



Science *and* Literature: Poetry *and* Prose

Edited by
Kostas Tampakis, George N. Vlahakis

Language editing and formatting
Evangelia Chordaki

DIGITAL PUBLICATIONS 08

ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ | ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH | NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION

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 “TO LEAVE PARNASSUS AND CLIMB
THE RUGGED MOUNTAIN OF SCIENCE”
– THEODOROS ORPHANIDIS, POETRY
AND SCIENCE IN NINETEENTH
CENTURY GREECE

Kostas Tampakis
National Hellenic Research Foundation

Introduction

He climbed science's rugged mountain
He left Parnassus and embraced Flora
But even then, he wrote lyrics, but not with a pen,
But with fragrant flowers, with peons and lilies (Paraschos 1889, 35)

The verses above are taken from a far larger poem, published in the well-known at the time 19th century Greek journal *Poikili Stoa*, in 1889. The poet who wrote them was Achilleas Paraschos (1838-1895). Nowadays completely forgotten, Paraschos was at the time considered the national Greek poet, and indeed, this is how the journal editor hails him in the preface of the specific poem. Paraschos was the first and only Greek poet to receive a government post as a virtual subsidy, so that he could devote his time to poetry uninhibited by monetary concerns. The appearance of one of his poems or a reading by him were considered national cultural events (Dimaras 1972, 308-310). This specific poem by Paraschos mourns the passing of Theodoros Orphanidis (1817-1886), the man whose life and work will form the backbone of this paper.

Who was then Theodoros Orphanidis, whose death would so excite the most famous Greek poet of his era? A first guess would be a fellow poet. A quick search through in the few histories of modern Greek literature in existence does indeed confirm that Th. Orphanidis was a well-known poet, belonging to the poetic romantic movement known as the First Athenian School (Vitti 1971, 180-185; Dimaras 1972, 390-392). However, in literary history textbooks, apart from a consensus that Orphanidis' poetry has not aged well, we find no reference to 'the rugged mountain of science' that Paraschos so prominently mentions. For that, we have to refer to the few histories of Greek scientific practice, which, lo and behold, show Orphanidis to have been the only Professor of Botany in the University of Athens, teaching for almost forty years until his death (Gavroglu et al 2014, 290-291; Karkanis 2012, 663-664). What is common in both accounts is that Orphanidis appears either a poet who incidentally also taught Botany, or as a botanist who just so happened to be writing prize-winning poetry.

This paper is an attempt to offer a different viewpoint. I want to argue that, to understand Orphanidis' work, we have to take into consideration both his poetical production and his scientific work in conjunction. Moreover, both are intrinsically tied to what it meant to be a practicing science scholar in nineteenth-century Greece. Thus, my focus on Orphanidis is not meant to bring to the fore yet another 'white man of privilege', even one placed in an unusual context. Instead, I want to use the colorful life of Orphanidis to show how scientific practice within the neophyte Greek state, and to highlight the ways literary and scientific production borrowed from one another practices and strategies. Thus, while taking the life of Orphanidis as my main consideration, I will also talk about Theodoros Afentoulis (1824-1893), a doctor who also taught in the University of Athens as the Chair of Pharmacology, while at the same time pursuing literary work. My aim is to show that 19th century Greek scientific production can be fully understood only when literary practice is taken into account, and vice-versa. Furthermore, I propose that by treating literary and scientific work separately, important historiographical elements of the era become obscured.

This paper consists of three parts. The first part offers a short biography of Theodoros Orphanidis, framed in the historical context of his era, from the 1820s to the late 19th century. The second part discusses how literary and scientific production intersected in the case of Orphanidis, while the third and final part concludes with some more general remarks on Greek scientific practice and its relationship with poetic production, by focusing on the life and work of Theodoros Afentoulis.

A man and his time

The beginning of the 19th century found the Greek-speaking, Orthodox Christian population scattered all over Europe. While most such populations were to be found in the Ottoman-controlled Balkans and in Asia Minor, there were also successful such communities in Alexandria, Vienna, Marseille, in the Black Sea and of course in the Italian peninsula. Most boasted a strong Greek-speaking, mercantile class, which had helped establish Greek as the language of commerce (Stoianovich 1960, 234-313). Even within the Ottoman empire, the so-called Phanariots, Greek-speaking Orthodox Ottoman subjects so named because they lived in the Phanari suburb of Constantinople, had climbed to the highest positions of Ottoman administration by the end of the 18th century (Philiou 2009, 151-81). The Orphanidis family was a mercantile family initially descended from Chios but based in Smyrna in Asia Minor, which boasted a Greek population for centuries. However, in 1821 what started as minor insurrection in the Balkans soon became a full-blown revolution of the Greek speaking population against the Ottoman empire. By 1827, the revolting populations has elected a Governor, the respected diplomat Ioannis Capodistria, who in turn started organizing a nascent Greek state, even

before its sovereignty was fully recognized by either the Ottoman Empire or the Great European Powers of the era (Russia, France and Great Britain) (Woodhouse 1973). The political turbulence accompanying the Greek Revolution of 1821 forced the Orphanidis family to relocate to the island of Syros, which at the time was a thriving mercantile center under the protection of the Vatican and the French state. Theodoros Orphanidis and his brother Dimitrios Orphanidis (1820-1898) thus acquired their first education in Syros, one of the few places in the Balkans where high-quality schools existed.¹ Soon after, in 1832, Greece was declared a sovereign state and the underage Bavarian prince Otto von Wittelsbach (1815-1867) was chosen to become the first Greek king.

Since 1827, the city of Nafplio was acting as the capital of the Greek state, and it is there that the Orphanidis family relocated next. Capodistria had founded a Gymnasium there, to act as both a secondary and higher education institution, the only one in Greece at the time². When the Greek capital was moved in Athens in 1834, the Orphanidis family once again followed suit. Both brothers Orphanidis graduated from the Gymnasium, thus joining the very small, elite circle of young men who could boast a full education.³ As a result, Theodoros Orphanidis managed to secure a position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, the appearance in Greek polity of a Bavarian administration, which had very specific plans for an autarchic, centrally controlled state modelled in Bavarian statecraft, created a very turbulent political and intellectual atmosphere (Hering 1992). Orphanidis consciously chose to take part in the politics and debates of his era. Following many Greek intellectuals of his era, and especially the brothers Soutsoi, he chose poetry as way to engage the political and cultural field of his era (Politis 2008, 112-117). He was also active in one of the few Greek theaters, in which he taught actors and translated French plays.⁴

Orphanidis took part in demonstrations and also wrote satirical verses against the Bavarian administration and their allies. However, there is marked reluctance to attack the underage king Otto himself, which Orphanidis pictures as a well-meaning monarch led astray by his advisors. His interventions and most notably, his participation in the celebration of the 25th of March, the mythic date where the Greek Revolution against the Ottoman Empire was launched, led Orphanidis to stand trial in 1841, where he allegedly presented his case in rhymes (Orphanidis 1841). His powerful rhetoric and charismatic personality attracted the attention of powerful political figures, such as the noted advocate and future University of Athens professor Periklis Argiropoulos (1801-

1. This information is based on Orphanidis' own recollections, as they appear in the letter published after his death Orphanidis 1887, 255.

2. The distinction between secondary and higher education was quite fuzzy at the time, not only in Greece but all around Europe. For a comparative history of Greek education, see Kiprianos 2004.

3. For a discussion of the role of the family in Greek scientific affairs of the period, see Tampakis, Vlahakis 2015.

4. It is as one of the founders of the Greek theatre that Orphanides also appears in histories of Greek theatre and historical novels. See Laskaris 1939.

1860), and the powerful politician Ioannis Kolettis (1773-1847). The latter made sure that Orphanidis was acquitted of all charges. Kollettis also secured for Orphanidis a four-year scholarship in Paris (Ampelas 1916, 27).⁵ To the surprise of many of his acquaintances, Orphanides came back in 1848 with a Diploma in Botany, having worked with Andrien de Jussieu (1797–1853), Adolphe Brogniart (1801-1876), and others in the French Museum d’Histoire Naturelle and in the University of Sorbonne. In 1850, he became the Professor of Botany in the University of Athens, a position he held until his death.

With his return in Athens, Orphanidis became the social lion that people would later remember him for being. His house in the center of Athens was renowned for its garden, and many literati, intellectuals and poets – such as Achilleas Paraschos – were to be found there. Its close proximity with the Royal Gardens also enabled Queen Amalia herself to visit Orphanidis from time to time. He in turn named a species of camellias after her (Ampelas 1916, 36). As a member of the Athenian elite, Orphanidis wrote often in newspapers and journals. He had no qualms against initiating and sustaining very public debates on poetry, politics or the academia, in which he brought his famous scathing wit to bear. He was, however, also ready to forgive. An example is his famous fight with Georgios Zalokostas (1805-1858), a military officer and poet. Both Zalokostas and Orphanidis submitted a poem for the 1854 Ralleios poetical competition, which at the time was one of the main cultural events in Greece.⁶ The judges thought that Zalokostas had written the better poem, but gave the first prize to Orphanidis, due to the strict linguistic provisions of the competition, which allowed submissions only in *Katharevousa* rather than in the vernacular.⁷ Zalokostas and Orphanidis engaged in a vicious public fight over the result for many months (Orphanidis 1856, 546-552). However, just two years later, Orphanidis would write a glorifying obituary for Zalokostas, lamenting the loss of a great poet (Orphanidis 1858, 295-296). Such feeling seemed to be reciprocal and extending beyond poetry. Orphanidis had another poignant public debate with Theodor Von Heldreich (1822-1902), a Bavarian botanist who came to Greece alongside king Otto and became Greek in all but name. Heldreich worked alongside Orphanidis in compiling Greek Herbaria, but the two men came to blows when they both vied for the position of the director of the Natural History Museum of the University of Athens. Under the pretense of discussing the status of the Museum’s botanical collections, several pamphlets and articles with *ad hominem* accusations were exchanged in 1865 (Orphanidis 1865, 1865a; Heldreich 1865). And yet, it was Theodor Von Heldreich

5. For a Bourdieusian analysis of the patronage of intellectuals, see Petmezas 2009.

6. For the importance of the competitions, see Moullas 1989.

7. The Greek state had adopted early on a highly formalized, artificial language based on classical Greek called *Katharevousa* (Clean Language) as its official language. The rationale was that national purity and greatness should start by purging Greek language from all foreign, especially Turkish and Slavic, influences. However, the vernacular language that Greek people actually spoke diverged greatly from *Katharevousa*, spawning a fierce debate about language that reached well into the 1970s, almost 150 years after the institution of *Katharevousa*. For an excellent account, see Mackridge 2009.

who wrote Orphanidis' scientific obituary in 1887, once again in glorifying praise (Heldreich 1887, 271-282).

In his final years, Orphanidis took place in most of the great political events of his era. When King Otto got deposed in 1862, Orphanidis was part of the National Assembly which prepared the arrival of Otto's successor, King George I (1845-1913) and a new Greek Constitution. By then, Orphanidis had been in the public spotlight for thirty-five years and was losing his appetite for dramatic confrontations and interventions. He gradually withdrew from public affairs, but he continued to enjoy a reputation as a scientist and a poet. His death in 1886 brought a deluge of obituaries, eulogies and articles, including the one from Paraschos at the start of this paper. Contemporary criticism aside, Theodoros Orphanidis continued to be remembered and revered even forty years after his death, and his poems were part of the Greek school curriculum during the last decades of the 19th century.

The botanist and the poet

When coming across a person like Orphanidis, it is tempting to consider his multifaceted cultural and intellectual production as a hobby, or as a personal quirk. The aim of this second part of this paper is to show how for Orphanidis, for his fellow scholars and scientists and for the public sphere at large, science and poetry were intertwined. Moreover, Orphanidis' role as a scientist depended on strategies enabled by being a poet, and vice-versa.

Orphanidis first appeared as a poet and a columnist in newspapers very early on. He published his first poetical collections, *Μένιππος I* and *II* before he turned twenty (Orphanidis 1836, 1837). After those, he published again in 1841 the compilation *Τοξότης*, based on works appearing in the journal of the same name, and in 1842 the poem *Ο πρωτομάρτυς Ρήγας και η ελληνική επανάσταση* (Athens: Pantelli). However, it is only in 1854 that his next poem, *Άπατρις*, appears in print, followed by *Η πόλις των Αθηνών* in 1855. Thus, for four years after his return from Paris, Orphanidis published no poems at all. Instead, he devoted himself to Botany, going into many botanical excursions in and around the Greek state of the time.⁸ He discovered, cultivated and named several flowers and was busy teaching in the University of Athens and creating his famous garden in his house. And yet, it is exactly in 1856, at the time Orphanidis reappeared as a poet, that we see how the image of the poet and of the scientist are co-produced and mutually reinforce each other. The occasion was the Ralleios competition of 1854, which Orphanidis won with his poem *Άπατρις* against Zalokostas. Accepting the prize, Orphanidis climbed

8. By the 1865, Orphanidis has organized and headed more than ten botanical excursions. See Heldreich 1887, 274.

the podium to declare that half of the monetary prize would be devoted to scientific journeys within Greece. He also announced that one set of his botanical collections he would gift to the University of Athens and another to any European University of the judges' choice. In that way

... poetry would help science, and the laurel of Apollo would mingle, not in vain, with the best flowers of Greek flora (UA 1854, 39).

Thus, Orphanidis the poet brings to the spotlight Orphanidis the scientist, and immediately declares that poetry and science should work hand in hand. The same happens when Orphanidis answers Zalokostas' allegations two years later. Narrating his reactions when Zalokostas had won the 1851 Ralleios competition, Orphanidis writes

And I... congratulated you and cheered for your success, and, with the help of Linnaeus, and Jussieu and Candolle I was so deeply involved in my studies of our country's hyacinths, that I forgot that ... I had the power to write as before lyrics, if not to win competitions, at least then to lose in them (Orphanidis 1856, 547).

Here, the scientist comes to the aid of the poet: Orphanidis was not writing poetry because he was deeply immersed in his scientific studies. His scientific credentials are brought forth to explain poetical misgivings. Later on in the same letter, scientific practice will do a lot more. Discussing the 1855 competition, Orphanidis wrote

(for the fifth competition) I put it my heart to also write a poem and submit it and by bringing to bear my experiences from my scientific trip to Boeotia and Parnassus, I passed my difficult days writing the poem "Ο Πύργος της Πέτρας"... (Orphanidis 1856, 548)

...if you decide to heap insult upon insult (in your reply), and since it is not a pastime of mine to indulge in debates via newspapers as I have my scientific practices to pursue, know that ... I will answer all such attacks in my forthcoming satirical poem (Orphanidis 1856, 551).

Thus, for Orphanidis the poet, his scientific practice is at once a resource, a haven and a motherland. He can draw arguments and inspiration while the setting the tone of a debate, *as a poet*, *by* being a scientist. It is not in vain, that, when awarded the first prize in the poetical competition of the University, Orphanidis declared publicly that he would gift two copies of his botanical collection, his life's whole scientific work, to any two institutions the University deemed worthy. Reciprocally, Orphanidis the poet expresses his gratitude through the deeds of Orphanidis the scientist.

It is not, however, only in his private affairs that Orphanidis mentions botany as a poetical resource. As one of the judges for the Voutsinaios poetical competition, which succeeded the Ralleios competition in the 1870s as the main national cultural event,

Orphanidis writes in 1876 that, to become a good poet, one needs, among other traits, a 'thorough and practical knowledge of nature' (Orphanidis 1876, 5). Finally, in his silver years, when he had finally withdrawn from the public sphere, Orphanidis was quoted saying

Having left the field of political debating fifteen years ago, two divinities I now worship, either as a hermit withdrawn in my home, either while climbing the tall and glorious mountains of my homeland: The Science of Botany and Poetry. Various uncultured souls say to me 'Leave Poetry!', tomorrow they might say 'Leave Science!', that is, annihilate yourself, become a beast like us. Never, by God! This I will never do, as long as I have a breath and an intellect (Chronopoulos 1886, 32).

For Orphanidis, and until the very end, his poetical and scientific practice were part of a coherent, holistic identity, which also included his patriotic service, his theatrical productions and all other facets of his intellectual identity. The idea that such activities are disparate or even mutually exclusive would be abhorrent to him. His peers and fellow scholars seemed to agree with him. Not only is he never criticized for 'going beyond the boundaries of his expertise', but in fact eulogies and obituaries for Orphanidis purposefully emphasize how Orphanidis' poetry and his science go hand in hand. A striking example is the poem by Paraschos which can be found in the beginning of this paper, in which Orphanidis is said to write lyrics 'not with a pen, but with flowers.' A few years earlier, just after Orphanidis' death, we read in one of his obituaries, as it discusses various Orphanidis' poems

...What art, what rhythm, what harmony is concentrated in just a few lyrics!
And further on, without eclipsing the poet, the botanist and naturalist arise in this following (poetical picture)... (Chronopoulos 1886, 30)

His erstwhile botanical opponent, Theodoros Von Heldreich, wrote in the beginning of Orphanidis' scientific obituary that 'Orphanidis, as a poet, brought poetry into science' (Heldreich 1887, 271). Finally, thirty years after his death, one of his earliest biographers would write

Orphanidis combined his dual substance as a poet and a scientist excellently. For him, Greek flora was the tenth Muse, which inspired and helped him... in his poetical descriptions of the beauty of nature (Ampelas 1916, 36).

Science as the Tenth muse, but also poetry as a facilitator of scientific practice: This is what the life of Theodoros Orphanidis exemplifies.

Conclusion: One more Theodoros

It now remains to be seen if Orphanidis' case is just a curious anomaly, or if he represents a more general trend. Where there others who climbed both "Parnassus and the rugged mountain of science"? Before moving on to answer such a question, it is worth noting that the community of people that could be considered *bona fide* science experts in 19th century Greece was very small. At any specific year from 1830 to 1890, there were less than twenty people who could claim such an expertise.⁹This is the reason the career of a man with the prominence of Orphanidis is of special interest. Even so, Orphanidis was not the only one to be recognized as straddling both science and literature. The Professor of History Pavlos Karolidis (1849-1930), writing in 1922 but old enough to remember the times of Orphanidis and his milieu, laments in a footnote of his multi-volume History of Greece the state of academia in his time by comparing it to the past (Karolidis 1922, 252):

The German system that was established [in Greece] from the founding of the University prospered marvelously for two generations by binding theologians, philologists, philosophers, mathematicians and physicists and lawyers and doctors in a common bond of nurturing Greek letters and through a devotion to Greek philology and history...

[Examples were] in Natural History, the classicist and Latinist Hercules Mitsopoulos, the great chemist and learned classicist Landerer, the renowned mathematician V. Lakon, an expert translator and commentator of Greek authors such as Sophocles and Aristotle [...], from the doctors, Theodoros Afentoulis, a zealous mystic of classical Greek philology ...

All the above-mentioned scholars – H. Mitsopoulos (1816-1892), Xaver Landerer (1809–1885), V. Lakon (1830–1900) – were prominent mathematicians and scientists, with established credentials as poets and authors. Karolidis could have easily mentioned double that number, since most, if not all, science experts also worked in philology, poetry or literature.¹⁰ However, for the purposes of this paper, we will conclude by looking briefly at the career of the last scholar mentioned, that of Theodoros Afentoulis.

Theodoros Afentoulis was born in Zagora in 1824, in lands, like Orphanidis, that at the time were not part of the Greek State. He was a prominent doctor and public persona and his statue still exists in Piraeus, the town where he lived and worked for most of his life. In the first- and for most purposes, only- history of the School of Medicine of the

9. For a discussion of the demographics of Greek science and the role of education in its establishment, see Tampakis 2013, 789-805.

10. For a more detailed analysis, see Tampakis 2014, 217-237 and Tampakis 2015, 438-455.

University of Athens, we read that Afentoulis was educated initially in Athens and then moved on in Munich (1843) and later on in Paris and Budapest, acquiring a professorship right about the time that Orphanidis also did, in 1852.¹¹ In fact, after Orphanidis retired, Afentoulis also taught Botany until 1893, the year of his death. So far, Afentoulis' life reads as a typical example of a 19th century distinguished medical doctor. But then, his biographer goes on to say (Kouzis 1939, 21).

A diligent follower of Apollo [Afentoulis] found rest in the Muses and regained his energy. He published three volumes of literary works, including the "Festival in Olympus", the "Alcaic Odes" (1881) and the translations of "Nathan the Wise" of Lessing (1880) and Schiller's "Mary Stewart" (1882), showing [Afentoulis] to be an inspired poet but also the distinguished judge of the Voutsinaios and Oikonomeios poetical competition

As in the case of Orphanidis, once again we see the biographers of Afentoulis going out of their way to mention Afentoulis' poetical and literary work along side his scientific and intellectual achievements. And the similarities do not end there. Afentoulis took also part in the National Assembly of 1862 and became its Vicepresident in 1863 and was known throughout Athens and Piraeus for his wit and culture. He was one of the first to demand the protection of Greek forests and of Greek birds, and, most prominently, directed the Tzanneion Hospital in Piraeus until his death. His social eminence and his untiring medical work had given him the nickname of the 'Patron saint of Piraeus' and he was the beneficiary of several medals of merit, from Greece, Italy, France and Russia (UA 1888, 17).¹² His funeral was allegedly attended by thousands, and his death was a cause for public lament. In his obituaries, we once again encounter descriptions of Afentoulis as 'respected teacher', 'not only a doctor, but a poet and a scholar', 'a true scholar and hierophant of the Muses', 'distinguished in literature and language as in medicine' and 'a true synthetic spirit'.¹³

Like his contemporary Orphanidis, Afentoulis did not just write and publish poetry. He acted as a judge of translations for the all-important poetical competitions of his era. His decisions in the 1873 Oikonomeion poetical competition (Afentoulis ruled that no translation was good enough to win the prize) earned him the public enmity of Filopimin Paraskevaïdis, who expressed his displeasure in a series of public pamphlets and articles. Afentoulis responded in kind. Despite the viciousness of the debate, not once was there a mention that Afentoulis was overstepping his disciplinary boundaries or

11. Until noted otherwise, Afentoulis' biographical data come from Kouzis 1939, 20.

12. It is worth mentioning that this article was written when Afentoulis was still alive.

13. These references are taken not only from *Kleio*, but also Paganelis (1893), "Θεόδωρος Αφεντούλης", *Efimeris* 99, 1; K.K. (1893), "Θεόδωρος Αφεντούλης", *Neologos* 28, 593; and UA, (1891), "Θεόδωρος Αφεντούλης", *Himerologeion Skokou* 6, 92-94.

that he was unqualified to act as a judge (Paraskevaïdis 1875, 1875a). Even in disputes about his scientific work, Afentoulis often found himself defending his use of language and terminology.¹⁴ In each and every case, we see that Theodoros Afentoulis used language and poetry as resources in scientific debates, while his literary work is always tied to his eminence as a scientist. Both literary and medical practices contribute to his public persona, and the public lionizes him not despite, but because of what we today would call his dual mastery of science and poetry. However, it is equally evident that no such firm distinction exists in the Greek public sphere at the time, or in the mind of Afentoulis himself.¹⁵

The parallels between Orphanidis' and Afentoulis' cases concerning their work as literary scholars and scientists are obvious, even from the brief descriptions offered in this paper. The lament of Karolidis quoted above shows that such intellectual and cultural trajectories were neither uncommon nor undesirable. The aim of this paper was to show that scientific and poetical practices not only went hand in hand, but often acted as twin and intertwined sources of social and cultural capital for most of the Greek scientists of the era. Furthermore, I would like to propose that an intellectual history of the Greek space of the era would not make much sense, if such affinities were not taken into consideration. Whole dimensions of scientific practice, from the legitimization of science and scientists to the nature and role of public disputes and debates make sense only when viewed as been undertaken by scholars with vested interests in fields larger than 'mere science' or poetry. But we already know what Orphanidis would say:

Abandon poetry for science? Abandon science for poetry? Annihilate myself, become a beast? Never, by God! This I will never do, as long as I have a breath and an intellect

14. See the attack on Afentoulis by another Botanist and future Professor of the University, Spiridon Miliarakis, in Miliarakis1886, 1886a.

15. A notable exception is the eulogy published by Petros Apostolidis in *Poikili Stoa* in 1894 (pages 257-275). Apostolidis honors Afentoulis and describes him as one of the most important Greek scholars of his time. However, he also makes a careful distinction between his scientific and poetical works, considering the latter as unavoidably but brilliantly amateurish. Apostolidis, himself a practicing doctor, would follow a stellar career as a journalist, author and critic under the pseudonym Pavlos Nirvanas, and would take a leading role in the heated linguistic debates of the time. This distinction reflects more Apostolidis' own ideological transformation of the time and his insistence in poets-as-Nietzschean-supermen. For a brilliant discussion of Nirvanas, see Matthiopoulos 2005, 253-286.

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