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THE SHADE OF HOMER: SOLOMOS, PETRARCH, ENNIUS*

The aim of this short paper is to trace possible influences on Solomos' *Ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου (The shade of Homer)* from classical literature; how the (possible) sources are reshaped; and so to help in its better understanding. First, the text:

Ἔλαμπε ἀχνὰ τὸ φεγγαράκι, εἰρήνη
ὅλην, ὅλην τὴν φύση ἀκινητοῦσε,
καὶ μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἔρημη τὴν κλίνη
τ' ἀηδόνι τὰ παράπονα ἀρχινοῦσε,
τριγύρω γύρω ἡ νυκτικὴ γαλήνη
τὴ γλυκύτατη κλάψα ἠχολογοῦσε.
Ἀπάντεχα βαθὺς ὕπνος μὲ πιάνει,
κι ὀμπροστά μου ἕνας γέροντας μοῦ ἐφάνη.

Στὸ ἀκρογιάλι ἀναπαύοταν ὁ γέρος
στὰ παλαιὰ τὰ ροῦχα του, σχισμένα,
ἐκινοῦσε τὸ φύσημα τοῦ ἀέρος
τὰ ἀριὰ μαλλιά του, ὅλ' ἀσπρισμένα,
καὶ αὐτὸς στὸ πολύαστρο τοῦ αἰθέρος
τὰ μάτια ἐστριφογύριζε σβησμένα.
Ἀγάλι ἀγάλι ἀσηκώθη ἀπὸ χάμου,
καί, ὡσὰν νά 'χε τὸ φῶς του, ἦλθε κοντά μου[1].

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* I would like to express my thanks to Dr A. J. Gossage and Dr D. Ricks, lecturer in King's College London, for their kindness in reading a previous draft of this paper. Their suggestions saved it from obscurity and inproved both English idiom and its argument; for whatever blemishes remain the responsibility is of course mine.

1. Edited by G. Kechagioglou, (see p. 176 note 6) p. 146; *Διονυσίου Σολωμού Αυτόγραφα Έργα*, επιμέλεια Λ. Πολίτης, τ. 1-2, (Θεσσαλονίκη 1964), σσ. 63^{16}-62^{8}. Cf. Δ. Σολωμού, *Άπαντα, τόμος πρώτος, Ποιήματα*. Επιμέλεια-σημειώσεις Λ. Πολίτη (Ικαρος Αθήνα ^{3}1971) p. 58.

It is true that many critics have emphasized Homer's importance for Solomos. Polylas in particular mentions Homer many times in his famous *Prolegomena*[1]. Also, N.B. Tomadakis said a great deal (not all of it persuasive) about Solomos' relationship with Homer[2]. Solomos himself in his *Στοχασμοὶ* on the *Ελεύθεροι Πολιορκημένοι* contrasts Homer's classicism with Shakespeare's romanticism (p. 209). It is also true that Solomos had studied ancient Greek and Latin literarure at schools in Italy. His tacher Giovanni Pini was impressed by the first Latin (and Italian) verse, usually translations, that Solomos wrote in Cremona as school exercises. Bernado Bellini, another teacher, aroused Solomos' interest in ancient Greek, Latin and Italian literature (Homer, Virgil, Dante, Petrarch)[3]. On the other hand Solomos avoided the temptation either to imitate the ancients or to make facile references to ancient Greek literature and mythology[4].

The title of the poem was given by Polylas, and it is characteristic that Polites does not use brackets for the title; Polylas' testimony is, again, significant for its understanding: «the purpose of the poem - Polylas notes - was to represent the Shadow of Homer which ordered the poet to write in the demotice language»[5]. And since then almost all critics take this notice for granted.

It has, however, been suggested, alternatively, that the blind poet in this poem (and in the *Ωδή εις την Σελήνη* as well) is Ossian, the legendary ancient Scottish bard, whose poems (really the work of James Macpherson) enjoyed a great success throughout Europe in the years leading up to the Romantic period[6].

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1. e.g. pp. 16, 18, 31 in Polites' edition; cf. also pp. 316-7 and 373 in the same volume.

2. N.B. Tomadakis, *Ο Σολωμός και οι Αρχαίοι* (Αθήναι 1943: now *Νεοελληνικά. Δοκίμια και μελέται τόμ.* Β, *Αθηνά*, Σειρά Διατριβών, 22, Εν Αθήναις 1983) pp. 1-96.

3. Cf. M. Byron Raizis, *Dionysios Solomos* (Twayne Publishers N.Y. 1972) pp. 20, 21. Cf. also Λ. Πολίτης, *Γύρω στο Σολωμό* (M.I.E.T. Αθήνα ^{2}1985) pp. 223 ff.; Tomadakis, *op. cit.* pp. 9 ff; E. Kriaras, *Διονύσιος Σολωμός* (Αθήνα, Εστία ^{3}1969 pp. 14 ff; Louis Coutelle, *Formation poétique de Solomos* (1815-1833) Αθήνα, Ερμής 1977) pp. 17, 71 ff. Cf. Polylas, *Prolegomena* p. 30. I had no access to G. Spadaro, «Appunti sulla fortuna del Petrarcha in Grecia» (*Siculorum Gymnasium* n. s. 17(1964) 203-21).

4. Cf. P. Mackridge, *Dionysios Solomos* (Bristol Classical Press 1989) p. 16.

5. In Polites, *op. cit.* p. 328.

6. Nasos Vagenas, «Σολωμός και 'Οσσιαν» (*Παρνασσός* 8 (1966) 517-522); L. Coutelle, *Formation poétique* p. 184; George Veloudés, in his well-documented monograph, *Διονύσιος Σολωμός. Ρομαντική πολιηση και ποιητική. Οι γερμανικές πηγές* (Αθήνα 1989) following Vagenas, ascribes the poem to contemporary Ossianism (p. 402 (n. 18), cf. also pp. 343, 335). Professor G. Kechagioghou («Η λεγόμενη

In his attempt to minimize Solomos' references to Homer P. Mackridge writes on *The Shade of Homer* that «Solomos depicts blind Homer walking towards him as if by instinct, thus suggesting that he sensed the presence of a fellow-poet, but there Solomos simply expresses a general admiration for Homer, which is shared by all readers of poetry»[1]. Writing in a similar context and noticing that reference to Homer is conspicuous by its absence from the poetry of Solomos, another authority comments about the same poem: «it is noticeable that the above poem is a development of a certain Romantic image of Homer (perhaps, in this case, also from the early Latin poet Ennius) rather than in any sense a drawing on the Homeric poems themselves»[2].

And it is this parenthesis, «(perhaps, in this case, also from the early Latin poet Ennius)», which brings us to the point of our interest. This article argues that Solomos could have been influenced in his dream of Homer by Petrarch. Solomos knew Petrarch; he had translated Petrarch's ode beginning with the refreshing image of «water gurgling fresch and sweet» and in his verse-making he profited from his familiarity with Petrarch.

Petrarch had chosen Scipio Africanus the Elder as hero of his *Africa,* a long epic poem of 6,730 lines in nine books of Latin hexameters, composed, though never finished, in 1341. The subject of the poem is Scipio's achievements in Africa during the later years of the Second Punic War. Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior (234-c. 183) had driven the Carthaginians from Spain by 206, and both defeated Hannibal at the battle of Zama (202), thus reducing Carthage to the position of a helpless mercantile city, and won a decisive victory over Antiochus of Syria at Magnesia in Lydia in 190. In the treatment of his material he based himself on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis,* Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, and especially on Macrobius'

«Σκιά του Ομήρου» και οι σολωμικές «επιφάνειες ποιητών» / «επιφάνειες σε ποιητές»: Μερικές αναγνωστικές αντιδράσεις» (*Ακτή* (Nicosia) 2.5 (Winter 1990) 32-47 and 2.6 (Spring 1991) 135-51)) examines the form of epiphany of the poets (or epiphany to the poets) in relation to *The Shade of Homer* and argues that the appearance of the shade comes either from the ancient Greek and Latin tradition, or from the later European classicism or from the modern Greek poetic tradition; all of them were familiar to Solomos. I thank Professor Kechagioglou for sending me a copy of this article.

1. *Op. cit.* p. 16 (and note 8 on p. 26).

2. David Ricks, *The Shade of Homer. A Study in Modern Greek Poetry* (CUP) 1989), p. 30.

Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis[1]. In Cirero's *Somnium* the revealer of the truths about the life after death, truths in which men can believe but which they cannot prove, is Scipio Africanus Maior a man of true prophetic nature, firm in speech and kinglike in thought; and the narrator of the dream is Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Minor, son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus in Pydna in 168, and the grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus Maior.

In the first book of the *Africa*[2] Petrarch makes Scipio Africanus the Elder drean of his father (not as in Cicero the Younger's dream of the Elder), who reveals Scipio's fortune in future years and addresses him as the Roman whose sole concern was the preservation of Rome. It is important that Scipio's father exhorts him to, and prophesizes, still greater actions, and, above all, he speaks of a poet who in years to come would sing of Scipio's exploits and whose song would be inspired not by a desire for recompense but «by love of the truth and sincere admiration for great deeds» (2.450-4). Scipio awakens from his dream at the beginning of the third book. In the fourth Scipio's portrait is given by his trusted friend Laelius and in the fifth (the most original book, together with the ninth), by exploiting the episode of Massinissa's overwhelming passion for Sophonisba, taken from Livy's history, Petrarch shows Scipio in the role of the mediator between passion and virtue. Most of the sixth book is devoted to the preparations of both sides for the impending attack and in the seventh after a meeting of the two enemies, Scipio and Hannibal, the battle is described at length. After Scipio's victory book eight develops his magnanimity, humility and popularity; we see Hannibal's praise by the victor, and his departure for the East, the confident Scipio overthrows all resistance around Carthage and finally he spares it and the Carthaginians from utter destruction; Scipio sets sail for Rome.

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1. Cf. the editions J. Willis, *Ambrosii Theodosii Macrobii, Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* (Teubner 1963); J.F. Stout, *Cicero Somnium Scipionis* (London s.d.).

2. See A.S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Scipio and the Africa». The Birth of Humanism's Dream* (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1962), and Th. G. Bergin and A.S. Wilson, *Petrarch's «Africa»* (Yale Univ. Press, New Haven and London 1977). My analysis follows these two works and owes much to them. Prose citations are from the former and citations in verse (though in the original numeration) from the latter. Latin text: F. Neri (et al.), *Francesco Petrarca Rima, Trionfi e Poesie Latine* (Milano, Napoli 1951).

In the last, ninth, book the poet seeks to raise his hero to a level of eternal and infinite greatness. On board we find Scipio asking Ennius, the poet-warrior and a trusted friend, to comfort him with words of wisdom that only true poets can utter. After the praise of Scipio, Ennius expresses his fear that the young Latin Muse is yet incapable of doing justice to Scipio's stature and that he will suffer the fate of Alexander who envied Achilles' great fortune of having had a singer like Homer, but perhaps a day will come when Scipio too will have a worthy singer:

> in some far future century perchance
> a poet may be born who will in song
> more worthy of you bear to Heaven your lauds
> well-merited and chant your great exploits... (60 ff.).

Continuing, Ennius speaks of poetry in a way that sheds light on the kind of poetry Petrarch was undertaking in the *Africa* and provides further insight into the significance of Scipio as the protagonist of the poem: «(the poet) must first anchor his work on the firmest foundations of truth... Whatever the labor of historians, whatever the cult of virtue and the lessons of life, whatever the study of nature, these are all rightful concerns of the poet» (90 f., 97 ff.). Petrarch thus establishes a tie between poetry and action, between the thinker and the doer. He had converted his hero, Scipio the Africanus the Elder, into a literary and poetic figure representing an ideal synthesis of the values inherent in history, philosophy, and poetry, into a humanistic ideal[1]. Urged by Scipio to continue, Ennius describes the role of the real *vates* and reveals his cult of Homer:

> Although his life was spent before the time
> of our first king, before the birth of Rome,
> yet in my thoughts I've brought him to our age
> and shaped an image of him, giving him
> true presence on my heart. No day, no night
> for me has passed without his company (149-52).

He then describes a dream that had appeared to him on the eve of the momentous battle. Homer appeared in it in all his majesty and glory and not only spoke of sublime truths but foretold Scipio's illustrious victory.

> Then in the depth of night - behold, I saw
> an aged man draw near, his body wrapped
> in fragments of a toga, with a beard

1. Bernardo, *Petrarch* pp. 110,44.

unkempt, his grizzled hair with strands of white.
His sockets had no eyes. That spectral face,
hollowed and gaunt, bore a crude majesty,
yet moved my heart to horror. I lay frozen.
Then, as might one whose sight is in his hands,
he fixed me in my fear and in Greek speech
addressed me: 'Friend, my only friend among
the Latins, greetings! Here stands what your heart
and mind have so long yearned for, here behold
Homer as he appeared in living flesh...' (166-75).

Ennius prostrate in humility sought to embrace his feet, but, alas, «he was a shade» (179), and Homer:

'Rise up', he said, 'and join me. Walk with me
as might an equal. While you yet have time
indulge yourself in colloquy with me,
such as you have for many years desired
but heretofore in vain. For you are worthy' (180-82).

When Ennius revealed to Homer the indistinct visions he had been having of a young man who in future ages was to return poetry to its rightful place in human affairs and asked Homer to clarify the visions, Homer predicted the birth of Petrarch and how, as a future son of Rome, he would restore the true dignity of poetry by singing of the glories of Scipio:

That youth in distant ages will recall
with his sweet notes the Muses, long exiled,
and though by tribulations sorely tried
he'll lure the venerable sisters back
to Helicon. He will be called Franciscus;
and all the glorius exploits you have seen
he will assemble in one volume-all
the deeds in Spain, the arduous Libyan trials;
and he will call his poem *Africa*.
How great will be his faith in his own gifts!
How strong the love of fame that leads him on!
At last in tardy triumph he ill climb
the Capitol...(229 ff.).

The poet placed special emphasis on Petrarch's coronation on the Capitoline and even implied a similarity between the greatness of Petrarch and that of Scipio. And when the «morning trumpet's blast dispelled» his dream was shattered and when he awoke he saw Sci-

pio in all his majesty as he urged his men on and broke camp (287-9). As the day ends Scipio confesses the pleasing effect of Ennius' words, and accepting Petrarch as his future singer, says: «From this very moment I gratefully cherish the young, new poet recently seen by you and formely by my forefather; with such double surety I hold him in special esteem...» (304-7). In the remainder of the book we see Italy welcome the heroes, Scipio in triumph, Petrarch's farewell to his poem and his hopes for future glory.

This is, therefore, at some length, the dream I am suggesting Solomos could have in mind when he wrote *The Shade of Homer.* Petrarch had made Ennius dream of Homer and speak to the Latin poet about him. What remains is to investigate Ennius' dream of Homer: why did Petrarch choose Ennius to dream of Homer? Petrarch built his *Africa* on the solid foundation of the third decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita.* He had studied and used Livy in his prose work *De viris illustribus,* which he started to compose shortly before *Africa* and continued writing it side by side with the epic poem. Petrarch's copy of Livy contains many marginal notes. Also, the dedication and the close of the *Africa* have a close parallel in the corresponding parts of the later Latin epic *Thebais* of Statius[1]. He also transferred motifs from Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis,* especially as it was glossed by Macrobius. Petrarch's first two books are largely a clever adaptation of Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*: Cicero's wise hero becomes Petrarch's ideal man of destiny. The closing words of Macrobius' *Commentary* (2.17.17) must have impressed Petrarch, as he says of Cicero's *Somnium*: «we must declare that there is nothing more complete than this work, which embraces the entire body of philosophy». It was, however, book 1, ch. 8 of Macrobius' *Commentary* which must have inspired Petrarch in his thought that servants of the commonwealth have a place reserved for them in heaven. «Cicero is right in claiming for the rulers of the commonwealth a place *where they may enjoy a blessed existence forever*» (8.12). The expansion of Ennius' role in the *Africa,* hardly mentioned by Macrobius, and his recurrent use of sun symbolism in connection with Scipio, elaborated by Macrobius in i 20.6, but not present in Cicero, are two indications of how both Cicero's *Somnium* and Macrobius' *Commentary* had exerted direct influence on Petrarch[2].

1. Cf. W. P. Mustard, «Petrarch's *Africa*» (*AJP* 42 (1921) 97-121) and R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Sholarship. From 1300 to 1850* (Oxford 1976) pp. 6-7.
2. Bernardo, *Petrarch* pp. 118-19, 112.

But the motif of the second dream was taken over by Ennius; and in retelling it Petrarch combined the few known fragments of Ennius with ideas of his own. Ennius (239-169 BC), the first Latin epic poet after Livius Andronicus and Naevius, was the founder of the hexameter epic in Rome. He had written *Scipio* about Scipio Africanus, almost certainly written before the *Annales,* of which only fragments survive. «Fragments and direct testimonia attest a dream encounter with Homer, who revealed in a discourse on the *anima rerum* that his soul had passed into Ennius. Allusions in Lucretius and Propertius seem to suggest that a meeting with the Muses also took place, in the course of which Ennius drank from the sacred spring of poetry and (or) received a wreath; but the evidence is tenuous»[1]. As for the dream itself it seems that in a vision the shade of Homer appeared to him and he then realized that he himself was Homer reincarnated, that anima *Homeri in suum corpus venisset*, as Porphyrio says (ad Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.50-2).

The Loeb editor, E. H. Warmington, reconstructs the *Annals'* prelude as follows[2]: After the first line which is an invocation of the Muses, and the exhortation to the readers «Homer, seen by Ennius on mount Helicon in a dream, was the source of inspiration». And he quotes Marcus Aurellius' letter to Fronto (*Epp.* vol. I p. 94 Haines): «And now I pass to our poet Ennius, who you say began to write after sleeping and dreaming... If ever, - *Fettered in soft calm sleep* as the poet says, I see you in dreams....». «Homer appears» (and according to Cicero, (*Ac. Pr.* II 16.51)) «When Ennius had dreamed this is what he told of it»-*Homer the poet appeared at my side* (: *visus Homerus adesse poeta*). «Opening of Homer's speech»: *O loving kindness of thy heart* and «tells how his soul migrated into Ennius' body» ... *I remember becoming a peacock,* on which a scholiast to Persius' *Prol.* 2-3 writes: «Persius alludes to Ennius, who states that in a dream he saw a vision of Homer on Parnassus; Homer said that his soul was in Ennius' body». And elsewhere: «thus commanded Ennius in his sense after he had snored out his dream that he was Maeonides» (Pers. vi 10-11; cf. the scholiast *ad loc.*)[3].

1. Otto Skutsch, *The «Annals» of Q. Ennius,* Edited with Introduction and Commentrary by-, (Oxford 1985) p. 147. Of the wide bibliography I cite, also, J. H. Wazink, «The Proem of the *Annales* of Ennius» (*Mnemosyne* ser. iv 3 (1950) 215-240) and «Retractatio Enniana» (*Mnemosyne* ser. iv 15 (1962) 113-132).

2. *Remains of Old Latin,* newly edited and translated by-, vol. i (London Cambridge Mass. 1961).

3. Cf. also Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* 1.117-23 and C. Bailey's *Commentary* (Oxford 1963) *ad loc.*

Being the «pupil of the Muses» Ennius received his instruction to write the *Annales* from Homer, or more plausible this instruction was given by the Muses. Cf. in this context: *magistra Homeri Calliopa, magister Enni Homerus et Somnus* (Fronto, *de eloqu.* 2.15). *Magister* refers to Homer's actual «teaching», that is, to his revelation *de rerum natura*. «Homer», the subject of Ennius' dream, is synonym with *sophia* and «philosophy», since the philosophical exposition constituted the very contents of Homer's revelation[1].

O. Skutsch collects all the references to the dream[2]. He also argues for Ennius' debt to other literature: «It would seem, therefore, that Ennius, indebted for the general idea of the poet's dream to Hesiod and Callimachus, of whose *περίπυστον ὄνειαρ* (*AP* 7.42) he cannot possibly have been unaware, and breaking away from the Callimachean ban on the imitation of Homer, replaced the meeting with the Muses by that with Homer»[3]. Note also that Aeschylus claimed to have dreamed that Dionysus commanded him to write tragedy (Paus. 1.21.2) (= Test. 111 Radt).

Silius Italicus (26- *c.* 101 AD) in his *Punica*, the longest Latin poem in 12,200 verses, on the Second Punic War, makes Scipio Africanus (Major) descend to Hades where he sees the spirits of his kinsmen and many ghosts of famous men and women, and is predicted the death of Hannibal by the Sibyl (Book xiii). In vv. 778-797 Scipio sees the ghost of Homer, «whose hair rippled over his shining shoulders», and wishes that Homer could also sing of Roman heroes, suggesting in an oblique way that he himself would like to be as great as Homer and do for the Romans and Scipio what Homer had done for Achilles and the other Greeks. In xii, 387-413 Silius introduces Ennius as a combatant in the war and in vv. 407-13 Apollo prophesies that he will exalt the Roman leaders in his poetry and «he shall teach Helicon to repeat the sound of Roman poetry, and he shall equal the sage of Ascra (i.e. Hesiod) in glory and honour»[4].

Callimachus' dream is found in the first book (fr. 2 Ph.) of his *Aetia*, which dealed with legends and stories connected with the «origins» or «causes» of Greek customs, religious practices and historical (or semi-historical) events. «At the beginning of the work», as A.W. Bulloch summarizes[5], «the poet imagined himself as a young

1. Cf. Waszink, «The Proem» p. 240 and «Retractatio» pp. 119, 121, 125 ff.
2. *The «Annals»* pp. 150-3. Cf. also Waszink, «The Proem» pp. 215 ff.
3. *Ib.* p. 148. Cf. also Waszink, «The Proem» pp. 230 ff.
4. J. D. Duff, *Silius Italicus Punica* vol. ii (London 1934, repr. 1961, Loeb).
5. *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature, I Greek Literature,* Edd.

man transported in a dream to Mount Helicon in mainland Greece the site where Hesiod once met the Muses when he was herding his sheep (*Theog.* 22ff.), and where he now encountered the same Muses at the spring. Poet and Muses conversed, and *Aetia* 1 and 2 are an account of the questions which Callimachus posed on numerous topics, and the answers which the Muses gave». As an ancient scholiast puts it: ὡς κατ' ὄναρ συμμείξας ταῖς Μούσαις ἐν Ἑλικῶνι εἰλήφοι παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν αἰτίων ἐξήγησιν ἀρτιγένειος ὤν....[1]. Hesiod's famous lines in the *Theogony* (vv. 27-32) are:

...ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα
ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.
ὣς ἔφασαν κοῦραι μεγάλου Διὸς ἀρτιέπειαι·
καί μοι σκῆπτρον ἔδον, δάφνης ἐριθηλέος ὄζον
δρέψασθαι θηητόν· ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν
θέσπιν, ἵνα κλείοιμι τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα,...

The whole theme of the dream incorporates, of course, Pythagorean ideas, with which Ennius was familiar from his youth in southern Italy and might be current in Rome in his day, and which he had himself employed in the *Epicharmus*. Homer was held in reverence in Pythagorean circles. The revelation by Homer was in fact an exposition of the Pythagorean doctrine concerning *τὰ περὶ φύσεως*. If Stesichorus already claimed to possess the soul of Homer, Ennius might have taken the idea from him and clothed it in the Pythagorean form. An epigram, which must be ascribed rather to Antipater of Thessalonica than to Antipater of Sidon, says:

(Στασίχορον) οὗ, κατὰ Πυθαγόρεω φυσικὰν φάτιν ἁ πρὶν Ὁμήρου
ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεύτερον ὠκίσατο (*AP* 7.75)[2].

Whether Ennius was influenced by Antipater (if it is Antipater of Sidon) or both the Antipaters by Ennius, or all may indepedently have borrowed from common Pythagorean stock (e. g. Heraclides Ponticus) the idea of Homer's soul desceding into a later poet, the epigram and its meaning stresses the Pythagorean element in the theme. According to the peripatetic philosopher Hermippos, Pataikos claimed to possess the soul of Aesopus (Plu. *Solon* 6.7). The de-

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by P.E. Easterling and B.M.W. Knox (Cambridge 1985) p. 554. Cf. J.H. Waszink «The Proem» pp. 237 ff.

1. Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus* vol. I (Oxford 1949-53) pp. 9, 11.

2. Cf. A.S.F. Gow- D.L. Pagō, *The Garland of Philip* vol. ii (Cambridge 1968) pp. 18 ff., 77-8 and id. *Hellenistic Epigrams* vol. ii (Cambridge 1965) pp. 31 ff.

scent of Ennius' soul from Homer is clearly modelled on that of Pythagoras' soul from Euphorbus. Ennius may have known a south-Italian story in which the soul of Euphorbus passed into a peacock and hence into Pythagoras. According to Heraclides of Pontos Pythagoras said himself that he was given by Hermes the soul's reincarnation and the favour to remember all events, both in life or in death (14A 8(D-K)).

And in the whole idea of the migration of souls Ennius may have seen a symbol of his conviction that the creation of a Roman epic was not imitation but a new birth, as happened with other types of Greek poetry introduced later in Rome. Also, it may be a rhetorical device, κοινός τόπος, like that which the rhetorician Menander recommends as a suitable enlargment for the beginning of a panegyric, the thought that only Homer or the Muses themselves could deal worthily with the theme in hand (3.369.7-12). Callimachus had made himself dream of the Muses: Ennius' dream must be seen as an attempt not to defy the Callimachean imagery but to circumvent it.

As for the place of the encounter, whether Mt. Helicon or Mt. Parnassus was Ennius' mountain of the Muses can hardly be decided, since none of the countless arguments adduced in favour of the one or the other carries conviction. And whether the setting was part of the dream or was described as reality cannot be deduced from any external evidence[1]. Solomos dreamed in his bed (κλίνη), obviously, at home; Petrarch dreamed in his tent in the camp (*hic michi* (sic) ... *affuit in somnis,* vv. 158-9).

Returning to the relationship between Solomos and Petrarch, I recapitulate the obvious similarities between the *Africa* and *The Shade of Homer*: (a) in the depth of night... I saw an aged man draw near (:*nocte sub alta aspicio adventare senem*, vv. 166-7): βαθὺς ὕπνος μὲ πιάνει, / κι ὁμπροστά μου ἕνας γέροντας μοῦ ἐφάνη; to this one must add the νυκτικὴ γαλήνη (of line 5); (b) his body wrapped in fragments of a toga, with a beard unkept, and (c) his grizzled hair with strands of white (: *rara tegebant frusta toge* (sic) *et canis immixta et squallida barba*, 167-8): στὰ παλαιὰ τὰ ροῦχα του, σχισμένα, / ἐκινοῦσε τὸ φύσημα τοῦ ἀέρος / τὰ ἀριὰ μαλλιά του, ὅλ' ἀσπρισμένα (vv. 10-12); (d) his sockets had no eyes (: *sedibus exierant oculi*, 169): τὰ μάτια ἐστριφογύριζε σβησμένα (v. 14); (e) as might one whose sight is in his hands ... addressed me (: *manu similisque videnti*, 171): ὡσὰν νά 'χε τὸ φῶς του, ἤλ-

1. In spite of various aspects, cf. Skutsch, *The «Annals»*, p. 149; Waszink, «Retractatio» pp. 121 ff.

θε κοντά μου. To these one must add (f) the night in which the dream takes place (: *pernox, nocte*): νυκτικὴ γαλήνη (v. 5) and (g) that the old man is a shade (: *umbra,* v. 179) : σκιά; with the more reason that the usual word in the Odyssean *Νέκυια*, is ψυχὴ (11.51, 84, 141; cf. 207).

On the other hand one must note the differences. In the Greek poem we have: (a) Στὸ ἀκρογιάλι ἀναπαύοταν... which does not appear in *Africa* (except if we see the general scene of the camp in Zama, and must be a reminiscence either from the *Iliad* (1.350; 332) or an imitation of Aeschylus' famous long silences in various plays[1]; (b) also, the passage preceding the vision, i. e. almost the whole first ottave in the Greek text, is different: peace is spread over in Solomos' text (: εἰρήνη, γαλήνη), while in *Africa* fragile hopes, doubts, deep concern, uncertainty (: *maxima pernox / cura animum tenuit,* vv. 164--5; *in dubio spes fessa pependit,* v. 163). This may be Solomos' debt to romanticism, but even so (c) peace, present in Solomos, or absent in Petrarch, appears in both texts: peace was nowhere (: *fracta nam pace sub armis / omnia fervebant,* vv. 160-1): εἰρήνη / ὅλην, ὅλην τὴν φύση ἀκινητοῦσε. Solomos' soul is again in anxieties as it is obvious from that 'Απάντεχα, but it may be understood better if connected with the anxieties of Petrarch' s soul described in the dream. (d) And, of course, in the *Africa* the old man introduces himself as Homer (175).

But most important of the omissions is what Homer said to the Roman poet, which is not included in the Greek text: we are left with what Polylas has told us. As we saw, Petrarch had made Homer speak with much certainty and confidence about his own poetry- a strong positive self-criticism: Petrarch is called descendant, equal to or worthy of Homer (*ex equo, dignus es,* 180). But Petrarch was already a well-known poet when he had finished *Africa*: Solomos was at the beginning of his career and it would have been very arrogant to make Homer speak of him as his descendant - for this reason he left bare and ambiguous what the shade said to him. But perhaps we may modify Polylas' note: i.e. the shade not merely ordered the poet to write in the demotice language, but mainly recognized in him his descendant who was undertaking the duty to continue the poetry of the Greek language; like Petrarch, he will recall the Muses from a long exile. Solomos did not need «what» Homer had said to Pet-

1. Cf. O. Taplin, «Aeschylean Silences and Silences in Aeschylus» (*HSCP* 76 (1972) 57-97).

rarch, but simply that he addressed him in Greek. In *Africa* Homer «in Greek speech addressed me» (: *graioque hec more profatur,* v. 172): the Greek ἦλθε κοντά μου implies first that Homer spoke to him and secondly «what» he said. From this aspect the well-known sayings by his Italian teacher: «Greco, tu farai dimenticare il nostro Monti» or by Tricoupis when he said to the poet that his destination was to be the founder of a new philology in Greece[1] may be seen as what the shade of Homer would have told him. Solomos (like other poets) substitutes himself in the place of an ancient authority (in this case Homer)- and there are, indeed, many ways of expressing this idea[2]. This substitution constitutes in effect invocation of the Muses and the parallel with (or more likely debt to) Petrarch makes the mission of Solomos most clear.

1. *Prolegomena* by Polylas in Polites pp. 10, 18.

2. e.g. Solomos in *Σαπφώ* (pp. 102-3), *Ορφέας* (pp. 114-5) (*Άπαντα τόμ.* Β' Παράρτημα); Palamas in his *Ασκραίος* (*Άπαντα, τόμ.* 3, pp. 203-22) etc. and Elytes in *Άξιον Εστί.* Kechagioglou's article (p. 176 note 6) may be seen as a learned starting point on this subject.

Η ΣΚΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΜΗΡΟΥ: ΣΟΛΩΜΟΣ, ΠΕΤΡΑΡΧΗΣ, ΕΝΝΙΟΣ

Περίληψη

Η «Σκιά του Ομήρου» έχει επηρεαστεί από την *Africa* του Πετράρχη, ένα ποίημα από 6.730 εξαμέτρους στίχους στα λατινικά, με θέμα τα κατορθώματα του Σκιπίωνα κατά το δεύτερο καρχηδονικό πόλεμο. Ο Πετράρχης έχει βασιστεί στα έργα *Somnium Scipionis* του Κικέρωνα, *Ab urbe condita* του Τ. Λίβιου, *Thebais* του Στατίου, και στο *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* του Μακρόβιου.

Στο ένατο βιβλίο της *Africa* (131 κ.ε., 157 κ.ε.), ο Πετράρχης παρουσιάζει τον Έννιο, που συνοδεύει τον Σκιπίωνα, να ονειρεύεται τον Όμηρο, ο οποίος ως σκιά απευθυνόμενος σε αυτόν στα ελληνικά του προλέγει την εμφάνιση του Πετράρχη, τη συγγραφή της *Africa* και τη στέψη του στο Καπιτώλιο. Στο σολωμικό κείμενο διαπιστώνονται παράλληλα χωρία και αυτούσιες μεταφορές από την *Africa*, ενώ είναι εύγλωττη η απουσία του «τι» είπε ο Όμηρος στον Σολωμό. Εξετάζονται επίσης τα αποσπάσματα από τα *Annales* του Έννιου που αναφέρονται στην εμφάνιση του Ομήρου στο όνειρό του, η επίδραση που δέχτηκε σε αυτό, καθώς και η σχέση του με την αρχαία ελληνική λογοτεχνία (Ησίοδος, Καλλίμαχος, *Παλατινή Ανθολογία*).

Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων

Ι. Ν. Περυσινάκης