

Similarly in our scene 111–17 (the conclusion of the dialogue between Chorus-leader and Herald) can properly be said to balance 90–8 (the conclusion of the dialogue between Chorus-leader and Iolaus) without being in strophic responsion (see also (v) below). Both 90–8 and 111–17 comprise four utterances and (in my lineation) seven verses, and the mathematics of this are unlikely to be fortuitous.

(iii) 78–98 is abnormally long for a strophe in a partly spoken amoibaion. In such contexts Euripides favoured symmetry between much shorter divided sequences (cf. *Alc.* 244–65, *Hipp.* 571–90, *Andr.* 825–40), when the amoibaion is not wholly atrophic (as in *Hec.* 683–720, *Tro.* 239–77, etc.).

(iv) There are two particular features in 90–8 which tend to confirm that the pattern of these lines was not devised with a view to antistrophic repetition after line 110, but simply as an extension of what has gone before. They repeat almost exactly the metrical pattern of the preceding seven verses (in my lineation); and 95–6 exactly repeats the pattern of 75–6 (before the strophe, see above). These metrically retrospective features cannot properly create an expectation of further metrical repetition after 110.

(v) The pattern of our scene is quite intricate, in that $81-9 = 90-8 = 102-10$; but not wholly unlike *Hipp.* $571-6 = 577-83 = 584-90$ (all *XO.*: $5\delta | \Phi A.$: two trimeters), which is followed by a slightly longer exchange completing a balanced sequence.

On one more point of detail, one might well consider correcting *τυράννῳ* in 111 to *τυράννοις*. The plural ('royal authorities') is appropriate here even if Athens has only one *τύραννος* (cf. *βασιλεὺς* 194 in reference to the Argive monarchy); and if Acamas is in fact Demophon's colleague in the kingship, that is another reason for disfavouring the sing. *τυράννῳ* in this sentence.¹⁸

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interpretation, at least as to 95–7, 108–11 (in 105 I should be inclined to write *καὶ μὰν* (for *μὴν*) *τὸδε κύριον ἡμᾶρ*, as this is a *lyric* paroemiac like 93 *οὐ τὰν φθιμένας γ' ἐσιώπων* and 91/103). (i) Sound metre and sense can be restored quite easily in 94 and 106–7 by writing *οὐ γὰρ δὴ<που>* (cf. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, p. 268) | *φροῦδος γ' [ἐξ] οἴκων* (or *γε δόμων*, glossed as a slightly abnormal prepositionless genitive) *νέκυσ ἦδη* and *-τί τὸδ' αὐδάς<εις>*; (Hermann) | *ὦι χρη̑ cφε μολεῖν κατὰ γαίᾱς*. But symmetry inescapably remains imperfect in the speaker-changes (whether or not we delete the paragraphos at 94) and, less importantly, in the different pattern of the monometer. (ii) The non-lyric anapests in 108–11 are a metron longer than those in 95–7. If that were the only inequality, we should doubtless be happy to follow Kirchoff and others (there are numerous possible supplements). But only rewriting could produce exact responsion between 96–7 and 109–11; and here too there may well be asymmetry of speakers. 109–11 (*χρη̑...πενθεῖν κτλ.*) is better taken, I think, as a straightforward continuation (*sc.* *γάρ*) asyndetically elaborating the statement in 108 (*ἐθίγες ψυχὰς, ἐθίγες δὲ φρένας*).

¹⁸ Twice elsewhere (366, 1055) *βασιλεῦσιν* refers to the Athenian royal house (whether monarchy or diarchy). I have commended Hermann's similar (but more necessary) correction of *τύραννον* to *τυράννοις* at *Med.* 42 in *CQ* 39 (1989), 321.

A NOTE ON WASPS 349

Philocleon, confined to his house by his son Bdelycleon, appeals to the chorus of heliasts, expressing his eagerness to join them as they journey to their courts:

ΦΙ. τίς ἂν οὖν εἴη; ζητεῖθ' ὑμεῖς, ὥς πᾶν ἂν ἔγωγε ποιήην.
οὕτω κιττώ διὰ τῶν σανίδων μετὰ χοιρίνης περιελθεῖν.
(Aristophanes, *Wasps* 348–9)

Critics have generally associated the *sanides* here mentioned with wooden boards on

which public announcements were inscribed. D. M. MacDowell comments that *sanides* are “‘notice-boards”, pieces of wood inscribed with notices of pending trials’.¹ A. Sommerstein suggests that in voting ‘a juror went in a circle from his seat to the voting-urns and back to his seat. On his way, he evidently passed the place where boards (*sanides*) were hung bearing notices of forthcoming trials.’² Van Leeuwen referred to them as whitened boards, on which ‘*indicatae erant causae quae deinceps essent iudicandae*’.³

To be sure, *sanides* were used in this capacity at Athens, as several sources attest.⁴ Nevertheless, the *sanides* to which Philocleon refers at *Wasps* 349 are not necessarily public notice boards as is widely held. The term *sanis* can refer to a variety of objects which resemble or are made from wooden boards. Homer regularly describes gates and doors as *sanides*, no doubt because they were constructed from wooden planks (*Il.* 9.583; 12.121, 453, 461; 18.275; etc.). He also calls a *sanis* the wooden beam or platform from which Penelope takes the case containing Odysseus’ bow (*Od.* 21.51), and a board to which the goatherd Melanthios is bound and hung from the rafters (*Od.* 22.174). Herodotus says that the Persian governor Artayktes was crucified by being nailed to a *sanis* (7.33; 9.120), and Euripides refers to the gangway of a boat as a *sanis* (*Helen* 1556). Aristophanes himself labels the wooden plank to which Mnesilochus is bound in the *Thesmophoriazusai* a *sanis* (931, 940, 1124, 1165).

Indeed, the interpretation of *sanides* as notice boards at *Wasps* 349 is troubling on several counts. Foremost, the use of *διά* with the genitive *σανίδων* and the verb of motion *περιελθεῖν* arouses suspicion.⁵ *διά* with the genitive usually denotes movement through an object or area, often with the idea of movement from one side to another or from within to without (or the opposite). An army may go through a territory or plain (Hdt. 7.8.3 *διά πάσης διεξελθὼν τῆς Εὐρώπης*). A spear can pass directly through a shield (Homer, *Il.* 3.357 *διά μὲν ἀσπίδος ἦλθε*). Philocleon even attempts to escape through a water drain (Ar. *Wasps* 126–7 *ὁ δ’ ἐξεδίδρασκε διά τῶν ὑδρορροῶν καὶ τῶν ὀπῶν*). *διά* plus the genitive may also indicate an area amidst which an object is set or rests (Homer, *Od.* 9.298 *κεῖτο ταυνοσάμενος διά μήλων*).⁶ It does not usually denote movement along or beside an object.⁷ We should not imagine Philocleon passing by the *sanides* (as does Sommerstein) but actually passing

¹ D. M. MacDowell, *Aristophanes’ Wasps* (Oxford, 1971), p. 181.

² A. H. Sommerstein, *Wasps* (Warminster, 1983), p. 178, following B. B. Rogers, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London, 1915), p. 55.

³ J. van Leeuwen, *Aristophanis Vespae* (Leiden, 1909), p. 63.

⁴ *Wasps* 848 probably refers to *sanides* in this context. Aeschines (3.200, 201) refers to *sanides* containing the text of the *graphe paranomon* against Ctesiphon. Isocrates (15.237–8) may refer to the publication of pending suits on *sanides*, although Harrison, *The Law of Athens*, ii, p. 91 n. 1, suggests that this passage refers to the public display of the names of those convicted of various charges. In addition, *sanides* were used to display the names of those who served in the cavalry under the Thirty (Lysias 16.6; 26.10), laws subject to review (And. 1.83; Aesch. 3.38), and the names of state debtors ([Dem.] 25.70). For a discussion of publications on *sanides* see A. Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909), pp. 240–2.

⁵ W. J. M. Starkie, *The Wasps of Aristophanes* (London, 1897), p. 186, notes that the verb ‘is most unsuitable of walking *διά τῶν σανίδων* in a court’. The use of *περιελθεῖν* with *διά* is unusual, and I can find no parallel. I take the force of *διά* in the prepositional phrase *διά τῶν σανίδων* to be stronger than the *περί* of *περιελθεῖν*.

⁶ For the uses of *διά* with the genitive see Kühner-Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II*³ (Hanover, 1898), pp. 480–3.

⁷ LSJ⁹ x.v. *διά* (4) cites Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.22 and Hdt. 4.39 as passages in which *διά* means ‘along’. In the first of these, the wall of the Arcadians actually runs over the middle of the hill; in the latter, Herodotus envisions the area of Syria and Egypt as a peninsula which runs into the Mediterranean. Both conform to the normal meaning of *διά*.

through them. The boards might, for instance, have formed a corridor through which jurors proceeded on the way to their seats, as Starkie suggests,⁸ or were simply posted at different spots near the courts so that one could simply pass ‘among’ them.

But were public notices posted in such a manner at Athens? In the fourth century notices of pending lawsuits were displayed centrally, at the statues of the Eponymous Heroes,⁹ not in a corridor leading into the court or scattered about in some general area. At the same monument were hung public announcements of various sorts: lists of citizens called up to serve on military campaigns, state benefactors, proposals for new or revised laws.¹⁰ In the earliest certain reference to the statues in Aristophanes’ *Peace* of 421 B.C. an unsuspecting citizen sees his name posted for military service beside the statue of Pandion;¹¹ there is little reason to doubt that lawsuits were also posted here by this time.¹² With this in mind, it is difficult to imagine how Philocleon could pass ‘through’ or ‘among’ the notice boards if these boards were posted centrally at the monument of the Eponymoi.¹³

These problems are avoided if we assume that *sanides* at *Wasps* 349 do not refer to wooden notice boards as is generally supposed. Rather, let us suppose that *sanides* refer to some other wooden boards or planks associated with the law courts. A scholiast on line 349 offers two explanations for *sanides*.¹⁴ The second of these conforms to the modern interpretation of *sanides* as notice boards. The first, however, identifies *sanides* with *dryphaktoi*.¹⁵ *Dryphaktoi* were railings which controlled access or excluded the general public from certain official areas, including the law courts, and Philocleon considers them a ‘sacred’ component of the courts.¹⁶ If *dryphaktoi* were constructed of wooden boards or planks (the name implies wood) then these

⁸ Starkie, op. cit. (n. 5), p. 187.

⁹ Dem. 21.103.

¹⁰ Military campaigns: Ar. *Peace* 1179–83; state benefactors: Isoc. 18.69; proposals for new or revised laws: And. 1.84; Aesch. 2.38; Dem. 20.94, 24.18, 23.

¹¹ Ar. *Peace* 1179–83. The phrase ἐν τῷ δείγματι δικῶν at *Knights* 979 may refer to the publication of pending suits at the statues of the Eponymoi, but this is far from certain.

¹² The monument of the ten tribal heroes seen by Pausanias (1.5.1) and uncovered by the American excavators of the agora was not constructed until the mid-fourth century. The location of its predecessor is not precisely known, although there is a likely candidate. This is a monument base located some fifty metres south of the later monument whose period of use falls between c. 430 and c. 370, roughly the time when literary references to the statues of the Eponymoi begin. See T. L. Shear, ‘The Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora’, *Hesperia* 39 (1970), 141–222; esp. pp. 203–22 for the original monument.

¹³ The journal’s referee suggests that Philocleon desires to go around ‘among the notice boards’; this phrase, however, is better expressed with the phrase ἐν ταῖσι σανίδσι. Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 558–9: νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταῖσι χύτραις καὶ τοῖς λαχάνοις ὁμοίως | περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ξὺν ὅλοις ὥσπερ Κορύβαντες.

¹⁴ Schol. *Wasps* 349 in Venetus: διὰ τῶν σανίδων· τῶν δρυφάκτων· τῶν ταβλωτῶν τοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἵνα λέγῃ ἐπιθυμῶ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἔλθειν· ἡ σανίδων φησὶ τῶν περιεχουσῶν τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν εἰσαχθησομένων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ποῖον δεήσει πρῶτον εἰσαχθῆναι καὶ κατὰ τάξιν.

¹⁵ MacDowell, Sommerstein, and Van Leeuwen do not refer to this note. Rogers, loc. cit., p. 55, states that ‘it would be unusual for Aristophanes to use the technical word in anything but its technical meaning’. But Aristophanes was not a technical writer nor did *sanis* necessarily have but one technical meaning.

¹⁶ *Dryphaktoi* are attested in the Bouleuterion (Ar. *Knights* 674–5; Xen. *Hell.* 2.3.50, 55; [Dem.] 25.23; see Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule*, pp. 33–4 and Roux, *BCH* 100 [1976], 475–83) and for the law courts at *Wasps* 386, 552, and 830–1, where they are described as πρῶτον ἡμῖν τῶν ἱερῶν. See also Pollux, 9.17. They are mentioned in an unknown context for the temple of Athena Nike at *IG* I³ 64.14.

were made of *sanides*.¹⁷ Aristophanes may simply be using the parts from which these railings were constructed to designate the whole structure.

That *dryphaktoi* and *sanides* could be used synonymously is demonstrated by ancient descriptions of the procedure for ostracism. On the day of an ostracism, the agora was fenced off and ten entrances were left through which members of the respective tribes would pass. A fragment of Philochoros (*FGrHist* 328 F30) describes the fencing as such: ἐφράσσετο σανίσιν ἢ ἀγορά.¹⁸ According to Plutarch (*Aristides* 7.4), on the day of an ostracism citizens brought their inscribed sherds to a place in the agora which was fenced around with *dryphaktoi*: περιφραγμένον ἐν κύκλῳ δρυφάκτοις. The two words are synonymous in this particular context, possibly because, as I have suggested above, *dryphaktoi* are made from *sanides*; wooden planks which have been pieced together to form a railing or fence, perhaps in the manner of a modern picket fence or a corral.

Wasps 349 given this interpretation can be translated: 'Thus through the planks [i.e. the planks making up the railings] I yearn to go around, shell in hand,' and we witness not the act of voting but instead Philocleon's desire to enter the court or a special area set aside for heliasts, which was fenced off with wooden railings. The mention of *sanides* could have made the audience think of the wooden boards on which *graphai* were publicly displayed. In this passage, nonetheless, the primary reference was to the wooden planks of the railings which surrounded the court itself or the heliasts' seats. Aristophanes could expect his audience to recognize both meanings, and this 'double-meaning' simply adds to the humour and pointedness of Philocleon's remark.

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¹⁷ A scholiast to *Wasps* 386 says as much: δρύφακτα ἐλέγετο τὰ ταυλώματα τοῦ δικαστηρίου καὶ τὰ περιφράγματα διὰ τὸ ἐκ ξύλων καὶ σανίδων τῶν ἐκ δρυὸς εἶναι κατεσκευασμένα. λέγει δὲ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ δικαστήριον. *Inscr. Del.* 366.47 records the purchase of oaken beams for the *dryphakton* of a stoa of Poseidon.

¹⁸ Jacoby, *FGrHist* IIIb (Suppl.) 315, suggests that Didymus is the ultimate source of the fragment, which occurs in three lexica to the orators. It is of course impossible to prove that these are the actual words of Philochoros, but the opening sentences in which the procedure of ostracism is described do have a technical ring, suggesting that they go back if not to the original law, perhaps to Philochoros himself.

SOPHOCLES, *OC* 1729–30

Antigone and Ismene know that the situation of their father's grave must remain a secret to all except Theseus; but Antigone cannot help suggesting to her sister that they make their way back in the hope of setting eyes upon the burial place of Oedipus. How, Ismene asks her, can this be right in the sight of heaven? *θέμις δὲ πῶς τάδ' ἐστί; μῶν | οὐχ ὁραῖς;*

But Dr Laetitia Parker¹ has observed that 'the position of *μῶν* is arresting'. 'While not strictly prepositive', she adds, '*μῶν* is found in Sophocles' trimeters either at the beginning of the line (*Phil.* 734), after penthemimeral caesura (*Phil.* 1229), or, more frequently, after hephthemimeral caesura (*Aj.* 791, 1158; *Phil.* 1265, 1296), that is to say, after a break in the rhythm, not before one.'

¹ In *Owls to Athens: Essays on Classical Subjects Presented to Sir Kenneth Dover* (Oxford, 1990), p. 340.