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Cavafy Analogues :
Ancient Greek, Byzantine, Decadent and Estheticist.

Converse with spirits . . .
Describe the horoscope, haruspicate or scry,
Observe disease in signatures, evoke
Biography from the wrinkles of the palm
And tragedy from fingers; release omens
By sortilege, or tea leaves, riddle the inevitable
With playing cards, fiddle with pentagrams
Or barbituric acids, or dissect
The recurrent image into pre-conscious terrors-
To explore the womb, or tomb, or dreams; all these are usual
Pastimes and drugs, and features of the press:
And always will be.

T. S. Eliot, *The Four Quartets*

"Not matching . . . making."
Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy*

Interest in the types and kinds of interaction among texts in the western literary tradition from the Urals to the latest URL's has always been assumed, and rightly so, of the humanities specialists in general and of Classical comparatists in particular.¹ For the last two hundred years, however, quite possibly under the illusion that philology too might become "scientific," the approach most frequently used with regard to the mode of textual interaction was borrowed from either biology or mechanics.² One "body" affecting or producing another was thought adequate to basing veridical opinion regarding primary creations and their role in generating secondary ones. One need only imagine how this framework for the study of relationships might simplify or reduce the complexity of historical data and how desperate protochronologists of every stripe have always been for ways of saying that a particular item of study was older and, therefore, better than another.³

Influence and imitation tracking has so bedeviled the writing of national literary histories to this day that there will never be a lack of the patriot philologist of our times as there was never was a lack of the 19th century folklorist who first fetishized the concept of tradition—practices and performances that were consciously passed down from one generation to the next through periods of apprenticeship—in order to demonstrate a community's cultural continuity since remotest antiquity and, if possible, its uniqueness: romantically privileged notions both. Tradition is still being

thought, unfortunately, as the core element of peoples' religious and civil identity, the silent shibboleth among individuals progressively less and less certain of their allegiances over time.⁴

It is quite possible, too, that it was the overturning of all romantic identities that the creative end of the nineteenth century was really about. Scholars astonished at F. P. Marinetti's "Manifesto" (1909) or the Dada "Zürich Insurrection" (1916)—C. P. Cavafy's dates, incidentally, being 1863 to 1933—lose sight of the persistent challenging of every conceivable human, scientific and social verity that had preceded them and paved the way for them. Henry Adams (1838–1918) in his autobiographical *Education*, 1918, knew whereof he wrote when he included "The Dynamo and the Virgin" chapter. In it, beyond the transition from the Middle Ages to his own age, Adams anticipated both reversals and revolutions as they occurred during his lifetime. He theorized extensively on entropy and the second law of thermodynamics but also on communications and ideology, cosmology and psychology.

Cavafy's coming of age, from the mid-1870's through the 1930's, were neither the best of times, nor the worst of times. Ibsen coincided with such extremes as Nechayev and Theosophy. George Bernard Shaw and Havelock Ellis almost completely overlapped with Raymond Roussel, Alfred Jarry, Kandinsky, Kafka, Joyce and Musil. Apollinaire and Valéry probed and dissected the Dickenses and Tolstoys of their times. The Fauves, Picasso and the cubists were throwing their de-forming weight around. Pound, Eliot, Lorca, Dos Passos and Breton made tall waves between the notion of the cultural "persona" and the "camera eye." Cinema, jazz, Mahler, Schönberg, Brancusi and Satie, were hypnotizing middle-class sophisticates who had seen everything. Edwin (the bi-dimensional) Abbott, Gaston (the quadri-dimensional) de Pawlowski, Duchamp, Planck and Einstein, warped the spatiotemporal continua and disambiguated gravity. Husserl and Heidegger, Diels and Krantz, Jung and Freud recast the poetics of consciousness both shockingly and consequentially. Yet, since Cavafy's times already, and to our days, the scholarship has been circling in ever tighter circles around, e.g., the 1897 war, the Asia Minor disaster, the population exchanges between Greece and Turkey, and, oh, the language question; but only fitfully around the liberation of Thessaloniki or the October Revolution.⁵

The fires of the Greek ethnocentric worldviews were fueled by Ernest Renan's *Prière sur l' Acropole* (occasioned in 1865; published in 1883) that was being republished, illustrated and translated well into Cavafy's lifetime.⁶ As a match to Cavafy's more general mournful "angle to the universe," Renan's grandiloquent "prayer" could demonstrably satisfy any "demise of Hellenism" approach to his poems and his personality. And with its historicist baggage too. The use of the past tense in Edgar Allan Poe's "To Helen" (revised, 1845 version), i.e., " the glory that *was* Greece . . . the grandeur that *was* Rome"—my emphasis—are but one-word précis of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1789). From Rousseau and

Schopenhauer to Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*, the nineteenth century had a surfeit of pessimists who only saw evanescence and senescence everywhere—two cases in point would be T. S. Eliot's "Gerontion," 1920; and Lawrence Durrell's references to Cavafy as the "Old Man" in his *Alexandria Quartet* (1957-1960)—plain loss of memory and the abyss—in Renan's words—in places where the gods and humans once reveled wildly. Gibbon's view of the downward cycles of history carried sentiments from Joachim du Bellay's *Regrets* (1853-58; "*Nouveau venu, qui cherches Rome en Rome / Et rien de Rome en Rome n'aperçois . . .*;" Newcomer, looking for Rome in Rome, and seeing nothing of Rome in Rome . . .). Du Bellay's speaker is addressing a visitor to Rome no doubt, but, also, with him, the reader visitor to an inexistent landscape, formerly known as "Rome." Translators from Heywood on, to Spenser, Quevedo, even Ezra Pound and to Cavafy's haunting "Ἀλεξάνδρεια πὸν χάνεις," (the Alexandria you are losing), the speaker in the poem, together with the reader, watch the passing of an era, the absconding of a once great city gradually fading out of hearing range and into the synesthetically all-engulfing night. ("Ἀπολείπειν ὁ θεὸς Ἀντώνιον," God is abandoning Antony). The genealogy of the *gnome* is, undoubtedly, impressive.

Were we to stay with the emblem of the Acropolis of Athens a little longer, we might find another use for it. It happened during the 1904 visit by Sigmund Freud. Freud first exclaims to his brother Alexander that the sight of the monument is exactly as "the books" showed it. But, right away, Freud checks himself and turns his initial expression of wonderment into the unmasking of a whole set of associations that are anything but the kitschy postcard one would expect from a classicist doctor on a tour. The initial, spontaneously rhapsodic tone of the ejaculation is picked up like the tell-tale trace of serious personal implications.

In just a few swift strokes Freud evokes a Spanish folk song (King Boabdil's lament at the news of the fall of Alhambra, news that he disses by killing the messenger). Freud then adduces Napoleon's self-coronation in the Notre Dame (and the symbolic decapitation of the Pope Pius VII). He, next, brings up memories of his father's account of a racist incident that had occurred on a Sabbath day (the young Jakob Freud's hat was slapped by a Christian boy into the mud). A chilling *Entfremdungsgefühl* (feeling of alienation; a term often Englished as "derealization") frames and enlarges the disparate registers of one deeply recessed and internalized family insult, a literary text foreshadowing, eventually, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and the visualization—à la Jacques-Louis David, perhaps—of a new autocrat rejecting the authority of an older one. The range is so dazzling, the synecdochic leaps so wide and the connecting tissue of the occulted parricide so persistent that it is finally projected from Moses' critique of the Torah to the trauma that characterizes all of the Jewish nation and possibly all human civilization.

Freud's "disturbance," bridging guilt with a specific "local" culture, could go a long way towards appreciating the returns of a non-ethnocentric reading of Cavafy. And if

we linger a bit longer on his "God Abandons Anthony" we will encounter no fewer hyperbatons than those in Freud's letter. Beginning with the white mythology of the Plutarch apocryphon, continuing with the exhortation and apostrophe (cf., « . . . ἴσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου . . . », Ἰησοῦς τοῦ Ναυῆ 1.7· "be strong and very courageous," *Joshua* 1.7), and the appeal to the sense of dignity in the face of loss, Cavafy's poem is every bit as pointed and concise as Freud's painful self-analysis and universalizing projection.⁷ Asking an implied listener not to weep is as old as John Donne's "A Valediction Forbidding Mourning." All the stoic references to self-restraint at the passing of a life are there: ". . . So let us melt, and make no noise / No tear-floods, nor sigh-tempests move; / 'Twere profanation of our joys / To tell the laity our love . . ." More narrowly, even, bidding farewell to one's past became the subject of a painting representing King Boabdil—of Freud's epistulary memory—leaving Granada (Alfred Dehodencq, 1822–1882, "*Les Adieux du roi Boabdil à Grenade*"); and, no less, Paul's heartbreaking presencing of a diminuendo, in his *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*: ". . . Μωϋσῆς ἐτίθει κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ καταργουμένου . . ." (2 *Cor.* 3.13: . . . Moses put a veil over his face to prevent the Israelites from seeing the passing away of the glory of God from him; literally, of what was being done away with). The caption of an English visual document might be able to epitomize the withdrawal trope best: It is Ford Madox Brown's 1855 tondo "The Last of England."



An ancient rhapsode would have had no hesitation in wondering out loud about the right way to "*eniplexein*" or interweave his subject, C. P. Cavafy, in our case, in a poem deserving of the name. The poetics of place and time, of the lyric vs. the epic, Cavafy's turn of the century *floruit* and the coordinates of Constantinople, London and Alexandria at the turn of the century, could be expected, through the agency of a creative act, as with all the Near-Eastern Olympians before him, to elevate Cavafy to the status of another conflicted God inside his myth. In keeping with the wider iconoclastic times, our rhapsode would have to admit, also, that there had been tectonic changes in the ways classical studies were being conducted. The pattern of doing "German seminar-like" philology was giving way to more and more talk of "composition in performance, and of "oral formulaic" styles—over tens of thousands of verses—as sung by "rude mechanics" from Southern Yugoslavia and Western Bulgaria. The ultimate model of authorial sublimation ("Homer, the writer") would progressively recede and disappear.

The shifts in methodology can begin to be noticed in Milman Parry's, (1902-1935), M. A. Thesis for the Department of Classics at the University of California, Berkeley.

By the time Parry reached his conclusions regarding the structures and linguistic processes that produce an oral poem, the folklorists' beloved "tradition" was being bent to acquire new meanings.⁸ T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) resorted to the same "key word," and he too required his readers to re-think it, and to forget whatever specialists in other areas might mean by it. Eliot's new concept of tradition presupposed the presence of all of past literature in a poet's present, minus, of course, the intervening processes of personal stages or verbatim memorization.⁹

By an interesting coincidence Eliot's theory of the constant peeking of the "classics" through the work of our contemporaries was being formulated at approximately the same time as Carl Gustav Jung's theory of the archetypes.¹⁰ Except for the fact that Eliot's essay went much farther. It suggested, unhesitatingly, that the "time present" (as he would put it in his *Four Quartets*) affects the "time past" also, a point that might embolden us to appreciate the extent to which, say, the poems of Cavafy have been altering, with each new reading, the imagery and the structure, in short, the ontological status itself of their antecedents in the monumental poetry compilation we call the Greek Anthology!¹¹

The working assumption of this paper is that Eliot in his 1919 essay emerged as the consummate and most mature incarnation himself of the discipline of classical scholarship at work in the British Isles during the long 19th Century. The "analogues" in my title imply the exact opposite of the "influences" believed to have been brought upon Cavafy's poems by select poems of the Greek Anthology. The Anthology of the Cavafy analogues is very much deserving of study, I would insist, because the vast multitude of the poems in it (from Meleagros of Gadara to the Planudean Appendix) could be counted upon not to have supplied many direct "sources" for Cavafy. Sensitive analysis of non-conscious patterning could at least help chart a course that future research might take in the area of other varieties of literary osmosis that may be noticed in the rest of the Cavafy canon as well.¹²

Be it said in passing that T. S. Eliot and Cavafy had already been triangulated both before and after the WWII, by none other than George Seferis.¹³ We ought not, certainly, make light of the part in the two poets' lives that Seferis almost glosses over. Namely that both men were by turns highly celebrated and bitterly resisted in their own lifetimes. Eliot and Cavafy, not to mention Shakespeare and Oscar Wilde, would feel in good company under this rubric.¹⁴

Cavafy had spent his early adolescence years in England between 1872 to 1877 where awareness of the bard's well-known platonic androgyny could have reached him through myriad avenues. The British culture of the end of the nineteenth century that Cavafy so openly embraced had long known Theocritus and Marlowe, not to mention the countless "libertines" descended from them and the Decadents (e.g., John Wilmot, John Cleland besides all the "other Victorians") who were available both above and below the counter.¹⁵

Benjamin Jowett's translation of Plato had been around since 1871 thus coinciding with Oscar Wilde's (1854-1900) early creative years. And regardless of Jowett's emphatic assertions that in dialogues such as the *Charmides* or the *Symposium*, references to the "love" between men were never sexual, the ongoing discussions of the times were charged with cross-references to the various male *amatores* in Lucian, Plutarch, Julian—Cavafy's Julian, the last pagan Emperor—as well as to the Greek Anthology! Wilde embodied an intense interest and investment in "Greece," classical and post-classical, the fountainhead of free love and esthetic idealism. 1877, Cavafy's last year in England, coincides with Oscar Wilde's travels to Greece—in imitation of Byron, perhaps—where he was photographed in Greek national costume. During his 1882 lecture tour of the United States Wilde would meet Walt Whitman whose "Calamus" poems would be eventually shepherded into print by the arch-decadent writer and photographer John Addington Symonds (1840-1893).¹⁶

In spite of Cavafy's and Whitman's widely divergent visions there was found room in both of their agendas for sets of parallel meditations on love and loneliness, on city settings and on poetry as resonance. E. g., Whitman's "A Glimpse," and "Among the Multitude," on the one hand, and Cavafy's "Στοῦ καφενεῖου τὴν εἴσοδο" (1915; By the Cafe Door), with his "Νὰ μείνει" (1919; Comes to Reside).¹⁷ More immediately, though, the "tradition" of the Anthology might begin with a long list of poems traceable to it but which were probably never consciously imitated by Cavafy. The list might then continue with Cavafy's brashly antiheroic themes, as in his signature "Waiting for the Barbarians;" themes well exemplified by Archilochus' poem on the abandoned shield and by Anacreon (and Callimachus) on the superiority of the love lyric over the epic. For Cavafy's general tone of fatalism we might look no farther than Simonides' epigram on the fallen at Thermopylae, the pace setter for so many other grave epigrams in the Anthology.

Cavafy's poems dealing with writing, oratory, the command of the Greek language and its classics, even with literary fashions, are abundantly anticipated in the Anthology. In its compressed reference to erudition, Simmias' epitaph on Sophocles could serve as an example. Learning, in combination with the theme of time's passing, mortality, exile and far-flung displacement in Syria, Egypt, Phoenicia and Greece tends to recur almost everywhere in the Anthology and in Cavafy. His poem on the clueless mother who will be forever expecting her son's return has a parallel in Damagetos' poem about bringing tidings of death to the parents of the deceased. The elements of distance and sentimentality, not to mention the pathos implicit in the irony of the reader knowing what the chief character in the poem never will, keep recurring in Parrhasios, Poseidippos, and the countless Anonymous elegiacs on the theme of the "living" memory. As a meta-text, the poem often recounting—or re-enacting—the style of a stela functioning as the bridge which alone is able to bring back the dead to life, however briefly, or dreamily—the precedent, going as far back as Homer, *Iliad*, XXIII, regarding Achilles and Patroclus—but also permitting the

dead to speak from the grave, to memorialize themselves and their former lives. Cavafy's "Τεχνουργὸς Κρατήρων" (Craftsman of Wine Bowls, the vases, stelae-like, or *oggetti parlanti*) is anticipated by Asklepiades' description of precious objects in the genre of "ekphrasis" which again, take us to the Shield of Achilles in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*.

Wide ranging variations on life lived to its fullest, even unto the death, are exemplified by Philitas and Meleager, on men and women who "loved to love" and by Phalaikas and Hedylos on hard drinkers. The allusions to "grieving friends," i.e., former drinking and bed-hopping companions are, similarly, beyond count. We probably ought to speak of "life and love" lived to their fullest. Antipater of Sidon is explicit about physical attraction remaining strong in spite of the prospect of aging.

It should be apparent to any reader that the range of Cavafy's references to sexuality is as extensive as those in the Anthology: lovers' rivalries are in evidence in Glaukos' and Straton's poems on fickle youths and on seduction strategies. Isidoros contemplates a former beauty now grown unsightly, resonating with Cavafy's visualization of the wrinkles on a face that was once loved. But while the notorious Rhianos, Straton and Krinagoras of the Greek Anthology explicitly mentioned in Cavafy's "Νέοι τῆς Σιδῶνος (400 μ.Χ.)" (1920; Young Men of Sidon, [400 A. D.]) we would do well to consider if, perhaps, the mention even of these poets might not mask other poetries and themes that are elaborated and echoed in Cavafy in a more general sense. Cavafy's autobiographical statement concerning the mapping out of his work during the "wanton days of his youth" might as well be made to cover his art, and to the same extent as his lifestyle.



But to return to the English 19th Century which to most scholar's minds is all too neatly encapsulated under Cavafy's awareness and use of John Ruskin and Robert Browning's dramatic monologues. To all appearances source hunting has done, once again, its job of obscuring, with ringing finality, every human insight into the genesis and processes of poetry. Mechanistic "influence / imitation" studies, will forever stop short of relating Browning's poetry—his well attested knowledge of the classics—to its unseen roots in the very same tradition of the Greek Anthology that operates in Cavafy. The most cursory survey of the British poetry being written during this eminent Victorian's long lifetime is bound to give a clearer idea of the important overlap both with Browning and with Cavafy's creative repertory.

The earliest "esthete," it turns out, went by the name of Michael Field, the *nom de plume* masking Katherine Bradley (1846-1913). She is the explicit intermediary

between Baudelaire—in her poem by the same name—and Cavafy’s description of his twilight interior with mirrors, flowers, candles, complete with oriental carpet. Field’s “The Poet” has silent lips that point directly to Cavafy’s vision of a future persona which will, at long last, not fear to speak its true convictions (“Κρυμμένα,” [Concealed]). Field uncannily unreels “A Dance of Death” that joins her to all the other dancers to Salome’s tune, gruesome paradoxes included, that we recognize in Oscar Wilde’s as well as in Cavafy’s “Salome” from his *Κρυμμένα* cycle (The Concealed Poems, 1877-1923).

Oscar Wilde’s *Salome* (1891), written originally in French, was sent for correction, of all people, to Pierre Louÿs, the “tasteful” pornographer. By any designation, estheticist or decadent, Wilde is the theorist-apparent and martyr of the entire current but, in many important respects, also the classical catalyst for the entire current that was to reach the contingent of Cavafy cohorts, Platon Rodokanakis and Napoleon Lapathiotis.¹⁸

Arthur Symons (1865-1945) publishes his “Decadent Movement in Literature” in 1893, a full three years before renaming it as the “Symbolist Movement in Literature” (1896 and 1919). The credo links Mallarmé, Maeterlinck and Huysmans to the spirit and the practice of literary “decadence.” The linguistic preciousness and visual imagery the authors of this movement favor are frequently reminiscent of the half-forgotten “aureate” style of the Scottish Chaucerians e.g., Robert Henryson (1460-1500); William Dunbar (1459-1530); Sir David Lindsay (1490-1555). Cavafy’s description of the sumptuous sights, smells, sounds and colors of the Greek Orthodox church pageantry and rituals could easily have been derived from Baudelaire although the English cavalier poets (especially on the subject of dressing and undressing, Robert Herrick, Richard Lovelace, *et al.*) may not be far behind.¹⁵ Lionel Johnson (1867-1902) should be treated as both a poet in his own right as well as an addendum (e.g., in his “A Decadent Lyric”) to Symons’ “less wholesome love lyrics,” lyrics of torrid couplings and “limbs” piling upon feverish limbs, naturally.

Lord Alfred Douglas (1872-1943), of the famous “. . . I am the love that dares not speak its name . . .” (from his poem “Two Loves”) was quoted by the Prosecutor for the Crown during Oscar Wilde’s trial. Douglas’ “Rejected” (published in Paris, 1896: “. . . I will have none of Christ / And Apollo will have none of me. . .”) resembles the religious ambivalence of so many of Cavafy’s personae.

With Aubrey Beardsley (1872-1898) we are clearly in the area of irreverence. The medievalism of his *Venus and Tannhäuser* (begun in 1896), satirizing the Pre-Raphaelite “learning” of his time (and the revivals of countless Arthurian, Dantesque and Old Norse themes, not to mention his “illustrations” of Aristophanes!) parallels perfectly Cavafy’s sardonic forays into Hellenistic, Alexandrian and Byzantine settings for his poems.

Only two years younger than Beardsley, Olive Custance (pen name for Lady Alfred Douglas, 1874-1944) closes the cycle of the better known decadents. Custance too, like Katherine Bradley, *aka* Michael Field, the most senior member of the movement, chose to conceal her relationship to the movement's protagonists and assume a pseudonym. Her poem "Candle-Light" (". . . Frail golden flowers that perish at a breath . . . Delicate flowers of Death. . . ") was collected in her 1911 book of poems. It is prolix, but it parallels Cavafy's laconic "Κεριά" (Candles, 1899).

And were we to seek an antecedent for Cavafy's "Ithaca" (1911), his other signature lyric, we would need look no farther than Walter Pater's "Not the fruit of experience but experience itself [as] the end" formulated at the time when the talk of the town was not artistic decadence or estheticism but Théophile Gautier's motto "art pour l'art" and, his antecedent, Edgar Allan Poe's "the poem for the poem's sake."¹⁹ Cavafy's anti-didacticism is significantly attested by his library holdings in which at least two important estheticist writers are in plain evidence: there are no fewer than seven Richard Le Galienne titles, and one Oscar Wilde *Calendar* (Stuart Mason ed., London: Palmer Publ., 1910) containing quotations for each day of the year.



Of the masking of sensuality as sensuousness, there may be none more confusing than Cavafy's closing verse ". . . ὁ ἔνδοξός μας Βυζαντινισμός" (. . . the glory of our being Byzantine; from his heavily estheticist poem titled "Στὴν ἐκκλησία," 1912; In Church) in which neither doctrine nor ritual matter much. The senses do. For one, the word "Byzantine" connoting court intrigue and chicanery would certainly fit any number of Cavafy's political or historical poems. As a climactic note, however, on the "interiors" and associations of a Greek Orthodox church, "byzantine" is an altogether different story. And a story it is.

As far as the "scene" of editorializing on mainland Greece during Cavafy's early appearance in print Periklis Giannopoulos (1869-1910) couldn't be beat as an example of the vocal conflating of the most disparate elements under the heading of Byzantine. He first credited the "Byzantine" past of modern Greece as the key to the understanding of both Greece and the Greeks. His articles under the general title "Πρὸς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν Ἀναγέννησιν" (Towards the Greek Renaissance) proclaim ". . . ἡ μεγαλειτέρα καὶ σπουδαιότερα ἐποχὴ τοῦ παρελθόντος μας, ἡ Βυζαντινὴ, τὸ Κλειδί [sic; his cap] πρὸς νόησιν τῆς ἀρχαίας, πρὸς νόησιν τῆς τωρινῆς Ἑλλάδος, πρὸς νόησιν τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ Ἑλλήνος . . . (the greatest and most important historical period of our past is the Byzantine; it is the Key to an understanding of both the ancient and the present day Greece, for an understanding of Hellenism and

of the Hellenic man . . .). Neither Giannopoulos' other articles nor his spectacular suicide—on a white horse, riding into the late afternoon sea at Eleusis!—indicate much concern for what "Byzantine" would, in a few decades, come to mean to most Greeks.²⁰ The stream of intellectuals, like Fotis Kontoglou (1895-1965) and Nikos Kazantzakis (1883-1957), who visited the monasteries of Mount Athos and subsequently published their travel essays in literary journals did not help much in illuminating what was and was not Byzantine.²¹

The eagerness and frequency with which early twentieth century Greek publics confused religious art with "Byzantine" ought to give us pause. The "Nazarene" style—a prevalent movement sweeping central and Eastern Europe for at least one century since its founding in Rome by the Nazarene confraternity—which most church painters followed in Greece, the Balkans and Russia down to the time of Fotis Kontoglou's manifestos and concerted resistance to it, had not yet been heard of. It is to Kontoglou's credit that "Byzantine" was privileged to the point of becoming, in Greece at least, an honorific describing pristine piety and deeper, more authentic representations of the pre-modern Greek psyche. Kontoglou himself, although extraordinarily knowledgeable, shrewdly homogenized a multitude of regional styles (e.g., the Cretan and the Macedonian "schools"), then insisted that the newly formulated imagery was conducive to more genuinely felt forms of orthodox worship.

Outside of Eastern Europe, however, the Romantics had already disentangled the Byzantine esthetic from the most recent orientalist descriptions but then used it to oppose the unrelenting, ubiquitous neo-classicism of their beginnings. Byzantine to them indicated gossamer lightness and exquisite, *recherché* craftsmanship so aptly, and belatedly, described in Yeats' "Sailing to Byzantium."¹⁹ The western adaptations of the Byzantine design carried few mystical overtones and as such, by the sheer display of precious materials and workmanship it was truly expected to keep a drowsy emperor awake. As a subset of the decorative arts of the middle of the 19th century the Byzantine style cropped up in such unlikely places as Wreay (Cambria), Marseilles, Paris and buildings of International Expositions everywhere. The vogue for *le goût Byzantin* can be documented in Violet LeDuc's (1814-1879) theses, but also in Le Corbusier's (1887-1965) drawings and comments around 1910 following his viewing of the church of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.²²

Giannopoulos had been consistent in at least one respect. In his frequent and abusive lambasting of all visual artists—but especially the northern European—for their use of impastos and (impressionist?) "muddy" treatment of their subjects he did so by contrasting their work with the fine lines and luminosity of the Greek landscape and its artists. To his mind the notion of weightlessness and transparency were timeless esthetic absolutes that all art should aspire to. He had so internalized the non-Greek apperception of the Byzantine that he added, through his desiderata, more fuel to critiques of the estheticists as lacking substance and vim. From talk of

the effete to talk of the decadent and the degenerate there was but one small step. Physiognomists and phrenologists had already smoothed the ground for racial profiling and, paradoxically, for the modern "sciences" of criminal anthropology and eugenics.



Around the turn of the century, and while the rest of Europe was mopping up after the decadent-estheticist wave, with Futurism and Dada itching to come out, the estheticism of the Greek Wilde-ians, late as it was, was played out as some kind of avant-garde *cum* politics. Cavafy himself would have been amused if on a visit to Athens, in any given year between 1897 (when he wrote "Τείχη," Walls) or 1912 (the year of "Ἐπέστρεψε," Return) say, and 1918, the year of "Ἴμενος" ("Imenos"), to find one segment of the population marching to the tune of Nordic fitness, wellness and moral uprightness, the other reading Wilde and even trying to look and dress like him. Periklis Giannopoulos had eagerly welcomed the aestheticist cause before turning super-Greek. He was the first to translate Oscar Wilde's "The Rose and the Nightingale" in 1901. Sections from "The Ballad of Reading Gaol" had been circulating by 1906, and *Salome* by 1907 (it was performed in Athens in 1908; English theatergoers had to wait until 1927).²³ Just as in England, scandal was also in the offing.

Writers of the stature of Grigorios Xenopoulos, seconded by Kostís Palamas and Pavlos Nirvanas, eagerly came to the aid of the Wildeians and stressed, in passing, that issues of morality had better be kept separate from the issues of art. At long last the subject of "degenerate" art and the mores and lifestyles of the artists had finally been broached. It was printed and debated. Public intellectuals like Spyros Melas, Polyvios Dimitrakopoulos and Zacharias Papantoniou did not merely resist the immoral "psychopathology" of the aestheticists, they requested the intervention of the state prosecutor who promptly jailed some of the offending individuals and shut down their journals. In more ways than one, the situation wasn't half as bad as the riotous 1901 and 1903 demonstrations, over the question of translating the Greek Classics and the Bible into modern Greek—the *Evangeliká*, and the *Oresteiaká*, respectively—when demonstrators were shot and killed by the army, the George Theotokis government was toppled, and Prokopios, the Archbishop of the Church of Greece was driven to resignation!²⁴

Pre- and post-WWI modernism, by a twist of historical irony, was overshadowing Greece at precisely the same time as the moralizing spirit of Max Nordau (pen-name

of Simon Maximilian Südfelt, 1849-1923) was overshadowing the Anglophone culture of the West. His first two books *The Conventional Lies of our Civilisation* (1883), and *Degeneration* (1892), were titles that chronologically coincided with the Decadents, and were repeatedly translated into Greek and kept in print well into the post-WWII period.²³ Against the background of the international trendiness in wholesomeness (e. g., the Alexander Technique of the 1890's; the revival of the Olympic games in 1896; Baden-Powell's Scouting for Boys in 1908; Francis Galton's Eugenics; John Harvey Kellogg's *Sanitarium*) it seems that Cavafy's hints at the "unhealthy" and "unnatural" lifestyles of his personae were in open defiance of the scattershots Max Nordau had been taking at the Impressionists, the Estheticists and the Decadents.

Kazantzakis could not miss his chance to weigh in on the matter. He was struck, on his second visit to the Near East in 1927, by two issues even as he talked to Cavafy. In wonderfully ambiguous cadenzas Kazantzakis wrote: "Έτσι πού για πρώτη φορά τόν βλέπω [τόν Καβάφη] άπόψε και τόν άκούω, νιώθω πόσο σοφά μιλά τέτοια πολύπλοκη, βαρυφορτωμένη ψυχή τής άγιας παρακμής κατόρθωσε νά βρεΐ τή φόρμα της—τήν τέλεια πού τής ταιριάζει—στήν τέχνη και νά σωθεΐ. (Watching and listening to [Cavafy] for the first time tonight, I can sense how wisely such a complex, heavy-laden soul of the holy decadence could manage to find its form—the perfectly fitting form it deserves—in art, and be saved).²⁶

Talk of degeneracy was becoming so commonplace it spilled over into architecture, via social anthropology this time! In his 1910 essay on "Ornament and Crime" Adolf Loos (1870-1933) stretches Nordau's assaults on degenerate esthetic movements to entire degenerate cultures (*Kulturentartung*).²⁷ Paul Schultze-Naumburg (1869-1949) would finally narrow the field of the prescribed values in his 1928 book on art and race (*Kunst und Rasse*) by positing that only racially superior, "pure" men and women, could be considered truly and genuinely creative. Hitler's perversely attractive 1937 exposition of degenerate art was just around the corner. Cavafy did not live to see the confiscation, destruction and proscribing of one hundred and twelve artists (only six of whom were Jews) and about sixteen thousand works of art. Schultze-Naumburg's coupling, however, of classical Greek art with pre-Renaissance German art as the esthetic paradigm of and for all time fed directly into interbellum Greek nationalist idealism with all the attending ills of censorship and preventive repression.

Indeed all avantgardes come across, initially, as riotously iconoclastic either in subject matter or in form or, as Horace put it, in both. Cavafy might be able to take his circle's bemusement at his writing with good doses of composure if he had any knowledge—and there are good indications he did—that back there, in Athens, the Greek Wildeians, at some point, boasted Napoleon Lapathiotis, Platon Rodokanakis and, even, Periklis Giannopoulos among their numbers, Cavafy being a distant and hopelessly historicizing corresponding member. Might we not conclude that, on the

whole, avantgarde theorizing tends to be myopic whenever it equates the emergence of all objectionable forms with modernity. It is conceivable, however, that the dynamics of literary innovation may work differently. Viktor Schklovsky proposed a series of instances in which novelty is but "the canonization of inferior (sub-literary) genres" (e.g., Dostoevsky's novels being little beside glorified crime *romans à sensation*; Pushkin's lyrics originating in album verses; Alexander Blok's in gypsy songs; and Mayakovsky's in humorous *ephemera*). Poetics of renewal, frequently vilified as irreverent "rebarbarizations" (*pace*, Cavafy), are emphatically explicit in both Bertolt Brecht's and W. H. Auden's sense.²⁸ Could it be that, quite apart from individual poems, poetries too, both established and subversive, are occasions for the manifestation of a tradition that, moving backwards, is also exemplified by iconoclasts such as Alfred Jarry, Urmuz, Christian Morgenstern, Charles Cros, James Joyce, Edward Lear, Lewis Carroll, Laurence Sterne, Thomas Carlyle (of *Sartor Resartus*), Mark Twain (of *Pudd'nhead Wilson*) all the way to the audiences of Euripides and Aeschylus who booed performances in progress for their blasphemous anti-traditionalism?

Professor David Ricks is right. The Cavafy clan was but a subset of the turn of the twentieth century Anglophone Greek diaspora, demonstrably cognizant of, if not totally indebted to John Ruskin and Robert Browning.²⁹ However, where Cavafy's poetry is concerned, there appears to be a direct continuation, in the poetics of the Greek diaspora, of particular facets of the classical tradition, with all of its estheticist and decadent accidentals. It is a tradition that was taught and disseminated in the British isles in the 19th century, starting with the post-Byronic philologists of the caliber of Richard Porson, R. C. Jebb and Benjamin Jowett and, culminating in Oscar Wilde, A. S. Swinburne, G. M. Hopkins, A. E. Housman, not to mention Alfred Lord Tennyson, formidable classicist poets all.³⁰

Notes

* References to Cavafy materials in translation follow forms adopted by George Economou, with Stavros Deligiorgis, in *Complete Plus: The Poems of C. P. Cavafy in English*, Bristol: Shearsman Books, 2013.

1. The "analogues" approach of this essay should be credited entirely to the far-reaching study of specific oral and written literatures (Avestan, Tatar, Ancient and Medieval European, Polynesian, African, Hebrew, among others), by H. Munro Chadwick and Nora K. Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature*, Cambridge U. Press, 1932-1940, 3 vols.

The relationships between authorial stylistic tendencies and the cultural environments of the poets' "lives" (be they Victorian or Hellenistic) might be summarized under the concept of the "philological circle" promulgated by Leo Spitzer, in his "Linguistics and Literary History" (1948); for an important assessment of Spitzer's method see *Twentieth Century Literary Theory: an Introductory Anthology*, Vassilis Lambropoulos and David Neal Miller, eds., Albany, N. Y.: SUNY Press, 1986, pp. 207-238. The "philological circle" reading of the Cavafy corpora of poems, translations, reviews, etc., may afford a justification for the inclusion in this study of chronologically remote or of close to contemporary texts, but not, say, of Rupert Brooke or Wilfred Owen who may have been accessed directly by Cavafy.

Felicitous use of the concept of "analogues" is made also in Λένα Αραμπατζίδου, "N. Ἐπισκοπόπουλος [1874-1944]: Τὸ Φιλί τοῦ Ἥλιου: Ἡ ἄρση των ορίων ανάμεσα στο σώμα και το κείμενο," (Lena Arabatzidou, "N. Episcopóroulos, The Kiss of the Sun: Or the removal of the boundaries between body and text"), *Ἑλληνικά*, 56. 2, pp. 347-358.

2. Ferdinand Brunetière, *L'Évolution de genres dans l'histoire de la littérature*, 1890; the first of a set of three studies (mostly based on French materials), all "darwinian." Eliot couldn't put it more bluntly:

"... the historical sense compels a man to write not merely with his own generation in his bones, but with a feeling that the whole of the literature of Europe from Homer and within it the whole of the literature of his own country has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order. . . . No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead." See T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent," Frank Kermode, ed., *T. S. Eliot: Selected Prose*, Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace Jovanovici, 1975, p. 38. (First published in the *Egoist*, vol. 6, nos. 4 and 5, September and December, 1919). For a strong second to Eliot's thesis see W. H. Auden's "Criticism in a Mass Society," *The Mint*, (1948) 1, p. 13: ". . . not only the best, but the most individual

parts," [of a writer's work], "may be those in which the dead . . . his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously."

In sharp contradistinction to Brunetière, Henri Focillon's *La vie des formes*, (1934; based on lectures dating to the early nineteen-twenties), submits a five-fold definition of the art sign that is modal, temporal, as well as spatial, and thereby transcending the more mechanistic approaches based on either taste or fashion. Focillon, in speaking about "*les formes dans l'esprit*" [forms in the spirit] insists on doing justice to the uniqueness of the artifact without which there can be no talk of "form."

Foundational analogues also undergird Erwin Panofsky's suggestion, in his *Studies in Iconology* (1939), that artifacts can be better appreciated if viewed as objects of a synchronous temporal order.

For informed simultaneist approaches to the art object see Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, Yale U. Press, 1985. Consult especially Yves Michaud, Series Editor, "Présentation," *Formes de l'intention: Sur l'explication historique des tableaux*, Catherine Fraixe, transl., Nîmes et Marseille, France: Éditions Jacqueline Chambon, 1991, pp. 5-12, esp. p. 7; Michaud suggests, correctly so, that Baxandall's viewpoint is not phenomenological—if phenomenology had a counterpart in art theory it would be found in the area formalism—it is not hermeneutical and only marginally favorable to reception esthetics. (" . . . Si la phénoménologie avait un répondant en théorie de l'art, elle se retrouverait du côté du formalisme . . . l'approche de Baxandall peut être caractérisée toute à la fois comme anti-herméneutique et peu favorable à une esthétique de la réception".) Baxandall's non-causal theories of interpretation, are put to excellent use in his chapter on Picasso's "Portrait of Kahnweiler" (1910). Sections Four and Six, on the "Artist and His Culture" and "A Digression Against the Notion of Artistic Influence," respectively, are the most germane to Eliot's thesis on the emergence of creative projects.

Nickolas A. Haydock has given us generous, proleptic readings of English poetry beginning with his *Remaking Chaucer: Influence and Interpretation in Late Medieval Literature*, The University of Iowa, Diss., 1994.

3. On the history of 19th century classicists' obsession with "*Quellenforschung*" see Gilbert Highet, *The Classical Tradition*, New York, N. Y.: Oxford U. Press, 1957, p. 499, and n. 50, p. 695, in which Highet cites A. E. Housman, among others. (Τζένη Μαστοράκη, μετάφρ., *Η κλασική παράδοση*, Αθήνα: Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, 1988.

4. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge U. Press, 1983; Hugh Trevor-Roper's study of Scottish "traditions" that were clearly and unabashedly invented but have since been sanctified and universally accepted is very pertinent to Cavafy's times' "Byzantinism."

5. Partialities as well as non-*parti-pris* are perfectly understandable if seen in the context, and the times, of George Seferis writing from the grieving, conservative

right, as opposed to Stratis Tsirkas writing from the progressivist left. Tsirkas' marxist interests could not, in his lifetime, provide the adequate theoretical cover for Cavafy's queerness.

6. Gibbon's dim view of Christianity, incidentally, would find Cavafy, just like every other British classical scholar, in perfect agreement. Renan's image of Paul in Athens (*Acts*, ch. 17) is both prejudiced and ignorant (" . . . *un laid petit Juif, parlant le grec des syriens* . . . ;" an ugly, small Jew, speaking the Greek of Syrians). The Jews' Syrian Greek—a theme fully attested in Cavafy's poetry—and Paul's in particular, came with a splendid command of the Attic *Kunstprosa*, direct citations of Aratus and the "pre-Socratic" shaman Epimenides, as well as with intimate knowledge of Euripides' *Bacchae*, of all plays (translated into Hebrew! *Acts*, 26:14) and Julian the Orator (*Oratio* VIII).

It would be instructive to place Platon Rodokanakis's (1883-1919) "Akropolis" in the same intellectual context as Renan's, and Freud's. It might prove an excellent estheticist (and matriarchal!) alternative to them. Πλάτων Ροδοκανάκης, "Ἀκρόπολις," *De Profundis*, (1908), Ἐπιμ. καὶ ἐπίμετρο, Νάσος Βαγενᾶς, Ἀθήνα: Στιγμή, 1987 (Platon Rodokanakis, "Akropolis," *De Profundis*, 1908, rptd. 1987, Nasos Vayenas, ed., Athens: Stigmi, p. 41).

In terms of the art historical thematics of the times, the Greek painters who portrayed the Acropolis, time and again, during the first ten years of the twentieth century are beyond count.

7. Sigmund Freud, "*Brief an Romain Rolland: Eine Erinnerungsstörung auf der Akropolis*," ([Open] letter to Romain Rolland: A disturbance of memory on the Acropolis), *Almanach der Psychoanalyse*, 1937, Vienna: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag, pp. 9-21. Freud's unmitigated position on parricide culminates in his formidable speculation about Moses and the emergence of monotheism (*Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion*, 1937).

8. For the grand summation of Parry's thesis and field work see Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales*. Cambridge, Harvard U. Press, 1960 (and numerous subsequent, enlarged editions).

9. "Tradition and the Individual Talent," note 2, above.

10. Carl Gustav Jung, "Instinct and the Unconscious," (1919); in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious; Collected Works*, 9, 2nd ed., Princeton U. Press, 1981.

11. *Anthologia Graeca*, Hermann Beckby, ed., München: E. Heimeran, 1958. On the subject of tone in the Greek lyric poets see Richmond Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epigraphs*, U. of Illinois Press, 1942.

12. Quite contrary to the idea of the way most writers work—that is by way of indirection—two studies of Cavafy assert the opposite as they approach his

"sources" exclusively from the amatory point of view. Did Cavafy write nothing else that could be traced to the Greek Anthology? Γιώργος Ίωάννου, "Ο Κ. Π. Καβάφης και τὸ δωδέκατο βιβλίο τῆς Παλατινῆς Ἀνθολογίας," *Διαβάζω*, Ἀφιέρωμα Κ. Π. Καβάφης, 3 Ὀκτωβρίου 1983, σσ. 41-49 (Giorgos Ioannou, "C. P. Cavafy and the Twelfth Book of the Palatine Anthology," Athens biweekly journal *Diavazo*, C. P. Cavafy special issue, October 3, 1983, pp. 41-49). Ioannou cites Valerie A. Caires, "Originality and Eroticism: Constantine Cavafy and the Alexandrian Epigram," in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 1980, 6, pp. 131-55; Caire's conclusions are drawn from the entire Greek Anthology, although primarily based on J. W. Mackail's *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology*, 1890, that Cavafy owned.

On the subject of the "minor" forms—elegies, emblems, epigrams, distichs, epitaphs, etc.—since the Renaissance, consult Rosalie Colie, *The Resources of Kind: Genre Theory in the Renaissance*, U. of California Press, 1973; Colie, among other matters, pays attention to poets' associations with locality, e. g., DuBellay's Anjou, Sannazaro's Naples, Spenser's Thames. We might add, our Cavafy's Alexandria.

13. Seferis' pre-1941 stance regarding Cavafy was rather condescending. In a Plutarchan labor, however, his post WWII palinode forced Cavafy into a semblance of similarity with his beloved Eliot. Γιώργος Σεφέρης, «Κ. Π. Καβάφης, Θ.Σ. Ἐλιοτ· παράλληλοι» (1946), *Δοκιμές, Α'*, Ἰκαρος, 1974 (George Seferis, "C. P. Cavafy, T. S. Eliot: Parallels," 1946, in *Essays*, I, Athens: Ikaros, 1974).

14. John Benson's 1640 edition may have thoroughly bowdlerized Shakespeare's sonnets—e.g., "she"s for "he"s, speaking of the "fair youth"—yet, even so, did not prevent the Sonnets from staying out of print for two hundred years until Edmond Malone restored Thomas Thorpe's 1609 text in 1780. The Greek national educational system had, for the longest time, no use either for Cavafy or Cavafy's contemporaries Platon Rodokanakis (1883-1919) and Napoleon Lapathiotis (1888-1944) who too labored under opprobrium and censorship on grounds of "immorality."

Oscar Wilde's hellenizing project is thoroughly researched by Iain Ross, *Oscar Wilde and Ancient Greece*, Cambridge U. Press, 2012.

The fusion of the biographic and the fictional components in an estheticist writer's career is sufficiently illustrated by Mallarmé's "*Prose pour des Esseintes*," his poet's accolade to J.-K. Huysmans' *A Rebours*, (1884). The English translation by John Howard of *A Rebours* is prefaced by the renowned sexologist Havelock Ellis. (*Against the Grain*, N.Y.: Boni and Liveright, 1922).

16. John Addington Symonds' translation of *The Sonnets of Michael Angelo Buonarroti* appeared in 1878.

It was Italian Renaissance humanists' studies and translations (i.e., Marsilio Ficino, 1433-1499, et al.) of Plato's dialogues, and of the *Symposium*, in particular, that were eventually to reach poets as diverse as Michelangelo and Shakespeare.

17. Symonds is relevant to Cavafy studies on account of his book *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (dealing with the history of homosexuality, 1873), and on account of his involvement with the promotion of Walt Whitman's "Calamus" poems in England (which the British courts branded as grossly obscene). Most of Walt Whitman's thirty-nine poems in the "Calamus" cycle date from 1860.

Except for the "Song of the Open Road," the earliest Ms allusion to the cycle Symonds so cared for is a sequence of 12 poems—on the theme of the attraction of male personae to each other (and typically concluding in separation)—under the title "Live Oak with Moss." *Calamus* at some point became the cluster of 45 poems, published in the 1860 edition of the *Leaves of Grass* but which Whitman further recast into the final series of 39 in the 1881 edition. Additional examples of the Whitman Cavafy analogue resonance might include Whitman's "adhesive" poems—Whitman's term for "manly attachment"—exemplified by his "City of Orgies," "To a Western Boy," "Among the Multitude" and the "Song of the Open Road."

Also to be consulted *The Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v., "John Addington Symonds," (R. G.), vol. XIX; Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., 1921-22, rpt 1967-68. Symonds published *The Poetry of Walt Whitman* in 1893. The book appeared, according to the *DNB*, on the day of Symonds' death. The editor could not overcome his amazement at Symonds' interest in Walt Whitman's "amorphous" verse. Cavafy enthusiasts might take heart: The *DNB* calls Symonds "an Alexandrian"! In light of Cavafy's expression of "Alexandrian" as the highest praise, the epithet couldn't be more apt.

Was Cavafy aware of Walt Whitman (1819-1892)? Stratis Tsirkas (1911-1980) remembers Cavafy mentioning the Greek poet Costis Palamas (1859-1943) and Walt Whitman in the same sentence. Cavafy remonstrated that their "prophetic" poetry was irrelevant to his age. In uttering Palamas' name Cavafy made a gesture with his hand implying that he imagined him bearded and prophet-like. Palamas never grew a beard. Whitman did. Stratis Tsirkas, *Ο πολιτικός Καβάφης* (The political Cavafy), Athens: Kedros, 1984, (origin. publ., 1971), 5th ed., pp. 223-265, esp. 227.

18. Ian Fletcher, in Karl Beckson, *Esthetes and Decadents of the 1890's*, 1966, p. 121. The diction of the poem is bursting at the seams with Cavafian ". . . the joy of shame. . .," and ". . . the ardor and agony..." For the approaching barbarians as a decadent theme see John Porter Houston and Mona Tobin Houston, *French Symbolist Poetry*, Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana U. Press, 1980, p. 6.

Steven Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth Century England*, N.Y.: Basic Books, 1966; a deeply prejudiced study of patriarchal writing.

Readings of Victorian sexualities since Marcus' book abound in advocacy and stridency. Few ever mention the pervasive moralizing of Richard von Krafft-Ebbing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886; English translations 1892-93). For Symond's "keen interest" in German sexologist literature and especially Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1825-1895) consult Peter Coviello, "Whitman's Children," *PMLA* [Publications of the Modern Language Association], 128.1 (2013), pp. 73-86, esp. p. 83.

19. For the emphasis on the poetic process rather than the product, see Walter Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance*, "Conclusion," (1873). Edgar Allan Poe's dictum is from his 1846 essay "The Philosophy of Composition."

20. Although the Orthodox churches of Eastern and Southeastern Europe were (and still are) awash in Nazarene iconography since the middle of the nineteenth century, the term is totally unknown among the general population of congregants and even the clergy. The two masters of mystification, Nikos Kazantzakis, fresh from the study of Bergson and Nietzsche, and Angelos Sikelianos visited (and memorialized) their Mount Athos experience in 1914.

21. Beyond painting and architecture, the fact that the term "Byzantine" (as descriptor of a research category) came into use at a late period in post-Renaissance scholarship comes as a surprise to intelligent Greek laymen anywhere. Maurice Denis (1870-1943) was the exceptional artist-scholar who wrote about religious art—and, eventually, specified "Byzantine"—as early as 1896 and, also, as late as 1939. For Denis' usage I am indebted to Efthymia Georgiadou-Kountoura, "Springtime in Modern Greek Art," *Spyros Papaloukas: Exhibition Catalogue*, Athens: B. and M. Theocharakis Foundation, 2007, pp. 21-27.

Put simply, "byzantine" became current in modern Greek via France and England even before the term surfaced in Periklis Giannopoulos' opening statements of his *Ἡ Ἑλληνική Γραμμή* (The Greek Line, 1903). See Εὐθυμία Γεωργιάδου-Κούντουρα, "Τὸ θρησκευτικὸ ἔργο τοῦ Παρθένου," *Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη Στυλιανοῦ Πελεκανίδου*, Θεσσαλονίκη: Ἐταιρία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, 1983, σσ. 37-53 (Efthymia Georgiadou-Kountoura, "Parthenis' Religious Works," *Festschrift in Memory of Stylianos Pelekanidis*, Thessaloniki: Society for Macedonian Studies, 1983, pp. 37-53).

The dates of W. B. Yeats' (1865-1939) poems are 1927 for "Sailing to Byzantium" and 1930 for "Byzantium" respectively.

22. See Μαρία Καμπούρη-Βαμβούκου (Maria Kampouri-Vamvoukou), "La Diffusion de l'architecture Byzantine en Europe Occidentale au XIX^{ème} siècle," [article in French], in *OPION, Festschrift in honor of D. A. Fatouros*, Thessaloniki: Aristotle University Polytechnic, 1998, pp. 297-324 [illustr.].

For a sensitive appreciation of the "Byzantine" element in early 19th century England see the review by Dinah Birch, "Transient Wreay: Jenny Uglow, *The Pinecone*, Sarah Losh [1786-1853], *Antiquarian, Architect, Visionary*, London: Faber and Faber, 2012," *TLS*, Nov. 2, 2012, p. 9. Losh's 1841 small basilica hearkens back to the VIth century church of San Vitale in Ravenna.

23. Κυριακή Πετράκου, "Ἡ πρόσληψη τοῦ Oscar Wilde στὸ Ἑλληνικὸ θέατρο," (Kyriaki Petrakou, The Reception of Oscar Wilde in the Greek Theater), *Θεατρολογικὰ Miscellanea*, Athens: Δίαυλος, 2004, esp. pp. 71-78. Petrakou cites

two major Athens dailies, the *Akropolis* and the *Asty*, printing the story of Wilde's trial and prison sentence within days of the verdict in 1895.

Νικόλαος Ν. Ποριώτης (Nikolaos N. Poriotis, 1870-1945), is the translator into Greek of *Σαλώμη: Τραγωδία*, Athens: Estia, 1907 (Salome: A Tragedy). It is a sad comment on Greek scholarship to see Wilde's translator's name misspelled as "Παριώτης" in the holdings catalogue of the National Library in Athens.

As for the other major connection to Greek modernism, Rodokanakis, as early as 1908, titles a collection of prose poems *De Profundis!* One of the founders of the Society for Byzantine Studies, Rodokanakis wrote several books on the subject of Byzantine "Queens and Other Great Women."

Wilde's "The Rose and the Nightingale" was published in Greek translation, by none other than Periklis Giannopoulos under the pseudonym "Maeandros" in the prestigious journal *Παναθήναια* (*Panathenaia*) in 1901. Other works by Wilde were to follow with the attendant debates and squabbles in the press but also among the literati and the state authorities.

24. The two *causes célèbres* were Alexandros Pallis' translations of the N. T. Gospels appearing in the *Akropolis* daily, and G. Sotiriadis' modern Greek rendering of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* being performed by the Royal Theater in Athens.

25. Max Nordau's *Die konventionelle Lügen der Kulturmenschheit*, (Conventional lies of civilization, 1883) were translated into Greek by Σ. Ί. Ζωγραφίδης, *Τὰ κατὰ συνθήκην ψεύδη τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτισμοῦ· ἐκ τοῦ Γαλλικοῦ* (S. I. Zografidis, The conventional lies of our civilization; translated from the French), Athens, 1900; and *Entartung* (1892, translated by) Ἄγγελος Βλάχος, as *Ἐκφυλισμός*, (Angelos Vlachos, Degeneracy), Athens, 1905.

26. Νίκος Καζαντζάκης, "Καβάφης," (Nikos Kazantzakis, "Cavafy") first published in the Athens daily *Ἐλεύθερος Λόγος* (Eleftheros Logos), April 3 through May 3, 1927.

27. Christopher Long, "The Origins and Context of Adolf Loos's 'Ornament and Crime'," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 68, no. 2 (June 2009), pp. 200-223, esp. pp. 207 and 208 dealing with both Cesare Lombroso's (1835-1909) and Nordau's theories. Loos' lecture "*Ornament und Verbrechen*," was given, in all probability, in Vienna 1910.

The implied "ideals" of the caucasian or Aryan race were promoted in terms that would eventually be used by Alfred Rozenberg for the Nazi party racial laws according to which the Nordic type was the one to prevail at all costs. To this day, calisthenics in Greece is known as Σουηδική γυμναστική (Sweedish gymnastics). Greek schoolchildren were groomed to body forth the healthy, classicizing model long before the appearance of the Pangalos and Metaxas fascist dictatorships. (It is conceivable that even the founding of the international boy scout movement was intended to combat "degeneracy".)

In the post-WWII period the next book to intoxicate Greek educators,

politicians and Church of Greece Catechetical School teachers, was Nobel Prize winner's and eugenicist Alexis Carrel's 1935 *Man, The Unknown*, (*Ἀνθρώπος αὐτὸς ὁ ἄγνωστος*, [*L'Homme, cet inconnu*], Greek transl. by Nasos Tzartanos, Athens: Kakoulidis, 1948).

28. For the evolution of genres see René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature*, New York, N. Y.: Harcourt-Brace, 1956, pp. 226 and 300, n. 30. (*Θεωρία Λογοτεχνίας*, μετάφρ. Σταῦρος Δεληγιώργης, Ἀθήνα: Δίφρος, 1965, σελ. 301 καὶ 400, ὑπόσημ. 30).

29. David Ricks, annual Kimon Friar lecture, May 23, 2012, Deree College of Greece, Athens. (My paraphrase).

30. Tennyson's indebtedness both to Greek myth (e.g., the Lotus Eaters!) and the Greek metrics (his Alcaics!) is the subject of Cornelia D. J. Pearsall, *Tennyson's Rapture: Transformations of the Victorian Dramatic Monologue*, Oxford U. Press, 2008, esp. ch. 3, and Notes. Pearsall's ongoing project, extremely relevant to Cavafy, is titled "Tennyson: Telegraphy, Telepathy . . ." It deals with Victorian forms of mourning (e.g., Tennyson's *In Memoriam: A. H. H[allam]*, 1849).

For recent studies of the Greeks in Swinburne and G. M. Hopkins see W. R. Rutland, *Swinburne, a Nineteenth Century Hellene*, Oxford U. Press, 1931. The book is an assessment regarding Swinburne's role in bridging the aestheticist with the decadent points of view. "Swinburne's considerable scholarship and amazing technical skill only emphasized the fact that his Greeks led a life far more purposefully devoted to sexual ecstasy than the real men and women of classical Greece; and while Wilde ostensibly admired Greece as the home of beauty at its purest and passion at its most intense, we know from repeated hints in his work, as well as from the ruin of his career—like his friend Gide—he also loved Greece for the homosexuality which was practiced there, although never (at least in Athens) accepted as morally indifferent." (Hight, *supra* n. 3, p. 446).

For the hellenism in the poetries of the latter part of the nineteenth century see my late friend's Warren D. Anderson's "'Freshness Deep Down Things: Hopkins' Dublin Notes on Homer;" in Michael E. Allsopp and W. Sundermeier, eds., *Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844-1889): New Essays on His Life, Writing and Place in English Literature*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989.