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Κόσμος ἐπέων.

Studi offerti a Franco Ferrari

A cura di Luigi Battezzato e Giovan Battista D'Alessio

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Andrea Capra

*Rise and fall of a Parian shooting star:
new perspectives on Evenus**

WITH his ten or so items listed in West's *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, Evenus of Paros is, to say the least, a shadowy figure. To make things worse, his most substantial poems are ascribed to him on promising but ultimately debatable grounds, and Eratosthenes made a distinction between two Parian Evenuses.¹ Predictably, then, the sporadic contributions devoted to Evenus are dominated by a favourite among classical scholars: a good old fight, although a miniature one, over authorship and between unitarians and separatists.² Apart from these occasional skirmishes, Evenus has languished in semi-obscurity since 1963, when Antonio Garzya devoted to him a comprehensive study.³ However, in 2012 Ewen Bowie has come up with a new interpretation, ascribing to Evenus two putative 'ancestors' of the *Theognidea*: a textbook of miscellaneous poetry and a booklet of paederotic poems.⁴ This may light up the darkness for Evenus.

Part 1 of this paper revisits Bowie's argument with the aim to cross-fertilize it with performance-oriented studies on Theognis: in his multiple roles of teacher, theorist and sympotic performer, Evenus arguably bridged the gap between oral and written transmission, which may offer a fresh perspective on the Theognidean question. Part 2 addresses Evenus *8b W. The poem, I argue, conjures up the notorious storms of Cape Malea, possibly with a malicious hint at the Delio-Attic league. Moreover, linguistic evidence points to the late 5th century and squares well with Bowie's

* Daniela Colomo, Marco Fantuzzi, Lucia Floridi, Cecilia Nobili and Stefano Martinelli Tempesta have commented on various drafts of this paper. Warm thanks to them and to the editors. *Non so dire, tantomeno in inglese, la nostalgia, e quanto devo a Daniela Colomo e Matteo Curti, compagni carissimi negli anni dei seminari con Franco Ferrari.*

¹ Cf. Test. 4-6 GP (*De duobus Evenis*).

² G. Colesanti offers an accurate *status quaestionis* with ample bibliography: see G. Colesanti, *Questioni teognidee. La genesi simposiale di un corpus di elegie*, Roma 2011, pp. 102-107.

³ A. Garzya, *Eueno di Paro*, in *Studi sulla lirica greca*, Messina-Firenze 1963, pp. 75-89.

⁴ E. Bowie, *An Early Chapter in the History of the Theognidea*, in X. Riu, J. Pòrtulas (eds.), *Approaches to Archaic Greek Poetry*, Messina 2012, pp. 121-148.

hypothesis. Part 3 surveys Plato's citations of Evenus, who at key points works as a foil for the true philosopher. Accordingly, I argue that Evenus *8b W. is the main model for Plato's famous *eikon* of the ship of state. I also suggest that the *Phaedrus* echoes (Evenus'?) opening of *Theognidea* book 2. Finally, part 4 offers new evidence for placing Evenus' *floruit* in 410-400 BCE and speculatively suggests that he died soon after the execution of Socrates.

1. EVENUS AND THE *THEOGNIDEA*

Evenus is usually credited with three poems included in the *Theognidea*.¹ The poems are marked by the mention of an addressee called Simonides, and since Aristotle and Plutarch give a line from the first one to Evenus,² all three poems are tentatively ascribed to our poet on the ground of their shared addressee. With their additional 54 lines,³ the three poems (would) substantially extend the otherwise meagre remnants of Evenus' poetry (21 lines by West's count, 8 of which possibly unauthentic). Bowie, however, goes even further. He notes that Evenus is both the latest and (by far) the least renowned of the poets who have made their way into the *Theognidea*. The making of the collection(s) found in our Byzantine manuscripts must be ancient, as three papyri from the 2nd-3rd century bear unequivocal traces of the same anthological sequence.⁴ In a compilation consisting mostly of sympotic pairs

¹ *8a-c W. = Theogn. 467-496, 667-682, 1341-1350.

² Cf. Even. 8 W. The line is quoted with a much-discussed variant, sometimes integrated into an argument against Evenus' authorship (cf. Colesanti, *Questioni* cit., pp. 102-107, followed by L. Ferreri, *Questione teognidea, questioni di lirica e oralità*, «Giorn. It. Filol.» 65, 2013, pp. 43-116 at n. 48. By and large, Colesanti's argument rests on Evenus' alleged affiliation to the Socratic circle, something that the relevant sources, in my view, disprove rather than prove).

³ Note, however, that the unity of 468-496 is sometimes contested: see, e.g., F. Condello, *Due presunte elegie lunghe nei Theognidea*, «Prometheus» 35, 2009, pp. 193-218, p. 213 for a possible break after l. 472. Cf. also M. Vetta, *Theognis. Elegiarum liber secundus*, Roma 1980, pp. 118-123. Besides expressing scepticism about Evenus' authorship, Vetta signals a possible break at l. 477 and construes ll. 1341-1350, the third of the 'Simonides poems', as two different compositions.

⁴ *P.Berol.* 21220, *P.Oxy.* 2380 and *P.Oxy.* 5265. Besides Bowie, art. cit., p. 122, cf. F. Maltomini, *Theognidea*, in *Aspetti di letteratura gnomica nel mondo antico*, a cura di M. S. Funghi, Firenze 2003, II, pp. 203-224. One reason for my saying «collection(s)» is that M. West (followed by Bowie), besides isolating a 'pure' Theognidean core (ll. 19-254), divides ll. 255c-1220 into two partially overlapping sections allegedly deriving from one and the same collection (see *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin-New York 1974, pp. 42-43).

and short chunks of poetry, it is very surprising to find unabridged elegies by Evenus, given that «nobody before Athenaeus seems to have thought Euenus' poetry worth quoting».¹ Bowie's inference is plain: behind the (late?)-antique material represented in the manuscripts there must lie an anthology that only Evenus himself could have assembled, since the *Theognidea* – to the exclusion of any other 5th-century poet – aligns him with stars of the first magnitude such as Solon, Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus and, of course, 'Theognis'. This anthology, then, constitutes one ancestor of 'book 1' of the *Theognidea*, and Evenus was likely to use it as a textbook in his capacity as a preceptor of Callias' sons.² Furthermore, Bowie ascribes to him an early version of 'book 2' as well: later mentions of an erotic book by one Evenus³ are taken to refer to this collection, which may be largely (if not entirely) of Evenus' own making. Evenus, it is suggested, marked his own compositions by the otherwise very rare allocution «ὦ πᾶσι» and composed the proems and the closing lines of book 2.

Bowie's hunch strikes me as plausible, all the more so because it calls to mind Protagoras' self-promoting choice of presenting himself at the culmination of a time-honoured tradition of educators, with an emphasis on poetry.⁴ The context is telling: in the house of Callias, the same patron who was later to hire Evenus, Protagoras refashions Hesiod's myth of Prometheus and describes his own method as the pinnacle of traditional *paideia*, largely based on the reading of the great poets.⁵ Yet Evenus was arguably more than a bookish teacher. It is clear from, e.g., Eupolis' *Flatterers* and Xenophon's *Symposium* that Callias was a famous host.⁶ Accordingly, Evenus' services quite possibly included sympotic performances, as is suggested by an overt reference to other symposiasts in the first of the 'Simonides poems'.⁷ Let us briefly pursue the implications.

¹ Bowie, art. cit., p. 127. The very few exceptions, as Bowie remarks, are of negligible importance.

² See below, p. 102

³ 7 and 15 G.P. Bowie, art. cit., pp. 132-137 offers convincing arguments against the 'expurgation hypothesis' concerning the allegedly Byzantine origins of book 2.

⁴ Plat. *Prot.* 316d-317c. Cf. B. Gladhall, *Mousikē and Sophistry in Plato's Protagoras*, «Ill. Class. Stud.» 39, 2014, pp. 17-37.

⁵ Plat. *Prot.* 325d-328b. That poetic anthologies originated with the sophists is argued by J. Barns, *New Gnomologium: With Some Remarks on Gnomonic Anthologies*, «Class. Quart.» 1, 1951, pp. 1-19, cf. pp. 4-8. Cf. F. Ferrari, *Teognide, Elegie*, Milano 1989, pp. 30-32.

⁶ On Callias see D. Nails, *The People of Plato. A Prosopography of Plato and Other Socratics*, Indianapolis-Cambridge 2002, pp. 68-74.

⁷ *8a W.1. Cf. 162 PCG discussed below, p. 102.

How fragments by Tyrtaeus, Solon and Mimnermus came to be included in the «intricate and multi-faceted archive» of the *Theognidea* is an open question.¹ Unlike such fragments, however, Evenus' seemingly complete elegies are perfectly in tune with the sympotic and oligarchic ideology of 'Theognis' – indeed, Gregory Nagy regards *The mutiny on the ship of State* (Even. *8b W., discussed below) as quintessentially Theognidean.² As we shall see, however, this consonance can hardly disprove Evenus' authorship of this demonstrably late poem. Rather, it may account for Evenus' massive appropriation of Theognidean poetry. 'Theognis' is most obviously associated with sympotic poetry and moral advice, and would seem to be perfectly at home in the house of Callias, a concerned father as well as a lavish host who opened his house to sympotic elegist and oligarch Critias.³

At least potentially, Evenus' penchant for 'Theognis' may strike a sympathetic chord with the 'oralists' who emphasize the ideological coherence, resulting from multiple (re)performances within a sympotic *hetaireia*, of (most of) the *Theognidea*.⁴ This is no trivial point: in today's context of the Theognidean question, the inability to account for such coherence has been alleged as a serious shortcoming of the 'anthologists' (e.g., West and Bowie) *vis-à-vis* the 'oralists' (e.g., Nagy), who in turn are said to be evasive as to how and why their oral tradition was written down and transmitted.⁵ In his twofold capacity as symposiast and preceptor, Evenus may have performed, adjusted, integrated and put down in writing the Theognidean repertoire, thus providing the missing link between oral and written transmission.⁶ While the arguments developed

¹ Ferrari, *Theognide* cit., p. 44. Against any one-sided interpretation, Ferrari stresses the continuity between «riuso di tipo simposiale e gnomologico» (p. 11).

² G. Nagy, *Theognis of Megara: A Poet's Vision of His City*, in Th. J. Figueira, G. Nagy (eds.), *Theognis of Megara. Poetry and the Polis*, Baltimore-London 1985, pp. 22-81. By contrast, the fragments by Tyrtaeus, Solon and Mimnermus are arguably dissonant from 'Theognis': see A. Lear, *The Pederastic Elegies and the Authorship of the Theognidea*, «Class. Quart.» 61, 2011, pp. 378-393.

³ Plat. *Prot.* 316a and 336d (the *damnatio memoriae* of the Thirty Tyrants easily accounts for the exclusion of Critias from the *Theognidea*). Intriguingly, H. Marrou once suggested that the circle centring around Callias may be the birthplace of the *Theognidea*. Cf. *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1950², p. 75.

⁴ Besides Nagy, art. cit., cf., e.g., A. Aloni, *La scrittura di Esiodo*, «Ann. Onl. Ferr.» 8, 2013, pp. 1-11 (references to other 'oralists' at p. 4).

⁵ See Lear, art. cit.

⁶ *A fortiori*, Bowie's reconstruction may appeal to the many scholars who construe the mss. text of the *Theognidea* as a multi-layered product of both oral and gnomologic anthologizing. By contrast, pan-sympotic readings such as Colesanti's are

below are largely independent from this conciliatory scenario, it is my hope that they may reinforce its credibility.

2. THE MUTINY ON THE SHIP OF STATE
(EVEN. *8B W. = THEOIGN. 666-681)

- (666) Εἰ μὲν χρήματ' ἔχοιμι, Σιμωνίδη, οἷά περ ἤδη
οὐκ ἂν ἀνιώμην τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι συνών.
νῦν δέ με γινώσκοντα παρέρχεται, εἰμὶ δ' ἄφωνος
χρημοσύνηι, πολλῶν γνοῦς ἂν ἄμεινον ἔτι,
- (670) οὐνεκα νῦν φερόμεσθα καθ' ἴστιά λευκὰ βαλόντες 5
Μηλίου ἐκ πόντου νύκτα διὰ δνοφερήν,
ἀντλεῖν δ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ θάλασσα
ἀμφοτέρων τοίχων. ἦ μάλα τις χαλεπῶς
σώζεται, οἷ' ἔρδουσι· κυβερνήτην μὲν ἔπαυσαν
- (675) ἐσθλόν, ὅτις φυλακὴν εἶχεν ἐπισταμένως· 10
χρήματα δ' ἀρπάζουσι βίηι, κόσμος δ' ἀπόλωνεν,
δασμὸς δ' οὐκέτ' ἴσος γίνεταί ἐς τὸ μέσον·
φορτηγοὶ δ' ἄρχουσι, κακοὶ δ' ἀγαθῶν καθύπερθεν.
δειμαίνω, μὴ πως ναῦν κατὰ κύμα πίηι.
- (680) ταῦτά μοι ἠνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν· 15
γινώσκοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ κακός, ἂν σοφὸς ᾗ

If I had wealth, Simonides, such as I once had, I wouldn't feel distressed in the company of the noble. But now I am aware that it passes me by and want deprives me of a voice, although I would have recognized still better than many that we are now being carried along, with white sails lowered, out of the Melian sea through the dark night, and they refuse to bail, even though the sea is washing over both sides. In very truth, safety is difficult for anyone, such things are they doing; they have deposed the noble helmsman who skilfully kept watch, they seize possession by force, and discipline is lost; no longer is there an equal distribution in the common interest; the porters rule, and the base are above the noble. I'm afraid that perhaps a wave will swallow the ship. Let these be my riddling words with hidden meaning for the noble. But anyone, even if he is base, can understand them, provided he is wise.

(transl. Gerber, slightly modified)

The poem can be divided into three parts: 1. personal complaint and claim to knowledge (1-4); 2. parable of the ship (5-14); 3. meta-poetic statement (15-16). Whereas section 3 has an obvious connec-

incompatible with Bowie's (and, for that matter, with Evenus' authorship of the 'Simonides poems'). The shortcomings of such radicalism are exposed in the lucid and otherwise sympathetic review by F. Condello, *I Theognidea e il Simposio. Pregi e aporie dell'estremismo*, «Athenaeum» 103, 2015, pp. 204-223.

tion with 2, the link between 1 and 2 is less straightforward. At least in part, this is due to the apparent obscurity of line 4, which some consider corrupt,¹ while the logical connection conveyed by οὐνεκα (5) remains hard to pin down.² At a pragmatic level, the complaint of the 'I' in section 1 gives way, in 2, to a first person in the plural, after which the allegory switches to a third person narrative, only to return to the 'I' at l. 14. This provides a convenient transition to part 3, where we find again, as in 1, a personal pronoun that refers to the poetic 'I', with the suggestion that the preceding lines amount to an encoded image.³ The result is a neat example of *ring composition*, which is felt both at the pragmatic (the 'I') and at the lexical level (note the resurfacing of γυνώσκω and τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσι).⁴

As Franco Ferrari does not fail to mention, the poem is indebted to Alcaeus, whose songs were no doubt popular among Athenian symposiasts.⁵ While Alcaeus' ship allegories arguably reflect the geography and history of Mytilene,⁶ the Parian poet mentions the otherwise unattested «Melian sea», which looks like an equally topical reference. Scholars have made the connection between Melos and Paros, two mutually visible islands, and Carrière has noted a possible reference to Boreas, which is known to plague that area.⁷ Still, the reference proves elusive. Wilamowitz noted that

¹ The manuscript tradition is not unanimous either. See, e.g., D. Young's text and apparatus (*Theognis*, Leipzig 1971, p. 42) and the commentary by B. A van Groningen, who puts forth an intriguing emendation (γνούς ἐν ἀμεινον ἔτι, cf. *Theognis, le premier livre*, Amsterdam 1966, p. 265). On balance, however, I would opt for γνούς ἐν ἀμεινον ἔτι.

² Cf. M. West's own explanation (*Studies*, ad loc.): «I take 670 to mean 'though (if I were speaking) I would have given a verdict yet better than many people'. οὐνεκα may be 'that', specifying the verdict, or more loosely 'concerning the fact that' Cf. 1349 (by the same poet)».

³ West accepts Brunck's emendation and replaces the mss. reading κακόν with κακός, and so does Ferrari: cf. *Teognide*, p. 185 with further suggestions. Κακόν is defended, e.g., by Nagy, art. cit., p. 25.

⁴ On the wealth of connections that bind the poem together, see Nagy, art. cit.

⁵ Cf. F. Ferrari, *La porta dei canti. Storia e antologia della lirica greca*, Bologna 2000, p. 242. Along with 208 V., 6 V., with its parenetic component, may have inspired Evenus. On the reception of Alcaeus' marine allegories, cf., e.g., E. Cavallini, *Presenza di Saffo e Alceo nella poesia greca fino ad Aristofane*, Ferrara 1986, pp. 79 ff.

⁶ Cf. M. Vetta, *Alceo, l'allegoria della nave e la configurazione di Mitilene arcaica*, in *Τέρεψις: in ricordo di Maria Laetitia Coletti*, a cura di M. S. Celentano, Alessandria 2002, pp. 13-27.

⁷ See *Theognis. Poèmes élégiaques*, texte établi, tr. et comm. par J. Carrière, Paris 1975, ad loc.

the «Melian sea» is not a geographical notion: rather, he says, the reference must «conceal something specific».¹ What is it, though? The «Melian sea has remained «a puzzle which we cannot solve».²

As is clear from later sources, any sailor who wished to reach the West from the Aegean sea had basically two options: he could either cross the Corinthian Isthmus on land or he had to wait for favourable winds before rounding the notoriously dangerous Cape Malea, on the south-eastern tip of the Peloponnese. As we learn from medieval sources,³ before rounding the cape ships coming from the Cyclades or from the East would call at Melos, from which Cape Malea is visible on fair weather conditions. However, the danger was high. As a number of sources attest, rounding the Cape on a bad day could have devastating consequences: impetuous Boreas could discourage any attempt at resisting the wind, not to mention the notorious shipwrecks – from Sulla's to Lord Elgin's ships – that occurred from antiquity onwards.⁴ A ship had to strike the sails, and in the worst circumstances even rowing against the current could prove futile. As a consequence, the surviving sailors could find themselves far away from their intended routes, as far as Crete or even the African shores.⁵ The rounding required maritime skills as well as good luck: this is why an area sacred to Poseidon, recently excavated on a nearby islet, was visited by sailors who would throw coins as a token of gratitude for their survival.⁶

These geographical facts had a profound influence on Greek mythology. Three major heroes, namely Jason, Odysseus and Menelaus are crucially connected with the dangers of Malea. Ac-

¹ «Theognis 672 redet der Dichter in einer Rätselrede von einem Fahrt durch den Μήλιος πόντος: darin verbirgt sich etwas bestimmtes, denn die melische See ist kein gewöhnlicher geographischer Begriff»: U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Hg.), Euripides, *Herakles*, II, Berlin 1895², ad 639.

² E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, Cambridge 1902, p. 327.

³ Cf., e.g., Pachym. 396.4 ff.; Theoph. Cont. 309-310. For other references, see A. J. B. Wace, F. W. Hasluck, *Laconia. II. Topography*, «Ann. of the Brit. Sch. at Ath.» 15, 1908-1909, pp. 158-176, at p. 174.

⁴ I have collected the relevant material in A. Capra, *Dove Odisseo smarri la via di casa. Angeli, naufragi e favolose tempeste a Capo Malea*, in *Debita dona. Studi in onore di Isabella Gualandri*, a cura di G. Cavajoni et alii, Napoli 2008, pp. 71-101.

⁵ This is confirmed by both ancient and modern sources. Cf. V. Berard, *Les Navigations d'Ulysse*, vol. III, *Calypso et la mer de l'Atlantide*, Paris 1929, pp. 16 ff.

⁶ Cf. A. Tsaralavopoulos, *Μικρή Δραγονάρα Κυθήρων Ιερός σταθμός στο πέραςμα των πλοίων απο το ακρωτήριο του Μαλέα*, in *Tropis VII*, Proceedings of the 7th international Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity, Athens 2002, pp. 763-764. The *Ιερόν* dates to the classical age.

cording to Herodotus, Jason, on rounding the cape, was struck by a storm and found himself in Africa, and the same fate befell Homer's Menelaus, who was diverted to Crete and Egypt due to a storm near Malea.¹ As for Odysseus, the tempest near Malea is a well known turning point in his voyage: after his failed attempt to round the Cape,² he gets lost, leaves behind real geography and enters the largely imaginary dimension of the *apologoi*.

The rounding of Malea rapidly became a topos, which was attached even to stories in which its presence may look bizarre. This is already apparent in Herodotus' account of Jason's journey from Pelion to Delphi: what made him set sail southwards when Delphi was so close?³ Conversely, the name of the Cape could be omitted due to its obvious importance, as it happens in Vergil: Aeneas and his companions *did* round the Cape, as the hero reveals once in Sicily.⁴ But in the main narrative, direct mention is avoided, so that later readers felt the need to integrate a three-line reference to Malea into the description of the relevant storm.⁵ This, I submit, is the background for Evenus' mention of the Melian sea. Note the expression *φερόμεσθα ... Μηλίου ἐκ πόντου*: the sailors are carried *out* of the Melian sea, loss of control being the obvious idea associated with the open waters to the south of Melos. Malea and its dangers, both 'real' and literary, are just around the corner and are all too easy to imagine for Evenus' Parian or Athenian audience, either because of geographical proximity or through military experience, as the Athenians, during the Peloponnesian War, had to round Malea on a regular basis.⁶ Explicit mention, then, is not needed.

From the geographical point of view, the central section of the poem could be described as a clever transposition of Alcaeus' allegories into a Cycladic setting.⁷ Let us now consider the histori-

¹ Hdt. 4.179, Hom. *Od.* 3.283-300.

² Hom. *Od.* 9.79-81.

³ A similar pattern can be seen at work in Agamemnon's *nostos* in the *Odyssey*. Cf. A. Momigliano, *Zeus Agamemnone e il Capo Malea*, «Stud. It. Filol. Class.» 8, 1930, pp. 317-319. Agamemnon's unnecessary rounding of Malea has been related to the Atreides' alleged joint kingship over Sparta and Mycene. Cf. the joint discussion published in «Aev. Ant.» 5, 2005 [publ. 2009], pp. 5-113, where F. Ferrari rejects the hypothesis: cf. *Odyssey IV 514-523: un incidente orale?* (pp. 61-62).

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 5.189-194.

⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 3.202A-C, with M. L. Delvigo, *Verg. Aen.* 3, 204A-C, «Riv. Filol. Istr. Class.» 117, 1989, pp. 297-315.

⁶ Cf., e.g., Thuc. 4.53.

⁷ Like Alcaeus 6 V. (cf. G. Lentini, *La nave e gli ἐταῖροι: in margine ad Alceo fr. 6, 73, 208A V., «MD» 46, 2001, pp. 159-170, at 160-163), Evenus' poem resonates with Homer. Intriguingly, points of vocabulary, as well as the shift between 'I', 'he' and 'we', point*

cal problem. When and where was the poem composed and performed? The mention of Simonides is of no help: the identification with Simonides of Ceos arguably sparked the astonishing tradition of a 460 BCE *floruit* for Evenus¹ as well as that of the two Evenuses. It has also fuelled modern speculation,² the least fanciful of which, in my view, interprets the allocution as fictional, i.e., directed to an authoritative figure from a distant past.³ These days, however, the idea seems to have been dropped, and – as Bowie notes – several figures bearing this name may be considered.⁴ Scholars who oppose Evenus' authorship, while discarding the identification with Simonides of Ceos, assume that the 'Simonides poems' are archaic.⁵ Our poem, however, bears occasional traces of a late diction,⁶ as well as one striking example in the last couplet.

Intriguingly, the poet qualifies his own song as a «riddle». He does so with the word ἡνίχθω, a third-person perfect imperative that should be construed as passive.⁷ Scholars have failed to comment on this expression,⁸ yet this striking imperative is unparalleled. Except for the occasional, stereotyped narrative markers such as εἰρήσθω and λελέχθω, which occur as early as in Herodotus, passive perfect imperatives of this kind are in fact common in demonstrations only: after an isolated example in Xenophanes (δεδοξάσθω)⁹, they are found, e.g., in Plato and Aristotle, and even

to Homer's description of the Malea storm. Cf *Od.* 9.67-81, featuring νύξ (69), ἐφέροντ' (70), κυβερνήται (78), and, in the same metrical position, ἀνά θ' ἰστία λεύκ' ἐρύσαντες (77).

¹ Cf. Test. 1 GP.

² Cf., e.g., C. M. Bowra, *Simonides in the Theognidea*, «Class. Rev.» 48, 1934, pp. 2-4.

³ Carrière, *Theognis* cit., pp. 166-168. I add that fictional dialogues with Simonides are found in Plato's *Protagoras* and Xenophon's *Hieron*.

⁴ Bowie, art. cit., p. 129.

⁵ Cf., e.g., Garzya, art. cit., and Colesanti, *Questioni* cit. This may find tenuous support in the poem's low percentage of penthemimeral caesurae (cf. H. Selle, *Theognis und die Theognidea*, Berlin-New York 2008, p. 144).

⁶ φορτηγοί (13) is found nowhere else in archaic or classical non-dramatic poetry. On its meaning, cf. N. Coffee, *The φορτηγοί of Theognis 667-682*, «Class. Quart.» 56, 2006, pp. 304-305. He argues against the meaning of «porters» and favours that of «merchants», but cf. Poll. *Onomast.* 7.131.

⁷ See P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, Paris 1927, p. 92.

⁸ The one exception is G. Nagy, art. cit. Nagy stresses the connection of ἡνίχθω with the poetics of *ainos*: a good point that, in my view, needs qualification (cf. below).

⁹ 35 DK. We do not know the context of this line, quoted in Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 746b. On the early usage of the perfect imperative, cf. K. L. McKay, *Aspects of the Imperative in Ancient Greek*, «Antichthon» 20, 1986, pp. 41-58, see pp. 54-56.

there they may be intrusive from the language of mathematics, where, by contrast, they obsessively mark the style of demonstrations.¹ This possibly points to a late date, yet this is not all.

With just one instance in one of Pindar's latest poems,² the verb *αἰνίσσομαι* is unknown to archaic poetry. In 4th-century prose it often refers to poetic allusiveness.³ Unsurprisingly, this usage later resurfaces to qualify Alcaeus' marine allegories,⁴ but in fact the verb is applied to exegesis as early as Aristophanes: in the opening scene of the *Peace*, it refers to the (wrong) interpretation of *kantharos* by a member of the audience.⁵ The recently published Derveni papyrus, whose content may be almost as early as Aristophanes' *Peace*, seems to confirm that the verb entered the jargon of exegesis in the late fifth century.⁶ Evenus' *ἡνίχθω*, then, must have sounded like a peculiar form of self-commentary, with a possible allusion to Theognis' famous 'seal' (*σοφιζομένωι μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω*);⁷ more in general, it amounts to a cerebral appropriation of the time-honoured poetics of *ainos*, with its emphasis on the exclusive relation – think of Pindar – that binds together wise poets and audiences. Remarkably, the same kind of 'agonistic' modernization can be seen at work in the surely authentic fr. 1 West: Evenus projects «the wise» (at l. 5 he mentions the *ξυνετοί*) onto an overtly rhetorical, or even sophistic, background, complete with an outrageously un-poetic term such as *ἀντιλέγειν* («contradict»).⁸

Besides confirming a relatively late date, thus making the case for Evenus' authorship stronger, the exceptional *ἡνίχθω* squares well with Bowie's hypothesis: if the poem was part of an anthology designed to educate young pupils, the didactic, or even slightly

¹ Cf. F. Acerbi, *I codici stilistici della matematica greca: dimostrazioni, procedure, algoritmi*, «Quad. Urb. Cult. Class.» 101, 2012, pp. 167-214, in part. pp. 171-172.

² Pind. *Pyth.* 8.40 (446 BCE).

³ Cf. LSJ.

⁴ Heracl. Hom. *Alleg.* 5.8.

⁵ Aristoph. *Pax* 47.

⁶ Cf. col. 10, 11 («τροφ[όν] δὲ λέγων ἀν]τήν αἰνί[ζε]ται»), 17, 14 (τὰ ὄν]τ] αἰνί[ζε]ται). The text is taken from Th. Kouremenos, G. M. Parassoglou, K. Tsantsanoglou, *The Derveni Papyrus. Edited with Introduction and Commentary*, Florence 2006.

⁷ Theogn. 19. Apart from *ἡνίχθω*, *ἐπικείσθω* is the closest one gets to a perfect imperative in the *Theognidea*.

⁸ Cf. the careful analysis by K. Włodarczyk, *Euenus Fr. 1 West (= 1 Gentili - Prato): A Commentary*, in I. Lewandowskiego, A. Wójcicka (eds.), *Vetustatis amore et studio. Księga pamiątkowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Kazimierzowi Limanowi*, Poznań 1995, pp. 147-151. Interestingly, C. Miralles notes a similar blend of innovation and (Theognidean) tradition in *8a W. (cf. *La renovación de la elegía en la época clásica*, «Bol. Inst. Estud. Helen.» 5, 1971, pp. 13-31, at p. 21).

pedantic, last couplet makes perfect sense. Bowie puts forth the attractive idea that Evenus may be alluding to Theramenes' occupation of Paros, when, in 410 BCE, he deposed the oligarchy that had taken control of the island and replaced it with a philo-Athenian government.¹ Along the same lines, one may interpret the lack of an even distribution (δασμός) «to the centre» (ἐς τὸ μέσον) as referring back to the notorious removal of the treasure from Delos, the geographic and symbolic 'centre' of the League.² Is the adumbrated 'shipwreck' an *ex eventu* prophecy levelled against the eventual debacle of Athens? Whatever the case, it is hardly a coincidence that Plato appropriates the poem precisely with the aim of criticizing Athenian democracy.

3. PLATO AND EVENUS

Almost at the beginning of the *Phaedo*, Socrates claims that Aesop «would have made a myth about God trying to reconcile the strife of pleasure and pain».³ Socrates' 'mythological' remark reminds Cebes that Evenus is eager to know why on earth Socrates, once in prison, tried his hand at poetry, «turning Aesop's fables into verse, and also composing that hymn in honour of Apollo». Socrates replies that he had no intention of rivalling Evenus. Rather, he did it to obey a dream intimating him to compose music. Given that poetry is defined by the presence of *mythos*, Socrates, who is not μυθολογικός, turns to verse a bunch of Aesopic *mythoi*, and he also composes a hymn to Apollo (60e-61b). Socrates' conversion to poetry takes place on a day sacred to Apollo, whose «festivity» (ἐορτή) is explicitly mentioned.⁴ This fits very well both Socrates' hymn to Apollo and his choice of Aesop, who enjoyed a Delphic cult.⁵

The *Phaedo*'s Apolline context calls to mind the *Apology*, in which Socrates depicts himself as a 'soldier of Apollo' who will never desert the god-assigned post.⁶ In fact, Socrates' philosophical life is

¹ E. Bowie, *Simonides of Eretria (Redivivus?)*, in *Onomatologos. Studies in Greek Personal Names Presented to Elaine Matthews*, ed. by R.W. V. Catling and F. Marchand, Oxford 2010, pp. 6-14, see p. 13.

² For the meaning of δασμός and ἐς τὸ μέσον cf. G. Cerri, *Ἴσος δασμός come equivalente di ἰσονομία nella silloge teognidea*, «Quad. Urb. Cult. Class.» 7, 1969, pp. 97-104.

³ Plat. *Phaed.* 60c. Owing to space constraints, references to Platonic studies are kept to a minimum.

⁴ 61a, and cf. 58a-c.

⁵ The clearest testimony is *P.Oxy.* 1800, fr. 2, ii, 32-63 = Aesop. *Testimonia* 25 Perry.

⁶ Cf. 28b-29a.

the product of the Delphic oracle: when Chaerephon «asked the oracle to tell him whether there was anyone wiser», the Pythia answered in the negative. Consequently, Socrates wondered *what the god might mean* (τί ποτε λέγει) and resolved to *put the oracle to the test* (ἐλέγξων τὸ μαντεῖον) by examining allegedly wise people.¹ Thus Socrates chose the life of philosophy, something that turned him into a potential rival of Athens' self-proclaimed educators. As if to stress the rivalry, this earlier Apolline conversion is immediately preceded by another mention of nobody else but Evenus, who is said to charge «five minae» for his lessons.² Intriguingly, the amount corresponds exactly to the worth of Socrates' *entire* property.³

Another important similarity between the two Apolline conversions is that the Socrates of the *Phaedo* puts his dreams to the test (ἐνυπνίων τινῶν ἀποπειρώμενος) in an attempt to find out *what they might mean* (τί λέγει). The *déjà vu* effect is striking, all the more so because the *Apology*, too, mentions Socrates' divine dreams (ἐνύπνια).⁴ The testing of the divine dreams in the Apolline context of the *Phaedo*, just like the testing of the Apolline oracle in the *Apology*, is a sign intended to mark a new beginning. When Socrates was young, the oracle determined his conversion to a life of enquiry, whereas in the *Phaedo* the divine dream marks Socrates' conversion to music and poetry. Interestingly, in both cases the sophist Evenus works as a foil for the true philosopher. The *Phaedo* adds what sounds like a hilarious detail that enhances the antithesis: on the (ironic?) presumption that Evenus is a philosopher, Socrates suggests that he, too, should be eager to bid farewell to life, to which Simmias replies that Evenus has no intention whatsoever to do so. Evenus is implicitly characterized as a *bon viveur* in the *Apology* through the pair of verbs καλλύνομαι and ἀβρύνομαι.⁵ By stressing Evenus' attachment to life (and to its pleasures, one supposes), the *Phaedo* further emphasizes the antithesis with Socrates.

As we have seen, Evenus is juxtaposed to Socrates at two key points, and in both cases one detects a latent rivalry. With this in mind, I will now linger for a moment on Plato's ship of State in *Republic* 6. In *Republic* 5, Socrates puts forth his revolutionary proposals for the *kallipolis*, culminating with the government of the philosophers. Socrates fears that huge «waves» of dissent might

¹ Plat. *Apol.* 20e-21a.

⁴ 33c.

² *Apol.* 19a-c.

⁵ Plat. *Apol.* 20c; cf. 267a.

³ Cf. Xen. *Oec.* 2.3.

submerge him, and it is possibly against this backdrop that the image of the ship should be read. Towards the beginning of book 6, Adeimantus concedes that Socrates may have a point in advocating the government of the philosophers. Unfortunately, however, everybody would say that philosophers are pathetically useless.¹ Why is it so? Socrates begins by saying that such a difficult question calls for an «image»,² although he rarely resorts to εἰκόνες.³ The image, says Socrates, will have a pictorial quality: it will have to combine details taken from different models, as is the case with painters depicting hybrids such as tragelaphs.⁴

After these preambles, Socrates eventually ‘delivers’ the image (ἄκουε τῆς εἰκόνοϛ).⁵ He envisages a ship on which the ship-owner is hard of hearing, has poor vision, and lacks sea-faring skills. The ship’s sailors know nothing about navigation and quarrel over who should be captain. In an attempt to get the ship-owner to appoint them, they resort to brute force and clever tricks. Whoever is successful at persuading the ship-owner is called an expert in seafaring. Anyone else is called «useless», and the true captain, the man who knows, is even called a stargazer and a babbler. These sailors ignore that there is a knowledge to master in order to steer ships. Accordingly, the ship will drift with the winds as the sailors «mutiny and take possession of the ship and make free with the stores; thus, eating and drinking, they proceed on their voyage in such a manner as might be expected of them».⁶

As the mention of the painters’ combinatory technique seems to imply, Plato makes use of different poetic models, ranging from lyric poetry to Aristophanes’ *Knights*.⁷ Do such models include Evenus’ poem? Surprisingly, scholars rarely make the connection:⁸ Gentili’s masterly essay on the allegory of the ship in Greek literature does not even mention Plato;⁹ conversely, the monumental

¹ Plat. *Resp.* 487c-d.

² ἑρώτημα δεόμενον ἀποκρίσεως δι’ εἰκόνοϛ λεγομένηϛ.

³ Plat. *Resp.* 487e.

⁴ Plat. *Resp.* 488a.

⁵ Plat. *Resp.* 488a. The *eikon* extends to 489a.

⁶ On the nautical and symbolic details of Plato’s allegory, see D. Keyt, *Plato and the Ship of State*, in *Blackwell Guide to Plato’s Republic*, ed. by G. Santas, Oxford 2006, pp. 189-213.

⁷ See S. Gastaldi, *L’allegoria della nave*, in *Platone, La Repubblica*, vol. v, *Libri VI-VII*, a cura di M. Vegetti, Napoli 2003, pp. 187-216, cf. pp. 196-197. Cf. also R. Hunter, *Plato and the Traditions of Ancient Literature*, Cambridge 2012, pp. 68-76.

⁸ Hunter, *Plato* cit. is a felicitous exception: see pp. 70-73.

⁹ This is understandable, given his focus on archaic Greece: B. Gentili, *Poesia e*

commentary on the *Republic* directed by Vegetti devotes an entire chapter to Plato's ship of State and its poetic background, but fails to mention Evenus.¹

Evenus' poem, it seems to me, is especially relevant for a number of reasons. To begin with, in both Plato and Evenus, as opposed to Alcaeus' songs, the ship stands for the state, and not for the poet's *hetaireia*.² In both cases, moreover, there is an opposition between the incompetent, rapacious sailors and the knowledgeable pilot, who is reduced to impotence. Of still greater interest is Socrates' final comment: «You will hardly need to hear the interpretation of the image, which describes the true philosopher in his relation to the State; for you understand already».³ Like Evenus' poem, Plato's passage is self-referential, in that it makes explicit the allegorical quality of the image and points to its straightforward interpretation.

If Bowie's reconstruction is correct, we may consider book 2 as well, whose opening lines, in Bowie's view, reflect Evenus' putative editorial arrangement and were quite possibly of his own making.⁴ After a *prooimion* to Eros, who was brought up by *Maniai*, we come across a poem opened by the formula «ὦ πᾶσι», which Bowie takes as Evenus' *sphragis*. In his commentary to book 2, Vetta, too, notes that this «ephebic formula» could work as a «mark» for a specific form of poetry. He then lists the few extant parallels, with three passages from the poetic prose of Plato's *Phaedrus*.⁵ The *Phaedrus* is famous for its analysis of madness, which Socrates divides into four different *maniai*: again, Vetta includes this in his list of parallels as he comments the very first line of book 2 (Eros brought up by *Maniai*). Are these parallels a mere coincidence?

The *Phaedrus* features the third and last Platonic mention of Evenus, who is credited, together with other sophists, with the invention of complicated rhetorical devices (τὰ κομψὰ τῆς τέχνης).⁶

pubblico nell'antica Grecia. Da Omero al v secolo, Milano 2006⁴ (cf. ch. 12, *Pragmatica dell'allegoria della nave*).

¹ One finds no more than a passing mention of Theognis and Megara at p. 194 of the otherwise useful Gastaldi, art. cit. ² See Lentini, art. cit.

³ Plat. *Resp.* 489a.

⁴ E. Bowie, *Early Chapter*, pp. 141-142. On the rationale of the book's arrangement, cf. also H. Selle, *Aphrodite's Gift: Theognidea 1381-5 and the Genesis of 'Book' 2*, «Class. Quart.» 63, 2013, pp. 461-472.

⁵ 237b, 241c, 243e. See Vetta, *Theognis* cit., p. 43.

⁶ Plat. *Phaedr.* 266d. See A. Rotstein, *The Idea of Iambos*, Oxford 2010, pp. 333-341.

After introducing him as the inventor of *hypodeloseis* and *parepainoi*, Socrates adds that «some people say he also delivered *parapsogoi* in meter as an aid to memory – for he is a wise man». ¹ Interestingly, a distinction is made between Evenus' inventions and the metrical *parapsogoi*, a word that apparently means 'allusive criticism' as instantiated in specific poems. My impression is that Evenus' ship poem, with its covert criticism, is one of such *parapsogoi*. However that may be, I would like to suggest that the mention of Evenus in the *Phaedrus* may be prepared by another instance of self-commentary a few lines earlier.

On discussing the speech he had addressed to an imaginary boy (cf. the «ὦ παῖ» formula at 243e) invited to «listen» (ἀκούσῃ) to the palinode, at 265b-c Socrates claims that in order to depict erotic mania he has concocted a *logos* that he deems «not altogether unconvincing» (οὐ παντάπασιν ἀπίθανον). He further equates it with a «mythical hymn of sorts» (μυθικόν τινα ὕμνον) that he has «delivered as a joke» (or perhaps «addressed to a boy», προσεπαίσαμεν) to honour Eros, the «patron of beautiful boys» (καλῶν παίδων ἔφορον). All of this, with a quintessentially Platonic pun, is referred to as a «boyish game» (παιδιᾶι πεπαῖσθαι), and yet, insofar as they contribute to the mastering of *logoi*, Socrates' jocular speeches may result in something that is «not devoid from grace» (οὐκ ἄχαρι). Let us bear in mind that Socrates' words shortly precede his mention of Evenus and let us have a look at the opening of book 2 (1233-1234):

Ἦ παῖ, ἄκουσον ἐμεῦ δαμάσας φρένας· οὐ τοι ἀπειθῆ
μῦθον ἐρῶ τῆι σῆι καρδίῃ οὐδ' ἄχαριν.²

My boy, you who have subdued my soul, listen to me! Let me talk to your heart: my *mythos* is neither unconvincing nor devoid from grace.

If one discounts the *prooimion*, this is in fact the beginning of the collection, and I think that Plato, by appropriating such expressions as οὐ τοι ἀπειθῆ and οὐκ ἄχαρι, openly echoes it.

As we have seen, Evenus plays a surprisingly important role for Plato's Socrates. Why is this so? The answer may be beyond our reach, but one possible explanation comes to mind. Socrates is apparently credited with the (emphatically non-profit) practice of anthologizing poetry and sharing it among friends for educa-

¹ Cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 267a.

² Cf. the close of Even. *8a W. (οὐκ ἄχαρι).

tional purposes,¹ while ‘Theognis’ was a favourite of the Socratic circle.² No wonder that a rivalry should arise, reaching its peak when Socrates, like his salaried competitor, suddenly takes up the challenge in the *Phaedo* and becomes a poet in his own right, who both rearranges pre-existing material and composes new poetry.

4. EPHEMERAL EVENUS

After Plato, Evenus is mentioned by very few writers. Scholars often refer to him as a contemporary of Socrates, which is of course based on Plato’s *Apology* and *Phaedo*, both set in 399 BCE. However, Plato may prove revealing not only for what he says about him, but also for what he does *not* say. From the *Apology*, we learn that Evenus was the preceptor of Callias’ sons. Callias’ house, in turn, is the main setting of the *Protagoras*, whose alternative title was *The Sophists*. In fact, Plato depicts Callias as the lavish host of a crowd of sophists and students, many of whom, including some very minor figures, are dutifully named as Socrates crosses the threshold of his house.³ Evenus’ conspicuous absence from this ‘who’s who’ of sophists is best explained as due to his young age at the time – the dramatic date of the *Protagoras* oscillates between c. 432 and 420.⁴

Nothing about Evenus can be traced before c. 410, when he was hired as a preceptor of Philistus, the other figure that tradition records as his pupil.⁵ This earlier commitment more or less coincides with the production of Pherecrates’ *Chiron*, which includes a two-line quote from the first of Evenus’ ‘Simonides poems’ in the (performative?) context of a symposium and points to his presence in Athens.⁶ For all we know, then, Evenus made his presence felt for little more than a decade, which seems to rule out the very dubious tradition of a 460 BCE *floruit*: if this were so, he would have hit the lines only when he was an old man, some 50 years

¹ See Xen. *Mem.* 1.6.14 and cf., e.g., C. Pernigotti, *Euripide nella tradizione gnomologica antica*, in *Tradizione testuale e ricezione letteraria antica della tragedia greca*, a cura di L. Battezzato, Amsterdam 2003, pp. 97-112, cf. pp. 105-106, where 1.2.56, 4.2.1 and 4.2.8-10 are also discussed.

² The relevant sources are aptly discussed by Colesanti, *Questioni cit.*, pp. 313-316.

³ Plat. *Prot.* 314e-316a.

⁴ Cf., e.g., D. Wolfsdorf, *The Historical Reader of Plato’s Protagoras*, «Class. Quart.» 48, 1998, pp. 126-133.

⁵ Sud. s.v. Φιλίστος (Test. 9 GP). This is confirmed by a 2nd-century inscription: cf., e.g., G. Manganaro, *Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion e il P.Oxy 1241*, «Par. d. Pass.» 148-149, 1974, pp. 389-409, cf. pp. 394 and 397.

⁶ 162 PCG.

after his alleged acme. What happened to him after Socrates' trial and death? Plato has a strong fascination with (his own version of) tragic irony, i.e., he often depicts his characters on the ragged edge and has them unknowingly allude to their impending fate.¹ Seen in this light, the *Phaedo* may suggest that Evenus died soon after Socrates: the claim that Evenus has no intention whatsoever to follow into Socrates' footsteps can be construed as an ominous allusion to his premature death.

In all probability, then, Evenus was in fact much younger than Socrates: we can envisage him as a young *bon viveur* and clever preceptor, who had the bad idea of moving to Athens when the city was in troubled waters. Was he attracted to Athens by the city's *fin-de-siècle* oligarchic turn(s), only to be frustrated by the return(s) of radical democracy? His penchant for Theognis, as well as Plato's appropriation of his antidemocratic ship of State, may suggest this much. However that may be, Evenus was possibly mown by death soon after the execution of Socrates. This would account for his disappearance after a brief moment of limelight. Evenus' trajectory from Paros to Athens looks like that of a shooting star, whose ephemeral gleam can help elucidate the Theognidean question and somehow adds to the splendour of the Platonic sun. For a 'shadowy' figure, this is no ordinary glory.

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¹ See Wolfsdorf, art. cit. Cf. also D. Clay, *Platonic Questions. Dialogues with the Silent Philosopher*, University Park (PA) 2000, pp. 33-40.

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A cura di Luigi Battezzato e Giovan Battista D'Alessio

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