Athenian empire, at the opposite end from the Western one, that is, the Carthaginian dominion (*Wasps* 700).[6]

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[6] Prof. C. Collard suggested to me that 'ὑποδεδιώς and ἐπικεχοδώς are, surely deliberately, syllabic and rhythmic equivalents, and show assonance . . . one might argue that here it draws attention to the implication of the names as well as to the excremental joke'. I agree.

On the boundaries of Athenian empire in Aristophanes cf. A. Coppola, *Archaiologhìa e propaganda* (Roma, 1995), 73. Another suggested allusion to Carthage in Aristophanes is in V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford, 1951), 121, n. 1.

AESCHYLUS VS. EURIPIDES: A TEXTUAL PROBLEM AT *FROGS* 818–19

ἔσται δ' ἱππολόφων τε λόγων κορυθαίολα νείκη
σχινδαλάμων τε παραξόνια σμιλεύματά τ' ἔργων
φωτὸς ἀμυνομένου φρενοτέκτονος ἀνδρὸς
ῥήμαθ' ἱπποβάμονα.

(Aristophanes, *Ranae* 818–21)

The literary contest of the two tragedians in *Frogs* is introduced by four stanzas redolent of Homeric combat, with their predominantly dactylic metre and a number of high-flown epic words. I am surprised that several editors prefer the reading ὑψιλόφων at 818, as ἱππόλοφος surely has a resonance of ἱπποκορυστής of *Iliad* 2.1, etc. The readings and sense, however, of both halves of 819 have long been controversial. As Dover suggested in his 1993 edition (accepted more recently by Sommerstein) the MSS 'linch-pins of splinters' is less satisfactory than his proposed transposition to 'splintering of linch-pins' (σχινδάλαμοί τε παραξονίων), which suggests a recollection of the dangers of chariot accidents or collisions, as in the funeral games of *Il.* 23.[1] But the following expression 'shavings of deeds' is even more puzzling, and highly improbable, and Heiberg's emendation to σμιλευματοεργοῦ, agreeing with φωτός (Euripides), is preferred by Stanford among others, though doubted by Dover.

I should like to refer to a twice-occurring line of *Il.* 13.131, 16.215,

ἀσπὶς ἄρ' ἀσπίδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ.

Here we find shield matched with shield, helmet with helmet, and man with man; and looking, with these juxtapositions in mind, at the *Frogs* passage, we find the helmets opposed (κορυθαίολα νείκη) and also the men (φωτός–ἀνδρός), but not the shields, although surely what one defends oneself with (ἀμυνομένου, 320) in battle is above all one's shield. Hence I would draw attention to a word appropriate to

[1] Cf. also the description in Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.32 of chariot wheels 'leaping out' from their sockets in a battle melée.

such a situation, and one almost anagrammatic of ἔργων—and therefore readily corruptible—namely γέρρων,[2] for the expression 'shavings of shields' would well describe Euripides' desperate attempts to ward off the 'horse-stepping words' of Aeschylus (who of course was himself once a *Marathonomachos*) in full cry, but armed with a flimsy, Persian-style, and most unhomeric shield, by no means ἑπταβόειον or ἠΰτε πύργον! Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.33 and D. Sic. 11.7 are among those who stress the disadvantage of wicker shields in the face of overwhelmingly superior weaponry.

The γέρρον, a wicker shield, is almost always attributed to non-Greek fighters in the historians and lexicographers, chiefly to Persians, e.g. Herodotus (7.61, 9.61, etc.), Xenophon (frequently), Plato (*Laches* 191c), and Eustathius 1924.3 (quoting Aelius Dionysius) ἀσπίδες Περσικαὶ ἐκ λύγων καὶ οἰσύϊνοι, but also Chaldaeans (Xen. *Cyr.* 3.2.7), Mossynoeci (ibid. *An.* 5.4.12), Thracians (Plut. *Aem.* 32), Roxolani (Strab. 7.3.17), Gauls (Paus. 10.19.3), Scythians (*An. Bachm.* 2.339.20). In the Sphacterian campaign (Thuc. 4.9) Demosthenes equipped some troops with light wicker shields obtained from Messenians, and in the civil strife in Athens in 403, the Piraeus party equipped themselves with ready-made ὅπλα οἰσύϊνα (Xen. *H. G.* 2.4.25). The Thracian πέλτη, frequently associated with Amazons, is also equated with the γέρρον in Phrynichus ap. Bekker *An.* 1.33.25 (cf. Xen. *An.* 5.4.12 with Poll. 1.134), while Lucian (*D. Mort.* 14.2) couples πελτάρια καὶ γέρρα οἰσύϊνα. Euripides himself is fond of the word ἰτέα of a wicker shield (*Cyc.* 7, *Su.* 695, *Hel.* 376, *Tro.* 1193), found also in Ar. fr. 65 and Theoc. 16.79, and doubtless etymologically connected with ἴτυς, the shield-rim or shield.

γέρρον occurs in three of the comic poets: Pherecrates fr. 17, Eupolis fr. 405 and, indeed, Aristophanes himself, fr. 763, though in a more generalized sense of a protective barrier of some sort—ἐπὶ φυλακῆς τινος καὶ μοχλοῦ τροπικῶς παρέλαβε τὴν λέξιν, schol. Luc. 170 R. Schol. Pl. *Lach.* 191c says τὰ σκεπάσματα πάντα οἱ Ἀττικοὶ γέρρα ἔλεγον (so also Sud. s.v.). This extended general sense probably derives from the fact that, apart from the deployment of these shields in normal combat circumstances, a close-packed fence of them, perhaps actually embedded in the ground, was sometimes formed, as notably in the battle of Plataea (see Hdt. 9.61–2, 99, 102, Plut. Arist. 18); and this conjures up a picture in our *Frogs* passage of Euripides crouching behind such a fence of γέρρα awaiting the onset of Aeschylus demolishing everything before him like a tornado (824–5).

My first reaction, then, was to emend to σμιλεύματα γέρρων, but on reflection, as the asyndeton in a list of three following upon τε . . . τε might be thought unlikely,[3] the minimal change to σμίλευμά τε γέρρων is perhaps better.

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[2] A number of MSS of Herodotus actually spell the word with a single rho.

[3] Mixture of connection and asyndeton with τε or δέ is common enough in lists (e.g. A. *Pers.* 882ff., 958ff., 967ff., Eub. fr. 63, Alex. fr. 268), and Denniston, *Greek Particles* 164, refers amongst others to Simon. fr. 13.18. In Aristophanes himself there is variation at *Av.* 586, where, however, Nan Dunbar emends; and at *Pax* 758 = *Vesp.* 1035, the δ' after Λαμίας is omitted in a set of three, in the former in both R and V, and in the latter again in R, but Bentley's supplying of δ' in the former is easily done.