untrustworthy tradition of the manuscripts, fell back upon the masoretic accentuation²³. A. Rahlfs omits all accents on non-declined Hebrew names and words because the manuscript tradition is contradictory and untrustworthy²⁴. In the 1974 Genesis edition of Göttingen, however, accents are reintroduced by J.W. Wevers²⁵. In the New Testament most undeclined Jewish names seem to be uniformly oxytone: Ἱεροσαλήμ, Μαριάμ, Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαάκ, Ἰακώβ, Ἰσραήλ, but many of those ending in ρ, λ, ζ, ξ, ν and μ preceded by a short vowel are paroxytone in the best manuscripts²⁶.

²² The distinction between Trümmersprachen and languages for which many Greek transcriptions are available was suggested to us by P. Huysse.

²³ H.B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, Cambridge 1909, p. xiii.

²⁴ See his editorial note in A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis auctoritate. Genesis*, Göttingen 1946, pp. 39-40

²⁵ See introduction, p. 62. But there is no explicit motivation why accents are reintroduced nor are there any guidelines given as to where they are put.

²⁶ Cf. F. Zorell, *Lexicon graecum Novi Testamenti*, Paris 1961, pp. xiv-xv. Zorell himself everywhere restores the masoretic accent, “quoniam sola ignorantia accentus genuini horum nominum nititur, quoniam formam eorum veram et non-numquam significationem obliterat, quoniam in variis codicibus et editionibus tam varia est in nominibus eiusdem formae vel terminationis tam diversa.”

In the case of Egyptian we have only a few words for which ancient manuscripts attest the accentuation, e.g. the month-names, which in Plutarch have an acute on the last syllable (Φαωφί, Παυνί etc.). Papyrologists accentuate them differently (Φαῶφι, Παῶνι etc.), reconstructing in fact the Egyptian accent, which to me seems a risky business. I prefer the *non liquet* here and omit accentuation altogether to show our uncertainty. Exception could be made for the few words where the manuscript tradition acts as a guide (Φαωφί, Παυνί etc., φαραώ in the biblical manuscripts).

Leuven

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