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FROM HEROINES OF PASSION TO HEROES OF SPEECH:  
 KOSTIS PALAMAS AND THE PARADIGM OF  
 A.G. SWINBURNE<sup>1</sup>

“The poet is somehow like a beautiful woman. You don’t need to marry her nor share intimacy with her. Her passing by or presence alone are enough for you to feel her and to sense her charm. In the worlds of mind the great writer and craftsman of any speech can reveal grace in all languages”<sup>2</sup>: this is how Kostis Palamas, the renowned Greek poet and critic of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, defines his relationship with the work of Algernon Charles Swinburne in his article entitled *Swinburne* published on May 3rd 1909 in the periodical *O Noumas*. This was the first<sup>3</sup> of the three articles Palamas published in the avant-garde periodical on the occasion of Swinburne’s death; the second article was published on May 17th<sup>4</sup> and the third on June 7th<sup>5</sup>. They were all later united to form a chapter under the title “How I read a poet” in the tenth volume of his *Complete Works*<sup>6</sup> and will be discussed here as a whole. These articles constitute the main corpus of Swinburne’s reception by his contemporary or near contemporary Greece. Palamas, highly acknowledged as a critic<sup>7</sup> both of Greek and European Literature<sup>8</sup>, validates his ability through a reading of Swinburne that provides the most extensive and well informed presentation of the English poet’s work in the framework of Modern Greek criticism.

Palamas introduces his reader into Swinburne’s poetry by posing the issue of its translation from English into Modern Greek, a procedure he declines in favour of an understanding based on sensation and following Swinburne’s stream of sensuousness. Palamas’s approach to Swinburne’s poetry, as the opening extract of this paper suggests, appeals greatly to sensation transcending given lexical functions like translation, since translation is considered as the opposite of genuine poetic value. Palamas argues that translation, no matter how faithful, always ends

in a loss whereas the substantial elements of Art are the ones that endure when they are transferred from one language into another<sup>9</sup>. The question raised here is which these elements are and to him they are apparently the sensuous elements of poetry. Most importantly the question raised by Palamas is whether the artist should be translated or not, a question that extends to whether the artist translates himself in essence when he casts his ideas on paper.

While Palamas concludes the argument by disposing of the necessity of translation, the whole discussion proves to be a vehicle that introduces the method of his approach. Palamas suggests an approach led by the senses, a subjective impressionistic approach. From this standpoint his style of criticism appears to share qualities with Swinburne's own criticism as T.S. Eliot presents it:

“[...] Swinburne was writing not to establish a critical reputation, not to instruct a docile public, but as a poet his notes upon poets whom he admired. And whatever our opinion of Swinburne's verse, the notes upon poets by a poet of Swinburne's dimensions must be read with attention and respect. [...] With all his justness of judgment, however, Swinburne is an appreciator and not a critic. [...] Swinburne was not tormented by the restless desire to penetrate to the heart and marrow of a poet, any more than he was tormented by the desire to render the finest shades of difference and resemblance between several poets.”<sup>10</sup>

By adopting this impressionistic style of criticism and embracing Swinburne's style in general on the basis of its sensuous element Palamas establishes a connection with Swinburne's name that will linger as a lasting affinity in other critics' mind as we'll see later in this paper.

Palamas's elective affinity to Swinburne's sensuousness is most clearly visualized in the theme of Swinburne's Hellenism that particularly attracts him. This attraction unfolds in two phases that mark Palamas's conception of Swinburne's Hellenism. The first phase is structured around two landmarks, namely the “heroines of Passion” and “heroes of Speech”, and treats what is usually read as the “Ancient” dimension in Swinburne as pseudoAncient in revealing its basic elective affinity to the literature of the fin-de-siècle. The first landmark in this phase is what Palamas calls “heroines of Passion” in conceptualizing the “Ancient”

element, a theme that is soon to yield to a “heroes of Speech” theme marking a transition to the second landmark which shows the supposedly “Ancient” as a contemporary theme in dialogue with the writers of Aestheticism, pre-Aestheticism (Pre-Raphaelitism) and the French Decadence. Finally the second phase expounds on Palamas’s main argument which traces Swinburne’s Hellenism in the part of his work that relates to Modern Greece.

A rough overview of this two phase scheme is provided by Palamas himself when he focuses on two poems by Swinburne, i.e., “*Laus Veneris*” (from the collection *Poems and Ballads*) and the “*Ode on the Insurrection in Candia*” (from the collection *Songs Before Sunrise*). If Hellenism is to be conceived both in its Ancient and Modern Greek dimension, the examination of both aspects reveals Palamas’s idea of Swinburne’s attitude towards Greece. Both poems, which emit sensational vibes to the point of intoxication, to use his own words, share references to Hellenism. The first one is themed after Ancient Greece, centres on the figure of Venus (Aphrodite in Greek) and introduces into the first phase since it poses the question whether the theme maps its route back to Ancient Greek mythology or rests with its contemporary pre-modernist context. The second poem is themed after Modern Greece, centres on the Revolution of Crete, i.e. an event drawn from Modern Greek history, and initiates into the second phase during which Palamas ascribes the Hellenic identity to Swinburne’s poetry.

A detailed study confirms that during the first phase Palamas constructs Swinburne’s reception around the two basic structures he terms “heroines of Passion” and “heroes of Speech”. These two directions are easy to follow, although Palamas does not engage in a criticism in which principles are stated. Swinburne’s encounter with the “heroines of Passion” and “heroes of Speech” designates for Palamas two relations that are both charted on the ground of poetics; Swinburne’s relation to the “heroines of Passion”<sup>11</sup> indicates the thematic that becomes the rhetoric of sensuousness while his relation to the “heroes of Speech” indicates the elective affinities of this rhetoric.

By “heroines of Passion” Palamas understands the pantheon of the passionate women of antiquity who abound in Swinburne’s poetry starting with Sappho, the Ancient Greek lyric poetess, leading through the poem “*Anactoria*”, named after Sappho’s best friend, to a list of passionate heroines with Greek names such as Phaedra, Hermaphroditus, Myrrha, Hesperia, Persephone and Demetra. This

parade of passionate women opens up to an overview of pantheistic hedonism and desire of the flesh that associates to paganism and establishes a poetics contrary to nature and a rhetoric pervaded by the “longing born of a woman”<sup>12</sup>, the “lustful, delicate, fleshly, unnatural and supernatural charm”<sup>13</sup>. The term “heroines of Passion” comes to stand for the embodiment of the sensual theme that concludes in sensual articulation and therefore the “heroines of Passion” represent the transition from the thematic to the rhetoric of sensuousness.

Although the parade of the “heroines of Passion” is enriched with prominent figures from Latin antiquity (Faustina, Messalina etc.), Palamas focuses on the heroines with Ancient Greek names because the interception of the English by the Greek rhetoric brings the issue of Hellenism into question. The particular question is if the thematic and rhetoric of sensuousness in Swinburne’s work actually originates in Ancient Greek thematics and rhetoric and as such can be termed Hellenic. Although for the major part of critics Swinburne’s recourse to Ancient Greek thematics and rhetoric ascribes a Hellenic identity to his poetry and, contrary to what someone would expect of a Modern Greek critic, Palamas does not relate Swinburne’s dialogue with Ancient Greek thematics and rhetoric to Hellenism; he will relate him to Hellenism based on his dialogue with Modern Greek thematics.

At this point it would be useful, I think, to present in detail how Palamas’s contemporary critics perceived the Ancient Greek referent in Swinburne’s poetry and correlate their views to Palamas’s. We have already mentioned that criticism has frequently addressed the Ancient Greek intertext in Swinburne’s poetry as Hellenism. Years ago in 1931 William Rutland in his book entitled *Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene* adopts this perspective and, although he distinguishes between Hellenistic poems and Hellenic dramas, he reads in Swinburne’s work the “most faithful representation in English of the spirit of Attic tragedy”, as Clyde Hyder reports<sup>14</sup>.

It is also true that another critic, Douglas Bush, reviewing Rutland’s book in 1931, almost as soon as it was published, challenges Rutland’s view about Swinburne’s Hellenism. Bush validates partly Rutland’s argument about Swinburne’s Hellenism in restricting its Hellenic qualities to “the realization of the tragedy of life” and the “attainment of dignity and loftiness of thought and utterance against that background”<sup>15</sup>. On the other hand he refrains from confusing Swinburne’s

Hellenism with paganism, an awareness he also recognizes in Rutland but furthers in dissociating Swinburne's rebellious from Ancient Greek pious attitude towards divinity. Although Bush keeps in touch with Rutland's distinction between Hellenistic poems and Hellenic dramas he proceeds to deconstruct allegations about Swinburne's Hellenism. At first he focuses on the poem *Atalanta in Calydon* and ascertains the "Victorian and personal" character of its antitheism<sup>16</sup> while in Swinburne's most Hellenic drama *Erechtheus* he stresses Swinburne's detachment from the Ancient Greek respect for the divine. Although Bush is particularly perceptive in contrasting the "demoniac youth", the "helpless suffering and railing against the gods" that prevails in *Atalanta* to the "mature wisdom" and "the exalted sense of human dignity and heroism" in *Erechtheus*<sup>17</sup>, his main argument lies in questioning the "classical qualities" in a "modern poet" like Swinburne. He suggests that it is impossible for a modern writer to treat a Hellenic theme and emphasizes the impurity of the result to which such an effort would lead<sup>18</sup>. In stressing the incompatibility of the modern with the classical Bush's argument questions the connection of Swinburne's poetry to Hellenism and suggests its connection to modernity.

Ascribing Swinburne's Hellenism to modernity is the approach Palamas employs to Swinburne's Ancient Greek patterning since 1909, an understanding of Swinburne which is later stipulated by Bush (1931) and Praz (1932) but can be encountered ever since 1867 in the French critic Louis Étienne. Showing how these opinions interrelate would bring out the nuances in this space of congruence. Mario Praz's, like Bush's, argument is articulated in juxtaposition to Rutland's point of view. Praz criticizes the inequality and instability of Rutland's method that compares Swinburne's work with the Ancient Greek tragedies on the one hand and the neo-classicist European tragedies on the other but in essence he focuses on the recognition of Hellenic inspiration in Swinburne's poetry. Specifically Praz argues that "the author [Rutland] purports to judge Swinburne from a new angle, by placing him side by side with the Greek classics and the later poets who tried to revive the Hellenic spirit in their works. Comparison with the Greek tragedies on the one hand", Praz continues, "and with the classical tragedies of Racine, Milton, Goethe, Shelley, Arnold, on the other should, to Mr Rutland's mind, result in a recognition of the genuineness of Swinburne's Hellenic inspiration"<sup>19</sup>. What's mostly interesting about Praz's point of view is that he

grafts Swinburne's Greek inspiration within the context of "nineteenth century neopaganism"<sup>20</sup> and therefore views Swinburne's Hellenism in the perspective of the nineteenth century modernity.

An opinion similar to Praz's was expressed as early as 1867 by the French critic Louis Étienne in his article entitled "Le paganisme poétique en Angleterre – John Keats et Algernon Charles Swinburne"<sup>21</sup> which was published in the periodical *Revue des Deux Mondes* (May 15th). Étienne includes Swinburne in a generation that aims at renewing poetry, deriving subjects from mythology and ancient life and promoting a renaissance of Greek fables<sup>22</sup> but is apt to distinguish Swinburne's "paganism" from the paganism of ancient times. He cogently remarks that "the ancient barely recognized the profound, ideal, delicate love which is the product of modern civilization and certainly judged the sentiment as indecent to be put up on the tragic scene"<sup>23</sup>. Another example he provides is that the "impious fatality" in Swinburne's tragedies differs from the fatality that fills the Ancient Greek tragedy<sup>24</sup>. He also contrasts the aesthetics of revolt and lascivious impiety encountered in Swinburne to the Ancient Greek conception of religion<sup>25</sup>. Étienne records the character of Swinburne's poetry as an obstinate energy which "releases from the human soul the bestial instinct that breaks the barrier and escapes in a savage liberty"<sup>26</sup>; that's the point where according to Étienne the classical tone is terminated. The conclusion is that within his Ancient Greek framework Swinburne creates a modern work: "everything deep down is modern, thoughts, feelings, paradoxes, religious declamations, everything, until this mutilated paganism"<sup>27</sup>.

A critic that certainly argues in favour of Swinburne's modernity is Palamas whose views will be discussed along with the views of today's critic Malcolm Hardman. Palamas is well aware of Swinburne's prolific knowledge of the Ancient Greek tradition which he detects in the themes, symbols and images of his art<sup>28</sup>. However he rejects patterns that intertwine paganism and sensuality to Swinburne's Hellenism. In this way he detaches issues of sensuousness or paganism from exclusive attachment to Greek antiquity or Hellenic identity and relates them to Swinburne's "Aesthetic and Pre-Raphaelite" identity. While Praz reads Swinburne's Hellenism in the perspective of the nineteenth century neopaganism and both Étienne and Bush understand it as the product of modern civilization, Palamas registers Swinburne's Ancient Greek patterning in the rhetoric of the nineteenth century modernity and the pre-modernist movements of Aestheticism

or PreRaphaelitism. In specifying his position Palamas interrelates Swinburne to the “heroes of Speech”, poets who belonged to the fin-de-siècle movements, most notably the French Decadence. This is how the transition from “heroines of Passion” to “heroes of Speech” is implemented: Palamas reads the “heroines of Passion”, i.e. Swinburne’s Ancient Greek patterning, his Ancient Greek thematics and rhetoric, in his dialogue with the “heroes of Speech”, the poets of the late nineteenth century avant-garde movements. In other words, Palamas reads Swinburne’s Ancient Greek intertext in the fin-de-siècle context.

The shift from “heroines of Passion” to “heroes of Speech” which addresses Swinburne’s elective affinities can be witnessed at its best in Palamas’s approach to the poem “Laus Veneris” that initially set a landmark in the conception of Swinburne’s Hellenism. A prominent place in the parade of the passionate heroines is reserved by Palamas for Venus, since the poem in praise of the Ancient Greek goddess provides him with the ideal space to elaborate on the representation of Venus as a major figure in the panorama of the sensuous heroines and at the same time on elective affinities between Swinburne and fin-de-siècle poets. The particular archetype represented by Venus in “Laus Veneris” escapes the strict entanglement with antiquity to transcend towards an alternative conceptualization that distorts diachrony in favour of synchrony. The theme in question here is Tannhäuser’s love for Venus which is drawn from a medieval not an Ancient Greek myth, a theme that has been susceptible to many adaptations during the late nineteenth century. Palamas mentions Heine and Wagner; we can add Aubrey Beardsley. Both the origin and the treatment of the myth eliminate the possibility of seeking an Ancient Greek source or attributing a Hellenic identity to the theme in Swinburne.

Palamas attends to the theme in its fin-de-siècle or decadent context when he compares “Laus Veneris” to the poem “Ave atque Vale” dedicated by Swinburne to the French decadent Charles Baudelaire which, to his opinion, strikingly excels. Palamas reads Swinburne as Baudelaire’s counterpart<sup>29</sup>, a connection verifying Swinburne’s strong affinity to a specific branch of the fin-de-siècle, the French decadence. A latent attestation to this is given by Palamas when he describes the “heroines of Passion” as the representation of “fleshly longings”<sup>30</sup>, “sinful lusts”<sup>31</sup> and unwithered “flowers of evil”<sup>32</sup>, by flowers of evil directly insinuating Baudelaire’s *Fleurs du mal*. It’s evident to Palamas that Swinburne’s poetics

forms elective affinities with the French decadence or the movement of “l’art pour l’art”<sup>33</sup>. Although Swinburne’s prevalent affinity to the “Fleshly School” and the Pre-Raphaelites D.G. Rossetti and William Morris is not ignored, a particular stress is being placed on Flaubert, Gautier and Baudelaire as Swinburne’s precursors in their capacity as “heroes of Speech”.

Palamas recognizes in Swinburne himself a “hero of Speech”, an “incomparable creator of rhythm who subjected words and toys with them like the Indian magicians with snakes”<sup>34</sup> – another indication of the “magic” spell Swinburne exerted upon Palamas. The emphasis on word – not speech – that Swinburne has been taught to honour by his teachers is an element underlined also by Étienne as “the characteristic talent of Swinburne as a poet, the art of painting with words, word painting – so much admired today – that develops admirably in the images of a delicate beauty”<sup>35</sup>.

Painting in words is a concept at the heart of Swinburne’s rhetoric which to Malcolm Hardman acquires the significance of an insight into the problem of cosmic meaning<sup>36</sup>. While painting in words might allude to impressionism or post-impressionism in representing strikes of painting or strikes of impressions on the canvas of the text, Hardman’s article suggests the representation of Swinburne’s poetry as an abstract painting in words in the pre or proto-modernist manner<sup>37</sup>. According to Hardman, Swinburne’s rhetoric consists to a great extent in “shaping his sense of language by pastiche of ancient masters in prose and verse”, a trope deriving from “Swinburne’s profound fascination with Greek literature and culture” and his “loyalty to Greek patterns of language”. This modality that functions at the “superficial level of linguistic imitation” as a “classical influence imbibed in youth”<sup>38</sup> shows for Hardman that the so called Hellenism of Swinburne lies in mere imitation of Ancient Greek patterns. In this sense Swinburne’s patterning responds to the core of the “Greek sense of patterning equally valid in aesthetic and metaphysical contexts: το ποικίλον, or ‘the dappled’”<sup>39</sup>. Holding connotations of “embroidery and writing”, “the dappled” is “a means of arranging referents and images of a world we recognize with mounting apprehension not to be so arranged after all”<sup>40</sup>.

Whereas for Ancient Greeks the word “cosmos” signified both the universe and beauty implying a sense of order, the patterns of the “cosmos” were perceived in terms of unresolved polar oppositions<sup>41</sup> supplying a sense of “contrasting

enmeshedness”<sup>42</sup> or polar ambiguity. Swinburne’s use of language clings to this polar ambiguity in realizing the Greek sense of patterning and “the dappled” which “confounds attempts to read order”<sup>43</sup>. Hardman defines Swinburne’s “dappled” as a “confusion between slight variant and polar opposition”, a “mannerism” or a “map of the world”<sup>44</sup>. We would say a reversed map of the world, a map of “the dappled”. “To see the ‘cosmos’ from the other side, to turn over the paper”, “intentness towards the opposite” is recognized by Hardman as Swinburne’s “childlike persistency” that leads to “obsessive patternmaking, in rhythm, rhyme, assonance, alliteration, and idea”<sup>45</sup>. The polar ambiguity to which Swinburne clings in his use of language breeds another polar ambiguity in his identity defined as “pagan and antique” on the one hand and “Nietzschean and modernist” on the other<sup>46</sup>.

It is interesting to examine how Hardman’s view about “the dappled” classifies Swinburne in a broader generality of nineteenth-century aesthetes and metaphysicians<sup>47</sup> and corresponds to Palamas’s view of Swinburne’s poetics as “kind of barbaric”<sup>48</sup>. In an article on Shakespeare, which Palamas wrote two years before his articles on Swinburne were published, he clarifies that there is nothing derogative about the name barbarian, since “it characterizes a concept of the world, it judges a type of art. Barbaric is everything not coming from Ancient Greek-Latin tradition and art [...] Barbaric is everything virginal, overflowing, assymetrical”<sup>49</sup>. Palamas’s understanding resembles Hardman’s view in that by the use of the term “barbaric” he detaches Swinburne’s poetics from a stereotypical implication with the Ancient Greek tradition and attaches his Ancient Greek sense of patterning to the late nineteenth century rhetoric of pagan Nietzschean character. What Palamas terms barbaric formulates “the dappled” actually, since he postulates the loss of symmetry that resists arrangement of patterns in the “cosmos” and in language. He also discerns flows – of meaning – that confound attempts to read order and might prove “ruinous” to “meaningful discourse”, since they “dissociate words from things”<sup>50</sup>, introduce the bleak style of “the dappled” and import a proto-modernist “meaning”. Hardman’s theory corroborates Palamas’s conception of “the dappled” as the asymmetrical or as the pattern that comprises symmetrical forms in pretence of comprehensiveness while cultivating itself the sense of its problematic form<sup>51</sup>.

This very point where the aesthetics of the barbaric marks the loss of symmetry is the point where the overwhelmed verse of Swinburne seems to fail registration

in Hellenic identity. It is through the same gate of aesthetics, however, that Palamas reintroduces Swinburne in the circle of Hellenism invoking Taine's statement that the Greeks, no matter how faithful to symmetry, have no hesitation breaking it when urged by inspiration and lyric excitement. "Therefore", he concludes, "the poetry of the Shakespearean, Biblical, Shelleyan and kind of barbaric Swinburne could justly be termed Hellenic; Hellenism, no matter what they have to say, has something Proteic about it."<sup>52</sup>

The proteic identity is observed in Palamas's own treatment of Swinburne. His evaluation of Swinburne extends beyond the Ancient to the Modern Greek referent when he provides a spacious reading of the Ode Swinburne dedicated to the Revolution of Crete against the Ottoman occupation ("Ode on the Insurrection in Candia"). At this point the second phase of Palamas's approach to Swinburne becomes active in studying his relation to the Modern Greek referent. Charged with emotional power, the reading of the Ode pays homage to Swinburne as a supporter of Modern Greece's struggle for freedom against Turkish suppression. This shift from aesthetics to politics in Palamas's reading of the Ode enacts a transformation of the philhellene Swinburne into the Hellene Swinburne. Palamas is not attributing the Hellenic identity to Swinburne's poetry due to its intertextualities with Ancient Greece but due to its intertextualities with Modern Greece. Palamas's sentimental reading of the Ode leads to the impression that methexis or participation in the Ancient Greek tragedy is not sufficient for him to ascribe a Hellenic identity to Swinburne: it requires methexis or participation in Modern Greece's tragedy.

Seeking support for his country's cause in the verse of distinguished foreign poets is a familiar strategy in the poetics of Palamas who returns the tribute to these poets through his own verse. An example might be the poem (from the collection *I Politeia kai i Monaxia* [*City and Loneliness*]) he dedicated to Carducci, Swinburne and Mistral<sup>53</sup> who in Palamas's eyes represent an Italian, a British and a French supporter of Modern Greece through its difficulties. In his speech on Valaoritis (1914) Palamas refers to the three poets again as the worldwide recognized bards whose salutations encouraged his country in the war of 1897<sup>54</sup>. In his article "A Great Friend of ours" (1926) he refers to Mistral, Swinburne and Carducci as the three masters of the lute who in the years around 1897 revived the "flower of philhellenism and resurrected it with an even stronger scent on a tree not always green and leafy"<sup>55</sup>. Years later (1930) he recurs to the subject in an

article on Mistral's precursors where he explains that, when Greece was preparing for the war of 1897, the indifference and silence of the surrounding atmosphere was interrupted by three voices coming from the internationally recognized poets Carducci from Italy, Swinburne from England and Mistral from France who publicly declared their love and respect for the struggling country along with their wish for the victory of freedom<sup>56</sup>.

While this national(istic) scope in Swinburne's poetry has been brought out by Palamas through a shift from aesthetics to politics, the reverse shift from politics to aesthetics shows another aspect of national thinking, its realization at the level of metre. In his article on Mistral<sup>57</sup> Palamas praises the magic of rhythm in the poetry of these poets which proves him first of all an admirer of their art. Palamas never ceases to praise Swinburne as a master of rhythm who achieved the groundbreaking innovation of multiplying rhythm but it is in this innovation that he recognizes Swinburne's identity as a national poet of England<sup>58</sup>. Palamas stresses the elevation of national verse achieved in Swinburne's poetry, a paradigm he seeks to emulate. The paradigm of Swinburne leads Palamas to the conclusion that national poetry is enriched and elevated when national verse is enriched and elevated, when its multimodal changes and audacious manoeuvres multiply in increasing its power of representation.<sup>59</sup> Whether Palamas reads Swinburne's poetry in terms of metre or of world view he recognizes its national character. On the basis of this national character Palamas has been identified, in the mind of his contemporary criticism, with Swinburne as Lykiardopoulos confirms in his article on Modern Greek Literature when he confesses that Palamas reminds him at times of "Swinburne's periods of neonationism"<sup>60</sup>.

To sum up, the present paper has studied the most compelling Modern Greek paradigm of Swinburne's reception focusing on issues of Hellenic identity. While criticism has been dominated by the opinion that the Ancient Greek patterning in Swinburne's work illustrates a profound interrelation to the Ancient Greek world – reason why the term Hellenism has been ascribed to his poetry – Palamas introduces an entirely different approach. He shows that in Swinburne the Ancient Greek element pertains mainly to elective affinities with the late nineteenth century movements of Aestheticism, PreRaphaelitism or the French Decadence and argues that Hellenism should be ascribed to Swinburne based on the part of his work themed after Modern Greece.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Words can only fail my deepest gratitude to Professor Antonis Rengakos who as the President of the School of Philology at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki strongly supported this paper and my work in general. I am deeply indebted to Professor Keith Hanley to whom my most profound thanks are not enough for his detailed reading of my paper and for offering me valuable suggestions step by step virtually working with me on the completion of this paper. Finally I am grateful to Professor Herbert (Chip) Tucker for taking the time and the trouble to go through my paper, help me with its orientation and advise me about the “Ave atque Vale” citation.
- 2 K. Palamas, “Swinburne”, *O Noumas* vol. 7, issue 342 (1909) 1. The translation of articles and works that have not yet been translated in English is mine.
- 3 *ibid.*, 1-2.
- 4 *ibid.*
- 5 *ibid.*, 3-5.
- 6 K. Palamas, “How I read a Poet”, *The Complete Works*, vol. 10, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 368-385.
- 7 D. Ricks, “Translating Palamas”, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 8, issue 2 (1990) 276. See also:
  - V. Apostolidou, *Kostis Palamas as a Historian of Modern Greek Literature*, Athens, Themelio, 1994.
  - *Kostis Palamas: The Poet and The Critic*. Proceedings of the International Scientific Conference “Kostis Palamas: The Poet and The Critic” (Pafos Cyprus, 2003), (ed.) P. Voutouris, Athens, Mesogeios, 2007.
- 8 K. Palamas, “How I read a Poet”, 368.
- 9 T.S. Eliot, “Imperfect Critics. Swinburne as Critic”, *The Sacred Wood: Essays on Poetry and Criticism*, New York, Bartleby.com, 2000, 1-10.
- 10 K. Palamas, “How I read a Poet”, 375.
- 11 *ibid.*, 370.
- 12 *ibid.*
- 13 C. Clyder, “Review: *Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene* by William R. Rutland”, *Modern Language Notes* vol. 47, No. 2 (1932) 134.
- 14 D. Bush, “Review: William Rutland, *Swinburne: A Nineteenth Century Hellene*”, *Philological Quarterly* 10 (1931) 414.
- 15 *ibid.*, 413.
- 16 *ibid.*, 414.
- 17 *ibid.*, 414.
- 18 M. Praz, “Review: *Swinburne: A Nineteenth-Century Hellene* by William R. Rutland”, *The Review of English Studies* vol. 8, No. 31 (1932) 354.

- 19 *ibid.*, 356.
- 20 L. Étienne, “Le paganisme poétique en Angleterre – John Keats et Algernon Charles Swinburne”, *Revue des Deux Mondes* Period 2, vol. 69 (1867) 291-317.
- 21 *ibid.*, 291.
- 22 *ibid.*, 302.
- 23 *ibid.*, 307.
- 24 *ibid.*, 306-307.
- 25 *ibid.*, 306.
- 26 *ibid.*, 307.
- 27 K. Palamas, “How I read a Poet”, 370.
- 28 *ibid.*, 373-374.
- 29 *ibid.*, 370.
- 30 *ibid.*, 377.
- 31 *ibid.*, 377.
- 32 *ibid.*, 380.
- 33 *ibid.*, 368.
- 34 L. Étienne, “Le paganisme poétique en Angleterre – John Keats et Algernon Charles Swinburne”, 303.
- 35 M. Hardman, “Faithful to the Greek?: Swinburnian Patterning (Hopkinsian Dapple)”, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, vol. 32: Children in Literature (2002) 19.
- 36 However the conclusion of the article stretches this cosmic reading to include a post-modernist potentiality on the side of morality: “Swinburne’s equation between ‘lust’ and ‘love’ by concluding that it was just because he could not help experiencing variants as incompatible polarities that he was able to write them as equivalents: ‘And Lust said: I am Love.’ This stretch for wholeness may perhaps be read as a postmodernist ‘moral’ (as well as an underlying pathétique) of his patterning”. (M. Hardman, “Faithful to the Greek?: Swinburnian Patterning (Hopkinsian Dapple)”, 35).
- 37 M. Hardman, “Faithful to the Greek?: Swinburnian Patterning (Hopkinsian Dapple)”, 19.
- 38 *ibid.*, 19.
- 39 *ibid.*, 20.
- 40 *ibid.*, 26.
- 41 *ibid.*, 20.
- 42 *ibid.*, 20.
- 43 *ibid.*, 26.
- 44 *ibid.*, 27.
- 45 *ibid.*, 20.
- 46 *ibid.*, 24.
- 47 K. Palamas, “How I read a Poet”, 384.

- 48 K. Palamas, "The Condemnation of Shakespeare", *The Complete Works*, vol. 10, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 363.
- 49 M. Hardman, "Faithful to the Greek?: Swinburnian Patterning (Hopkinsian Dapple)", 19.
- 50 "symmetrical forms disposed in a pattern that momentarily claims comprehensiveness and superficially offers itself as an exercise in release from the necessarily problematic nature of all being; while, because of the very nature of its own habits of form, it actually raises, to a pitch of yet greater anxiety, that sense of the problematic from which its mazed participants might have been seeking remission" (M. Hardman, "Faithful to the Greek?: Swinburnian Patterning (Hopkinsian Dapple)", 30.
- 51 K. Palamas, "How I read a Poet", 384.
- 52 K. Palamas, *The Complete Works*, vol. 5, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 516-7.
- 53 K. Palamas, "Valaoritis and his work", *The Complete Works*, vol. 8, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 204.
- 54 K. Palamas, "A Great Friend of Ours", *The Complete Works*, vol. 12, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 501-2.
- 55 K. Palamas, "Mistral's ancestors", *The Complete Works*, vol. 10, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 388.
- 56 K. Palamas, "Mistral", *The Complete Works*, vol. 6, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 292.
- 57 K. Palamas, "On metre", *The Complete Works*, vol. 6, Athens, Biris-Govostis, 1962-1994, 154.
- 58 *ibid.*, 155.
- 59 M. Lykiardopoulos, "Contemporary Modern Greek Literature", *O Noumas* vol.4, issue 197 (1906) 10.
- 60 On the distinction between nationalism as "a system which determines the differences of the national group from other groups and establishes its otherness' and nationalism as a liberation or a resistance movement grounded on patriotic feelings", see D. Tziovas, *The Nationism of the Demoticists and its Impact on their Literary Theory (1888-1930)*, Amsterdam, A. M. Hakkert, 1986, 2-3.