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THE ROMANTIC AND BRITISH SUBLIME IN KALVOS' ODES

A BURKEAN IMAGE FROM JOB

You must read Longinus, read him over, read him again
(Laurence Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*)

ABSTRACT: In terms of the sublimity of his verses, the Modern Greek poet Andreas Kalvos (1792–1869) can be compared to the greatest poets of Modern European Literature. He rose to the peak of the Modern Greek Parnassus thanks to two short poetry collections. The first series of his Odes was published in Geneva in 1824 and the second one in Paris in 1826. Earlier, from 1816 to 1820, he had lived in London, during the full development of British Romantic lyricism. The poet's fame, his enduring influence, and the constantly renewed interest in his poetry are due in large part to the great achievement of sublimity in his Odes. At present, the sublime is considered a critical concept with which to approach the works of the Romantic canon. In the following study, through the microscopic analysis of a Kalvian image, I intend to firstly reveal the dynamics of the particular British sublime. At the same time, I will trace the dedication of the Romantics to the theory of Longinus and the creative revival of the longinian sublime in Kalvos' Odes.

KEY WORDS: the Romantic sublime, the British sublime, the Romantic supernatural, Andreas Kalvos, Longinus, Edmund Burke, Hugh Blair, Byron, Job, the Bible, the biblical sublime, the history of emotions

1. THE IMAGE FROM KALVOS' ODE 'TO DEATH'

The Kalvian image to be explored in this study is contained in the ode 'To Death', the third ode of the *Lyra* collection (Geneva 1824). The ode is based on one of the typical and most advanced themes of the Romantic imagination. It is the anxiety about what lies beyond and the mysteries of the afterlife. The subject is expressed persistently in the art of the Romantics through the continuous transcending of the boundaries between the world of the living and the world of the dead.

The same theme defines the central inspirational axis of the ode 'To Death'. In the main part of the ode, the appearance of a dead human being in the world of the living is staged. The meeting and conversation between the living and the dead are also dramatized, namely the dialogue between the poetic voice and the ghost of the dead mother. In Kalvos' ode, the beloved territory of the Romantics is revealed, in which the supernatural and the human capacity for supernatural experience both play a central role.[1]

The Kalvian image in question is illustrated in the Introduction of the ode (stanza 7). I will call it the 'image of hair standing on end' and the 'image of horripilation'. The word 'horripilation' also means 'hair standing up due to horror and fright'. Stanza 7 sets the scene for the dead mother to rise from the grave. The lines of the poem vividly depict the mystery, the awe and the terror caused by the appearance of this paradoxical vision. In the more extended and enjambed line of the stanza, the image of horripilation graphically depicts the raising of the hairs of the head as a result of the horror experienced by the voice of the poem: *The hairs on my head / are standing on end!* ... (ll. 3-4). Visualising terror, Kalvos' verse represents the transformation of emotion into an image. Below the first four stanzas from the scene of the mother rising from the grave are cited:

ζ΄ Ω παντοδυναμώτατε!
τί είναι; τί παθαίνω;
ορθαί εις την κεφαλήν μου
στέκονται η τρίχες!.. λείπει
η αναπνοή μου!

[1] On the central role of the supernatural in Romantic literature see Shaffer 2003: 146.

η΄ *Ιδού, η πλάκα σείεται …*
ιδού από τα χαράγματα
του μνήματος εκβαίνει
λεπτή αναθυμίασις
κ΄εμπρός μου μένει.

θ΄ *Επυκνώθη. λαμβάνει*
μορφήν ανθρωπικήν.
Τί είσαι; ειπέ μου; πλάσμα,
φάντασμα του νοός μου
τεταραγμένου;

ι΄ *Ή ζωντανός είσ΄ άνθρωπος,*
και κατοικείς τους τάφους;
χαμογελάεις;.. αν άφηκας
τον άδην… ή ο παράδεισος
ειπέ μου αν σ΄ έχῃ.
(III 31–50)

7. *O Almightiest!*
What is it? What is happening to me?
The hairs on my head
are standing on end!.. my breath
is gone!

8. *Behold, the stone slab shakes …*
Behold, from the cracks
of the tomb a wispy
emanation rises
and before me stands.

9. *It thickens; it takes on*
human form.
What are you? tell me? creation,
a spectre of my troubled
mind?

10. *Are you a living human,*
who dwells in the graves?
You smile? … did you leave

Hades… or tell me
if heaven has you.
(III 31–50)

English translation by Mary Kitroeff

The twenty lines by Kalvos cited above convey the terror of the supernatural, which is a major subject in Romantic aesthetics.[2]

The seventh stanza of the ode 'To Death' is incorporated into the series of stupendous and terrifying events that take place in the ode's introduction. The wind blows violently and with a deafening noise; the windows are smashed to smithereens, the tomb opens and the dead mother's ghost emerges (stanzas 4, 8 and 9). The Kalvian scene confirms critical analogies to the passage in the Gospel in which the death of Jesus is narrated. In the biblical passage, the overwhelming moment is presented through the unprecedented upheaval of the natural world and the disruption of the natural order. The earth shakes and rocks are torn asunder; tombs break open; the dead come out and appear before the living. The most detailed description of the scene is given in Matthew's Gospel (27:50–54). Kalvos had translated the passage in question for the Anglican *Book of Common Prayers* (*Anglican Liturgies*, London, Samuel Bagster, 1820, second edition 1826). This evangelical scene is considered a paradigmatic case of the sublime.[3]

The Kalvian image of the hairs standing on end aroused my interest in the expressive boldness that characterises it. There is, however, another reason for my curiosity and subsequent research. The same picture recurs persistently in the first great Romantic compositions which appeared in the newly formed Greek state: *Ο Οδοιπόρος* [*The Pilgrim*] (1831) by Panagiotis Soutsos, *Δήμος και Ελένη* [*Demos and Eleni*] (1831) and *Λαοπλάνος* [*The Deceiver*] (1840) by Alexandros Rizos Rangavis.[4] These multiple appearances of the image over a period of several

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[2] See Bloom (ed.) 2010: 53.

[3] See Costelloe (ed.) 2012: 189–191. On the analogies between the Kalvian scene and the passage from Matthew see in more detail Georganta (Γεωργαντά) 2011: 297–300.

[4] I will briefly mention the appearances of the image during the period 1831–1840 in the poetry of the Greek state and Phanariot Romanticism: * P. Soutsos, *The Pilgrim* (*Ο Οδοιπόρος*), I, 1; I, 3; II, 2; II, 5; III, 3; III, 4; III, 7; V, 3 * A. R. Rangavis,

years (1824–1840) seemed to demarcate a conducive field of study for the poetry of early Hellenic romanticism.

In addition, the field of research shone bright and emerged majestically thanks to yet another glowing example. I had located the same image in a short lyrical poem by Byron from the *Hebrew Melodies* collection (1815). Indeed, in the Byronic poem, as well as in Kalvos' ode, the image of the hairs standing on end is also associated with the appearance of a supernatural vision which provokes terror and fright in the poetic voice. I should note that research into the genealogy of the Kalvian image will leads us to prominent works of British poetry and aesthetics.

2. THE POWER OF THE DEITY, LONGINUS' IMAGES, THE DIACRITICAL MARKS OF ROMANTIC POETRY

Let us now consider in greater detail stanza 7 of the ode 'To Death'. The stanza begins with the admiring exclamation to the Almighty (*παντοδύναμος*): *O Almightiest!* (*Ω παντοδυναμώτατε!*). With regard to the term *παντοδυναμώτατος*, the following should be made clear. In its long history since ancient times, the Greek language has exhibited many fine examples as well as many quotations with this synthesis: *pas*, *pan* + superlative adjective. This composition achieves the transcendence and inflation of the superlative degree. Here are some characteristic examples: *all-holiest* (*πανιερώτατος*), *all-potentest* (*πανσθενέστατος*), *all-supreme* (*πανυπέρτατος*). It seems, indeed, that in the language of ecclesiastical literature, and especially when referring to or addressing God – as in the case of the Kalvian *Almightiest* – such synapses were a common choice. Here is another example from the fifth-century Church Father Nilus: *τῳ πανυψίστῳ θεῴ* / *to the all-highest god* (D. Dimitrakos Dictionary).

Apart from its grammatical legitimacy, the term *Almightiest* firstly dictates the dimension of aesthetic interpretation. Invoking God with the very first word of the stanza stimulates the sublimity caused by the power of divinity. Longinus had already put forward the view that the

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Dimos and Eleni (*Δήμος και Ελένη*), 21 * A. R. Rangavis *The Deceiver of the People* (*Ο Λαοπλάνος*), [in:] *Various Poems* (*Διάφορα ποιήματα*), vol. 2: 199–201.

power of the deity elicits the sublime (IX 8–9). Therefore, by inflating the superlative degree of the adjective of the divine power, the corresponding increase of sublimity is achieved by invoking the infinite power of God. For the Modern Greek poet, God's superlative and overwhelming power required an adjective in the inflated superlative degree.

The Greek ode is not a religious poem nor can it be linked to the 18th century British tradition of the religious sublime. Kalvos' inflated reference to God can be traced, I believe, to Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, where it is explicitly stated: 'every thing terrible in nature is called up to heighten the awe and solemnity of the divine presence', and also that in front of the divine omnipresence, 'we shrink into the minuteness of our own nature, and are, in a manner, annihilated before him' (*SB* II 5 / 63–64). God is the greatest thing imaginable.[5] The inspiration provided by Burke is dominant in a later line of the same Kalvian stanza, as I will explain further on. In British literature, John Dennis was the first to associate sublimity with religious ideas and the power of God. Burke, however, was the first to emphasise the sublimity of a terrible God and the relation of the sublime with the fear that he thought was caused by the power of God.[6]

In the seventh stanza of the Kalvian ode, the invocation to the Almighty is followed by two brief rhetorical questions, typical of romantic poetry: *What is it? What is happening to me?* Immediately afterwards comes the image of horripilation. It is also visually underscored by the enjambement, an exclamation mark – the second consecutive one in the stanza – and an ellipsis: *The hairs on my head / are standing on end!...* The stanza ends with a short enjambed line and a final exclamation mark: *my breath / is gone!*

The lines of the seventh stanza of the ode 'To Death' are emotionally coloured by powerful punctuation: three exclamation marks, two question marks and ellipses. These are the recognisable marks of Romantic punctuation. In this article I will emphasise only the presence of the question mark, which is considered the typical mark of Romantic

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5 On 'the greatest thing imaginable' see Hoffmann, Whyte (eds.) 2011: 96. References to Burke's *Enquiry* appear within parentheses in the text with the indications *SB*, Part and Section number followed by the page number.

6 On John Dennis' ideas see Morris 1972: 47, 62–64; cf. Doran 2015: 128–129. Regarding Burke's theory about the sublimity of a terrible God see Lamb 1997: 403–404.

punctuation. In the ode 'To Death' thirteen (13) question marks are recorded. The large number of questions attests to the Romantic inspiration of the poem. The main derivative of Romantic poetry is the question. Romantic poets primarily state questions rather than answers. In fact, the rhetorical question is a particularly popular stylistic technique of theirs. It is very common in British Romantic poetry, as in Victor Hugo's poetry. It is also common in Kalvos' Odes and abounds in the introduction of 'To Death'. It is to be noted that the appearance of the spirit in the Kalvian scene under discussion is underscored by seven rhetorical questions. Rhetorical questions are meant to overwhelm.[7]

The use and role of questions had already been emphasised by Longinus; they increase the realism and vigour of the writing: 'Is not discourse enlivened, strengthened and thrown more forcibly along?' (XVIII 1). The spirited and rapid alternation of questions and answers, as well as the orator's swift replies to his own questions, rend sublimity and make his speech more convincing and more plausible (XVIII 2). In the seventh stanza of 'To Death', the model created by Kalvos seems to follow Longinus' instructions.[8]

Through the images of horripilation and breathlessness; the alternating questions and answers; the accumulation of powerful punctuation and the invocation of God, the seventh stanza of the ode conveys the *terror* and *astonishment*, according to Burke's terminology. These are the emotions experienced by the poetic voice, as well as by the reader of the poem, as soon as the manifestation of the supernatural phenomenon starts to be perceived. The indescribable experience and the tremendous mental upheaval are illustrated by the instant projection of the visible symptom, which is carried out by the image of the hairs standing on end. The graphic image of horripilation lends passion and intensity to the words. The reader is surprised and his emotional involvement is assured. In the Kalvian image under examination, one recognises Longinus' explicit standards by which sublimity is attained.

In his treatise *On the Sublime*, the as yet unknown writer of Greco-Roman antiquity devoted a chapter to the sublimity achieved through

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[7] See Bloom (ed.) 2010: 27. On romantic punctuation see in more detail Van Tieghem 1969: 339; McGann 1983: 60–61, 65; Parkes 1992: 49, 92, 213, 306; Porter 1999: 47; Roe (ed.) 2005: 57, 593.

[8] Cf. Vermeir, Funk Deckard (eds.) 2012: 233.

the imagery of *Phantasia*, as he calls the distinctive creative intelligence of poets and prose writers (XV 1 and 9). With the term *Phantasia*, Longinus describes the poet's ability to vividly present what he narrates. In English literature of the field, these images are also termed *rhetorical / oratorical visualisation* or *images of mental representation*. Swept up by his passion and enthusiasm, the author thinks he sees the things he has conceived with his mind and displays them vividly before the reader's eyes. Through these images he seeks to emotionally involve and move his reader. These images 'not only persuade, but subdue an audience' (XV 9). They are classified by Longinus as sources of sublimity which are a natural gift and are associated with the author's genius. According to contemporary interpretations, *Phantasia* can make absent things become present, and create things that no one has ever actually seen. Longinus' idea of a productive imagination led to the modern concept of imagination and the ideas of originality, creativity, and intelligence.[9]

Longinus had illustrated the chapter on *Phantasia* with exemplary quotations from Euripides which feature images of the Furies. The quotations from Euripides were translated into English by William Smith in 1770, in the fourth edition of his translation of the Greek text of Longinus. In addition to the English translation of the Greek quotations, William Smith had also added several Shakespeare quotes from *Macbeth*, with images of the Furies as well. Commenting on the lines from Euripides, Longinus noted that 'The poet [Euripides] here actually saw the furies with the eyes of his imagination, and has compelled his audience to see what he beheld himself' (XV 9, 3).[10]

3. THE RECEPTION OF LONGINUS IN BRITAIN AND EDMUND BURKE

The influence of Longinus on British letters from the early 18th century is well known. The authority of the ancient critic in Britain was undeniable

[9] See Doran 2015: 69-70, also Vermeir, Funk Deckard (eds.) 2012: 270. On 'images of mental representation' see also De Bolla 1989: 294. Longinus' quotation is taken from W. Smith's translation, see *On the Sublime*, fourth edition, 1770: 72, 83.

[10] The Euripidean image of the Furies 'is a striking testimony to the power of imagination', see Costelloe (ed.) 2012: 19.

during the first half of the 18th century and continued to be very strong for the remainder of the century. Throughout this period, the sublime is perceived as the ultimate aesthetic and emotional experience. In the same years, from 1739 to 1800, William Smith's translation of the Greek work was published in five successive editions. This is the most popular English translation of Longinus in the 18th century; it contributed greatly to the reputation of the ancient author and to the dissemination of *Peri Hupsous* in Britain.[11]

During the 18th century, the sublime took the lead in Britain in the sphere of artistic criteria. It was the power that could stimulate strong emotions. This position was to be reinforced by the art of Romanticism. It is believed that the notion of the sublime contributed decisively to the birth of Romanticism. According to Lyotard, Romanticism triumphed by virtue of the sublime: 'C'est au nom du sublime que le Romantisme, c'est-à-dire la modernité, a triomphé'.[12] The growing emphasis on the idea of the sublime is now considered a key term of romanticism and the most significant aesthetic development promoted by the romantic era. It is also interpreted as the crucial concept in order to understand the works of the romantic canon.[13]

At this point I should note that, according to M.H. Abrams, the origin of the expressive theory of the Romantics is traced back to the discussion of the sublime by Longinus. At present, the Romantic sublime is considered to have a complex derivation from the ancient critic's treatise. Longinus' contribution to the shaping of Romantic verse is also emphasised. As assessed in a recent study, the theory of British Romanticism regarding the relation of metre to the sublime was similarly drawn from Longinus' *On the Sublime*.[14]

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[11] On the effect of Longinus on 18th-Century British poetic theories see Monk 1960: 10–28; Ashfield, De Bolla (eds.) 1996: 10, 18; Fry 2003: 11–12. On William Smith's translation and its popularity in England see Monk 1960: 10, 21–22, 24 n. 51, 67–69; Boulton 1968: li; De Bolla 1989: 35 n. 10; Phillips 2008: 163, also Doran 2015: 88 n. 21.

[12] Lyotard 1988: 104 as cited in Marrot (ed.) 2007: 305.

[13] On these subjects see Bainbridge (ed.) 2008: 171–172; Stevens 2014: 126; Clewis (ed.) 2019: 356–357.

[14] See respectively Abrams 1981: 72–74 and Doran 2015: 17. According to Thomas Weiskel 'the Romantic sublime is not only or even primarily Longinian' (Weiskel 1976: 5). On the relation between the Romantic sublime and Longinus see also Potkay 2012:

Shortly after the mid-18th century, Edmund Burke's famous treatise *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful appeared in Britain* (1757, second expanded edition 1759). This famous work contains the original discussion of the image of hair standing on end as well as a demonstration of the model of the image. With the Irish philosopher, the sublime found its first major theorist in modern times. The critical period for the aesthetic formation of the work is considered to be his student years at Trinity College, Dublin, where Longinus was a compulsory read. Burke's early treatise was a monumental work on the exploration of human emotions. It originated largely in the tradition that Longinus' *Peri Hupsous* had created in British letters.[15]

Burke's *Enquiry* is considered a seminal work for the development of modern aesthetics. It constitutes a critical milestone in British education and is considered a source of inspiration for British Romanticism. It was very successful in Britain, where for the next thirty years Burke's treatise was republished every three years. It was soon translated into French (1765) and was enthusiastically received in Boileau's homeland, from where the triumphant course of Longinus had begun in modern times. The British treatise on aesthetics had a strong impact on France and Germany, both on its contemporaries and those who followed – from Diderot and Lessing to Kant. Indeed, Burke's influence on Kant is widely recognised, whereas Kant's work was little known in Britain until later in the nineteenth century. The resonance of the *Enquiry* remained unchanged in the age of Romanticism. It is also believed that even the German Romantics were inspired by Burke's book. We also know that Burke greatly esteemed William Smith's translation.[16]

204, n. 2. On the relation between British versification and Longinus' theory see Chandler, McLane (ed.) 2008: 63.

15 See Ashfield, De Bolla (eds.) 1996: 12 ('the first major theorist'). On Burke's debt to Longinus see Boulton 1968: xvi–xx; De Bolla 1989: 35–36, 62; Dwan, Insole (ed.) 2012: 54; Vermeir, Funk Deckard (ed.) 2012: 4, 235–236; Doran 2015: 146.

16 See Bromwich 2014: 93 (regarding the French translation). On the broader significance and Europe-wide resonance of the *Enquiry*, see Monk 1960: 92, 94, 100; Boulton 1968: xxii, lxxxi–cxxvii; Pocock 1987: xli–xlii; Jarvis 2004: 178–180, 206; Phillips 2008: ix; Doran 2015: 141, 143; Ibata 2018: 5, 8.

In the relevant contemporary literature, it is considered that the role of the *Enquiry* in the history of theories on the sublime can only be compared to that of Kant and Longinus. The view of modern French studies on the book's impact should also be emphasised. This is the dimension that Professor Baldine Saint Girons has recently advocated. She has maintained that the renewal of our interest in the sublime today is due to Edmund Burke and British Romantic poetry, and that the influence of the *Enquiry* did not cease with the end of the Romantic period.[17]

The critical change that took place in the aesthetic ideas of Britain as a result of the *Enquiry* was the priority given to the negative aspects of the sublime: *terror is the ruling principle of the sublime*. As Burke explains, aesthetic enjoyment can even spring from the ideas of pain and danger that are triggered by terror (*SB* I 7; II 2, 5 / 36, 54, 59).[18]

In one of the chapters where he first links the sublime to terror, Burke admiringly cites a passage from Job. In this passage from the Old Testament, in my interpretation, the archetypal image of hairs standing on end is recorded. Burke praises the image in Job as 'amazingly sublime'. According to his analysis, the sublimity of the biblical passage is principally due to 'the terrible uncertainty of the thing described'. Commenting on the passage from Job, the Irish philosopher further explained that the preparation ('we are first prepared') for the appearance of the undefined vision fills the reader's soul with terror even before he becomes aware of the dark source of the emotion he is feeling. And when the reader's soul is overcome by terror, the impact is much more intense and frightening compared to that of lucid descriptions (*SB*: II 4b / 58). Thus, from Burke onwards up until Kant and Schiller, the sublime came to be described by its negative components.[19]

In his Introduction to the edition of the *Enquiry*, James T. Boulton notes that any author writing about the sublime cannot but owe a great debt to Samuel Holt Monk's book, which appeared in 1935. The importance of the book in reviving interest in the sublime is consistently

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[17] See Saint Girons 2006: 13. On comparing Burke to Longinus and Kant see Clewis (ed.) 2019: 78.

[18] Burke's view provided the impetus for numerous studies and analyses on the aesthetics of terror. I will cite one of the most recent works as a typical example: Doran 2015: 141–153.

[19] See Marrot (ed.) 2007: 318.

praised in the relevant international literature.[20] Boulton's comment also applies to my own investigation. The book by the renowned American scholar is the first and only work in which I found the particular image from Job underscored in connection with Burke's *Enquiry*.[21]

In addition to ancient texts, the examples of the sublime Burke cited in his book were drawn pre-eminently from the Bible and *Paradise Lost*. He had chosen them appropriately, influenced by the interest that existed at the time in the biblical sublime – especially Job's sublime – and Milton's sublime spirit.[22] In his translation of Longinus (4th edition), William Smith had also taken his examples from the Bible and Milton as well as from Shakespeare. Besides, it is well known that Longinus himself had made the connection between the sublime and the literature of the Bible (IX 9).

Milton was greatly esteemed among British Romantic poets; so was the poetry of the Bible. In these texts the British Romantics sought the sources of the sublime. Like many other European Romantics, they found an essential textual model in the Bible and considered it to be the ultimate Romantic book. Indeed, the British concentrated intently on the sublime poetry of the Psalms, Job and Isaiah, as well as on the Book of Revelation.[23]

The Bible likewise represents a steady and central source of inspiration for Kalvos. In the lyrics of the Odes, many themes and passages have been transmuted, as have images from the Old and New Testaments. Our poet drew fruitful and crucial inspiration from the Bible. It is a well-known fact that he had translated David's Psalms and extensive passages from the Gospels for the Greek edition of the Anglican *Book of*

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20 See Boulton 1968: xlviii n. 17. See also Weiskel 1976: 5; Chase (ed.) 2014: 84; Doran 2015: 2 n. 6. In the French literature of the field, Monk's book is considered a classic work ('étude classique'), see Courtine et al. 1988: 43 n. 2. On the Italian literature of the field see Sertoli 1991: vii–xx, also Praz 1983, vol. 1: 170.

21 See Monk 1960: 94.

22 See Boulton 1968: lix; cf. De Bolla 1989: 96. On the sources of the quotations incorporated by Burke in his book, see the detailed table compiled by C. Ryan [in:] Vermeir, Funk Deckard (ed.) 2012: 245.

23 On the sources of sublimity of the British romantics (Milton and the Bible), also regarding the reception of the Bible and the link between the Bible and the sublime see indicatively Curran (ed.) 1996: 230; Marshall (ed.) 2003: 122–123; Roe (ed.) 2005: 28; Lemon et al (ed.) 2009: 314. Cf. also Monk 1960: 78–81.

Common Prayer. I mentioned this particular work of his earlier. Kalvian studies feature a number of essays that demonstrate the poet's profound knowledge and extensive use of the Bible in the verses of the Odes.[24]

The subject is of central importance in tackling Kalvian poetry. The present study, which focuses on the rehandling of a passage from the Bible, points to the subject's breadth and unseen aspects. It also reaffirms the view of the sublime experience as a major topic of investigation for Romantic literature.[25]

4. THE MODEL FROM THE BOOK OF JOB

I will now focus on the passage from Job, which I believe encapsulates the archetypal image of hairs standing on end. Edmund Burke commented on the biblical passage as a model of the sublime that elicits from mystery and terror:

> There is a passage in the book of Job amazingly sublime, and this sublimity is principally due to the terrible uncertainty of the thing described.
>
> (*SB*: II 4 / 58)

Based on Burke's clarification in Part One of the book, the adjective 'terrible' in the English citation should be understood in the sense of 'whatever is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror' (*SB*: I 7 / 36).

Immediately after the above comment, Burke quoted Job's passage from the English translation of the Bible dating to the time of King James (the King James Bible / KJB). The grand style English translation of 1611 proved to be greatly influential and important in shaping the

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[24] On Kalvos' translation of the Psalms see the contemporary re-edition by Yiannis Dallas, including an introduction and commentary (*Οι Ψαλμοί του Δαβίδ υπό Ανδρέα Κάλβου*, εισαγωγή-σχόλια Γιάννης Δάλλας, Νεφέλη, 1990). On the language and the biblical sources of Kalvos' Odes see ibid: 36-45. See also Sofroniou (Σωφρονίου) 1960: 401; Kavadias (Καββαδίας) 1992: passim; Georganta (Γεωργαντά) 2003: 149–155, 158.

[25] See Chase (ed.) 2014: 7.

English language. In Britain it was considered to be a paradigmatic text of the sublime. It had a profound effect on the English language and literature, poets as well as prose writers. As for the British Romantics, they were indeed the first major literary group to share admiration for the KJB.[26] I will now quote the passage from the KJB which is alluded to by all the British writers examined in this study. The passage versifies the vision of Eliphaz the Temanite, the oldest of the comforters:

> 13 In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, 14 Fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. 15 Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up; 16 It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image *was* before mine eyes, *there was* silence, and I heard a voice, *saying*, 17 Shall mortal man be more just than God?[27]
>
> (Job 4:13–17)

Having stated his principal idea about the relation between the sublime and terror (*terror is the ruling principle of the sublime*), Burke went on to say:

> To make any thing very terrible, obscurity seems in general to be necessary.
>
> (*SB*: II 3 / 54)

The obscurity of the idea in conjunction with the terrible uncertainty and fear create the experience of the *very terrible*, which brings on a sort of paralysis and renders any rational thought impossible. This leads to

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[26] See Ashfield, De Bolla 1996: 111; Lemon et al (ed.) 2009: 313; Clewis (ed.) 2019: 10. The expression 'the grand or lofty style' was the definition of the sublime in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, see Phillips 1992: x, cf. Monk, 1960: 120 and Lynch (ed.), *Samuel Johnson's Dictionary*, pp. 485–486. On the KJB and its relation with British romanticism see also Hamlin, Jones (eds.) 2011: 1, 10, 12–14, 45, 47, 221; also Potkay 2012: 215–216.

[27] *The Bible. Authorized King James Version*, 1997, Carroll, Prickett (eds.): 610.

the condition of the 'amazingly sublime', which, according to Burke, is due to *the terrible uncertainty* of the description.[28]

The passage from Job cited above is considered paradigmatic in that it demonstrates the relationship between fear and divine power. This fear goes to extremes, invading the skeleton of the speaking voice.[29] Immediately afterwards, the fear of the speaking voice becomes visible through an image of obvious physical anguish: *The hairs on my head / are standing on end!..* In these words lies the core of Kalvos' inspiration for the image of horripilation. I will quote the image from Job, first from the Greek version of the Old Testament and then from the King James Bible:

4:15 *έφριξάν δε μου τρίχες και σάρκες*

4:15 *the hair of my flesh stood up:*

The image in Kalvos' verses, and the seventh stanza of the ode 'To Death' as a whole, fully meet Burke's specifications for the 'amazingly sublime'. The lines of the stanza are dominated by the ambiguity and obscurity of the idea. The overall atmosphere of the stanza is already evoked in the opening line, which underscores God's power and sublimity: *O Almightiest!* The invocation of God and the exclamation mark reveal the emotional charge, while at the same time the condition of uncertainty is also foretold. Uncertainty is further emphasised in the next verse by two successive questions (*What is it? What is happening to me?*). The scene is terribly dark, as described in the ode's previous stanzas (stanzas 2 and 5). Darkness adds to the experience of the nocturnal sublime, which defines the vast territory of Romantic literature as well as Kalvian poetry. The origin of the nocturnal sublime also goes back to Burke's early treatise. Night is a higher source of sublimity than

[28] On the effects of terror see Phillips 1992: xxi-xxii; Dwan, Insole (eds.) 2012: 56. On the relation between obscurity and sublimity see indicatively Beer (ed.) 1995: 209–210.

[29] See respectively Vermeir, Funk Deckard (eds.) 2012: 240 (Ryan) and 315 (Saint Girons), also Saint Girons 2003: 116.

daylight, Burke avowed, night is more sublime and solemn than day; darkness elicits the sublime (*SB*: II 16 / 75 and IV 14 / 130).[30]

In the Introduction to the ode ʻTo Death', the night, obscurity and the deafening sound of the wind, after the sudden projection of the image of horripilation, astonish the soul and the spirit, stimulate the sublime and prepare for the supernatural scene that follows with the appearance of the ghost. This is a major manifestation of the nocturnal sublime in the Odes. That same year 1824, which marked the birth of Hellenic Romanticism, the nocturnal episode of Dionysios Solomos' *Hymn to Liberty* featuring the Battle of Tripolitsa was published. This observation should be emphasised. The nocturnal sublime gained a firm foothold in Modern Greek literature from the very first Romantic poems published in 1824. Moreover, in the particular poems by Kalvos and Solomos, an additional distinct Romantic theme is expressed: the capacity of the night to unsettle the natural world.[31]

The emotional burden of the seventh stanza in the ode ʻTo Death' culminates mainly in the image of horripilation, but also in the image of breathlessness (*my breath is gone!*). These last three verses of the stanza illustrate the physical effects of terror. This is where the ʻvery terrible' condition is registered. The experience of the ʻvery terrible' causes physical paralysis and makes rational thought impossible. It is an absolute experience of ʻastonishment', which is the ʻsublime in its highest degree' and ʻthat state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended with some degree of horror' (*SB*: II 1 / 53).

The passage from Job, as well as the last verses of the seventh stanza of the ode ʻTo Death', recall the comment of one of the most prominent British interpreters of the Book of Job, 18th-century writer Robert Lowth, who underscored the conditions of natural pain and danger as superior sources of the sublime: ʻThe imagery […] which is taken from the parts and members of the human body is found to be much nobler and more magnificent in effect than that which is taken from the passions of the

[30] The Romantic sublime is manifested preeminently in the darkness of the night and the theme of the night is dominant in European Romanticism, see Gusdorf 1993: 182–185, 187–188 and Ferber (ed.) 2005: 6. On the nocturnal sublime see also Saint Girons 2003: 113, 116; Furst 2005: 505–520 and Saint Girons 2012: 306.

[31] See Furst 2005: 511.

mind' (*Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews*).[32] This view can be linked to Burke's statement about physical pain: 'the idea of bodily pain, in all the modes and degrees of labour, pain, anguish, torment, is productive of the sublime' (*SB*: II 22 / 79).

In his *Enquiry*, Burke cites the Book of Job five times (*SB*: II 4–5 / 58, 61, 62). His references were not coincidental nor were they the result merely of personal assessments. In Burke's time, Job's poetry had become a paradigm of sublimity, and the story of the pious, patient and just man pre-eminently codified the terror inspired by God's power.[33] In Britain, throughout the 18th century, Job's poetry was associated with the aesthetics of the sublime and had a powerful influence on letters, the arts, and social life. I will mention Edward Young's *Paraphrase*, first published in 1750, a few years before Burke's *Enquiry*. Young's *Paraphrase* included only the Almighty's speech from the whirlwind (Job 38–41). The poet of *Night Thoughts* noted there that he considered Job's book 'the noblest and most ancient poem in the world'. Add to that the many visual representations inspired by William Blake from Job.[34] In modern criticism, Job's poetry is perceived as a 'sustained manifestation of the sublime'. According to the critics, this book of the Old Testament stands out for its power, its verbal wealth and its original imagery. It contains a wide breadth of objects that are of interest to all, and expresses ideas and topics succinctly, using inventiveness and powerful imagery. It is considered the ideal means for a writer wishing to look at the world in new ways.[35]

It is worth noting that many of the attributes found in Job's poetry are also common in Kalvos' Odes. In fact some of them were indicated by Odysseus Elytis in his study on the lyrical boldness of Kalvos' poetry. The Greek Nobel Prize-winning poet pointed out the innovative vision, the daring, and the inventive imagery with which Kalvos enriched

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32 As cited in Lamb 1995: 36.

33 See Ferguson 1977: 68, 74; also Lamb 1995: 194.

34 On Blake's pictorial representations see Lamb 1995: 187. On Young's *Paraphrase* see ibid: 78–79 and Nichols (ed.), *The Complete Works of Edward Young*, vol. 1: 245–259, also ibid: 246 n. regarding Young's opinion on the book of Job.

35 See Alter, Kermode (eds.) 2002: 301–303; cf. Jeffrey (ed.) 1992: 403–404. Greek literature of the field is equally laudatory about the book of Job, see Frilingos (Φριλίγγος, Κ.) 1977: 7, 14, 22.

Modern Greek poetry; it was thanks to these traits that he was able to depict the world beyond the banality of habit.[36]

5. BRITISH AESTHETIC THEORIES ON THE SUBLIME IN EARLY 19TH-CENTURY ITALY

The next text to be incorporated into my study is Hugh Blair's well-known critical essay on Ossian's poetry (Hugh Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, The Son of Fingal*). It was published in London in 1763, six years after Burke's *Enquiry*. The new major work of British aesthetic thought presented the passage from Job to the world of letters throughout the continent.

In his study, Hugh Blair drew attention to the element of the sublime, which he considered one of the two main characteristics of Ossianic poems ('tenderness' and 'sublimity'). The second extended edition of his dissertation (1765) was incorporated into all the editions of Ossianic poems and accompanied them henceforth on their southward journey and their European dissemination. Blair's study took on great importance with regard to the reception of Ossian in Britain and the countries of continental Europe. It represented the critical canon of Ossianic poetry and the indispensable guide to the mythical world of the Celts.[37]

Blair was one of the most authoritative critics in this 'age of Anglomania' ('cette époque d'anglomanie'). For his contemporaries in continental Europe, he was 'the literary dictator of the North' ('le dictateur littéraire du Nord'). His prestige remained undisputed in Britain and in the other European countries until at least the mid-19th century.[38] In his invaluable Ossianic guide, Blair especially glorified the passage from Job that we are examining. Blair's new discussion must obviously be

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36 See Elytis (Ελύτης) 1982: 63-64.

37 See Gaskill (ed.) 2002: 356, 358, 367, 379, 381, 394–395; cf. ibid.: 542–543 on the significance of Blair's *Dissertation* for the reception of the Ossianic poetry. See also Van Tieghem 1967, vol. 1: 221–228.

38 On Blair's prestige until the mid-19th century see Gaskill (ed.) 2002: 543. On the 'age of anglomania' ('cette époque d'anglomanie') and the title 'the literary dictator of the North' ('le dictateur littéraire du Nord') see Van Tieghem, 1967, vol. 1: 221, 23 respectively.

seen as directly dependent on the exposure Edmund Burke had secured for the biblical passage a few years earlier.

Commenting on the appearance of ghosts in Ossianic poetry, Blair assured his readers that there were no such creatures or similar scenes of sublimity in the poetry of classical antiquity. He even suggested the explicit correlation between Ossianic spirits and the description presented in the passage from Job:

> Several other appearances of spirits might be pointed out, as among the most sublime passages of Ossian's poetry. […] They bring to mind that noble description in the book of Job. 'In thoughts from the visions of the night, when deep sleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to shake. Then a spirit passed before my face. The hair of my flesh stood up. It stood still; but I could not discern the form there of. An image was before mine eyes. There was silence, and I heard a voice – Shall mortal man be more just than God?'[39]

It is exactly the same passage from Job that Edmund Burke had quoted and commented on (Job 4:13–17). The Scottish critic also quoted the biblical passage from the English translation of 1611 (King James Bible). In Blair's essay on Ossian, readers in Britain and elsewhere on the continent saw the image of hairs standing on end in a most prominent position and in direct connection to the sublime.

Edmund Burke had already linked supernatural visions to the sublime, and in fact he had done so in the chapter in which he commented on the Jobian passage in question. At the end of this chapter, Burke noted that for poetry, 'apparitions, chimeras, harpies, allegorical figures are grand and affecting' (SB II, 4b / 59). John Dennis shared this view, while Joseph Addison had emphasised that supernatural visions stimulate in the mind of the reader 'a pleasing kind of Horror'.[40]

In order to highlight the sublime in Ossianic poetry, Blair drew heavily on Burke's treatise. The same holds true for his next renowned book (*Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*). The new work by the Scottish

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[39] Blair, *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*, [in:] Gaskill (ed.) 2002: 367. Cf. Monk 1960: 120.

[40] Addison's opinion as cited in Curtis (ed.) 2005: 67. On John Dennis' views see Morris 1972: 61, 74, also Doran 2015: 6–7, 125 and Ibata 2018: 9. On Blair's loans from Burke and his handling of the Ossianic supernatural see Morris 1972: 165–169.

critic was published in three volumes in 1783, twenty years after his essay on Ossian. It was widely read, though not an original book.[41]

Blair's *Lectures* were particularly successful in Italy, as was his earlier dissertation on Ossian, which was originally part of his later *Lectures*. Ossian's poems were immediately translated into Italian by Melchiorre Cesarotti (1763, 1772). These proved very popular and spawned an Anglophile circle in northern Italy ('le groupe anglicisant de Cesarotti'). This group also included Ugo Foscolo, who had attended Cesarotti's courses at the University of Padua and shared from his early works the new taste for the poetry of the North.[42]

The translation of Blair's *Lectures* into Italian began in the early 19th century. The first translation was published in three volumes in Parma in 1801–1802. It was reissued shortly afterwards in Venice in 1803. Soave's translation was from the English: *Lezioni di rettorica e belle lettere di Ugone Blair* […] *tradotte dall'inglese e commentate da Francesco Soave*. The Italian edition of Blair's *Lectures* included the Jobian passage under discussion, together with the Scottish critic's words of admiration for Burke.[43] The same translation, in an abridged version also by Francesco Soave, soon became a school textbook in the Kingdom of Italy: *Istituzioni di rettorica, e di belle lettere tratte dalle lezioni di Blair da Francesco Soave ad uso de' licei e de Ginnasi del Regno d'Italia*. The Italian manual was published in 1808 in Vigevano, in the region of Pavia. Burke's name is mentioned in the manual, but the passage from Job is not included. Soave's Italian translation of the *Lectures* was reprinted many times. In an 1856 edition published in Naples it is noted that it was the sixth edition to see the light in that city.[44]

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41 See Wellek 1955: 106 ('widely known […] only an unoriginal textbook'); cf. Monk 1960: 129 ('as a theorizer on the sublime Blair is disappointing'); also Boulton 1968: lxxxiv, lxxxvii-viii.

42 On all these subjects see Van Tieghem 1947: 83, 94 and Van Tieghem 1967, vol. 1: 30ff. Regarding Foscolo's apprenticeship with Cesarotti's Anglophile circle see Ferber (ed.) 2005: 258. On the keen British interest in Italy at the time see also Casaliggi, Fernanis 2016: 157–159.

43 See *Lezioni di rettorica e belle lettere di Ugone Blair*, 1801, vol. 1: 73-74 e 78-79. On the success of Blair's *Lectures* in Italy and on the two first Italian translations see Leri 2008: 18 n. 15.

44 Blair's Italian translator was the well-known in Greek letters Φραγγίσκος Σοάυϊος. He played an important role in Italy's becoming familiar with English education espe-

In his literary *Lectures*, Blair devotes many pages to the discussion of the sublime. He relies, almost entirely, on the treatise by Burke, whom he calls 'an ingenious author'. Indeed, he adopts Burke's terms for reacting to the sublime (*wonder*, *astonishment*) and states that he owes many of his 'ingenious and original thoughts' to Burke's book.[45] In his new book, the 'literary dictator of the north' brought Burke's theory on the sublime and the Burke's favourite Jobian image to the forefront again.

Discussing the relationship between the sublime and obscurity, Blair faithfully reproduces Burke's words. He then invokes the same image from Job as Burke does in his own chapter on obscurity (*SB*: II 3–4 / 58). After the first mention, which appeared in his Ossianic dissertation, Blair quotes the particular passage from Job for a second time – also from the King James Bible of 1611. He presents Burke's related theory, stating that terror is indeed a source of the sublime. He adds, however, that he does not agree to limit the sublime mainly to the idea of terror or to its relation with danger.[46]

In 1804, Burke's *Enquiry* was introduced to Italian letters. It was published in two concurrent Italian translations. Those first translations of Burke had a huge impact on Italian letters. In his foreword, one of the Italian translators (C. Ercolani) assured readers that the treatise of the Irish philosopher had a great reputation in Italy and that all those who knew English at the time had already read it in the original. In fact, in an earlier Italian work on the sublime, written in 1793, Burke's theory was cited and Hugh Blair's dependence on the *Enquiry* was underscored. Subsequently, in the context of the Italian Romantic debate of 1816,

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cially, but also with German education (see Niedda 2017: 256 and n. 8). Several of his works were translated into Greek mainly by G. Konstantas (Γ. Κωνσταντάς) and K. Vardalachos (K. Βαρδαλάχος). It is thought that Kalvos drew on Soave-Konstanta's *Στοιχεία μεταφυσικής, λογικής και ηθικής* (1804) for the courses that he taught at Corfu's Ionian Academy during his third professorship, see Aliprantis, Αλιπράντης (ed.) 2002: 65*, 66*, 74*–75*. On the modern Greek translations of Soave's work see di Salvo 1994. It is to be noted also, that Soave's *Istituzioni di filosofia teorica e pratica* was until 1837 the introductory textbook for the teaching of philosophy courses at the University of Padua, see Berti 2011: 279; cf. 282.

[45] See Blair, *Lectures*, vol. 1: 60, 55, 65 respectively. In these pages (vol. 1: 70–71), Blair also expresses his admiration for Longinus.

[46] See Blair, *Lectures*, vol. 1: 60 (on the obscurity of the idea and the Jobian passage under discussion) and 65–66 (on terror and danger). Cf. Boulton 1968: lxxxviii.

Giovanni Berchet, in his own Romantic manifesto, advised young Italian poets to seek their inspiration in Edmund Burke, as well as in Schiller, Schlegel and others. He also advised them to forget about Hugh Blair.[47]

This was the climate in 1816 when Kalvos left Tuscany to settle in London. According to the literary evidence, Kalvos arrived in England having deeply inhaled the Anglomania of northern Italy and having experienced the intense Italian interest in British letters.[48] I will come back to the subject of Italian Anglomania shortly, in reference to Byron.

According to the Italian editions, it can be safely assumed that Kalvos had direct knowledge of Blair's *Lectures* from his sojourn in Italy as a student and young man. It is also likely that he had direct or indirect knowledge of Burke's treatise. He would therefore have been familiar early on with the pioneering British theories on the sublime, as well as with the relevant passage from Job. He would also have noticed Burke's prominent contribution to contemporary studies on the sublime. I believe the same term applies in relation to Blair's *Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian*. Kalvos must have been aware of the text at least since the time he became acquainted with Ugo Foscolo (1812).

In European letters, the period discussed in this article is called 'the era of Anglomania' (c. mid-18th to mid-19th century). During those one hundred years, broadly speaking, modern poetry and new aesthetic ideas arrived in the countries of continental Europe from Britain. In Mediterranean countries, British works cultivated a new taste for the poetry of the north. The first half, approximately, was the time of Edmund Burke and Hugh Blair, Ossian, Edward Young and Thomas Gray. The second half, in which we are most interested in terms of Kalvian research, was the Byronic era. From 1815 onwards, Britain's new Ossian ('l'Ossian moderne')[49] took literary continental Europe by storm. Byromania became the dominant force in Romantic literature. It defined the 1820s in

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47 For the entire presentation see Niedda 2017: 253, 255, 258, 262–263.

48 D. Niedda's aforementioned study begins with the term 'Anglomania' (Niedda 2017: 253). The author has adopted the term from an older book regarding the 18th-Century anglomania in Italy (Graf 1911). As Niedda points out, Burke's reception in Italy affirms the rule of 'Anglomania', which had been imposed since the previous century.

49 On *l'Ossian moderne*, see Estève 1929: 138; cf. Van Tieghem 1967, vol. 2: 385–386.

terms of poetry, reached its peak around 1830, and went on until about 1850. Byronism was at the time a cultural phenomenon.[50]

In that 'era of Anglomania', and with acknowledgment by Burke and Blair, Job's image provided an indisputable model for the sublime which aroused from mystery and terror. It was pre-eminently associated with the appearance of supernatural visions so beloved by the Romantics, as is the case with Kalvos' ode and the passage from the Old Testament itself. Byron's poetry offers a striking example of Romantic reception and reworking of the biblical passage.

6. BYRON'S 'FROM JOB' (1815)

I will now return to the passage from Job and its perception by British letters. The biblical passage, which had drawn the admiration of British culture in the second half of the 18th century, soon underwent Byron's poetic handling. 'The most important, perhaps, single poet of European romanticism'[51] was an avid reader of the Holy Scriptures throughout his life. From childhood he constantly read and re-read the Psalms and other books of the Old Testament. He is in fact included among the poets who drew systematic and distinct inspiration from the texts of the Bible.[52]

The biblical model of Byronic poetry has been the subject of many studies.[53] With regard to the passage from Job in which we are particularly interested, Byron discussed it in his *Hebrew Melodies* collection. In addition to biblical inspiration, the creation of the collection is also linked to the contemporary Romantic vogue of national melodies. The different versions of *Hebrew Melodies* were published numerous times

[50] See Van Tieghem 1969: 181, 247, 289–292, 376–377, 379, 381–386 and Van Tieghem 1967: vol. 2, 385–388; also Chase (ed.) 2014: 221.

[51] Regarding the evaluation of Byron see McGann 1983: 27; cf. Bone (ed.) 2004: 236.

[52] See Jeffrey (ed.) 1992: 939–940 (Bibliographical references). Byron's love of reading the Old Testament 'since childhood' is recorded in a 1821 letter to John Murray, see *Byron's Letters and Journals*, vol. 8: 238; cf. Blackstone 1975: 129.

[53] As a typical example I cite Travis Looper's book *Byron and the Bible* (1978), also the special chapter on Byron [in:] Lemon et al. (ed.) 2009: 438–450. See also Curtis (ed.) 2005: 6–7, 238–247. On Byron's knowledge of and admiration for the Hebrew Scriptures see also Thomas 1991: 632.

in London in 1815 and met with great commercial success. This is the most important collection of Byron's lyric poetry, with sales reaching thousands of copies. In terms of Byron's relation to Job's poetry, it should be noted that the poet expressed his admiration in a private letter of 1814. It is also known that he wanted to write a work in imitation of the Book of Job.[54]

Accompanying Ugo Foscolo, Kalvos arrived in London in early September 1816. We know from his private correspondence that he rushed to borrow some 'volumes of Lord Byron's poems'. The information is preserved in a short note by Emma Wells, who asks Kalvos on behalf of her sister to return 'the volumes of Lord Byron's poems by the servant'. The two Wells sisters were admirers and friends of Foscolo.[55] The note does not specify which volumes of Byron's oeuvre Kalvos had borrowed. On this issue, however, I will mention that the previous year, 1815, John Murray had published Byron's *Collected Works* in 4 volumes, as well as a new edition of his *Works* in 2 volumes.[56] It is very likely that Kalvos knew of Byron's legend from an earlier date, thanks to the texts of the Italian Classical/Romantic debate that took place in Milan in 1816.

In 1816, the manifestos of the new movement were published in the capital of Lombardy, with the first being Lodovico Di Breme's *Discorso*. In late May 1816, Kalvos also visited Milan en route to Switzerland and from there to London. He then formed a warm relationship with the Italian poet Silvio Pellico, one of the protagonists in the liberal and Romantic movement of 1816. One of the first translators of Byron in Italy (*Manfred*, 1818),[57] an ardent Carbonaro and subsequently imprisoned in Spielberg Castle, Pellico introduced Kalvos to Di Breme, who was

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54 For the entire presentation see Ashton (ed.) 1972: ix, xiii, 14, 39–41, 48–49, 67 n. 9, 75, also Curtis (ed.) 2005: 6–7. For other contemporary collections of national melodies see Slater 1952: 76, 81, also Mole: 24–25. On the large sales of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* cf. Slater 1952: 85 and Mole: 30, 33 n. 40.

55 See Vitti (ed.) 1963: 133, 153, also Kalvos, *Correspondence* (*Αλληλογραφία*) 2014, vol. 1: 269. Emma's note is undated, but through internal evidence it is dated to late 1816–early 1817.

56 The information is presented in Ashton (ed.) 1972: 40–41.

57 See Bellorini 1916: 25 and Parenti 1952: 22.

preparing to issue his manifesto at the time.[58] In this first manifesto of Italian Romanticism, which was published in June 1816, Di Breme, who was also a friend of Foscolo, assigned Byron a special role. It may therefore be that it was in those days, in Milan, that Kalvos first heard about the poet who had dedicated his life to the freedom of the peoples of the earth. In his *Discorso* Di Breme did not actually name Byron, but he did not need to; everyone knew whom Di Breme meant with his reference to the 'sublimi ingegni forestieri' (sublime foreign talents) who had undertaken a lofty mission with their work.[59]

That noble poet, in fact, had by then published many poems that were set in enslaved Greece. And as was noted above, Kalvos began studying the poetry of Byron as soon as he settled in London. It is also very unlikely that the *Hebrew Melodies* collection of poems had gone unnoticed by the Greek poet who took the Bible seriously, just as Byron did. This is one of the works that sparked the phenomenon of Byromania in England in 1812–1818. In those years, the young lord had generated a whirlwind of publishing and re-publishing of his works, which had led him to the peak of literary glory and to the forefront of London society.[60] Kalvos lived in London from 1816 to 1820. According to a contemporary testimony, he already spoke English in 1818 with remarkable ease.[61]

The passage from Job discussed above produced a poem which was included in the *Hebrew Melodies* ('A Spirit Passed Before Me'). The Byronic poem was accompanied by the caption 'From Job'. It is a paraphrasing of the same biblical passage that Edmund Burke, and then

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[58] The information is included in a letter by Silvio Pellico to Foscolo's lady friend Quirina Magiotti, see Kalvos, *Ode agli Ioni* (*Ωδή εις Ιονίους*), ed. G.T. Zoras, 1960: 109–110.

[59] See L. Di Breme 1943, vol. 1: 34. On the Romantic debate in Milan and Di Breme's manifesto see also Cranston 1995: 100–107; Wellek 1981: 259–261; Ferber (ed.) 2005: 242–250; Casaliggi, Fernanis 2016: 157–159. See also Dell'Aquila (ed.) 1989: 9–84. I have presented detailed data in my article on Hellenic Byronism and the critical decade 1815–1824, see Georganta (Γεωργαντά) 2005: 630–634.

[60] On the whirlwind of publications between 1812–1818, also on Byron's poetic best-sellers and the flood of Byromania in London during the years 1812–1818, see mainly Curtis (ed.) 2005: 53; Wilson (ed.) 1999 (esp. 1, 53–54, 155), also Bone (ed.) 2004: 7–9, 14–15, 78.

[61] For the testament from *The New Times* on Kalvos' first lecture in London's Argyll Rooms, see Dimaras (Δημαράς) 1982: 118.

Hugh Blair after him, twice, had admiringly presented. Byron, in fact, rehandled a greater part of the passage (Job 4:13–21). For Byron's 'From Job' we have the testimony of Shelley, who considered it a "a sublime poem".[62]

'From Job' is one of Byron's poems that illustrate the agonising eagerness of the Byronic 'I' to abolish the limits of mortal human nature. The persistent Byronic theme is manifested by the constant appearance of the dead, spirits and ghosts in the world of the living. In *Hebrew Melodies* various reworkings of these themes are recorded.[63] Kalvos' ode 'To Death' is based on the same theme, as I noted at the beginning of this article. In 'From Job', the spirit that appears to the speaking voice is the spirit of God (*The face of Immortality* […] *all formless – but divine*). In Kalvos' ode it is the spirit of the dead mother emerging from the grave. In both poems, the supernatural spirits – together with the darkness of the night, the obscurity of the idea and the mystery – create the ideal standards for the sublime.

Moreover, in order to present the ghost of the dead mother, Kalvos drew inspiration from other poems by Byron. Here are three verses from the ode's ninth stanza:

Τί είσαι; ειπέ μου; πλάσμα,
φάντασμα του νοός μου
τεταραγμένου;

What are you? tell me? creation,
a spectre of my troubled
mind?
(III 43–45)

Other famous poems by Byron have contributed to these Kalvian verses. The corresponding points are pictorial and verbal:

But, shape or shade! – whatever thou art
(*The Giaour*, l. 1315)

62 As cited in Bloom (ed.) 2010: 118, cf. 128 n. 25.

63 See Blackstone 1975: 136, 223.

– what are they?
Creations of the mind?
(*The Dream* I, 18–19)

Shadow! or Spirit!
Whatever thou art
(*Manfred*, II, 4, ll. 84–85)

The successive question marks in Byron's and Kalvos' verses evoke the same mystery and illustrate the same inability of the poetic voice to solve the query.[64]

Byron's 'From Job' is a first-person monologue and spans two stanzas. I will quote only the first stanza here, in which Byron tackles almost the entire passage that Burke and Blair had featured in their famous works. In the last verse of the stanza, the image of horripilation is striking:

A SPIRIT PASSED BEFORE ME
From Job

A spirit passed before me: I beheld
The face of Immortality unveiled –
Deep sleep came down on every eye save mine –
And there it stood, – all formless – but divine:
Along my bones the creeping flesh did quake;
And as my damp hair stiffened, thus it spake:[65]

The change undergone to the Jobian image – from the King James Bible to Burke, Blair and Byron – had an immediate impact on Kalvos' imagination. In 1824, the British version of the image reappeared in the first collection of Kalvos' Greek Odes. In the Kalvian image, terror is visualised similarly to the effect on the hair of the head specifically. In changing the image, Byron was probably inspired by another passage from Burke's *Enquiry*. In this particular account, Burke presents the

64 See in more detail Georganta (Γεωργαντά) 2011: 302–303.

65 See *Lord Byron, The Complete Works*, J.J. McGann (ed.), vol. 3: 310–311. Byron re-handled some verses from the same passage of Job in *Don Juan* (1824): *Again, through shadows of the night sublime, / When deep sleep fell on men* (*DJ* XVI, 113). Pointed out in Ashton (ed.) 1972: 145 n.

physical effects of fear and pain, emphasising the hair on the head that stands on end (*SB* IV 3 / 119). I will return to this image of Burke's description at the end of this study.

For the image of the hairs standing on end, Kalvos drew on a combination of several models (Job, Burke, Blair). It is evident, however, that the dominant source of his inspiration was the contemporary poem by Byron, which appeared nine years before the first collection of Kalvos' Odes. The British lord was the poet who had hypnotised his entire generation on the European continent. Kalvos belonged to the same generation as Byron, having been born four years after the poet and *benefactor* of modern Greece. He has dedicated one of his twenty odes to Byron's death ('The Britannique Muse').[66]

In the seventh stanza of the ode 'To Death', Kalvos handled his sources with fertile and personal inspiration. The wonder-filled invocation of God and the two consecutive rhetorical questions create the impression of a dialogue with the reader, which in turn lends immediacy and theatricality to the scene. This is followed by the image of horripilation, which extends to the architectural axis of the seventh stanza. Its versatility and enjambement give the verse particular weight in the context of the stanza. We also need to pay attention to the following crucial difference. In the passage from Job, as in Byron's poem, the narrative takes place in the past. In the Kalvian image, by contrast, narrative time coincides with dramatic time. The emotions and physical effects of the horror experienced by the poetic voice of the poem are described in the present, with dramatic vividness, at the very moment when they are being experienced. With the eyes of his imagination, the poet actually sees the supernatural phenomenon taking place and compels his reader to see it too. The overall way in which Kalvos tackles this is ideally in tune with the images of *Phantasia* presented by Longinus.

The Kalvian image achieves great vividness in the presentation of emotions. The terror and reactions of the speaking voice are vividly displayed in the eyes of the reader. The astonishment and shock caused by the supernatural experience are also passionately dramatised. All the

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66 See Wilson (ed.) 1999: 1 ('Byron hypnotised his own generation and dominated the next'). Byron's characterisation as *a benefactor of Modern Greece* belongs to Kalvos: 'The Britannic Muse', l. 95.

elements that Kalvos has added to his version contribute to the achievement of sublimity.

I believe that it is in these terms that one can interpret the fascination that the Kalvian image had on the early Romantics in the Greek state. The first appearances of the image are indicated above (note 4). Here is a single verse from among the many that were published in 1831:

The hairs stood up on my white head
P. Soutsos, *Ο Οδοιπόρος. Ποίημα δραματικόν*
(*The Pilgrim. A Dramatic Poem*, I. 3)[67]

The rapid adoption of the image by the Phanariot Romantics speaks for the modernist boldness and sublime power that Kalvos' image possessed. His ode created a new original text in the poetic tradition of the biblical passage and the gallery of the Romantic sublime.

7. ILLUSTRATING THE EXPRESSION OF EMOTIONS AND PASSIONS

In 1806, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* by Scottish anatomist and surgeon Charles Bell was published in London. The book, which enjoyed great success among artists and other readers, came out in seven editions during the 19th century.[68] It continues to be reprinted to this day. Charles Bell's anatomical suggestions soon became known in continental Europe, according to the University of Padua chronicles.[69]

Bell's book was addressed to the painters of the time. It sought to describe the anatomical effects of emotions and passions on the human body and human expression. It was illustrated with drawings of passions, some of which were made by the author himself, who was also an amateur painter. Others were the work of Scottish painter Sir David Wilkie. The drawings were accompanied by explanatory instructions to contemporary painters.

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67 The subtitle of *The Pilgrim* refers to Byron's work *Manfred: A Dramatic Poem*.

68 See Cummings 1964: 191. See also *British Medical Journal*, 25 (December 1982) [on-line:] www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC 1500303.

69 See Berti 2011: 232–233.

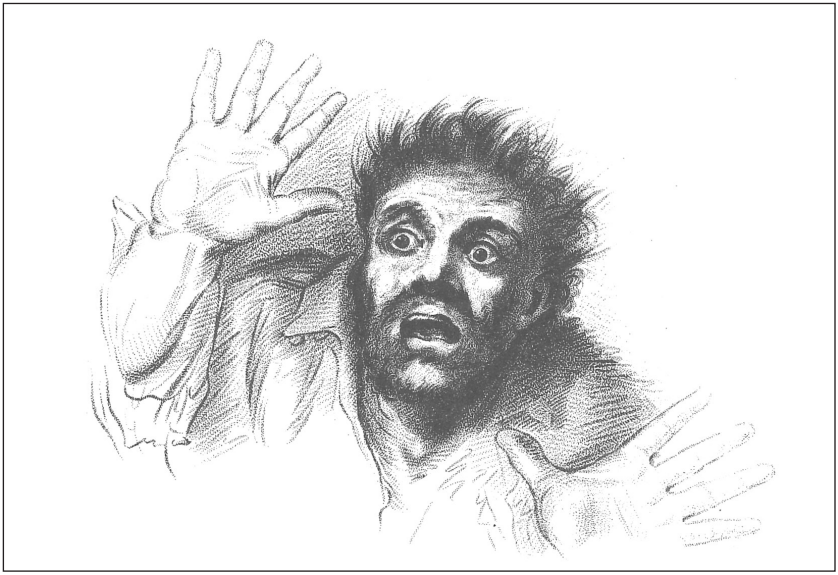
The book includes a chapter with the Burkean title 'Wonder, Astonishment, Fear, Terror, Horror, Despair'. In this chapter explicit references are made to Edmund Burke's *Enquiry* and his theory of terror. At the beginning of the chapter there is an engraving which illustrates Burke's description of the physical effects of fear and pain (p. 142). It is considered to be the work of David Wilkie (1785–1841), one of the most renowned artists in Scotland. And we know that Lord Byron admired Wilkie's art.[70] It is very likely, then, that Byron would have been aware of this particular drawing, which illustrated Burke's description of the physical effects of fear and pain. It is also possible that Kalvos was also aware of this drawing, even though no such reference has been found in the Kalvian texts.

In page 143 of his book, right across from David Wilkie's drawing, is the following description by Burke which was mentioned in the previous section:

> I say a man in great pain has his teeth set, his eye-brows are violently contracted, his forehead is wrinkled, his eyes are dragged inwards, and rolled with great vehemence, his hair stands on end.
>
> (*SB* IV 3 / 119: 'Cause of Pain and Fear')

According to Charles Bell's elucidation, in this vignette we see expressed 'fear mingled with despair'.

[70] See *Lady Blessington's Conversations of Lord Byron*, Lovell, jr (ed.) 1969: 51. On this British painter, who was appointed official painter of the British royal court in 1830, see [on-line:] https://www.royalacademy.org.uk>Sir David Wilkie.



David Wilkie, 'Wonder, Astonishment, Fear, Terror, Horror, Despair'

The drawing precisely matched Burke's description of the effects of fear and pain on human expression. Among the various symptoms caused by fear and wonder on man's bodily features, Burke once again mentioned the hair on the head that stands up: 'his hair stands on end'.

For anyone of that era seeing the above drawing in conjunction with Burke's quote on the opposite page it would be easy to link the drawing to the Jobian passage under discussion. One could likewise combine the depiction of horripilation with Byron's 'From Job'. Indeed, at the beginning of his book, Charles Bell provided some interesting information. He noted that this particular 'sketch of Astonishment and Fear' had undergone various imitations and that 'some of the happier imitations' were due 'to Mr. Freeman's unremitting attention and solicitude' (p. ix). In other words, the illustration with the hair standing on end had become widespread in the early 19th century.

It is also interesting to add that a similar description is found in Charles Darwin's book *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872). Writing specifically on the effects of terror on animals, and linking their respective reactions to the nervous system, Darwin wrote: 'With all, or almost all animals, even with birds, Terror

causes the body to tremble. The skin becomes pale, sweat breaks out, and the hair bristles […]'.[71]

The verses of Byron and Kalvos examined in this article contribute in their own way to the research on the use of biblical passages by the Romantics. They also contribute to the study of the Romantic history of emotions.[72] It should be noted that the drawing from Charles Bell's book is reprinted on the cover of *Romanticism and the Emotions*, edited by Joel Faflak and Richard C. Sha (2014).[73]

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SB / Enquiry E. Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*

Blair, *Lectures* H. Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*

KJB King James Bible

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71 See Darwin 1872: 80, as cited in Hoffmann, Whyte (eds.) 2011: 92-93.

72 See Faflak, Sha (eds.) 2014: 7.

73 This article has been published in an extended version in the electronic review of the University of Peloponnese (*Pelopas*, vol. 3, no 2, December 2019, pp. 18–49; in Greek.

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