SHELLEY'S

Prometheus Unbound

A

VARIORUM

EDITION

EDITED BY *Lawrence John Zillman*

1959

University of Washington Press

SEATTLE

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Preface

IT WAS EARLY in my work on the present volume that I read the comment of George S. Hillard (1845) with respect to the 1805 Henry James Todd edition of Spenser's works: "This is what is technically called a *variorum* edition, containing a reprint of all the labours of the previous editors. . . . There is a great deal of learned rubbish in it; much trouble is often wasted in elucidating what is plain, and really difficult points are frequently passed by in silence" (Hillard, *Spenser*, I, v-vi).

It soon became evident that Shelley, like Spenser, was not without his tribute of "learned rubbish," which may have led Douglas Bush to suggest that "one of the worst things about Shelley is the effect he has on his admirers; nearly all of them are reduced to a common denominator, of which the outward evidence is perhaps a wild glitter in the eye" (*Mythology*, p. 156). But in the case of *Prometheus Unbound*, at least, the judgment of Kenneth Neil Cameron is, in the main, both true and pertinent: "The divergence of [the views on *Prometheus Unbound*] results, it should be emphasized, not from critical caprice but from genuine difficulty. *Prometheus Unbound* is unquestionably one of the most profound and subtle of the great English poems. And difference and divergence in its interpretation are not—as might at first appear—leading us farther from it but closer to it" ("Shelley Scholarship," p. 100).

Too frequently, however, the "difference and divergence" in interpretation available to the student are those of a few major names only, and to suggest, as does Bennett Weaver, that for critical comment on *Prometheus Unbound* we must "follow the way of the books—for there are few articles written on this drama" (*Romantic Poets*, p. 187), is to overlook a fertile body of smaller, but certainly not always minor, studies or brief comments whose impact on our understanding of the poem, and of the changing attitudes toward it, is negligible only because they are in large part inaccessible. A comprehensive variorum treatment of the full range of these writings would appear to be the corrective to this situation. For, although

Matthew Arnold in 1888 could argue that "Shelley is not a classic, whose various readings are to be noted with earnest attention" ("Shelley," p. 206), the need for such a treatment was evident to Swinburne some twenty years earlier. He wrote:

> It is seldom that the work of a scholiast is so soon wanted as in Shelley's case it has been. The first collected edition of his works had many gaps and errors patent and palpable to any serious reader. His text is already matter for debate and comment, as though he were a classic newly unearthed. Certain passages begin to be famous as crucial subjects for emendation; and the master-singer of our modern poets shares with his own masters and models the least enviable proof of fame—that given by corrupt readings and diverse commentaries ["Notes," p. 348].

Today, certainly, only the most prejudiced would deny the desirability of the fullest possible light that can be thrown on a poem as complex, and subtle, and significant as *Prometheus Unbound*, even though a part of that light be from sources now somewhat dimmed by time.

A final word should be said with respect to the requirements of selection and condensation in variorum editing. Some authors may well object that their work has been unhappily abbreviated, its general significance largely lost in the segregation of details. It is my hope, however, that, especially in the Introduction, a fair indication of the broader points of view has been given, and that, if much of the supporting evidence has been necessarily sacrificed to the demands of space limitation, a fair statement of the basic attitude may be acknowledged, and the desirability of perspective for any one interpretation in the total pattern of critical thought may be admitted.

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The Plan of This Edition

IT IS THE PURPOSE of the present edition of *Prometheus Unbound* to bring together all of the important published material,[1] textual and critical, that can in any significant way assist the reader of the poem. Of necessity this imposes certain problems of selection on the editor. I have tried to choose wisely from that extensive body of writing that has accrued to the poem since its first publication in 1820, and to correlate the material in such a way that critical emphases and trends may be discernible.

The basic text is that of 1820, and it has been reproduced with verbal exactness. It was necessary to decide between this relatively imperfect text (printed in England while Shelley was in Italy) and the manuscript left by the poet. My decision was based on the following considerations, mainly historical: (1) The manuscript is not the one from which the play was printed, but was significantly revised by Shelley after Mary had made the printer's copy from it. (2) The manuscript itself is imperfect, especially in punctuation, and its literal reproduction as a basic text could have little more than curiosity value. The detailed descriptive treatment possible in my textual notes and variant readings permitted a much fuller and more adequate presentation of this, Shelley's best commentary on 1820, than would have been possible had a base text been abstracted from it. (3) The full evidence for the debatable question of Shelley's "final" text is before the reader without the prejudice of an assumed judgment through ab-

[1]Exceptions have been made only for certain theses that have, in some significant way, amplified published portions of the studies. Every effort has been made to read all of the references to the poem written in English, and those in foreign languages that have been generally recognized as of independent value (much of this material is largely a reworking of English and American criticism). Lack of a comprehensive Shelley bibliography has increased the possibility of oversight, but it is hoped that no work of importance between 1820 and 1955 has been missed. The exigencies of publication have prevented detailed treatment, in the body of the book, of items that have appeared following the latter date, but all pertinent studies that have come to my attention before actual press time have been included (preceded by an asterisk) in the Bibliography and, where feasible, in footnote references.

straction. (4) Mrs. Shelley in 1839 made relatively slight use of the manuscript for her edition; it did not become available to scholars until 1893, and was not used as corrective to a critical edition until 1904. (5) Historically, 1820 (or that edition corrected slightly by Mrs. Shelley) represented the point of departure for most nineteenth-century editors.

Immediately below the lines of text on each page, selected draft variants are given (the drafts are reproduced fully in Appendix A), as well as detailed variant readings to be found in the E manuscript[2] and in representative subsequent editions of importance. Of the many editions of the poem only a few hold serious interest for textual study. Editors have tended to rest heavily on a few key editions, and the detailed variant readings of the present work have been limited largely to these, and to such others as have sufficient independent interest to justify their inclusion. But the history of the text, especially in the late release of the manuscript, gives these editions unusual significance, and I have therefore treated them more fully than is customary, notably with respect to punctuation in the verse. The general characteristics of other representative editions are given in the Introduction.

Below these readings are such notes as may throw light on textual problems. These include Shelley's alterations of the E manuscript, selected draft readings, differences of opinion with respect to the E readings, conjectures, etc. Here also will be found such variants in other than the key editions as do not fall into the pattern of editorial imitation.

To avoid an unnecessarily awkward page makeup, critical notes pertaining to interpretation of specific scenes and lines have been placed at the end of the poem, unless such interpretation stems from textual considerations, in which case a cross reference will direct to the Textual Notes. Transcriptions of draft passages, as well as the Italian translation by Shelley, have been relegated to appendixes. The Introduction deals with more general matters of historical, textual, and critical interest.

For all relevant manuscripts, textual variants of whatever nature have been given, making it possible for the reader to reconstruct completely any of these items. For Mrs. Shelley's editions of 1839 (inasmuch as she was working in part at least from Shelley's errata), all textual variants for the verse and the Preface have been indicated, as well as any of importance in the stage directions. Minor stylistic differences in the latter have not been included. For the other principal editions all essential variants have been noted.

It must be granted that "essential" is a relative term, and there may be a reader of this book to whom it is important to know that one editor uses single instead of double quotation marks, or spells *labor, labour.* I have assumed that no real purpose can be served by indicating at length such

[2]Bodleian MSS E.1, E.2, and E.3 have formerly been referred to as B (for Bodleian), but recent acquisitions by the Library make a clearer distinction necessary.

matters of individual editorial style, many of them mannerisms. For the key editions other than those of Mrs. Shelley, therefore, the following items have been omitted or treated as indicated:

Typographical errors. Obvious typographical errors have not been given in the variant readings. These have included dropped or clearly erroneous punctuation, broken type, failure to capitalize at beginnings of lines, accidental hyphenation, spacing failures, omission of closing quotation marks, transposed letters, misplaced apostrophes or accents, and misspellings. In the latter instance, however, if the error has resulted in a different word, it has been included.

Type. Type size, style, and spacing have not been noted, except in the case of italics for emphasis.

Quotation marks. Some editors have used single quotation marks, some double; some running quotes, others quotes at the beginning and end of the quoted passage only. These differences have not been indicated, but, where quotation marks have been supplied for passages not so marked in 1820, this fact has been noted.

Spelling. Spelling variants have been admitted only (1) when the movement of the line has been altered (as in the case of dieresis), (2) when a change in pronunciation has resulted in altered assonance (as in *chant, chaunt*), or (3) when some special interest has attached to the variant. The principal types of spelling variations will be indicated by the following list: aërial, aëreal; aggrandisement, aggrandizement; amphisbenic, amphisbænic; aye, ay; blest, blessed (where the latter is clearly pronounced as one syllable); burthen, burden; cameleon, chameleon, camelion; candour, candor; cloak, cloke; desert, desart; development, developement; frenzying, phrenzying; gray, grey; gulph, gulf; immoveably, immovably; learnt, learned; 'mid, mid; might'st, mightst; O, Oh; oer, o'er; past, passed; rapt, rapped; skiey, skyey; siren, syren; tho, though, tho'; veil, vail.

Titles. Titles referred to in Shelley's Preface have in later editions sometimes been given in italics, sometimes in quotation marks. These differences have not been noted

Punctuation. In a work of poetry, matters of rhythm and phrasing are strongly or subtly influenced by shadings in punctuation. Because of this, and because of the influence of W. M. Rossetti and the E manuscript in this respect, punctuation variants (except for obvious typographical errors) in the key editions have been given fully for the verse. For the Preface and the stage directions they have been given only when changed meaning results. In certain instances, clearly, one mark of punctuation may be considered the equivalent of another, but it has seemed desirable to furnish the exact evidence by which the reader can determine to his own satisfaction the presence or absence of shadings in emphasis.

Capitals. Inasmuch as capitals are frequently used to suggest personification, for emphasis, etc., these variants have been admitted.

Apostrophes and accents. If the line movement is clear, apostrophes and accents to indicate nonpronounced or pronounced syllables have not been given. If the movement is debatable (as at IV.367), the accent has been included.

Hyphens. Hyphenation has been indicated, as has use of compound words, inasmuch as both frequently result in modified emphasis.

It should be repeated that the above exceptions do not apply to the manuscripts or to Mrs. Shelley's editions of 1839. The former have been compared in detail, and the latter in detail for the verse and the Preface.

With respect to the critical material, admission or rejection has been determined by the degree to which a better understanding of the poem will result. It is a rare work on Shelley that does not at some point refer to *Prometheus Unbound*, but too seldom is there a positive contribution to our understanding. Mere praise or censure, of course, can be found in any period and in any extreme, and, while some of the rhetorical efforts to outdo predecessors blaze brightly and are delightful to read, they offer little in the way of illumination, and would require an unjustifiable amount of space were more than a representative sampling included. An exception has been made, however, in the inclusion of the contemporary reviews of the first edition, which hold a special interest and are given fully, insofar as they bear on *Prometheus Unbound*, in Appendix D.

In the Introduction the principal trends in critical thinking have been traced, to serve as an orientation for the more detailed considerations found in the Critical Notes. More general subjects have been treated in the appendixes. Insofar as practicable, however, opinion has been summarized in the Critical Notes, at the point where it will be most pertinently useful to the reader. It is inevitable that over a period of time the same ideas will recur, either independently or through the flattery of imitation. I have tried in these instances to give credit to the first occurrence, or to the first reasonably full development, of the idea.

Where critical reference has been made to a possible source or analogue, without quotation of the parallel material, quotation has been supplied or, where this has been impracticable, summarized. All quotations from classical or major modern writers have been standardized by substitution, where necessary, of a single edition.

It is hoped that the wider and more immediate usefulness of the present work will justify the decision to give all foreign-language items in translation, but I regret that space limitations have prevented the supplementary inclusion of the original texts for this rather large body of material.

Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*

A VARIORUM EDITION

Introduction

THE AIM OF this Introduction is twofold: (1) to outline the present body of knowledge concerning the text of *Prometheus Unbound* and the nature of the principal editions of the poem; (2) to survey the broader outlines of critical opinion with respect to the quality and meaning of the poem. Detailed notes on text and interpretation will be found elsewhere in the book.

TEXTUAL CONSIDERATIONS

GENESIS OF THE TEXT

Shelley's early interest in the Promethean story will be considered in the second major division of this Introduction. Our interest at this point centers on a journal entry by Mrs. Shelley under date of September [5]-14, 1818: "He writes his Drama of 'Prometheus,' " and on a letter of September 22, 1818, from Shelley, in Padua, to Mary, at Este, in which he asked her to bring "the sheets of 'Prometheus Unbound,' which you will find numbered from one to twenty-six on the table of the pavilion" (Julian, IX, 332).[1] This is the first evidence we have that the poet had

[1]In the present edition all prose (other than that found as prefaces or notes in the Oxford Standard Authors series of the *Poetical Works*) follows the text of the Ingpen-Peck Julian Edition of Shelley's *Works* (the date of this letter is given as ?September 22, but Mrs. Shelley's journal shows it to be in fact of that date). Short titles have frequently been employed in critical or biographical references, for which full identification can easily be made by consulting the Bibliography.

Mrs. Shelley, in her note on *Julian and Maddalo* (note on the Poems of 1818 in Julian [III, 219]), wrote: "I Cappuccini [at Este] was a villa built on the site of a Capuchin convent, demolished when the French suppressed religious houses; it was situated on the very overhanging brow of a low hill at the foot of a range of higher ones. The house was cheerful and pleasant; a vine-trellised walk, a *pergola*, as it is called in Italian, led from the hall-door to a summer-house at the end of the garden, which Shelley made his study, and in which he began the *Prometheus*."

Other pertinent references to, or probably to, the composition of *Prometheus Unbound* as given in Mrs. Shelley's journal and letters are as follows: "Shelley writes" (September 15, 1818 [Abinger MSS, Reel 10]; September [22]-24); "Write out Shelley's

begun the actual composition of the poem, and the sheets, probably a draft, are not extant.

That he wrote steadily is indicated by the next pertinent letter, dated Este, October 8, 1818, to Thomas Love Peacock: "I have been writing— and indeed have just finished the first act of a lyrical and classical drama, to be called 'Prometheus Unbound' " (IX, 336). But on January 24, 1819, from Naples, Shelley could only repeat to Peacock that the first act was finished: "At present I write little else but poetry, and little of that. My 1st act of Prometheus is complete, and I think you would like it" (X, 21). The failure to progress as rapidly as at first can be ascribed to the distress following the death of Clara Shelley on September 24, 1818, and the subsequent journey to Rome and Naples, with many sight-seeing excursions to occupy the time. The delay, however, was only temporary, for by April 6, 1819, the poet could write to Peacock from Rome: "My Prometheus Unbound is just finished, and in a month or two I shall send it" (X, 48).[2]

That the drama was not sent as promptly as intended is evident from another letter to Peacock from Livorno in July, 1819: "As to Ollier, I don't know what has been published, or what has arrived at his hands.— My Prometheus though ready, I do not send till I know more" (X, 63).[3] But other considerations may have contributed to the delay. William Shelley died on June 7, and the poet was deeply affected by the loss of his child. Indeed, although we know that *Prometheus Unbound* was "finished" by April 6, Shelley wrote to Leigh Hunt from Livorno as late as August 15: "Though surrounded by suffering and disquietude, and, latterly, almost overcome by our strange misfortune I have not been idle. My Prometheus is finished" (X, 68).

Poem" (December 18); "Finish copying his Poem" (December 19); "I painting & S[helley] is writing a poem so that the *belle arte* take up all our time" (to Hunt, April 6, 1819); "Read Shelley's Drama" (April 25); "Copy Shelley's 'Prometheus' " (September [10]-12); "Read 'Prometheus Unbound' " (October 17, 1820 [the published poem]); "Would you have the Goodness to order at your Stationers a dozen plain books like that the Prometheus was copied in" (to Maria Gisborne, February or March, 1820 [Abinger MSS, Reel 6]).

[2]Actually, "finished" would, at this time, apply only to the first three acts, inasmuch as Act IV had not yet been projected. Edward Hungerford's suggestion that "Shelley must have been punning on the names of Prometheus and his brother Epimetheus" in referring to Act IV as an "afterthought" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 192) is attractive, but I find no evidence that Shelley used the word.

[3]Charles and James Ollier were Shelley's publishers. Apparently Shelley also wrote of the poem to Leigh Hunt, or the latter learned of it, for he wrote to Shelley in this same month: "I long, by-the-by, to see Prometheus himself. I have no doubt you have handled his 'wearied virtue' nobly. It is curious, but I had thought a little while ago of writing a poem myself, entitled *Prometheus Throned;* in which I intended to have described him as having lately taken possession of Jupiter's seat. But the subject, on every account is in better hands. I am rather the son of one of Atlas's daughters, than of Atlas himself" (*Correspondence*, I, 132).

Shortly thereafter, on September 6, the poet wrote Charles and James Ollier: "My 'Prometheus,' which has been long finished, is now being transcribed, and will soon be forwarded to you for publication. . . . The 'Prometheus' you will be so good as to print, as usual" (X, 79). Apparently Shelley intended to forward the manuscript, by way of John Gisborne, to England, where it was to be held by Peacock, for on September 21 the poet wrote the latter: "I have sent you my 'Prometheus,' which I do not wish to be sent to Ollier for publication until I write to that effect. Mr. Gisborne will bring it" (X, 83). And on September 27 he wrote Leigh Hunt: "I have sent my 'Prometheus Unbound' to Peacock —if you ask him for it he will show it you" (X, 87).

But John Gisborne's plans were changed, and he did not go to England until the following May. That the Gisbornes were nevertheless interested in the matter of the manuscript is clear from a letter the poet wrote to Maria Gisborne from Florence on October 13 or 14 with respect to copies of *The Cenci* being printed in Italy, copies which he wished sent to England "by the next ship. . . . If Mr. G. is returned send the 'Prometheus' with them" (X, 94). And he confirmed this intent by writing to Charles and James Ollier the next day: "The 'Prometheus' . . . will arrive with it [*The Cenci*], but in MS., which you can print and publish in the season" (X, 95).

To Henry Reveley (son of Mrs. Gisborne by a first marriage), the young engineer with whom Shelley had become friendly, the poet wrote on October 28: "Please to let the Bill of lading be sent where the box should likewise be addressed Messrs. Ollier, Booksellers, Vere Street, Bond Street" (X, 100). But a later letter suggests that Gisborne finally sent the shipment (see below).

From these letters it seems probable, as Martin Freeman pointed out, that Peacock did not actually receive the manuscript unless a second transcription was sent him, and did not see it until after the Olliers had it (Text, pp. 2-3).

On November 2 the poem was in Shelley's mind as he wrote from Florence to Leigh Hunt: "I am about to publish more serious things [than *Peter Bell the Third*] this winter" (Julian, X, 104); and that he was anxious for an early appearance of the work is indicated by another letter to Hunt, also in November: "The Prometheus I wish to be printed and to come out immediately" (X, 131). In the same vein, but with the mention of "additions" (Act IV at least), the poet wrote Charles Ollier on December 15 (or 25), at about the time that the ship sailed for England with the copies of *The Cenci* and the first three acts of *Prometheus Unbound* (see below): "Let 'Prometheus' be printed without delay. You will receive the additions, which Mrs. S. is now transcribing, in a few days. It has already been read to many persons" (X, 134). But first the Gisbornes were to see the "additions." To them Shelley wrote on December 23:

"I have just finished an additional act to 'Prometheus' which Mary is now transcribing, and which will be enclosed for your inspection before it is transmitted to the Bookseller. . . . Be kind enough, as soon as you have read the Prometheus, to inclose it to 'Ollier & Co., Vere Street, London' " (X, 136).

Despite Shelley's desire for an early printing he had heard nothing from the Olliers by March 6, 1820, when he wrote them from Pisa:

> I do not hear that you have received "Prometheus" and "The Cenci"; I therefore think it safest to tell you how and when to get them if you have not yet done so.
>
> Give the bill of lading Mr. Gisborne sent you to a broker in the city, whom you employ to get the packages, and to pay the duty on the unbound books. The ship sailed in the middle of December, and will assuredly have arrived long before now.
>
> "Prometheus Unbound," I must tell you, is my favourite poem; I charge you, therefore, specially to pet him and feed him with fine ink and good paper [X, 148].

Without waiting for a reply to this letter he wrote again to Charles Ollier on March 13:

> I am anxious to hear that you have recieved [*sic*] the parcel from Leghorn, and to learn what you are doing with the "Prometheus." If it can be done without great difficulty, I should be very glad that the *revised* sheets might be sent by the Post to me at Leghorn.—It might be divided into four partitions, sending me four or five sheets at once [X, 151].

It is quite evident that Shelley was concerned about the accuracy of the text. Distance, however, made it inexpedient for the proofs to be sent to him, so he seized hopefully on the departure of the Gisbornes on May 2 to give him an advocate, and wrote (still from Pisa) to Charles Ollier on May 14:

> As to the printing of the "Prometheus," be it as you will. But, in this case, I shall repose or trust in your care respecting the correction of the press; especially in the lyrical parts, where a minute error would be of much consequence. Mr. Gisborne will revise it; he heard it recited, and will therefore more readily seize any error. . . . I ought to say that I send you poems in a few posts, to print at the end of "Prometheus," better fitted for that purpose than any in your possession [X, 167-168].

Having thus reconciled himself to a situation he clearly disliked, Shelley sought reassurance by writing the Gisbornes on May 26:

> I write you thus early, because I have determined to accept your kind offer about the correction of Prometheus. The bookseller makes difficulties about sending the proofs to me, and to whom else can I so well entrust what I am so much interested in having done well; and to whom would I prefer to owe the recollection of an additional kindness done to me? I enclose you two little papers of corrections and additions;—I do not think you will find any difficulty in interpolating them into their proper places [X, 175].

The poems that were to complete the volume were ready about May 30, for on that date the poet wrote Charles Ollier: "Mrs. Shelley is now tran-

scribing for me the little poems to be printed at the end of *Prometheus;* they will be sent in a post or two" (X, 177). And shortly thereafter, in June or July,[4] he requested the Gisbornes to send "6 copies of Prometheus (if printed)" (X, 184), again demonstrating his eagerness to see the volume.

At about this time also he learned that Peacock was to assist in the proofreading. There is no indication as to what had occurred with respect to Peacock's relationship to the project since the time of the earlier communication, and in the letter to him from Leghorn on July 12 Shelley said merely: "I make bold to write to you on the news that you are correcting my 'Prometheus,' for which I return thanks, and I send some things which may be added" (X, 186).[5]

It is almost certain that the poem was published in August, even though as early as July 7 Mrs. Shelley wrote to Maria Gisborne in England: "I hope you will bring Prometheus with you" (*Letters*, I, 112); and even though on July 20 the poet, in Pisa, wrote to Thomas Medwin: "I hear it is just printed, and I probably shall receive copies from England before I see you" (Julian, X, 192), and on July 27 to Keats: "I always tell Ollier to send you copies of my books.—'Prometheus Unbound' I imagine you will receive nearly at the same time with this letter" (X, 194). Mrs. Shelley's would have been a natural request, whether or not they had received a report of publication, and Shelley's comments may well have stemmed from the prepublication announcement of the book in the *London Magazine* for June (see Appendix D, item I). It can be assumed that the Gisbornes, from their close association with the poem, would be on the alert for the appearance of the volume. On August 3 Maria noted that "Mr. Fenwick called yesterday evening with the books which he had undertaken to procure for us" (*Journals*, p. 41), but there is no certainty that the poem was among them. In her entry for the twenty-second she wrote that Godwin "has not seen the Prometheus, and does not think he shall read it through" (p. 45), and the suggestion in this that she had seen it is confirmed, and a mid-August date at the latest established, by her letter to Mrs. Shelley on the twenty-third, in which she wrote: "We gave [Mr. Gisborne's sister] a copy of the 'Prometheus,' which she had promised to study. We have given her a little preparatory lecture, and read some part of it with her" (p. 67). Leigh Hunt, too, might be expected to watch for the appearance of the volume, and he wrote to Shelley, also on the twenty-third: "I have just seen the *Prometheus*" (*Correspondence*, I, 158). And Horace Smith wrote to the poet on September 4: "I got from Ollier last week a copy of the Prometheus Unbound" (Abinger MSS, Reel 14).[6]

[4]The date is uncertain because the letter is torn.

[5]Whether these additions were corrections or short poems is not known.

[6]*The London Magazine* for September, in a notice of the book, postponed consideration until October because it had "just come out this month" (see Appendix D), but

It would appear, however, that the Shelleys did not see the book until October. On June 18 Mrs. Shelley wrote to Maria Gisborne (in London): "As to the books you had better do nothing about them[;] we are too unsettled—so do not send them" (*Letters*, I, 109); and on July 7, as we have seen, she asked that Maria "bring Prometheus with you." The Gisbornes reached Genoa on October 3 but went directly to Leghorn without seeing their friends (White, *Shelley*, II, 229). Mrs. Shelley noted their return in her journal for October 10, and the poet wrote them on October 11: "If you happen to have brought a copy of Prometheus send it too" (Julian, X, 210). For October 16 Mrs. Shelley's journal carries the notation: "Go to Leghorn"; and for the seventeenth: "Read Prometheus Unbound—papers—& Indicators" (Abinger MSS, Reel 10). The poet's first extant reference to the volume was on November 10 when, from Pisa, he wrote to the Olliers with evident disappointment:

> Mr. Gisborne has sent me a copy of the "Prometheus," which is certainly most beautifully printed. It is to be regretted that the errors of the press are so numerous, and in many respects so destructive of the sense of a species of poetry which, I fear, even with [without?] this disadvantage, very few will understand or like. I shall send you the list of *errata* in a day or two [Julian, X, 219].

To Peacock he did not reveal his feelings, but wrote on ?November 15 a sentence that, in view of the foregoing, has an ironic note: "Thank you for your kindness in correcting 'Prometheus,' which I am afraid gave you a great deal of trouble" (X, 222).

It was not until January 20, 1821, that Shelley finally sent the errata to the Olliers with the following: "I send you . . . the Errata of 'Prometheus,' which I ought to have sent long since—a formidable list, as you will see" (X, 232).[7] Nor did he quickly forget the inaccuracies. On May 4, in a letter to Byron, it may have been either the errors of the printing or a momentary change of heart with respect to the quality of the poem itself that led him to write: "The 'Prometheus' is . . . a very imperfect poem" (X, 266); and on June 8 he was again outspoken to Charles Ollier, to whom he wrote: "I shall send [*Adonais* to] you, either printed at Pisa, or transcribed in such a manner as it shall be difficult for the reviser to leave such errors as *assist* the obscurity of the 'Prometheus' " (X, 273).[8]

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it is quite possible that the notice itself was written in August for the September issue. The poet instructed Ollier to send copies of the book to Hunt, Godwin, Hogg, Peacock, Keats, Thomas Moore, Horace Smith, and Byron (Julian, X, 81). Godwin was, apparently, as good as his word, for his diary entry of September 19 listed among his reading: "Prometheus Unbound, Act 1" (Abinger MSS, Reel 2), and I have found no evidence that he returned to the poem.

[7]The letter was misdated 1820.

[8]Charles D. Locock interpreted this reference to transcriber and reviser as indicative of Shelley's own opinion of the cause of the errors (Edition, I, 595-96). But might it rather be that Ollier had attempted to justify the errors by pleading poorly written or poorly proofread copy?

THE FIRST EDITION

The foregoing section has traced the evidence relevant to the writing, publication, and first reaction of Shelley to what he considered his finest poem. The copy from which the printer worked is not extant (although Mrs. Shelley made every effort to get all manuscripts from Ollier after the poet's death, and Peacock, early in 1823, supposedly sent all the publisher had [see Mary Shelley, *Letters*, I, 195, 206, etc.]), but the E manuscript and such drafts of the poem as remain to us will be examined in their proper place. Here the general characteristics of the edition of 1820 should be noted.

There were two issues of this edition. In the first a typographical error on the Contents page gave *Miscellaneous* as *Misellaneous*. This page was then reset, with the word spelled correctly, for the second issue.[9] But before the second issue was printed, the *d!* of *wind!* dropped out in II.i.195, leaving:

Asia. How the notes sink upon the ebbing win

This hiatus remains in the Huntington Library copy of the book, but in the Library of Congress copy the *d!* has been written in by hand.[10]

The book appeared as a demy-octavo volume, with leaves measuring 5½ by 8⅞ inches, bound in dark blue-gray paper boards, with white back label reading: *Prometheus/Unbound/9s.* There were fourteen sheets of eight leaves each, and signatures [A] to 0, with J omitted. Each signature was repeated on the second leaf with a following 2 (B B2; C C2; etc.). Roman numerals were assigned the pages preliminary to the text of the poem, with the first to appear being viii, and the material was distributed as follows: [i] the half-title: PROMETHEUS UNBOUND/&c &c; [ii] advertisements of *The Cenci, The Revolt of Islam, Rosalind and Helen,* and *Alastor.* At the bottom of the page: Marchant, Printer, Ingram-Court, Fenchurch-Street, London.; [iii] title page: PROMETHEUS UNBOUND /A LYRICAL DRAMA/IN FOUR ACTS/WITH OTHER POEMS/ by PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY/AUDISNE HÆC, AMPHIARAE, SUB TERRAM

Locock also felt that "some explanation is due, or at any rate some hypothesis which will explain how the superior readings of the manuscript became converted into inferior readings in the first edition, for the most part uncorrected in Mrs. Shelley's editions." He suggested three possibilities: (1) printer's errors; (2) faulty transcription by Mrs. Shelley ("nearly all the mistakes made are such as might easily arise in copying [the] MS."), whose accuracy Shelley would "no doubt" take for granted; and (3) Peacock's errors in proofreading, or actual alterations on Peacock's responsibility (p. 595).

[9]In the copy owned by Thomas Wise, apparently unique, both leaves were present, the canceled leaf in its original position, the cancel-leaf inserted between signatures A and B (*Shelley Library*, p. 56).

[10]It should be noted also that the Library of Congress copy is incomplete, lacking pages i and ii of signature A, and the final leaf (0^8) of advertisements. The Huntington Library copies are complete.

ABDITE?/LONDON/C AND J. OLLIER VERE STREET BOND STREET/1820; [iv] blank; [v] as follows:

CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	vii
PROMETHEUS UNBOUND	1
MISELLANEOUS POEMS	
The Sensitive Plant	157
A Vision of the Sea	174
Ode to Heaven	182
An Exhortation	186
Ode to the West Wind	188
An Ode, written October, 1819 before the Spaniards had recovered their Liberty	193
The Cloud	196
To a Skylark	201
Ode to Liberty	207

[vi] blank; [vii]-xv Preface; [xvi] blank; [xvii] half-title: PROMETHEUS UNBOUND.; [xviii] DRAMATIS PERSONÆ; [19]-153 PROMETHEUS UNBOUND;[11] [154] blank; [155] half-title: MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.; [156] blank; [157]-222 miscellaneous poems as in Contents above (each page is headed with the title of the poem thereon); [223-224] advertisements of works recently published by the Olliers, with the Marchant imprint repeated at the bottom of [224] as on page [ii].[12]

Details of this first edition will be apparent from the present text, which is based on the Huntington Library copy of the first issue.

[11]The play begins on page 19 rather than on page 1 as the Contents indicates, the printer having shifted from Roman to Arabic numbering without repeating. Inasmuch as the other page references in the Contents are correct, the *Prometheus Unbound* reference would appear to be either a typographical error or an oversight in checking paging.

[12]In 1823 the remainder sheets of four works—*Rosalind and Helen* (1819), *Prometheus Unbound* (1820; but called *Prometheus Unmasked* on the inclusive title page), *The Cenci* (Second Edition, 1821), and *Hellas* (1822)—were bound into a single volume for the Olliers, W. Simpkin, and R. Marshall. Each of the separate books was bound in just as it stood, with the original half-titles, title pages, advertisements, etc., retained. In this composite volume *Prometheus Unbound* was of the second issue, with *Miscellaneous* correctly spelled. Thomas Wise noted (in the 1920's) that "during recent years nearly every available copy has been broken up, the collective Half-titles and Titles have been sacrificed, and the three first editions have been separately bound. . . . This is the reason why the first editions of *Prometheus Unbound*, *Rosalind and Helen*, and *Hellas* are invariably in modern bindings" (*Shelley Library*, 1924, pp. 69-70).

EDITIONS SUBSEQUENT TO THE FIRST

Any hope that a corrected edition of the poem would be forthcoming within a reasonable time was finally lost when, after the poet's death, Sir Timothy Shelley forbade Mrs. Shelley, on penalty of revocation of allowance, to publish any of the poet's works while the baronet lived. Possibly it was this proscription that prevented her cooperation with A. and W. Galignani in the projected Paris edition of the works of Shelley in 1826. In any event, nothing more came of the proposal until, in 1829, they undertook a new project, to comprise the poetical works of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats in one volume. For this Mrs. Shelley drew a pencil sketch of the poet, from which an unsatisfactory engraving was made.[13]

The Galignanis used the published editions of Shelley's poems as basis for their text. That they received editorial assistance from Mrs. Shelley is clear from her letter to Cyrus Redding (who assisted the Galignanis) in ?January, 1829: "I send you the Errata of the Prometheus [the *Adonais*, and *Hellas*]" (*Letters*, II, 10). The extent of these (or of the Galignanis' use thereof) is suggested by the following comparison: in addition to the consistent use of the apostrophe to indicate an unpronounced syllable, the Galignanis made ninety-two punctuation changes in the text of *Prometheus Unbound*, all except eighteen of which are to be found in Mrs. Shelley's edition of 1839. With respect to verbal changes, the two agreed in the consistent spelling *through* and in the use of *a* for *an* before *h;* but of other changes from 1820 Mrs. Shelley in her edition made twenty-eight, of which only five are found in the Galignani edition.[14]

In addition to the Galignani edition of the poems there were several pirated issues both in England and in America,[15] in none of which was any attempt made at critical determination of the text. Their value lies in evidence of continuing interest in Shelley's writings, although, as Newman Ivey White noted, "The first growth of Shelley's fame owed a noticeable debt to the accidental factor of his connection with Byron" (*Shelley*, II, 399). It might be further pointed out that in a number of the editions of the period 1829 to 1838 the poet had also to share the company of Coleridge and Keats, for the Galignani combined edition set the pattern.

By 1839 Mrs. Shelley had completed the edition of the poet's work on which she had been engaged for several years, and it appeared, published by Edward Moxon, in four small volumes. In a second one-volume quarto edition certain corrections necessary to the first 1839 edition were made.

[13]See Walter Peck, *Shelley*, II, 440-41. *The Early Collected Editions of Shelley's Poems*, by C. H. Taylor, Jr., appeared too late for consideration here. It throws fresh light on editions to 1839, and offers evidence that Mrs. Shelley in 1839 used the Galignani edition as printer's copy for her second volume, including *Prometheus Unbound*, making her changes and corrections on the proofs.

[14]See M. variant readings at I.637, 733; II.ii.53, 71; II.iv.100.

[15]See N. I. White, *Shelley*, II, 394-99.

For the first time since 1820 it was possible to bring to *Prometheus Unbound* the textual corrections desired by Shelley, and in her note to the poem Mrs. Shelley stated: "I may mention, for the information of the more critical reader, that the verbal alterations in this edition of Prometheus are made from a list of errata, written by Shelley himself" (see Appendix C).

It is clear, however, from study of the variant readings, that Mrs. Shelley's text for the poem might not have been completely satisfactory to the wishes of the poet, for in the E manuscript copy, on which Shelley appears to have worked even after the poem was published, there are some 150 readings (exclusive of punctuation differences, in which E is faulty) that differ from both the 1820 and the 1839 editions. It must be assumed, from the evident care with which the poet revised his work, that the errata and emendations there given represented Shelley's own final word on his dissatisfaction with the first edition. The conclusion dictated by this circumstance is that Mrs. Shelley did not make full use of the materials available to her with respect to this poem. Charles D. Locock, indeed, asked:

> May we suppose that Mrs. Shelley never made use of [the "formidable list" of errata] at all? that what she did use was a *preliminary* list,—the list which Shelley "hoped to despatch in a day or two" (November 10, 1820)—not the "formidable list" . . . which may in the course of nine [*sic*] years have been mislaid? Failing this hypothesis, we can only assume that Shelley's "formidable list" was not nearly so formidable as it might have been" [Edition, I, 596].

Nevertheless, credit must not be withheld for the work Mrs. Shelley did. Possibly William Michael Rossetti's comment in the Preface to his 1870 edition is most pertinent:

> Mrs. Shelley brought deep affection and unmeasured enthusiasm to the task of editing her husband's works. But ill health and the pain of reminiscence curtailed her editorial labours: besides which, to judge from the result, you would say that Mrs. Shelley was not one of the persons to whom the gift of consistent accuracy has been imparted; for even this too is a gift in its way, not wholly to be improvised for the occasion [Edition, I, xii].

The first effect of Mrs. Shelley's work appears to have been on the pirated edition of Charles Daly, originally published in 1836. In 1839 there appeared "A New Edition, Revised and Corrected, by G. Cuningham." The work (which omitted Shelley's Preface) was clearly dependent on both of Mrs. Shelley's editions, and the haste with which it was brought out to appear in the same year with hers is evidenced by the many typographical errors and the general carelessness present in the text.

Mrs. Shelley's influence was strong also on the first American edition of Shelley's poems, the work of G. G. Foster, published in Philadelphia in 1845. The publisher took occasion to advise the reader that "it has been carefully edited—so much we have a right to say," although he did not feel "called upon to assume the responsibility" for Foster's extravagant

estimate of the poet in the memoir (Edition, p. 5). Foster acknowledged his dependence on Mrs. Shelley's edition, and reproduced her notes to the poems. Indeed, one might expect a reasonably literal faithfulness to her work in view of a statement made when Poe suggested that Foster make a word change in *The Indian Serenade.* Foster wrote: "But I have not felt at liberty to change the text sanctioned by Mrs. Shelley—whom I regard as the evangelist of her transfigured lord" (p. 20).

Actually, however, Foster was not as faithful to Mrs. Shelley's verbal usage as his answer to Poe would suggest, although some of his differences may have been the result of accident;[16] and his complete independence in his use of punctuation and capitalization in *Prometheus Unbound* was second only to that of W. M. Rossetti. Indeed, the two agreed at so many points that one must wonder whether there was not more than coincidence in Rossetti's apparent use of the American work. Of course, coincidence alone can account for frequent agreement between Foster and the E manuscript, but the number of occurrences is interesting.

Foster's text, the pirated texts, and those of Mrs. Shelley continued to be reissued in England and America, and translations appeared in Italy, France, and Germany during the next decades,[17] but it was not until 1870 that another carefully prepared edition was offered, by William Michael Rossetti.

Rossetti's editorial aims were acceptably modest: to correct "absolutely wrong" grammar, rime, and meter, and to emend conjecturally only as "a stop-gap expedient against a patent and formidable blunder," or when the conjecture was "convincing in a very high degree indeed" (Edition, I, xv-xvii). His practice with respect to *Prometheus Unbound,* however, was not so restrained, especially in the matter of punctuation, in which his changes were more extreme even than those of Foster. Like Foster, however, he frequently hit upon the pointing Shelley himself used in the manuscript; and Rossetti's verbal conjectures and emendations showed imaginative insight, even when they were not supported, as they frequently were, by the later evidence in Shelley's hand.

[16]See Fs variant readings at I.54, 386, 449, 539, 716; II.i.164; II.iv.165; II.v.77; III.i.6; III.iii.131; III.iv.58; IV.184, 399. With respect to punctuation, Foster was generally erratic and, like Shelley in E, used many dashes. He used fewer capitals than did Mrs. Shelley, consistently used *while* for *whilst,* and normally spelled *veil, vail.*

[17]See Julia Power, *Shelley in America, passim;* and White, *Shelley,* II, 639-41. The more important translations of Shelley's poetry that have included all or parts of *Prometheus Unbound* have been those in German by Julius Seybt (1844), Adolf Strodtmann (1866), Helene Richter (1887), and Arturo Graf (1896); in Italian by G. Aglio (1853), Enrico Giacobini (1890), Mario Rapisardi (1892), Giuliano Bonazzi (1892), Ettore Sanfelice (1894), Carlo Faccioli (1902), Adolfo de Bosis (1922), and R. Piccoli (1924); in French by Felix Rabbe (1885-1887), Tola Dorian (1912), A. H. Koszul (1929), Maurice Castelain (1931), and Louis Cazamian (1942); in Hebrew by Moishe Blaichman (1953); in Braille (National Institute for the blind, London, 1922).

It was at this point that the influence of the E manuscript of the poem first became evident, for Miss Mathilde Blind checked certain (but only a few) of Rossetti's emendations against it in her review of his edition, in the *Westminster Review* for July, 1870. Rossetti, of course, did not have access to the manuscript, and he gave no evidence of knowledge of its existence in his Preface or notes.[18] He was, however, quick to profit from Miss Blind's corrections, and he incorporated them in his 1878 revised edition.[19]

Following Rossetti's first edition, two others appeared that leaned heavily on his work. Miss Blind herself edited a selection of the poems (1872) in which she included Acts I and IV of *Prometheus Unbound;* and William B. Scott in 1873 brought out the poetical works, including all of the drama except the Preface. Both of these editions incorporated the changes suggested in Miss Blind's review of Rossetti, but otherwise (except for a few minor changes in punctuation or capitalization) they were in effect reproductions of the Rossetti text.

Quite different, however, was Richard Herne Shepherd's 1874 text ("now first given from the author's original editions"). Despite Rossetti's statement that "Mr. Shepherd is just as ready (tho' not so prolific) with conjectural emendations as I was—'swart' Silenus . . . (which I am sure is wrong)—and another 'Passionless, NOT yet free from guilt and pain,' wh. seems to me the grossest and silliest misconception of the whole purport of the poem" (Garnett, *Letters*, p. 46), Shepherd was, if compared with Rossetti, manifestly restrained in his text. Indeed, the emendations referred to by Rossetti were not incorporated in the 1874 edition, most of the changes there having to do with punctuation, in which considerable refinement on the earlier editions was evidenced. Actually it was to the "original editions" that he turned, and, except as to punctuation,[20] his *Prometheus Unbound* followed the 1820 text almost slavishly at times. The principal value of his work was to be found in the correction of the extremes to which Rossetti had gone, although this must remain a questionable value in view of the opposite extreme sought by Shepherd.

Harry Buxton Forman's impressive and influential edition of the poetical works first appeared in four volumes in 1876, with a reissue, containing Mrs. Shelley's notes, in 1882. He followed Mrs. Shelley in correcting obvious errors in the 1820 edition, and he profited from Miss Blind's article, but unfortunately he did not have access to the E manuscript itself

[18]Richard Garnett's examination of Shelley's notebooks in 1862 likewise resulted in no mention of E, and it is probable that he did not see it. He described the "extremely confused state of these books, and the equal difficulty of deciphering and connecting their contents" (*Relics*, p. xi), which would be true of the draft materials, but not of E.

[19]See R^2 variant readings or conjectures at I.244, 345, 774; II.i.122; II.ii.50, 53, 87; III.ii.22; IV.95, 387.

[20]E.g., at I.619; II.ii.38, 50, 93; II.iv.100; II.v.54; III.i.5, 20, 69; III.ii.39; III.iii.55, 102; III.iv.121; IV.208, 274, 282, 355, 575. Shepherd also employed, as had Galignani, *'d* to indicate the unpronounced syllable.

and so continued or initiated a number of errors, some almost certainly typographical.[21] It will be noted in the variant readings that Forman was conservative in following Shelley's first edition (and this was an important corrective to Rossetti), and his changes, notes, and conjectures evidenced critical restraint in the absence of the as yet unavailable manuscript. Possibly the knowledge, through Miss Blind's article, that such a manuscript existed contributed to this quality in his work.

In the Introduction to his edition of 1890, Edward Dowden acknowledged his indebtedness to both Rossetti and Forman, and commented:

> Mr. Forman's annotated edition is unquestionably that to which appeal must be made in any question of doubt on any point of Shelley scholarship. But perhaps if Mr. Rossetti modified the text of the early editions somewhat too freely, Mr. Forman has sometimes been over-conservative of peculiarities of spelling and obvious errors of punctuation. When these cloud the sense, it seems permissible to make a correction in an edition designed for general use [Edition, p. xxxv].

In attempting to strike a compromise between the two extremes, however, Dowden was not always successful, and he frequently held more closely to the 1820 edition than was desirable or justifiable in view of Mrs. Shelley's emendations (see I.106, 619; IV.559). His general tendency was toward a conservatism little less stringent than that of Forman, from whom he adopted a number of readings, including two Forman errors (at I.519 and IV.355). It is possible that at points of agreement with Rossetti some of the Dowden readings were taken from that edition, or were independent, but the evidence would suggest a greater dependence on Forman.

The year 1892 marked the centenary of Shelley's birth, and was the occasion for several items of importance. Forman's conservative point of view, continued in his new five-volume edition, was followed also by George Edward Woodberry in his Centenary Edition (and, in 1901, in his Cambridge Edition, in which his critical notes are to be found), although Woodberry appears to have been influenced more than was Forman by Rossetti's punctuation changes.[22] The Centenary Edition, however, admirable as it was, was scarcely as complete as would be suggested by Woodberry's statement that he gave "all the variations, line for line, with complete notes" (Power, *Shelley in America*, p. 179). But he did give for the first time a description and collation of the 1820 edition, and indicated much more completely than had Forman the principal variants, conjectures, and emendations (mainly verbal) in the editions of Mrs. Shelley, Rossetti, Forman, and Dowden, as well as noting the corrections to

[21]See especially I.519, 774 (after Blind); II.iii.34; II.iv.100; II.v.76; III.i.13; III.ii.34; IV.355. A new five-volume edition in 1892 contained a few refinements in punctuation, corrected *born* to *borne* (I.733), and significantly modified the punctuation at II.i.155 and II.ii.22-23. Otherwise he retained his 1876 text.

[22]On his own part he substituted many semicolons for the colons of 1820. For verbal influence from Forman see I.774 and II.v.76.

Rossetti made by Miss Blind through her use of the "incomplete MS." (Centenary Edition, II, 426). Unfortunately, the variant readings for *Prometheus Unbound* were in error in several instances (probably the result of faulty proofreading), and incomplete in others, thus vitiating the authority of Woodberry's work.

The centenary year, 1892, also saw the publication of the first English language edition of *Prometheus Unbound* as a separate item in the edition of Vida Scudder. (There had been a separate German translation of the poem in 1876, and separate Italian and Danish translations appeared in 1892.) This was also the first "student's edition," provided with an excellent body of critical and interpretative notes but with little contribution to the establishment of the text. Miss Scudder herself indicated that she followed Forman's text "except in two or three instances" (Edition, iv). This was not strictly true, for actually she followed or agreed with Rossetti in a number of punctuation choices and, possibly through typographical error, introduced four verbal alterations of her own.[23]

William J. Alexander's edition of a selection of the poet's work was published in 1898. In this, Alexander noted that he followed Forman for his text, and, except for minor matters of punctuation and spelling, and one verbal difference (at III.i.13), he did so. In the same year, also, a separate edition of the poem by G. Lowes Dickinson proved less dependent on any one predecessor. Rossetti, Forman, and Woodberry appear to have influenced the text, but Dickinson initiated several readings, some of them possibly typographical errors.[24]

In the meantime the E manuscript had been presented to the Bodleian Library by Lady Jane Shelley and had been made available to scholars in 1893. Following its examination and description by Zupitza-Schick (to be considered below), and the publication of Charles D. Locock's *An Examination of the Shelley Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (1903), the first editorial use made of the findings was that of Thomas Hutchinson in 1904. Hutchinson's edition was well received and quickly became the most influential after Forman; yet it was an edition that, in certain details, left much to be desired. Although Hutchinson wrote in his note on *Prometheus*

[23]At I.112 (possibly after Scott), 172; III.iii.142; IV.383. At I.338 both halves of the divided line were numbered separately, an error that altered the numbering to the end of the act. The numbers have been corrected for the present edition.

Since 1892, and with increasing frequency during the past two or three decades, selections of Shelley's poems, many times including *Prometheus Unbound*, have been published either as individual volumes or in anthologies of poetry, primarily for classroom use. Inasmuch as the compilers of such selections have been satisfied to adopt their texts with but minor changes from earlier editors (usually Forman or Hutchinson), their textual variants—with the exception of those in Grabo and Freeman's *The Reader's Shelley* (see below, p. 19)—have not been considered for the present edition, although any original interpretative notes have been given due attention.

[24]See Textual Notes at I.104; II.iii.47; II.iv.47; III.iv.150; IV.3, 552.

Unbound: "Our text is that of 1820, modified by ed. 1839, and by the Bodleian fair copy" (Edition, p. 200), it is evident from the variant readings that he adhered closely to the text of Forman, whose work he praised in his general Preface.[25] Hutchinson did, however, introduce for the first time some of the readings of E that had been recorded in Locock's *Examination* (he made no mention of the work of Zupitza-Schick), and his work thus assumed an important position in the textual history of the poem at the turn of the century.

In the following year, 1905, a beautiful library edition of Shelley's poems was edited by Nathan Haskell Dole, most of whose readings followed Forman;[26] and in 1907 André Henri Koszul, who edited the poetical works for the Everyman's Library, acknowledged, in his Introduction, the use of Locock's *Examination* but did not mention Hutchinson, whose text he clearly followed in many details not mutually ascribable to Locock, as well as in some errors initiated by Hutchinson.[27] This popular edition has been widely read but, fortunately perhaps, not widely imitated by other editors.

In 1908 the most complete use of the E manuscript readings to that date was made by Richard Ackermann in his separate edition of the poem. Ackermann's text incorporated the principal findings of Zupitza-Schick, which, as we shall see below, were reported in much fuller detail than were those in Locock's *Examination.* As a result, he gave more of the E readings than did Hutchinson, although not as many (especially with respect to punctuation) as Locock was to give in his 1911 edition. Ackermann's use of E was necessarily incomplete, however, since he did not work directly from it, but a comparison of his readings will reveal the advance he made on Hutchinson.

Shortly thereafter, in 1910, two "reprintings" of the 1820 volume appeared. One of these, with no editor named, was published by Henry Frowde, London. The other was edited, with excellent notes and a brief life of Shelley, by Arthur M. D. Hughes. An examination of the texts reveals that actually, insofar as material common to both books is concerned (the Frowde had no notes or memoir), the two were printed from the same plates. The Frowde contained a portrait of Shelley not found in Hughes, and a note stating that the 1820 volume "contains many errors, which it would have been pointless to reproduce. The present text is

[25]E.g., he continued Forman readings unsupported by his cited sources (I.519; II.iv.125; II.v.76; III.ii.34; IV.355). He also continued a verbal error of Miss Scudder (I.112), although this may have been coincidence, and introduced two of his own (II.i.200; IV.435) which influenced later editors.

[26]Dole continued Forman's errors (notably at I.519; II.iv.125; II.v.76; IV.355), introduced two of his own (II.iv.80 and III.iii.75), and accented the *ed* for pronounced end syllables.

[27]For Koszul's own changes see Textual Notes at I.10, 309, 637, 724; II.i.192; II.iv.39; III.iii.36, 77; III.iv.106; IV.264, 403, 445.

therefore composite." Hughes, in his notes, acknowledged existence of the manuscript and previous editions of the poems, but stated that "except in one or two instances I have adopted the corrections made by *H*[utchinson]" (Edition, p. 162). Actually, his text (and therefore the Frowde also), except for some five or six minor differences in punctuation and the correction of *rapped* to *rapt* at I.527, reproduced that of Hutchinson.

In 1911 appeared the important edition of Shelley's poetical works from the hand of Charles D. Locock, the first editor to bring the results of a personal study of the manuscript to his text of *Prometheus Unbound.* In his *Examination* (1903), Locock had suggested that a manuscript reading should be given precedence over the printed texts if it "(1) gives sense instead of nonsense, or (2) is metrically more correct, or (3) is manifestly superior in sense and sound, or (4) is likely to be *misread,* or (5) is likely to be *misprinted*" (*Examination,* p. 1). In the main, this would indeed seem to be the basis for such readings and punctuation as he admitted, although he was probably unnecessarily influenced by the manuscript in his inconsistent use of capitals and in the frequency with which he employed dashes. As to verbal variations, Locock found in the manuscript 136[28] that differed from both the 1820 and Mrs. Shelley's editions, and he wrote: "Forty-nine of these 136 variants seem to me so superior to the readings of the printed texts, that it is inconceivable that Shelley (who never altered for the worse) could deliberately have abandoned them. I have introduced them, accordingly, into the present text" (Edition, I, 595). Locock's edition also offered the reader the most significant body of textual and interpretative notes to that date, and these were especially full and penetrating with respect to *Prometheus Unbound.*

Following Locock, the next edition of importance was that of Charles H. Herford, with *Lyrical Poems* published in 1918 and *Dramatic Poems* in 1922. Herford acknowledged that his text was based on that of Hutchinson and, except in minor details (principally of punctuation) he, like Koszul and Hughes before him, followed that editor closely, with the result that his work added little of interest to the textual history of the poem.

Nor did the handsome ten-volume Julian Edition of the complete works, edited by Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck (Volume II, containing *Prometheus Unbound,* appeared in 1927), give the definitive treatment of the poem that was expected. Although the editors offered a nice balance with respect to the 1820 text, the changes made by Mrs. Shelley, and some of the readings of the manuscript as given by Locock, and gave for the first time some sixty lines of early drafts from manuscripts then in the possession of Sir John C. Shelley-Rolls, there was no independent examina-

[28]Martin Freeman found "more than 150" (Text, p. 9). The discrepancy was probably the result of differences in reading, or possibly of Freeman's inclusion in his count of such slight differences as *checked, check'd,* which Locock (who did not list his readings in full) may have treated as punctuation rather than as verbal changes.

tion of the E manuscript, and the Ingpen-Peck text was no more exact or final than were several others that preceded it. Indeed, there were several inexcusable errors, typographical or of reference, and frequent failure in the notes to distinguish between the two issues of the first edition and the two 1839 editions of Mrs. Shelley. Because of the general importance of the Julian Edition, however, and to indicate the nature of the editorial policy at the time, full variant treatment has been given in the present work, but obvious errors or misprints in the notes have been passed over silently.

From the foregoing survey of the textual history of *Prometheus Unbound* it will be clear that no serious evaluation of the relationship between the manuscript copy and the accepted editions had been made since the work of Ackermann and Locock, both of whose editions, as we have seen, were deficient in certain respects. To the problem of re-evaluation, and to the determination of a more nearly definitive text, Martin Joseph Freeman addressed himself in A Text of Shelley's Prometheus Unbound, a dissertation submitted for the doctoral degree at the University of Chicago in 1934. As part of his thesis Freeman transcribed afresh the manuscript materials, related his readings to earlier transcriptions and selected editions, and made his final text the basis of the poem as published in *The Reader's Shelley* (1942), edited in collaboration with Carl Grabo.

The Freeman text was kept extremely close to the manuscript readings, as might be expected in the light of his statement that "the manuscript readings should, except in those instances where it appears more reasonable to suppose that the poet made even later changes, take precedence over the First Edition" (Text, p. 38). But Freeman's text demonstrated that there is a point beyond which fidelity to the manuscript should not go. It must be remembered that Shelley was clearly not attempting a printer's copy. He was frequently inconsistent in punctuation and capitalization, and to carry these inconsistencies into a text that is not in itself a transcription of the manuscript is to misinterpret editorial responsibility.[29]

With respect to word changes the matter is different: certainly the final changes made by the poet should take precedence over a first edition or

[29]The promise of Freeman's full transcriptions of the manuscripts to one faced with deciphering Shelley's handwriting, as was the present editor, proved illusory. Many errors remained in the transcription, and, while some of these were defensibly debatable readings, others represented omission of words or figures clearly present in the manuscript, obvious misreadings, many typographical errors, and frequent failure to indicate deletions. As a result it has been necessary to retranscribe the manuscript materials in their entirety. Yet I would be remiss did I not acknowledge the help available in Freeman's work, for in combination with the transcriptions of Zupitza-Schick and Locock it has many times confirmed my own tentative readings or forced me into further consideration of questionable passages. See Textual Notes for the principal errors and also the frequently excellent conjectures of Freeman.

any subsequent edition that did not have the manuscript in its final form as a check-copy. Here the only problems are the determination of what were actually the "final changes," and the extent to which a given editor is more successful than his predecessors in transcribing difficult handwriting. In the present instance Freeman differed from Ackermann and Locock in eleven readings (at Preface 98; I.35, 208-9, 253; II.iii.38; III.i.3; III.iv.114, 151, 165; IV.165, 171). But four of these changes (Preface 98; III.iv.151; IV.165, 171) were without manuscript authority, even in Freeman's transcription; three were choices in debatable readings (II.iii.38; III.iv.114, 165); and one (I.208-9) resulted in a tetrameter questionably defended by Freeman. The three remaining adoptions had all been noted and rejected by Locock. Moreover, there are several uncanceled Shelley readings (notably some of the stage directions) not adopted by Freeman, presumably on the assumption that they did not represent final changes.

THE MANUSCRIPT MATERIALS

As has been noted above, the most important item of the *Prometheus Unbound* manuscript materials was presented to the Bodleian Library by Lady Jane Shelley, and became available to scholars in 1893. Of the four notebooks in which this material is to be found, MSS Shelley E.1, E.2, and E.3[30] contain, in Shelley's hand, a copy of all but ten lines of the poem (eight of which are in a notebook, to be described below, in the Huntington Library). The fourth notebook, MS Shelley D.1, contains the poet's translations into Italian, probably as an exercise, of II.v.48-71 and IV.1-82 (see Appendix B).

Generally speaking, and certainly so in comparison with most of the extant drafts, these notebooks are reasonably legible to one who is willing to acquaint himself with Shelley's handwriting. There are, however, certain transcriptional difficulties that should be noted. It is, for example, frequently difficult or impossible to distinguish small and capital letters *c*, *e*, *m*, *n*, *o*, and *s*, or to determine whether a small or a capital letter was written first when Shelley alters one by overwriting with the other; the loop on small *e* is often suppressed or missing, leading to confusion with *i* in those instances where he fails to dot the *i*, or to place the dot correctly over it—a situation that is made more difficult by his own confusion with

[30]These notebooks differ slightly in size and number of leaves. E.1 has 46 leaves, 5⅝ by 8⅛ inches; E.2 has 43 leaves, 5½ by 8⅛ inches; E.3 has 38 leaves, 5¼ by 8⅛ inches; and D.1 has 156 leaves, 6¼ by 8⅝ inches. Locock gave the E notebooks as all 5⅝ by 8⅛ inches (*Examination*, p. 28).

The back cover of E.1 and the front cover of E.3 are missing, a circumstance that led Julius Zupitza to question whether these notebooks might originally have been one, cut down the back binding. Joseph Schick, however, pointed out that the half-covers and ornamentation do not match in such a way as to justify this assumption, and that the evidence of E.2, which continues directly from E.1, would argue against it. The slight difference in page size should also be noted.

respect to *ei* and *ie* (he clearly writes *thier* at times, as well as *viel*, *weild*, and *wierd*); *æ* frequently looks like a poorly written *e;* the final *re* (*where*, *there*) are occasionally indistinguishable from *n;* there are many irrelevant ink splatters which may be confused with punctuation, as may an occasional pen movement at word ends; hyphens are sometimes reduced to dots; and dashes differ widely in length.

As to punctuation, Miss Blind was scarcely correct when in her review of Rossetti she wrote that the E manuscript was "always carefully punctuated." Except for the question mark, which is usually present, punctuation is frequently omitted at line ends. Within the lines Shelley is more (but certainly not "always") careful, although many times the dash is substituted for more exact marking, and ambiguity through altered punctuation often plagues the reader. All such difficulties have been treated either in the Variant Readings or in the Textual Notes of the present edition, as have Shelley's misspellings and other orthographic idiosyncrasies.

Except for general dates supplied by the letters, there is no way to determine with any certainty when the different parts of E were written, or when the additions and changes were made in it;[31] nor can one state finally what was its relationship to the 1820 edition. Freeman went so far as to state it as his opinion that it was "the only fair copy of the poem ever made by Shelley," holding that "the evident care with which it was made; the fact that it contains all of the poem but ten lines; the fact that it contains all of the preface—everything, except in a few instances, most carefully written, as Shelley's writing goes—lend support to this view" (Text, pp. 37-38). Locock, however, in general agreement with Zupitza-Schick, thought it an "intermediate draft" and probably the first fair copy made by the poet (*Examination*, p. 29).

Conclusions with respect to many of the problems relative to the manuscript must remain tentative, especially in view of the manner in which the poet used the notebooks, but the more general evidence relative to *Prometheus Unbound* may be summarized here (for matters of detail see the Textual Notes).[32]

[31]Little can be learned from the appearance of the manuscript. Shelley changed pens, or sharpened the pen being used, frequently. At other times a pencil was used. At times, also, the ink grew weak and was apparently changed or renewed. But whether or not there was a time lapse between these changes cannot be determined. Freeman attempted to reconstruct the progress of the writing, noting the lines at which pens were changed, etc., and speculating on the degree to which such evidence might indicate early or late changes and additions. But he recognized that, beyond a few reasonable conjectures (listed in the Textual Notes of the present edition), "neither Shelley's numbering of the lines nor variation in handwriting permits safe conjecture" (Text, pp. 23-31).

[32]There is in these, as in the other Shelley notebooks, material not related to *Prometheus Unbound*. This includes, for E.1, E.2, and E.3, an Italian street address; a line,

Shelley started to copy the play not, as might be expected, at the beginning of the first notebook (E.1) but on page 18^{r}, where he placed the title, subtitle, and dramatis personae. He then proceeded to 18^{v} for Act I and copied this act (to line 498) on the verso pages, leaving the recto pages blank for corrections and additions to the text. Apparently, therefore, pages 1^{r} to 17^{v} were originally left blank, possibly with the intention of reserving the space for a preface to be added later.

Act I, beginning with line 499, was then continued immediately in the second notebook (E.2), and the foregoing procedure of verso pages for the text, recto for corrections and additions was followed. This act was completed on page 20^{v}, with Act II following on 21^{v} and continuing to the end of the book (page 43^{v}, line II.iv.74). Again Shelley continued directly into the next notebook (E.3), with the next line of Act II starting on page 1^{v} and ending on 10^{v}. Act III followed on 11^{v} and was completed on 36^{v}.

"climb from κλιμαξ a [lall] ladder"; two lines of Greek (identified by Zupitza-Schick as from *Philoktet* 387-88); pencil and pen sketches of trees, towers, a bridge, a head, a harp, sailboats, and at E.3 39^{r} a full-page and more detailed pencil and ink drawing of a view across large shore rocks to a small island of rock, flanked by two sailboats and topped with trees, and with a cave in the rock; many mathematical computations other than those pertinent to his *Prometheus Unbound* line count; three lines not in Shelley's hand and signed "Clare"; a list, also not in Shelley's hand, of eight of the longer poems; a penciled copy, plus one stanza in ink, of the *Invocation to Misery;* a copy, in ink, of the *Ode to Heaven;* and a translation of slightly less than half of Plato's *Ion.* In addition, there are two fragments possibly written with *Prometheus Unbound* in mind. For the first, see Textual Notes at II.iii.98. The second, on E.2 23^{r} inverted, was thought by Kroder (I believe correctly) to be pertinent rather to *The Mask of Anarchy.* It reads:

screams
When a Nation [cries] aloud
Like an eagle from the cloud
When a
[When the right]
Watch the look askance & cold—
See neglect, & falsehood fold.

Since the *Ion* fragment is scattered through notebook E.1 much as is Act IV, it might be questioned whether it was not written in before that act. Several circumstances argue against this: The translation starts on page 16^{v} and, after carrying irregularly to the end of the book, finishes on the (inverted) two pages 1^{v} and 1^{r}, and the paste-down immediately preceding the opening of Act IV. Had Act IV not already been written in, there would have been no reason for not placing the *Ion* on the blank pages used for that act. Secondly, on 36^{r}, at the top of which the final line of Act IV is written, the *Ion* picks up below the line (and the act count written under it), with an ample spacing that would not have been present had the translation been written first. And, finally, by the time the poet wrote in the *Ion* he was willing to use pages opposite Act I on which additions or corrections to the act had been made, even at times writing the translation over these changes. He had skipped these pages when copying in Act IV.

With the original three-act version of the play thus completed (except for certain changes and additions that may have been added at any time later), Shelley probably turned to his Preface. At first this consisted only of the opening four paragraphs of the final version. It will be recalled that pages 1 to 17^{v} of notebook E.1 had been left blank. The four paragraphs were copied on pages 14^{r}, 14^{v}, 15^{r}, 15^{v}, and 16^{r}, which still left three pages blank before the title page. It is possible that Shelley misjudged the space that would be needed, but equally possible that he purposely left space for later addition to the Preface. In any event, before the final five paragraphs were written, under circumstances to be described below, other material was assigned to these blank pages, and the balance of the Preface was written in notebook E.3.

The first three acts of the poem were, according to Shelley, finished by April 6, 1819, and Act IV at least by December (see above, pp. 4-6). When Shelley copied this final act into the notebook is not known, but it was almost certainly the next major item to be included in E.1. Using only completely blank pages for the lines, the poet wrote the first verses of Act IV on page 2^{r}. At this point he abandoned his previous procedure and wrote on both recto and verso pages to the bottom of 13^{v}, which brought him (at IV.427) to the Preface. He then skipped over the blank pages 16^{r}, 17^{r}, and 17^{v}, probably still to reserve them for possible later addition to the Preface, and continued Act IV on the blank recto pages opposite Act I. Pages 19^{r} and 20^{r} were skipped because they contained corrections or additions to the first act; and 21^{r}, although blank except for one word at the bottom, was also skipped. Shelley then continued Act IV on 22^{r}, skipped 23^{r} and 24^{r} because they were not completely blank, and resumed on 25^{r}. Pages 26^{r} and 27^{r} had been used for additions, so Act IV was carried to 28^{r} and through the recto pages to 31^{r}. Pages 32^{r} and 33^{r} had Act I changes, and Act IV was completed on 34^{r} and 35^{r}, except for one line at the top of 36^{r}.

Between this time and the time of Shelley's decision to add to the Preface, all pages of notebook E.1 were used for other writings (the pages apparently reserved for addition to the Preface were given to the opening of the *Ion* translation). Possibly the poet had determined to let the four paragraphs stand without addition, since they commented adequately on the subject matter of the poem, its relationship to the Greek models, and the circumstances under which it was written. But the last five paragraphs, with their strong defense against the charge of imitation, were called forth by an attack against Shelley in a review of *The Revolt of Islam* published in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1819. In this review, after commenting on resemblances to Southey, the writer (John Taylor Coleridge) stated:

> [Shelley] draws largely on the rich stores of another mountain poet, to whose religious mind it must be matter, we think, of perpetual sorrow to see the philosophy which comes pure and holy from his pen, degraded and perverted, as it

continually is, by this miserable crew of atheists or pantheists, who have just sense enough to abuse its terms, but neither heart nor principle to comprehend its import, or follow its application [pp. 461-62].

This review did not reach Shelley until October, and it was almost certainly at that time that he wrote his answer: the final five paragraphs of the *Prometheus Unbound* Preface.

Shelley thought, erroneously, that Southey had written the article, and so declared in a letter from Florence to the Olliers dated October 15, 1819. He added:

> The only remark worth notice in this piece is the assertion that I imitate Wordsworth. It may as well be said that Lord Byron imitates Wordsworth, or that Wordsworth imitates Lord Byron, both being great poets, and deriving from the new springs of thought and feeling, which the great events of our age have exposed to view, a similar tone of sentiment, imagery, and expression. A certain similarity all the best writers of any particular age inevitably are marked with, from the spirit of that age acting on all. This I had explained in my preface [to *The Revolt of Islam*], which the writer was too disingenuous to advert to [Julian, X, 95-96].

The pertinent sentences from that earlier preface were as follows:

> I have avoided, as I have said before, the imitation of any contemporary style. But there must be a resemblance, which does not depend upon their own will, between all the writers of any particular age. They cannot escape from subjection to a common influence which arises out of an infinite combination of circumstances belonging to the times in which they live; though each is in a degree the author of the very influence by which his being is thus pervaded. . . . And this [the influence of the age] is an influence which neither the meanest scribbler nor the sublimest genius of any era can escape; and which I have not attempted to escape.

Urged on by the challenge of the review, Shelley restated his position for inclusion in the Preface to the new poem. Having made a rough draft of the new material (see Appendix A) for all but the last paragraph (which was worked up in E.3), Shelley, if we may judge by the pen and ink used, copied it almost immediately into E.3 (Freeman, Text, p. 23). For this purpose he turned the notebook upside down and began writing on page 38^{v}, continuing on 38^{r}, 37^{v}, 36^{r}, 35^{r}, 32^{r}, 31^{r}, and 30^{r}. The skipped pages had already been used for the text of Act III or for additions thereto.

Shortly after the E manuscript became available to scholars in 1893, Julius Zupitza made a careful study of the notebooks. He took as his comparative text that of Forman, and indicated the differences to be found in the manuscript. He also described the manuscript in some detail, gave the canceled readings and the alterations made by Shelley as he worked over the lines, and, although his work was not complete in every detail, he offered the first nearly full picture of the nature of the manuscript and its contents. Before his materials were ready for publication, however, Zupitza died, and Joseph Schick worked the data into final form, adding

comments of his own and, after checking earlier editions against the manuscript in respect to certain of the debated readings, indicating whether support or refutation was to be found in Shelley's hand. The results ("Zu Shelleys Prometheus Unbound") were published in three articles in 1899. One may disagree with some of the Zupitza-Schick readings, and point out some of the omissions and errors, but all who work with textual matters in Shelley's poem must acknowledge a debt for the care and skill with which this preliminary work was done. In such matters, involving chirographical difficulties, approximation to the truth can come only through rethreading of the maze by many minds, with each later transcriber resting heavily on the work of those who have gone before.

So it was that Locock, in his *Examination* (1903), acknowledged that he had compared his work with that of Zupitza-Schick, and his readings were usually in general agreement with those of the German scholars (differences and conjectures will be treated in the Textual Notes of the present edition). But his aim was much less inclusive than theirs, and he attempted no detailed analysis of the variant readings. Also, while he admitted the importance of variations in punctuation, he did not list them but instead invited scholars to write him with respect to questions in this field. This must be considered a serious lack in his work, for, although Shelley was frequently faulty in his punctuation, any light that can be thrown on his phrasing is of importance. As might be expected, however, the fact of Locock's publication in English gave such readings as he discussed considerable weight, especially when they appeared in the widely influential edition of Hutchinson in the following year, and in Locock's own edition in 1911.

No further work of note was done on the manuscript until, as we have seen above, Martin J. Freeman sought to establish a more exact text for the poem as his doctoral dissertation in 1934.

The manuscript materials next in importance to those just described are to be found in the early drafts that occupy parts of two notebooks presented to Richard Garnett by Lady Jane Shelley and, through later sales to W. K. Bixby and Henry E. Huntington, now housed in the Huntington Library. These notebooks, catalogued as Huntington MSS 2176 and 2177, contain, in addition to much material not pertinent to *Prometheus Unbound*, drafts of parts of the latter poem in handwriting that confirms Trelawny's description of Shelley's poem, *With a Guitar, to Jane:* "It was a frightful scrawl; words smeared out with his finger, and one upon the other, over and over in tiers, and all run together in most admired disorder; it might have been taken for a sketch of a marsh overgrown with bulrushes, and the blots for wild ducks."[33] Compared with these pages, the E copy is

[33]Quoted in Zupitza-Schick ("Prometheus," *Archiv*, CIII, 310). Compare also Mrs. Shelley's statement with respect to *Posthumous Poems* (in her note on Poems

indeed "fair," and after Harry Buxton Forman had transcribed and edited the draft notebooks for the Bibliophile Society of Boston (1911) he was justly praised by "HHH," who wrote the Preface and who offered the following comment:

> The task of deciphering the contents of these Note Books seemed impossible; it could be accomplished only by one thoroughly familiar with Shelley's handwriting, and with an intimate acquaintance with practically his entire works, as well as a knowledge of his habits and characteristics, and the methods he employed in constructing his work. Shelley adopted no systematic order of paging in these books—sometimes he would write in the front, then in the back, then with the book bottom side up, and frequently he wrote up and down the pages lengthwise after having written across them—and never any too plainly. Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and English are all mixed up together, and lines in one language often appear written directly or diagonally across other lines written in another language. . . . Fragments of poems here and there all through the books had to be puzzled out and transcribed, and then fitted together with their related parts, wherever they might be found. . . . Imagine one coming across a disconnected passage and, after disentangling it from the confused mass of crisscross lines, being able to identify it as the five hundred and ninety-first line of *Prometheus Unbound* [*Note Books*, pp. xi-xii]![34]

Huntington MS 2176 contains the following draft lines for Act IV of *Prometheus Unbound:* 185-93, 319-27, 370-423, 431-36, 444-48, 457-70, 481-92, 500-16, 519-23, and 529-38. These lines are not, of course, given in the order indicated, as the above comment makes clear, and their complex development and paging will be evident if the transcription in the present edition is consulted (see Appendix A).

Huntington MS 2177 contains less *Prometheus Unbound* material. Four of the five final paragraphs of the Preface are in draft (the fifth appears to have been worked up originally in Bodleian E.3 at the time these four were copied therein), as is the "Song of the Spirits" (the "Down, down" lyric at II.iii.54-98), and an earlier draft of IV.397-99. Some speculation has been offered as to the order in which the stanzas of the "Song of Spirits" were written (the notebook order is iii, ii, i, iv, v), but Shelley's habit of using pages or parts of pages without regard for textual continuity must rule out any certainty on this problem.

Other manuscript material in the form of drafts bearing on *Prometheus Unbound* remained in the possession of Sir John Shelley-Rolls until 1946,

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of 1822): "Did anyone see the papers from which I drew that volume, the wonder would be how any eyes or patience were capable of extracting it from so confused a mass, interlined and broken into fragments, so that the sense could only be deciphered and joined by guesses which might seem rather intuitive than founded on reasoning." Of these two notebooks, HM 2176 has 56 leaves, 4 by 5¼ inches, and HM 2177 has 94 leaves, 3⅝ by 5½ inches.

[34]The line number was apparently hypothetical, as there is no draft for line 591 of any act in these notebooks.

when his collection of Shelleyana was presented to the Bodleian Library.[35] Previously, however, six passages (involving fifty-two text lines) had been transcribed for the Julian Edition of the works (see I.766, 772-79; II.i.133-40; II.ii.2, 5-23, 41-56), and two additional passages (twenty-six lines conjectured to be for *Prometheus Unbound*) had been included in the Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen *Verse and Prose* (1934). In each instance only a somewhat faulty abstract of the passage was given, with no indication of the changes made by the poet in working out his drafts. Unfortunately, the gift of Shelley-Rolls has not yet been indexed or fully described (leaving one the anticipation of later discoveries), but, through the courtesy and diligence of the Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, the two passages given in *Verse and Prose* and three of the passages given by Ingpen-Peck have been identified (MS Shelley adds. e.12) and photostated for my independent examination, thus permitting a complete transcription for the first time. In addition, my attention was directed by the Keeper of Western Manuscripts to another draft fragment (II.iii.28-42, in MS Shelley adds. c.4) and a part of the Preface (in MS Shelley adds. e.11), photostats of which were supplied to me for first transcription (see Appendix A).

The final item of manuscript remains is a rough draft of IV.327-31, written on the verso of page 16 (Shelley's numbering) of a manuscript of *The Mask of Anarchy*. The manuscript was reprinted in facsimile by the Shelley Society (with an introduction by H. B. Forman) in 1887, and I have worked from this facsimile for the transcription in Appendix A.

Critical Considerations[36]

Genesis of Shelley's Interest in the Theme

Evidence of Shelley's interest in the Promethean theme is of two types: his direct references to or use of the myth, and expressions in his work that reflect the ideas inherent in the myth. Of the former, the first item of possible significance is the letter written to Clio Rickman on December 24,

[35]For a description of these materials see Neville Rogers' "The Shelley-Rolls Gift to the Bodleian Library," *TLS*, July 27, August 3, and August 10, 1951.

[36]In this part of the Introduction only the fairly general trends in critical opinion have been indicated, with more specific references to acts, scenes, or lines reserved for the Critical Notes. Here, also, no attempt has been made to list all of the pertinent critical comments (which could result only in tiresome duplication), but frequent quotation rather than mere summary has been used in order that something of the spirit of the criticism might be communicated.

A topical rather than a purely chronological approach has seemed most meaningful and has been employed, although within each subsection a chronological listing of items has been approximated, with such deviations as unity of thought has dictated. Since chronology is of importance in such a survey, however, dates have been included in either the text or the references, in order that the reader may at all times be oriented in the midst of what will frequently be unfamiliar names.

1812, in which he ordered, among other books, a copy of Aeschylus, with the direction that it should be an "original and translation, if possible, united" (Julian, IX, 35-36). It may, of course, be assumed that Shelley knew the myth as such from his earlier studies, and in 1813 he made use of it in a manner strangely different from that to be found in *Prometheus Unbound*. In a note to *Queen Mab* VIII.211-12 (incorporated also into *A Vindication of Natural Diet*, 1813), he followed the interpretation found in John Frank Newton's *Return to Nature; or, A Defence of the Vegetable Regimen* (London, 1811), in which Prometheus was made responsible for the ills of the world because he taught the use of animal food. In view of the varied interpretations to be given later to Shelley's poem, it is interesting to note his own emphasis at this time, and his awareness of the uncertainties of allegorical interpretation:

> The story of Prometheus is one likewise which, although universally admitted to be allegorical, has never been satisfactorily explained. Prometheus stole fire from heaven, and was chained for this crime to Mount Caucasus, where a vulture continually devoured his liver, that grew to meet its hunger. Hesoid says that, before the time of Prometheus, mankind were exempt from suffering; that they enjoyed a vigorous youth, and that death, when at length it came, approached like sleep, and gently closed their eyes. . . . How plain a language is spoken by all this! Prometheus (who represents the human race) effected some great change in the condition of his nature, and applied fire to culinary purposes; thus inventing an expedient for screening from his disgust the horrors of the shambles. From this moment his vitals were devoured by the vulture of disease. It consumed his being in every shape of its loathsome and infinite variety, inducing the soul-quelling sinkings of premature and violent death. All vice rose from the ruin of healthful innocence. Tyranny, superstition, commerce, and inequality were then first known, when reason vainly attempted to guide the wanderings of exacerbated passion.

Shelley then quoted further from Newton to show that "Jupiter, and the rest of the gods, foreseeing the consequences of these inventions, were amused or irritated at the short-sighted devices of the newly-formed creature, and left him to experience the sad effects of them." As Douglas Bush remarked: "No one could predict *Prometheus Unbound* from Shelley's interpretation" of the myth in this note (*Mythology*, 1937, p. 133).

It is clear that by 1816 the Aeschylean play was of active interest to the poet. Mrs. Shelley's list of his reading included it for the year, and Thomas Medwin recorded that in the same year the poet translated it for Byron at Lake Geneva (*Shelley*, p. 161); even as, in 1820, he was to make an oral translation for Medwin, "reading it as fluently as if written in French or Italian," and his words "often flowed on line after line in blank verse, into which very harmonious prose resolves itself naturally" (pp. 242-43). It is, of course, not surprising that by 1820 Shelley had thus completely mastered the text.

In March, 1818, Shelley recorded the passage of Les Echelles in Savoy, on the journey to Italy, and called upon Aeschylus for comparison: "The

scene is like that described in the Prometheus of Æschylus. Vast rifts and caverns in the granite precipices, wintry mountains with ice and snow above; the loud sounds of unseen waters within the caverns, and walls of toppling rocks, only to be scaled as he described, by the winged chariot of the ocean nymphs" (Julian, IX, 293.)[37] And later in the same year, after completing Act I of the drama, he wrote to Thomas Love Peacock on October 8 asking "what there is in Cicero about a drama supposed to have been written by Æschylus under this title [*Prometheus Unbound*]" (IX, 336. See Appendix E for the Cicero passage).

Carlos Baker called *Prometheus Unbound* "Shelley's first successful attempt to synthesize the ideas which he had handled (separately or confusedly) in the works of his apprentice period" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, p. 6), and the "internal evidence" of Shelley's interest in the Promethean theme is to be found in related ideas used in these earlier efforts. Many echoes will be found recorded in the Critical Notes of the present edition, but here we may observe some of the broader aspects of the problem, such as the relevance, noted by N. I. White, of the letter of October 18, 1811, to Elizabeth Hitchener: "I have long been convinced of the eventual omnipotence of mind over matter; adequacy of motive is sufficient to anything, and *my* golden age is when the present potence will become omnipotence.... Will it not be the task of human reason, human powers?" (*Shelley*, I, 195; Julian, VIII, 160).

A wide range of early prose and poetry has been marshaled to show the anticipations of thought in *Prometheus Unbound*,[38] but by far the larger

[37]On her return to England in 1823, Mrs. Shelley passed this scene once more and wrote to Leigh Hunt, on August 1, that the "dark high precipices towering above gave S[helley] the idea of his Prometheus" (*Letters*, I, 239-40).

[38]Typical comments: *Ghasta* and *The Wandering Jew:* "The angel choruses of *Prometheus Unbound* stumbled through the measures of [these pieces] before they learned to dance to the music of the spheres" (E. S. Bates, "Mad Shelley," 1929, p. 140); *The Necessity of Atheism:* "[The] attitude of protest and rebellion [gives way] to a positive faith in man's capacity for self-emancipation from himself by the strength of his own spiritual nature, which is akin to the universal soul of intellectual beauty and love" (J. S. Thomson, "Unbinding of Prometheus," 1945, p. 10); *Alastor:* "[The] massive feeling for the Earth [is] a true forerunner of the mighty Earth-song *Prometheus*" (G. W. Knight, *Starlit Dome*, 1941, p. 207); *The Assassins:* "[It] breathes that spirit of domestic peace and general brotherhood founded on love, which was developed afterwards in the 'Prometheus Unbound'" (Mrs. Shelley, Preface, 1839, p. x); *Essay on Christianity:* "[A] kind of prose gloss on *Prometheus Unbound*" (O. Elton, *Shelley*, 1912, p. 74); *Rosalind and Helen:* indicative of Shelley's interest in the victory of the Good (H. Druskowitz, *Shelley*, 1884, p. 252); *Frankenstein* (assuming Shelley's collaboration): similar in the theme of "victorious pantheism" (A. Delrieu, "Poètes modernes," 1843, p. 197); *Julian and Maddalo:* like *Prometheus Unbound* a projection of Shelley's own tragedy, with the "hysterical agony of the madman" idealized into the "god-like agony of Prometheus, with less emphasis upon personal, and more upon vicarious suffering," but with both showing evil overcome by the practice of will

numbers of such comparisons have been those relating to *Queen Mab* and *The Revolt of Islam*, with Carl Grabo noting that both poems (and *The Wandering Jew*) were like *Prometheus Unbound* in theme: "the rebel and heretic defying tyranny, whether secular or divine, and, though suffering torments, remaining master of his soul and in his steadfastness giving assurance of the tyrant's ultimate overthrow" (*Newton among Poets*, 1930, p. 28).

With respect to *Queen Mab*, three points of view have prevailed. The first has held that *Prometheus Unbound* was very close to *Queen Mab* in theme. Thus Delrieu felt that the "insolent spinozism" of the *Queen Mab* notes was now given in abstract form ("Poètes modernes," 1843, p. 186);

(B. Kurtz, Introduction, 1933, pp. xlii-xliii; *Pursuit of Death*, 1933, pp. 145, 150); *A Philosophical View of Reform:* "The main historical action is the same . . . namely a symbolic depiction of the age from the French Revolution to the establishment of the tyranny of the Quadruple Alliance and a projection of that age into the future" (K. N. Cameron, Edition, 1951, p. xxi); *The Witch of Atlas* (although written after the drama): "[The] best preface to the study of *Prometheus*," for it is identical in "philosophy, symbolism, and imagery," since it and *The Cloud* "were fashioned from poetic materials rejected in the shaping of *Prometheus* . . . because they did not suit the theme and scope of that grave and profound poem" (C. Grabo, *Meaning of the Witch*, 1935, pp. vii, 21, 108).

The most extensive single effort to trace the pre-Promethean ideas in Shelley's works, however, has been that recently undertaken by Bennett Weaver, who pointed out that "up until the writing of *Prometheus Unbound* the mass of Shelley's prose is greater than that of his poetry, and the main tendency of his thinking in the prose is toward the principles celebrated in the drama." He noted that as early as 1812 *An Address to the Irish People* and *Proposals for an Association* contained six of the "most important concepts" that eventuated in *Prometheus Unbound:* (1) tyranny, power, and evil; (2) virtue and wisdom as true power; (3) love as the solution; (4) need for succor for man; (5) the self-destruction of despotic power; and (6) the eventual triumph of good. Moreover, these ideas continued to dominate the prose, especially *A Letter to Lord Ellenborough*, *A Vindication of Natural Diet*, *A Refutation of Deism*, *The Assassins*, *Essay on Christianity*, *A Proposal for Putting the Reform to the Vote*, *An Address on the Death of the Princess Charlotte*, and *Speculations on Morals* ("Pre-Promethean Prose," 1948, *passim*).

Weaver also traced, with particular emphasis on the reflection of Shelley's own personality in his characters, the earlier interest in the theme as found in three longer poems: *Prince Athanase*, *Rosalind and Helen*, and *Julian and Maddalo*. In these Weaver found such Promethean concepts as (1) acquaintance with suffering and grief; (2) love of fellow men and the desire to save them; (3) calm, steadfast invincibility; and (4) tyranny that will destroy itself and be lost in eternity ("Pre-Promethean Poems," 1950, *passim*).

This investigation was extended in another article ("First Beginnings," 1953). With particular reference to the juvenilia, which he considered "too long neglected," Weaver traced, among other ideas, the concepts of eternity; aloneness deepening into madness (the madness not applicable to Prometheus, of course); the deeper love; and, especially, social sympathy and indignation against tyranny. Specific comparisons will be found in the Critical Notes.

Weaver's essay, *Prometheus Unbound*, regrettably appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work. It is a wisely written study of the poem, offering a balanced, tempered reading illuminated by many fresh insights and mature judgments.

and William Michael Rossetti found the argument in the two poems to be the same: "the power of man, too truly and too bitterly proved in the past and in the present, to turn his earth into an approximate hell; and his power likewise, if he so wills it, by a gradual but energetic change of spirit, to turn his earth into an approximate heaven" ("Prometheus as Poem," 1887, p. 144). Paul Elmer More stated flatly: "*Prometheus* is only *Queen Mab* writ large" ("Shelley," 1910, p. 14); and while Joseph Barrell would not go this far he did feel that the "essential Shelley" was fundamentally emotional rather than intellectual, and that at the end of both poems he returned to this emotionalism (*Shelley and Thought*, 1947, p. 158).

The second point of view, more widespread, has recognized advances made in *Prometheus Unbound* on the ideas of *Queen Mab*. Thus Medwin, in discussing Shelley's attitude toward materialism, but without naming the earlier poem, wrote:

> A sufficient answer to the eloquent, but specious reasoning of Mirabeau, the Materialism of the *Système de la Nature*, so unanswerable to the mere matter-of-fact mind, is given in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. It is the best practical refutation of the maxim, that "there is nothing in the intellect, that was not first in the senses," and of all the sorrowful deductions therefrom [*Shelley*, 1847, p. 431].

Thornton Hunt stated this view clearly in finding "a more distinct presentment of the original ideas [of *Queen Mab* and *The Revolt of Islam*], coupled with a much more measured suggestion for acting on them, and a far less bitter allusion to the obstacles; while the charity and love are more all-embracing and apparent than ever" ("Shelley," 1863, p. 201). This position was amplified by John Todhunter:

> *Queen Mab* is chiefly interesting as being the forerunner of *Prometheus Unbound*, containing as it does the first rough sketch of the philosophy which, purified and perfected, is embodied in the great lyrical drama in a mythical form. There, however, we find some glimpses of an evolution-theory which are not discernible in the juvenile poem [*Study*, 1880, p. 46].

George Gordon wrote: "The new world of the *Prometheus* . . . is far from the Arcadia of *Queen Mab*, and farther still from anything which men can hope for within a time worth measuring. The passion for reform is lost in the rapturous contemplation not merely of the world made better, but of a better world" (*Shelley and the Oppressors*, 1923, p. 11). Carl Grabo stressed the difference between the materialistic and deterministic phase of Shelley's scientific thought in the earlier poem, and the reconciliation of science with Platonism in the later work (*Newton among Poets*, 1930, p. xi), and Grabo stated: "*Prometheus Unbound* is the work of a poet who has ceased to be a reformer and has become a philosopher" (*Interpretation*, 1935, p. 8).[39]

[39]Carlos Baker, in a study that appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work ("Bottom of the Night," 1957), found *Prometheus Unbound* "the key poem in the development of [Shelley's] humanism," which was the "second of his way-stations" (the first: philosophical materialism [materialistic Necessity]) (p. 195).

The third point of view has been concerned with the changes from *Queen Mab* to be found in the lyrical drama. Thus Grabo pointed out that Shelley reversed his earlier idea that mind is but a function of matter, and in *Prometheus Unbound* the will became free (*Interpretation*, 1935, p. 168); and N. I. White noted several important differences in the two poems: (1) vegetarianism and the evils of marriage are not mentioned in *Prometheus Unbound;* (2) Christ, an imposter in *Queen Mab*, is given sympathetic treatment in the later poem; (3) evil becomes "a subtle perversion of thought" rather than an external phenomenon, as in *Queen Mab;* (4) freedom of the will, denied in *Queen Mab*, becomes "the one quality that bulwarks humanity against an eternity of oppression"; and (5) the necessity of *Queen Mab* is replaced by love in *Prometheus Unbound* (*Shelley*, 1940, II, 125-26).

Comparisons with *The Revolt of Islam* have been in much the same vein. Leigh Hunt, on first reading *Prometheus Unbound*, wrote to Shelley on August 23, 1820: "What noble things in it! What grand lines and affectionate thoughts! But it is liable to some of the objections against the *Revolt of Islam*" (*Correspondence*, I, 158). Mrs. Shelley, in her note to *Prometheus Unbound*, compared Laon to the "more idealized" Prometheus, and described Shelley's favorite subject as "the image of One warring with the Evil Principle, oppressed not only by it, but by all—even the good, who were deluded into considering evil a necessary portion of humanity; a victim full of fortitude and hope and the spirit of triumph emanating from a reliance on the ultimate omnipotence of Good" (see Appendix C). John Addington Symonds suggested that Prometheus and Jupiter "give the form of personality to Shelley's Ormuzd-Ahriman dualism already expressed in the first canto of [*The Revolt of Islam*]; but instead of being represented on the theatre of human life, the strife is now removed into the region of abstractions, vivified by mythopoetry" (*Shelley*, 1878, pp. 121-22). Stopford Brooke wrote that in the earlier poem "there is no artistic fusion of the poetry which aims at giving a high pleasure with that which aims at awakening man to his duties. That fusion was made in the *Prometheus Unbound*" (Edition, 1882, p. xv); but he noted also that the subject in both poems "is at root the same," and "the things opposed are the same, the doctrine is the same, but the whole method of approaching his idea and fulfilling its form is changed, and all the questions are brought into that artistic representation which stirs around them inspiring and enduring emotion" (p. xxvi). Brooke also held that, had Shelley remained in England, "I do not think he would have worked on this matter in the ideal way of *Prometheus Unbound*, because continual contact with the reigning theology would have driven his easily wrought anger into direct violence [as in *The Revolt of Islam*]" ("Thoughts on Shelley," 1880, p. 126).

Carlos Baker noted that in *The Revolt of Islam* Shelley adopted from Peacock's *Ahrimanes* the idea that the world was governed by a Necessity

which dwelt apart, "ready, if the world were ready, to usher in a new order." The plan of *Prometheus Unbound*, Baker held, was similar; but, "where the revolution failed in Islam, having been superinduced by outward action, that in *Prometheus Unbound*, having involved and taken place in man's whole mental constitution, must succeed" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, pp. 101-2). And finally, Kenneth Neil Cameron commented:

> His object in writing *Prometheus Unbound* was the same as his object had been the previous year in writing *The Revolt of Islam:* "[Gloom] and misanthropy have become the characteristics of the age in which we live, the solace of a disappointment that unconsciously finds relief only in the wilful exaggeration of its own despair. . . . But mankind appear to me to be emerging from their trance. I am aware, methinks, of a slow, gradual, silent change. In that belief I have composed the following Poem" (Shelley's Preface) [Edition, 1951, p. xxii].

TRENDS IN CRITICAL OPINION

The first expressions of critical opinion with respect to *Prometheus Unbound* came from the poet himself. After completing Act I he was almost apologetic as he wrote to Peacock on January 24, 1819:

> I consider Poetry very subordinate to moral and political science, and if I were well, certainly I should aspire to the latter; for I can conceive a great work, embodying the discoveries of all ages, and harmonising the contending creeds by which mankind have been ruled. Far from me is such an attempt, and I shall be content, by exercising my fancy, to amuse myself, and perhaps some others, and cast what weight I can into the right scale of that balance, which the Giant of Arthegall holds[40] [Julian, X, 21].

As the work progressed there were some twenty evaluations of the drama by the poet, encompassing four general areas of consideration.

Most frequently Shelley stated without hesitation that the poem was his favorite, superior to his other work, and would please the person to whom the letter was addressed. Typical was his statement to the Olliers on October 15, 1819, that it was "a poem in my best style, whatever that may amount to," and that "It is the most perfect of my productions" (X, 95); and his comment to Trelawny: "If that is not durable poetry, tried by the severest test, I do not know what is. It is a lofty subject, not inadequately treated, and should not perish with me" (Trelawny, *Records*,

[40]Peacock explained the reference as follows: "The allusion is to the *Fairy Queen* book v, canto 3. The Giant has scales, in which he professes to weigh right and wrong, and rectify the physical and moral evils which result from inequality of condition. Shelley once pointed out this passage to me, observing, 'Artegall argues with the Giant; the Giant has the best of the argument; Artegall's iron man knocks him over into the sea and drowns him. This is the usual way in which power deals with opinion.' I said, 'That was not the lesson which Spenser intended to convey.' 'Perhaps not,' he said; 'it is the lesson which he conveys to me. I am of the Giant's faction.' In the same feeling, with respect to Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, he held that the Enchanter in the first canto was a true philanthropist, and the Knight of Arts and Industry in the second an oligarchical imposter overthrowing truth by power" (*Letters*, p. 319).

1878, I, xv). Again to Trelawny he said: "It is original; and cost me severe mental labour. Authors, like mothers, prefer the children who have given them most trouble" (p. 118).[41]

The originality of the poem, noted in the preceding quotation, was particularly stressed by the poet on four different occasions. To Peacock, April 6, 1819, he wrote: "It is a drama with characters and mechanism of a kind yet unattempted" (Julian, X, 48); to the Olliers on September 6 he called it "perhaps less an imitation of anything that has gone before it" (X, 79); in greater detail, to Medwin on July 20, 1820, he described it as

> a composition of a totally different character [from *The Cenci*]. I do not know if it be wise to affect variety in compositions, or whether the attempt to excel in many ways does not debar from excellence in one particular kind. "Prometheus Unbound," is in the merest spirit of ideal Poetry, and not, as the name would indicate, a mere imitation of the Greek drama, or indeed if I have been successful, is it an imitation of anything [X, 191-92];

and in a letter of July 27, telling Keats to expect a copy of *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley wrote: "In poetry I have sought to avoid system and mannerism" (X, 194).

Shelley was also aware that the poem was of such character and quality that it could not be popular. He wrote the Olliers on March 6, 1820, that, "if I may judge by its merits, the 'Prometheus' cannot sell beyond twenty copies" (X, 148); to Medwin on April 16: "Not that [the poems in the 1820 volume] will sell; they are the reverse, in this respect, of the razors in 'Peter Pindar.' A man like me can in fact only be a poet by dint of stinting himself of meat and drink to pay his printer's bill—that is, he can only print poems on this condition" (X, 157); and to Hunt on May 26: "it is written only for the elect" (X, 171). In November he was happy that Claire Clairmont liked the poem: "My verses please so few persons that I make much of the encouragement of the few, whose judgment (if I were to listen to Vanity, the familiar spirit of our race) I should say with Shakspeare and Plato 'outweighed a whole theatre of others' " (X, 226). On February 16, 1821, he wrote the Olliers again: "For 'Prometheus' I expect and desire no great sale" (X, 237). And as late as January 26, 1822, in a letter to John Gisborne, he declared that "Prometheus was never intended for more than 5 or 6 persons" (X, 354). It would appear, however, that he was sufficiently human to hope, for on February 22, 1821, he wrote to Charles Ollier: "Pray tell me how the 'Prometheus Unbound' was received" (X, 244).[42]

[41]See also Julian, X, 48, 79, 87, 131, 135, 148, 155, 157, 168, 171, 319.

[42]The number of copies printed for Ollier is not known, making it difficult to estimate sales, but as a possible comparison there were, according to F. L. Jones, five hundred copies of *Posthumous Poems* printed (Mary Shelley, *Letters*, I, 264n). On January 11, 1822, John Gisborne wrote to Shelley: "I cannot help thinking that the Prometheus must have had a more extensive sale than you are aware of. I have been reading the quarterly review upon it, and taking it for granted that the reviewers know their

Finally, Shelley was conscious of the possible obscurities with which the poem was soon to be charged. In dedicating *The Cenci* to Leigh Hunt he wrote: "Those writings which I have hitherto published, have been little else than visions which impersonate my own apprehensions of the beautiful and the just. . . . [They] are dreams of what ought to be, or may be" (Dedication of *The Cenci*).[43] Even more to the point, Trelawny reported Shelley to have said:

> Mine is a life of failures. Peacock says my poetry is composed of day-dreams and night-mares. . . . Jefferson Hogg says all poetry is inverted sense, and consequently nonsense. Every man should attempt to do something. Poetry was the rage of the day, and I racked my imagination to be a poet. I wrote, and the critics denounced me as a mischievous visionary, and my friends said that I had mistaken my vocation, that my poetry was mere rhapsody of words; that I was soaring in the blue regions of the air, disconnected from all human sympathy [*Records*, 1878, I, 135-36].

With respect to *Prometheus Unbound* itself Shelley wrote the Olliers on November 10, 1820, regretting that the errors of the press were so numerous, "and in many respects so destructive of the sense of a species of poetry which, I fear, even with [without?] this disadvantage, very few will understand or like" (X, 219); and again to Charles Ollier, on June 8, 1821, he told of his intention to print or transcribe *Adonais* "in such a manner

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business, their criticisms may be considered much more ample and elaborate than they would have been on a work of very limited circulation. I believe very many of their readers will admit the charge of unintelligibility on most of the passages which they quote. La schiera dei sciocchi e infinita! ['The company of the stupid is infinite!']" (Abinger MSS, Reel 14). Another item in the Abinger MSS (Reel 16) is in error. It is an index of several letters written by Leigh Hunt, the subject of one of which to Shelley (dated April 6, 1820, before publication of the poem) is given as follows: "The Prometheus Unbound 1st Edition nearly exhausted." The letter, while not in the collection, nor in the editions, is given in *Shelley and Mary* (II, 489) and shows the reference to be to *The Cenci*. The final bit of evidence, found in a letter from Charles Ollier to Mrs. Shelley, dated November 17, 1823, offers little positive information. In it he advised her that he had sent to John Hunt (who was to publish *Posthumous Poems*), at her request, "such copies of Mr. Shelley's works as remained in my possession," including twelve copies of *Prometheus Unbound* in "quires." He noted also, however, that "the unsold stock of those [works] which were printed at our sole expense were disposed of in the general sale of our property; but, as I thought that, when you came to England, you might like to have a copy or two of each, I reserved some few for that purpose"; and that "the sale, in every instance, of Mr. Shelley's works has been very confined" (Abinger MSS, Reel 15). If a possible edition of five hundred is assumed, twelve remainders would indeed be a respectably small number, but that the twelve copies of *Prometheus Unbound* sent to Hunt may well have been only those "reserved" is suggested by the fact that exactly the same number of copies of *Hellas*, *Rosalind and Helen*, and *The Cenci*, in quires, were among the items listed for Hunt (*ibid.*).

[43]Later, Charles Middleton in a unique (and surely unwarranted) statement, linked *Prometheus Unbound* and *The Cenci* as follows: "In these the lifeblood of reality circulates more freely [than in the earlier works]" (*Shelley*, 1858, II, 166).

as it shall be difficult for the reviser to leave such errors as *assist* the obscurity of the 'Prometheus' " (X, 273).

On May 4 of this year he had written to Byron, possibly with respect to the printer's errors (see above, p. 8) but, in view of the transposed quotation from Horace's *Art of Poetry* (lines 39-40), more likely in a moment of uncertainty: "The 'Prometheus' is . . . a very imperfect poem. I begin to learn, 'quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusent' ['what your shoulders refuse, and what they are able to bear']" (X, 266). And Trelawny reported that Shelley had told him: "My friends say my 'Prometheus' is too wild, ideal, and perplexed with imagery. It may be so" (*Records*, 1878, I, 118).

With the publication of the poem there began the growth of that forest of criticism which it is frequently difficult to see because of the trees of prejudice, special pleading, and sheer obtuseness with which it is planted. Perhaps, in surveying the lavish growth, it will be most helpful to blaze six trails that will lead to the major areas of consideration accorded to the poem. If it is kept in mind that there is abundant overlapping, it may be said that these areas have been concerned primarily with (1) the general response to the "poetry"—the lyrics, descriptions, originality; (2) the obscurity, wordiness, and intangibility of the poem; (3) the dramatic techniques; (4) the versecraft; (5) the relationships to earlier writers; and (6) the political, religious, moral, and scientific ideas.

ON THE GENERAL POETIC QUALITY OF THE POEM

Extreme—even violent—as have been the attacks on Shelley's opinions, they have, with rare exceptions, been balanced by praise for the lyrical and poetic beauty of the poem. "Unsettled, irregular, but magnificent," was the 1820 prepublication judgment of the *London Magazine* (see Appendix D, item I); and in the same year Horace Smith, although he preferred *The Cenci*, wrote Shelley on September 4 that *Prometheus Unbound* was "a most original, grand, & occasionally sublime work, evincing, in my opinion, a higher order of talent than any of your previous productions . . . . [But] tho' I have no doubt it will be more admired than anything you have written, I question whether it will be so much *read* as the Cenci" (Abinger MSS, Reel 14). To this an early reviewer added "stupendous," "gigantic outlines," "innumerable sweetnesses," and "a vast wilderness of beauties" (*London-Critical Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, item IV); and Edmund Blunden (in Rogers, *Keats, Shelley*, p. 53) has noted that "At Oxford in 1822 [T. L.] Beddoes wrote in a blank leaf of *Prometheus Unbound*":

> Write it in gold—A spirit of the sun,
> An intellect ablaze with heavenly thoughts,
> A soul with all the dews of pathos shining,

> Odorous with love, and sweet to silent woe
> With the dark glories of concentrate song,
> Was sphered in mortal earth. Angelic sounds,
> Alive with panting thoughts, sunned the dim world.
> The bright creations of an human heart
> Wrought magic in the bosoms of mankind.
> A flooding summer burst on poetry;
> Of which the crowning sun, the night of beauty,
> The dancing showers, the birds whose anthems wild
> Note after note unbind the enchanted leaves
> Of breaking buds, eve, and the flow of dawn,
> Were centred and condensed in his one name
> As in a providence—and that was SHELLEY.

Such expressions, often accompanying predominantly adverse criticism on the ideas expressed in the poem, were not uncommon in the decades that followed. Later, in a general defense of the poet, R. A. Holland asked:

> But where else will you find such cosmic might of imagination condensing diffusest nebulæ of mind into a world of dream with landscapes clear as ever delighted eye of flesh yet so phantasmal, it seems, the jar of a sunbeam would dissolve them . . . such flights of speculation exploring height above height the remotest firmaments of mystery without a tiresome strain or dull droop of wing ["Soul of Shelley," 1876, pp. 155-56];

while George Barnett Smith ranked the poem "beneath the inspirations of Dante and those few spirits of the same sublime calibre, but only beneath these—to no inferior level can it be relegated" (*Shelley*, 1877, p. 204); and J. A. Symonds believed that "a genuine liking for *Prometheus Unbound* may be reckoned the touch-stone of a man's capacity for understanding lyric poetry," and found in it "melody more purged of mortal dross than any other poet's ear has caught, while listening to his own heart's song, or to the rhythms of the world" (*Shelley*, 1878, p. 124).

Probably the most lavish praise of the century came from John Todhunter, who became almost breathless in wordy adoration of the poem and reached his climax by writing:

> It is to all other lyrical poems what the Ninth Symphony is to all other symphonies; and more than this, for Shelley has here outsoared himself more unquestionably than Beethoven in his last great orchestral work. *Prometheus Unbound* is the supreme English poem of the nineteenth century, and must finally rank beside *King Lear*, being as unrivalled in its own sphere, which can scarcely be called a lower, though an immensely narrower one. Adequately to speak of this great work, criticism should become poetry (*Study*, 1880, p. 134);

and he added that, after reading the poem, "We return to the everyday world, from which we have been rapt away on the wings of passion, that 'outlaw of Time and Space,' with a shock, to feel ourselves once more the prisoners of mortality" (p. 183). Edward Dowden was more temperate but found in the poem "radiant song," with music that "sounds like the voice of the quickening April winds" (*Shelley*, 1886, II, 264).

Such descriptions set the pattern for later praise,[44] with the recent judgment of George Cowling typical:

> As a drama, even for the study, it is nothing. As a contribution to political science it is worthless. As a work of moral philosophy it is as vain as Shelley's own principles. Yet what magnificent blank verse! And what swift and beautiful songs! The imagery of the poem is a rainbow. In fact, the poem itself is a mirage; and a mirage is beyond condemnation. It may be unsubstantial, even illusion, but it is radiant, beautiful and iridescent [*Shelley*, 1936, p. 64].

But the devil's advocate was not without his phrasemakers, even with respect to the poetry, which an early reviewer found "wild and rhapsodical declamation," with Shelley no poet because neither lines nor images were retained by the reader (*Dublin Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, item VI). William Hazlitt, too, denied him the rank of poet, dismissing him as "a sophist, a theorist, a controversial writer in verse," and commenting on his "rhapsodies of words" and his "gaudy, flimsy, allegorical pictures on gauze, on the cobwebs of his own brain," together with a "mixture of fanatic zeal and poetical licentiousness" ("Table Talk," 1821; see Appendix D, item IX). Hazlitt also wrote: "The author of Prometheus Unbound . . . has a fire in his eye, a fever in his blood, a maggot in his brain, a hectic flutter in his speech, which mark out the philosophic fanatic" (*Works*, VI, 148). To this the 1821 *Quarterly Review* added that "the rhythm of the verse is often harsh and unmusical; and both the ear and the understanding are disgusted by new and uncouth words, and by the awkward, and intricate construction of the sentences" (see Appendix D, item X). Twenty years later Emerson, without speaking of *Prometheus Unbound* in particular, agreed: "Shelley is never a poet. His mind is uniformly imitative; all his poems composite. A fine English scholar he is, with taste, ear, and memory; but imagination, the original authentic fire of the bard, he has not" (*Journals*, 1839, V, 344). And in the following year an anonymous writer found it "singular" that the poet should have been "contented with choral songs so loose in their structure, inexpressive, and not seldom unmelodious" (*British Review*, 1840, p. 113); while George Gilfillan, admitting beauties "of a rare order," felt the poem was written too fast, in a state of overexcitement, and twenty years too soon, and that "its lyrics have more flow of sound than beauty of image or depth of sentiment" ("Prometheus," 1855, pp. 431-32).

[44]By Rabbe, Francis Thompson, Salt, Woodberry, J. M. Brown, Dawson, Payne, Brooke, More, O. Elton, Clutton-Brock, R. M. Smith, Lynd, Monroe, Ullman, and others. From these, two statements may be chosen: Stopford Brooke compared the poem to "a lyric written in a larger world than ours, on a mighty scale, for a universal music, by a great Archangel; by Raphael who in his glory still compassionates the earth" ("Lyrics of Shelley," 1907, p. 164); and Harriet Monroe wrote: "Shelley is at home in the heaven of heavens; the *Prometheus* soars like livid flame, and its choruses reach a celestial height of lyric exaltation. Whether spirits or echoes or furies speak, they speak with eternity behind and before them, reveal to us birthless and deathless minds" ("Shelley," 1922, p. 212).

During the latter half of the century there was less opposition to the poetic quality of the poem, but with increasing admiration in the late decades it was perhaps inevitable that it would be revived. William Trent closed the century by objecting to the "extravagant" praise accorded the drama, and argued that "there are more false notes struck in the Prometheus than in the rest of Shelley's poems taken together . . . . [The poem is] little more than a series of wonderful phantasmagoria flashed forth upon the curtain of the reader's mind by a very unsteady hand" ("Apropos of Shelley," 1899, pp. 86-87). This view was not unrelated to that of George R. Elliott some twenty years later: "[Shelley] was deficient in the artistic instinct of following an emotion *through*, into its full specific nature: this means that he lacked poetic spontaneity. He was animated by a quick, vague affectionateness" ("How Poetic Is Shelley's Poetry?" 1922, p. 317). To these charges was added that of monotony when Frank R. Leavis wrote that "the elusive imagery, the high-pitched emotions, the tone and movement, the ardours, ecstasies and despairs are too much the same all through" ("Shelley's Imagery," 1934, p. 278). And Louis MacNeice, in his turn, held that as the Romantic poets "preached or prophesied from an anarchist position their message failed to fuse with their poetry and we are left with message on the one hand and (usually) fantasy on the other," as witness that "very unsatisfactory work, *Prometheus Unbound*" (*Modern Poetry*, 1938, pp. 3-4). MacNeice added: "Shelley was an inferior poet because he did not qualify his dogmas with observation. . . . Enthusiasm such as Shelley's is a great asset to a poet, but is the better if tempered with Reason and observation of fact" (p. 202).

ON THE OBSCURITIES IN THE POEM

As might be expected, and as the poet anticipated, charges of obscurity and intangibility were frequently leveled against the poem, although, as N. I. White has pointed out, "among the numerous passages analysed as absurd" occur most of those illustrating "Shelley's attempts to refine and extend the meaning of poetic expression" (*Shelley*, 1940, II, 131). Maria Gisborne noted in her journal for August 22, 1820, that William Godwin did not think he would read the drama through, "for he hates to read books that are full of obscurities and puzzles" (*Journal*, p. 45). To the reviewer in the *Literary Gazette* of 1820 it was "little else but absolute raving," "stupid trash," and "utter nonsense," and his reference to the "*dramatis impersonae*" represented an early reaction to the abstractness of the characters. In this review, also, appeared for the first time the pun on the title: "no one can ever think him worth binding."[45] The *Monthly*

[45]See Appendix D, item II for this review, and item XI for the versified appearance of the pun in *John Bull*. Charles Lamb's penchant for punning led Benjamin Kurtz into an interesting error when he stated that Lamb "found *Prometheus Unbound* just

Review for 1821 also found "pure unmixed *nonsense*" and "Manichean absurdities" (see Appendix D, item VII); Leigh Hunt on March 1, 1821, wrote Shelley that in his planned review he "did not expect to be able to make so abstract and *odi-profanum* a poem at all recommendable to readers in general" (*Correspondence*, I, 163); and the *Quarterly Review* in the same year was more detailed, holding that there might be differences of opinion and taste as to the poetry, but "the question of meaning, or no meaning, is a matter of fact on which common sense . . . is adequate to decide"; that the poetry was "in general a mere jumble of words and heterogeneous ideas, connected by slight and accidental associations"; that the descriptions were in "language which is to be taken partly in a metaphorical meaning, and partly in no meaning at all"; that the poem had the same appeal to readers that the "incoherences of an itinerant Methodist preacher" had for his congregation; and, finally, that the poetry was "*drivelling prose run mad*" (see Appendix D, item X). Similar charges of obscurity occurred down to the end of the century, after which the critical efforts that had been made to clarify the more obscure parts of the poem began to bear fruit, and attention was given to other matters.

Objections were raised also to the wordiness and hidden meaning of the poem. George Gilfillan wrote: "It is crushed under a load of thick allegorical darkness" (*Sketches*, 1845, p. 115); and, "The thought is frequently drowned in a diarrhœa of words; its dialogue is heavy and prolix" ("Prometheus," 1855, p. 432). James Russell Lowell thought the poem represented Shelley "at his worst period, before his unwieldy abundance of incoherent words and images . . . had been compressed in the stricter molds of thought and study" (*Complete Writings*, 1867, II, 109); John M. Robertson wrote

a capital story . . . and nothing else" (*Pursuit of Death*, 1933, p. 159). Lamb wrote to Bernard Barton in August, 1824: "The 'Prometheus,' *unbound*, is a capital story. The literal rogue! What if you had ordered 'Elfrida' in *sheets!* she'd have been sent up I warrant you. . . . I can no more understand Shelley than you can. His poetry is 'thin sown with profit or delight' " (Lamb, *Works*, p. 884). A friend of Barton had written a bookseller for a copy of Shelley's poem and was told that the work was not to be obtained "in sheets" (p. 1073). Apparently Barton passed the "capital story" (and the pun) on to Lamb.

Later, Medwin credited Campbell with originating the quip (*Shelley*, 1847, p. 358). He described him as "a literary man, who has without a tythe of [Shelley's] genius obtained a hundredfold more reputation, [and who] with a sneer said to me—'*Prometheus Unbound.* It is well named. Who would bind it?' " (p. 214). Forman questioned Campbell as the originator of the story and noted its appearance in *John Bull* and "in a little volume of miscellanies in verse and prose called *Sweepings of Parnassus* (1830)" under the pseudonym of "Steropes." Forman added that some lines to "Steropes" were written in his copy of *Sweepings*, the pertinent few being "Prometheus yet remains Unbound / Whene'er in virgin state 'tis found, / Because, in bibliopolic hoards, / 'Tis worth its weight of gold *in boards*,—/ Since Shelley's lovers love to see / That tome of master-minstrelsy / Just as the folk beheld it first / When on a thankless world it burst" (Medwin, *Shelley*, p. 215). Rossetti identified the *John Bull* author as Theodore Hooke (Edition, 1870, I, cxxiii).

in such phrases as "luminous fog," "diffuse and fantastic digression," "falsetto declamation and rhyming verbiage," and "sound and fury, signifying nothing" ("Shelley and Poetry," 1884, pp. 224-26); and Andrew Lang rested in understatement: "I do not mean that everyone could pass an examination in the plot of 'Prometheus Unbound' " ("Letters," p. 8).

Associated with these objections to the poem was that to the intangibility of character or scene. Keats, after reading *The Cenci* and in anticipation of the copy of *Prometheus Unbound* that Shelley had asked be sent to him, wrote in August, 1820, that Shelley "might curb your magnanimity, and be more of an artist, and load every rift of your subject with ore. . . . I am in expectation of *Prometheus* every day. Could I have my own wish effected, you would have it still in manuscript, or be but now putting an end to the second act" (*Letters*, p. 507). Horace Smith, in a letter to Shelley on September 4, 1820, preferred *The Cenci* "because it contains a deep & sustained human interest, of which we feel a want in the other. Prometheus himself certainly touches us nearly, but we see very little of him after his liberation" (Abinger MSS, Reel 14). Shelley himself was aware of this difficulty and wrote to John Gisborne on October 22, 1821: "As to real flesh and blood, you know that I do not deal in those articles" (Julian, X, 333). J. A. Symonds felt that the main figures, sketched "on a scale of surpassing magnificence," had been reduced in their filling-in "too much to the level of earthly life," descending to the love story of Prometheus and Asia: "In other words, he does not sustain the visionary and primeval dignity of these incarnated abstractions; nor, on the other hand, has he so elaborated their characters in detail as to give them the substantiality of persons. There is therefore something vague and hollow in both figures" (*Shelley*, 1878, pp. 123-24); and George Calvert noted: "The figures, beaming with poetry, are not pulse-thridded bodies, but shining incarnations of principles and essences in the semblance of bodies. . . . *Prometheus* deals in elemental forces, in ideal forms, in voices more than in speakers, in humanized beams of light" (*Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe*, 1880, pp. 216, 218).

John C. Shairp considered "the powers, and processes, and personified abstractions . . . ludicrously inadequate [to the reform idea], as irrational as it would be to try to build a solid house out of shadows and moonbeams"; and though he admitted that "the high ideal imparts to the poem something of its own elevation," he felt that the material of the lyrics was "fantastic, not substantial truth," and that they did not "deal with permanent emotions which belong to all men and are for all time, but appeal rather to minds in a particular stage of culture, and that not a healthy stage" ("Lyric Poet," 1881, pp. 209-12). Francis Palgrave thought that "strokes of genuine natural description" were rare "amidst its vague unreal splendour, which too often sinks into what is hardly above prosaic verbiage," although he admitted that at times Shelley "rises with a bird-like bound into his characteristic aerial beauty" (*Landscape in Poetry*,

1897, p. 222); Irving Babbitt held that "what is found in this play is the exact opposite of imaginative concentration on the human law. The imagination wanders irresponsibly in a region quite outside of normal human experience" (*Rousseau and Romanticism*, 1919, p. 359); while to Levi Lind the Phantasms, Spirits, Echoes, "and other sprites who wheel about [Prometheus'] head are the wild creations of a romantic imagination akin to that which brought forth Puck himself," and the Phantasms "are parts of Shelley's nursery apocrypha" ("Shelley Reappraised," 1935, p. 420). Most recently, Donald Davie has commented: "Shelley goes as far as poetry can go, while it uses intelligible language, in cutting the hawsers which tie his fancies to the ground" ("Shelley's Urbanity," 1953, p. 133).[46]

To these objections and charges, the answers of more friendly critics were varied. Some placed the responsibility on the reader. Typical of these were Allan Cunningham, who called the poem a story "which some resolve not to understand" (*History*, 1834, p. 101); the *Massachusetts Quarterly*, which accused the critics of being either "too indolent to give [the] great masters the study required for their appreciation, or so obstinately wedded to old models that they are incapable of understanding the new" (1849, p. 419); R. A. Holland, who suggested that

> what appears its author's mysticism may be the student's mistiness of apprehension. . . . Poetry has other offices than amusement. Her noblest work is to elevate, to make the goal of the past the starting point of the future, to remove the ideals of the race further and further onward and aloft. . . . And such a poem, though it springs with the steepness of a crag into the region of clouds, is Prometheus Unbound ["Soul of Shelley," 1876, pp. 160-61];

and Rossetti, whose answer to those who found the poem unreadable was direct and blunt:

> Though you cannot read *Prometheus Unbound*, I can. I have read it, and do read it, and this with ever-increasing admiration, wonder, and insight into its depth of beauty. Therefore it is a poem written, if not for you and yours, still for me and mine, and I am quite justified in regarding it as a masterpiece ["*Prometheus as Poem*," 1887, p. 173].

Edward W. Edmunds held that the poem was "a meaningless rhapsody" to those who tested it with the intellect, but not to those who "are com-

[46]Similar views have been held by D. Moir: "unsubstantial and wiredrawn," "shadows of power, rather than power itself" (*Sketches*, 1887, p. 227); J. Slater: "dreamy, exaggerated ideal stuff" ("Prometheus," 1884, p. 395); A. Symons: "a cloudy procession of phantoms, seen in a divine hallucination" ("Shelley," 1907, p. 350); W. J. Courthope: "images . . . appear for a moment with outlines as clear as Alpine peaks in sunlight, and then dissolve, or vanish in seas of rising vapour" (*History*, 1910, p. 315); H. Levine: "a compound of Plato and Godwin, Milton and Mist" (*Broken Column*, 1931, p. 58).

A writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* (1877, p. 776) rejoiced in the obscurity because "we know of no poet, if we except Swinburne, whose writings are calculated to injure the youthful mind so deeply as Shelley."

petent to hear the spirit-voices which haunt the atmosphere of all true poetry" (*Shelley*, 1911, p. 92); and Arthur Clutton-Brock felt that Shelley had suffered because he had not been thought of as a religious poet, and readers, demanding realism, had failed to bring to his conceptions the associations normally brought to religious work (Introduction, p. xxi). More recently, Douglas Bush has written wisely: "He will, unlike our contemporaries, make his principal conception fairly clear, and then he feels at liberty to adorn or obscure it with a multitude of details which, we often feel sure, have significance for him but remain hazy to us" (*Mythology*, 1937, p. 139); while N. I. White commented: "An understanding that Shelley's imagery is not vague, but intelligible and profound, is necessary if we are to see him in his true proportions" (*Shelley*, 1940, II, 133).

Another defense of Shelley's obscurity and intangibility was based on an appeal to his youth. George Gilfillan, for example, felt that "had he, twenty years later, a healthier, happier, and better man, 'clothed, and in his right mind,' approached the sublime subject," only Milton or Keats might have equaled what he would have done ("Prometheus," 1855, p. 432). Sidney Lanier felt that the wordiness resulted from immaturity but doubted that Shelley would have outgrown it ("English Novel," 1881, p. 90); Macmillan Brown held that Shelley "had not lived long enough to mellow his ideas by wisdom or experience, or mould them into consistency; and hence there is a youthful crudeness and half-intelligibility, and unwise violence and self-contradictoriness in his play" (*Study*, 1905, p. 53); and to Arthur Clutton-Brock, also, many passages in the poem failed because "poets, like other writers, must fail when they try to tell us what they do not know themselves" (*Man and Poet*, 1909, p. 207)—but he added that, in Shelley's failure, "he produced beauties beyond the reach of artists who attempt the possible" (p. 218). Francis Thompson, however, saw no reason to apologize for the poet's age. He argued that his youth, or in any event his childlike nature, qualified him "to be the poet of *Prometheus Unbound*, for it made him . . . a mythological poet," and "assimilated him to the childlike peoples among whom mythologies have their rise" (*Shelley*, 1889, pp. 46-47).

More significant, perhaps, than the foregoing statements have been those of critics who argued that the obscurity was more apparent than real, and that the materials which disturbed the reader were actually appropriate to the subject. Leigh Hunt answered the violent *Quarterly Review* attack by holding that the descriptions were true of the areas to which they applied and that to cite an obscure passage or two and conclude that all of Shelley's work was "obscurity and nonsense, is mere dishonesty" ("Letters," see Appendix D, item XII). Later in the century, R. A. Holland took a similar position but amplified it more specifically: "Fault has been found with the poem because of its lack of human incidents and passions, but unreasonably, for these would be incongruous to its design.

. . . The intrusion of an earthly character would mar its speculative integrity"; and he held that for Shelley's world the "inhabitants must be spectral, often formless, sometimes only voices" ("Soul of Shelley," 1876, pp. 156-57). Stopford Brooke, too, believed that the unsubstantiality of form, methodical idealization, and dream world were a "mistake of deliberate method on Shelley's part, rather than a weakness of capacity" ("Inaugural Address," 1886, p. 15). With these views most later writers have agreed, and Gertrude Slaughter has even insisted that the poem's "creatures are more than abstractions. They are suffering, thinking, exulting beings, sublimated and etherealized—the elements rather than the forms of actual life" ("Shelley," 1922, p. 78); or, as P. H. Butter saw it, the personifications are "Shelley's means of making clear to the reader the progress of [the] internal drama" taking place in the mind of Prometheus (*Shelley's Idols*, 1954, p. 169).

The relationship between unintelligibility and subtlety of thought has also been a recurring theme in *Prometheus Unbound* criticism. It was first offered in 1822 by the reviewer in the *Album*, who noted that Shelley's "powers of thought . . . equally subtle and profound, occasionally lead him beyond the capability of expression, and in those passages he, of course, becomes unintelligible" (see Appendix D, item XIII). This sentiment was frequently echoed in later criticism, and most interestingly by Disraeli's comment on Marmion Herbert (Shelley) in *Venetia* (1837):

> These peculiar doctrines of Herbert, which, undisguised, must have incited so much odium . . . were necessarily so veiled by the highly spiritual and metaphorical language of the poet that it required some previous acquaintance with the system enforced to be able to discover and recognise the esoteric spirit of his Muse [quoted in Garnett, "Shelley and Beaconsfield," p. 127].

But these tentative overtures were strengthened and made the pattern by Mrs. Shelley's statement, in her note on the poem, that "it requires a mind as subtle and penetrating as his own to understand the mystic meanings scattered throughout the poem" (see Appendix C). Lady Jane Shelley amplified this:

> [Only] his own subtle, and almost instinctive, apprehension of metaphysical analogies could have enabled him to endow his ideal characters with a language proper to the abstract ideas which they typify. . . . The personifications of Shelley's mythological drama are not the vague idealisms of a young poet seeking for effect; they have a deep psychological meaning. The poetry which they utter is like the language of beings wakening, in the fresh dawn of the world, to the mystery of their own emotions and the miraculous loveliness of the universe. We seem to behold the elemental splendour of things disarrayed of that indifference which springs from our superficial familiarity, and from the deadening effect of our conventional existence [*Memorials*, 1859, p. 111].

Interesting variations have been given on this theme. J. A. Symonds stressed the Turneresque quality of the poet's perceptions (a comparison frequently made):

> The scale of colour is light and aerial, and the darker shadows are omitted. An excess of luminousness seems to be continually radiated from the objects at which he looks; and in this radiation of many-coloured lights, the outline itself is apt to be a little misty. Shelley, moreover, pierced through things to their spiritual essence [*Shelley*, 1878, p. 125].

Walter Raleigh felt that this "spectral world" held in Shelley's thought "the place of what is commonly called the real world," and as a result the "figures that he sets in motion are for the most part creatures of his own making, who have no tangible being outside the realm of his imagination"; but Raleigh added: "*Prometheus Unbound* is something more than a dance of prismatic lights and a concert of sweet sounds; it is a record of spiritual experience, subtle in its analysis, profound in its insight," and he held that "the details of the drama . . . have been wrongfully regarded as freaks of ornament and fantasy" ("Shelley," 1902, pp. 296-97). Other variations have been offered by Charles H. Herford, who admitted the remoteness of the setting but argued that "to suppose that Shelley's thought is equally unrelated and remote is surely to confuse image and purport. . . . Shelley does not 'refuse to face the facts of life' [as Babbitt had said] . . . and though very much escaped him, in some vital points he saw more clearly than any of his contemporaries" ("Romanticism," 1922, p. 131); and by Cecil M. Bowra, who carried the issue to a logical extreme by arguing that, normally, individual characters are made to represent "wide issues and show what these issues mean," but that Shelley "wished to show how wonderful [the ideas] were in their very vagueness and vastness," so he "evolved a system of coherent symbols which would appeal as poetry and yet take away nothing from the metaphysical character of his subject" (*Romantic Imagination*, 1949, pp. 104-5); to which Bennett Weaver added that these "mystic and lyrical embodiments of ideas . . . lead the drama toward song. Rather importantly, I think, it is they who suggest the grand transmutation of the character of Prometheus into something approaching the character of the Galilean" ("Prometheus," 1949, p. 132). But probably the most perceptive analysis in this category was that made by James H. Cousins, who stressed (as did Amiyakumar Sen [*Studies*, 1936, 243-70] and G. Wilson Knight [*Starlit Dome*, 1941, p. 211]) Shelley's interest in Indian lore and experience of things of the spirit (*Work Promethean*, 1933, p. 43), and wrote:

> [In] the realm of poetry, whose appeal is less to the emotions and more to the mind than the appeal of music, clarity of statement is an essential quality. Yet there is a stage beyond which the demand for clarity in poetry may be a demand for something other than poetry; a stage where external expression is incapable of carrying the whole offering of inner meaning, and words have to bear on one shoulder the image immediately evoked, and on the other the sometimes shadowy, sometimes shining, shapes of thoughts and feelings seeking incarnation in the always inadequate bodies of speech [pp. 8-9].[47]

[47]Similar views have been held by A. Yolland: "poetic language must always be a compromise between the things which can definitely be said and the things which the

ON THE DRAMATIC TECHNIQUES

Another body of critical attention has been concerned with the dramatic and verse techniques of *Prometheus Unbound.* It will be well to approach this discussion through Cecil M. Bowra's analysis of the problems faced by Shelley in writing the poem. These were (1) the question of how faithful all details should be to the abstract ideas embodied in the work (Bowra felt that in mood and tone the poet succeeded here); (2) the problem of how to relate abstract ideas to human experience and human feelings (in this he was not always successful); and (3) the problem of how much should be included ("Shelley evidently believed that he was writing a great philosophical poem and poured into it all his most imaginative and daring speculations," but always in terms of his own system). These problems led to certain difficulties which Bowra pointed out: (1) the poet did not always successfully translate his abstract ideas into images; (2) he did not always distinguish clearly between literal and symbolic expression; and (3) he failed to give dramatic force to most of the poem (*Romantic Imagination,* 1949, pp. 117-20).[48]

Defenses of the dramatic effectiveness of the poem have not been undertaken by many writers, and usually the arguments have not been as direct or convincing as those from the other camp. In 1823 a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* felt that Aeschylus might have written it had he lived in Shelley's day (see Appendix D, item XIV), and at the close of the century Vida Scudder countered those who felt a lack of unity in the poem by maintaining that *only* in *Prometheus Unbound* did Shelley's "architectonic faculty" evidence itself in any important way:

> Each act of the Prometheus centres in a distinct phase of the one theme [Redemption]. The first act, expressing the calm of proud endurance, breaks towards the middle into an agony still passive and at the end sinks into the peace of exhaustion. The second act is one of hope and promise: if the first centres in endurance, this centres in action. The spirit of life palpitates through every line. Faint at first, as Asia waits in lovely passiveness, it grows more eager, stronger, till it culminates in the marvellous lyric which brings us close to Goethe's

poet fain would say" (*Shelley's Poetry,* 1907, p. 16); O. Elton: Shelley and Plato "quarrel with reality because it is there and in the way" (*Shelley,* 1912, p. 35); H. J. Grierson and J. C. Smith: "it is as vague as are the prophecies of the genuine Hebrew prophets. It is always the fraudulent prophets who are definite" (*History,* 1944, p. 396). And R. D. Havens, in a study that appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work ("Shelley the Artist," 1957), has commented that as an artist Shelley "idealized and universalized his embodiments of human nature or mythological personages and, though he often observed external nature closely, he generalized his descriptions of it. . . . It is partly for this reason that his greatest achievement is *Prometheus Unbound* [since it] deals with the cosmic, the timeless, the eternal" (p. 180).

[48]Earlier, Louis Cazamian had listed as faults of style the repetition of words nearby in different contexts, and ambiguity in use of words, characters (e.g. Earth and The Spirit of the Earth), and settings (e.g. the two caves and temples). However, he considered these to be faults in small matters only (Edition, 1942, pp. 34-36).

> Werdelust—the creative rapture of the soul of the world. The third act is the calm of fulfillment, as the first was the calm of endurance. In the fourth act . . . the full pæan of triumph sweeps us along with tumultuous and unequalled harmony [Edition, p. xlv].

Miss Scudder felt also that the architectonic power of Shelley was nobly shown by his use of light and color—passing first from night into dawn, then darkening in the storm of the Furies, then again clearing in the promise "of the peace of dawn," with the sunrise deepening into its full glory and intensifying into day in Act II, and this in turn darkening into shadows at the cave of Demogorgon, at last to be "lifted to the final Height of Vision, and to the consummation of the drama" (pp. xlvii-xlix).

Some years later, Olwen Campbell wrote that "many of [Shelley's] critics have tried the most elaborate allegorical, philosophical and moonstruck interpretations, seemingly oblivious of the fact that even here 'the play's the thing' " (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, 1924, p. 203). James H. Cousins offered a subtler argument:

> The drama of the tangible stage has laid upon it the duty of being the critic, interpreter and reflector of human life. The drama of the human spirit, composed by the creative impulse of humanity, not merely by its generative fever, enacted in the light of the sun, not in the shadows cast by the moon or the limelight, demands that life shall reflect and ultimately embody it.
>
> Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" is a drama of this order. We do not go to it for facts concerning early Greece or the Europe of 1820, but for fundamental verities that are clamped to no age and are therefore current in and applicable to all ages and places; ideas and thoughts that "look before and after" towards a golden age of "what is not" but was and will be; an age which, because humanity has set out on a circumnavigation that will bring it back to its native harbour in the realm of the spirit, is at once in the romantic past and the still more romantic future [*Work Promethean*, 1933, pp. 22-23].

G. Wilson Knight went farthest, however, when, in comparing *The Revolt of Islam* with *Prometheus Unbound*, he found in the later poem "a more satisfying fusion of movement with stillness, of action with artistic design, and consequently no extreme symbolisms . . . take precedence over dramatic realism"; and he felt that the poem was "truly dramatic rather than narrative" (*Starlit Dome*, 1941, p. 204).

B. Rajan, too, contended that "the causation is unorthodox but complete, and the principal obstacle to understanding is the statement." Rajan explained by pointing out that at first Prometheus defied Jupiter in the curse: "The equilibrium thus defined is perverted but stable, and can be altered by nothing except a fundamental change in the nature of one of its opponents." At last suffering taught Prometheus wisdom, and his comprehension progressed and led to redemption. "His mind has become the mind of the universe and its message therefore must penetrate to all existence. To universalize the mental re-organization of Prometheus is . . . the function of Asia. To transmit the revolution of mind to the revolution

of matter is . . . the business of Demogorgon." If, then, "evil should be once more an impulse of behaviour, the remedy is to love and to endure." This, Rajan held, "is the emotional faith which integrates *Prometheus*," and we "must give our intellectual, if not our total, assent to the coherence of an emotionally valid plan" ("Motivation of Prometheus," 1943, pp. 297-301). P. H. Butter saw form, if not drama, in the fact that

> the movement of the whole poem is from the mind of Prometheus outwards. The effects of the change in him are seen spreading in ever-widening circles—over men, over the earth, the moon and out into "the void's loose field." . . . This provides a loose, but sufficient structure for the poem [*Shelley's Idols*, 1954, p. 171].

But probably Walter Jacobi was on the surest ground when he discussed the problem as it related to dramatic types. He distinguished between drama that could be staged and costumed and drama which, like *Prometheus Unbound*, must be visualized by the reader with help from the poet. He pointed out the effectiveness of the stage directions in this poem, of the descriptive passages as substitutes for scenery and costume, and of the words and phrases that guide the reader in visualizing the setting, characters, and action of the play. Jacobi admitted that, for a reading drama, it was better fully to incorporate the stage directions in the dialogue (which Shelley did not always do), but he nevertheless ranked *Prometheus Unbound* as one of the most typical reading dramas of world literature ("Bühnen und Lesedrama," 1932, pp. 207-17).

With few exceptions, however, it has been agreed that the poem is not dramatic in the narrower meaning of the term, although definitions have not usually been brought into the discussions.[49] The writer in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* ranked it with Aeschylus even though it was "dramatic in form only; there is little or no human interest in it" (1833, p. 338); and Julian Schmidt, in 1852, also felt that the superhuman themes led to a resultant disintegration of form (Price, "Julian Schmidt," p. 34). William B. Scott cited as evidence of an "infirmity of construction" the fact that the hero disappeared "in an unexplained and trivial manner, so that the result of his great endurance and of the sympathy of nature receives no adequate development" (Edition, 1873, p. xxiii). This view Helene Druskowitz supported and amplified. To her the Prometheus of Act III showed nothing of the depth of the Prometheus of Act I. He was too naive and evidenced a spirit that had never known pain and suffering. Moreover, Asia was sometimes a goddess, sometimes a mortal; Jupiter

[49]That Shelley himself had no illusions on this score should be clear from his calling the work a "lyrical drama," from his discussion of drama in his Preface to *The Cenci*, and from his statement to Trelawny (which could not apply to *Prometheus Unbound*) with respect to *Charles the First:* "I am now writing a play for the stage. It is affectation to say we write a play for any other purpose" (Trelawny, *Records*, 1878, I, 117). Graham Hough's comment is pertinent: "*Prometheus Unbound* is the first of a long line of nineteenth-century poems cast in dramatic form, but with no conceivable relation to the theatre" (*Romantic Poets*, 1953, p. 139).

lacked the force of personality he should have; Demogorgon was kept entirely nebulous; and the connection with the fatal child was unclear. But Miss Druskowitz felt also that the secondary figures exhibited a plasticity not frequently attained by the poet (*Shelley*, 1884, pp. 276-78). And, though J. Macmillan Brown saw Prometheus as "the only real dramatic character in the drama; for besides being the symbol of an abstract idea he is a personality," he agreed that "towards the close it fades off into that misty fringe of existence that is to the poet the most real" (*Study*, 1905, p. 54). This opinion was further developed by Arthur M. D. Hughes, who wrote:

> The *Prometheus* must be judged as a sort of Mystery, for a drama in the proper sense it clearly is not. A drama is a picture of an action the links of which are causally connected. But Prometheus does not act, and both Jupiter and the *deus ex machina* by whom he is overthrown are obscure entities with no motives for what they do. There are great dramatic incidents, but these are single moments in a miraculous tale. . . . [Also] there is a break in the figure of Prometheus where it seems that sculpture from an infirmer hand has been joined on to the head and frame of a masterpiece.[50] . . . It is more especially in the third Act, when the lovers meet in a renovated world, with no more to suffer or to do, that they fall below their dignity and cloy the reader with girlish happiness [Edition, 1910, p. 180-81].

The lack of action cited by Hughes has been noted frequently. George Woodberry saw this defect as Aeschylean, "but on the larger scale of Shelley it is more noticeable. The scenes change, but there is no real action" (*Studies*, 1908, p. 278). At times this position has been qualified by admitting the absence of the *physical* action which would make for drama, but stressing the substitution of *intellectual* action, "to be explained, not by human motivation, but by the development of thought" (Barrell, *Shelley and Thought*, 1947, p. 150). To Harry Levin: "Milton and Aeschylus succeeded in creating superhuman figures by drawing men on a vast scale. Shelley lacked the power of characterization . . . and so he sought to convince by imagery and allegory" (*Broken Column*, 1931, pp. 59-60). To Carlos Baker: "The difficulty in the interpretation of *Prometheus Unbound* arises chiefly from the fact that the leading characters are both characters in a drama and symbolic universals" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, p. 111). But Cecil M. Bowra felt that the characters were actually not so much symbols as "ideas presented in visual shape" (*Romantic Imagination*, 1949, p. 107). John Bailey thought that it was "much more" than a drama, but not a drama ("Prometheus in Poetry," 1923, p. 118). He noted especially the meager plot, the dramatic ineffectiveness of the events, and the character weaknesses, wherein "one person seems to fade into another" (p. 113).[51] Bailey then called attention to the applicability here

[50]Cf. E. B. Hungerford: "Shelley chips his monumental idea into bric-a-brac," and "the plot lies full fathom five" (*Shores of Darkness*, 1941, pp. 97, 100).

[51]J. W. Beach, however, insisted that the characters did not "drift about aimlessly." Demogorgon was the doom of Jupiter, and, while one could not motivate a doom, the poet could personify it, as he did ("Latter-Day Critics," 1922, p. 724).

of Shelley's description of *Hellas* as "a sort of lyrical, dramatic nondescript piece of business" (to Horace Smith, April 11, 1822; Julian, X, 377), and added: "Drama is an affair of men and women: and Shelley's imagination preferred creating angels and fiends. He could not even project himself into his drama" (p. 118). Shelley, Bailey thought, was a much more human person than his Prometheus, who was too good, while Jupiter was too black, for successful drama (pp. 124-27).

Another group has sought to justify Shelley's use of the form chosen. Henry Salt, for example, stated that the lack of dramatic action was intentional (*Shelley Primer*, 1896, p. 63). To Stopford Brooke the poem represented "the marriage of Shelley's double nature, the fusion for creative work of the lover of man and the poet" (Edition, 1882, p. xvi); while to Rossetti it would have been alien to present the theme in a "directly realistic or plainly delineated kind," for greater severity would have meant a loss of spontaneity ("Prometheus as Poem," 1887, p. 173); and to William F. Revell it seemed that "what to a watcher by the cross, or at the foot of the mountain, may appear nothing more than simple endurance, is in reality a struggle of the most active and severe kind, a struggle for mastery over the weakness of the flesh" ("Prometheus," 1907, p. 427). Similarly, William J. Alexander, Louis Cazamian, and Stephen Spender have defended Shelley against the argument that he intended a drama. Spender's statement is typical: "[*Prometheus Unbound*] is not at all dramatic, perhaps because Shelley did not see so much a drama in the situation of the struggle between gods, as an occasion for the victory of the symbol of the oppressed" (*Shelley*, 1952, p. 28).

With the nondramatic category for the poem generally supported, it has not been easy to agree on what the poem is if not stage drama. Little consideration was given to finding a substitute term until John Robertson suggested that "if we read on it is because we care more for fantasy than for human significance in song" ("Shelley and Poetry," 1884, p. 195); and "the poet wanders off into every kind of diffuse and fantastic digression, creating for us an endless range of 'rich windows that exclude the light, and passages that lead to nothing' " (p. 224). To fantasy as a possible subtype for dramatic literature were added such descriptions of the poem as a compound of many forms, and, if drama at all, closest to the rhapsodic dramas of the Hebrew poets in the Old Testament (W. R. Rutland, *Swinburne*, pp. 66, 88); reading drama rather than stage drama (Walter Jacobi, "Bühnen und Lesedrama," p. 217); material better suited to the cinema than to the stage (St. John Ervine, "Shelley as Dramatist," p. 95); a masque (Elizabeth Meldrum, "Classical Background," p. 161); a Mystery (A. M. D. Hughes, Edition, p. 180); and, frequently, if drama at all then symbolic drama (Oliver Elton, *Shelley*, p. 34; Carl Grabo, *Newton among Poets*, p. xi; Louis Cazamian, Edition, p. 38; Carlos Baker, *Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 111; Cecil M. Bowra, *Romantic Imagination*, p. 105; and Stephen

Spender, *Shelley*, p. 28—with many writers acknowledging the symbolism).

Others found the poem basically a myth (Vida Scudder, Edition, p. xi; A. M. D. Hughes, Edition, p. 171; Gertrude Slaughter, "Shelley," p. 77; Joseph Barrell, *Shelley and Thought*, p. 150; and C. S. Lewis, "Shelley, Dryden, Eliot," p. 29, with the most penetrating comment that of Lewis: "Like all great myths its primary appeal is to the imagination: its indirect and further appeal to the will and understanding can therefore be diversely interpreted according as the reader is a Christian, a politician, a psychoanalyst, or what not"); an epic (Stopford Brooke, "Poetry of Shelley," p. 214; and Herbert Read, *Defence of Shelley*, p. 69); a dramatic ode, or a sequence of odes linked by dramatic poetry, thus making it much like an opera (Charles Garnier, "Metrical Study," p. 155; George H. Clarke, Edition, p. 238; and George Cowling, *Shelley*, p. 63, with the latter noting that "its form owes something to Italian opera, to which Peacock introduced Shelley in 1817, and in which he afterwards found great pleasure"); a noble oratorio (Parke Godwin, "Shelley," p. 127); nearer to symphony than to drama in form (Arthur Clutton-Brock, *Man and Poet*, p. 209);[52] or suggestive of fresco painting, and a panorama of ideal scenes (George Woodberry, *Studies*, p. 278).

[52] *Prometheus Unbound* has frequently been the subject of musical settings. Koszul found no fewer than five for Asia's song at II.v.72-110 (Cœuroy, "Musical Inspiration of Shelley," 1923, p. 82). Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1954) lists the following items: Sir Granville Bantock's *Prometheus Unbound*, for chorus and orchestra (1936); Havergal Brian's *Prometheus Unbound*, for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra (1937-44); Norman Demuth's incidental music (1948); Katharine Emily Eggar's setting of Asia's song, for mezzo-soprano, string quartet, and piano (n.d.); Maurice Emanuel's *Promethée enchaîné*, three-act opera (1916-18); Lars-Erik Larsson's incidental music (n.d.); Hubert Parry's "Scenes from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*," for contralto, tenor, bass, chorus, and orchestra (1880); Sir Stanford Charles's setting of Asia's song (1911) and of the song of the Spirit of the Hour (1913); William Wallace's setting of Asia's song (1896); and Maude Valerie White's setting of the same song (n.d.).

The poem has also frequently suggested comparisons with music or musicians. John Todhunter noted that, like Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, the poem "was written for his own delight, not for the world. It is to all other lyrical poems what the Ninth Symphony is to all other symphonies" (*Study*, 1880, p. 134). Armin Kroder regretted that musicians had passed by Shelley's poem as the basis for a symphony ("Shelleyana," 1906, p. 139); Helen Clarke held there was as great a difference between Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and Shelley's poem as between "the naked scales of Pythagoras and the poignant soul-touching diminished seventh harmonies of a modern symphony" ("Prometheus Myth," 1910, p. 110); and J. de Gruyter declared that the poem "comes nearer to music than perhaps any other drama that has been written" ("Shelley and Dostoievsky," 1922, p. 134). John Bailey felt that "in that escape of the spirit which is the special prerogative of music Shelley stands alone" (*Poets and Poetry*, 1911, p. 168); and G. H. Clarke thought the poem a fit subject for "the musical genius of a Wagner" (Edition, 1907, p. 238).

Andre Cœuroy, noting the many uses of music in the imagery, stated: "There are hearts to which music reveals the fraternal bond between souls. For Shelley, the poet of poets, she goes far beyond this, inasmuch as she seeks to express, through metaphor,

By far the larger number of those who have refused to acknowledge the poem as a drama, however, have chosen to classify it as a lyric with dramatic overtones, rather than the opposite (for the lyrical vein has been recognized even by those who have criticized the poem as a drama). This was, in effect, to reverse Shelley's description of the work as a "lyrical drama" and to view it as a dramatic lyric (or, occasionally, as a non-dramatic lyric). Roden Noel, for example, found "unity of mood, and lyrical feeling" in the absence of dramatic unity ("Shelley," 1885, p. 120); and Henry Salt pointed out that "the lyrics in fact are as prominent as the blank verse" (*Shelley Primer*, 1896, p. 63). Stopford Brooke saw it as "more of a Titanic lyric than a drama" ("Lyrics of Shelley," 1907, p. 144); and Arthur Clutton-Brock noted that "both the epic and the dramatic forms were dead" in Shelley's day, and the poem was a lyrical drama

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that which overpasses reality—the very essence of poetry" ("Musical Inspiration of Shelley," 1923, p. 95). Charles Garnier was especially sensitive to the feeling of music in the poem and offered a comprehensive comparison, pointing out that, if Shelley's dramatic imagination was lacking, his musical imagination was faultless, "his lyrical gift peerless. . . . Shelley's subtle charm and mighty harmonies invincibly recall to one's mind now Meyerbeer's weird power . . . now Mozart's chaste elegance and terse dalliance . . . now Mendelssohn's crystalline facility; now Schubert's wealth of tender imagination; now Beethoven's deep sense of joy and sorrow, metaphysical yearnings, strong-rooted optimism, constructive science and thrilling appeal to our profoundest sympathies. All these musical associations may illustrate independent passages, but if one name only was allowed to us to characterize the whole of Shelley's lyrical drama, his intense intellectual as well as emotional *Sehnsucht*, the essence of his mysticism . . . the one name would be . . . Chopin" ("Metrical Study," 1937, pp. 156-57).

R. V. Dawson amplified the Beethoven comparison in noting the composer's use of the Prometheus story in the ballet music *Die Geschopfe des Prometheus* (1801), from which a theme in the finale was used as a chief subject in the finale of the *Eroica Symphony* (1804), a symphony that took Napoleon as well as Prometheus as its inspiration. The attitudes of the two artists differed, however: "To the one [Beethoven], the joy of creative heroism predominates; to the other the pain. To Beethoven, Prometheus is a type; to Shelley, a personification. To the one, victory is as much an attainment as a hope; to the other, more an ultimate goal than an immediate reward." In the *Eroica*, also, Dawson found Beethoven more realistic than Shelley (because he had Napoleon before him), with the choral movement of the *Ninth Symphony*—in its use of Schiller's *An die Freude* ("For all men are brothers truly," etc.)—closer to the poet, especially to Act IV of *Prometheus Unbound:* "In each case it is the joy of the perfect freedom of mankind . . . but whereas Shelley's feeling is so much that of hope frantically sought as a refuge from disillusionment, Beethoven's is a more fully matured and seemingly tangible joy," a position which Shelley might easily have reached ("Beethoven and Shelley," 1929, pp. 41-42).

Such parallels possibly led Edmund Blunden to point out: "Lovers of coincidence may care to know that while Shelley's work was being published, Beethoven's 'Overture to Prometheus' was being performed on the Apollonican of Messrs. Flight and Robson, which Shelley had paid his shilling to hear before leaving England. Louis Cazamian points out something more striking. At almost the same date as that of the composition of Shelley's 'lyrical drama,' Beethoven was composing his 'Choral Symphony'" (*Shelley*, 1947, p. 261).

because "all other forms were clearly impossible." Clutton-Brock added that the myth used in this lyrical drama was "of a new kind, and made to express the new ideas of an age of revolution," but that, whereas the great myths reflected "the experience of multitudes and generations," Shelley's expressed "only his own rather limited experience and his own peculiar ideas, which were not so much the result as the cause of that experience" (*Man and Poet*, 1909, pp. 194, 196-97). More recently, also, Douglas Bush has supported this view by describing the poem as "not a drama but a sustained emotional lyric" (*Mythology*, 1937, p. 151); as did Chauncey Tinker, who wrote that "it began as a play and turned into a paean" ("Shelley Once More," 1941, p. 92).

ON THE VERSECRAFT

When we turn from dramatic aspects of the poem to consideration of its poetry and versecraft, more general agreement is found. Shelley has been recognized as possessed of "the mythopœic faculty of the world's primæval poets" (Roden Noel, "Shelley," 1885, p. 121). To Henry Sweet, indeed, he stood "alone among modern poets" in this respect, as evidenced by his use of the star, the cave, the dawn, the sun, clouds,[53] the wind, volcano and earthquake, desire, and dreams; and especially by the "Turneresque" quality of light and color ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," 1888, pp. 298-324). George Calvert was of the same belief when he wrote: "Shelley's brain is an exhaustless spring of likenesses which his poetic faculty illuminates into beauty and significance. . . . The choral pages . . . are as Shakespearean as the *Puck*-passages in *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, only created with a high, holy purpose" (*Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe*, 1880, pp. 217-18).

Inasmuch as the mythopoeic quality is most fully evidenced in the poet's use of imagery and figures of speech, it is natural to find that nearly all critics of the poem as poem have touched on these matters. N. I. White, indeed, pointed out that "the reason why *Prometheus Unbound* has from the first been so commonly misunderstood lies in the boldness and originality of the imagery. Had the contemporary critics been entirely without other prejudices they would still have misunderstood and underestimated the poem on this ground" (*Shelley*, 1940, II, 127). It was not until 1899, however, that an exhaustive catalogue of the similes and metaphors in Shelley's poetry was made, by Pelham Edgar, with many examples taken from *Prometheus Unbound*. Edgar included similes of color, light, sound, odor, swiftness, change, evanescence, love, thought, and number; as well as double similes, Homeric similes, similes of human to natural, human to human, human to animal, etc. (*Study, passim*). In 1904 Hans Zettner expanded Sweet's approach by tracing the mythical creations of Shelley,

[53]Oscar W. Firkins commented: "Shelley is as devoted to clouds as if he had set himself to the task of atoning in his single person for the apathy and neglect of all other poets" (*Power and Elusiveness*, 1937, pp. 100-1).

with many illustrations from *Prometheus Unbound*, under the headings of Earth, Nymphs, Echoes, Fauns, Flowers, Spirits, Water, etc., showing how Shelley infused life into these and gave them a mythical reality (*Shelleys Mythendichtung, passim*). B. I. Evans, more selectively, established that "certain figures—the sphere, the star, the boat, the lake, and the autumn leaves—remain persistent images threading themselves through his poems"; and in *Prometheus Unbound* he felt that "the power of the permanent image" could be established with great strength, especially in Act IV, where "the images of boat and stream and star and sphere return, as if Shelley, faithful to these symbols of his earlier vision, determined to enshrine them here" ("Persistent Image," 1922, pp. 792, 796). Arthur Keith went so far as to argue that the merit of the poem "rests not on any well-ordered philosophy, unless we qualify by saying that beauty is philosophy, but upon imagery that fires the dullest mind" ("Imagery," 1924, p. 67). He then surveyed, with some of his illustrations from *Prometheus Unbound*, the areas of personification and imagery from animal life, plant life, stream, sea, shadows, clouds, vapor, music, childhood, thoughts, dreams, and emotions. A slightly different approach was made by Oscar Firkins, who was concerned primarily with tabulating, from the entire range of Shelley's poetry, illustrations of the variety of the poet's abstract imagery in which were united "the qualities of power and elusiveness, of momentousness and intangibility" (*Power and Elusiveness*, 1937, p. 185); and Firkins concluded that the poet was "very nearly, if not quite, unique among the better and better-known representatives of letters" in his habitual practice of presenting matter in terms of mind (p. 48). In the following year Ants Oras, extending the scope of Firkins' approach, concerned himself primarily with determining how the images "illustrate [Shelley's] manner of perceiving form and movement" ("Shelley's Poetic Imagery," 1938, p. 6). Richard H. Fogle's comparative study of the imagery of Keats and Shelley (1949) permitted a much fuller and more subtle treatment than that of Firkins, although it was not so minute in its distinctions (and was marred by many incorrect line references). In a subsequent article Fogle dealt more directly with *Prometheus Unbound*, which he considered "a gigantic effort to synthesize the abstract with the concrete, the ideal with the actual" ("Image and Imagelessness," 1952, p. 24). Fogle treated the imagery under three heads: (1) images which develop the theme; (2) images classified by representation (visual); and (3) images of mental process. Through this study of imagery he concluded that, instead of a "helpless surrender to his own emotions," as anti-Shelley criticism would have it,

> Shelley is expressing not a surrender, not a passive emotion, but the result of intellectual effort pushed to its furthest reaches, with all the difficulties and dangers which are involved in it. . . . What seems superficially to be formlessness and the shattering of order is really the synthesis of form and formlessness, of expansion and determination, of image and imagelessness [pp. 35-36].

And more recently P. H. Butter directed his attention to "the intellectual content of [Shelley's] images . . . because this is the aspect of them which is most distinctive of him and that which the hasty reader is most likely to miss" (*Shelley's Idols*, 1954, p. 4). The contributions of these writers to an understanding of *Prometheus Unbound* will be found in the Critical Notes.

Finally, the prosody has not been overlooked, although it has usually been included in studies of larger scope. As early as 1823, Shelley's blank verse was compared with that of Milton, but it was pointed out that "it is as totally different in rhythm as it is in ideas. . . . One cannot say it is like any other metre of English blank verse; it is, as I say, individual—Shelleyic one may say, I suppose, as well as Miltonic" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]; see Appendix D, item XIV). George Gilfillan was especially impressed by the lyrics, with their "rush of poetic numbers, the tremendous gallop of an infuriated imagination" (*Sketches*, 1845, p. 116); while Stopford Brooke noted that Shelley "used blank verse as if it were his natural tongue. It is easy, weighty, flowing, well paused, close knit, or let free, exactly as the mind within him drove, or the subject claimed" ("Inaugural Address," 1886, p. 11). A fuller statement with respect to the versification was given by Vida Scudder, who wrote:

> Blank verse rises into the long, passionate swing of the anapaest, or is broken by the flute-like notes of short trochaic lines, or relieved by the half-lyrical effect of rhymed endings. . . . The variety of metres is marvelous.[54] Thirty-six distinct verse-forms are to be found, besides the blank verse. These forms are usually simple; but at times the versification-scheme is as complex as that of the most elaborate odes of Dryden or Collins.

Miss Scudder admitted to a frequent Miltonic echo in the lines, but remarked on "a cadence of which Shelley alone is master, unique in haunting, clinging melody," and concluded that "Shelley has drawn a new music from English words" in many passages. She was also aware of a "subtle lyrical cry" even in the blank verse, but stressed the "sweep and variety of direct lyrical modulation," and she noted that the major characters, speaking in distinctively appropriate verse, "use as a rule the plain recitative, while Ione, Panthea, and the other chorus-characters generally sing rather than speak," with blank verse marking passages of transition or of repressed feeling, while climaxes of passion rush into lyrical form (Edition, 1892, pp. l-liv).

Arthur Symons varied the theme slightly by finding in the blank verse

[54]George Saintsbury (*History*, 1910, pp. 108-9) was equally impressed and broke from his usual restraint with the following "outbreak": "I can only say that in all the long procession and pageant of English poetry which it has been my good fortune to survey as I have been preparing and writing this History, nothing has ever presented itself, and nothing, I think, will present itself, in such a combination of prosodic beauty and variety as this. . . . This was the heritage of which seven centuries of poetic labour and experiment from Godric to Coleridge had put English poetry in possession; and Shelley's was the golden key that threw it open to enjoyment."

> none of the sweetly broken music of Shakespeare or of the organ harmonies of Milton. It is a music of aërial eloquence. . . . There is in it a thrilling music, rarer in liquid sound than that of any other poet, and chastened by all the severity that can clothe a spirit of fire and air. . . . It has [also] an illumined gravity, a shining crystal clearness, a luminous motion" ["Shelley," 1907, pp. 354-55];

and Arthur Clutton-Brock was equally enthusiastic:

> [Shelley's] purest music has an intellectual quality that sets it far above all mere versifying. It is not a tinkling tune, but a harmony made by all the faculties of his mind acting together. The peculiar swiftness and keenness of his music expresses the eagerness of his thought as it soars from one idea to another, always pressing nearer to the ultimate truth. . . . His very blank verse is all lyrical. . . . Other poets employ it because it is near to prose and their difficulty is to distinguish it from prose. . . . But Shelley's blank verse is as simple in language and in the structure of its sentences as his rhymed lyrics; yet it never becomes prosaic, and is full of music even when not very full of sense; above all it never lags or stumbles, but moves swiftly as if there were a great momentum in it. . . . He needed rather to lower his mind than to lift it into blank verse. It was to him what recitative is to a musician with a boundless command of melody [Introduction, 1911, pp. xiv-xvi].

A slightly negative note was struck, however, in the suggestion by Salvador de Madariaga that he found in the poem an impression of stiffness, "an almost mechanical rigidity, which is at first the more disconcerting as it lies hidden under an admirably fluid external rhythm," a quality that he felt the poet held in common with Calderón (*Shelley and Calderón*, 1920, p. 14). But almost universally the poet has been credited with mastery in his art of verse and song. The general tendency to praise the lyrics at the expense of the poem as a whole has, of course, been unfortunate. To N. I. White such praise "merely falsifies Shelley's intention," for White considered the poem to be "one of the most highly integrated unions of noble thought and subtle expression by which English literature has ever been enlarged" (*Shelley*, 1940, II, 127). White added that "the sudden burst of lyrical genius in *Prometheus Unbound* is genuinely astonishing. . . . Most of the [perfectly handled verse forms] Shelley had apparently never employed before. Several of them are either unique or extremely rare in English poetry before Shelley"; and he suggested as possible lyric sources the Greek dramas, Byron's *Manfred*, general reading, music, or opera, but admitted that "these are all vague guesses. There seems to be no adequate explanation of the lyrical richness of *Prometheus Unbound* other than a sudden flowering of pure lyric genius" (II, 133-35). Louis Cazamian noted that in Jupiter, Mercury, Hercules, etc., Shelley chose the Latin nomenclature, while with Demogorgon, Ione, and Panthea he used the Greek; and Cazamian ascribed the eclecticism either to the poet's preferences, or to the problem of metrics (Edition, 1942, p. 12). And, finally, Carlos Baker, like White, emphasized the importance of considering the whole poem:

> The interspersed lyrics contain a quality of lightness without sacrifice of dignity, which serves admirably to relieve the austerity of the rolling iambs, of which they frequently seem a distant echo, like wind in trees after thunder. Nor are these lyrics . . . mere musical interludes without significant relation to the progress of the play. Their function is roughly that of a dramatic chorus: to mourn or rejoice as occasions require, to mark transitions, to introduce or close the scenes, or to provide commentary on the course of the action. They are, moreover, carefully related to the deep and detailed complexities of the myth Shelley has evolved [*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, p. 117].

In addition to the incidental references to Shelley's versecraft, there have been a few special studies of importance. In the first of these, by J. B. Mayor in 1888, *Prometheus Unbound* was treated only incidentally, but a few of the verse structures were described, and some consideration was given to the technique of variation, to alliteration and rime, and to line-endings ("Shelley's Metre," *passim*). It was not until 1902, however, that a significant technical approach to the metrics was made, by Hermann Till, who drew for illustrations on *Prometheus Unbound*, among other poems, and whose purpose was to show the general skill with which the poet used his artistic tools to gain his effects (*Metrische*, *passim*). In the following year Armin Kroder published his painstaking study of Shelley's art of versification, with findings subject to the usual weaknesses and differences of opinion on such matters, but generally sound in its conclusions. Kroder's principal attention to *Prometheus Unbound* was given in his chapter on "*strophenformen*," where he analyzed with technical facility the stanza structures typical of the poem, dealing with rime schemes, phrasing, and appropriateness of form to content, and comparing them with similar uses in other poems (*Shelleys Verskunst*, pp. 178-88).[55] More recently, Charles Garnier has catalogued and related to context the different stanza patterns, ranging from two to thirty verses in length and with some of the longer being in themselves short poems; and he acknowledged, as might all who attempt such studies, that there are subtleties of sound and movement impossible to show in such an analysis, for "Shelley's lyrical drama stands a vast musical whole, a noble dramatic ode" ("Metrical Study," 1937, p. 150).

ON THE RELATIONSHIP TO EARLIER WRITERS

The fourth area of critical attention with respect to *Prometheus Unbound* has been concerned with the study of parallels and influences found in

[55]Because the general development of Kroder's discussion is important to his study, and because it is necessary to acquaint oneself with his specialized terminology, no attempt has been made to give his separate illustrations in the present edition. His findings are in general agreement with those included in the Critical Notes. The otherwise important *An Analytical Study of Shelley's Versification*, by Louise Propst (1933), like others of its kind, is limited to selected lyrics only, with no examples taken from *Prometheus Unbound*.

earlier authors. Of the many specific instances cited, most will be found recorded in the Critical Notes of the present edition, but relationships of a more general nature that justify inclusion here have been drawn between Shelley and Aeschylus, Goethe, Milton, Dante and Spenser, Godwin, Plato, Byron, and Calderón, in that order of emphasis. As might be expected from Shelley's choice of subject and from his discussion in his Preface to the poem, Aeschylus has received the widest and most varied treatment.

Comparisons with Aeschylus

Douglas Bush has pointed out that *Prometheus Bound* was too "vast and explosive" for the neoclassic period, but that with the changing taste brought in by the Romantic point of view Prometheus came to represent heroic individualism and revolt against tyranny. There were two main lines of development, according to Bush: (1) the "partly esthetic conception" which culminated in Goethe (1773); and (2) the "rebellious or humanitarian or both" as in Byron and Shelley (*Mythology*, 1937, pp. 78-79). That Shelley was early attracted to the Aeschylean drama has already been demonstrated, and Mrs. Shelley's note to *Prometheus Unbound* related that "the sublime majesty of Æschylus filled him with wonder and delight," as well as that "the mighty passions and throes of gods and demigods . . . fascinated [his] abstract imagination" (see Appendix C). The *Southern Literary Messenger* (an exception in holding Shelley's poem to be an intended imitation of and sequel to Aeschylus) compared the two as men—Aeschylus "accused of impiety, and tried before the Areopagus," Shelley "arraigned and condemned, without being heard in his defence, at the bar of public opinion" (1842, p. 197). F. H. Gile avoided the personal but felt that Shelley and Aeschylus shared common ideals, in that the latter "meant to show the trials and hardships of all discoverers and reformers in the face of the ignorance, bigotry, conservatism and superstitition of society" ("Prometheus," 1908, p. 435). John Bailey, in attempting a more particularized explanation of the Aeschylean attraction, suggested that the Aeschylus of *Prometheus Bound* would have appealed on the basis of (1) his lyrical, prophetic, and theological genius; (2) his use of the Chorus which still dominated a simple plot and action; (3) a dramatis personae without human beings (Io being semidivine); (4) the airy remoteness of the scene; (5) his use of the winged car, the winged beast, and Io as "hardly a walker on the common road of earth"; (6) his full use of nature; and (7) his political, theological, and occasionally almost religious bent. Bailey concluded: "The *Prometheus Vinctus* is, in fact, like nearly all the poems of Shelley, neither particular, nor local, nor national, nor even earthly, as all the other dramas of Aeschylus are: it is rather, what Shelley loved to be, cosmic and universal" ("Prometheus in Poetry," 1923, pp. 120-22). Bennett Weaver found a more personal reason

for the choice, feeling that Shelley was attracted to the play ("not the greatest of those which Æschylus composed") because

> in the lonely Titan Shelley could contemplate suffering similar to that which he thought was his own. He could brood upon the tragedy of sacrifice. He could exult in the glory of the hard will set against tyranny, set against it and overthrowing it. He could rejoice at intelligence gaining its victory over power. He could see in Prometheus [an ally] ["Pre-Promethean Poems," 1950, pp. 356-57].

Opinion has been sharply divided as to how adequately the poet used his model, but three general views may be suggested as typical: (1) Shelley, while not imitating, caught the general spirit of the ancients and was not unlike Aeschylus in his style; (2) Shelley was unsuccessful and actually perverted the Aeschylean materials; and (3) Shelley was not attempting an imitation of Aeschylus but was, rather, extending the earlier writer's work.

The first of these views was taken early, with comment on the Aeschylean quality in the Titan's monologues (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]; see Appendix D, Item XIV). Later, Vida Scudder held that Shelley was "steeped in the spirit of Aeschylus" without being plagiaristic (Edition, 1892, p. 121). *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* thought the poem dramatically "worthy, from the might and magnitude of its conceptions, to rank beside Æschylus" (1833, p. 338); and Thomas Medwin called it a "truly classical drama" (*Shelley*, 1847, p. 212), while R. Pickett Scott thought it was "in fact a Greek drama in the English language" but with Hebrew overtones (*Place of Shelley*, 1878, p. 21). With this Aubrey De Vere and Swinburne disagreed, the former holding that "in his 'Prometheus Unbound' his classical vein is too often checked by political or metaphysical disquisitions most inappropriately introduced," although he admitted an "Aeschylean energy" in it ("Poetic Versatility," 1849, p. 420); while the latter found the poem "magnificent and un-Hellenic" (*Letters*, 1865, XVIII, p. 28). More recently, however, Gilbert Highet has declared that "in *Prometheus Unbound* [Shelley] wrote for Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* a sequel which actually surpassed the Greek poet in nobility, if not in depth of thought" (*Classical Tradition*, 1949, p. 419).

As to the influence of general Greek thought and culture on Shelley's poem, this too was an early theme, with a writer in the *Literary Magnet* noting that when the poet turned "all the energy of his wonderful mind to the study of the ancients . . . [the] improvement was manifest: his style became full to overflowing of classical associations, and rich with allegorical fancies, and as celebrated for its grasp and depth of thought, as for the luxuriance of its ornament" (1825, p. 163). More recently Arthur Keith has pointed out that Shelley's absorption in the wonderful and beautiful led him to see nature instinct with life and beauty, and in this he was close to the primitive Greek mind, even pre-Aeschylean in his development, since Aeschylus sought a rationalistic interpretation of the universe, from

which Shelley shrank ("Imagery," 1924, p. 176). And J. A. K. Thomson has written:

> The most massive evidence of the inspiration drunk by Shelley from Greek poetry is *Prometheus Unbound*. It is of course only too easy to show how unlike Shelley's poem—for it is hardly a play—is to a typical Attic tragedy. To begin with, it is completely devoid of dramatic excitement or even interest, there is no plot, the spoken parts are too lyrical, the lyrical parts are given an excessive importance, the characters are altogether too shadowy. Yet when all this is said it may still be held that *Prometheus Unbound* . . . strikes one not indeed as like a drama of the Periclean age, but as like what the Periclean drama might have become in the hands of a great lyrical poet, who was not writing for the stage. A Greek would have been less shocked or even puzzled by it than most of Shelley's contemporaries [*Classical Background*, 1948, pp. 231-32].

These are typical of many expressions that have recognized Shelley's deep perception of the culture reflected in his *Prometheus Unbound*, but it has also been stressed that the poet was influenced by the art as well as by the writings of the past. Medwin recorded that "the Praxitelean shapes of the Vatican and the Capitol, were alike sources whence he drew his inspiration in this truly classical drama" (*Shelley*, 1847, p. 212); and, commenting on the figures created through the poet's mythopoeic faculty, Roden Noel wrote: "One might almost be looking, as I have done, at those sacred pictures in the temple-tombs of Thebes, painted so many thousands of years ago" ("Shelley," 1885, p. 121).

But there have been a number of writers who have not shared the feeling that Shelley caught the Aeschylean note. An early reviewer commented on the "audacity" of the poet in attempting "the very flight of [the] father of tragedy," and felt that Shelley, despite "very extraordinary powers of language and imagination" had "tried to pervert [the myth's] purpose and meaning" (*Blackwoods Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, item III); and another, while admiring the Aeschylean monologues of Prometheus, felt that in many other respects Shelley had marred and destroyed what he might have made worthy (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]; see Appendix D, item XIV). Later, it was objected that

> Shelley's substitute for the lost sequel [to *Prometheus Bound*] is unsuccessful. . . . Æschylus lived with the real up to the ideal, Shelley scarcely knew anything of the world as it is, and the little he knew he wished to alter. The consequence is, that in all his beautiful poetry the mind scarcely recognizes a familiar association. This is fatal to dramatic poetry [*American Quarterly*, 1837, pp. 196-97].

Still another anonymous writer held that only in Act I of the poem did Shelley suggest Aeschylus. This writer supported his criticism with one of the first uses of the poet's correspondence. He quoted from the letter to Godwin, December 7, 1817 (before Shelley left England), Shelley's report on his nervous state: "I find the very blades of grass and the boughs of distant trees present themselves to me with microscopical distinctness" (Julian, IX, 258). The writer commented: "No description of Shelley's

poetic style . . . would serve so well as this sentence to show how unlike his dramatic poem is to the Chained Prometheus of Æschylus. Shelley has produced a chaos of poetic material without symmetry and without even formal unity" (*British Review*, 1840, p. 111). George Gilfillan, however, while admiring the poem, found a blemish in the fact that the drama was, on the contrary, like that of the Greek dramatist. He held that "it fails from attempting too much. It is too like Eschylus to be equal to Eschylus. It reads, in part, like a translation from the Greek, and this is fatal to its success" (*Sketches*, 1845, p. 116). And Swinburne's admiration for Aeschylus led him to much the same position, which he supported more fully:

> At Este . . . Shelley began his great and daring venture of attempting to write a new 'Prometheus Unbound.' It is unnecessary to say that the result, regarded as a poem or complete work of creative and plastic power, can bear no comparison whatever with the transcendent and unapproachable work of the greatest poet that ever lived—comparable only with Shakespeare on the one hand, and with the greatest of Hebrew or Arabian prophets on the other. From the dramatic or from the prophetic point of view it is so insufficient as to be almost liable to the charge of absolute futility. But poetry has hardly ever risen higher into clearer air, on wings of more perfect music, than in the sublimer passages of the first and fourth acts ["Shelley," 1870, p. 336].

A more unusual argument was advanced by the Reverend William A. O'Conor, who did not believe that Aeschylus had written a sequel to the *Prometheus Bound*,[56] and who assumed that Shelley, therefore, had misconceived the Greek poet, as he had misconceived Christianity ("Prometheus," 1882, pp. 29-45). The objection of William J. Courthope was more orthodox, but no less severe:

> As a whole, in spite of its splendid passages, it is a tiresome poem. The imagery blazes without relief; the action flags amid the cloying sweetness of the melodies; the characters are mere empty abstractions employed on a monotonous repetition of a tale of pain, misery, and oppression which cloaks the dialect of the French Revolution. How different is the method of the genuine dramatist, as shown in the "Prometheus Vinctus"; how simple—indeed, how matter-of-fact—is the treatment of the myth; how straight-forward the plot; how well distinguished and how justly balanced the characters—the cheery manliness of Prometheus, the feminine sympathy of the Oceanides, the humorous fussiness of Oceanus, and the gentlemanly good breeding of Hermes! . . . Shelley's conception has its foundation in French sentimentalism; Æschylus built on Attic commonsense [*Liberal Movement*, 1885, pp. 148-49].

G. Lowes Dickinson believed that Shelley had lost the quality of Aeschylus by too great departure from the ancient legend. As a result, solidity

[56]James S. Thomson noted that E. G. Harman (*The Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus: Represented in English and Explained*, London, 1920) also denied that Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* and *Prometheus the Fire Bringer* ever existed, or that *Prometheus Bound* was philosophical: "Rather, [Harman] avers, it is completely contemporary. Prometheus is Aeschylus himself, and Zeus is the upstart Athenian government" ("Unbinding of Prometheus," 1945, pp. 4-5).

and verisimilitude were lost. To Aeschylus the myth was an architecture which he adorned but never obscured by his symbols, while with Shelley the myth was "a mere framework for the luxuriant growth of his metaphysical imagination," with, as a result, a weak and wavering plot (Edition, 1898, pp. vi-viii). And Elizabeth Meldrum wrote: "Shelley had a sense of principle, none of character. He cannot quite sustain the characters of the Greek gods who were, in Greek plays, written of according to their own proper characteristics. They become like his own Spirits of Air" ("Classical Background," 1948, p. 161).

The soundest interpretation of Shelley's relationship to Aeschylus, however, was that of the critics who felt that the poet was not attempting to imitate the Greek dramatist or rewrite the lost member of the trilogy but was, rather, advancing certain of the ideas in the *Prometheus Bound* to their modern implications. This was, in effect, Shelley's own position, as we have seen from his letters, and as a careful reading of his Preface will show. Thus, one of the early reviewers noted that Shelley added a symbolic meaning to the treatment in Aeschylus (*London-Critical Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, item IV); and the writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* may well have sensed this when he wrote: "It is not properly though an imitation . . . but it is what, had Æschylus lived in the nineteenth century, and been an Englishman, he might have written" (1848 [1823]; see Appendix D, item XIV). Medwin, too, found the poem "a bold and successful attempt, not so much to revive a lost play of Æschylus, as to make the allegory a medium for developing his abstruse and imaginative theories—an object he never lost sight of in any of his poems" (*Shelley*, 1847, p. 212). William B. Scott was more specific:

> To the Hellenic mind [Prometheus] was a Titan gifted with unconquerable will and the gift of seeing into futurity and prophesying. He was no more the representative of humanity and of its development intellectually through the ages, than Zeus was of the all-wise creator and sustainer we moderns call God. . . . [Shelley's poem] possesses to us moderns the grandest and most portentous significance, making all thrones tremble as well as that of Zeus [Edition, 1873, pp. xxii-xxiii].

Giovanni Boglietti felt that, although Shelley kept the principal lines of development of the Greek fable, he had brought it into happy accord with the development it had undergone, and with the development of the moral conscience of the world ("Prometeo," 1880, p. 52). Sidney Lanier, concerned with the growth of human personality from Aeschylus to modern times, used *Prometheus Unbound* to illustrate the modern elements, although he felt that as a result of the different audience, which would not look at the thunders and earthquakes as did the Greek, Shelley's drama had a "tang of insincerity, of dilettantism" in it; but he also felt that

> if the audience of Aeschylus had acquired that direct way of looking all phenomena in the face which is one of the incidents of our modern personality they would have perceived such an inadequacy between the thunders and earthquakes of Jove, on

> the one hand, and the immortal spirit of a Titan and a god like Prometheus, on the other, that the play, instead of being a religious and impressive spectacle to them, as it doubtless was, would have been simply a matter of ridicule.

Further, Lanier held that Shelley "was penetrated with modern ideas, but penetrated as a boy would be, crudely, overmuch, and with a constant tendency to the extravagant and illogical: so that I call him the modern boy" ("English Novel," 1884, pp. 85-90).

In 1893 a writer in the *Nation* held that *Prometheus Unbound* touched "on the new problem of humanity," and satisfied "its altering needs and creeds. It is likely that [Shelley] had some part in bringing about the reformation of social ideals which we see going on about us; it is likely that in this regard he struck the keynote of the coming century rather than our own" (p. 87). George Woodberry wrote:

> The ethical motive of Shelley, his allegorical meanings, his metaphysical suggestions, the development of the old and introduction of new characters, the conduct of the action, the interludes of pastoral, music and landscape, the use of new imaginary beings neither human nor divine, and the conception of universal nature, totally transform the primitive Æschylean myth [Cambridge Edition, 1901, p. 621].

George H. Clarke thought that the poem combined "the Greek sense of Fate, the Renaissance sense of hope, the Revolution sense of freedom, the Romantic sense of love, the modern sense of science. It completes Æschylus as England completes Greece" (Edition, 1907, p. 239); and F. H. Gile indicated that Aeschylus dealt with the desire and hope of freedom, Shelley with the how of it, while others must deal with the when in later centuries ("Prometheus," 1908, pp. 430-31).

Such comments are typical of many that might be cited, but, since the attitudes toward the philosophy of the poem will be outlined fully below, further illustrations will be reserved for that discussion. Here it will be in order to offer a composite tabulation of the more general comparisons that have been made with the *Prometheus Bound.*

Prometheus Bound	Prometheus Unbound
I. General Structure	
1. A unity described variously as grand, magnificent, sculpturesque, bleak, and compactly restrained (Delrieu, Gilfillan, Palgrave, H. Clarke, J. M. Brown, Prescott, Meldrum), together with an architecture adorned but never obscured (Dickinson) and an austere majesty (Gutteling).	1. A chaos of poetic material (*British Review*, 1840), exhibiting debauchery of the imagination (Delrieu); wordy, diffuse (Gilfillan), yet more complex and more organic (Scudder); or a many-tinted, symbolistic nature painting (H. Clarke) growing from a metaphysical imagination (Dickinson) and resulting in a complex phantasmagoria with redundance of style (Gutteling).
2. The full story used (Weaver).	2. The story only up to the point of the wedding used (Weaver).

3. The play works primarily through plot (Tillyard).

4. The consummate act would have been the unbinding (*British Review*, 1840).

5. The physical setting is stressed, and nothing is left to the imagination (Scudder).

6. It was written for objective theatrical presentation (Courthope).

7. Some grim humor is present (Campbell).

8. The play broadens to its imaginative scope (Weaver).

9. A realistic play (*American Quarterly*, 1837) containing a human interest (Gilfillan) that is definite, concrete (J. Bailey), and rooted always in human nature and human values (Bush), with real persons, whether divine or human, existing in a real world (Bowra).

3. Prometheus is isolated, and the stress is put on him in isolation (Tillyard).

4. The unbinding is dismissed in a stage direction (*British Review*, 1840), and Jupiter's dethronement is made the climax (James Thomson).

5. Stress is on the spiritual, with much left to the imagination (Scudder), although both use the play of the elements and emphasize heat and cold (Weaver).

6. It is a subjective reflection of Shelley himself (Courthope).

7. No humor is employed (Campbell).

8. The play starts with a broad imaginative scope (Weaver).

9. Inasmuch as Shelley scarcely knew anything of the world as it is (*American Quarterly*, 1837) the poem is void of human interest (Gilfillan), lacks solidity and verisimilitude (Dickinson), stresses the spirit rather than the body, the ideal rather than the real (J. Bailey), and with its incoherent symbols (Bowra) is too far from humanity (Bush). Shelley has forsaken both gods and men to concern himself with continents, spheres, and elements (Levin).

II. Characters

Prometheus

1. Prometheus, merely a Titan (Scott, Courthope) rather than a pure saint (J. Bailey) or an ideal hero (D. Sen), is nevertheless a distinct character who has healthy human truculence, even grim humor (Bush), yet who wavers between retribution and compromise (Campbell).

2. Foresight is his leading quality (Courthope).

3. He hates (Middleton), is fiery, untamed, revengeful (Scudder), violent and cunning (Prescott), and would gloat over the curse had he uttered it (Guthrie).

1. Prometheus, a representative of humanity (Scott) and a mere suffering philanthropist and rebel (Courthope), is a saint (J. Bailey) and the very type of heroism and moral perfection (D. Sen), who becomes soft and effeminate and is gradually submerged in the background (Bush), yet whose purpose is inflexible (Campbell).

2. Rebellion against constituted authority is his leading quality (Courthope).

3. He forgives (Lanier), has all-embracing pity (Scudder) and love (Prescott), and does not gloat (Guthrie).

4. He delivers a boastful recital of accomplishments (*Eclectic Magazine*, 1848), but his speeches are imposing and somber (Delrieu).

5. The revelation of the secret is humiliating (Middleton).

6. The emphasis is on physical suffering (*British Review*, 1840), which gives significance to his will (Weaver).

7. His punishment is harsh but deserved for his sin of elevating undeserving man (Hungerford).

8. His character is developed gradually through the play (Slater).

9. He agonizes (Levin).

4. His accomplishments are more gracefully related through Asia (*Eclectic Magazine*, 1848), and his speeches are eloquent only (Delrieu).

5. He refuses to reveal the secret and patiently awaits the ultimate omnipotence of the Good (Middleton), but he, too, repents for his hatred (Lea).

6. The emphasis on mental suffering weakens the dramatic effect (*British Review*, 1840), but is spiritual and modern (Lanier), and the pain, giving significance to the will, is even more sharply focused (Weaver).

7. His punishment is undeserved because Shelley resented the Aeschylean conception (Hungerford).

8. He is practically dropped after Act I (Slater).

9. He rhapsodizes (Levin).

Zeus-Jupiter

1. Zeus does not appear in person, but his character is clear (Weaver), and he is external (Prescott).

2. He is not a mere devil (J. Bailey).

3. Aeschylus has reverence if not esteem for Zeus (Guthrie), and, since he is not permanently tyrannical but in a passing mood, the reconciliation is reasonable (Harris).

4. Zeus takes the pleasant privilege of a god with Io (Weaver).

1. Jupiter is present, has a character similar to that of Zeus (Weaver), but is a creation of Prometheus' mind (Prescott).

2. He is a mere devil (J. Bailey).

3. Shelley has no reverence for Jupiter (Guthrie), and, since he is an abstraction, a permanent attitude of mind, no reconciliation is possible, only complete overthrow (Harris).

4. Jupiter's beastly ravishment of Thetis is stressed (Weaver).

Nymphs

1. They have kind, innocent virgin pity (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]).

2. They serve as chorus but are mere observers (Scudder), and are not individualized (Weaver). They are, however, appropriate to their roles since Ocean proposes mediation to Prometheus (Delrieu).

1. Asia, Ione, and Panthea are a disgusting travesty of Aeschylus' nymphs (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]).

2. Shelley adds voices of the whole creation; as chorus they further the action (Scudder), and the Oceanides are individualized (Weaver), but the chorus is a bizarre accessory, fantastic, in Shelley (Delrieu).

Io-Asia

1. Io is parallel to Asia (Prescott).

1. Asia is in every respect richer than Io (Prescott).

Mercury

1. He is a type character (Weaver), who is flippantly cruel (Scudder).	1. He is a more complex character (Weaver), who is well disposed toward Prometheus (Scudder).

Ocean

1. He is full of proverbs (Weaver).	1. He is more complex in character (Weaver).

III. Other Considerations

1. The play sketches a great deal in broad lines, but without a distinct philosophy of life (H. Clarke), and Aeschylus is satisfied with separate truths (Jack).	1. The play offers a complete spiritual and social philosophy (H. Clarke), with the persons and incidents possessing higher, because more mental and spiritual, significance (Prescott), and Shelley seeks the truth behind the myth (Jack).
2. It has an informing ethical imagination (Babbitt).	2. It lacks an informing ethical imagination (Babbitt).
3. Aeschylus accepts Necessity (Scudder), seeks a rationalistic interpretation of the universe (Keith) with a spiritual stoicism (Rutland), and a *rapprochement* between the Powerful and the Benignant (Campbell).	3. Shelley opposes Necessity with freedom and control over man's destiny (Scudder), shrinks from a rationalistic interpretation of the universe (Keith), lives by hopes and desires (Rutland), and can see nothing good in power as such (Campbell).
4. Aeschylus thinks in terms of universal moral law (Rutland), and deals with the desire and hope of freedom (Gile), but it is a blind hope (Scudder), for the sublime doctrine of love was foreign to him and to Greek myth (Herford).	4. Shelley thinks in terms of Mankind (Rutland), deals with the means to freedom (Gile), and adds love to hope (Scudder).[57]

[57]To this listing should be added the unique comparison made in 1882 by William O'Conor, who started from the assumption, noted above, that as there was no Aeschylean trilogy the story of the drama closed with the extant play. O'Conor viewed the problem in narrow Christian terms. He felt that Shelley misconceived both Aeschylus and Christianity, for the lover of men should have been shown vanquished, as a symbol to men "that men may not be ashamed to suffer for the right," just as the crucified Christ was a symbol superior to the triumphant Christ. O'Conor was thus led to the following comparisons ("Prometheus," *passim*):

PROMETHEUS BOUND	PROMETHEUS UNBOUND
1. An unjust god vs. a Prometheus who is vanquished, left bound, and remains a symbol of suffering and selflessness.	1. A triumphant, freed Prometheus who thereby loses his symbolic value for us.
2. Prometheus, distinct and isolated, proud of utterance, leads us to feel for all who suffer wrongly.	2. Prometheus, identified with the race, self-conscious of utterance, leads us to self-pity.
3. The closing scene inspires our continued opposition to tyranny.	3. Act III, scene iii removes all need for suffering Titans and is counter to human history and to human nature.

Comparisons with Goethe

The first important comparisons with Goethe were made by Julian Schmidt in 1852. Schmidt considered Shelley the channel through which the Faustian tradition entered English letters, and he found in Shelley's poetry the "cardinal errors" of *Faust:* (1) overstrained idealism, already taking the form of scepticism in Shelley, whom Schmidt regarded as an iconoclast in ethics and religion; (2) preference for superhuman themes; (3) a resultant disintegration of form; and (4) the allegorical tendency, with a constant shifting of viewpoint because the allegorical interpretation was but partially applicable (Price, "Julian Schmidt," pp. 33-35).

In England, Edward Dowden believed that "Goethe's 'Faust,' inferior in imaginative splendour to 'Prometheus Unbound,' expresses an order of ideas far juster and more profound" (*Shelley*, 1886, II, 264); but Richard Hutton found *Faust* as a whole splendid, while *Prometheus Unbound*, obscure and weak, was "splendid only in individual elements," the parts being greater than the whole and more beautiful out of context ("Shelley," 1876, p. 146). John Todhunter, however, thought Shelley superior to Goethe in vitalizing his personifications and in transmuting "philosophy into poetry" (*Study*, 1880, p. 135). Both poets, according to Steichen, agreed on the Saturnian, Jovian, and Promethean stages of existence, with the Saturnian representing rest, or the "unconscious vegetable life"; the Jovian, conflict, or "conscious existence into which evil has been introduced"; and the Promethean, attainment, or "conscious joy, an existence which has cast off evil" ("Study," 1904, pp. 49-50). Karl Heinemann noted that both poets turned against belief in a personal God and considered such belief the real foe and tyrant of man (*Gestalten der Griechen*, 1920, p. 30); and J. M. Brown saw in both poets the same "veiled" treatment of "the relations of the supernatural to the natural, the divine and demonic to the human. . . . But Shelley overdid the method in his great play, as his great European master in his second part of *Faust*" (*Study*, 1905, p. 9). Philo Buck, indeed, considered it "more than possible that the form and much of the apparatus of the *Prometheus Unbound* owes itself directly to the *Faust*, and to the Helena episode as this had appeared in its earlier version." He noted also that both Goethe and Shelley were interested in science (with Goethe the more "ardent and fruitful observer and experimenter"), and

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Earlier, George Gilfillan had also found the Aeschylean treatment congenial to Christianity. However, he assumed a lost play but believed that in it Aeschylus either "meant to represent Jove as *repentant*," thus making Prometheus "the forgiver instead of the forgiven," or, more probably, Aeschylus "meant to make it appear that Jove had been 'playing a part' . . . and that he meant to surprise Prometheus . . . by producing suddenly the reasons which had made him assume the aspect of the oppressor, and convince even his victim that his sufferings had been disguised benefits." This, Gilfillan thought, would give "almost a Christian meaning to the whole fable of the 'Prometheus' " ("Prometheus," 1855, p. 422).

that both attempted the synthesis of science and art ("Goethe and Shelley," 1932, pp. 85-86).

Contrasts between *Faust* and *Prometheus Unbound* may be tabulated as follows:[58]

FAUST	PROMETHEUS UNBOUND
1. The advance is from error to truth, from weakness to strength, from inward disruption to inward harmony, from egoism to self-transcending love: a moral and spiritual ascension (Dowden).[59]	1. There is simple deliverance from the tyranny of circumstance or of fate (Dowden).

[58]Shelley did not know Goethe's fragmentary *Prometheus*, as it was not printed until 1830, although the soliloquy which is sometimes made to comprise the third act had been published in 1789 (John Bailey, "Prometheus in Poetry," 1923, p. 134). There is no evidence that Shelley knew even this soliloquy, however, and the comparisons that have been made with the German *Prometheus* are included here only because of the related interest in *Faust* (see Appendix E for an outline of Goethe's *Prometheus* fragment):

PROMETHEUS	PROMETHEUS UNBOUND
1. The fragment typifies the progressive spirit of art (H. Clarke), and the esthetic conception in the development of the myth (Bush).	1. It typifies the progressive mind of the human race struggling to combat error with truth (H. Clarke), and the rebellious or humanitarian conception in the development of the myth (Bush).
2. Prometheus is an utterly independent being over whom Zeus has no power as long as he is true to his chosen ideals (H. Clarke).	2. Prometheus is chained, and under Jupiter's power (H. Clarke).
3. Since Prometheus himself rules, he never complains against Zeus, who represents conventions which the world thinks important, standards conserved from the past (H. Clarke).	3. He cries out against Jupiter, who represents tyranny and evil (H. Clarke).
4. Prometheus shapes men in his own image and scorns Zeus (Herford).	4. He is visioned as the perfected man of the future (Herford).
5. Prometheus is against the impotence, idleness, and dullness of the gods (J. Bailey).	5. He is against the selfishness and cruelty of Jupiter (J. Bailey).

Shelley's poem has also been compared with *Faust II* (not published until 1832) in its grandeur of idea, boldness of creation, and splendor of details (Edouard Schuré, "Poète panthéiste," 1877, p. 777).

[59]William Guthrie held that in Shelley the advance was similar to that in *Faust*, only Shelley viewed the strength as already imminent in the weakness and in the error: "[That] is to Shelley revelation, which in Faust seems attainment" (*Poet Prophets*, 1897, p. 156). On this point a fuller statement from Philo Buck should be included: "Nowhere is the difference between Shelley and Goethe greater, however, than in their attitude towards man's evolution. . . . [To Shelley] it is mystical and catastrophic. . . . It got itself confused with all manner of vitalisms and spiritisms of ether and electricity and the paraphernalia of transcendentalism. . . . But Goethe takes

2. Goethe never lost the zest of the struggle and saw before man eternal strife and fruitful creative labor (Buck).

3. Concerned as he was with attainment as a process, Goethe would don the godlike (Guthrie).

4. For Goethe, evil (denied by showing it creates good) is not adventitious but essential, and sin is a condition of progress (Steichen).

5. The Promethean period is a mere illusion, so Faust dies still striving for the ideal (Steichen).

6. Goethe, interested in what is going on today, offers a beautiful picture of what we are now (Steichen).

7. Goethe knew where imagination should stop and the practical affairs of life begin (Buck).

8. Mephistopheles is not pure evil, and the Faust-Mephistopheles conflict is not one to the death (Buck).

2. Shelley longed for peace and saw an eternity of peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of conquest (Buck).

3. Concerned with the revelation of the divine in the human, Shelley would doff the human (Guthrie).

4. For Shelley, evil (denied by showing it destroys itself) is not bound up with consciousness, is adventitious, impedes progress, comes from without and can be shaken off (Steichen).

5. The Jovian period is potentially the Promethean (Steichen).

6. Shelley, distressed about the present, offers a beautiful expression of what seems to us an imaginary, unreal world (Steichen).

7. To Shelley there were no limits when man has once gained his rightful heritage (Buck).

8. Jupiter is pure evil, and Prometheus' fight is to the death (Buck).

Comparisons with Milton

In considering the influence of Milton on *Prometheus Unbound*, most of the critical attention has been given to specific parallels in the text, but the more general references have treated of verse techniques as well as of characters and ideas. The verse considerations have been dealt with above, where it was pointed out that, although a Miltonic echo was recognized, the Shelleyan quality was generally regarded as dominant, a quality characteristically described as "aërial" (Arthur Symons) or "unique in haunting, clinging melody" (Vida Scudder), as opposed to the organlike power and greater compass of Milton's verse (John Bailey).

With respect to the scope of the two poets, R. Pickett Scott noted that, while Milton clothed in verse ideas already in vogue, and sought to justify the ways of God to man, Shelley gave body to "shapes that haunt thought's wildernesses" and tried to justify the ways of man in his own eyes (*Place of Shelley*, 1878, p. 22). But William J. Alexander felt that *Prometheus Unbound* gave "a view of the history of the universe, past and to come, as

a more modest course. . . . After all, Everyman is a creature of flesh and blood, of human intelligence and human passion and human weakness—as was Faust—why picture him as the inflexible Titan, as superhuman in his agony as he is in his humility and renunciation? One can live with Goethe and discover always the right inspiration and the right comment. One finds the rarefied atmosphere of a Prometheus at times difficult breathing" ("Goethe and Shelley," 1932, p. 100).

Milton gives another view of the same subject in *Paradise Lost*," reflecting the philosophical ideas current in pre-Revolutionary France as *Paradise Lost* reflected the philosophy of Puritanism (Edition, 1898, pp. 314-15); and William P. Ker added that in Shelley's poem the "scheme of redemption [is] as fixed as that of *Paradise Lost*. . . . It is the ultimate triumph of pure Reason and of the Soul of the world" ("Shelley," 1923, p. 46). Douglas Bush, however, held that Shelley had no thought of Milton's (or of Aeschylus') "total philosophic design but only of individual character isolated from the plot, and, with his usual Manicheism, he sees the antagonists in terms of black and white" (*Mythology*, 1937, p. 152).

J. Macmillan Brown turned his attention to *Samson Agonistes*, which he considered "far more like its model the *Prometheus Bound* than is Shelley's great drama" (*Study*, 1905, p. 11) because it

> takes the most uncompromising view of the perplexities of life and yet reaches a simple unity by the force of faith in the righteous government of the world, [while Shelley] shuts his eyes to the grossness and animality of much of human nature and thus gains faith in his solution of the human problem; he would purify the world by sweeping away all existing institutions and taking care that none be put in their place.

Also, "Milton keeps his drama tragic to the last . . . whereas Shelley allows his play to linger on an act beyond the fall of Jove and the resumption of self-control by human thought." On the other hand, Brown thought, each drama has "a fault that is its greatest merit . . . the purely lyrical nature of its poetry" (pp. 14-16). J. A. K. Thomson, however, held that Shelley's poem "is more essentially Greek in spirit, though less in form, than *Samson Agonistes*, which is really the tragedy not of Samson but of John Milton. Shelley had one necessary qualification of a dramatist which was denied to Milton—he could forget himself" (*Classical Background*, 1948, p. 232).

As to comparisons of characters, although Helene Richter was alone in dealing with Asia, pointing out that Milton's Eve represented physical beauty whereas Asia represented intellectual beauty (*Shelley*, 1898, pp. 417-18), comparisons of Satan and Prometheus have, of course, been many. Vida Scudder held that Aeschylus' Prometheus was, in a sense, the parent of both (Edition, 1892, p. 125); the *Dublin University Magazine* in 1877 listed their similarities as iron determination, self-contained and self-supporting pride, defiance of fate, and calm and inflexible will; and J. M. Brown pointed out that in the two poems it is Satan and Prometheus alone who have the character and the imperfections to make them dramatically interesting (*Study*, 1905, pp. 124-25). But differences have been stressed more frequently than likenesses, and these may be tabulated as follows:

SATAN	PROMETHEUS
1. Satan has enormous, selfish, all-conquering pride (Gilfillan; *Dublin*	1. Pride is lacking in Prometheus (Gilfillan) because of his self-surrender,

University Magazine, 1877; Todhunter), and elemental dignity (Bald).

2. His is an active malignity (R. Scott), and in hatred he drags down mankind and opposes goodness (*Dublin University Magazine*, 1877).

3. With no consolation from hope, he endures by sheer power of will (*Dublin University Magazine*, 1877; R. Scott).

4. He opposes the omnipotence of God (R. Scott), the one to whom he owes everything (*Dublin University Magazine*, 1877).

5. He (like Keats's Titans) is marked by wild regret and frantic indignation (Salt), and his hate and scorn are intensified by Milton (Scudder).

6. He and the infernal world were believed real by Milton (*Quarterly Review*, 1887).

self-devotion (Todhunter), and disinterestedness (Bald), and, believing in his own innocence, he waits (*Dublin University Magazine*, 1877).

2. With long-suffering love (R. Scott), he is wise, firm, and good, defending mankind and opposing crime (*Dublin University Magazine*, 1877).

3. He looks forward with undying hope (R. Scott) to the hour of triumph, and pities the doom of his rival (*Dublin University Magazine*, 1877).

4. He gave Jupiter all he has (*Dublin University Magazine*, 1877), and opposes the reigning power of evil (R. Scott).

5. In his temporary subjection he is calm, passionless, and fearless (Salt), and his noblest elements are developed by Shelley (Scudder).

6. Shelley dealt with airy abstractions and the shadows of a dream (*Quarterly Review*, 1887).

Comparisons with Dante and Spenser

Comparisons with Dante, while not numerous, have frequently been penetrating and illuminating. In 1876 R. A. Holland, in defending Shelley's lack of human incidents and passions in the poem, argued that "the intrusion of an earthly character would mar its speculative integrity," and that in this the poem differed from those of Dante and Goethe ("Soul of Shelley," p. 157). Shelley has frequently been ranked with, or just below, the Italian poet in inspiration (e.g., by George Barnett Smith and Rossetti), and Herbert Read considered that, in his conception of love as the guiding principle of the universe, Shelley was "much nearer to Dante than to Plato" ("Optimistic Philosopher," 1950, p. 378). To Benjamin Kurtz both Beatrice and Asia were "idealizations of love, each gazing upon her peculiar Heaven," but Beatrice was "almost completely shorn" of sensuousness, while Asia was "an apotheosis of the sensuous" (Introduction, 1933, p. xxviii); and James Notopoulos pointed out that, like Spenser's Una, "Asia is seen through a veil, so beautiful is she" (*Platonism of Shelley*, 1949, p. 248). But the more important, and the more detailed, comparisons have been made by Vida Scudder and Levi Kuhns.

In a chapter called "Ideals of Redemption, Mediæval and Modern" (*Life of the Spirit*, 1895, pp. 96-144), Miss Scudder developed her theme around Dante, Spenser,[60] and Shelley as representing, respectively, the

[60]Other than in Miss Scudder's chapter (and in incidental references in her edition of the poem, already noted) general comparisons with Spenser have been few, although specific echoes have frequently been pointed out (see the Critical Notes). T. Böhme

Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Revolution. "To Dante, the struggle of life is pilgrimage; to Spenser, it is warfare; to Shelley, it is endurance"; but all three, she held, told the story of the human soul as it moved from passion to peace, with Shelley's Hellenism representing the forerunner of that neopaganism which has sought to escape Christian influence and return to classic forms. To her, Act I of *Prometheus Unbound* was the "Inferno" of Shelley, Act II "Shelley's version of the journey up the purifying Mount," and Acts III and IV the final triumph.

In all three poems Miss Scudder found the same dominant interests: (1) pure interest of story; (2) political interest; and (3) spiritual interest. "Pain, expiation, glory,—under this threefold experience life is conceived in every century. But the centuries differ in their thought of the source of the pain, the nature of the expiation, the meaning of the glory." The problem for Dante she conceived to be the purification of the soul; for Spenser, the routing of the powers of wrong; for Shelley, the liberation of the soul (with man innately good and purity an instinct; by "the force of Revolution, man is at last set free"). "The aim of Dante is holiness; but the aim of Shelley is freedom."

Miss Scudder saw the protagonists as Dante the Mystic, Arthur the Knight, and Prometheus the Rebel, with the rebel (unlike the heroes in Aeschylus and Milton) "not only recognized, but recognized with pride." To her Dante was the most vivid, Spenser's knights being "mere painted shadows" and Prometheus a puppet ("a brief list of abstract qualities, and we are done with him"): "The majesty of Prometheus springs from his resistance of tyranny without; but, having no foes to fight within, he suggests vacuity." Moreover, she felt that "Dante's love is organic, human, varied," while that of Prometheus was "a benevolence monotonously diffused."

In considering the ethical scope of the three poems, Miss Scudder noted that to Dante sin was "definite, hideous, obvious"; to Spenser it came "with a fair face, disguised in forms of sanctity and beauty"; while to Shelley "sin is gone. Disbelief in moral evil was part of the creed of Shelley's day." As a result she felt that Shelley lost relief and variety in eliminating sin from his picture of human life, but that he recognized "what no older poet ever knew, the insidious and profound danger of doubt" which was the "very source and centre of his Titan's pain," and that in his "consciousness of altruism and of doubt he signals the era of to-day, and therefore we hail him prophet."

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found Spenserian evidence only in "slight traces" and saw Dante as the more important influence (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, 1911, p. 310). O. Elton felt that in Shelley "the meaning of the drama is . . . clearer than its myth—a contrary effect to that which is produced by the *Faerie Queene*" (*Shelley*, 1912, p. 35); and J. Kooistra held that, while Spenser wished to tell a story, with Shelley the spiritual meaning was the thing, and the latter poet was not strong in allegory ("Prometheus," 1916, p. 214).

As to the symbols of salvation, in all three "salvation comes through women. . . . They purify, and they reveal"; and Miss Scudder noted that in each poem there was a separation, and a reunion that led to final triumph. To all three poets, also, the women were "the source whence radiance streams," with the glory at first darkened, and "the movement towards victory . . . marked by their growth in radiance." The love between Prometheus and Asia Miss Scudder felt was less concrete than that in Dante and Spenser; in Shelley it was "absolute but remote from human comprehension. . . . Shelley can give us love in absence, the love that is yearning; but the love that is possession he cannot give." Both Dante and Shelley were mystics, according to Miss Scudder, but "the 'beauty unbeheld,' whereof Asia is the shadow, is the Anima Mundi, the soul of the natural world; the vision whereon gaze the eyes of Beatrice is the Face of God . . . [and Asia] brings no message of the Divine."

Finally, Miss Scudder treated of the "Ideals of Triumph" and found that in Dante and Spenser "help from above descends through countless ministries," but, in Shelley, "angels have given place to the personified forces of nature, or the instincts of the soul of man. . . . A kindled consciousness of the abounding but elusive life in nature has replaced the old faith in supernatural help. . . . Shelley knows no heaven but a regenerate earth," and the life of Prometheus and Asia after the reunion palls on us, as inevitably in a utopia. Dante was successful because his Paradise was a "frank and exclusive use of symbol," whereas in Shelley there was occasional intrusion of literal fact; and in Dante's peculiar faith Soul was the supreme reality, whereas Shelley could offer no vision of the Absolute. And Miss Scudder concluded that the difference was that between Freedom Spiritual and Freedom Natural. Shelley longed "for a state of absolute equality, unrestrained liberty, a state where, as we instinctively feel, growth cannot be." With the Christian Dante it was freedom won through long discipline; with the revolutionary Shelley it was freedom as an innate right: "If the modern thought of salvation is broader, to attain it we are left with less help."

Levi Kuhns found the *Paradiso* especially comparable to *Prometheus Unbound* in that both made the same use of light, of love as the principle of life, of music, and of dance. He also found the spirits of the nine heavens paralleled many times in Shelley's poem. But where Dante was medieval, Shelley was modern; and where Dante, profoundly religious, made God the measure of all things, Shelley made man the measure. Kuhns's detailed parallels will be found in the Critical Notes of the present edition, but he pointed out that, more important than specific echoes, "the spirit of Dante pervades the whole of Shelley's poetry" (*Dante and the Poets*, 1904, pp. 188-96).

Finally, Traugott Böhme concluded that Shelley's method, especially in the treatment of Asia,

is no longer Spenserian, but absolutely Dantesque. . . . The influence of the Dantesque figures of light which are enthroned high above the earthly and do not mix in earthly conflicts has . . . in general forced the Spenserian allegory very much into the background [*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, 1911, p. 310].

Comparisons with Godwin

In 1907 Arthur Symons offered this explanation of the prevailing attitude toward Shelley in his own day:

> What seems to us abnormal in its innocence was to them abnormal in guilt; they imagined a revolution behind every invocation to liberty, and saw Godwin chariotted in the clouds of *Prometheus Unbound*. They saw nothing else there. . . . England still feared thought, and still looked upon poetry as worth fearing ["Shelley," p. 347].

This is a fair summary of the comparisons with Godwin down to the end of the century,[61] with the attitude finding its extreme statement in 1913 as H. N. Brailsford wrote: "It would be no exaggeration to say that Godwin formed Shelley's mind, and that *Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas* were the greatest of Godwin's works" (*Shelley, Godwin*, 174).

George Woodberry, however, suggested that "Plato has displaced Godwin and the eighteenth century philosophers in the intellectual sphere, though . . . without entirely excluding them" (Cambridge Edition, 1901, 622); and William Butler Yeats considered that Shelley's "liberty was so much more than the liberty of *Political Justice* that it was one with Intellectual Beauty" ("Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," 1900, p. 81). Arthur M. D. Hughes, also, saw an advance over Godwin: "Shelley has converted the bald propositions of *Political Justice* into the core of a mystic faith and raised the noblest monument in literature to the cause which he served" (Edition, 1910, p. 182); as did C. H. Herford, who held that, while Shelley's "Godwinian creed had [in respect of perfectibility] undergone no abatement whatever," nonetheless "the sublime doctrine of love was foreign" to Godwin, and, "under forms of thought derived from the atheist and materialist Godwin, Shelley has given, in *Prometheus Unbound*, magnificent expression to the faith of Plato and of Christ" (*History*, 1915, pp. 64-65, 67). Benjamin Kurtz concluded that the Platonism "superimposed upon Godwinism . . . makes the great difference between the more strident declamation of *Queen Mab* and *Islam*, and the lovely wisdom of *Prometheus Unbound*" (*Pursuit of Death*, 1933, p. 185). Amiyakumar Sen, too, felt that Shelley had gone beyond Godwin in leading Asia through "a series of

[61]Typical comments: *Dublin Magazine* (1820): Shelley erred in applying ideals to the test of experience (see Appendix D, item VI); L. Stephen: "a continued reflection of Godwin's characteristic views" ("Godwin and Shelley," 1879, p. 379); E. Dowden (like Slater, Scudder, Hancock): "now as always, [Shelley] wrote as the disciple of William Godwin" (*Shelley*, 1886, II, 264); W. J. Courthope: "foundation in Godwinian axioms" (*History*, 1910, p. 307).

educative experiences," whereas Godwin's Reason would save mankind at once (*Studies*, 1936, p. 135).[62]

Ellsworth Barnard specifically opposed those who built up the "misconception" that Shelley "considers evil to be the outgrowth of institutions," and that *Prometheus Unbound* was "an illustration of this Godwinian dogma" (*Shelley's Religion*, 1937, pp. 121-22). He later noted that Shelley differed from Godwin in another respect, for "Godwin's doctrine of 'perfectibility,' as set forth in *Political Justice*, involves 'perpetual improvement' and not attainment of perfection, to which it is expressly opposed" (Edition, 1944, p. 88). And A. E. Rodway offered a succinct statement of Shelley's advance over Godwin, which he found in

> the transmutation of Godwin's "benevolence as means" to Shelley's "love as an end"; the greater emphasis on "the empire of feeling"; the vision, in *Prometheus Unbound*, of man's future undividedness, when passion and reason are one (Passion being, as it were, Nature-as-Love; Reason, Nature-as-Necessity); and finally, the emphasis on the need for a change of heart so that this union can come about. This will happen when man is in harmony with Nature where the union is already effected. Such union gives a *spiritual* power analogous to the colder *rational* non-violence of Godwin. It is as poetry to prose. . . . As [Shelley] developed, Godwin's principles remained the basic elements of his thought, but were transmuted into his own substance [*Godwin*, 1952, pp. 49-50].

Comparisons with Plato

The general influence of Plato on *Prometheus Unbound* has been variously stressed. To David M. Moir the poem was "as unintelligible as not a few of the superlatively metaphysical reveries of Plato, Kant, and Coleridge" (*Sketches*, 1887, p. 227). Vida Scudder ascribed to Godwin and Plato the poet's communist anarchical attitude toward authority (Edition, 1892, p. xx); and Woodberry and Kurtz, as we have just seen, recognized that Godwin was being replaced by Plato in *Prometheus Unbound*. Oliver Elton felt that, like Plato, Shelley "watches life with profound intelligence from afar, but . . . rejects it" (*Shelley*, 1912, p. 35). But the first serious study of the relationship between the two was made by Lilian Winstanley. She pointed out that Shelley's ideas came naturally to "the disciple of the thinker who was, above all others, most daring in [social and sexual] speculations"; and she traced, with illustrations of Shelley's use, the four

[62]But he also held that Godwin's "principle of non-resistance to evil except by an enlightenment of the human intellect . . . is the cornerstone, as it were, of the *Prometheus Unbound*" (p. 211). To this George Cowling would have agreed: "The mind of Shelley's Prometheus is that of William Godwin in *Political Justice*, V. 11 [II, 98]: 'I could endure all that injustice or caprice could inflict, provided that I possessed, in the resource of a firm mind, the power of looking down with pity on my tyrant, and of knowing that I had that within, that sacred character of truth, virtue and fortitude, which all his injustice could not reach' " (*Shelley*, 1936, p. 62); as would D. Bush: "Although Shelley had been moving from Godwinism toward a kind of Platonism, the millennium he envisions is still Godwinian" (*English Poetry*, 1952, pp. 144-45).

Platonic groups of ideas centering around (1) general religious and philosophical speculations, (2) cosmic speculations, (3) social and political considerations, and (4) the theory of love ("Platonism in Shelley," 1913, pp. 73-74). As these bear on *Prometheus Unbound* they have been indicated in the Critical Notes of the present edition.

Johanna Gutteling felt that Plato's influence led Shelley to produce a "complex phantasmagoria, in which the Platonic mysticism is a feature no less striking than the profuseness of imagery and the redundance of style" (*Hellenic Influence*, 1922, p. 95); but Bennett Weaver thought that Shelley "was conscious that Jesus stood between him and Plato, adding the spacious infinitude of the uttermost genius to the best thoughts of the Greek" (*Understanding of Shelley*, 1932, p. 160). Carl Grabo, too, held that "the ethics of Christ is fused with the metaphysics of Plato" (*Interpretation*, 1935, p. 13); but he believed that "the neo-Platonic philosophy as set forth in Proclus, Porphyry, and Plotinus more clearly elucidates *Prometheus Unbound* than do the Platonic dialogues. Plato . . . offers no philosophic system. This the neo-Platonists do offer, and Shelley's system in *Prometheus Unbound* is akin to theirs" (pp. 9-10).[63] While Grabo dealt extensively with the Platonic tradition,[64] it was James Notopoulos who, in this area, made the most complete and detailed study to date.

Notopoulos felt that experience plus the reading of Berkeley and Plato shaped the final expression in Shelley's poem. Personal and national disappointments showed the poet that ideal perfection was not of this world, and so Necessity gave way to idealism. In the idea of Intellectual Beauty Shelley found, like Plato's lover in the *Phaedrus*, "the world of mind where man is unconquered by the world of evil and tyranny." Compared to that world, this one was a veil, and Shelley came to hope for the regeneration of man through conversion of the soul and mind, even as did Plato (*Platonism of Shelley*, 1949, p. 237). Notopoulos distinguished three types of Platonism and held that Shelley combined all three in his work: (1) Indirect

[63]Carlos Baker, in commenting on Grabo's work, found it satisfactory except where the critic was "led to apply to the interpretation of a given passage a concept either far from Shelley's customary views or not demonstrably known to the poet, who, though learned, was not so learned as Professor Grabo. The so-called neo-Platonic interpretation is, however, so deeply informed by ethical considerations that Grabo's is only a modification of the traditional view that the poem is a moral allegory" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, p. 286). Roy Male has suggested that "Shelley's well-known enthusiasm for Plato's *Dialogues* and his translation of the *Symposium* have obscured the fact that a primary source of his pervasive theory of love lies in the eighteenth-century development of the doctrine of sympathy . . . [i.e.,] the broader social impulse as well as a means for psychological analysis" ("Shelley and Sympathy," 1950, p. 183).

[64]This tradition Richard Fogle later defended as no heresy, but "one of two great streams, the Platonic and the Aristotelean, into which all 'creative' writing may be divided." He held that "*Prometheus Unbound* is neither a fascinating sport nor a baseless fantasy; it is a supreme example of a permanent mode in literature" ("Image and Imagelessness," 1952, p. 25).

Platonism, represented by "the Platonist who is influenced by Plato indirectly, through Plato's plastic interpenetration in the thought and history of civilization"; (2) Direct Platonism, represented by "the Platonist who studies, accepts, and is directly influenced by Plato's thought as contained in the Dialogues"; and (3) Natural Platonism, represented by "the Platonist who has Plato's wonder, inspiration, and insight into the same realm of speculation" (p. 4). *Prometheus Unbound*, then, was in Notopoulos' opinion the fruition of Shelley's Platonism, derivative and natural. Both Plato and Shelley stressed the need of moral wisdom and virtue in poetry; both mingled science and poetry; both used symbolism despite their mutual belief that the deep truth was imageless; in both this symbolism was either natural ("essentially concerned with the use of pure sense perceptions in the character of symbols") or artificial ("concerned with the imaginative and arbitrary use of common symbols in an uncommon and novel way"); and both shared ideas on the problem of evil—for, even though neither was consistent in his views, both agreed that evil belonged to the realm of appearance and not to that of Reality, and that it was accidental, in Shelley to be overcome by will, in Plato by "mastery in the soul of the rational element" (pp. 232-36).

In Notopoulos' opinion, also, *Prometheus Unbound* was motivated primarily by Shelley's reading of the *Republic*, although the *Symposium* shaped its expression in terms of Beauty: "The *Republic* appealed to Shelley the reformer, whereas the *Symposium* appealed to Shelley the poet and lover; Shelley manifests both of these sides of his nature in the *Prometheus Unbound*." And in the use of Asia as the symbol of Love, Notopoulos held that Shelley followed the Platonic tradition of Dante, Spenser, and Wieland, all of whom influenced him (pp. 238-39).

Comparisons with Byron

Comparisons relating *Prometheus Unbound* to several poems of Byron have been neither so numerous nor so detailed. The first of any importance was given in a development of the "Satanic School" theme in 1839, wherein the writer linked *Cain* and Shelley's poem by arguing that

> in the page of Byron and of Shelley, strains of the loftiest religious sentiment are found, [but] these strains seem like the voices of fallen angels, singing, in a dream in the lower world, one of the not yet forgotten chants of heaven, and when the fugitive dream has fled, again joining in the rebellious shouts of hell. The choice and mode of treating of such subjects, as Cain and Prometheus, show that these two master-spirits of the Satanic School, do not feel that Faith is wiser than doubt, and Reverence is nobler than rebellion [*Christian Examiner*, 1839, p. 149].

George Gilfillan described Prometheus as a figure "between man, demon, and deity," who lacked the "lurid malignity" of Byron's Lucifer ("Shelley," 1845, p. 95); while R. Pickett Scott suggested that as *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* was "the shout of a strong man rejoicing in his strength," so

Prometheus Unbound was "the glad pæan of one who suddenly discovers the true secret of all harmony, and who pours forth his very soul in song" (*Place of Shelley*, 1878, p. 25).

In comparing Manfred and Shelley's Prometheus, Helene Richter held that the latter was not marked by scorn of humans, as was Manfred, but by love; Prometheus did penance for mankind, whereas Manfred did penance for a personal guilt; Prometheus overcame his fate through patience and noble suffering, whereas Manfred boasted of his pride; Prometheus was at one with all created things, especially humanity, whereas Manfred's love of nature was a flight from the world; and Prometheus was saved by love, whereas Manfred was trapped by love into a situation from which only death could save him (*Shelley*, 1898, pp. 413-16). *Manfred* was also thought to be one possible source of the lyrical effectiveness of Shelley's poem (N. I. White, *Shelley*, 1940, II, 134).

As to Byron's *Prometheus* (see Appendix E), Richard Ackermann thought that Shelley got hints, including the allegorical, for his hero and for Jupiter from this poem ("Studien," 1892, p. 31). Byron's Prometheus was, according to Charles Herford, "a symbol of the divineness, the heroic endurance and the 'funereal destiny' of man. . . . But, for Shelley, no symbol of humanity could suffice which excluded the perfected man of the future he confidently foresaw" (*History*, 1915, p. 64). Llewellyn Buell, too, found similarity in the general tone of the two poems, as well as several specific parallels ("Byron and Shelley," 1917, pp. 312-13); and Douglas Bush linked Shelley and the Byron of *Prometheus* as adherents of the "rebellious or humanitarian" rather than the aesthetic development of the Promethean theme, with Byron's hero "the Prometheus of Shelley's opening lines; he would have uttered the curse against Jupiter, he would never have retracted it" (*Mythology*, 1937, pp. 78-79).

The strongest assertion of Byron's influence on the poem, however, has come from G. Wilson Knight, who held that "the unnamed parent was, very clearly, Byron." Knight cited influence from *Prometheus*, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, and *Manfred*, and held Jupiter to be, in many respects, "a precise duplication of Arimanes" in the last poem, although the "ethical complexities of *Manfred* are in Shelley replaced by the black and white opposition of a bad Jupiter against a good Prometheus, with a final dissolution of *drama* . . . in an un-Byronic lyric mysticism written after his immediate influence had waned." Act I was thus most strongly influenced, especially by the "Promethean stanzas" in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (see preliminary note to Act I in Critical Notes). It was on the basis of these stanzas that Knight held Byron to be the "unnamed parent" of *Prometheus Unbound*:

> Shelley and others . . . implored [Byron] to house his genius in a great poem of traditional sort. But he was instinctively impelled to aim at something higher; in him literature had taken on flesh and blood, poetry had become indecently and

threateningly alive; and that is why everyone was always offering him advice, trying to get the Djinn back into the bottle. In these Promethean stanzas Byron had, as never before, spoken out in person, thrown off the mask, and come before his public as a confessed Titan. I suggest that Shelley was most deeply disturbed, and, purposely or instinctively, proceeded as quickly as possible to bottle up the dreaded substance once more in his own magnificent and highly respectable fiction: that, and that only, was its proper home. After all, our culture has no place for the reality [*Byron*, 1952, pp. 257-59].

Comparisons with Calder´n

Finally, Shelley's interest in Calderón led Salvador de Madariaga to compare the two writers. He concluded, with respect to *Prometheus Unbound*, that Shelley, like Calderón, was "too deeply obsessed with *man*" to write of *men*, and that there was, despite the charges of deficiency in human interest, no lack of it. Calderón, as a priest, knew what man's destiny was, but

> Shelley, on the contrary . . . was in the dark, and his preoccupation was born of doubt and anxiety. . . . Thus, unable to find serenity in resignation like Shakespeare, or peace in faith like Calderón, Shelley spent his short years hovering over the future city of his dreams when hope sustained the wings of his imagination, or, when hope failed him, wailing over his own misery and the world's wrong" (*Shelley and Calderón*, 1920, p. 24).[65]

Elizabeth Ebeling extended the inquiry, with particular attention to *Prometheus Unbound* and the *Magico Prodigioso*, and offered a more detailed comparison. She found both writers alike in vastness, intensity, universality, lack of comedy, dogmatism, strict and stern adherence to a fixed idea, taste for weird and fantastic scenery, unearthiness of theme and execution, and the salvation of man as theme ("Shelley tinged with revolution and love, Calderón with Christian dogma"). Yet, as artists, she felt that Calderón the Catholic often took precedence over Calderón the poet; whereas Shelley was always the poet first, and differed from other "thesis" writers because of his Platonism, because his revolutionary dogma was the result of a passionate love of humanity, and because he was a great and enduring artist ("Sources," 1931, p. 73).[66]

[65]The last is an interesting echo of Carlyle's description, in "Characteristics" (1831): "Hear a Shelley filling the earth with inarticulate wail; like the infinite, inarticulate grief and weeping of forsaken infants" (*Essays*, III, 31).

[66]Interest in comparative analyses of the Prometheus story was focused in 1897 in a "new idea in teaching English" offered by the editors of *Poet Lore*. They presented an elaborate study plan (with detailed study suggestions) under the following headings: The Origin of the Prometheus Myth; The Greek Prometheus Stories and Their Interpretation; The Development of the Myth in Aeschylus; New Aspects of the Myth Brought Out by Shelley; Classic Influences Observable in the Form of Shelley's *Prometheus;* Cosmic Elements in Shelley's *Prometheus;* Grounds for Identifying the Samson with the Prometheus Myth; the Lack of Correspondence of Milton's *Samson Agonistes* with the Prometheus Story; Points of Agreement between Cain and Prometheus;

ON THE IDEAS IN THE POEM

As the critical approaches to the ideas of *Prometheus Unbound* are considered, it will be well to keep in mind three pertinent statements. Helene Richter wrote:

> Shelley's philosophy appears to be influenced essentially by the English empiricists and the French materialists, by Plato, Spinoza, and Christianity, with the influence of the former appearing in his youthful years, and that of the latter more strongly in his maturity. The influence of Godwin, as of an eclectic who incorporates in his work ideas of all the theorems which come into question in reference to Shelley, is perceptible throughout his life. However, in spite of the fact that Shelley . . . borrows from the great supply of thoughts of older spirits, he assimilates that which he has received so completely that . . . each of [the derived ideas] attains an individual and original configuration. Shelley's pantheism gets an individual stamp through his unifying of nature, beauty, and love; his concept of freedom through the emphasis of self-mastery as true independence, and of self-reform as the means to its realization; his belief in immortality through the union of the dead with nature. And so it seems permissible to speak not only of philosophical influences on the uncommonly well-read poet, but of a world-view of Shelley's own ["Shelleys Weltanschauung," 1902, p. 435].

J. Macmillan Brown commented:

> [Shelley] had to pour the new wine of the modern world into the old bottles of Greek literature. . . . He had to utter his sympathy with the nobler creed of love and pity that came in with Christianity; he had to speak out the protests of the French sceptics against the perversions of the Deity introduced by that system; he had to lament the tyrannies that had devastated the earth and to speak against all governments; he had to give voice to the new passion of democracy; he had to side with the ideal world of the spirit of man; he had to find beauty in the nobleness of the material world of nature. . . . [It was] a problem impossible for the greatest genius of which humanity is capable. But Shelley made the problem easier than it was by the visionary character of his solutions [*Study*, 1905, pp. 12-13].

And Bennett Weaver pointed out that Shelley was

> one of the deepest scholars among English poets. Because of his amazing facility among the tongues, his quick conception, his strong retentiveness, and his ability to imagine that which he knew, he held many ideas of many men in an assimilation which made them his own. Consequently we have found in him that for which we sought, and Shelley scholarship has tended to become a record of overemphasis [*Romantic Poets*, 1950, p. 171].

Allegorical Considerations

The overemphasis referred to by Weaver has, however, not necessarily led to allegorical interpretations of the poem, and frequently when the

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Byron's Lucifer Considered as a Hebraic Prometheus; The Contrast in the Doctrine of Evil Held by Shelley and Byron; Elements of the Myth Emphasized by Goethe; The Part of Hermes in Aeschylus, Goethe, and Shelley; The Treatment of the Myth by Lowell and Longfellow; The Characterization of the Heroes of Aeschylus, Shelley, Goethe, Milton and Byron; The Idea of God in the Poems; The Influence Exerted by the Feminine Element; Artistry in the Poems; The Underlying Philosophy in the Poems.

word allegory has been used in critical discussions it has been used loosely, as a substitute for what N. I. White called "the general representative value of all great art" as opposed to "a real machinery of definite parallel values." White set himself to show that the poet nowhere mentioned an allegorical intent for the poem (nor did Mrs. Shelley), that the identifications of a few characters actually left the difficult problems untouched, and that the allegorical guesswork could be attributed to

> the recognized and indisputable fact that the poem as a whole does represent the struggle of humanity against oppression. . . . There is no confusion here; the confusion appears only when subsequent critics have tried to elaborate the meaning of the poem by working out an allegorical mechanism for it ["Every Man His Own Allegorist," 1925, pp. 174-80].

Nor was White the first to attempt clarification of the question of allegory. In comparing Shelley's poem with *The Faerie Queene*, Vida Scudder agreed that while the latter was an allegory, with "the connection between story and meaning . . . arbitrary rather than essential," *Prometheus Unbound* was a myth, with "no painful invention, unless in some minor details; these figures have flashed upon the inner vision of the poet in perfect unity of soul and form. . . . An allegory is the result of experience; a myth, of intuition" (Edition, 1892, pp. xi-xii); and William J. Alexander agreed that the poem was "not a puzzle to be solved by ingenious interpretations, nor must the allegory be forced, especially in details. The poem is much more a medium for the expression of emotions with regard to certain great subjects than an expedient for the systematic statement of a philosophy" (Edition, 1898, p. 319). Similarly, George Woodberry argued against those who went beyond Shelley and Mrs. Shelley in giving precise meaning to the characters:

> [That] Shelley had any conscious logic of this sort in his poem seems too uncertain to be asserted. The drama is an emanation of his imagination, working out his deepest sentiments and convictions in a form nearer to the power of music than language ever before achieved; it is haunted by the presence of the inexpressible in the heart of its most transcendent imagery; and in all its moods and motions is far from the domain in which the prose of articulated thought is discerned through a veil of figured phrase. The intellectual skeleton, in any case, even were it discoverable, is not the soul of the poem. Certain theories of Shelley, as to philosophical problems, are present in the verse; but they control only instinctively, and not by deliberate thought, the structure of character, scene, event, and act [Cambridge Edition, 1901, p. 621].

Traugott Böhme, in turn, noted that only in Asia and Panthea could allegorical suggestion be found. The figures from classical mythology, and the elements of nature, he held, must not be so considered, inasmuch as "the real allegory sensualizes something abstract by calling on the strongest forces of the fancy" (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, 1911, p. 309). In effect, indeed, Böhme's treatment of Asia and Panthea was on the level of "representative value" rather than allegory. Frederick Prescott also held

that "it is wrong to treat Shelley's drama as an allegory," for "all the ascriptions may be recognized as true to the poem, but all taken together are inexhaustive. . . . Partial meanings may indeed be assigned in criticism," but "it is manifestly an error to select one of these meanings and fix upon it as *the* meaning" (*Poetry and Myth*, 1927, p. 123); and Melvin Solve commented: "*Prometheus Unbound* is so highly idealized and so remote from the conditions of life that the moral lesson is not essential to the enjoyment of the piece, and is, in fact, so well disguised that the critics have differed widely as to its interpretation" (*Theory of Poetry*, 1927, p. 28). Benjamin Kurtz, too, suggested that Shelley's symbolism should not be taken literally, for it was a poetic idealizing vision "*towards* which the meliorist believes society may move" (Introduction, 1933, p. xliv).

The matter is actually scarcely as important as it has been made. Shelley's own words in the poem, his ascription of certain characteristics to certain personages, his development of such action as the poem contains, show clearly that he was not unaware of the "representative value" of which White wrote; and, as William Guthrie noted significantly: "So elastic are its conceptions, so indefinable its pivotal terms," that the poem must be reinterpreted for every age (*Poet Prophets*, 1897, p. 199).[67] In any event, it is, if nothing else, kinder to assume that Shelley was no allegorist, in the narrower meaning of the term, than that he was as bad an allegorist (which Olwen Campbell thought he was, "though a deeply philosophical poet—quite a different thing" [*Shelley and the Unromantics*, 1924, p. 204]) as the critics' failure to agree on a single meaning in the poem would indicate.[68]

Adverse Opinion on General Grounds

The principal opposition to Shelley's ideas (and despite its vigor it has been a minority opinion) stemmed from those who felt that the poet held an erroneous view of mankind; and attacks on the political, religious, or moral aspects of the poem have grown out of this. As Melvin Solve has expressed the difficulty: "No critic in Shelley's day could solve the metaphysical puzzle of *Prometheus*. Yet it was imaginative penetration of this sort, working according to the laws of thought, which Shelley demanded

[67]For a suggested "basic approach" to Shelley's meaning as expressed in the poem itself, see Appendix F. With Guthrie's statement compare the inscription on the Shelley monument erected by the citizens of Viareggio in 1894 (as given, with translation, in Roe, *Last Phase*, 1953, p. 239): "A P. B. Shelley, Cuor de Cuori, nel MDCCCXXII annegato in questo mare, arso in questo lido, lungo il quale meditava al Prometeo Liberato, una pagina postreme in cui ogni generazione avrebbe segnato la lotta, le lacrime, la redenzione sua. (To P. B. Shelley, *cor cordium*, in 1822 drowned in this sea, cremated on this shore, along which he meditated *Prometheus Unbound*, a last page in which each generation has discovered its conflict, its tears, and its redemption.)"

[68]In this section of the Introduction only the broader aspects of interpretation will be considered. For specific identifications of characters see Dramatis Personae in the Critical Notes.

of the critics" (*Theory of Poetry*, 1927, p. 190); and Francis Mason noted that, "according to Shelley's quite valid philosophy, imagination was the only vehicle in which the gulf [between dreams and reality] *should* be traversed . . . and we perceive the utter fallacy of condemning his poetry because its author did not achieve a pragmatical philosophy instead of a poem" (*Shelley Criticism*, 1929, pp. 7-8).

The early reviews set the tone. The poet was accused of taking "a wild view of the latent powers and future fortunes of the human race" (*London Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, Item I). A second reviewer agreed with the ideal of "peaceful triumph of goodness over power" but, on an assumption frequently made, objected to Shelley's belief that the goal could be realized in an instant, that men are now fit inhabitants of an earthly paradise, that all restraint and authority should be cast down, and that mankind should be left to the guidance of passion as yet unsubdued (*London-Critical Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, item IV). Even Leigh Hunt, in defending Shelley's descriptions as true of the areas to which they applied, admitted that the poet was "too apt to draw descriptions of the state of mankind without sufficient light on his canvas" ("Letters"; see Appendix D, item XII); and André Delrieu suggested that one might more justly, but with irony, call the poem *The Dream of Happiness* ("Poètes modernes," 1843, p. 196).

For Swinburne the poem was "spoilt" by the "infusion of philanthropic doctrinaire views and 'progress of the species' " (*Letters*, 1865, p. 28); and Edward Dowden wrote:

> Shelley's ideas are abstractions made from a one-sided and imperfect view of facts . . . which ignores the true conditions of human existence. Humanity is no chained Titan of indomitable virtue. It is a weak and trembling thing, which yet, through error and weakness, traversed or overcome, may at last grow strong [*Shelley*, 1886, II, 263].

Paul Elmer More added: "With a child-like credulity almost inconceivable he accepted the current doctrine that mankind is naturally and inherently virtuous, needing only the deliverance from some outwardly applied oppression to spring back to its essential perfection" ("Shelley," 1910, p. 7). Nor was George Santayana willing to share the poet's view of mankind:

> Shelley's earthly paradise . . . is too festival-like, too much of a mere culmination, not to be fugitive: it cries aloud to be translated into a changeless and metaphysical heaven, which to Shelley's mind could be nothing but the realm of Platonic ideas. . . . [He] did not understand the real constitution of nature. It was hidden from him by a cloud, all woven of shifting rainbows and bright tears . . . [and] the mechanism of nature, as it is in its depths, [remains] in his pictures only the shadowiest of backgrounds ["Revolutionary Principles," 1913, pp. 167-69].

Similarly, T. S. Eliot "positively" disliked some of Shelley's views, "and that hampers my enjoyment of the poems in which they occur." He described these views as "ideas which Shelley bolted whole and never assimi-

lated, visible in the catchwords of creeds outworn, tyrants and priests, which Shelley employed with such reiteration. And the bad parts of a poem can contaminate the whole" ("Shelley and Keats," 1933, pp. 91-92).[69] The *reductio ad absurdum* was reached in Henry Van Dyke, who held that *Prometheus Unbound* had "no real relation to the life of man, nor to the true dramatic theme, the conflict between passion and duty. Imagine the actual effect of the arrival of Demogorgon in one of our United States; the sudden disappearance of the governor and the legislature and all the judges and all the policemen; the closing of all churches and the opening of all prisons. Would the Golden Age promptly begin? I fear not" ("Knight Errant," 1929, p. 221).[70] To this, an adequate answer might be E. M. W. Tillyard's statement: "Superficially it is easy to ridicule the millenarianism of a Shelley, but what if his passion for human betterment is no mere echo of the hopes of his age but the oblique expression of a primal joy hidden in all of us?" (*Poetry Direct and Oblique*, 1948, p. 50).

Fortunately, a more serious, and fresher, note was struck by Stephen Spender:

> Shelley's failures are inevitable. The world in which he lives he treats as past history: he imagines himself in the future where men are free, where there is equality between the sexes, where there are no slaves or tyrants. . . . In his poetry one notices that the symbols which refer to tyranny and injustice are over-simplified, because they are seen in the light of a historic perspective which Shelley invented for himself ["Keats and Shelley," 1937, p. 584].

And Ellsworth Barnard asked:

> Is not the true significance of the story of Prometheus (as of the story of Christ) that perfect purity can come only through an agony and a triumph like theirs? Does not Shelley say as much in the last lines of the poem? And can there ever be salvation, on such terms, for a whole society? [Edition, 1944, p. 89].

Adverse Opinion on Political, Religious, and Moral Grounds

In addition to, and at times supplementing, the foregoing typical objections to Shelley's views of mankind may be listed those that were critical of the political, religious, and moral views of the poet as reflected in *Prome-*

[69]More recently, Eliot has been brought "to a new and more sympathetic appreciation" of Shelley by Leone Vivante's *English Poetry* (1952. Preface by Eliot, p. x).

[70]Similar objections have been raised by W. Trent: "the solution proposed . . . is as impossible and ineffectual as if it had been generated in the heated brain of a maniac" ("Apropos of Shelley," 1899, p. 86); V. Scudder: "man, as Shelley depicts him, is . . . scarcely higher, except for his æsthetic instincts, than an amiable brute" (Edition, 1892, p. xxxix); A. Symons: Shelley was no visionary, but a dreamer "in a continual state of hallucination" (*Romantic Movement*, 1909, p. 270); G. R. Elliott: Shelley "never really *apprehended* the mysterious duality of human nature because he was so sure that he *comprehended* it. He was mastered by the conceited comprehension emanating from the enormous modern study of nature" ("Solitude of Shelley," 1929, p. xiii).

theus Unbound. At times, these areas of thought were grouped together, as when an early reviewer saw Shelley's theme as the overthrow of religion, government, and morality and called the poem a "pestiferous mixture of blasphemy, sedition, and sensuality" (*Blackwood's Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, item III). And another reviewer argued that "no man is justified in giving to the world wild and crude notions, the first effect of which . . . would be the overthrow of all existing institutions," and that with Shelley "atheism is a principle" (*Dublin Magazine*, 1820; see Appendix D, item VI).

With reference to the political views as such, Symons, as we have seen above, accounted for the early adverse reaction by pointing out that readers in Shelley's day "saw Godwin charioted in the clouds of *Prometheus Unbound* . . . and still looked upon poetry as worth fearing" ("Shelley," 1907, p. 347). How far we have come from such fears may be suggested by Chauncey Tinker's more recent comment: " 'Prometheus Unbound' sets forth no doctrine that is of much importance to radical thinkers today. . . . We ignore the 'message' . . . but lend a ready ear to the inarticulate music" ("Shelley Once More," 1941, p. 92). But even by the turn of the century Sidney Newsom found the political philosophy not dangerous, merely "impracticable, and its chief defect springs from his ignorance of humanity" (Edition, 1907, p. xxxi). Salvador de Madariaga, too, thought that Shelley erred in resting his political philosophy "implicitly on the assumption that the light of intellectual knowledge has but to shine on a man for his soul to be purified of evil. It overlooks the possibility that development in one direction may coincide with, or even result in, regression in another direction" (*Shelley and Calderón*, 1920, p. 25). And William Butler Yeats wrote:

> Shelley the political revolutionary expected miracle, the Kingdom of God in the twinkling of an eye like some Christian of the first century. . . . Why is Shelley terrified of the Last Day like a Victorian child [as Demogorgon indicates he is]? . . . Shelley was not a mystic, his system of thought was constructed by his logical faculty to satisfy desire, not a symbolical revelation received after the suspension of all desire ["Prometheus," 1933, p. 366].

Religious opposition to *Prometheus Unbound* has more frequently been expressed. An early writer objected to the "extraordinary profanity with which [Shelley] introduces the most sacred subject" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]; see Appendix D, item XIV); while another felt that the choice and mode of treating Prometheus showed that Shelley did not feel "that Faith is wiser than doubt, and Reverence is nobler than rebellion" (*Christian Examiner*, 1839, p. 149). Robert Chambers cited the poem as evidence of Shelley's daring scepticism (*Cyclopedia*, 1844, II, 357); and George Gilfillan wrote that Shelley's great object

> is to predict the total extinction of evil, through the progress and perfectionment of the human race. Man is to grow into the God of the world. We are of this opinion, too, provided the necessity of *divine* sunshine and showers to consummate the growth be conceded. But Shelley's theory seems very hopeless. . . . Of lyrics, and dramas, and poetic dreams, and philosophic theories, we have had enough; what we want is, the one master-word of Him who "spake with authority, and not as the scribes" ["Prometheus," 1855, p. 435].

William O'Conor argued that Shelley had misconstrued true Christianity, as found in the suffering Christ, by freeing Prometheus and assuming happiness for him. Not happiness, O'Conor thought, but "the willingness of each man to surrender his propensity to monopolize happiness" was the answer, and this "requires the example of a god suffering for all" ("Prometheus," 1882, p. 35). But J. Slater permitted his religious bias to carry him even farther. To him Shelley "saw man weak, suffering, oppressed, and, not referring this state of things to its true cause, man's fall, he attributed it to the good and merciful Creator. Under the influence of Calvinistic ideas . . . he became a hater of God, a misotheist rather than an atheist" ("Prometheus," 1884, p. 384). George Bernard Shaw, however, insisted on the poet's basic atheism ("Shaming the Devil," 1892, pp. 249-50); and Richard Hutton wrote:

> In this fine poem Shelley in reality puts no personal power over Jupiter. Tyranny he represents as personal will; but the power that dethrones tyranny is a breath, a shadow, nothing. . . . To Shelley all will is obstructive; the only being he can really worship is the rich radiant spirit of feminine loveliness . . . and even for her he feels not worship, but "the desire of the moth for the star" ["Shelley," 1888, p. 184].

Vida Scudder, in her turn, found the religious aspects of the poem unsatisfactory. She admitted that Shelley's revolt from Christianity was typical of his time, and felt that he was, like Spinoza, actually God-intoxicated: "His reason might deny, but his imagination believed; and the imagination was the very centre of Shelley's nature" (Edition, 1892, p. xxii); but she also found a "lack of any definiteness in the religious thought of the poem," and that the interpretation of evil ignored its scientific aspect as "imperfect development, but also the far deeper and truer aspect of evil as Sin"; and she found no outlook toward immortality, no recognition of the Divine Fatherhood (p. xxxix). More emphatically, Sister M. Eunice Mousel held that

> it is impossible to maintain that Shelley's poetry . . . stimulates to higher spiritual attainment. More specifically, it is not merely the anticlimactic description of an earthly paradise, but the deeper moral purpose of its allegory, that thus obtrudes upon the reader the impression that *Prometheus Unbound* is forced, strategically, toward a conclusion utterly remote from human truth" ["Falsetto in Shelley," 1936, pp. 605-6].

And, finally, even as late as 1949, Hoxie N. Fairchild could see in the religious aspects of the poem only advocacy of a "cult of pride" in which "the

mind of man is liberated from its dark delusions solely by the mind of man" (*Religious Trends*, p. 350).

Equally important with religious objections to the poem have been those based on moral grounds. The reviewer in the *Lonsdale Magazine* (1820) felt that Shelley was tempting us "to act upon the passions without consulting the reason, and to soothe and overwhelm the finest feelings of our nature . . . [for] the very decencies of our nature are to vanish beneath the magic wand of this licentious REFORMER" (see Appendix D, item V).

But it was Mrs. Shelley who, in her note to the poem in 1839, inadvertently misled many later critics by her frequently quoted statement: "The prominent feature of Shelley's theory of the destiny of the human species was, that evil is not inherent in the system of the creation, but an accident that might be expelled. . . . Shelley believed that mankind had only to will that there should be no evil, and there would be none" (see Appendix C). Shelley's true position on this issue will be indicated later, but the influence of Mrs. Shelley's statement, and its use by Dowden ("To represent evil as external . . . is to falsify the true conception of human progress" [*Shelley*, 1886, II, 264]) set a pattern that continued to reappear in the decades that followed. Frederic Myers, assuming that Shelley believed in a sudden extirpation of evil, wrote that

> the knot of human destinies is cut and not unravelled; the arbitrary catastrophes of an improvised and chaotic mythology bring about a change in human affairs depending in no way on moral struggle or moral achievement,—on which every real change in human affairs *must* depend,—but effected apparently by the simple removal of priests and kings,—of the persons, that is to say, in whom the race, however mistakenly, has hitherto embodied its instincts of reverence and of order ["Shelley," 1880, p. 352].

Mathilde Blind, regretting that Shelley could not have profited by "those great generalisations of Darwin which have revolutionised the modern conception of life," called *Prometheus Unbound* "the Passion-Play of Humanity" but found in it "something crude and undigested in the manner in which the poet tries to solve the problem of good and evil. . . . The principle of evil incarnated in Jupiter simply topples down or is hurled down," and "if he had worked out this theme with more historic realism" Shelley would have shown the human race "as emerging from a semi-brutal, barbarous condition, and continually progressing to higher stages of moral and mental development" ("Shelley's View of Nature," 1888, pp. 44-46). Charles D. Warner based his argument on an interpretation of the Greek moral law:

> Now, the key-note of the Greek faith . . . is the inexorable nature of the moral law, the Hebraic conception of the omnipotent sweep of this law—though Prometheus brought light to humanity, he could not escape it. In the *Prometheus Unbound* of Shelley, Zeus stands for Law, for Faith, Christianity, Custom, Superstition, Wrong, for every tyranny over the human mind; Prometheus for the Universal Love which dissolves all law and leaves man free. A magnificent poetic

conception! But to what does it lead? What basis has it in any conceivable system of ethics, philosophy, or revelation, for human nature? That way lies anarchy. It would seem that Shelley had no clearer conception of the inexorable moral law of Æschylus than he had of the inexorable law of Love of Jesus of Nazareth ["Shelley," 1887, p. 305].

Leslie Stephen, in his turn, made his appeal to history:

If all the complex organisation which has slowly evolved itself in the course of history, the expression of which is civilisation, order, coherence, and co-operation in the different departments of life, is to be set down as an unmitigated evil, the fruit of downright imposture, all history becomes unintelligible. . . . [Shelley] cannot be content with the intimate mixture of good and evil which is presented in the world as we know it ["Godwin and Shelley," 1879, pp. 381-82].

To A. E. Randall, "the life [Shelley] desired was to be like the Anglican conception of God, 'without body, parts or passions'. . . . Whatever he touched he simplified into a simple contest of good will and evil will. 'Prometheus Unbound' is a sciomachy concluded by a miracle" (quoted in *Current Literature*, 1912, pp. 226-27). But Arthur Clutton-Brock found a different basis for the weakness of Shelley's view:

Shelley knew nothing about wickedness. To him it was an arbitrary mystery. Therefore he was quite content to represent it as arbitrarily overthrown. In his simple, passionate view of life something must happen, sooner or later, to change the nature of things. . . . Since he conceived of evil as imposed on man by a supernatural tyranny, a supernatural revolution was necessary for his deliverance. . . . The central idea of "Prometheus"—that the world is sick of an organic disease, and can only be cured by a miracle—has been expressed in many religions. But the notion that this disease is the result of a celestial tyranny—and that not man alone, but everything in the universe, suffers from it—is peculiar to Shelley, and the result of his extreme idealism. . . . [His] passion for perfection expressed itself also in another idea . . . that the highest beauties and excellences of this life are prophetic of a nobler state of being. . . . [For] it is through the universality of imperfection, and the infinite variety in the quality of all things which it implies, that we are continually led to compare the better with the worse, and to aim at the better [*Man and Poet*, 1909, pp. 199-200, 210-11].

Again Clutton-Brock noted that

a conflict between a good man and an evil man would be too concrete for [Shelley]. . . . Prometheus and Jupiter are simply good and evil will; and they are utterly unrelated to any of the facts of life as we know them—so unrelated that he cannot even bring them into conflict or describe the means by which one at last triumphs over the other. The whole drama is causeless. . . . All we know is, that Prometheus wishes well to the universe, and Jupiter ill; therefore Jupiter persecutes Prometheus until something happens which causes his fall . . . [immediately after which] comes the millennium [Introduction, 1911, pp. xiv-xv].

And Irving Babbitt saw in the vision of "a humanity released from all evil artificially imposed from without" the "true religion of the Rousseauist" (*Rousseau and Romanticism*, 1919, p. 137).

A variation on the moral theme was offered by Aldous Huxley:

> Following Rousseau, the romantics imagined that exclusive passion was the "natural" mode of love, just as virtue and reasonableness were the "natural" forms of men's social behaviour. Get rid of priests and kings, and men will be forever good and happy; poor Shelley's faith in this palpable nonsense remained unshaken to the end. He believed also . . . that you had only to get rid of social restraints and erroneous mythology to make the Grand Passion universally chronic . . . [but] he failed to see that the Grand Passion was produced by the restraints that opposed themselves to the sexual impulse, just as the deep lake is produced by the dam that bars the passage of the stream ["Fashions in Love," 1929, p. 138].

To which James H. Cousins replied:

> Shelley saw quite as clearly as the critic the use of the restraints of law as provokers and intensifiers of the creative forces of life; but he did not limit the Grand Passion to sex. Love, to Shelley, is the integrating power in the universe. Sexual integration is only one of its phases, and is only justifiable when it is governed by spiritual integration [*Work Promethean*, 1933, pp. 38-39].

But George R. Elliott, in reading the poem, felt a "sense of frustration" from a different cause:

> The poem appeals at once to our yearning for universal sympathy and to our yearning for human perfection. These two sentiments, when stimulated, tend to diverge and to develop themselves in competition with each other. But Shelley will not have them do so. From the first, he keeps winding and fusing them together in a single stream of undifferentiated emotion. . . . [He] merges more and more the qualities of . . . Prometheus and Asia. If these two characters had been made the vehicles, respectively, of ethical elevation and wide sympathy, their eventual reunion could have won a fine human and poetic significance, suggesting that fullness of life which the human spirit recognizes as its greatest potentiality. . . . [But] the two are not married, but merged. The poem as a whole frustrates and repels our poetic sense by attempting the music of the spheres on a single string ["*Solitude of Shelley*," 1929, pp. 17-18].

Favorable Opinion on Political, Religious, Moral, and Scientific Grounds

Countering the adverse criticism, of which the foregoing comments are typical, have been the views of those who have either approved the opinions of Shelley or sought to clarify and to evaluate the ideas on which *Prometheus Unbound* was based. Again, these writers have tended frequently to read their own interests or prejudices into the poem, and a survey of the attitudes will, it is hoped, suggest the wide range of interpretation as well as the balance among the different fields of interest, which, as before, have been concerned primarily with political, religious, moral, and—more recently—scientific readings.

Turning first to the favorable political interpretations, we find one of the earliest suggestions in this area coming from George Bernard Shaw in a discussion period of the Shelley Society. Shaw is reported to have described the philosophical anarchist as one who

had a detestation of government as government, and can convince you it is bad; yet you are compelled to support it, in spite of this. Now, every one looks to a state of society in which no government would be necessary—in which men would be moral, &c., without restraint; in this you have the Promethean theory—you get rid of a tyrant you created yourself [Comments, 1886, pp. 121-22].

This view was amplified by Helen Clarke, who wrote that "the anarchist would plunge an imperfect humanity into the millennium of an individual-governed society. Shelley represents such a society as the natural outcome of a human state wherein development has reached the point of perfect individual control" ("Prometheus Myth," 1910, p. 104). Miss Clarke saw the evil to be combated as "the aristocratic idea with all it brings in its train of tyranny and egotism . . . of expediency and its foster brothers, lying and hypocrisy" ("Sketch," 1892, p. 142).

But it was Vida Scudder who first treated the political implications of the poem fully. She defended Shelley as a spokesman of his age, against those who would stress only his ethereal dreamlike quality: "To express the democratic idea in brief, historic act was the work of France; to express it in eternal art was the work of England." Shelley alone of this period, she felt, saw fully the light of the ideal of the Revolution and of the democratic ideal, and *Prometheus Unbound* was, therefore,

the perfect symbolic reflection of the conceptions of the new democracy, alike in their strength and in their weakness. We shall find it vague where the Revolution was vague, crude where the Revolution was crude,—that is, in its intellectual philosophy; we shall find it great where the revolution was great,—that is, in its spiritual ideal.

But Miss Scudder also recognized that Shelley's description of the ideal state, after Prometheus and Asia were united, was "weak, sentimental, empty,—guilty of that worst of æsthetic sins, prettiness. . . . For a regenerate humanity, Shelley had no message" (Edition, 1892, pp. xvii-xx, xxxviii).

Miss Scudder's analysis was frequently echoed, and with little variation (by W. J. Alexander, W. J. Dawson, D. J. MacDonald, Philo Buck, and others), but an exception was the poetic description of William Butler Yeats, who considered *Prometheus Unbound* "a sacred book" with a certain place among the sacred books of the world:

[Shelley's] liberty was so much more than the liberty of *Political Justice* that it was one with Intellectual Beauty, and . . . the regeneration he foresaw was so much more than the regeneration many political dreamers have foreseen, that it could not come in its perfection till the hours bore "Time to his grave in eternity" ["Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," 1900, pp. 81-82].

And again:

I have re-read his *Prometheus Unbound* for the first time for many years, in the woods of Drim-da-rod, among the Echte hills, and sometimes I have looked towards Slieve-nan-Orr, where the country people say the last battle of the world

> shall be fought till the third day, when a priest shall lift a chalice, and the thousand years of peace begin. And I think this mysterious song utters a faith as simple and as ancient as the faith of those country people, in a form suited to a new age, that will understand with Blake that the Holy Spirit is "an intellectual fountain," and that the kinds and degrees of beauty are the images of its authority [pp. 94-95].[71]

George Woodberry, in the spirit of Miss Scudder, wrote that "Shelley was the poet through whom the literary expression of the Revolution was to be poured," for the poet felt the Titanic quality and "the Promethean security of victory it contained—felt, too, the Promethean suffering which was the heart of mankind as he saw it surveying Europe in his day." In *Prometheus Unbound*, therefore, "the Revolution as a moral reached its height . . . [for] it is a summary and centre, in the world of art, of the greatest power in that century—the power of the idea of humanity" ("Titan Myth," 1905, pp. 67-68).

In 1911 Arthur Clutton-Brock tried to correct the trend toward political interpretations of the poem. He wrote: "I have tried to show that the emotion expressed in *Prometheus* is not concerned with politics, for it is not even concerned with the world except that it regards the world as afflicted with a disease that can only be cured by a miracle." Shelley was unlike Milton, he held, in that it was Shelley's "moral sense alone that made him concern himself with politics; and in his heart he was impatient with the imperfection of this life that made a moral sense necessary. . . . [Also] when he was most inspired he forgot politics altogether in his longing for a nobler state of being" (Introduction, pp. xvii-xviii).

An interesting reversal of the usual charges of radicalism laid against Shelley was made by J. Kooistra, who noted that in the light of "the view of Coleridge adopted from Kant, according to which 'the State is the organised expression of social reason,' and to be free means 'to have mastered every unsocial instinct,' " Shelley was, in some respects, a reactionary in holding man to be "a denizen of the world, not the citizen of a State" ("Prometheus," 1916, p. 218); and Alfred Noyes expressed a similar view in pointing out that Shelley's rebellion

> had nothing in common with that false kind of rebellion which has become "smart" and "fashionable" and is patronized by the reactionary Press. . . . His rebellion was against this very way of the world which in the general shifting of terms has come to be called "rebellion." . . . His task was to interpenetrate the granite mass of things with the light of the soul ["Poet of Light," 1924, p. 38].

Philo Buck broadened the issue somewhat, but still held to a basically political interpretation when he wrote:

> The *Prometheus Unbound* thus is a combination of Shelley's faiths; the faith in the power of the human intelligence and science to triumph over nature, in the

[71]For the influence of *Prometheus Unbound* on Yeats's poetry see Donald Weeks's "Image and Idea in Yeats's Second Coming" (*PMLA*, LXIII [1948], 281-92). See also Phyllis Bartlett's "Hardy's Shelley" for influence on *The Dynasts*.

power of human brotherhood to triumph over human error, and in the power of the Idea as triumphantly to find itself at last fully expressed in the world of fact and circumstance.

Read thus the plot becomes fairly obvious. Prometheus, like Jupiter, is Everyman, only the Titan has chosen the true way, while the tyrant has sought power in false ideas. For his "natural" benevolence, and hence physical weakness, Prometheus has been put into bondage by Jupiter who has chosen the motives of power, of hate, oppression, superstition and the rest of the forces that keep the "natural" man in subjection to the political and theological. This state of mutual antagonism is the war of the classes which sought a solution under the watchwords of the French Revolution. But like the Jacobins Prometheus at first was blind and pronounced his awful curse against usurping power. And moreover during all this period he is separated from Nature, Asia, without whom his being is incomplete. But he has at his side Ione and Panthea, two virtues, Ideas, who never forsake him in his darkest horror, sisters and ministers of Nature, who feed his immortal faculties and lead him to the right vision of his true self and his relation to the world. Or as one might say it in prose divested of all imagery, man after aeons of suffering and effort gains science, or true knowledge of Nature, and awakes his full sympathetic imagination, love. Now Prometheus is ready again to take his place in the world, a place that shall be final ["Goethe and Shelley," 1932, p. 92].

Kenneth Neil Cameron, in turn, was to find the "central thought" of Shelley's poem to be the same as that of Volney's *Les Ruines*—"that of bringing hope to a disconsolate generation from the example of the French Revolution" ("Major Source of Islam," 1941, p. 205); and he was to narrow the political approach still more, for he argued:

The struggle of Prometheus is the struggle of the leader of humanity—specifically the peoples of post-war Europe—against the despotic state (Jupiter)—specifically the rule of the Quadruple Alliance. In this struggle humanity is assisted by the forces of historical evolution (Demogorgon) and by the strength of human love and comradeship (Asia). Aided by these forces mankind overthrows the despotic state and advances into the new order ["Social Philosophy," 1942, p. 464].[72]

[72]Carlos Baker's criticism was pertinent: "[While Cameron] assumes a particularized symbolic political meaning for each of the major protagonists and antagonists, he is compelled . . . to broaden this meaning until his interpretation becomes, in effect, the traditional moral interpretation with some political ornamentation. . . . Because politics for Shelley was a branch of ethics, one may concede the view that he had in mind a general political idea. . . . What Cameron's argument proves . . . is that the more or less traditional ethical interpretation is probably the correct one" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, pp. 283-85). A similar conclusion, without reference to Cameron, was reached by A. M. D. Hughes, who in 1947 admitted to "plenteous over-flowing" between the poem's representation of conflict in the state and conflict in the soul: "As time goes on, the cause of political justice takes its place in an outer circle of the vast conflict of good and evil, life and death, of which for him the centre is his own soul" (*Nascent Mind*, pp. 205, 248). It should be noted that by 1951 Cameron, while still insisting that "the play . . . is essentially a political drama," added: "But it is not only a political drama; . . . its allegory moves on several levels," although he still held that the other concepts "revolve around the central core of meaning—the revolution of society—with now one aspect stressed, now another" (Edition, p. xxi). Earlier, W. R. Rutland had held that "to enter into the exceedingly difficult question of social

To this, Herbert Grierson and J. C. Smith, acknowledging Cameron's article, added that

> the deliverance of mankind is not brought about by the *action* of Prometheus and Asia, though they are to give it the guidance of wisdom and love, without which the revolution may end in such a disaster of anarchy and mutual slaughter as has disfigured the history of Christianity and wrecked the promise of the French Revolution. The agent of the revolution . . . is Necessity (*History*, 1944, p. 394).

Defenses and interpretations of Shelley's religious views, frequently impinging on moral considerations, have been more numerous than those dealing with political ideas; and, just as opposition to the poet's religious position depended on the degree of fundamentalism represented by the critic, so here the degree of liberalism has usually determined the acceptability of the beliefs for which the poet stood.

One of the first charges against which the poet needed defending was, of course, that of atheism, and as early as 1828 Henry Crabb Robinson declared that "his supposed Atheism is a mere metaphysical crotchet, in which he was kept by the affected scorn and real malignity of Dunces" (*Diary*, II, 387). Ten years later a writer in *Fraser's Magazine* more moderately suggested that Shelley followed Aeschylus in making Prometheus rebellious not

> against the idea of Deity itself, but only to that law of nature by which man, in all his efforts at improvement is compelled into submission. . . . Man himself, so far as he is exhibited in *time*, is compelled by the same necessity that controls nature at large. To this nature he is chained as to a rock [1838, p. 657].

Gradually the opinion developed that in *Prometheus Unbound* Shelley's real religious views were given but were difficult to define, for, as Ernest Kirtlan expressed it: "He lived, not in time, but in eternity. He was not an orthodox Christian," but neither was he an atheist ("Creed of Shelley," 1924, p. 232). To James H. Cousins,

> love, in the thought of Shelley, was an impartation of the essence of the Supreme Being. To Shelley, in very truth, "God is Love." But this theism of Shelley was universal, not localised in history or geography or limited in personality; and in a time of almost deeper spiritual darkness than our own, the vision of the supreme theist was called atheism [*Work Promethean*, 1933, p. 59].

Few, however, have gone as far as Ellsworth Barnard, who held that *Prometheus Unbound* offered many evidences of the belief of "the real Shelley" in an

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and political problems that may or may not be adumbrated in *Prometheus Unbound* . . . would be to go on a wild goose chase, and about as useful as to write a treatise on the political opinions of Beethoven from the score of the *Sinfonia Eroica*. Shelley was an extreme social enthusiast, and very probably deceived himself sometimes into thinking that he was interested in the sociological and political when he was really interested in the ethical" (*Swinburne*, 1931, p. 81).

> active Spirit of Good, unchanging and all-pervading . . . opposed and partially frustrated by a recalcitrant Spirit of Evil. . . . [And] somewhere in this process there are created self-conscious beings, which partake of the nature of the Spirit of Good to which they owe their existence. . . . This Spirit, I have contended, may legitimately be called a personal God. Finally, Shelley assumes (as does every religious thinker) that above and beyond the contradictions that are everywhere present in the manifested world, there stands a unifying principle . . . which the human mind cannot comprehend, but the existence of which man's whole nature demands that he assume [*Shelley's Religion*, 1937, p. 96].

A second attempt to justify Shelley's religious position held that "if he rebelled against God, it was against the God of the Jews, not the God of the world or the heart" (*Boston Quarterly*, 1840, p. 331); or that the delusions of theocracy, and the evils attendant thereon, were the objects of his antipathy (W. M. Rossetti, "Study," 1886, p. 72). Similarly, Kineton Parkes could write that Prometheus, "assailed for so long by such spirits of evil employed by this god of evil, at last rises proudly from among the ruins of that sham Religion he has succeeded in overthrowing, and which he replaces with the true Religion of universal tolerance and love" ("Shelley's Faith," 1891, p. 213). To F. H. Gile, it was dogmatism that Shelley opposed:

> Thus, while perhaps unconsciously retaining the essence of the Christian spirit, he looked upon Christian dogmatism and conventionality as the tyrannic Æschylean Jove, and set about delivering man from his thralldom. Nor was he very far wrong . . . [for] the true Christian spirit contained a magic solvent [Love] of all oppression and suppressive tyranny. . . . And if Shelley made any mistake it was not in the ideal aimed at but in the impulsive, impatient, youthful manner in which he set about his reforms ["Prometheus," 1908, pp. 432-33].

To Edward Chapman, Shelley was in revolt "against the tyranny of mechanical mythologies and ecclesiasticisms; against theories of atonement, if one pleases, which would represent Christ as coming to deliver man from a fierce and savage God," but *Prometheus Unbound* "sets forth the appeal which the sacrifice of Christ made to Shelley's heart, however unwilling he may have been to express it in terms of conventional piety" (*Literature in Account with Religion*, 1910, pp. 124-25). For Arthur M. D. Hughes, Jupiter was "the personal God of the historical religions," and as such "the prototype and support of earthly tyrants and the key-stone of man's misery" (Edition, 1910, p. 172). And, finally, the summarizing statement of James S. Thomson was representative of much of the opinion in this area:

> The real tragedy of human life is that men have been ruled not by God but by an impersonal Being who is really a creation of their own minds, yet very potent. The history of civilization is the dialectic of man's self-torture by illusions which he is compelled to spin out of his own intellectual and spiritual nature. God, who is the Spirit of Love, is *Deus Absconditus*, and Jupiter, who is the symbol of false theology, occupies the vacant throne . . . [and man's] unbinding must come from within by the releasing power of love ["Unbinding of Prometheus," 1945, p. 9].

Other critics have felt that there was significant evidence of Biblical parallels in the poem. R. Pickett Scott cited the Hebrew feeling in the first two acts, and the Book of Job in particular, as an indication of the influence which balanced the Greek in Shelley's drama: "Job, on his dunghill, buffeted by Satan, is, in all essentials, as Froude points out, the exact counterpart of Prometheus chained to the rock. . . . Each holds fast his integrity as a possession out of reach of the tormentor, and no effort of cruel enemy, or false friend, is able to snatch it from either." Also, Scott noted, each believes that justice will conquer: "Prometheus endures in knowing that Fate brings justice, and that Fate cannot be escaped even by Olympian Jove. Job endures knowing that his God, who loves righteousness and hates iniquity, is All-Just, All-Patient—Almighty" (*Place of Shelley*, 1878, pp. 21-22). And Bennett Weaver, noting that "like the Hebrew he gathers all tyranny into one personification, Jupiter, and all love into one Titan form, Prometheus" (*Understanding of Shelley*, 1932, p. 110), added: "There is certainly in [Job] a quality which had for the suffering modern poet a strong charm" (p. 146).[73]

By some, the religion of Shelley as manifested in *Prometheus Unbound* was more happily conceived of as a form of pantheism rather than of Christianity. André Delrieu was the first to develop this theme as he emphasized Shelley's stress on "a new faith, the faith in the blind power of nature, the doctrine of pantheism" ("Poètes modernes," 1843, p. 189). Edouard Schuré wrote later: "We have called Shelley a pantheist—not because he adheres to a system, but to indicate the point of view from which he sees the world, and his tendency to see in the varied spectacles of evolution a universal spirit. It is a faith and it is incarnate in *Prometheus Unbound*" ("Poète panthéiste," 1877, p. 778); and J. A. Symonds expressed a similar view:

> The essential thought of Shelley's creed was that the universe is penetrated, vitalized, made real by a spirit, which he sometimes called the Spirit of Nature, but which is always conceived as more than Life, as that which gives its actuality to Life, and lastly as Love and Beauty. To adore this spirit, to clasp it with affection, and to blend with it, is, he thought, the true object of man. Therefore, the final union of Prometheus with Asia is the consummation of human destinies. Love was the only law Shelley recognized. Unterrified by the grim realities of pain and crime revealed in nature and society, he held fast to the belief that, if we could but pierce to the core of things, if we could but be what we might be, the world and man would both attain to their perfection in eternal love [*Shelley*, 1878, p. 123].

Vida Scudder, too, noted that pantheism was the best description of Shelley's attitude (Edition, 1892, p. xxiii), as did James Thomson, who wrote that

[73]G. Woodberry compared the passivity of the two heroes and the lack of action in the two stories ("Titan Myth," 1905, p. 80); and A. Maurois called Shelley's poem "a lyrical drama on the Book of Job" (*Ariel*, 1924, p. 242).

> the most prominent and pervading idea of the poem is Pantheistic. The Good spirit, which at last triumphs, is, indeed, typified in the Titan Prometheus, and not in a man; but no faith in or worship of this deliverer is required from men who would be saved. . . . The poem is an apotheosis of the One Infinite Soul, self-subsisting, informing all things, one and the same in all masks of man, and beast, and worm, and plant, and slime [*Studies*, 1896, p. 286].

Similarly, Arthur M. D. Hughes felt that Shelley "had assimilated the mystic idea that all Nature is groaning under the same oppression as the human spirit, just as it is sustained by the same power" (Edition, 1910, 169). J. Kooistra agreed: "His God is Nature vitalised, one with man, suffering from the evils that beset him, sharing in his joy." Kooistra argued that, despite Stopford Brooke, Shelley was not and was not becoming a Christian (although by the time of *Prometheus Unbound* a change was evident in his attitude toward Christ) but was probably an agnostic as to immortality ("Prometheus," 1916, pp. 218-19).[74] Finally, in a related vein, but without arguing for pantheism as such, Joseph Barrell suggested that "ultra-Wordsworthianism" and idealism were the two principal elements in the poet's work at this time: "In Shelley the cult of wild nature reaches a logical extreme. Whereas the nature that Wordsworth describes is usually the home at least of a solitary shepherd, in Shelley a nature is pictured to which man contributes nothing and from which he draws only aesthetic pleasure" (*Shelley and Thought*, 1947, p. 132).

By far the largest body of criticism dealing with the religious emphasis in *Prometheus Unbound*, however, has sought to show that the poem is illuminated by the spirit of Christianity, or by a spirit of love common to both Christ and Shelley. Thus an anonymous writer in 1840 stated that "the spirit of Christ animated all his struggle against Christianity, in the corrupt form under which he saw it" (*Boston Quarterly*, p. 331). A. M. Gannett found *Prometheus Unbound* "permeated through and through with the spirit of true Christianity" ("Shelley's Morality," 1888, p. 104), and Aubrey De Vere, in a letter to Lady Jane Shelley dated October 11, 1882, offered a more extended and more penetrating analysis:

> Religious *Ideas* recur with a singular frequency in the poetry of one who yet too often includes Religion & Tyranny in a common denunciation. But they are presented, as if changed by some "unuttered charm or midnight spell," into a form the *Converse* of that in which Religion presents them. A great world-wide Deliverance, & a Reign of Love are announced in his poetry; but they are to be made ours through Science, not Faith; through Discovery, not Gift; from below not from above. . . . I am convinced that intellectually, & in his Ideas he was often much nearer than he suspected to the very doctrines that he denounced. . . If I did not recognize in Shelley's favorite *Ideas* a something essentially opposed to some of the *Conclusions* with which he had rashly associated them, & in

[74] J. H. Cousins called him, on the basis of *Prometheus Unbound*, "transcendentalist as well as pantheist" (*Work Promethean*, 1933, p. 54); and later, on the basis of *Adonais* xliii ("He doth bear his part" etc.), Cousins concluded that Shelley was neither atheist nor pantheist, but believed in the retention of individuality after death (pp. 64-65).

his Aspirations for Humanity a something which must have made answer "Flesh of my flesh & bone of my bone" if only Christianity had been rightly presented to him & discerned by him—if it was not for these things I might still have admired his genius; but I should not have felt for him that sympathy which made me have his name carved deep into a stone seat amid that Ilex wood which over-hung his last home at Spezia. Genius is in some respects unfortunate. It sees great Truths very rapidly—too early & by a sort of Inspiration, not a gradual process of reasoning. On the other it is particularly slow in reaching maturity of judgement. As a consequence, it catches hold of Principles long before it understands their right application. It is strong in Ideas, but weak as to Facts, which it distorts so as to fit them in with its preconceptions. Genius, far more than common place intellect, therefore needs Humility, & discovers that even when most right it was wrong also, & has much to retrieve. Much that was said in "Queen Mab" is retrieved in "Prometheus Unbound," where plain confession is made . . . that the whole Universe, & all man's nobler nature exist but because they were made by a Creator-God. I allude to the replies of "Demogorgon" [II.iv]. Some years more might have given us a poem confessing that the wondrous works of Prometheus . . . were the Gifts to Man of One of whom the Titan was but a Greek Type [Abinger MSS, Reel 15].

On the same theme, Stopford Brooke wrote of the poem:

> [There] is no more magnificent embodiment of the noblest doctrine of Jesus . . . even to the redemption of the world by faithful suffering in the cause of truth and love. . . . The character of Prometheus is partly built on the character of Christ. His moral position towards mankind, and towards Jupiter, is the position of Christ towards suffering man, and towards the powers of the world, who crucified Jesus because he would not yield to their policy and their priestcraft, nor back up their power, exercised for their own advantage over the bodies and souls of men. The means of Prometheus are the means of Jesus—nothing but enduring love. His triumph is the triumph of perfect Love ["Interpretation of Christianity," 1902, p. 376].[75]

John Bailey stressed the blend of Platonism and Christianity in finding the poem

> one prolonged and fervent expression of his Platonic and Christian hatred of all kinds of wrong, and of his faith, which is Platonic but has not always been Christian, that it is only our blindness which prevents our seeing that the world in which we live is one of infinite beauty and delight and the type and promise of another which is invisible, spiritual, and eternal ["Prometheus," 1923, p. 128];

[75]Similarly, M. Pratesi saw Prometheus as Shelley's choice because Christ had been made the tool of the oppressors, and saw the poem as a hymn to the new man who has conquered evil and slavery through the Christlike martyrdom of the redeemer Prometheus ("L'Idea religiosa," 1903, pp. 42, 81); W. Revell: Prometheus' revolt was "not anarchy, any more than the revolt of Jesus against the oppressive and irreligious ecclesiasticism of his day was anarchy" ("Prometheus," 1907, p. 423); F. H. Gile: In postulating a savior (Prometheus) Aeschylus was "a Christian before Christ," as Shelley was "a prophet of the higher Christian truth and a fuller spiritual redemption" ("Prometheus," 1908, p. 435); F. Prescott: The myth as expanded is "almost as significant for mankind as the story of Christ and his crucifixion itself" (*Poetic Mind*, 1922, pp. 62-63).

while Bennett Weaver, as we have seen above, believed that "Shelley was conscious that Jesus stood between him and Plato, adding the spacious infinitude of the uttermost genius to the best thoughts of the Greek" (*Understanding of Shelley*, 1932, p. 160). Sister Anna Mercedes was also concerned with Platonic-Christian relationships as she compared St. Augustine and Shelley: "A corrected Platonism led Augustine to intellectual sanity and moral security; a misguided Platonism led Shelley to intellectual bewilderment and moral chaos." But she noted that "Shelley, the atheist, blasted *nineteenth century* Christianity. Had Augustine been alive he would have helped him." She also held that "if [Shelley] were 'suckled in another creed' [than that of Godwin] he might have produced a *City of God* rather than *Prometheus Unbound*. Two virtues of Shelley stand out, and these are touchstones of Christianity: unworldliness and self-sacrifice." Sister Mercedes concluded:

> The tremendous, intuitive, twisted intellect of Shelley glimpsed half-blindedly the outlines of our vast supernatural truths. What might he not have been under the system of faith of St. Augustine? . . . The Beauty ever ancient and ever new lured him as it had few others, and we who, from our security, look back on him, can feel nothing but regret that he did not find his way ["Two Paths," 1944, pp. 326-28].

James H. Cousins sought to correct a possible misreading. He pointed out the general teaching of the poem: "The hope of the world, to Shelley, was not the dawn of emotions, but the dawn of mind"; and "true freedom is unattainable while the higher powers are inoperative; and that law cannot be set aside until love is the active principle in all life's affairs." But he added: "This does not, of course, mean anything so foolish as a cessation of all struggle for liberation until love has been achieved" (*Work Promethean*, 1933, pp. 28, 39-40).

William Cherubini varied the theme:

> What is original in Shelley is the spectacle of extremist Radicalism operating at all times in direct conflict with a very uncommon religiosity. He never manages to synthesize the two tendencies; or if he does, it is at the expense of his Radicalism, not of his religiosity. Thus in *Prometheus Unbound* . . . the earthly millennium is reached through Jupiter's death—but under the aegis of eternal love. It is the Snake and the Garden again, after all ["Triumph of Life," 1942, p. 569].

This conflict was stated to a different purpose by Joseph Barrell, to whom the "essential Shelley" was fundamentally emotional rather than intellectual, and who felt that at the end of both *Queen Mab* and *Prometheus Unbound* the poet returned to this emotionalism, to a Christian rather than a Greek attitude, and in this he was "at one with his age and time" (*Shelley and Thought*, 1947, pp. 158-59).[76]

[76]E. Meldrum considered the substitution of Prometheus for Christ "foolish," and found the poem "a magnificent statement of faith" (*Classical Background*, 1948, p. 161); and G. R. Hamilton felt that "underlying the flimsy superstructure of 'Prometheus

Finally in this connection should be noted the recent tendency of certain critics to qualify the Christian elements in the poem. Joseph Warren Beach, for example, defended his argument that *Prometheus Unbound* represented the culmination of Shelley's naturalism ("and this in spite of the mystical platonism with which it is there associated") by writing:

> The faith in human perfectibility upon this planet takes the place of the Christian doctrine of the fall of man and the whole scheme of redemption. An earthly millennium takes the place of the Christian heaven. The operation of destiny—mythical form of necessity—in bringing about this earthly millennium, takes the place of divine providence and the atonement. . . . In a certain sense Prometheus takes the place of Christ as the savior of man; but it is to be observed that he is man himself acting as his own savior ["Shelley's Naturalism," 1936, pp. 231-32].

More recently Herbert Read has stressed the humanistic character of Shelley's concept of love:

> That love, which he declared the secret of morals, he also regarded as the guiding principle of the universe. Again, he was following Plato, and, more particularly, Dante. In the detail of his conception he is much nearer to Dante than to Plato, but as a confessed atheist he did not want to identify this "unseen Power" with a divine agency. He therefore gives it an "awful throne . . . in the wise heart," from which it springs to fold over the world its healing wings. This universal love is clearly and defiantly humanistic in character ["Optimistic Philosopher," 1950, p. 378].

But P. H. Butter suggested that, "however much theologians may stress the importance of grace and the powerlessness of man by himself, it is agreed that there must be a free act of the will to co-operate with grace." Prometheus performs such an act in repenting and thus, "congruous with the Christian idea . . . [brings] into play forces beyond himself. The poem is more nearly compatible with Christian theology than Shelley himself perhaps intended or realised" (*Shelley's Idols*, 1954, p. 171).

Interpretations of *Prometheus Unbound* based primarily on moral considerations have been most widespread and, probably rightly so, most meaningful. Although, for purposes of emphasis, the political and religious approaches have been segregated above, it will have been clear that they have in most instances related to or stemmed from the broader moral aspects of the poet's thought; but there has also been a large body of opinion more narrowly concerned with the latter. Before outlining this opinion, however, it will be well to consider two points of view, stemming largely from Mrs. Shelley's note to the poem, that have attracted much critical attention. These have to do with two aspects of the problem of

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Unbound' is a noble idea of self-sacrifice which owes much to the Christian tradition. That tradition remained powerful below the surface of English life; a national front was formed against French atheism which, longer than Napoleon, appeared to threaten our shores" (*Tradition*, 1950, p. 68).

evil: (1) the degree of its externality; and (2) the degree of its permanence and ease of eradication.

Mrs. Shelley had stated in her note that the poet believed that "evil is not inherent in the system of the creation, but an accident that might be expelled," and that "mankind had only to will that there should be no evil, and there would be none" (see Appendix C). The suggestion that Shelley believed evil to be external was given strong support when it was accepted by Edward Dowden and used to illustrate the "philosophical errors" of the poem ("Last Words," 1896, p. 99). Henry Salt attempted to correct the interpretation:

> Shelley delights to personify the Manichæan doctrine of a good and an evil spirit . . . but we shall do him gross injustice if we suppose him unaware of the subtle mixture of the two elements in the human mind—to quote his own words, of "that intertexture of good and evil with which Nature seems to have clothed every form of individual existence" (*Shelley's Principles*, 1892, p. 72).[77]

Vida Scudder, however, accepted Mrs. Shelley's statement and explained:

> To the Revolution evil is a pure accident, an external fact. It inheres in institutions,—how it got there we are never told,—and when these institutions shall be shattered, the nature of man, pure, virtuous, loving, will instantly restore the Age of Gold. This conception determines the whole form of the myth in the Prometheus Unbound. Shallow though it seems to-day, it served a necessary purpose. It roused men from the lethargy of despair, and inspired them with faith in man's control over his own destiny [Edition, 1892, p. xxi].

To Helene Richter it appeared that Shelley considered evil a necessary factor in the development of the human race, for men were children who needed the rod, and evil helped rather than harmed them. Prometheus was thus converted by evil into a stronger, more elevated character (*Shelley*, 1898, p. 414).

This interpretation of Shelley's belief in evil as external prevailed (in Walter Bagehot, Henry Brailsford, Arthur Clutton-Brock, Walter Peck, and others) although, in 1902, Stopford Brooke suggested:

> There were two aspects . . . in which [the poet] conceived humanity. There was first an actual humanity which submitted to evil, did evil and suffered for it. There was secondly an ideal humanity contained in the actual, which did no wrong, which was itself sinless, but which suffered from the evil in the actual humanity and suffered for its sake. . . . This was Prometheus ["Poetry of Shelley," p. 214].

[77]Salt, in error, gave the quotation as from the *Essay on Christianity*. It is from *On the Punishment of Death* (Julian, VI, 187). There is, however, a comparable sentence in the *Essay on Christianity:* "Good and evil subsist in so intimate an union that few situations of human affairs can be affirmed to contain either of the principles in an unconnected state" (Julian, VI, 228).

Stewart C. Wilcox, in a study ("Present Values," 1957) that appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work, commented: "Philosophically, his central problem was to deal with good and evil on a cosmic scale while recognizing that the problem of evil is unanswerable. . . . *Prometheus Unbound* is a tremendous feat of the modifying imagination, an effort to say what is perhaps beyond statement" (p. 203).

Similarly, Johanna Gutteling could not accept the view that Shelley believed evil to be "purely external, the tyranny of some malignant Power" (*Hellenic Influence*, 1922, p. 95); and Melvin Solve, too, concluded that

> *Prometheus Unbound* is truly a psychological, a metaphysical, drama. We have here the struggle between the forces of good and evil in the mind of man. . . . For the purposes of drama, Jupiter and the other characters are given objective representation apart from the figure of the Titan—yet they are within the mind of man. . . . Perhaps [Shelley] had finally been driven by his fruitless efforts to reform the world, to follow the brutal advice of an early reviewer—to reform his own breast. If five or six persons, or as many millions, could profit by this introspective dramatization they would be welcome to it [*Theory of Poetry*, 1927, pp. 90-91].

Solve's position was given strong support by Melvin Rader's penetrating analysis, in which he, in turn, objected to the view "that Shelley regarded evil as externalistic and temporary: that his grasp of the entire problem was weak." This, Rader held, was true of the early poems, but the later works partially negated it; and the mature view was especially evident in *Prometheus Unbound*, where a distinction was made between evil that was "ineradicable and objectively grounded" and that which was "subjective but deeply based." The latter "mind-created evil is so radical that even the consciousness of time must be fundamentally altered before man can be altogether freed"; but subjective evil was, nevertheless, "in large measure to be escaped by minds freed from all hatred, all superstition" ("Theory of Evil," 1930, pp. 25-32). Carl Grabo, too, supported this position. He felt that *Prometheus Unbound* reversed Shelley's earlier belief that mind was but a function of matter. Now man's will became free through the triumph in himself of love over hate, and the world, evil because his thought was evil, was transformed. The existence of evil as external to man, Grabo concluded, was denied (*Interpretation*, 1935, p. 168). Douglas Bush concurred:

> The main conflict . . . is that between good and evil in the mind of man, but, in a manner more in accord with the myth, Shelley sees also an external conflict between, as it were, God and Satan—with their roles reversed—and he shifts from one conception to the other in a somewhat disconcerting way [*Mythology*, 1937, p. 154].

Similarly, Ellsworth Barnard would refute those who, like Edward Dowden, Henry Brailsford, Crane Brinton, Solomon Gingerich, and Vida Scudder, had built up the "misconception" that Shelley considered evil to be the outgrowth of institutions: "What we really have in *Prometheus Unbound*, above all else, is a drama of the individual human soul, and its effort to free itself from the evil within and without" (*Shelley's Religion*, 1937, pp. 121-22). Carlos Baker, in turn, wrote:

> The real philosophical advance [in *Prometheus Unbound*] is the development of the idea that evil is largely, though not by any means entirely, the result of spiritual blindness, and that if man were able, by an act of willed spiritual self-

> reform, to overcome at some great hour his inheritance of hate and superstition, there would be almost no limits to what he could think and do [*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, pp. 6-7].

Or, put in another way, "the removal of that repressive force which now manacles and tortures the human mind" would lead to rebirth of the power of love and to realization of "his tremendous potential of intellectual might and spiritual pleasure. . . . Mind may at any time shake off these agonies if the inward conditions of that mind can be made right," after which the harmonizing power (Asia) will return to it, where before "it has had to remain content with imperfect degrees of love" (pp. 112-14).

Most recently, Stephen Spender has re-emphasized and broadened this interpretation, holding that, while the Shelley of *Queen Mab* "believed that evil is an external burden imposed on men by human institutions, which can be removed by an external change," by the time of *Prometheus Unbound*

> Shelley had looked far deeper into the heart of man and saw the corruption of power which turns to evil the means intended for good. . . . His early view that society was divided into tyrants and priests on the one hand, and the enslaved strugglers towards freedom on the other, deepened into a tragic view of the war between good and evil in the human heart (*Shelley*, 1952, p. 7).

An interesting sidelight on this inner conflict came from Joseph W. Beach's suggestion that in the poem human nature was represented by three figures: (1) Prometheus, "the inventive and progressive powers of man"; (2) Jupiter, "the backward drag of selfish personal interest, tradition, and established authority"; and (3) Asia, the "type of love," the power that could break the deadlock between the two. According to this view, "life is in a perpetual state of unbalance or instability, and we should hardly be conscious of our living at all if it were not for the struggle we carry on against reality, which fails to satisfy us, in favor of an ideal state, which challenges us to effort" (*Romantic View*, 1944, pp. 116-18). Frank Lea offered another variation on the theme. He saw Prometheus as "the imagination defying reason" (*Romantic Revolution*, 1945, p. 112) and felt that "the basic experience comprehended in *Prometheus Unbound* is the rebirth of true Reason [rather than the mere reasoning faculty], or imagination" (p. 123).

A narrower limitation of this approach has been that which has focused on the autobiographical suggestion of the poem. Thus J. Macmillan Brown held:

> It was not merely because he had sat at the feet of Godwin . . . not merely because by nature he loved the ideal . . . not merely because he had so deeply sympathised with the French Revolution, but perhaps most fully because he had suffered keenly from the fetters which government and society bind around the spirit of man. . . . What was [Prometheus] but Shelley himself . . . pinioned down by the despotisms of law and opinion? [*Study*, 1905, pp. 172-73].

And Floyd Stovall wrote:

> [Shelley's] philosophy was individualistic rather than socialistic; this fact is palpable in his idealistic poems of social reform . . . where we observe one or two personalities of heroic dimensions leading and directing the masses or accomplishing their regeneration by a supreme sacrifice. These leaders or redeemers of humanity always bear a remarkable likeness to Shelley or to that character which he strove to exemplify [*Desire and Restraint*, 1931, p. 237].

Stovall added that we "misunderstand Shelley in supposing that he *expected* the perfection of man merely because he believed it *possible*" (p. 245). With this Benjamin Kurtz was in general agreement, writing that "*Prometheus Unbound* is a great poem of self-culture; but this self-culture is dramatically conceived, and—unintentionally—disguised, as a regeneration of society"; and he felt that it represented Shelley's "own moral victory over failure, pain, and despair" (*Pursuit of Death*, 1933, pp. 157-58).[78] This led to Kurtz's interpretation of the poem:

> Benevolence is the true character of man. To this Godwinian teaching, he adds, in the first Act, the lesson of his own adventuring: that benevolence is unchained by suffering, by repentance of scorn and hatred, by pity for the wicked, by unfailing fidelity to the higher vision, and by love. In the second Act, he adds the Platonic dream that this innate beauty is redeemed from decay by visitations of the Idea, or Reality, of Beauty; and imagines an outer world brought into

[78]Another, and much narrower, attempt to find Shelley in Prometheus has resulted from the application of psychiatric methods to the reading of the poem. This was, perhaps, anticipated by a Cambridge critic, referred to by Andrew Lang as early as 1885, who felt that the poem revealed in Shelley "a hankering after life in a cave—doubtless an unconsciously inherited memory from Cave Man" (Lang, "Letters," p. 8). Later, T. V. Moore saw, in the Titan's victory over Jupiter, Shelley's "final triumph over his own father who drove him from home and was unrelenting and unmerciful to the end." But, since Prometheus was purified of hate, Moore held: "This probably means that Shelley finally conquered or outgrew his hate for his father and forgave him the wrongs he did" (*Study of Character*, 1922, pp. 28-31). Even more extreme and more minutely detailed was the study of Arthur Wormhoudt, who based his unorthodox study on the theories of Edmund Bergler, a psychoanalyst who, in the words of Kenneth Neil Cameron, "apparently envisages the ills of mankind as due, not to sexual frustration, but to problems encountered in breast feeding" (*PQ*, XXIX [1950], 108). A typical passage may suffice here: "[In Aeschylus], Prometheus, as the oedipal son, usurps the privileges of the father, is punished, repents and is forgiven. But the normal course of oedipal justice did not appeal to Shelley. His hatred of the father was seemingly much stronger than that of Aeschylus. It demanded the complete overthrow of Jupiter and the concomitant exoneration of Prometheus for this crime against the father. This exoneration is accomplished by overlaying the positive oedipus complex with a negative oedipus complex whereby the son represses his hatred for the father and puts himself in the mother's place in order to demonstrate his love in the most passive manner. But both the positive and negative oedipus complexes are themselves only defenses against the deeper conflict between the son and the mother. This conflict Shelley has also expressed" (*Demon Lover*, 1949, p. 88). And Wormhoudt concluded: "The final result of the complicated action of this great poem is to permit the Promethean Shelley to accept the guilt for the lesser crime of the negative oedipus relation and escape that of two greater crimes—masochistic attachment to the pregenital mother and rebellion against the positive oedipal father" (p. 108).

> conformity with this innate beauty by the destruction of the horrors of injustice, intemperance, and hatred. Then, in the third Act, he avers that Life, which is a veil of this spirit, had better be called Death, for death has long since become his symbol of all imperfection, ugliness; but what he and other men have called death, is the true life, the greatest visitation of the divine. . . . Thus, at last, in the triumph of benevolence and beauty over the ugliness that is falsely called life, a perfect moral character is achieved. The emotional harmony of that character, and a sympathetic harmony, or peace, in all natural things, overflows into the lyrics of the fourth Act. . . . The unbinding of Prometheus is in fact a story of what has actually happened, in some degree short of the ideal perfection, to each of countless individual men. But the perfecting of society is a story of what has never happened, of what perhaps never can happen until there is a biological change in the fundamental nature of man.
>
> May one not be warranted, then, in detecting . . . a movement, unrealized by the poet himself, away from the preoccupation with the perfection of society toward the perfecting of the individual [pp. 187-89]?

Another erroneous, but widespread, opinion (resulting from a too-literal reading of the poem) was that Shelley believed in a sudden and revolutionary change in man's condition. John Todhunter hinted at the fallacy of this view in suggesting that the poem should be considered as an example of evolutionary rather than revolutionary thought (*Study*, 1880, p. 156); but Henry Salt was more direct in stating that Shelley used "the license of a poet, by concentrating into brief compass a revolution which must have demanded a long period for its accomplishment, little suspecting that his critics would attribute to him the almost incredible folly of a literal belief in the sudden extirpation of evil" (*Shelley's Principles*, 1892, p. 68). Later, Archibald Strong re-emphasized the point and linked *Prometheus Unbound* and *Hellas* as poems that

> contain the actual symbol of that which may yet be—which, indeed, must be—if man's progress, despite its imperfections and frustrations, be on the whole an upward one making for an increased love of his kind. Time, the only means of achieving the new order . . . interposes its aeons between conception and fruition: and it is surely for this cause that Shelley rails at it so fiercely [*Studies*, 1921, p. 65].

Gertrude Slaughter called the poem "a myth in which the poet's dream of the regeneration of mankind is represented as accomplished in one fated hour, to symbolize what is conceived of as happening in the long process of the ages" ("Shelley," 1922, p. 77); and Melvin Rader, noting that "the liberation of man does not approach swiftly . . . [for, although Shelley's] works are prophetic of revolution, he advocated a most gradual reform," cited as evidence the following: "Yet slow and gradual dawned the morn of love" (*Queen Mab* IX.38); "[liberal-mindedness, forebearance, and independence are] to be produced by resolute perseverance and indefatigable hope, and long-suffering and long-believing courage, and the systematic efforts of generations of men of intellect and virtue" (Preface to *The Revolt of Islam*); "[the overthrow of the system of society] does not seem to be

one of the easiest. But the generous few are not the less held to tend with all their efforts towards it" (to Hunt, May 1, 1820; Julian, X, 164); "[reform should not come] before the public mind, through many gradations of improvement, shall have arrived at the maturity which can disregard these symbols of its childhood" (*A Proposal for Putting Reform to the Vote;* Julian, VI, 68); "Any sudden attempt at universal suffrage would produce an immature attempt at a Republic" (*A Philosophical View of Reform;* Julian, VII, 43). But Rader noted that in "it is our will / That thus enchains us to permitted ill," etc. (*Julian and Maddalo* 161-91), the poet wrote to the same effect as did Mrs. Shelley. The apparent contradiction, he thought, could be reconciled by recognition of Shelley's acceptance of Spinoza's belief "that the mind, by conceiving existence *sub specie aeternitatis,* can be liberated from bondage to time" and, "intoxicated with Eternity . . . could anticipate and ideally dwell in the age of dawn" ("Theory of Evil," 1930, pp. 28-31).

Amiyakumar Sen based his explanation on the action of Asia: "Unlike Godwin's Reason, Asia does not, all at once, bring about, by a single touch of her wand as it were, the salvation of mankind. She has to pass through a series of educative experiences before she can redeem Humanity," and "when the emotions and the human understanding are equally and fully developed, educated and harmoniously blended together . . . man becomes perfect" (*Studies,* 1936, pp. 135-36). And N. I. White thought that, if the victory seemed too easily and suddenly achieved, "it is largely the fault of Shelley's original fable and the timelessness and spacelessness of its setting. . . . It was to be a 'slow, gradual, silent change,' as he had earlier made clear in the Preface to [*The Revolt of Islam*]" (*Shelley,* 1940, II, 124-25).

To return now to the general development of critical thought relating to the moral significance of the poem, we may note that the most obvious feature, the "benevolent opposition of Prometheus to the oppressive and atrocious rule of Jupiter" (*Monthly Review,* 1821; see Appendix D, item VII), has, of course, been basic; but from the beginning the subtleties of Shelley's treatment have been pointed out: "He has drawn us Virtue, not as she is, but as she should be—magnanimous in affliction, and impatient of unauthorized tyranny" (*London-Inquisitor,* 1821; see Appendix D, item VIII).

Mrs. Shelley offered only the broadest interpretation of the meaning of the poem: Humanity is freed by Strength from the tortures of Evil, done or suffered, after the Primal Power of the world drives Evil from his usurped throne; whereupon Nature resumes the beauty of her prime and is united with her husband, the emblem of the human race (see Appendix C). The general stress, in her note and in Shelley's Preface, on the idealized aspects of Shelley's beliefs has, however, as we have seen, been frequently

repeated.[79] To Arthur Clive, the poem represented "the sufferings and endurance of the unconquerable spirit of Freedom through its night of tribulation and suppression, the ultimate overthrow and annihilation of that Evil One" to "the joy of all created things" ("Prometheus," 1874, p. 423); and Clive added: "Shelley has raised the ideal of human excellence so far as almost to make us hate the word 'progress' and grow weary of 'civilization' whose results up to the present have been so meagre and disheartening. We are scarce fit to breathe in his atmosphere, but it is good for us to know that it exists" (p. 437). Edward Dowden, too, felt that "the poem has helped us to conceive more truly and more nobly of the possibilities of man's life, its possibilities of fortitude, endurance, pitying sympathy, heroic martyrdom, aspiration, joy, freedom, love" ("Last Words," 1896, p. 99). But J. Slater, who saw Shelley's "characteristic sentiments' —the evil of government, philanthropy, fatalism, doubts of immortality, and an "unsavoury" opposition to marriage—in the poem, could not accept the poet's philanthropy because it left out God ("Let us love each other because there is no God to love us") and dwindled down "into the kind-heartedness of the everyday Englishman" ("Prometheus," 1884, pp. 386-92).

In W. M. Rossetti's three lectures before the Shelley Society a more detailed study of the poem was offered. The critic interpreted the poet's meaning as follows:

> The Universe (spoken of as Heaven, Earth, and Light) is eternal and self-existing: it had no creator. The primary powers of the Universe, or (as we may say) its spiritual functions, are Love, Fate, Occasion, Chance, and Change. Of these no beginning and no origin can be predicated, nor yet any end. Of Man, the earliest age is called the Saturnian Age, when Time became a factor in the world. Men in that age, being intellectually undeveloped, lived a natural and therefore so far a happy life, like animals, or indeed like plants. Ultimately Human Mind was evolved, or, mythically speaking, Prometheus came into being, and was united to Nature, as in the espousals of man and wife. One of the first acts of Human Mind was to create a God in his own image: he assigned wisdom to Jupiter —that is, to the Vicissitude of the World—and ascribed to him the dominion of Heaven, stipulating only that man should be free—free in will and in act. The mere animal happiness, or natural conformity, of man had lapsed with the birth of Mind: under the theocracy which the mind of man had established, everything went amiss. The natural operations of the Vicissitude of the World, such as want, toil, and disease, became grievously oppressive when they were regarded as the decree of Omniscient Omnipotence; and the spirit of mankind was a theatre of dismal cravings and chafings. To this catastrophe of all human well-being the Mind of Man supplied numerous and noble palliatives; but it sank beneath the stern theocratic sway—Prometheus was bound and tortured. Still the potential

[79] Carl Grabo recently qualified this view, however: "Shelley in his late verse sometimes still depicts an ideal society, as in the Utopia of *Prometheus Unbound*, but against this ideal of which he dreams he presents the world as it now is with a terrible and uncompromising realism. . . . The ideal society for which he strove became in his eyes, as his knowledge of human nature grew, increasingly remote, something to be achieved only by a new order of mankind" (*Shelley's Eccentricities*, 1950, p. 69).

> remedy for the multiform and monstrous evil remained in the human mind itself —it remains in the human mind at this moment. When the mind shall finally have rejected the delusions (such Shelley considered them) of theocracy, and shall have purged itself of the dark passions of hatred and revenge, then will the moment of emancipation be sounding. Eternity itself will conspire with the human mind to launch the world of man upon a new career—a career of boundless progression, in which even the planet which man inhabits will participate. The theocracy, with all its attendant evils, will vanish into nothingness; the Human Mind will be re-united to Nature in indissoluble and boundless concord; and only chance and death and mutability will dispute with man the future of his globe ["Study," 1886, pp. 71-72].

To William Guthrie, "the mind of man, married to nature, separated, reunited," was the theme of "the whole poem" (*Poet Prophets*, 1897, p. 163); and he approved Shelley's choice of the Prometheus story, for in so choosing the poet could, because of the antiquity of the myth, avoid "any shock to religious preconceptions and associations." Jupiter and Prometheus could thus be made to "signify whatever he pleases without any serious danger of arousing bigoted opposition" (p. 152). Guthrie read the poem as meaning that, for the liberation and perfection of the soul of man, (1) man needs to "overcome that vindictive passion miscalled the desire for just retribution"; (2) he needs to learn that he "who reigns" is not "God," and that "all things are subject but eternal Love"; (3) he needs "an external power . . . an incarnation of the eternal energy to dethrone objective evil"; (4) he needs "Hercules to break the fetters of evil custom from his body"; (5) he needs "to be united again with 'nature' "; after which (6) "the shell . . . of that liberty which is a condition of true virtue, must be blown, and its note of prophecy must bring about its own fulfillment"; and (7) he must live with Asia in the " 'cavern' of science." Man, according to Guthrie's reading, was in want of something to give him confidence, so he gave Jupiter (government, anthropomorphic God, moral codes) power which turned to violence against man. For Jupiter is still on his throne, although for many he has fallen or is falling: "We see clearly from what the soul of man, according to *our* Shelley, needs to be delivered." In the final analysis, Guthrie felt, it was not Asia or Demogorgon, but the attitude of Prometheus himself, which made, and will always make, salvation possible: "The finality of the redemption as a fact [Shelley] doubted, though the principle thereof he trusted. It could, in case of need, be applied again and again" (pp. 182-202).

To George Woodberry, also, the separation of Prometheus from Asia during the reign of Jupiter was the important key, for it typified the discordance between man and nature due to the tyranny of convention, custom, institutions, laws, and all the arbitrary organization of society—one of the cardinal ideas inherited by Shelley from eighteenth-century thought. The fall of Jupiter thus represented, for Woodberry, the abolition of human law, which was to be followed by the triumph of love, with man

and nature once more in accord, and with this accord presented doubly in the drama as the marriage of Prometheus and the regeneration of the world in millennial happiness (Cambridge Edition, 1901, p. 621). This interpretation was amplified by Allen R. Benham, who argued that the separation of Prometheus and Asia was "a presentation in a curious dramatic form of the [Rousseau] doctrine . . . that man can reach an ideal state of existence by what was called the Return to Nature,"[80] and he cited the *Essay on Christianity* to show what Shelley thought Rousseau meant by this:

> Rousseau certainly did not mean to persuade the immense population of his country to abandon all the arts of life[,] destroy their habitations and their temples and become the inhabitants of the woods. He addressed the most enlightened of his compatriots, and endeavoured to persuade them to set the example of a pure and simple life, by placing in the strongest point of view his conceptions of the calamitous and diseased aspect which, overgrown as it is with the vices of sensuality and selfishness, is exhibited by civilized society [Julian, VI, 247-48].

Benham concluded that Jupiter fell when Prometheus pitied rather than defied, suggesting

> that morality, to use a mathematical term, is a function of sympathy and the latter in turn of imagination. . . . The difficulty with the reign of Jupiter was that man was kept unrefined, his imagination was restricted, hence his sympathies were narrow, and a real human society was impossible ["Interpretation," 1923, p. 120].

To Walter Raleigh, Shelley "had learned 'To hope, till hope creates / From its own wreck the thing it contemplates'; and if the tyrant that oppresses mankind is immitigable Reality, he will be a rebel against Reality in the name of that fairer and no less immortal power, the desire of the heart." The gist of his teaching, Raleigh believed, lay "not in this or that promise held out of future good, but in the means that he insists on for its realization" ("Shelley," 1902, pp. 291-93).[81] And J. Macmillan Brown saw as Shelley's aim: "To bring thought and love together by the aid of liberty [Demogorgon] . . . and he has accomplished it in Titanic, almost superhuman mould" (*Study*, 1905, p. 20). Arthur M. D. Hughes broadened the issue somewhat in his reading. He agreed that in Shelley's

[80]Helene Richter had held that Shelley's dream of the millennium was the reverse of Rousseau's: not a return to an earlier state, but a continuous progress (*Shelley*, 1898, p. 422).

[81]With Raleigh's position it is interesting to compare that of George H. Clarke, who held that *Prometheus Unbound* "offers no sure *method* for the renovation of life, but it impresses us all with the assurance and reality of renovation," and that "the energy and enthusiasm of his belief, its spirit and its power" were more important than the matter of his belief: "Shelley's mankind, though given fluctuating place in a vast Nature-organization, is not by any means a mechanicized conception . . . [for Shelley's] eyes were habitually fixed on the great principles of Love and Wisdom and Virtue, abstractions which became so keenly and glowingly realized in his own thought that of their inherent activity he could entertain no doubt" (Edition, 1907, pp. 238-39).

view the human mind was oppressed by its own creation, the "personal God of the historical religions," and had lost touch with Intellectual Beauty. A reunion with Intellectual Beauty would enable the mind to behold the glory of nature. But, Hughes held, "Shelley would not dream of a return to any sort of primitive innocence," for "the very systems which oppress man testify to a striving for the light, and are the earnest of something better." Thus the

> way to salvation and sound knowledge is by a hard-won progress in virtue. . . . Prometheus the Titan merges into Prometheus the Mind of Man; and so, at a yet farther remove, we perceive that in the Mind of Man there is implicit, as the whole is implicit in the part, all the generative energy, the "father-force," as Todhunter expresses it, in Nature (Edition, 1910, pp. 172-74).

To Charles Herford, "everything in the drama seems to support the faith of Shelley's most exalted hours, that love, even here and now, is the substance of things, and evil a phantasmal shadow." Even Jupiter "speaks in lovely images . . as if he, too, were a lover of Asia," and the Fury appears to suffer "what she inflicts" (*History*, 1915, p. 66). N. I. White found the poem not only consistent in its philosophy but moderate: "Surely the faith that there is an inextinguishable spark within the human spirit is intellectually as respectable as the contrary belief, when neither is capable of absolute proof by the ordinary laws of reason" (*Shelley*, 1940, II, 125). White pointed out that the poem was full of the feeling, stemming from Plato and Berkeley, that the mind was only a shadow of the Eternal Mind ("It is the *mind* of man that is invincible"). Moreover, he held, the poem expressed Shelley's "own disillusion and disappointment in life," yet the poet "reasserted more strongly than ever an optimism based upon a new philosophy of reality that could recognize fully the strength of evil while perceiving that it was not for ever invincible, because it rested upon a distortion of truth" (II, 135-37). Edward Hungerford concluded:

> The moral of Shelley's play does not . . . differ from that of Aeschylus so radically as Shelley imagined. Man attains a limited freedom by eradicating from his nature its worse elements and being guided by the will of God, which is love. The essential difference is that Shelley allots to man a higher capacity for achievement within the limits of necessity than that envisaged by the Greek poet, an optimistic hope which may or may not be justified by events [*Shores of Darkness*, 1941, p. 215].

André Maurois read the poem as "a new presentation of the one and only theme of his genius: the war of the Spirit against Matter, the war of Free Man against the World" (*Ariel*, 1924, p. 248); and Cecil M. Bowra saw the poem's principal ideas as reflections of four of Shelley's beliefs: (1) "in the end evil is conquered because it breeds its own opposite"; (2) "matter does not exist" and "spirit is the only reality . . . nature is no less alive than man and has, like him, a soul"; (3) "evil is subdued through love";

and (4) when "love and reason are united, evil is doomed" (*Romantic Imagination*, 1949, pp. 110-14).

One additional interpretative approach, recently expanded, has dealt with Shelley's interest in science. As early as 1867, in France, Odysse Barot had likened Shelley to Lucretius in capturing the language of the forces of the universe, the high truths of philosophy and science (Henri Peyre, *Shelley et la France*, 1935, p. 279). Later, in England, John Todhunter found in *Prometheus Unbound* an evolutionary approach to man's perfectibility. Prometheus, he felt, was "the divine imagination, the father-force, which creates and re-creates the universe by its marriage with the divine idea, or mother-force, Asia." Hence Prometheus was freed of suffering when Asia became so transfigured that evil could not bear her beauty, i. e., "when the divine idea which gave birth to the old world" was ready "to give birth to a new one more perfect." To Todhunter, this was "the ever-renewed drama of creation, which, acted a million times in a second, eludes our vision in the mysteries of what we call chemical affinity, and which, extending over millions of ages, baffles the utmost range of our minds" (*Study*, 1880, p. 141). Thus, Todhunter thought, by Act II Shelley was "almost as clearly an evolutionist as any of our most modern philosophers," but "a transcendental evolutionist of the Hegelian type," and his Spirit of Nature was not a blind force but an intensely vital Mind. Moreover, the creation to Shelley was not a dead plan but "the perpetual effort to realize an ever-developing ideal"; for there were "certain nodal-points in this process of evolution—golden ages, when the real and ideal become one." Evil, then, represented "the discord in the cosmic harmony, which yet results in higher harmony when overcome and resolved" (pp. 156-57).

Little, however, was made of Shelley's interest in this field until Alfred North Whitehead, in 1925, declared that science "was, in fact, part of the main structure of his mind, permeating his poetry through and through. If Shelley had been born a hundred years later, the twentieth century would have seen a Newton among chemists. . . . [But he] can simply make nothing of the doctrine of secondary qualities which is fundamental to [science's] concepts. For Shelley, nature retains its beauty and its colour" (*Science and the Modern World*, pp. 123-24).

Promptly accepting Whitehead's challenge to consider Shelley's scientific background, Carl Grabo built the story of the poet's use of scientific thought from its materialistic and deterministic phase to the reconciliation of science with Platonism in *Prometheus Unbound*. Grabo traced the influence of the thought of Erasmus Darwin, Herschel, Newton, and Davy on the poet, with special attention to the relationship between the theory of Beccaria and Shelley's use of electrical phenomena; but he admitted the dual symbolism of many passages, pointing out that "they are both scientific and neo-Platonic in their import" (*Newton among Poets*, 1930, p. xi),

and that "scientific thought very quickly verges upon mysticism in his verse" (p. 102). Nor did Grabo insist that his parallels indicated sources, only that, "if in some one or several of the scientific investigators and theorists of the time can be found data which make Shelley's scientific conceptions as set forth in *Prometheus* fully intelligible, that fact suffices for purposes of interpretation" (p. 86).

Grabo's detailed interpretation of *Prometheus Unbound* appeared five years later, and the principal parallels there presented will be found in the Critical Notes of the present edition. Influenced by these studies, Joseph W. Beach suggested that the union of Prometheus and Asia signified "not merely humanity's espousal of love" but also "man's alliance with nature as explored and interpreted by science" ("Shelley's Naturalism," 1936, p. 241); or, as James H. Cousins wrote of *Adonais* xliii, Shelley was "in fact stating the clearest science [of evolution], but stating it gloriously, on the wing" (*Work Promethean*, 1933, pp. 54-55). Roy Male amplified the approach by relating it to the doctrine of sympathy, a motif he found also in *Rosalind and Helen* but in cruder form than in *Prometheus Unbound*, where, with Prometheus and Asia, it was

> refined, universalized, and paralleled throughout by an equation of love with electromagnetic attraction. To regard this analogy as a blending of Platonic love with the ideas of modern astronomy makes it seem a rather far-fetched conceit. But if we constantly remember that, for Shelley, love is synonymous with sympathy, the idea is much more plausible. The comparison of sympathy to electricity was a commonplace in Shelley's time ["Shelley and Sympathy," 1950, p. 200].

Stephen Spender sided with these writers:

> In certain respects, Shelley developed modern poetry further in [*Prometheus Unbound*] than it has gone since. For one aim of modern poetry is surely to make the enormously extended knowledge of the universe gained by science, conscious and significant in our minds. In *Prometheus Unbound* Shelley links up scientific discovery with the struggle for human liberty (*Shelley*, 1952, p. 29).[82]

And so the tides of opinion have ebbed and flowed about the coves and promontories of thought that form the world of Shelley's poem. It is a

[82]It should be added, however, that this group of critics has been seriously challenged. N. I. White was convinced that the scientific influence "is limited to the imagery and does not extend to the general philosophy of the poem. Also it is largely the result of remembered, rather than current, reading" (*Shelley*, 1940, II, 578). Ellsworth Barnard commented: "It is true that Shelley in his youth was greatly attracted by sensational or striking scientific experiments and theories; but the records of his later life offer practically no evidence that he remained so, or that the use in his poetry of the information which he had earlier acquired was more than incidental. Nor is it clear that Mrs. Shelley's statement in her note on *Prometheus Unbound*—that 'Shelley develops, more particularly in the lyrics of this drama, his abstruse and imaginative theories with regard to the Creation'—is to be applied to the kind of theory which Mr. Grabo discusses" (Edition, 1944, p. 178). And Douglas Bush held that "the validity of particular

challenging poem. In many respects it is a great poem, for only a work of art touched with greatness invites and bears without diminution the range and intensity of interpretation here outlined. But finally all criticism must give way to the work of art itself, and in the survey just concluded, as well as in the pages to follow, it will be clear that the figure chosen by Matthew Arnold for his sonnet on Shakespeare is not inept when applied to *Prometheus Unbound:*

> For the loftiest hill
> That to the stars uncrowns his majesty,
> Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
> Making the heaven of heavens his dwelling-place,
> Spares but the cloudy border of his base
> To the foiled searching of mortality.

---

scientific data and images has nothing to do with the validity of the poet's vision of life, and that, to a good many readers, remains dubious. . . . But Shelley himself supplies a comment on his scientific utopia when, speaking of the way in which scientific knowledge has circumscribed the imagination, the poetry of life, he says: 'Man, having enslaved the elements, remains himself a slave' " (*Science and English Poetry*, 1950, pp. 103-4).

Carlos Baker did not believe that Shelley's interest in science was uncommon. He was "an intelligent amateur," but this was "hardly a reason for supposing that he might have developed into a pioneer of modern physical science" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, 1948, p. 287). Graham Hough commented on Whitehead: "To the shoemaker there is nothing like leather: but the literary critic, to give that unscientific observer his due, is perhaps more likely than the scientist in a literary moment to notice how fragmentary and capricious were Shelley's dealings with science. The important substratum of truth in this way of thinking about Shelley is that he does not see a dualism between material and spiritual life; each is one aspect of the same reality; and the rejuvenation of the one can only be accomplished (though not by any process expressible in scientific terms) by the parallel regeneration of the other. Thus the cosmic and natural imagery of *Prometheus* is not inessential to it, an additional lyrical rhapsodizing, as is sometimes said: it is a vital part of the whole imaginative concept" (*Romantic Poets*, 1953, p. 138).

The most penetrating statement, however, was that of Charles G. Hoffman: "The claim that a poet is expounding such-and-such a specific doctrine, philosophic or scientific, leads to over-simplification; the very process of creation and the techniques of the medium demand of a poem its own kind of emotional truth and not the logical or empirical truth of scientific or philosophic discourse. . . . Shelley had a definite and keen interest in science, and yet the Nature of his poetry is not the Nature of scientific materialism. . . . Furthermore, his interest in science was not purely 'scientific': his moralistic and humanitarian concern for human progress saw in science the answer to and the hope for advances in human welfare. He did make use of some scientific facts as a basis for some of his imagery, but the large part of his imagery by necessity and by choice comes from traditional and romantic sources" ("Whitehead's Philosophy of Nature," 1952, pp. 261-62).

Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*

Explanatory Note[1]

THE TEXT IS THAT of the first edition of 1820 (see above, p. xvii), and it has been reproduced with verbal exactness, even to typographical errors and obvious misreadings. Line numbers and manuscript page references have been supplied. Running heads follow the format of the present edition.

Variant readings have been limited to the principal editions, draft abstracts, and the E manuscript. This manuscript has previously been referred to as B (for Bodleian), but with the Shelley-Rolls material now added to the collection it seems advisable to draw a clearer distinction between parts of the Bodleian holdings. I have therefore adopted E (the Bodleian catalogue code for this item) for Shelley's final manuscript copy of the poem.

Because of the complex nature of the draft materials, only confusion could result from attempting their detailed inclusion in the Variant Readings or Textual Notes. They have, therefore, been abstracted here. Full transcriptions will be found in Appendix A.

In the Textual Notes all manuscript readings are from E unless specifically identified as draft materials. Square brackets as part of manuscript readings indicate deletions by the poet; shaped brackets in these readings indicate editorial comment. Text of parallel passages in other works (where line reference only has been given by the critic) has been supplied. In these notes short titles of critical works have been used in most references. For notes which follow the line order of the poem (such as in the Zupitza-Schick articles or in Freeman's dissertation) and can thus be located easily, reference is to the editor's or critic's name only; other items (such as those in introductions, etc.) have been identified. Variant readings for Freeman are from the published edition of the poem; references to Freeman in the Textual Notes are to the dissertation. References to Woodberry in the Textual Notes are to the Centenary Edition unless otherwise indicated.

In the Textual Notes, also, grammatical nicety has been sacrificed for

[1]See also pp. xvii-xx for full details of textual procedure.

fidelity to punctuation in the manuscript. Thus commas and periods have been omitted when they do not follow the words, numbers, or letters in the original. Adequate spacing has been allowed to prevent confusion.

Key to Abbreviations

SD	Stage Direction
Dr	Draft MSS (See Appendix A for full transcriptions and MSS identifications)
E	Bodleian MSS E.1, E.2, E.3 (Shelley's final extant copy of the poem)
M	Mrs. Shelley edition (1839)
M^2	Mrs. Shelley second edition (1839)
Fs	G. G. Foster edition (1845; the first American edition)
R	William Michael Rossetti edition (1870)
Fo	Harry Buxton Forman edition (1876)
R^2	Rossetti second edition (1878)
D	Edward Dowden edition (1890)
Fo^2	Forman second edition (1892)
W	George Woodberry edition (1892)
H	Thomas Hutchinson edition (1904)
H^2	Hutchinson second edition (1905)
A	Richard Ackermann edition (1908)
L	Charles D. Locock edition (1911)
J	Julian edition (Roger Ingpen and Walter Peck; 1927)
Fr	Martin Joseph Freeman and Carl Grabo edition (1942)

For the above (except for Dr), full variant readings have been given. The following editions adhere closely to one or another of the foregoing, but where significant deviations have been found they have been indicated in the Textual Notes: Galignani (1829), Cuningham (1839), Blind (1872), Scott (1873), Shepherd (1874), Scudder (1892), Alexander (1898), Dickinson (1898), Woodberry Cambridge Edition (1901), Dole (1905), Koszul (1907), Frowde (1910), Hughes (1910), Herford (1922).

Hyphenation in the variant readings indicates that all editions so included give the reading (e.g., H-Fr means that Hutchinson, Ackermann, Locock, Julian, and Freeman agree); while hyphenation followed by a square bracket indicates that all except those bracketed give the reading (e.g., M-Fr[Fo] means that all editions from Mrs. Shelley's to Freeman's, except for Forman, agree on the reading). Where a given editor alters a reading in a second edition the change is indicated by a shaped bracket (e.g., Speak! M R J<Speak: R^2>); otherwise the two editions agree.

PROMETHEUS UNBOUND

A LYRICAL DRAMA

IN FOUR ACTS

WITH OTHER POEMS

BY

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY

AUDISNE HÆC, AMPHIARAE, SUB TERRAM ABDITE?

LONDON

C AND J OLLIER VERE STREET BOND STREET

1820

[E.1 14r]

PREFACE.

THE Greek tragic writers, in selecting as their subject any portion of their national history or mythology, employed in their treatment of it a certain arbitrary discretion. They by no means conceived themselves bound to adhere to the common interpretation or to imitate in story as in title their rivals and predecessors. Such a system would have amounted to a resignation of those claims to preference over their competitors which incited the composition. The Agamemnonian story was exhibited on the Athenian theatre with as many variations as dramas.

I have presumed to employ a similar licence. The "Prometheus Unbound" of Æschylus supposed the reconciliation of Jupiter with his victim as the price of the disclosure of the danger threatened to his empire [E.1 14v] by the consummation of his marriage with Thetis.

1 writers E
2 of the history or mythology of their nation, Dr 3 thier <*sic*> E
4-5 felt themselves obliged Dr
5 interpretation, M
6 story, as in title, M & E
7 Such a plan would have been no more than the resignation Dr wd E
9 Agamenmonian <*sic*> E
10 the Greek theatre Dr
12 license— E
13 "Prometheus unbound" of Æschylus, E
15-16 to the Empire of Heaven by his marriage Dr

Preface omitted in Cuningham and Scott.

1-47 For a full transcription of Shelley's draft of these lines and relevant unused passages, see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

6 *as in* [*th*] *title*

9 *Violet* written with different pen above period. Zupitza thought it was probably on the page before the *Prometheus Unbound* passage was written.

13 Quotation mark spacing unique throughout 1820.

Thetis, according to this view of the subject, was given in marriage to Peleus, and Prometheus, by the permission of Jupiter, delivered from his captivity by Hercules. Had I framed my story on this model, I should have done no more than have attempted to restore the lost drama of Æschylus; an ambition, which, if my preference to this mode of treating the subject had incited me to cherish, the recollection of the high comparison such an attempt would challenge might well abate. But, in truth, I was averse from a catastrophe so feeble as that of reconciling the Champion with the Oppressor of mankind. The moral interest of the fable, which is so powerfully sustained by the sufferings and endurance of Prometheus, would be [E.1 15ʳ] annihilated if we could conceive of him as unsaying his high language and quailing before his successful and perfidious adversary. The only imaginary being resembling in any degree Prometheus, is Satan; and Prometheus is, in my judgement, a more poetical character than Satan, because, in addition to courage, and majesty, and firm and patient opposition to omnipotent force, he is susceptible of being described as exempt from the taints of ambition, envy, revenge, and a desire for personal aggrandisement, which, in the Hero of Paradise Lost, interfere with the interest.

17 on this view Dr subject E
18 Pelias, <*sic*>& Prometheus E
19 Jupiter E Hercules.— E
20 model E
24 the thought Dr
25 comparison I should so challenge Dr challenge, E 26 But in truth E
29-30 the fable so powerful in the sufferings & the endurance Dr fable E
30 & the endurance E and the endurance A
32-33 quaking before his perfidious & successful adversary. Dr language, & E his perfidious & successful E
33-36 Prometheus is I think a more poetical character than Satan, because Dr
35 judgment, M
36 Satan E courage & majesty E
37 & & E
39-40 ambition & revenge & injustice which Dr envy revenge, & E which E
41-42 interest Satan engenders Dr
41 perpetually interfere Dr A hero of Paradise lost perpetually interfere E

Running heads: centered, punctuated, small roman capitals in 1820.
17 Shelley copied *on this view* from the draft, then *according to* above [*on*]
18-19 Draft at first: *& Hercules by the permission of Jupiter delivered Prometheus from the vulture & the chains.*
24-25 Draft at first: *the consideration of the unfavourable comparison I challenged*
28 In the draft Shelley followed this sentence with (undeleted): *Nor can I imagine how such a scene could ever have excited any thing but dissappointment* <*sic*>*on the st* <stage?>
31 15ʳ opens with *ceive of him* 39 A caret directs to *envy* above the line.
40 A caret directs to *a desire for* above the line.

The character of Satan engenders in the mind a pernicious casuistry which leads us to weigh his faults with his wrongs, and to excuse the former because the latter exceed all measure. In the minds of those who [45]
[E.1 15^{v}] consider that magnificent fiction with a religious feeling it engenders something worse. But Prometheus is, as it were, the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature, impelled by the purest and the truest motives to the best and noblest ends. [50]

This Poem was chiefly written upon the mountainous ruins of the Baths of Caracalla, among the flowery glades, and thickets of odoriferous blossoming trees, which are extended in ever winding labyrinths upon its immense platforms and dizzy arches suspended in the [55] air. The bright blue sky of Rome, and the effect of the vigorous awakening spring in that divinest climate, and the new life with which it drenches the spirits even to intoxication, were the inspiration of this drama. [60]

The imagery which I have employed will be found,
[E.1 16^{r}] in many instances, to have been drawn from the operations of the human mind, or from those external actions by which they are expressed. This is unusual in modern poetry, although Dante and Shakspeare are [65]

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44 wrongs & E
46 read that magnificent Dr
47 feeling, E M
49 & E
50 & & E
53 & E trees E
54 extending R <extended R^{2}>
ever-winding M
55 & E
56 & E
57 of spring E M Fs R A L
61 found E
62 instances E
65 Poetry; E & Shakespeare E

---

42 Shelley copied *Satan engenders* from the draft, then in E inserted *The character of* with caret, in pencil above the line.

43-44 Draft at first: *leads us to excuse his faults in return for his*

46 15^{v} opens with *magnificent fiction*

51-73 These lines were written with finer pen and smaller letters, probably at another time inasmuch as line 74 begins on a later page.

51 *upon* out of *in* above [*among*]

54 Shelley wrote *which* [*has*] *are stretched out* [*am*] *upon* · A caret after *out* directs to *in ever winding labyrinths* in darker ink above the line. Then, in pencil, *stretched out* is deleted and a penciled caret after *are* directs to *extended* in pencil above the line. Zupitza suggested that [*am*] was a start on *among*

56 *sky* above [*air*]

61 *The imagery which I have* above [*There will be found*] Zupitza read *Then* for *There*

62 16^{r} opens with *the operations* The bottom one-third, following *singulartity* <*sic*>of line 73, is blank.

full of instances of the same kind: Dante indeed more than any other poet, and with greater success. But the Greek poets, as writers to whom no resource of awakening the sympathy of their contemporaries was unknown, were in the habitual use of this power; and it is the study of their works, (since a higher merit would probably be denied me,) to which I am willing that my readers should impute this singularity.

[E.3 38v] One word is due in candour to the degree in which the study of contemporary writings may have tinged my composition, for such has been a topic of censure with regard to poems far more popular, and indeed more deservedly popular, than mine. It is impossible that any one who inhabits the same age with such writers as those who stand in the foremost ranks of our own, can conscientiously assure himself that his language and tone of thought may not have been modified by the study of the productions of those extraordinary intellects. It is true, that, not the spirit of their genius, but the forms in which it has manifested itself, are due less to the peculiarities of their own minds than to the peculiarity of the moral and intellectual condition of the minds among which they have been produced. Thus a number of writers possess the form, whilst they want the spirit of those whom, it is alleged, they imitate; because the

67 poet E
70 power, E
71 and it sfrom <*sic*> E works (since E M
72 me) E me), M
73 singularity <*sic*> E
74 One word in candour on the manner Dr *no paragraph* E
75 writing may have modified Dr
77 & E and, indeed, M
78 popular E
78-81 any one contemporary with such writers as stand in the ranks of literature of the present day assure themselves or others that their language Dr
81 himself, E & E
83 of these Dr
84 thier <*sic*> E
85 due, E
86 peculiarity Dr minds, E
87 & E
88 they were produced. Dr
89 have the form, Dr E form while Fs
90 imitate, E

70 What looks like *powers* is, I am sure, *power*[*s*],

74-178 For a full transcription of Shelley's draft of these lines and relevant unused passages, see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

75-78 *my . . . mine* not in the draft.

86 38r opens with *peculiarity of* Note that Shelley had inverted the notebook and was writing from back to front at this point. *their* in this as in other instances may be *thier* The *e* and *i* are formed alike, and the dot rests between the two letters.

90 Draft at first: *those whom they are supposed to imitate* Shelley, without deleting, wrote the received reading above the draft line.

former is the endowment of the age in which they live, and the latter must be the uncommunicated lightning of their own mind.

[E.3 37v] The peculiar style of intense and comprehensive imagery which distinguishes the modern literature of [95] England, has not been, as a general power, the product of the imitation of any particular writer. The [E.3 38r] mass of capabilities remains at every period materially the same; the circumstances which awaken it to action perpetually change. If England were divided into [100] forty republics, each equal in population and extent to Athens, there is no reason to suppose but that, under institutions not more perfect than those of Athens, each would produce philosophers and poets equal to those who (if we except Shakspeare) have [105] E.3 37v] never been surpassed. We owe the great writers of the golden age of our literature to that fervid awakening of the public mind which shook to dust the oldest and most oppressive form of the Christian religion. We

92 & E
93 thier <*sic*> E
94 *no paragraph* E & E
95-96 distinguishes modern writers, has not been, Dr
96 power E
97 any particular one Dr
98-99 capabilities is probably at every period the same, Dr essentially Fr
101 in extent & population Dr republics each æqual E & E
102 but that each Dr
103-4 institutions similar to those of Athens, would produce Dr
104 & E
105 to those which have never if we may except Shakespeare, Dr Shakespeare) E
107 the Elizebethan <*sic*> age to the fervid Dr
108-9 shook the most oppressive form of the Christian Religion to the dust, Dr
109 & E Religion. E

94 The first sentence of this paragraph was written on the opposite page, with a line to indicate its insertion after *mind* It appears to have been written before the paragraph was completed, inasmuch as line 112 was written around it. It was probably put in after revision of the draft, which begins with (undeleted): *I am undeniably pursuaded* <*sic*> *that*

98 *remains* above [*ins*], the latter from *is* of the draft. Zupitza read *in* changed to *is* and then deleted. Freeman did not indicate his authority for *essentially* In his transcription of E he gave *materially* and in his transcription of the draft he gave *inevitably* (the latter, I believe, in error; see Appendix A).

102 *is* [*every*] *no reason*

103 *institutions* [*æqually*] *not more* [*es*] *perfect* Zupitza read [*equally*] but the *a* is quite distinct (almost a capital in size), with the joined *e* debatable. He also read [*ex*] with the *x* but half written. This is more defensible, since Shelley may have started *excellent* before *perfect* was written.

106 In the draft Shelley followed this sentence with (undeleted): *So much experience warrants; & theory may surmise & imagine more* Draft at first: *We owe, probably to the Reformation*

108 Draft at first: *mind which overthrew the hierarchy of Religion*

owe Milton to the progress and developement of the same spirit: the sacred Milton was, let it ever be remembered, a republican, and a bold inquirer into morals and religion. The great writers of our own age are, we have reason to suppose, the companions and forerunners of some unimagined change in our social condition or the opinions which cement it. The cloud of mind is discharging its collected lightning, and the equilibrium between institutions and opinions [E.3 36r] is now restoring, or is about to be restored.

As to imitation, poetry is a mimetic art. It creates, but it creates by combination and representation. Poetical abstractions are beautiful and new, not because the portions of which they are composed had no previous existence in the mind of man or in nature, but because the whole produced by their combination has some intelligible and beautiful analogy with those sources of emotion and thought, and with the contemporary condition of them: one great poet is a masterpiece of nature which another not only ought to study

110 & E development M
111 spirit; E
112 Republican E enquirer E
113 & E
114-15 the forerunners of some Dr
114 age, E suppose E
115 or forerunners E A L
116 condition, & in the Dr E condition, M or in the A
118 & & E
120 imitation; Poetry E
121 & E
122 & E
123-24 portions of them have no previous Dr
124 man, M
125-26 the whole has an intelligible analogy Dr & E
127-28 & thought. One Great Poet E
129 nature, E M

110 *We owe* [*Pa*] *Milton* Zupitza conjectured a start on *Paradise Lost*
111-13 *the sacred . . . religion* not in the draft, which has instead (deleted): *Chaucer was contemporary with Wickliff*
113 *morals & religion* above [*faiths*].
116-19 *The cloud . . . restored* not in the draft.
116 *in* above caret after &
119 Second *is* above caret after *or*
123 *because* [*they had no previous*] *the* [*parts*] *portions* above [*parts*] Note that Shelley had written *portions* in the draft.
124 *of man or* [*of*] *in nature*
125 *whole* [*which these parts*] *produced* followed by a caret directing to *by their combination* above the line. *these* possibly *those*
127-37 *and with . . . ineffectual* not in the draft. After *thought* the draft has (undeleted): *it abstracts from all that has been imagined, or is the object of sensation that which is most beautiful*
128 *One* over something illegible, which Zupitza conjectured to be *The*
129 *which another* almost illegible, written above the line.

but must study. He might as wisely and as easily determine that his mind should no longer be the mirror of all that is lovely in the visible universe, as exclude from his contemplation the beautiful which
[E.3 35r] exists in the writings of a great contemporary. The pretence of doing it would be a presumption in any but the greatest; the effect, even in him, would be strained, unnatural, and ineffectual. A poet is the combined product of such internal powers as modify the nature of others; and of such external influences as excite and sustain these powers; he is not one, but both. Every man's mind is, in this respect, modified by all the objects of nature and art; by every word and every suggestion which he ever admitted to act upon his consciousness; it is the mirror upon which all forms are reflected, and in which they compose one form. Poets, not otherwise than philosophers, painters, sculptors, and musicians, are, in one sense, the creators, and, in another, the creations, of their age. From this subjection the loftiest do not escape.
[E.3 32r] There is a similarity between Homer and Hesiod, be-

130 *must* R & E
132 lovely— E
136 greatest, the effect even in him E
137-38 the joint product Dr
137 strained unnatural & E A Poet, E
139-40 & of external influences which excite Dr others, & E
140 & E
141 is in this respect E
142-43 by every word & sentence Dr
142 & art, E
143 & E
145 many outward forms Dr & E
146 philosophers E
147 or painters sculptors or musicians, are in one sense E or musicians, A
148 creators & in another the creations E
150 similarity, E & Hesiod E

130 [*He n*] *He might* The deleted *n* was probably a false start on *m*
132 *mirror of* [*th*] *all that*
133 *as* [*that he would*] *exclude* [*to*] above [*would*] An illegible letter (*w?*) or pair of letters (*be?*) deleted before *beautiful* Probably a false start on *beautiful*
134 35r opens with *contemporary. in the* [*prod*] *writings* There is a slight mark following the *d* of [*prod*] Probably, as Zupitza suggested, Shelley started to write *productions*
135 *presumption in* [*all*] *any*
136 *in him* [*could he accomplish such*] *would be*
140 *as* [*modify the*] *excite he is not one* [*of*], *but he . . . both* not in the draft.
142 Second *by* out of *but*
146-49 *Poets . . . escape* not in the draft.
146-47 [*Men, are*] *Poets, philosophers or* [*artis*] *painters*
147 *sculptors* above *or*
150 32r opens with [*cient distinctions*], *similarity,* [*among sufficient distinctions*], *between*

tween Æschylus and Euripides, between Virgil and Horace, between Dante and Petrarch, between Shakspeare and Fletcher, between Dryden and Pope; each has a generic resemblance under which their specific distinctions are arranged. If this similarity be the result of imitation, I am willing to confess that I have imitated.

Let this opportunity be conceded to me of acknowledging that I have, what a Scotch philosopher characteristically terms, "a passion for reforming the world:" what passion incited him to write and publish his book, he omits to explain. For my part I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon, than go to Heaven with Paley and Malthus. But it is a mistake to suppose that I dedicate my poetical compo-
[E.3 31^r] sitions solely to the direct enforcement of reform, or that I consider them in any degree as containing a reasoned system on the theory of human life. Didactic poetry is my abhorrence; nothing can be equally well expressed in prose that is not tedious and supere-

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151 & & E
152 & E
153 Shakespeare & Fletcher E
& Pope;— E
154-55 the specific R <their specific R^2> thier <*sic*> E 157 imitated.— E
158-59 Let me take this opporuntity of acknowledging Dr
159-60 characteristically calls Dr
161-64 to write his book he does not explain. My comfort is, that I shall be damned in good company Dr
161 world." What E & E
162 explain—For my part, E part, M
163 & E
164 & E heaven M
166 inforcement of that reform, Dr inforcement of of <*sic*> E
167-68 in any degree a reasoned system on theory forms of human life Dr
169-70 Nothing can equally well be expressed in prose, but is tedious Dr can equally well be expressed E
170 & E

151-52 *between Virgil and Horace* not in the draft.
153-57 *between Dryden* is deleted in the draft and the remainder of the sentence not present; instead (undeleted): *all great writers of a contemporary epoch.*
154 *each has a* [*specific*] *generic*
155-56 *similarity* [*is*] *be*
158 Draft at first: *I am twitted with* E: [*Concede to me*] *this opportunity* Then *Let* above [*me*] and a caret after *opportunity* directing to *be conceded to me* above the line. *acknowledging* [*wha*] *that*
162 *explain*—[*But*] *For*
163 Following *good company* in the draft Shelley wrote and deleted: *Plato, Lord Bacon, Milton.* <*sic*> *Rousseau*
166 31^r opens with *of* [*that*] *reform, inforcement of* [*that*] *of* [*that*] *reform,* The reduplication resulted from the start of a new page after the first [*that*]
167 A caret after *degree* directs to *as containing a* above the line.

rogatory in verse. My purpose has hitherto been simply to familiarize the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence; aware that until the mind can love, and admire, and trust, and hope, and endure, reasoned principles of moral conduct are seeds cast upon the highway of life which the unconscious passenger tramples into dust, although they would bear the harvest of his happiness. Should I live to accomplish what I purpose, that is, produce a systematical history of what appear to me to be the genuine elements of human society, let not the advocates of injustice and superstition flatter themselves that I [E.3 30r] should take Æschylus rather than Plato as my model.

The having spoken of myself with unaffected free-

171-73 They are attempts to familiarize the imagination of poetical readers Dr familiarise M
174-75 excellence. Until the mind Dr
175 love & admire & trust & hope & E
176 & endure to what end would you propose principles of moral conduct? They are seeds thrown Dr
177 life, M
180-81 systematical developement E systematic Fs
180 propose— R <purpose— R²>
182 sources of our human society E
183 & E 184 model.— E

171-73 *simply* above [*rather*]
172 *familiarize the* [*imagination of po*] *highly* See draft variant reading above.
176 *endure,* [*that*] *reasoned*
177-96 *which . . . unknown* not in the draft. After *life* the draft had at first: *& the hungry passenger tramples the <sic> on to dust.*
180-84 31r is almost illegible at this point, but appears to have been written and corrected as follows:

that is, produce a systematical
what appear to me to be
development of [the principles which
the genuine [elements of] sources of
should regulate human life], let not the
our human society
injustice
advocates of [despotism] & superstition
flatter
[assure] themselves that I should
Æschylus [Euclid]
take [Euclid] rather than [Æschylus] as
Plato
my model.—

The last two lines are on 30r. *sources of* uncertain, but I believe defensible. For *our human society* Freeman read *and of human society* and erroneously placed it after *injustice* *not* after *let* was crowded in when *assure* was changed to *flatter*
181 *appears* in Shepherd.

dom will need little apology with the candid; and let the uncandid consider that they injure me less than their own hearts and minds by misrepresentation. Whatever talents a person may possess to amuse and instruct others, be they ever so inconsiderable, he is [190] yet bound to exert them: if his attempt be ineffectual, let the punishment of an unaccomplished purpose have been sufficient; let none trouble themselves to heap the dust of oblivion upon his efforts; the pile they raise will betray his grave which might otherwise [195] have been unknown.

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186 candid, & E
187 me, E
188 & minds, by misrepresentation;—E
189 amuse or E A
191 them; E ineffectual E
193 sufficient, E
194 efforts.—The E
195 grave, M
196 unknown E

186-88 These lines too are so nearly in draft state that they should be reproduced:

with the let
apology [to a] candid, [mind] & [those
the consider that they
who are] uncandid [may speak as they
[les] less than
will] injure [not] me, [but] their own
hearts & minds, by [calumny] misrepre
sentation;—

187 The changes in this line were made, apparently later, with a different pen.
189 *may possess* above [*has*]
191-92 These lines developed as follows:

to exert them; [if he cannot amuse]
attempt
if his [efforts] be ineffectual
let
the punishment of an [acc] unaccomplished
purpose
[attempt] have been sufficient, let none

attempt and *purpose* were substituted, apparently later, with a different pen.
193 *none* at first *no one* *one* was then deleted and *no* changed to *none*
194 *his* [*hopes*] *efforts.*— Beginning with *The pile* a sharp-pointed pen, seemingly different from either of those used above, was employed, probably at a later time.
195 *betray* [*the spot*] *his grave* The words *is* [*already trembling upon*] are written weakly and poorly below the last line of this paragraph.

[E.1 18r] **DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.**

PROMETHEUS.
DEMOGORGON.
JUPITER.
THE EARTH.
OCEAN.
APOLLO.
MERCURY.
HERCULES.
ASIA, PANTHEA, IONE } OCEANIDES.
THE PHANTASM OF JUPITER.
THE SPIRIT OF THE EARTH.
SPIRITS OF THE HOURS.
SPIRITS. ECHOES. FAWNS.
FURIES.

D. P.
Prometheus
Jupiter
The Earth
Mercury
Hercules
[Panthea]
Asia)
Panthea) Oceanides
Ione)
The Phantasm of Jupiter
The Spirit of the Earth
The Spirits of the Hours
The Echoes
Fawns
Furies
Spirits
The Spirit of the Moon. M-Fr Fauns. M²-Fr

Prometheus Unbound/a Lyrical Drama/D. P. <*etc.*> on 18r. The bracket joining *Panthea* and *Ione* has a light mark added at the top that I believe was intended to include *Asia* as the third of the Oceanides.

The Spirits of the Hours inserted later. *Fawns* added later, in pencil.

Dramatis Personae not given in Alexander or Dickinson; given without change from 1820 in Shepherd.

E.1 18r] # PROMETHEUS UNBOUND.

E.1 18v] ## ACT I.

SCENE, A RAVINE OF ICY ROCKS IN THE INDIAN CAUCASUS. PROMETHEUS IS DISCOVERED BOUND TO THE PRECIPICE. PANTHEA AND IONE ARE SEATED AT HIS FEET. TIME, NIGHT. DURING THE SCENE, MORNING SLOWLY BREAKS.

PRO. MONARCH of Gods and Dæmons, and all Spirits
But One, who throng those bright and rolling worlds
Which Thou and I alone of living things
Behold with sleepless eyes! regard this Earth
Made multitudinous with thy slaves, whom thou [5]
Requitest for knee-worship, prayer, and praise,
And toil, and hecatombs of broken hearts,
With fear and self-contempt and barren hope.
Whilst me, who am thy foe, eyeless in hate,

SD Scene—Night A Ravine E Prometheus E precipice—Panthea & Ione E feet. E
1 gods and demons and all spirits Fs & Dæmons & E Dæmons Fr Spirits—R
2 One Fs One— R one, Fr & rolling Worlds E
3 thou R & E
4 eyes E eyes, Fr earth Fs R Earth, Fr
6 prayer & E prayer and praise Fs
7 toil Fs & hecatombs E
8 & self contempt & barren hope; E hope: R hope; W A L Fr
9 While Fs me R hate R

SD Act 1. On 19r: [*During the scene morning slowly breaks*]. Zupitza suggested, I think correctly, that the deletion was merely to clear 19r for the translation of the *Ion*, a part of which is on this page. Except as noted, in all subsequent editions, as well as in E (where they are centered and normally unpunctuated), names of characters are written out in the blank verse as well as in the lyric sections. *Night* above dash.

1 *D* of *Dæmons* and *S* of *Spirits* at first small letters.

2-4 At first: . . . *rolling Worlds / Which Thou & I alone of living things, regard / Made multitudinous* etc. Shelley may have noted that line 3 was a hexameter; in any event he drew a vertical line between *things* and its comma to mark the line end, and inserted the received line 4 between the original lines, leaving a space with an inverted caret as a guide for *regard* (see illustration, facing p. 141). Freeman read the end line and inverted caret as parentheses, but the context does not justify this.

6-7 The commas after *praise* and *hearts* are quite faint and did not reproduce effectively in the illustration facing p. 141.

Hast thou made reign and triumph, to thy scorn,
O'er mine own misery and thy vain revenge.
Three thousand years of sleep-unsheltered hours,
And moments aye divided by keen pangs
Till they seemed years, torture and solitude,
Scorn and despair,—these are mine empire.
[E.1 19^{v}] More glorious far than that which thou surveyest
From thine unenvied throne, O, Mighty God!
Almighty, had I deigned to share the shame
Of thine ill tyranny, and hung not here
Nailed to this wall of eagle-baffling mountain,
Black, wintry, dead, unmeasured; without herb,
Insect, or beast, or shape or sound of life.
[E.1 20^{r}] Ah me! alas, pain, pain ever, for ever!

No change, no pause, no hope! Yet I endure.
[E.1 19^{v}] I ask the Earth, have not the mountains felt?
I ask yon Heaven, the all-beholding Sun,
Has it not seen? The Sea, in storm or calm,

---

10 & E scorn Fo A <scorn, Fo^{2}>
11 Oer E & E revenge.... E revenge, Fs revenge... A L revenge.... Fr
12 Three-thousand R^{2} hours E Fr
13 moments, E
14 seem E A Fr years— Fs & E
15 & despair— E despair— Fs R W Fr empire:— R D H empire: Fs W L
17 throne o E oh mighty Fs O R W H L Fr Mighty God!— R^{2}
18 Almighty— L
20 eagle baffling mountain E
21 herb E
22 Insect E Fs life— E Fs Fr
23 Ah me, alas, pain, pain ever forever! E Ah me, alas! M Fs J Ah me! alas! pain, pain, ever, R forever! W L
24 hope!—yet I endure E hope!—yet Fr
25 Earth Fs
26 Heaven— E Fr Sun E
27 seen, the E the Fr calm E

Running act heads: ACT I. SCENE I. in 1820.

10 *Hadst* in Koszul.

14 Freeman defended *seem* inasmuch as "the 'moments' are still continuing" (Text, p. 42).

15 *Scorn & despair—*[*more glorious than thy throne*] *these are mine empire.* is at the bottom of 19^{r}, separated from the *Ion* translation by a curved line. Forman noted the need for a trisyllabic pronunciation and wondered whether *empery* might not have been used (the MS showed that it was not).

16-17 19^{v} has a *2* at top center. Shelley started to number his pages, but stopped at *6*. 19^{v} opens with:

More glorious far than [thine unenvied throne
Of gold & blood, are these] o Mighty God!

the revision is at the top of 20^{r}. *survey'st* in Shepherd.

21 *l* of *Black* at first *a* Freeman conjectured a start on *Bare*

23-24 Insertion marks indicate location.

26 *Heaven* above [*Sky*]—

27 The punctuation after *seen* is uncertain. A comma or semicolon is present. The

Heaven's ever-changing Shadow, spread below,
[E.1 20r] Have its deaf waves not heard my agony?
Ah me! alas, pain, pain ever, for ever!

[E.1 19v] The crawling glaciers pierce me with the spears
Of their moon-freezing chrystals, the bright chains
Eat with their burning cold into my bones.
Heaven's winged hound, polluting from thy lips
His beak in poison not his own, tears up
My heart; and shapeless sights come wandering by,
The ghastly people of the realm of dream,
Mocking me: and the Earthquake-fiends are charged
[E.1 20v] To wrench the rivets from my quivering wounds
When the rocks split and close again behind:
While from their loud abysses howling throng
The genii of the storm, urging the rage
Of whirlwind, and afflict me with keen hail.
And yet to me welcome is day and night,

---

28 ever changing Shadow, spread below— E ever changing shadow, Fr shadow Fs R L shadow, W
29 it's E
30 *no punctuation* E me, alas! Fs alas! pain, pain, ever, R forever E forever! W L
32 crystals; M Fs R W A L Fr
33 bones, E bones; R
35 it's own, E its Fr
36 & E by E
37 Dream, R^2
38 me & E me; W Fr
40 & E behind; E W Fr
42 Genii R Storm, R
43 & E
44 Day & Night E Day and Night, Fr night; R

---

dot of the semicolon (if such it is) may be the bottom of a question mark. The upper part of this mark appears to be deleted, although the deletion is not firm and may be an ink splatter. Freeman read semicolon. It may be either question mark, semicolon, or comma.

28 *Heaven's* above [*It's*] which Zupitza noted as over something else, identified by Freeman as *In* Zupitza noted *Heaven's* in different ink. *below*[*?*]—

29-30 These lines, with insertion marks, are above and below the added lines 23-24.

35 Freeman defended *its* on a conjectured transfer of the opening *His* in error, and because *its* gives a more specific reference (Text, p. 43).

37 *The* [*shapele*] *ghastly dream*[*s*], Following 37 are the canceled lines:

[Where thou descendst each night with open eyes
In torture, for a tyrant seldom sleeps,
Thou never;]

Possibly *descend'st* Locock read *When thou descend'st*

38 *Mocking me* as a substitute for [*Thou never;*] is on 20r, opposite line 37.

39 20v has a centered *3* at the top. *36* Shelley's original line count, above *wounds*

42 *genii* above [*spirits*] Zupitza said *genii* is in different ink, but it appears to be the same as that used in the middle of the page, where either the pen became defective or a coarser pen was used for nine lines, beginning with line 44.

44 Freeman noted *And even* on 21r, under a word of the *Ion* translation. He conjectured a possible alternative for *And yet* of this line.

Whether one breaks the hoar frost of the morn,
Or starry, dim, and slow, the other climbs
The leaden-coloured east; for then they lead
The wingless, crawling hours, one among whom
—As some dark Priest hales the reluctant victim—
Shall drag thee, cruel King, to kiss the blood
From these pale feet, which then might trample thee
If they disdained not such a prostrate slave.
Disdain! Ah no! I pity thee. What ruin
Will hunt thee undefended thro' the wide Heaven!
How will thy soul, cloven to its depth with terror,
Gape like a hell within! I speak in grief,
Not exultation, for I hate no more,
As then ere misery made me wise. The curse
Once breathed on thee I would recall. Ye Mountains,
[E.I 21v] Whose many-voiced Echoes, through the mist
Of cataracts, flung the thunder of that spell!
Ye icy Springs, stagnant with wrinkling frost,

45 hoar-frost R Fo W L
46 Or, R dim and slow Fs & slow E slow Fr
47 East; E Fs Fr
48 Thier <*sic*> wingless crawling Hours, E Their A L J Fr wingless R Fr Hours, R L Fr whom— W L
49 As W L priest Fs R
53 Disdain? ah no I pity thee—what Ruin E Disdain? Fs A Fr Ah, W thee—what Ruin Fr Ruin L
54 thro wide E Fs H-Fr through M heaven! Fs R
55 terror E
56 Hell E L Fr grief E Fr
57 Exultation, E exultation; R more E Fs Fr
58 then, E A L then; Fr wise—the Curse E Fr wise: the Curse L
59 mountains E mountains, Fs
60 Echoes thro E echoes Fs Echoes R
61 cataracts Fs R spell; E Fr
62 Springs E Fr springs, Fs frost E Fr

48 Locock preferred the E reading since "Each day and night leads its own train of 'wingless, crawling Hours.' "

53 *ah* over *alas* and *no* inserted above and between *ah* and *I*

54 Locock, in error, read *thro'* Forman conjectured the omission of *the* on the basis of rhythm ("the irregularity of measure is unlike Shelley") and sense ("Shelley . . . uses *Heaven* for the empire of the Gods [as here, at I.373, and II.iv.46], and *the heaven* when he means merely the sky"). But G. H. Clarke felt that "the crowding haste of the line accords happily with its meaning." Note that Foster as early as 1845 had omitted *the* without comment, possibly a typographical error.

58 The dot that led Freeman to read *then;* rather than *then*, is an ink spatter at the end of the *t* crossing.

59 *Once* above [*Then*] *mountains* on 21r, for lack of space here. *58* Shelley's line count (in error for 57, the count before additions were made) is at the bottom right corner of the page. He carried this error to text line 498.

60 21v has a centered *4* at the top. Forman noted that *through* in 1820 was an exception to Shelley's general practice. Dole omitted the hyphen, with a resultant shift in meaning.

Which vibrated to hear me, and then crept
Shuddering thro' India! Thou serenest Air,
Thro' which the Sun walks burning without beams!
And ye swift Whirlwinds, who on poised wings
Hung mute and moveless o'er yon hushed abyss,
As thunder, louder than your own, made rock
The orbed world! If then my words had power,
Though I am changed so that aught evil wish
Is dead within; although no memory be
Of what is hate, let them not lose it now!
What was that curse? for ye all heard me speak.

FIRST VOICE: FROM THE MOUNTAINS.

Thrice three hundred thousand years
O'er the Earthquake's couch we stood:
Oft, as men convulsed with fears,
We trembled in our multitude.

SECOND VOICE: FROM THE SPRINGS.

Thunder-bolts had parched our water,
We had been stained with bitter blood,
E.1 22v] And had run mute, 'mid shrieks of slaughter,
Thro' a city and a solitude.

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63 & E
64 through India; Thou serenest Air E through M India; thou Fr thou R Air W
65 Through E M sun Fs beams, E Fr
66 the swift R² Whirlwinds E R
67 & E oer E abyss E
68 thunder E Fr own E Fr
69 world—if E world!— L if R power,— R power Fr
70 —Though E Fr
71 within, E R Fr within! A
72 hate— E Fr hate,— R
73 speak E
SD 1st Voice, from the Mountains E
75 Oe'r <*sic*>the Earthquakes E stood; E W L Fr
76 Oft E Fr fears E Fr
77 multitude:— R
SD 2d Voice from the Springs E
78 Thunderbolts E M-Fr[Fo A]
79 blood E
80 had ran <*sic*>mute E mute Fr slaugter <*sic*>E slaughter W Fr
81 Through M & a solitude! E solitude:— R solitude! Fr

---

64 [*&*] *Thou* [*pure*] with *serenest Air* below [*pure*] *T* of *Thou* at first a small letter. The change appears to have been made at once.
73 Woodberry noted that an otherwise unidentified Greenwood conjectured *me. Speak!*
74 For Shelley's patterns of lyric indentation in E see Appendix H.
79 *78* Shelley's count, precedes this line.
80 22v has a centered *5* at the top. *'mid* above [*thro*] *h* of *shrieks* over something else, possibly *k* · *g* of *slaugter* (*sic*) has only the downstroke, probably inserted after Shelley wrote *slauter*

THIRD VOICE: FROM THE AIR.

I had clothed, since Earth uprose,
Its wastes in colours not their own,
And oft had my serene repose
Been cloven by many a rending groan.

FOURTH VOICE: FROM THE WHIRLWINDS.

We had soared beneath these mountains
Unresting ages; nor had thunder,
Nor yon volcano's flaming fountains,
Nor any power above or under
Ever made us mute with wonder.

FIRST VOICE.

But never bowed our snowy crest
As at the voice of thine unrest.

SECOND VOICE.

Never such a sound before
To the Indian waves we bore.
A pilot asleep on the howling sea
Leaped up from the deck in agony,
[E.1 23v] And heard, and cried, "Ah, woe is me!"
And died as mad as the wild waves be.

SD 3d Voice from the Air E
82 clothed E R Fr uprose E R Fr
83 own; M Fs R A
85 groan E groan:— R
SD 4th Voice from the Whirlwinds E
87 ages;— E L thunder E
88 Volcano's flaming fountains E fountains Fr
89 under, R
90 wonder! E Fr wonder:— R
SD 1st Voice E
92 unrest— E
SD 2d E
94 bore.— E
96 agony E Fr
97 & cried—ah woe is me! E cried "Ah! R <"Ah R²>
98 be E

---

85 *And silence* below *Been cloven* *And* is faint, possibly from a dry pen, *silence* darker, possibly in different ink. *Cf.* line 106.
SD *Voice* above *4th*
86 Garnett suggested (to Locock) *roared* as a contrast to *mute* but Locock held the contrast to *soared* to be in *shrank back* of line 103. The word is clearly *soared*
88 *l* of *flaming* originally *i* Freeman conjectured a start on *fiery*
94 *b* of *bore.*— over *w*
96 *95* Shelley's count, precedes this line.
97 23v has a centered *6* at the top. Shelley first wrote lines 97, 98, and part of 99 at the top of 23r, then canceled the lines and wrote them on 23v. The original lines were:
And heard, [& cried, ah woe is me!]

THIRD VOICE.

By such dread words from Earth to Heaven
My still realm was never riven:
When its wound was closed, there stood
Darkness o'er the day like blood.

FOURTH VOICE.

And we shrank back: for dreams of ruin
To frozen caves our flight pursuing
Made us keep silence—thus—and thus—
Though silence is a hell to us.

[E.1 24r] THE EARTH. The tongueless Caverns of the craggy hills
Cried, 'Misery!' then; the hollow Heaven replied,
'Misery!' And the Ocean's purple waves,
Climbing the land, howled to the lashing winds,

SD 3 E
99 earth to heaven Fs
100 riven E riven; W
102 oer the Day E Day L Fr
SD 4 E
103 shank <*sic*> back— E back— Fr
105 & E
106 as hell E M Fs H-Fr us E
SD they pass with a terrible sound E
A Voice *above* The Earth E
107 caverns E W
108 Cried Misery, then E Cried R Fr "Misery!" M replied E R Fr
109 Misery! and the Oceans E
"Misery!" M and R L Fr ocean's L
110 winds. E winds— Fs

And [died— as the mad] as the wild waves be
3d
[By such dread words from Earth]

wild waves was possibly deleted, and the intent was clearly to delete the entire passage. *the* before *mad* was deleted individually before the final crossing. After [*Earth*] there appears to be a *t* upstroke

104 *flights* in Dickinson.

105 *Made* at first *Make*

106 Forman felt that Mrs. Shelley's change of *a hell* to *as hell* was accidental rather than based on the errata. But E supported the change, leading later editors to adopt it.

107-11 *A Voice* with finer pen above *The Earth* The lines developed as follows:

caverns
[hollows] of the craggy hills
The tongueless [clefts within the mountains then]
then hollow
Cried Misery, [&] the [startled] Heaven replied
Misery! and the Oceans purple waves,
[*] the lashing
Climbing the land, howled [it] to [all] the winds.
And the pale nations heard it,—Misery!

For the illegible word [*] Zupitza read a possible [*back*] and Freeman [*that*] *caverns* and *hollow* added later, in darker ink. The comma after *Misery* in the second line was at first *!* Actually, but probably accidentally, [*pa*]*le*

And the pale nations heard it, ' Misery!'
[E.1 23v] PRO. I hear a sound of voices: not the voice
Which I gave forth. Mother, thy sons and thou
[E.1 24r] Scorn him, without whose all-enduring will
Beneath the fierce omnipotence of Jove,
E.1 23v] Both they and thou had vanished, like thin mist
Unrolled on the morning wind. Know ye not me,
The Titan? He who made his agony
The barrier to your else all-conquering foe?
Oh, rock-embosomed lawns, and snow-fed streams,
[E.1 24v] Now seen athwart frore vapours, deep below,
Thro' whose o'ershadowing woods I wandered once
With Asia, drinking life from her loved eyes;
Why scorns the spirit which informs ye, now
To commune with me? me alone, who check'd,

111 it,—Misery! E it— Fs it,— L "Misery!" M
112 heard H voices— E L Fr voices; W
113 forth.—Mother E & E
114 him Fs R
115 Jove E R
116 & E vanished E Fs Fr
117 wind!— E wind! A Fr me E
118 Titan, he E Fr he Fs R L
119 all conquering E Foe? R
120 O E R W L Oh rock embosomed lawns Fs lawns E R W Fr & E streams E
122 Thro whose oer-shadowing E Through M
123 eyes, E Fr
124 spirit, W ye Fs R
125 with me— E Fr alone R W checked— E Fr checked, M

112 *heard* in Scott (probably a typographical error) and, probably independently, in Scudder and Hutchinson. Hutchinson influenced Koszul, Hughes, and Herford in its use.
113-14 These lines were at first (on 23v):

Which I gave forth. [O mother dare thy sons
[under]
Scorn him without whom, by the might of Jove]

The last half of line 113 is also on 24r.
117 *wind!*— at first *wind?*— Possibly only a dash was intended, since the vertical line deleting the upper part of the question mark and forming the exclamation may have been simply a deletion. *ye* above [*they*]
118 *agony* above [*su misery*] Zupitza conjectured a start on *sufferings*
119 *your* above [*thier*] (*sic*) which was at first probably *thine* *your* was also another word at first, scarcely legible, but I believe *mans*
120 *113* Shelley's count, precedes this line. *O* above [*Ye*] *-fed* above *snow*[*ing*] which Freeman read as *snow*[*wy*] Zupitza and Locock read *streams* or *stream*, It may be either.
121 This line was changed as follows:

athwart frore vapours,
Now [dimly] seen [thro' tempests] deep below,

There is a mark following *vapours* which may be a dash or a comma.
122 *woods*[,]
124 Dole shifted the emphasis by dropping the comma after *ye*
125 Locock was tempted to put the first comma a word earlier.

As one who checks a fiend-drawn charioteer,
The falsehood and the force of him who reigns
Supreme, and with the groans of pining slaves
Fills your dim glens and liquid wildernesses:
Why answer ye not, still? Brethren!
THE EARTH. Theydare not. [130]
PRO. Who dares? for I would hear that curse again.
Ha, what an awful whisper rises up!
'Tis scarce like sound: it tingles thro' the frame
As lightning tingles, hovering ere it strike.
Speak, Spirit! from thine inorganic voice [135]

126 fiend drawn Fs charioteer— E
127 falshood <*sic*> & E Him E
128 & E
129 & E wildernesses? E L Fr wildernesses. R
130 still, Brethren? R <not still, Brethren? R^2> brethren! E They dare M-Fr dare not E
131 again.... E again.—R again.. L
132 Ha! M Fs R A
133 sound, E Fr sound; W thro E through M
134 strike— E
135 Speak E From R voice, R

127 *reigns* appears to have been *reings* at first, with *gn* written over *ng*

130 *Theydare sic* in 1820. Divided lines are normally spaced out in E and M.

135-37 Rossetti was not satisfied with the apparent meaning that the Spirit of the Earth "art moving near me, and that Love is also moving near me," finding it inconsistent with the context, since the reader would assume that Love was there because Panthea and Ione were. This Rossetti found inadmissible, "for the statement made by Prometheus is that he knows the presence of the Earth-Spirit and of Love from the 'inorganic voice' of the former." Rossetti therefore suggested changing *love* to *lov'st*, but found this inconsistent with lines 113-16. He then suggested an emendation "too audacious to be intruded into the text":

Speak, Spirit! From thine inorganic voice,
I only know that thou art moving near:
And *Jove*—how cursed I him?

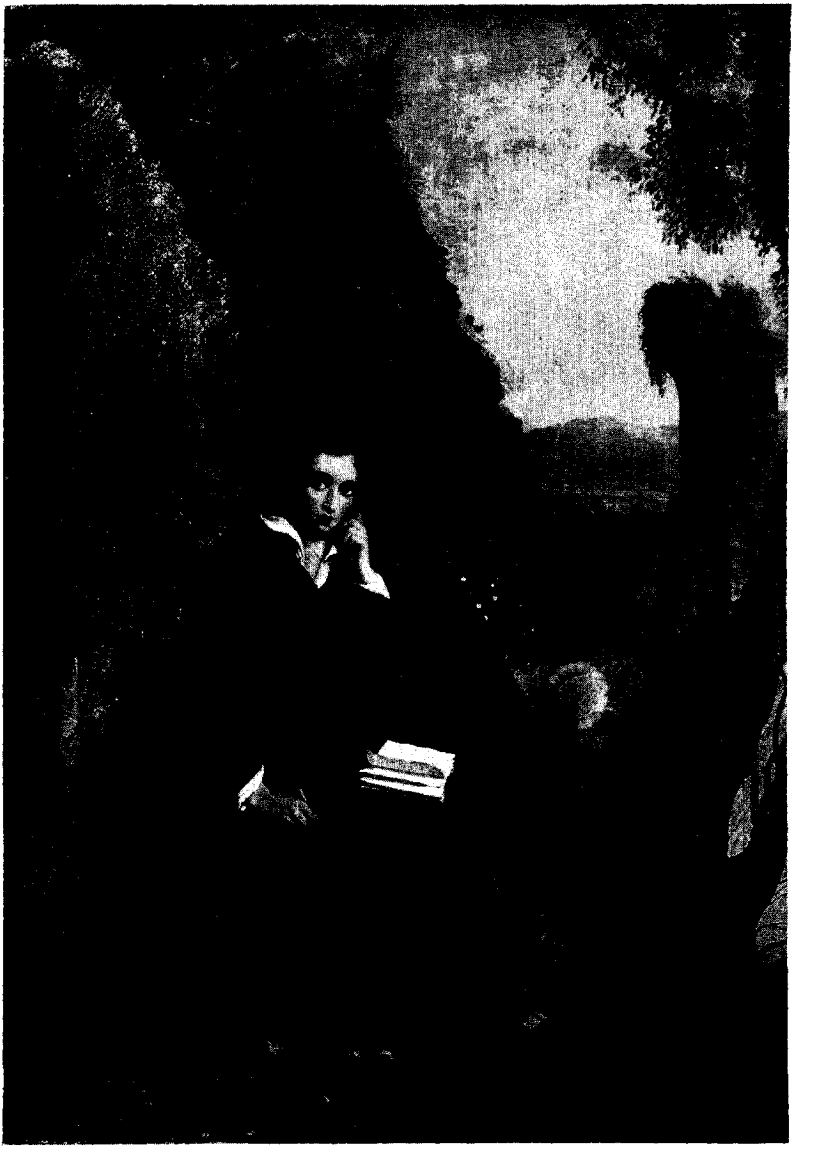
Swinburne rejected this emendation, and disliked especially the "abrupt and feeble" close of the sentence at the verse end (*moving near:*), stating: "No conjectural emendation of a great poet's text is admissible which corrects a loose or faulty phrase by the substitution of one more accurate, but also more feeble and prosaic." He found the writing or printing of *love* for *lovest* not unusual (a point agreed in by Alexander, who compared "Thou . . . ne'er *knew* love's sad satiety" [*To a Skylark* 80], and "Who drew the heart of this frail universe" [*Epipsychidion* 369]), assuming the meaning to be, "That thou art moving near, and dost love (me)." He felt the *scorn* of line 114 was not real even in the eyes of Prometheus, for "he says only that to refuse his request looks as though they scorned their saviour" ("Notes," pp. 361-62). Forman failed to find any obscurity or corruption, and took the "perfectly obvious and perfectly beautiful" meaning to be "thou art moving near and *I* love." Prometheus, he held, would feel "a thrill of love on hearing the voice of *his mother*," even though the voice were disguised, and he held that lines 147-48 carried on this idea. Zupitza interpreted the phrase as meaning, "And thou art Love." G. H. Clarke, like Swinburne, held *thou* to be the subject of *love*, and noted that, while Prometheus at line 113 "accuses his mother Earth of scorning him, [her] nearer movement and dimly compassionate voice now reassure him, and he acknowledges her love." Locock, too, agreed with Swinburne and

I only know that thou art moving near
And love. How cursed I him?
[E.1 25v] THE EARTH. How canst thou hear
Who knowest not the language of the dead?
PRO. Thou art a living spirit; speak as they.
THE EARTH. I dare not speak like life, lest Heaven's fell King [140]
Should hear, and link me to some wheel of pain
More torturing than the one whereon I roll.
Subtle thou art and good, and tho' the Gods
Hear not this voice, yet thou art more than God
Being wise and kind: earnestly hearken now. [145]
PRO. Obscurely thro' my brain, like shadows dim,
Sweep awful thoughts, rapid and thick. I feel
Faint, like one mingled in entwining love;
Yet 'tis not pleasure.
THE EARTH. No, thou canst not hear:
Thou art immortal, and this tongue is known [150]
Only to those who die.
[E.1 26r] PRO. And what art thou,
O, melancholy Voice?
[E.1 25v] THE EARTH. I am the Earth,
[E.1 26v] Thy mother; she within whose stony veins,

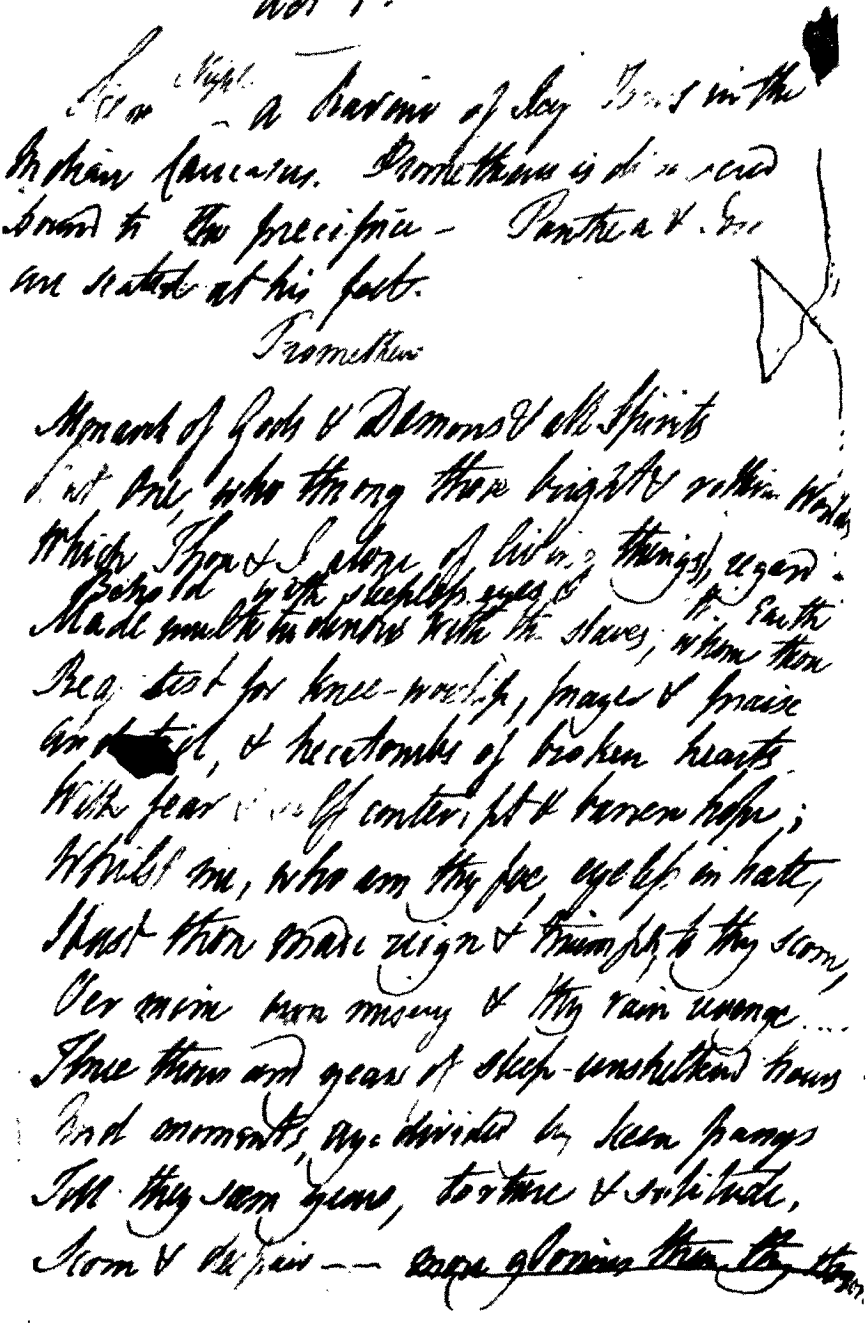
136 near, R
137 hear, M Fs R A L J
139 spirit— E spirit: Fo D they E
140 heaven's Fs R<Heaven's R^2>
141 & E
142 roll.— E L
143 & & E good; M Fs R W A L and, R though M gods Fs
144 voice— E god, Fs God, R W H L Fr
145 & kind— E kind— Fr now— E
146 through my brain E through M dim E R^2
147 thoughts rapid & thick— E thick— L Fr
148 love. E Fr
149 pleasure E hear E hear; W L
150 & E
151 die . . . E thou E
152 O E M-Fr[Fo D H] Earth E
153 mother, E veins E

found it "immaterial whether we regard the irregularity merely as a use of the wrong 'person'—a slip not uncommon in Shelley's poems—or as an instance of the Shelleyan subjunctive."

137 *130* Shelley's count, below *And*
139 *I d* above *Thou* probably a false start on line 140.
140 *Heaven's* [*fierce*] *King* *fell* is on 26r, partly obscured by an *Ion* word.
144 *his voice* in Cuningham.
148 Or *love,* What appears to be a period canceling the comma may be a blot.
151 *144* Shelley's count, below *Only* The line in E reads:
Only to those who die . . . I am the Earth
A penciled caret follows *die* . . . to indicate insertion point for the speech of Prometheus and the SD *The Earth* opposite, also in pencil. *what* at first *who* with the change in ink. The *Ion* translation is written in ink over these penciled lines.



Shelley writing *Prometheus Unbound* in the Baths of Caracalla. Detail from a posthumous portait by Joseph Severn, now in the Keats-Shelley Memorial House, Rome



Bodleian MS Shelley E. 1, Folio 18v, I.1-15. The opening lines of *Prometheus Unbound*

To the last fibre of the loftiest tree
Whose thin leaves trembled in the frozen air,
Joy ran, as blood within a living frame,
When thou didst from her bosom, like a cloud
Of glory, arise, a spirit of keen joy!
And at thy voice her pining sons uplifted
Their prostrate brows from the polluting dust,
And our almighty Tyrant with fierce dread
Grew pale, until his thunder chained thee here.
Then, see those million worlds which burn and roll
Around us: their inhabitants beheld
My sphered light wane in wide Heaven; the sea
Was lifted by strange tempest, and new fire
From earthquake-rifted mountains of bright snow
Shook its portentous hair beneath Heaven's frown;
Lightning and Inundation vexed the plains;

155 air E
156 frame E
157-58 bosom R like a beam/From sunrise, leap— E Fr like a beam/From sunrise, leap; A
158 glory arise,— R arise— L
160 Thier <*sic*> E dust E Fr dust; R
162 pale— E L Fr pale,— R here— E Fr
163 Then— E W L Fr Then,— R <Then— R^2> & E
164 us; E Fr us— R W
165 moonlike *above* sphered E Heaven, E heaven; Fs R
166 lifted with E A & E
168 heaven's R frown, Fs
169 & E inundation Fs R plains E

157-58 The change, in blacker ink, was as follows:

beam
When thou didst from her bosom, like a [cloud]
From sunrise, [burst] leap—
[Of glory arise]—a spirit of keen joy

Zupitza felt that, although Shelley's own use of *cloud* would lead one to prefer the first version, the second was a splendid image for Prometheus. Since the new reading was perfectly legible, Locock thought that Shelley must have preferred "the older, and perhaps more appropriate metaphor," and he compared "From the earth thou springest/Like a cloud of fire" (*To a Skylark* 7-8). But Freeman very plausibly suggested that this was a late change to avoid the Wordsworthian echo, made after reading the review that charged Shelley with imitating Wordsworth (see Introduction, p. 23), and that Mrs. Shelley neglected to copy it for the printer (Text, p. 43).

161 *And our* [*invisible*] *Tyrant almighty* is on 27^{r}, under an *Ion* word.

165 *moonlike* in pencil. Locock gave *moonlight* in the *Examination*, but gave the correct alternative in his edition. Freeman saw *moonlike* as more characteristic of Shelley, and as giving "in one word a vivid description of the earth as it would look from another planet" (Text, p. 43).

166 *lifted* above [*shaken*] Freeman assumed *by* to be a late correction (Text, p. 44).

167 *rifted* at first *lifted* and probably changed when *lifted* was substituted in line 166.

169-76 Shelley first wrote the following (but without the deletions):

26^{v}: Lightning & Inundation vexed the plains
[Pestilence fell] on man & beast & worm

And he, the supreme Tyrant, on his throne
Of burning gold. Son, one of these shall utter
The curse which all remember. Call at will [210]
Thine own ghost, or the ghost of Jupiter,
[E.1 29^{r}] Hades or Typhon, or what mightier Gods
From all-prolific Evil, since thy ruin
Have sprung, and trampled on my prostrate sons.
Ask, and they must reply: so the revenge [215]
Of the Supreme may sweep thro' vacant shades,
As rainy wind thro' the abandoned gate
Of a fallen palace.
PRO. Mother, let not aught
Of that which may be evil, pass again
My lips, or those of aught resembling me. [220]
Phantasm of Jupiter, arise, appear!

IONE.
My wings are folded o'er mine ears:
My wings are crossed o'er mine eyes:

208-9 Supreme E R L Tyrant throned/ On burning Gold. Son E throned/On burning gold. Fr
212 Hades, or Typhon E gods Fs
213 all prolific Fr evil, E ruin, Fs R Fo^{2} W
214 & E sons— E
215 Ask & E Ask Fr reply— E reply.—So Fr
216 supreme E Fr through E M shades E Fr
217 through E M
218 palace E
219 evil Fs R W
220 me— E
221 Jupiter arise E
222 oer mine ears, E ears; W ears, Fr
223 crossed over E L J Fr eyes, E Fr eyes; W eyes L

---

208 *throned* above [*on his throne*] Freeman defended his choice as follows: "Quantitatively, the alteration makes the line short; qualitatively it does not" (Text, p. 44).
209 *On* before [*Of*]
211 *201* Shelley's count, in the lower right-hand corner of the page.
212 This line developed as follows:

Typhon [later]
or [Saturn] mightier
Hades, [Osiris] or what [later] Gods

mightier is in ink over pencil; superscribed [*later*] is in pencil, canceled in ink.
216 *supreme* [*shall*] *may*
221 This line is followed by an SD canceled by a single heavy vertical line:
[The sound beneath as of earthquake & the driving of whirlwinds—The Ravine is split, & the Phantasm of Jupiter [appears] rises, surrounded by heavy clouds which dart forth lightning]
SD: [*Panthea*] *Ione*
223 Freeman felt that the E reading "makes a good line out of an ordinary one" (Text, p. 44).

Yet thro' their silver shade appears,
[E.130v] And thro' their lulling plumes arise,
A Shape, a throng of sounds;
May it be no ill to thee
O thou of many wounds!
Near whom, for our sweet sister's sake,
Ever thus we watch and wake.

PANTHEA.

The sound is of whirlwind underground,
Earthquake, and fire, and mountains cloven;
The shape is awful like the sound,
Clothed in dark purple, star-inwoven.
A sceptre of pale gold
To stay steps proud, o'er the slow cloud
His veined hand doth hold.
Cruel he looks, but calm and strong,
Like one who does, not suffers wrong.

PHANTASM OF JUPITER. Why have the secret
powers of this strange world
Driven me, a frail and empty phantom, hither
On direst storms? What unaccustomed sounds
[E.131v] Are hovering on my lips, unlike the voice
With which our pallid race hold ghastly talk

---

224 thro E through M appears E Fr
225 through E M arise E Fr
226 sounds: E Fr sounds. R W
227 be, E thee, Fs J
228 wounds E wounds, R
229 whom E Sister's R sake E
230 & wake E wake! R
231 underground E
232 Earthquake & fire & mountains cloven, E Earthquake and fire Fs Fr cloven! R
233 Shape E Fs L awful, W Fr
234 purple star-inwoven E
235 gold, R W
236 proud R L oer E cloud, R W
237 Its His E hold E
238 it *above* he E looks E & strong E
239 suffers, Fs R wrong E
240 SD Phantasm E
241 & empty phantom E
243 lips E

---

224 *214* Shelley's count, below *appears*
225 *a* above [*up*] *rise*
227 Locock noted that the medial rime, which "abounds in the *Prometheus* lyrics," is "invariably indicated by a comma." A single exception is at I.335.
235 *pale* above [*proud*] which had been altered to *pale* and then canceled.
238 *it* above *he* Freeman felt, I think questionably, that "when Shelley's MS gives two readings, and he has cancelled neither, he prefers the first" (Text, p. 44).
242 *232* Shelley's count, below *sounds*
244 Rossetti conjectured *ghostly* as meaning merely "phantasmal, as of ghosts," whereas he felt that *ghastly* was a "violent word," hardly suitable since there is nothing

In darkness? And, proud sufferer, who art thou? [245]
PRO. Tremendous Image, as thou art must be
He whom thou shadowest forth. I am his foe,
The Titan. Speak the words which I would hear,
Although no thought inform thine empty voice.
THE EARTH. Listen! And tho' your echoes must
be mute, [250]
Grey mountains, and old woods, and haunted springs,
Prophetic caves, and isle-surrounding streams,
[E.1 32r] Rejoice to hear what yet ye cannot speak.
[E.1 31v] PHAN. A spirit seizes me and speaks within:
It tears me as fire tears a thunder-cloud. [255]
PAN. See, how he lifts his mighty looks, the
Heaven
[E.1 32v] Darkens above.
IONE. He speaks! O shelter me!
[E.1 33r] PRO. I see the curse on gestures proud and cold,

---

245 and proud Sufferer E Sufferer, L Fr
246 image, E Image! M Fs R W A
247 Him E foe E
248 hear E
249 voice E
250 and though E and, R though M mute E R^2 Fr
251 mountains & old woods & haunted springs E mountains and old woods Fs Fr
252 caves & E caves Fs Fr streams E
253 ye dare not speak E dare not Fr speak! R
254 me, & E within E within; W
255 thunder-cloud! E Fr
256 See E R W Fr looks!—the heaven Fs looks! the heaven R looks! W looks,— L
257 above! R Oh, W me— E
258 curse, R & cold E

---

to suggest that the "talk" had "some strong element of horror." But Forman thought that Shelley might prefer *ghastly* to the "polarized meaning of '*ghostly*' as used in religious parlance." Rossetti withdrew his conjecture in R^2 after Mathilde Blind gave the MS evidence in her review.

252 This line is followed by:

[Listen, and though ye weep, rejoicing know
That our strong curse cannot be unfulfilled.]

253 *ye dare not speak* above [*must be fulfilled*] Freeman's choice was based on *dare not* as "much more forceful" and "in the mood of the rest of the passage." He compared I.130-31 and 184-86 (Text, pp. 44-45).

256 SD: *Panthea* at first *Ione* *See* above [*Look*] *247* Shelley's count, below *looks*,
257 *O* above [*O sister*]

258-61 Insertion marks on both pages indicate the location of these lines.

258 *proud* above [*calm*] above [*cruel,*] An indistinguishable blotted word or letters (Zupitza suggested [*pro*]) precedes *proud* [*cruel*] was then underlined (but not the comma), Shelley's usual manner of indicating "stet." This line was followed by:

[Written as on a scroll . . . yet speak o speak]

above which Shelley inserted:

[And looks of firm defiance &]

And looks of firm defiance, and calm hate,
And such despair as mocks itself with smiles,
Written as on a scroll: yet speak: Oh, speak!

[E.1 32v] PHANTASM.

Fiend, I defy thee! with a calm, fixed mind,
All that thou canst inflict I bid thee do;
Foul Tyrant both of Gods and Human-kind,
One only being shalt thou not subdue.
Rain then thy plagues upon me here,
Ghastly disease, and frenzying fear;
And let alternate frost and fire
Eat into me, and be thine ire
Lightning, and cutting hail, and legioned forms
Of furies, driving by upon the wounding storms.

Aye, do thy worst. Thou art omnipotent.
O'er all things but thyself I gave thee power,
And my own will. Be thy swift mischiefs sent
To blast mankind, from yon ethereal tower.
Let thy malignant spirit move
[E.1 33v] In darkness over those I love:
On me and mine I imprecate
The utmost torture of thy hate;

---

259 defiance Fs R & calm hate E
260 smiles E
261 scroll . . . yet speak—o speak . . E scroll. Yet speak! Oh R<oh R^2> scroll . . . yet speak— A Fr scroll . . . yet speak—oh L yet speak—oh Fs yet speak! W
262 Fiend I defy thee, with a calm fixed mind E "Fiend, R calm R calm fixed mind Fr
263 do E
264 tyrant W gods and humankind, Fs & Humankind E Humankind, R L humankind, W
265 subdue E subdue! R
266 here E
267 disease & frenzying fear E disease M^2 Fs R J Fr fear: Fs A
268 & fire E
269 & E
270 Lightning & cutting hail E Lightning and cutting hail Fs Fr
271 furies Fs Furies R Furies, L storms E
272 Aye E Ay, M "Ay, R worst! R W Omnipotent. E
273 Oer E power E
275 mankind E R etherial tower E tower J
277 Its darkness E A Fr love; W
278 & E
279 hate E

---

259 [*des*] *firm*
275 *tower* at first *power* Shelley canceled the downstroke of *p* and added the upstroke. Forman felt that variants from *ætherial* ("Shelley's choice") were chargeable in 1820 to the printer and to Peacock (Edition, p. 435). Forman gave *ætherial*
276 *263* Shelley's count, in the lower left-hand corner of the page.
277 Zupitza found *Its* more bold and poetic than *In*

And thus devote to sleepless agony,
This undeclining head while thou must reign on high.

But thou, who art the God and Lord: O, thou,
Who fillest with thy soul this world of woe,
To whom all things of Earth and Heaven do bow
In fear and worship: all-prevailing foe!
I curse thee! let a sufferer's curse
Clasp thee, his torturer, like remorse;
'Till thine Infinity shall be
A robe of envenomed agony;
And thine Omnipotence a crown of pain,
To cling like burning gold round thy dissolving brain.

Heap on thy soul, by virtue of this Curse,
Ill deeds, then be thou damned, beholding good;
[E.1 34v] Both infinite as is the universe,
And thou, and thy self-torturing solitude.

280 agony E Fs R A L Fr
281 high E
282 But thou E M² "But R & Lord—o thou E Lord—O thou L Lord—O, thou Fr Lord! R O, thou M Fs A I O thou R W
283 woe E
284 earth and heaven Fs R & E
285 & worship— E worship, R worship—W L Fr
286 Let R
287 remorse, E remorse! M Fs R A J
288 Till M infinity Fs R Fr
289 agony E agony, Fr
290 omnipotence Fs R pain E Fr
291 brain! R W
292 "Heap R soul E A Curse E curse, M Fs R curse A
293 deeds: R<deeds,— R²> deeds; W good E R A L<good: R²> good, Fr
294 this Universe E A this Universe, Fr
295 thou Fs & thy self torturing E solitude M² solitude! R

281 Freeman felt, I think incorrectly, that *o* of *on* is over *&*
282 *God* above [*King*] I think that Shelley converted *Lor* to *King* before deleting.
283 Freeman felt that *world* was changed to *orb* What he took to be a "wavy line" deleting the *w* is the backstroke of the final *d* faint because the pen was drying. What he took to be a change of *l* to *b* (to form *orb*) is, I believe, a strengthening of the *d* after dipping the pen. *world* is quite clear.
292-95 Rossetti felt that these lines had "heretofore been printed, with the loosest of punctuation," but admitted that punctuation change alone was not enough, for "either '*is*' or '*thou*' bewrays the laxity of Shelley's grammar; and '*both*' is dropped into the first place that offers, not the best." He suggested either retaining *is* and changing *thou* to *thee* ("Beholding both good infinite as is the universe, and beholding also thyself and thy self-torturing solitude"), or, preferably, changing *is* to *are* ("Beholding good infinite both as is the universe, and as art thou, and as is thy self-torturing solitude").
This conjecture was omitted in R², possibly because of Swinburne's blast. Swinburne raised a general objection to the manner in which Rossetti had distorted Shelley's meaning by punctuation changes, and then referred to the "perversion" in the present

An awful image of calm power
Though now thou sittest, let the hour
Come, when thou must appear to be
That which thou art internally.
And after many a false and fruitless crime [300]
Scorn track thy lagging fall thro' boundless space and time.

PRO. Were these my words, O, Parent?
THE EARTH. They were thine.
PRO. It doth repent me: words are quick and vain;
Grief for awhile is blind, and so was mine.
I wish no living thing to suffer pain. [305]

296 Image E L Power R
298 Come Fs R
299 internally E internally: R internally; W H internally, Fr
300 And, R false & E crime, M Fs R W A J
301 thro E through M & time. E time! Fs W time!" R
SD the Phantasm vanishes E
302 words o E O M R W-Fr O parent? Fs thine E
303 me; W & E vain: R Fr
304 & so was mine E mine— Fr

instance, which he considered "the false pointing of one of the noblest passages. . . I should really have thought it impossible to mistake the simple and obvious meaning of these and the glorious verses which follow; namely, that the curse invoked on the almighty tyrant was to do evil and behold good." He compared Persius' "Virtutem videant intabescantiqua relicta [that they may look on Virtue, and pine away because they have lost her—*Satires*, III.37]," and held that "by the application of this supreme curse to the supreme oppressor Shelley has transfigured the noble moral thought of the Stoic poet into the splendour of an idea too sublime for the conception of one so much lesser than himself. It is utterly inexplicable to me how [Mr. Rossetti] failed to follow the track of Shelley's thought, to see with Shelley's eyes this vision of the two infinities of good and evil; of the evil deeds wrought by omnipotence and the good deeds wrought by suffering—both of these infinite as God Himself, as the world He torments, as the solitude which is at once the condition and the chastisement of His omnipotence. . . . I cannot understand [how Rossetti could] shatter at once the harmony, the sense, and the grammar of so simple and superb a passage in order to patch up an explanation as forced, unnatural, and improbable as the more obvious interpretation was clear, consistent, and sufficient" ("Notes," pp. 391-92).

Forman felt that the dropping of the full stop after *solitude* in M^2 was accidental. He held, in rejecting Rossetti's conjecture, that "Shelley's construction here is not more elliptical than it often is, and the punctuation seems to me both characteristic and sufficient for his purpose." His interpretation of the passage agreed with that of Swinburne.

293 *280* Shelley's count, below *Ill*

297 *sittest* may be *settest* The *i* is not dotted and resembles a closed *e*

302-5 Locock pointed out that these lines had generally been printed as blank verse, and he indented appropriately.

303 *me:* at first *me,*

305 This line is followed by the SD: [*he bends his head as in pain*]

THE EARTH.

Misery, Oh misery to me,
That Jove at length should vanquish thee.
[E.1 35v] Wail, howl aloud, Land and Sea,
The Earth's rent heart shall answer ye.
Howl, Spirits of the living and the dead, [310]
Your refuge, your defence lies fallen and vanquished.

FIRST ECHO.

Lies fallen and vanquished!

SECOND ECHO.

Fallen and vanquished!

IONE.

Fear not: 'tis but some passing spasm,
The Titan is unvanquished still. [315]
But see, where thro' the azure chasm
Of yon forked and snowy hill
Trampling the slant winds on high
With golden-sandalled feet, that glow
Under plumes of purple dye, [320]
Like rose-ensanguined ivory,
A Shape comes now,
Stretching on high from his right hand

---

306 Misery o misery to me E oh Fs R L oh, W
307 thee E thee! R W
308 aloud Land & Sea E Sea,— R L
309 Earths E ye E ye! R W
310 Howl spirits E & the dead E dead! R dead; L
311 defence, Fs R W & vanquished E vanquished! R W
SD 1st Echo E
312 Lies Fallen & vanquished? E vanquished? M Fs R A L J Fr
SD 2d Echo E
313 & E
314 not—tis E not— Fr spasm E spasm,— R
315 still.— R
316 see R thro E through M
317 & E hill, R W L
319 feet R
320 dye E R
321 ivory E
322 now E

---

307 *294* Shelley's count, in the lower left-hand corner of the page.
308 *Land* at first *land*
309 *thee.* in Koszul.
312 *ch* of *1st Echo* may be over *Sp* as Freeman suggested. The line developed as follows:
Lies
[Lies un] Fallen & vanquished?
316 *the* at first *yon*
319 *golden-* above [*un*]*sandalled*

A serpent-cinctured wand.

[E.136v] PAN. 'Tis Jove's world-wandering herald, Mercury. [325]

IONE.

And who are those with hydra tresses
  And iron wings that climb the wind,
Whom the frowning God represses
  Like vapours steaming up behind,
Clanging loud, an endless crowd— [330]

PANTHEA.

  These are Jove's tempest-walking hounds,
Whom he gluts with groans and blood,
When charioted on sulphurous cloud
  He bursts Heaven's bounds.

IONE.

Are they now led, from the thin dead [335]
On new pangs to be fed?

PAN. The Titan looks as ever, firm, not proud.

[E.137v] FIRST FURY. Ha! I scent life!

---

324 wand E
325 Tis E Herald, Mercury E Herald, L
327 wings, W wind E Fs
328 represses,— R W
330 loud Fs crowd E crowd? R W L
331 Joves hounds E
332 on groans & blood E on A blood R Fr
333 When, R L cloud, R L
334 heaven's Fs R bounds E
335 led E R W Fr dead, R L
337 looks, R ever E ever— Fs
338 SD 1st Fury E Ha E

---

324 Zupitza noted *cintured* in Forman. It did not appear in the issues I examined.

325 *world-wandering* above [*Heaven-walking*] On 37r there is a smudge under which certain indistinct letters can be seen. Freeman thought that they might be *world-walking* or *earth-treading* or *sky-treading* in pencil. I do not read these words, and believe this was an SD: *Enter Mer* The *Enter* comes through fairly well, and the upper part of *M* is strongly suggested.

326 *hydra* at first *Hydra*

331 *Joves* [*tempest-walking*] *hounds* No substitute is given. Zupitza felt that Shelley canceled this when he looked up and saw the parallel in line 325.

337 This line developed as follows:

as ever
[Yes: but] the Titan looks ∧ firm, [though] not proud.

t of *the* changed to *T*

37v opens with the following canceled SD:

[Enter Mercury followed by the Furies whom he represses
with his wand.]

Freeman felt that the apparent deletion (two short horizontal lines crossed by a short

SECOND FURY. Let me but look into his eyes!
THIRD FURY. The hope of torturing him smells like
a heap
Of corpses, to a death-bird after battle. [340]
[E.138r] FIRST FURY. Darest thou delay, O Herald! take
cheer, Hounds
Of Hell: what if the Son of Maia soon
[E.137v] Should make us food and sport—who can please long
The Omnipotent?

MER. Back to your towers of iron,

---

338 SD 2d E in E A
339 SD 3d E
340 corpses To E corpses Fs R W L Fr battle! E R Fr
341 SD 1st E
341 Dar'st R2 delay o E herald? Fs Herald? E L Take R cheer E hounds Fs
342 Hell— E Fr hell: Fs Hell! What R
343 & sport? Who E sport?—Who R sport? Who L Fr
344 iron E

---

slanting line) was merely an offset from the opposite page. Comparison shows this to be unlikely, but even so there is a lighter, vertical line through the SD which confirms the deletion.

338 *scent* above [*smell*] Locock felt that the irregularity of the meter was intentional.

339-40 These lines developed as follows:

a [hap] heap
The hope of torturing him smells like [fresh corpses]
Of corpses
To a death-bird after battle!

341-44 These lines are complexly compounded. On 37v we find:

Herald of Gods
Darest thou delay? take cheer, [a richer prey]
He pauses
[Children of Hell] If the Son of Maia soon
Should make us food & sport? Who can please long
The Omnipotent?

In addition to the indicated deletions, two light vertical crossed lines run down the right side, cutting through *Gods* and *richer* and *Maia* and *can* This would seem a deletion of the entire passage, but parts of it are used as follows to complete the revised lines opposite, where the SD is not repeated:

[Children of Hell]
[Herald of Gods darest thou delay] . . .
Darest thou delay o Herald? take cheer Hounds
Of Hell—what if the Son of Maia soon
Shd make

In these lines *t* of *take* was at first, I believe, a *c* (possibly a false start on *cheer*) and *Shd* may possibly be deleted with a very light line that may have been intended to cross *make* also.

And gnash beside the streams of fire and wail [345]
Your foodless teeth. Geryon, arise! and Gorgon,
Chimæra, and thou Sphinx, subtlest of fiends
Who ministered to Thebes Heaven's poisoned wine,
Unnatural love, and more unnatural hate:
[E.1 38v] These shall perform your task.
FIRST FURY. Oh, mercy! mercy! [350]
We die with our desire: drive us not back!
MER. Crouch then in silence.
Awful Sufferer
To thee unwilling, most unwillingly

---

345 gnash, E Fo R²-Fr[J] fire, M Fs R J<fire R²> fire . . & wail E wail, Fo R² D W H L Fr
346 teeth! . . E L teeth!— R teeth! . . . A Geryon arise & Gorgon E
347 Chimæra & thou Spinx <*sic*> E fiends, M Fs R W A-Fr
348 heaven's R wine E wine— R
349 love E R² Fr & E hate E hate!— R
350 task E SD 1st E O mercy mercy E Oh! R<Oh R²>
351 desire— E desire; Fs desire! W
352 silence.— E Sufferer! M Fs R W H A L<Sufferer; M²> Sufferer, Fr

---

345 There are several ink splatters on this part of the page, which may account for what appears to be *fire . . &* If the reading is correct it may have been intended to balance *teeth! . .* in the next line. Blind read a comma after *wail* making that word a substantive, and noted that "the allusion is to the two infernal streams, Phlegethon and Cocytus" ("Shelley." Woodberry identified the source as *Inferno*, IX). Practically all editions have followed this reading. Forman felt that Mrs. Shelley's reading left *gnash* "without an accusative," and Locock thought that she added the comma at *fire* under the impression that *wail* was a verb (she was, I believe, merely following Galignani in the punctuation of 1829). But E shows no distinct comma after *wail* as it does after *gnash* Rather, there are two ink spots vertically below *l* of *wail* which I take to be ink splatter (see illustration, facing p. 173). I cannot but feel that, regardless of intent, Shelley wrote the passage as follows:

And gnash, beside the streams of fire . . & wail
Your foodless teeth! . .

349 *love* above [*hate*] but [*hate*] was at first *love* This uncertainty as to which word to use here is commented on by Shelley's note at the bottom of 38r:

The contrast would have been completeter <*sic*> if the sentiment had been transposed: but wherefore sacrifize <*sic*> the philosophical truth, that love however monstrous in its expression is still less worthy of honor than hatred—[the] perhaps in whatever * ?

* represents an undecipherable word. The *?* if present combines with the downstroke of *y* in *worthy* so as to be nearly hidden. It may be merely a strengthening of the *y* I agree with Zupitza that the word is *honor* (see illustration, facing p. 173), though the sense would seem to dictate *horror* as read by Locock and Freeman. I believe Shelley was being ironical, and if so Locock's definition of *still* as "nevertheless" would not be correct.

350 Some mathematical computations, apparently unrelated to the poem, are written around and over the lines at the top of this page.

352 No line break in E. 353 *thee* above [*one*]

I come, by the great Father's will driven down,
To execute a doom of new revenge.
Alas! I pity thee, and hate myself
That I can do no more: aye from thy sight
Returning, for a season, heaven seems hell,
So thy worn form pursues me night and day,
Smiling reproach. Wise art thou, firm and good,
But vainly wouldst stand forth alone in strife
Against the Omnipotent; as yon clear lamps
That measure and divide the weary years
From which there is no refuge, long have taught
And long must teach. Even now thy Torturer arms
With the strange might of unimagined pains
The powers who scheme slow agonies in Hell,
And my commission is to lead them here,
[E.1 39^{v}] Or what more subtle, foul, or savage fiends
People the abyss, and leave them to their task.
Be it not so! there is a secret known
To thee, and to none else of living things,
Which may transfer the sceptre of wide Heaven,
The fear of which perplexes the Supreme:
Clothe it in words, and bid it clasp his throne
In intercession; bend thy soul in prayer,

---

354 Great R down E
356 Alas E
357 do more— <*sic*> E more; M^{2} W more. Aye R more— Fr
358 Returning Fr season R Heaven seems Hell, Fo W H Heaven seems Hell. Fr Heaven L hell E
359 & E
360 thou firm & good E firm, R
362 Omnipotent, E Fr lamps, W
363 & E years, R
364 taught, M Fs R A L
365 teach—even E torturer R
366 with E
367 hell, E hell; R
368 is, E here E
369 subtle foul & savage E foul M^{2} Fs foul and savage L and savage A Fr
370 & E
371 so . . . E so!—L There R
372 thee & E things E
373 Heaven E heaven, Fs R
374 Supreme . . . E L Fr Supreme; M^{2} Supreme;— R Supreme. W
375 & E
376 prayer E

---

358 There may be a period after *hell* Forman felt that the failure to capitalize *heaven* and *hell* was an exception to Shelley's usual practice.
364 *For which* in Shepherd.
365-66 These lines developed as follows:

even now [mighty]
And long must teach—thy ∧ Torturer arms
the strange might of
[Even now], with [new &] unimagined pains

368 *355* Shelley's count, below *them*
374 *Supreme* at first *supreme*
375 *& bid* [*them gird*] *his throne* *it clasp* is opposite, on 40^{r}.

And like a suppliant in some gorgeous fane,
Let the will kneel within thy haughty heart:
For benefits and meek submission tame
The fiercest and the mightiest.
PRO. Evil minds
Change good to their own nature. I gave all
He has; and in return he chains me here
Years, ages, night and day: whether the Sun
Split my parched skin, or in the moony night
[E.1 40v] The chrystal-winged snow cling round my hair:
Whilst my beloved race is trampled down
By his thought-executing ministers.
Such is the tyrants' recompense: 'tis just:
He who is evil can receive no good;
And for a world bestowed, or a friend lost,
He can feel hate, fear, shame; not gratitude:
[E.1 41r] He but requites me for his own misdeed.
[E.1 40v] Kindness to such is keen reproach, which breaks
With bitter stings the light sleep of Revenge.
Submission, thou dost know I cannot try:

377 And, R fane E
378 heart; E Fr heart, W
379 & E
380 & E
382 has, Fr & E here, R
383 ages night & day, E day; M² R W L day, Fr sun R
385 crystal-winged M hair— E Fr hair; R W
386 While Fs trodden E
388 tyrants recompense— E tyrant's M Fs Fo D H J Tyrant's recompense. 'Tis R <tyrant's recompense. 'Tis R² > tyrant's recompense. 'Tis just. W tyrants <*sic*>A tyrant's recompense— L Fr
389 good E good, Fr
390 bestowed E R lost E R
391 He Can E shame—not gratitude E shame— Fr gratitude. R W
392 misdeed E
393 reproach E Fs
395 Submission R W know, E L Fr try; M Fs R A J try. W

382 This line developed from the following:
He has, [& placed it in his choice to be
The crown, or trampled refuse of the world
With but one law itself a glorious boon—
I gave]— & in return he chains me here
has, was changed to *has;* and *&* to *I* Slanting strokes then deleted the passage. *here* at first *hear* On 40r, opposite this deletion, is the following:
[To be the Sun of gladness to all life
To be the sun of joy to the dark world]
384 *374* Shelley's count, below *night*
385 *cling*[*s*]
386 *trodden* at first *trampled* Freeman thought the reverse.
388 *tyrants' sic* in 1820
391 *He* added to the line.
392 An insertion mark below *gratitude* indicates the location of this line.
393 *break* in Herford.

For what submission but that fatal word,
The death-seal of mankind's captivity,
Like the Sicilian's hair-suspended sword,
Which trembles o'er his crown, would he accept,
Or could I yield? Which yet I will not yield.
Let others flatter Crime, where it sits throned
In brief Omnipotence: secure are they:
For Justice, when triumphant, will weep down
Pity, not punishment, on her own wrongs,
Too much avenged by those who err. I wait,
[E.1 41ᵛ] Enduring thus, the retributive hour
Which since we spake is even nearer now.
But hark, the hell-hounds clamour: fear delay:
Behold! Heaven lowers under thy Father's frown.
MER. Oh, that we might be spared: I to inflict
And thou to suffer! Once more answer me:
[E.1 42ʳ] Thou knowest not the period of Jove's power?
[E.1 41ᵛ] PRO. I know but this, that it must come.

396 word E
398 Sicilians E sword E R L
399 oer E accept E
400 yield?—which E yield?—Which L
401 Crime E R W Fr throned <*sic*> E
402 Omnipotence; E M² W omnipotence! Secure R omnipotence; L Fr
they E they; W they, Fr
403 Justice when triumphant E Fs Fr
404 Pity not punishment E wrongs E
405 wait E Fr
406 thus E
407 now— E
408 hark E hark! Fr Hell-hounds R clamour, E clamour. Fear delay! M Fs R A delay E
409 Behold E heaven lours R father's frown! R frown E
410 O E R spared— E R L Fr spared,— Fo² spared; W inflict, M Fs R W A L
411 once E M² J me E me. W
412 Joves E
413 come E

398 *Like* at first *The*
408 *hell-hound clamour* in Cuningham gave a changed emphasis.
409 *lowers* above [*scowls*]
412 This line developed as follows:

41ᵛ: [Thou knowest not when]
[When sayest thou] the [destined change arrives]
42ʳ: ? Thou knowest not the period of Joves power?
[Thou canst not count the years to come of pain?]
Mercury
alas,

etc., through *desire or fear.* Insertion marks on both pages indicate the location of these lines.

413 *it* emerges from several words written on each other. I find *they* (to balance [*years*] opposite), and possibly *day* Freeman found *dre* and conjectured a start on *dread* I take it to be *des* as a possible start on *destined* But except for *it* on *they* one must guess. In the space opposite the first half of this line Shelley subtracts *176* from *190* for a remainder of *14* These figures seem unrelated to the poem, although they may represent some stage of his count.

[E.1 42r] Mer. Alas!
Thou canst not count thy years to come of pain?
Pro. They last while Jove must reign: nor more, nor less
Do I desire or fear.
[E.1 41v] Mer. Yet pause, and plunge
Into Eternity, where recorded time,
Even all that we imagine, age on age,
Seems but a point, and the reluctant mind
Flags wearily in its unending flight,
Till it sink, dizzy, blind, lost, shelterless;
Perchance it has not numbered the slow years
Which thou must spend in torture, unreprieved?
Pro. Perchance no thought can count them, yet they pass.
[E.1 42v] Mer. If thou might'st dwell among the Gods the while
Lapped in voluptuous joy?
Pro. I would not quit
This bleak ravine, these unrepentant pains.
Mer. Alas! I wonder at, yet pity thee.
Pro. Pity the self-despising slaves of Heaven,
Not me, within whose mind sits peace serene,
As light in the sun, throned: how vain is talk!
Call up the fiends.
Ione. O, sister, look! White fire

413 alas, E
414 pain! R W <pain? R^2>
415 reign, E Fs Fr reign; M R W A L J more E Fs R Fr
416 fear E pause M^2 & E
417 eternity, R time E time— R
418 age on age E on age— R
420 Flags, M^2 it's E flight E M^2
421 shelterless. R
423 unreprieved. E L
424 them— E L Fr them. Yet R them: Fo^2 pass E
425 gods M^2 Fs while, M Fs R W L J <while R^2>
426 joy?— E 427 pains E
428 Alas E at Fs thee E
429 Heaven E Heaven,— R
430 serene E
431 throned . . . E Fr throned. How R W throned. . . How L
432 fiends E O sister look, white E O R L

414 *pain!* in Scudder.
416 *Yet pause, &* above [*Then*] Freeman thought that *p* of *pause* was over some other letter, but it is the *T* of [*Then*] under the letter. He also thought that [*Then*] was [*thin*] or [*crin*] (and conjectured *think* or *cringe*) or a word starting with *s* I find [*Then*] quite legible, as did Zupitza. Possibly *fear.*
418 Each *age* above a deleted [*years*]
423 Cuningham, in 1839, also gave *unreprieved.*
424 *410* Shelley's count, below *them*
432 *fiends* followed by an SD: ([*thunder &*] *lightning*) *O sister* first written at left margin, then repeated, for proper spacing, without deletion.

Has cloven to the roots yon huge snow-loaded cedar;
How fearfully God's thunder howls behind!
MER. I must obey his words and thine: alas! [435]
Most heavily remorse hangs at my heart!
[E.1 43v] PAN. See where the child of Heaven, with winged feet,
Runs down the slanted sunlight of the dawn.
IONE. Dear sister, close thy plumes over thine eyes
Lest thou behold and die: they come: they come [440]
Blackening the birth of day with countless wings,
And hollow underneath, like death.
FIRST FURY. Prometheus!
SECOND FURY. Immortal Titan!
THIRD FURY. Champion of Heaven's slaves!
PRO. He whom some dreadful voice invokes is here,
Prometheus, the chained Titan. Horrible forms, [445]
What and who are ye? Never yet there came
Phantasms so foul thro' monster-teeming Hell
From the all-miscreative brain of Jove;
Whilst I behold such execrable shapes,
Methinks I grow like what I contemplate, [450]
And laugh and stare in loathsome sympathy.
[E.1 44v] FIRST FURY. We are the ministers of pain, and fear,
And disappointment, and mistrust, and hate,
And clinging crime; and as lean dogs pursue
Thro' wood and lake some struck and sobbing fawn, [455]
We track all things that weep, and bleed, and live,

---

433 Cedar E cedar! R
435 & thine—alas E thine. Alas! W
437 Child R <child R^2> Heaven E Fs Fr feet E Fr
438 dawn E
439 sister E eyes, R
440 & die—they come they come E die. They come, they come, R die; they come—they come— W
441 wings E
442 underneath E R death E SD 1st Fury E
443 SD 2d E 3d E
444 invokes, E here; R^2
445 Titan.— E L forms E
446 & E
447 thro E through M hell Fs R
448 Jove. R W
449 While Fs shapes E
450 contemplate E
451 & stare E sympathy E
452 SD 1st Fury E pain & fear E pain M Fs R A-Fr
453 dissappointment <*sic*> & mistrust & hate E *no punctuation* Fr disappointment and mistrust R
454 & as E and, as R
455 Through E M & & E fawn E
456 weep & bleed & live E weep and bleed and live Fs weep and bleed R Fr

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433 *roots of yon* in Cuningham.
436 *Most* above [*How*]
451 *437* Shelley's count, above *And*

When the great King betrays them to our will.
PRO. Oh! many fearful natures in one name,
I know ye; and these lakes and echoes know
The darkness and the clangour of your wings.
But why more hideous than your loathed selves
Gather ye up in legions from the deep?
SECOND FURY. We knew not that: Sisters, rejoice, rejoice!
PRO. Can aught exult in its deformity?
SECOND FURY. The beauty of delight makes lovers glad,
Gazing on one another: so are we.
As from the rose which the pale priestess kneels
To gather for her festal crown of flowers
[E.1 45v] The aerial crimson falls, flushing her cheek,
So from our victim's destined agony
The shade which is our form invests us round,
Else we are shapeless as our mother Night.
PRO. I laugh your power, and his who sent you here,
To lowest scorn. Pour forth the cup of pain.
FIRST FURY. Thou thinkest we will rend thee bone from bone,

457 will E
458 O E R W L Oh, Fr name! E R A Fr
459 ye, E Fr & & E
460 & E wings! W
463 SD 2d Fury E that—Sisters rejoice E that; Fs that. R W that— Fr
465 SD 2d Fury E glad E
466 another— E we, M²
469 aërial Fs R D-Fr[J] cheek— E L
471 round E round,— R round; Fo² W
472 are we E A-Fr Mother night E Mother Fr
473 power & E power Fr here E Fr
474 scorn.—pour E scorn.— L pain E
475 SD 1st Fury E bone from bone? E Fr bone from bone W

459 *these* at first *those*
463 The punctuation after the second *rejoice* may be only a period.
464 [*de*] *exult* Zupitza suggested a start on *delight* I think it was an anticipation of *delight* in the next line.
468 *464* Shelley's count, below *flowers* This should be *454*, and the *6* may be a poorly formed *5*, since there is no corresponding error in the next count.
469 Forman, noting that both *aërial* and *aerial* occur frequently, defended the former "because I know from manuscript sources that Shelley used that orthography, and because it has a practical value to commend it to him or any one else" (Edition, p. 435). In none of the occurrences of the word in this MS, however, did Shelley use "that orthography."
470 *destined* at first *destiny* (possibly an anticipation of *agony*).
471 *form* above [*shape*]
472 Possibly *Night*
475 *T* of *Thou* at first *Y* *thee* above [*you*]

And nerve from nerve, working like fire within?
PRO. Pain is my element, as hate is thine;
Ye rend me now: I care not.
SECOND FURY. Dost imagine
We will but laugh into thy lidless eyes?
PRO. I weigh not what ye do, but what ye suffer,
Being evil. Cruel was the power which called
You, or aught else so wretched, into light.
[E.1 46v] THIRD FURY. Thou think'st we will live thro' thee, one by one,
Like animal life, and tho' we can obscure not
The soul which burns within, that we will dwell
Beside it, like a vain loud multitude
Vexing the self-content of wisest men:
That we will be dread thought beneath thy brain,
And foul desire round thine astonished heart,
And blood within thy labyrinthine veins
Crawling like agony.
PRO. Why, ye are thus now;
Yet am I king over myself, and rule
The torturing and conflicting throngs within,
As Jove rules you when Hell grows mutinous.

CHORUS OF FURIES.
From the ends of the earth, from the ends of the earth,

---

477 element E thine E thine. R
478 now, I care not— E now; W
SD 2d Fury E
480 do Fs suffer E
481 evil—cruel E Power E L Fr
482 light E
483 SD 3d Fury E thinkest E Fr
through E M one by one E
484 life and though E life; and, R
though M
485 within E
486 multitude, W
487 men— E Fr men; R W
488 brain E
489 heart E
491 agony E agony? W H L Fr
now E now:—R <now: R²>
492 myself & E
493 & E within E Fr
494 mutinous E
495 Earth, from ye ends of the Earth F

---

479 [*your*] *thy*
482 *468* Shelley's count, below *light*
483 *Thou* at first *Thin* (possibly a start on *Thinkest*)
484 A caret directs to *animal life* above the line.
486 *l* of *like* at first *a* The article *a* at first *v*
490 *within* at first *without* *thy* above [*your*]
491 Rossetti noted that, "as B. V. [James Thomson] pointed out," though "this speech forms a taunting interrogation . . . the interrogative sign is not however given in previous editions" (R²). Though not in R², it was frequently used in later editions.

Where the night has its grave and the morning its birth,
Come, come, come!
Oh, ye who shake hills with the scream of your mirth,
[E.2 1ᵛ] When cities sink howling in ruin; and ye
Who with wingless footsteps trample the sea,
And close upon Shipwreck and Famine's track,
Sit chattering with joy on the foodless wreck;
Come, come, come!
Leave the bed, low, cold, and red,
Strewed beneath a nation dead;
Leave the hatred, as in ashes
Fire is left for future burning:
It will burst in bloodier flashes
When ye stir it, soon returning:
Leave the self-contempt implanted
In young spirits, sense-enchanted,
Misery's yet unkindled fuel:
Leave Hell's secrets half unchanted
To the maniac dreamer; cruel
More than ye can be with hate
Is he with fear.

496 grave, Fs & E birth E W Fr
497 Come, Come, Come E
498 O E R W L mirth E R W Fr
499 ruin, & E ruin! R ruin, Fr
500 Sea E
501 & Famines track E track R W Fr
502 wreck E wreck, R Fr
503 Come, Come, Come E
504 low cold & red E cold Fs
506 hatred— E Fr hatred,— L
507 burning,— E burning— R Fr burning; W burning:— L
509 it soon returning; E returning;
510 self contempt E
511 spirits sense-enchanted E Fr sense enchanted, M^2 J sense-inchanted, L
512 fuel; E W Fr
513 Hells' secrets half-unchanted E hell's secrets, Fs half-unchanted A Fr unchanted, M Fs <unchanted M^2> unchaunted R^2
514 dreamer: E M^2 L Fr dreamer,— cruel, R
515 hate, E R Fr
516 fear; E

498 *483* Shelley's count (in error for 484), below *shake* This error compensated for the earlier error carried forward from text line 59.

502 Rossetti was "strongly inclined (with B. V.) to set the rhyme right by reading 'wrack' " (R^2).

508 '*Twill* in Cuningham.

511 Either *enchanted* or *inchanted* Both *e* and *i* are present; which came first cannot be determined. Locock said *e* was changed "deliberately" to *i* because "Shelley intentionally varies the spelling of this word in accordance with the adjacent vowel-sounds."

513 [*He*] *Leave*[*s*] *unchaunted* in R^2 may have been an attempt to vary the sound so *-chanted* above would not be repeated.

516 The pen was going dry at *with* Whether Shelley wrote *fear;* and then retraced *fear* after dipping the pen, or wrote *fear* over some other word cannot be determined. I believe the word was retraced.

Come, come, come!
We are steaming up from Hell's wide gate
[E.2 2v] And we burthen the blasts of the atmosphere,
But vainly we toil till ye come here. [520]

[E.2 3r] IONE. Sister, I hear the thunder of new wings.
PAN. These solid mountains quiver with the sound
Even as the tremulous air: their shadows make
The space within my plumes more black than night.

[E.2 2v] FIRST FURY.
Your call was as a winged car [525]
Driven on whirlwinds fast and far;
It rapt us from red gulphs of war.

SECOND FURY.
From wide cities, famine-wasted;

THIRD FURY.
Groans half heard, and blood untasted;

FOURTH FURY.
Kingly conclaves stern and cold, [530]

---

517 Come, Come come E
518 Hells E hell's Fs R gate, M Fs R A L J
519 blast Fo D H atmosphere E
520 here E here! R
521 Sister E wings E
522 sound, R
523 air— E Fr air; W thier <*sic*> E
SD 1st E Fourth Fury. R
525 car, M Fs W L J
526 & far E far. R²
527 gulfs M war E war; R
SD 2d E Fifth Fury. R
528 cities famine-wasted— E cities R famine-wasted— L Fr
SD 3 E Sixth Fury. R
529 & E untasted— E L Fr
SD 4 E Seventh Fury. R
530 conclaves, M Fs R L & cold E

---

519 Forman's erroneous *blast* was followed by Alexander, and either Forman's or Hutchinson's use led to the word in Dole, Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.

520 Below this line, and deleted with slanting strokes, is the SD:
[Enter rushing by groupes <*sic*> of horrible forms; they speak as they [rush by] pass in chorus]

521-24 These lines were added later.

522 *These solid* above [*Alas the*] *quiver* above [*tremble*] and *r* of *quiver* at first something else. *These* at first *The* *solid* at first possibly *sound* as Freeman suggested.

523 *thier* <*sic*> *shadows make* below [*look not I pray*]

525 *1st* below [*2d Fury*] Rossetti felt that repetition of *First Fury*, etc., "confounds them" with those who have already been speaking, while these are new arrivals. Forman disagreed and assumed that Shelley "may have thought it clear enough" that they were the First, Second, etc. speakers of another group.

Where blood with gold is bought and sold;

FIFTH FURY.

From the furnace, white and hot,
In which—

A FURY.

Speak not: whisper not:
I know all that ye would tell,
But to speak might break the spell [535]
[E.2 3v] Which must bend the Invincible,
The stern of thought;
He yet defies the deepest power of Hell.

FURY.

Tear the veil!

ANOTHER FURY.

It is torn.

CHORUS.

The pale stars of the morn
Shine on a misery, dire to be borne. [540]

---

531 was bought & sold E was A sold. Fr
SD 5 E Eighth Fury. R
532 furnace white & hot E hot Fr
SD a Fury E
533 Speak not—whisper not E Speak not; M Fs Speak not, whisper not! R Speak not; whisper not; W Speak not— L
534 tell E tell,— R
536 Invincible E
537 thought E
538 Hell E hell. Fs
SD a Fury rushing from the crowd E A Fury. Fs R H Fr
SD *following veil!:* The Furies having ming'd in a strange dance divide, & in the background is seen a plain covered with burning cities E
539 torn! E L Fr
540 misery E Fs R borne E

---

535 *518* Shelley's count (in error for 516), before this line. He carried this error to text line 577.

538 In the SD: *a* above [*Another*] It is interesting that, despite the suggestion of the MS, both Ackermann and Locock gave simply *Fury* for the SD. Hutchinson's influence led Koszul and Hughes to use *A Fury*. But note that Foster anticipated this use as early as 1845.

539 *veil!* at first *veil—* SD: *ming'd* probably *mingld* (*sic*; cf. III.iii.120).

540 *a* at first *n* or false start on *m* of *misery* Freeman conjectured a start on *new* Whether *borne* or *born* is debatable. Locock felt that, while *born* would make excellent sense "in connection with the omission of the comma after *misery*," the pen "missed fire" just after the *r*, and the *e* is present. Freeman felt that the letter, rather unformed, is present, since "the stroke . . . is clearly visible." If the last stroke of what appears to be the *n* is covered, the word would still be read as *born* with a slightly mis-

Dost thou faint, mighty Titan? We laugh thee to
scorn.
Dost thou boast the clear knowledge thou waken'dst for
man?
Then was kindled within him a thirst which outran
Those perishing waters; a thirst of fierce fever,
Hope, love, doubt, desire, which consume him for
ever.
One came forth of gentle worth
Smiling on the sanguine earth;
[E.2 4v] His words outlived him, like swift poison
Withering up truth, peace, and pity.
Look! where round the wide horizon
Many a million-peopled city
Vomits smoke in the bright air.
Mark that outcry of despair!
'Tis his mild and gentle ghost
Wailing for the faith he kindled:
Look again, the flames almost
To a glow-worm's lamp have dwindled:
The survivors round the embers
Gather in dread.
Joy, joy, joy!
Past ages crowd on thee, but each one remembers,
And the future is dark, and the present is spread
Like a pillow of thorns for thy slumberless head.

---

541 faint E Titan! M² scorn E scorn! R
542 wakenedst E R Fo² A Fr man! M²
544 waters, E waters: Fs fever E
545 Hope love doubt desire— E desire— L Fr forever. E A L
546 forth, E Fr worth, M Fs R W Fr
547 earth, E earth: M² R
549 truth peace & pity E peace Fs
550 Look E R² L
552 air— E air! R W
553 Hark E H A-Fr despair E
554 Tis E & E
555 kindled E kindled. R W
556 again! M Fs R W again,— L
557 dwindled E dwindled; Fs W
559 dread E
560 Joy, Joy, Joy, E
561 thee E remembers; M Fs R L
562 dark E
563 head E head! R

---

formed *n* I agree that the last stroke was probably intended for the *e* (see illustration, facing p. 173).

552 This line is followed by:

[Hark] [a shadow passes over the scene & a piercing shriek is heard]

The SD is deleted by a single vertical line. Piccoli identified the "shadow" as that of Christ.

556 Either *again,-(sic)* or *again;*

561 Freeman suggested, I think questionably, the possibility of *Fast*

[E.2 5v] SEMICHORUS I.

Drops of bloody agony flow
From his white and quivering brow.
Grant a little respite now:
See a disenchanted nation
Springs like day from desolation;
To truth its state is dedicate,
And Freedom leads it forth, her mate;
A legioned band of linked brothers
Whom Love calls children—

SEMICHORUS II.

'Tis another's:
See how kindred murder kin:
'Tis the vintage-time for death and sin:
Blood, like new wine, bubbles within:
'Till Despair smothers
The struggling world, which slaves and tyrants win.

[E.2 6r] [*All the* FURIES *vanish, except one.*

[E.2 5v] IONE. Hark, sister! what a low yet dreadful groan
[E.2 6v] Quite unsuppressed is tearing up the heart
Of the good Titan, as storms tear the deep,

---

565 & E brow, E
566 now— E Fr now. R W now:— L
567 See! M Fs R W L<See M²> Nation E L
568 desolation E
569 Truth M-Fr[A J] <truth M²> state, E dedicate; Fr
570 mate;— R
571 brothers, M R W L J
SD Semichorus 2 E
572 another's— E Fr another's M another's! R another's. Fs W another's.— L
573 kin E kin! M Fs R W L
574 Tis E vintage time M² Death & Sin E Death and Sin. R L Death and Sin; W Death and Sin: A Fr sin. M Fs
575 within E Fr within; W
576 Till E M despair Fs R
577 World— E world— L & E win E
SD depart but one E
578 Hark sister, E groan, R
579 unsuppressed, R
580 Titan— E L Fr deep E

---

564 This line at first started [*Hah, agony drops*] The SD is *Semichorus I.* with the punctuation an exception to the MS practice.
565 [*Fast*] *From his* [*qui*] *white* *From* at first *from*
567 [*dien*] *disenchanted*
569 *delicate* in Shepherd.
572 Note that the typographical error in M¹ was carried into M².
577 *561* Shelley's count (in error for 558), below *The* He carried this error to text line 686. The SD is on 6r, in weak ink.
578 *Ione* above [*Panthea*] The following lines were written with a finer pen.
580 [*sea*] above [*deep*] with the latter reinstated by underline in lighter ink.

And beasts hear the sea moan in inland caves.
Darest thou observe how the fiends torture him?
PAN. Alas! I looked forth twice, but will no more.
IONE. What didst thou see?
PAN. A woeful sight: a youth
With patient looks nailed to a crucifix. [585]
IONE. What next?
PAN. The heaven around, the earth below
Was peopled with thick shapes of human death,
All horrible, and wrought by human hands,
And some appeared the work of human hearts,
For men were slowly killed by frowns and smiles: [590]
And other sights too foul to speak and live
Were wandering by. Let us not tempt worse fear
By looking forth: those groans are grief enough.
[E.2 8r] FURY. Behold an emblem: those who do endure
Deep wrongs for man, and scorn, and chains, but heap [595]

---

581 caves! Fs R
582 Dar'st R^2
583 Alas, E twice E more E
584 woeful sight— E Fr
585 crucifix E
586 The Heaven around the Earth E Heaven L Earth L below, R W
587 death E M^2
588 & E hands E hands: R hands; W hands,— L
589 Tho some E A-Fr hearts E hearts. M^2
590 & E smiles. R smiles; W
591 & live E
592 by—let E by:—let L
593 forth— E forth; W
594 Behold, an emblem— E emblem— Fr
595 & scorn E scorn Fs

---

581 [*waves*] above [*sea*] with the latter reinstated by an underline in lighter ink. A heavy blot at the end of *caves* hides possible punctuation.

583 *twice* above [*once*] Freeman suggested that this line may have been assigned to Ione at first, with *Panthea* written in when the foregoing was reassigned to Ione.

586 *around* above [*above*]

589 Locock preferred the contrast of *Tho* as did Freeman, who felt that *And* might be a transfer from line 588 (Text, p. 45).

593 *577* Shelley's count, below *those*

594-96 These lines were inserted later and included in Shelley's count.

594 *an emblem—those who do endure* below [*behold how those who do endure*]

595 This line developed as follows:

[Wounds] Deep wrongs for man, [wounds] [& des]
[Stripes for mankind], & scorn [&] and chains, but heap

The punctuation after *scorn* is debatable. Zupitza read a caret directing to [*wounds*] Freeman read a comma which was at first a semicolon. The dot of a semicolon is clearly present, and what Zupitza took for a caret is, I believe, the lower part of the semicolon deleted by a short angled mark (Shelley used no other carets in this passage). I believe that he intended to delete an original semicolon. The changes in this line are in blacker ink. Zupitza conjectured *despair* for the [*des*]

Thousandfold torment on themselves and him.
[E.2 7v] PRO. Remit the anguish of that lighted stare;
Close those wan lips; let that thorn-wounded brow
Stream not with blood; it mingles with thy tears!
Fix, fix those tortured orbs in peace and death,
So thy sick throes shake not that crucifix,
So those pale fingers play not with thy gore.
O, horrible! Thy name I will not speak,
It hath become a curse. I see, I see
The wise, the mild, the lofty, and the just,
Whom thy slaves hate for being like to thee,
Some hunted by foul lies from their heart's home,
An early-chosen, late-lamented home;
As hooded ounces cling to the driven hind;
Some linked to corpses in unwholesome cells:
Some—Hear I not the multitude laugh loud?—
Impaled in lingering fire: and mighty realms
Float by my feet, like sea-uprooted isles,
Whose sons are kneaded down in common blood
By the red light of their own burning homes.
[E.2 8v] FURY. Blood thou canst see, and fire; and canst
hear groans;
Worse things, unheard, unseen, remain behind.
PRO. Worse?
FURY. In each human heart terror survives

---

596 Thousand-fold E & E
SD a darkness floats slowly across the scene E
597 stare— E
598 lips— E Fr lips: M²
599 blood— E Fr blood,— L they <*sic*> tears! J
600 Fix fix E & death E death,— R
601 crucifix E
602 gore— E gore! R
603 O E R Fr thy E speak E speak— W speak; Fr
604 curse! R
605 The wise the mild the lofty & the just E lofty Fs
606 thee E
607 hearts E
608 home, E M² W L home,— R
610 cells E Fr cells; R W
611 hear E R W A L Fr loud? E
612 fire; W
613 feet E isles E
615 homes— E
616 see & E & E groans E groans: M² W L J groans:— R
617 *no punctuation* E things M Fs W L

---

596 [*Heap*] *Thousand-fold* In the SD: *floats* [*flo*] and *darkness* above [*shadow*]
598 [*that*] *those* *lips*— at first *lips:*
600 *Fix* added before [*O*] *fix*
602 *those* at first *thy*
610 Freeman read *unwholeesome* (*sic*) I believe that the ink went dry at *l* and that Shelley did not retrace the imperfect *e* exactly.
615 *599* Shelley's count, below *burning*

The ruin it has gorged: the loftiest fear
All that they would disdain to think were true:
Hypocrisy and custom make their minds
The fanes of many a worship, now outworn.
They dare not devise good for man's estate,
And yet they know not that they do not dare.
The good want power, but to weep barren tears.
The powerful goodness want: worse need for them.
The wise want love; and those who love want wisdom;
And all best things are thus confused to ill.
Many are strong and rich, and would be just,
But live among their suffering fellow-men
As if none felt: they know not what they do.
PRO. Thy words are like a cloud of winged snakes;
And yet I pity those they torture not.
[E.2 9v] FURY. Thou pitiest them? I speak no more!
[*Vanishes.*
PRO. Ah woe!
Ah woe! Alas! pain, pain ever, for ever!
I close my tearless eyes, but see more clear
Thy works within my woe-illumed mind,
Thou subtle tyrant! Peace is in the grave.
The grave hides all things beautiful and good:
I am a God and cannot find it there,

619 ravin E M Fs R H L J Fr ravine A gorged. The R
620 true. W
621 & E Custom R L
622 worship Fs R
623 mans estate E
625 power R tears: E R Fr
626 want,— R want; W them E them: R them; Fr
627 love, & E love: R love, Fr wisdom: R
628 ill E
629 & & E rich,— E L rich— Fr just— E L Fr
630 fellow men E
631 felt— E Fr felt; W felt:— L
632 snakes E
633 yet, E A Fr yet— L not E
634 SD Exit E ah woe E
635 pain pain ever forever? E pain, pain, ever, R forever! W L for ever? Fr
637 woe-illumined M R J woe illumined Fs mind E mind. Fr
638 tyrant . . . . peace is in the grave— E Tyrant! Fs R tyrant! . . L grave: R grave— L
639 & good— E good. R W
640 god Fs God, R & E there— E *there*, R <*there*,— R²> there. L there: Fr

619 *ravin*[*e*] Forman's retention of *ruin* (without comment) undoubtedly prevented more general acceptance of the change before Hutchinson.
best
628 *And* [*so*] *all* ∧ *things*
633 *617* Shelley's count, below *not*
634 *I speak no*[*t!*] *more! ah woe* [*is me*]
637 *woe-illuminèd* in Koszul.

Nor would I seek it: for, though dread revenge,
This is defeat, fierce king, not victory.
The sights with which thou torturest gird my soul
With new endurance, till the hour arrives
When they shall be no types of things which are. [645]
PAN. Alas! what sawest thou?
PRO. There are two woes;
To speak, and to behold; thou spare me one.
Names are there, Nature's sacred watch-words, they
Were borne aloft in bright emblazonry;
The nations thronged around, and cried aloud, [650]
[E.2 10v] As with one voice, Truth, liberty, and love!
Suddenly fierce confusion fell from heaven
Among them: there was strife, deceit, and fear:
Tyrants rushed in, and did divide the spoil.
This was the shadow of the truth I saw. [655]
THE EARTH. I felt thy torture, son, with such
mixed joy
As pain and virtue give. To cheer thy state
I bid ascend those subtle and fair spirits,

---

641 it. For, E Fr it; W revenge E
642 defeat Fierce King not victory! E king! M R King! Fs Fierce King, not victory! A Fr King, not victory! L
644 endurence, <*sic*> E
645 are E
646 thou more? E H-Fr woes E woes: M Fs R D H L Fr woes— W
647 speak E M Fs W L behold:—R one E
648 there Fs Natures sacred watchwords— E watchwords: R watchwords, Fs H watch-words,— L watchwords— Fr they, M²
649 emblazonry E
650 And nations E & cried aloud E aloud Fr
651 voice—truth liberty & love— E "Truth, liberty and love!" Fs "Truth, Liberty, and Love!" R L Liberty, and Love! W
652 Heaven E L Fr
653 them—there was strife deceit & fear; E them; W deceit Fs fear; W L Fr
654 in Fr & E spoil E
655 saw— E
656 torture Son, E son; H Son, L
657 Pain and Virtue Fr & Virtue give— E give.— L state, R
658 & fair spirits E spirits Fs Fr Spirits R

---

642 A caret after *defeat* directs to *Fierce King* above the line. *not victory!* [*to*]
643 The initial *s* of *sights* at first some indistinguishable letter.
646 Locock said that *more* was added later in E.2, but if so no question mark was originally placed after *thou* *thou* and the question mark are heavier, however. Possibly Shelley left a blank between *thou* and the question mark which he later filled with *more* I do not agree with Zupitza that *more* is "absolutely necessary" to the meter, but I do agree with Freeman that in view of the context it is "reasonable" (Text, p. 45).
649 *born* in Cuningham and Shepherd.
650 Freeman defended 1820 as "more emphatic," and as not likely to be the rest). of an error in transcription (Text, p. 45).
657 *T* of *To* at first *I*

Whose homes are the dim caves of human thought,
And who inhabit, as birds wing the wind,
Its world-surrounding ether: they behold
Beyond that twilight realm, as in a glass,
The future: may they speak comfort to thee!
PAN. Look, sister, where a troop of spirits gather,
Like flocks of clouds in spring's delightful weather,
Thronging in the blue air!
IONE. And see! more come,
Like fountain-vapours when the winds are dumb,
[E.2 11v] That climb up the ravine in scattered lines.
And, hark? is it the music of the pines?
Is it the lake? Is it the waterfall?
PAN. 'Tis something sadder, sweeter far than all.

CHORUS OF SPIRITS.

From unremembered ages we
Gentle guides and guardians be
Of heaven-oppressed mortality;
And we breathe, and sicken not,
The atmosphere of human thought:
Be it dim, and dank, and grey,

---

659 thought E
661 It's E ether; and they see E A ether. They R ether; W L Fr
662 glass E
663 future— E Fr future; W thee E
664 Look Sister E Spirits R gather E
665 Spring's R L delighful <*sic*> weather E weather R
666 air— E Fr see more come E
667 dumb E
668 lines E
669 And hark! E M Fs R W A L Fr And, hark! Fo D H J
670 is it the water fall? E is it the waterfall? R L Fr
671 sweeter, R <sweeter R^2>
SD Chorus of Spirits of the Mind. R
673 & E
674 Heaven-oppressed mortality— E Heaven-oppressed Mortality. R <heaven-oppressed Mortality. R^2> Heaven-oppressed mortality! L Heaven-oppressed Fr mortality! M^2
675 & sicken E
677 dim & dank & grey E dim and dank Fs R *no punctuation* Fr

---

659 *homes* above [*lairs*]
660 There is a clear semicolon after *inhabit* but the dot was probably accidental.
662 *Beyond* above [*Within*]
664 *649* Shelley's count, below *Look* Freeman suggested that Shelley paused here to bring his line count up to date, since the number is here rather than, as usual, at the bottom of the page. A correct Shelleyan count would give *649* to the next line, as may be intended (since the number is between the two lines), but if this is done the next count is in error.
669 Actually *hark.*|.
674 Shelley appears to have made a false start on *m* of *mortality* and then to have blotted it out and started the word at the edge of the blot. The blotted letter may be something other than *m* however.

Like a storm-extinguished day,
Travelled o'er by dying gleams;
Be it bright as all between
Cloudless skies and windless streams,
Silent, liquid, and serene;
As the birds within the wind,
As the fish within the wave,
As the thoughts of man's own mind
Float thro' all above the grave;
[E.2 12v] We make these our liquid lair,
Voyaging cloudlike and unpent
Thro' the boundless element:
Thence we bear the prophecy
Which begins and ends in thee!

IONE. More yet come, one by one: the air around them
Looks radiant as the air around a star.

FIRST SPIRIT.
On a battle-trumpet's blast
I fled hither, fast, fast, fast,
'Mid the darkness upward cast.

678 day E R Fr
679 oer E gleams: M² L
681 & windless streams <*sic*> E
682 Silent liquid & serene— E liquid Fs serene. R
683 wind E
684 wave E wave. Fs
686 through E M grave E grave: M² R L
687 there, E there M-Fr lair E
688 cloud like & E
689 Thro E Through M element— E element. R
691 & E
692 one by one, E one by one; Fs W
693 radiant like E A star E
SD 1st Spirit E
695 hither fast fast fast E
696 Mid E cast— E cast Fr

682 An apparent comma after *serene* in Hutchinson (1905) was, from its position, almost certainly broken type, and was corrected to a semicolon in the 1933 printing.

686 *671* Shelley's count (in error for 667), below *Float* He carried this error to text line 745.

688 [*pe*] *unpent* Zupitza queried [*pr*] and Freeman read [*fre*] I believe that it was a false start on *pent* for *unpent*

694 [*On*] in line with the margin for Ione's speech. Shelley then restarted the line at the indention. Freeman's suggestion that *trumpet's* may have "started out to be" *trampled* is untenable. The *u* is clearly open. I do believe that Shelley first put *a* for *e* and covered it with a rather high *e* which Freeman mistook for *l*

695 Locock suggested that the full stop at *cast* (which is indefinite in the MS) might be transposed to close line 695. "We should then get the construction 'mingled . . . 'mid' " (see line 700). He compared "and mingled far away,/'Mid the warm winds of the sunny day" (*Rosalind and Helen* 966-67).

From the dust of creeds outworn,
From the tyrant's banner torn,
Gathering 'round me, onward borne,
There was mingled many a cry—
Freedom! Hope! Death! Victory!
Till they faded thro' the sky;
And one sound, above, around,
One sound beneath, around, above,
Was moving; 'twas the soul of love;
[E.2 13v] 'Twas the hope, the prophecy,
Which begins and ends in thee.

---

697 outworn E
698 tyrants E torn E torn. H² Fr
699 round E M borne E
700 cry E
701 Freedom, Hope, Death E "Freedom!" "Hope!" "Death!" "Victory!" Fs "Freedom! R Victory!" R
702 thro E through M sky E sky. R
703 sound M Fs W L above around E
704 sound, R beneath around above E
705 moving: Fs twas E love E Love; R H Fr
706 Twas the hope the prophecy E prophecy Fr
707 & E thee E

---

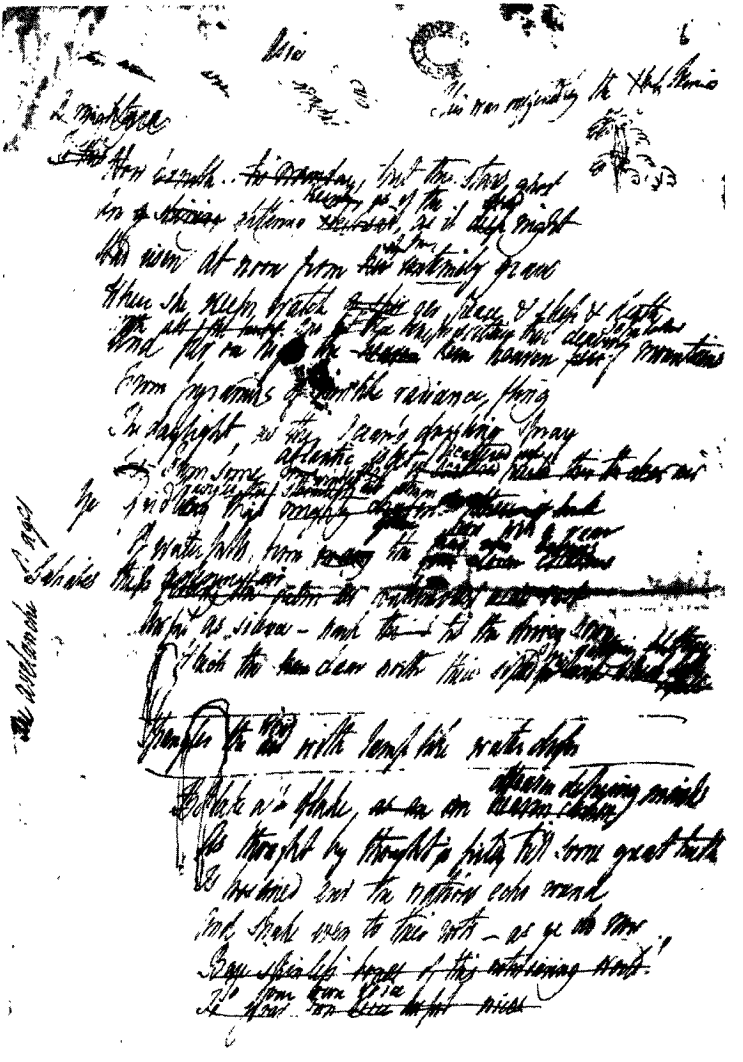
698 Hutchinson's *torn.* was changed to *torn,* in the 1933 reprinting.

705 *690* Shelley's count, in the lower left-hand corner of the page.

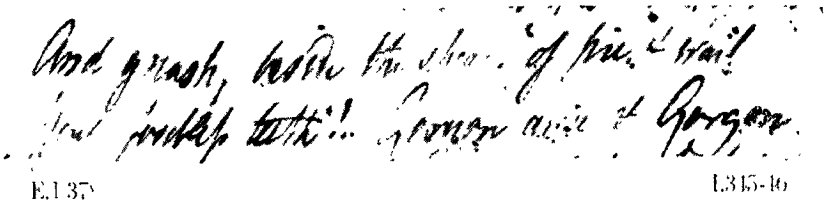
707 Below this line is the following passage, deleted (except for *2d Spirit*) by a single vertical line down the center, and with a vertical line down the left margin. One of the deleted lines was erroneously included in Shelley's count (or the error may have been gratuitous):

2d Spirit
[I leaped on the wings of the Earth-star damp
As it rose on the steam of a slaughtered camp—
The sleeping newt heard not our tramp
as the wing of fire may pass
As swift [and silent we did pass]
We threaded
[Among] the points of long thick grass
Which hide the green pools of the morass
But shook a water-serpents couch
In a cleft skull, of many such
The widest; at the meteors touch
The snake did seem to see in dream
Thrones & dungeons overthrown
AVisions <*sic*>how unlike his own . . . .
'Twas the hope the prophecy
Which begins & ends in thee]

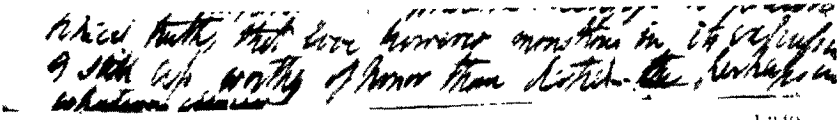
In line 5 Freeman read *thicks* but the supposed *s* is merely a slight pen drag. In line 9 we apparently have *meteor,* the comma being very definite. The sense, of course, calls for *meteors* [*meteor's*] and the effect may have resulted from a slight lift of the pen as the *s* was made. In line 12 Shelley appears to have written *A vision* and then to have converted the *v* to a crowded *V* and added *s* without deleting the *A*



Bodleian MS Shelley Additions c. 4, Folio 6, II.iii.28-42. From Shelley's drafts

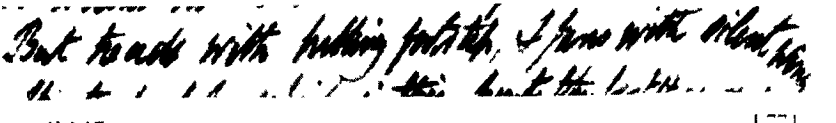


E.1 37v I.345-46

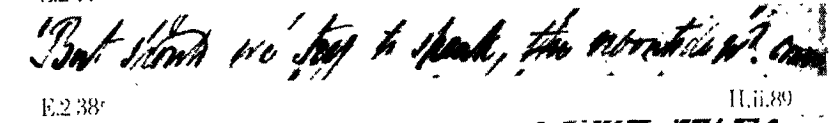


E.1 38r I.349

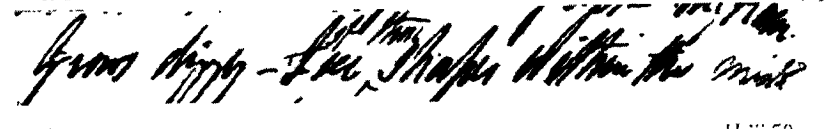
E.2 3v I.540



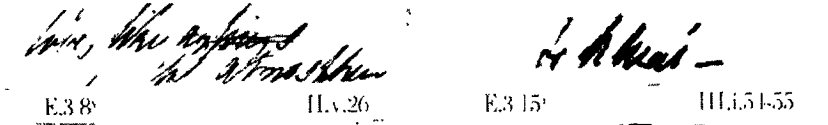
E.2 17v I.771



E.2 38r II.ii.89



E.2 39v II.iii.50



E.3 8v II.v.26 E.3 15v III.i.54-55

E.3 27r III.iii.138 E.1 2r IV. Heading

E.1 29r IV.183 E.1 8r IV.208

E.1 13v IV.120

Debatable readings from Bodleian MSS Shelley E.1, 2, 3

SECOND SPIRIT.

A rainbow's arch stood on the sea,
Which rocked beneath, immoveably;
[E.2 14v] And the triumphant storm did flee, [710]
Like a conqueror, swift and proud,
Between with many a captive cloud
A shapeless, dark and rapid crowd,
Each by lightning riven in half:
I heard the thunder hoarsely laugh: [715]
Mighty fleets were strewn like chaff
And spread beneath a hell of death
O'er the white waters. I alit
On a great ship lightning-split,
And speeded hither on the sigh [720]
Of one who gave an enemy
His plank, then plunged aside to die

SD 2d Spirit E
708 rainbows E sea E R
709 rock'd M <rocked M²>
710 Storm E L flee E R Fr
711 (Like R conqueror E Fr & E proud) R
712 Between, E Fo D H L J Fr Between,— R Begirt W cloud, R-Fr[A]
713 shapeless E dark, R & rapid crowd E
714 half— E Fr half. R W
715 laugh— E Fr laugh. W
716 strown Fs chaff, R
717 beneath, E R Fr death, R Fr
718 Oer E waters— E
719 lightning-split E lightning-split; R
722 plank— E Fr plank,— L
die E die. M-Fr

708-12 Rossetti defended his punctuation as making *Between* reasonable ("the storm did flee *between*—or through the arch of—the rainbow"). But he questioned whether the word should not be *Bestrewn* He omitted the conjecture in R² after Blind's confirmation of *Between* Forman felt that *Between* was correct because Shelley used it for *through* in "Between one foliaged lattice twinkling fair" (*Alastor* 464), and had used this identical image in "The triumphal arch through which I march" (*The Cloud* 67). He added that *Between* might even mean between arch and sea; but he felt that commas after *Between* and *cloud* were "absolutely necessary to the sense."

708 SD: *2* is very light, but it must have been written over the heavy *3* which still dominates.

709 *708* Shelley's count, made before the above deletion following line 707, precedes this line.

711 Shelley apparently started to write *the* instead of *a* but before crossing the *t* or adding the *he* he put *a* beside the *t* stroke.

712 There is a faint mark, like a comma placed slightly high, after *Between* *Begirt* was probably a typographical error in Woodberry, since he referred to *Between* in his notes, but it was carried into his Cambridge Edition (1901) without correction.

717 Barnard felt that the line was unintelligible without punctuation, and he adopted the commas after *beneath* and *death* thus making *spread* parallel with *strewn* and *beneath* an adverb, as well as *a hell of death* in apposition with *fleets*

722 *die* without period *sic* in 1820.

THIRD SPIRIT.

I sate beside a sage's bed,
And the lamp was burning red
Near the book where he had fed,
When a Dream with plumes of flame,
To his pillow hovering came,
[E.2 15v] And I knew it was the same
Which had kindled long ago
Pity, eloquence, and woe;
And the world awhile below
Wore the shade, its lustre made.
It has born me here as fleet
As Desire's lightning feet:
I must ride it back ere morrow,
Or the sage will wake in sorrow.

FOURTH SPIRIT.

On a poet's lips I slept
Dreaming like a love-adept
In the sound his breathing kept;
Nor seeks nor finds he mortal blisses,
But feeds on the aerial kisses
Of shapes that haunt thought's wildernesses.
He will watch from dawn to gloom

SD 3d E
723 bed E
725 fed E fed; R L fed. Fr
726 dream E Fr flame E Fs R W L Fr
727 came E came. Fs R
730 Pity eloquence & woe E eloquence Fs
732 shade M Fs R W A L Fr made E
733 borne E M-Fr[Fo1]
734 Desires E feet E feet; W Fs
735 morrow E
736 sorrow E
SD 4th E
737 Poets E Poet's L slept, R
738 love adept Fs
739 kept. R
740 blisses E
741 aërial M-Fr[A J]
742 thoughts wilderness E Thought's

---

723 SD: *3d.* written heavily over *4th.*

724 *a lamp* in Koszul

725 Rossetti felt that this was "a most slovenly expression" that could mean "the book in or from which he had fed his mind." He thought that *whence* would be better, but surmised that Shelley first wrote "where he had *read*" and changed it in view of *red* in line 724, without making the change in *where* necessary to conciliate it with *fed*

733 *born sic* in 1820.

736 Inasmuch as *4th.* below stands without change, Zupitza suggested that Shelley must have decided to delete the speech on 13v by the time he changed *4th.* to *3d.* above. Freeman noted that he could have decided on deletion no later than the present line.

742 *wilderness* rather than the riming *wildernesses* probably resulted from crowding the word into the margin.

The lake-reflected sun illume
The yellow bees in the ivy-bloom, [745]
[E.2 16v] Nor heed nor see, what things they be;
But from these create he can
Forms more real than living man,
Nurslings of immortality!
One of these awakened me, [750]
And I sped to succour thee.

IONE.

Behold'st thou not two shapes from the east and west
Come, as two doves to one beloved nest,
[E.2 17r] Twin nurslings of the all-sustaining air
On swift still wings glide down the atmosphere? [755]
[E.2 16v] And, hark! their sweet, sad voices! 'tis despair
Mingled with love and then dissolved in sound.

PANTHEA.

Canst thou speak, sister? all my words are drowned.

IONE. Their beauty gives me voice. See how they
float

---

745 i the ivy-bloom E i' A L Fr ivy bloom Fs
746 see Fs R W L Fr be E be: R
748 man E
749 immortality!— E L immortality. R
750 me E
751 thee E
752 Beholdst E East & west E
753 Come M² Come? R nest E
754 all sustaining E air, R W L
755 atmosphere E atmosphere. R
756 And hark—their sweet sad voices, tis E And Fs R Fr sweet M² R W L J voices; Fr
757 love, & E love, R Fr sound— E
758 speak E drowned E

---

744 Possibly *Sun*

745 *731* Shelley's count (in error for 726), in the lower left-hand corner of the page. He carried this error to the end of the act. *bees i*[*n*]

746 *h* of *heed* at first something else. Zupitza suggested *d* It may have been *a* If it was *d* the upstrokes of *d* and *h* coincide.

751 *737* Shelley's count, precedes this line. The next passage was written with a different pen, suggesting that he brought his count up to this line and continued writing later.

753 *two* at first *twin* This line is followed by:

[Sink through the lapses of the yielding air?—]

The present lines 754-55 are in heavier ink, which Zupitza thought was used also for the above deletion. I see no evidence of this.

756 *voices* appears to have been followed by an exclamation point, the upper part of which may be deleted by a slanting line. Then a comma was inserted, but the dot of the exclamation is in a position to make this a semicolon. Shelley apparently intended either a comma or a semicolon.

758 [*wor*]*ds* with a light cancel line. Shelley apparently then decided to leave the word here and cancel it in the next line. 759 *voice* above [*words*].

On their sustaining wings of skiey grain,
Orange and azure deepening into gold:
Their soft smiles light the air like a star's fire.

CHORUS OF SPIRITS.

Hast thou beheld the form of Love?

[E.2 17v] FIFTH SPIRIT.

As over wide dominions
I sped, like some swift cloud that wings the wide air's wildernesses,
That planet-crested shape swept by on lightning-braided pinions,
Scattering the liquid joy of life from his ambrosial tresses:
His footsteps paved the world with light; but as I past 'twas fading,
And hollow Ruin yawned behind: great sages bound in madness,
And headless patriots, and pale youths who perished, unupbraiding,
Gleamed in the night. I wandered o'er, till thou, O King of sadness,

760 grain E Fr
761 & azure, E azure, Fr deepning <*sic*> E A deep'ning Fr gold E gold! W
762 Thier <*sic*> sad E fire E
763 love? D
SD 5th Spirit E
764 wildernesses E
765 Shape E Fs W L lightning braided J pinions E
766 from thine immortal slumber Dr tresses. W
767 pave Dr light— E Fr light. But, R passed, R fading E
768 ruin R behind—great Sages E behind; W madness E
769 patriots & E patriots Fs Fr perished unupbraiding E Fr perished Fs R
770 Night E L night A Fr o'er—till thou o E o'er— L king of Sadness, Fs sadness E Fr Sadness, R

762 I believe that *sad* was at first *soft* but the reverse may be true.

763 SD: [*5th Spirit*] *Chorus of Spirits* Shelley wrote small enough to get these long lines down with only two doublings, but the result is a crowded page.

765 *Shape* at first *shape*

766 *Scattering* may have been *Scattered* at first. For a transcription of Shelley's draft of this and the next line see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

767 *light!* at first, then a heavy dash was drawn through the *!*

770 I am inclined to agree with Locock that Shelley uses a capital *N* ("showing that the 'Night' is the metaphorical Night caused by 'Love's shadow' "), but the point is debatable. Forman felt that the full stop at *night* "subverts what I conceive to be the sense. . . . I believe the Spirit is meant to be speaking of the night over which it wandered, using 'night' to describe the darkened wildernesses of air from which the light of Love was fading." Alexander noted this conjecture and pointed out that 1820 as punctuated would mean "I continued my wanderings."

Turned by thy smile the worst I saw to recollected
gladness.

SIXTH SPIRIT.

Ah, sister! Desolation is a delicate thing:
It walks not on the earth, it floats not on the air,
But treads with silent footstep, and fans with silent
wing
The tender hopes which in their hearts the best and
gentlest bear; [775]
Who, soothed to false repose by the fanning plumes above
And the music-stirring motion of its soft and busy feet,
Dream visions of aërial joy, and call the monster, Love,
And wake, and find the shadow Pain, as he whom now
we greet.

CHORUS.

Tho' Ruin now Love's shadow be, [780]

---

771 Turn'st R gladness E
SD 6th Spirit E
772 Ah desolation Dr Ah sister, E Ah Sister! R thing E
773 For it walks Dr Earth E air E
774 But seeks with unfelt footsteps Dr lulling footstep, E H L J Fr killing footstep, Fo R^2 D W A & E wing, R
775 The soft hopes Dr & E bear E bear, Fr
776 Who E above, M Fs R A L J
777 & busy E
778 aerial E A & E monster R Fr Love E
779 And die like early flowers when the winds that waked them, fleet Dr their shadow Pain— E their shadow pain, Fr Pain,— L whom we now R^2 greet E
780 Though E M Loves E be E R <be, R^2>

---

771 Rossetti held that "grammar protests against" *Turn'd* and he chose *Turn'st* rather than *Turn'dst* for euphony. Forman answered that "euphony and truth to Shelley both 'protest against' *turn'st*." Ackermann compared "Thou lovest—but ne'er knew" (*To a Skylark* 80).

772-79 For a transcription of Shelley's draft of these lines see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

774 Blind read E as *killing* (for *silent*) ("Shelley"), which was accepted by Scott, R^2, and Forman (who was followed by Scudder, Alexander, Dickinson, and Dole), and not corrected by Zupitza. Locock, prompted by a "nocturnal conjecture, later verified," gave *lulling* which is almost certainly correct. See illustration, facing p. 173.

776 Draft at first: *and lulled to false repose* E: *Who* above ['*Till*,]

777 Draft at first: *And the dream inspiring motion* Then: *And the music stirring tramping*

779 Draft at first: *And wake and dream no more* Then: *to live the dreamless sleepless death of life* E: Freeman felt that *their* was at first some other word. I see no evidence of this. *he* above [*him*] with the *e* of *he* either altered or over an irrelevant mark on the page. Freeman suggested a possible change to *his* but there is no dot for an *i*

780 SD: *Chorus* below [5th]

Following him, destroyingly,
On Death's white and winged steed,
Which the fleetest cannot flee,
Trampling down both flower and weed,
[E.2 18v] Man and beast, and foul and fair, [785]
Like a tempest thro' the air;
Thou shalt quell this horseman grim,
Woundless though in heart or limb.

PRO. Spirits! how know ye this shall be?

CHORUS.
In the atmosphere we breathe, [790]
As buds grow red when the snow-storms flee,
From spring gathering up beneath,
Whose mild winds shake the elder brake,
And the wandering herdsmen know
That the white-thorn soon will blow: [795]
Wisdom, Justice, Love, and Peace,
When they struggle to increase,
Are to us as soft winds be
To shepherd boys, the prophecy
Which begins and ends in thee. [800]

IONE. Where are the Spirits fled?

---

781 him destroyingly E R Fr him L
782 death's M^2 & E steed E R Fo^2
783 flee— E Fr flee,— L
784 & weed E
785 beast & E & fair E
786 thro E through M air. Fs
787 Horseman grim E Horseman L Fr
788 limb.— E Fr
789 Spirits E Spirits, Fr be E
790 breathe E R^2
791 (As R red, W when snow-storms flee E L Fr when snow-storms A J flee R
792 Spring Fs R H L Fr beneath E Fr
793 shake, E elder-brake, M^2 R W L brake E
794 herdsman L
795 blow— E L Fr blow) R
796 *no punctuation* E Love Fs & E
797 increase E
799 shepherd-boys— E Fr shepherd-boys, Fs shepherd-boys R^2 shepherd-boys,— L
800 & E thee E
SD They vanish E
801 spirits E Fs

---

784 *769* Shelley's count, in the lower left-hand corner of the page.
789 There is a thickened base on the *t* upstroke of *this* which Freeman thought resulted from *t* over *s*
791 *st* of *storms* at first *w* Freeman felt that *the* "makes the metre limp, is unjustifiable, and unnecessary" (Text, p. 45).
796 *Love* at first *love*
800 The SD was added later in faint ink.
801 SD: [*Panthea*] *Ione* *786* Shelley's count, below *Where*

[E.2 19v] PANTHEA.

Only a sense
Remains of them, like the omnipotence
Of music, when the inspired voice and lute
Languish, ere yet the responses are mute,
Which thro' the deep and labyrinthine soul,
Like echoes thro' long caverns, wind and roll.

PRO. How fair these air-born shapes! and yet I feel
Most vain all hope but love; and thou art far,
Asia! who, when my being overflowed,
Wert like a golden chalice to bright wine
Which else had sunk into the thirsty dust.
All things are still: alas! how heavily
This quiet morning weighs upon my heart;
Tho' I should dream I could even sleep with grief
If slumber were denied not. I would fain
Be what it is my destiny to be,
The saviour and the strength of suffering man,
Or sink into the original gulph of things:
There is no agony, and no solace left;
[E.2 20v] Earth can console, Heaven can torment no more.
PAN. Hast thou forgotten one who watches thee
The cold dark night, and never sleeps but when
The shadow of thy spirit falls on her?

---

802 them; R Omnipotence E
803 music E R Fr & E
804 reponses <*sic*> E mute E R Fr
805 thro E through M & E soul E M² Fr
806 through E M caverns wind & roll E
807 airborn D H shapes; & E shapes; Fr And R
808 love, & E love, Fr love! And R far E
809 who E overflowed E
811 dust E
812 still—alas E still. Alas! R W still— Fr
813 heart! Fs R
814 Though E M dream, E L Fr
grief, M Fs R W A L
815 not . . E not. . . L
816 to be E
817 & E man E
818 gulf M things . . . E things. R W things. . . L things. . . . Fr
819 agony—no solace left E agony—no Fr agony Fs R
820 torment, R more E
822 & E

---

804 In ink: *repon* (*sic*) above [*echoes are*] In pencil: *ere* above [*though*] *ses* added to *repon* and *are* above [*not*]

819 *804* Shelley's count, below *There* It is possible, as Freeman suggested, that the [*&*] in *agony* [*&*] *no solace* was rewritten after being stroked out. He was inconsistent, however, in stating elsewhere that it was written and struck out twice (Text, p. 45).

823 *spirit*[*s*]

PRO. I said all hope was vain but love: thou lovest.
PAN. Deeply in truth; but the eastern star looks white,
And Asia waits in that far Indian vale
The scene of her sad exile; rugged once
And desolate and frozen, like this ravine;
But now invested with fair flowers and herbs,
And haunted by sweet airs and sounds, which flow
Among the woods and waters, from the ether
Of her transforming presence, which would fade
If it were mingled not with thine. Farewell!

END OF THE FIRST ACT.

---

824 love—thou lovest . . . E love; W love—thou lovest. . . . Fr
825 Deeply In truth— E truth. But R Eastern E L Fr looks wan E wan, A
826 vale, R W H Fr
827 exile— E L Fr
828 & frozen E frozen Fr
829 & herbs E
830 & sounds, E sounds R
831 & waters: E
832 presence— E L
833 thine—farewell E
SD *omitted* E R W L Fr

---

824 This line is followed by:
[But the eastern star is pale]
825 *Deeply* above *In truth* [*most deeply*] *looks wan* above [*is pale*]
827 This line developed as follows:
The scene of her sad exile—[the her presence
Makes fruits & flowers & sunwarm winds, & sounds smooth oer]
rugged once
Freeman read *oer* as *eer* I believe erroneously. The deleted line was not included in Shelley's count.
833 *818* Shelley's count, below *If*

Shelley's count for this act may be summarized as follows: He made six different errors in counting (see notes at lines 59, 498, 535, 577, 686, and 745), resulting in his 818 being an overcount of five. In addition, he sometimes did and sometimes did not compensate for deletions and additions (see notes at lines 195, 594-96, 707, and 827). Following is a comparison of the actual count and Shelley's count for the act:

	Actual	Shelley	
Verso totals	826	818	(includes 3 added lines from E.2 8[r])
		5	(overcount error)
		813	
Deletions	31	15	(16 of the 31 accounted for in his 818)
	795	798	
Recto additions	38	35	(3 of the 38 included in his 818)
Lines in printed act	833	833	

[E.2 21v]

ACT II.

SCENE I.

MORNING. A LOVELY VALE IN THE INDIAN CAUCASUS. ASIA ALONE.

ASIA. From all the blasts of heaven thou hast descended:
Yes, like a spirit, like a thought, which makes
Unwonted tears throng to the horny eyes,
And beatings haunt the desolated heart,
Which should have learnt repose: thou hast descended [5]
Cradled in tempests; thou dost wake, O Spring!
O child of many winds! As suddenly
Thou comest as the memory of a dream,
Which now is sad because it hath been sweet;
Like genius, or like joy which riseth up [10]
As from the earth, clothing with golden clouds
The desert of our life.

SD Act 2. Scene Morning—a E lonely M Fs R<lovely R^2> Caucasus—. Asia alone E
1 Heaven E L Fr descended—E A Fr descended! R descended; W
2 Yes E thought E R Fr
3 eyes E
4 heart E R Fr
5 repose— E Fr repose, R repose; W descended, R
6 tempests E wake o Spring E
7 winds . . E winds . . . Fr
8 dream E R Fr
10 genius E Fr joy, R
11 Earth E Earth, L Fr
12 desart E life. . . . E life.— R life . . . A life. . . L life. . . . Fr

---

SD A caret after *a* directs to *lovely* above the line. *alone* added with finer pen. Cunningham followed M in *lonely* but Scott did not follow R^1 in this detail, probably because Blind had confirmed the E reading. For the first speech Shelley wrote *Asia.* contrary to his custom of omitting the period after the names of characters.

7 *As* at first *as*

10 *or* at first *of*

12 Julian gave *desart* for Mrs. Shelley's edition. It is *desert* in the issues I have examined. Forman suggested that Shelley's object was to distinguish *desart* as noun

This is the season, this the day, the hour;
At sunrise thou shouldst come, sweet sister mine,
Too long desired, too long delaying, come!
[E.2 22r] How like death-worms the wingless moments crawl!
[E.2 21v] The point of one white star is quivering still
[E.2 22v] Deep in the orange light of widening morn
Beyond the purple mountains: thro' a chasm
Of wind-divided mist the darker lake
Reflects it: now it wanes: it gleams again
As the waves fade, and as the burning threads
Of woven cloud unravel in pale air:
'Tis lost! and thro' yon peaks of cloudlike snow
The roseate sun-light quivers: hear I not
The Æolian music of her sea-green plumes
Winnowing the crimson dawn?

PANTHEA ENTERS.

I feel, I see
Those eyes which burn thro' smiles that fade in tears,
Like stars half quenched in mists of silver dew.
Beloved and most beautiful, who wearest
The shadow of that soul by which I live,
How late thou art! the sphered sun had climbed
The sea; my heart was sick with hope, before

---

13 season this the day the hour, E
14 come E Sister mine; R mine . . . E L Fr
15 desired E delaying come . . . E come. . . . Fr
19 mountains; through E Fr mountains; W A L through M
21 it— E Fr it; M Fs W it. Now R wanes— E Fr wanes; M Fs W
22 & E
23 air. . . . E air. R air; W air . . . L air. . . . Fr
24 Tis E & through E through M
cloud-like M Fs R W H L
25 sunrise quivers— E Fr sunlight quivers. Hear R sunlight quivers; W sunlight Fs D H L sunrise A
26 eolian E A seagreen E
27 see, R
28 thro E through M tears E Fr
29 half-quenched M Fs R W dew— E Fr
30 & E
31 live E
32 art; E Fr
33 sea, E

---

from *desert* as adjective. He felt that the inconsistencies in this to be found in *Prometheus Unbound* are chargeable to the printer and to Peacock, who oversaw the printing.

15 *long*[-]*desired* An insertion mark below *come* . . . indicates the location of line 16.

16 This line was added later, since Shelley's count does not include it, and it is in different ink from lines 15, 17, and Shelley's count.

17 *16* Shelley's count, below *The point*

18 *widening* above [*widern*]

25 Freeman preferred *sunrise* because the many *r* repetitions in the line "make the line itself quiver" (Text, p. 46).

The printless air felt thy belated plumes.
PAN. Pardon, great Sister! but my wings were faint
With the delight of a remembered dream,
[E.2 23v] As are the noon-tide plumes of summer winds
Satiate with sweet flowers. I was wont to sleep
[E.2 24r] Peacefully, and awake refreshed and calm
Before the sacred Titan's fall, and thy
Unhappy love, had made, thro' use and pity,
Both love and woe familiar to my heart
As they had grown to thine: erewhile I slept
[E.2 23v] Under the glaucous caverns of old Ocean
Within dim bowers of green and purple moss,
Our young Ione's soft and milky arms
Locked then, as now, behind my dark, moist hair,
While my shut eyes and cheek were pressed within
The folded depth of her life-breathing bosom:
But not as now, since I am made the wind

---

35 sister! Fs 36 dream E Fr
37 noontide E Fs-Fr[Fo J]
39 & calm E calm, Fs R W
40 fall Fs W thine E A
41 love Fs W made through E A Fr through M & pity E pity A Fr
42 & E heart, R
43 yours . . . E A thine. Erewhile R
thine . . . Erewhile L thine . . . Fr
45 & E moss; E L Fr moss,— R
46 & E
47 then as now E Fr dark moist hair E dark R
48 & E
49 bosom . . . E L Fr
50 now E now,— R

---

35 *great* at first *Great* *Sister* at first *sister*
36 *t* of *the* at first *d*
38-39 These lines were originally:
Satiate with sweet flowers. [I slept peacefully
Before thine exile & his grievous woe]
The last part of the present 38 is also on 24r, where the lines were written later.
38 *to* above the line.
41-42 These lines developed as follows:
had made through
Unhappy love, [and ere by] use & pity
familiar to my heart
Both love & woe [had grown mine own . . I slept]
[my hearts own mates]
through is in pencil, and *I slept* is deleted in pencil.
43 *had* at first *have* Freeman thought that *had* was changed to *have* and then back to *had* but I find no evidence of this. *I slept* in pencil.
44 *Under* above [*Within*]
50-55 Rossetti supposed that this passage, "by no means perspicuous," was printed as Shelley intended, but in R2 he agreed with the suggestion of "B. V." (James Thomson) that at line 54 *Is* for *Was* "would simplify the flow of the passage."
50 *But* started as something else. Freeman thought *Yet* I believe that Shelley started *N* (anticipating *not*) and then wrote the *B* over it. There is no *e* under the *u*

Which fails beneath the music that I bear
Of thy most wordless converse; since dissolved
Into the sense with which love talks, my rest
Was troubled and yet sweet; my waking hours
Too full of care and pain.
ASIA. Lift up thine eyes, [55]
And let me read thy dream.
PAN. As I have said
With our sea-sister at his feet I slept.
The mountain mists, condensing at our voice
Under the moon, had spread their snowy flakes,
From the keen ice shielding our linked sleep. [60]
[E.2 24v] Then two dreams came. One, I remember not.
But in the other his pale wound-worn limbs
Fell from Prometheus, and the azure night
Grew radiant with the glory of that form
Which lives unchanged within, and his voice fell [65]
Like music which makes giddy the dim brain,
Faint with intoxication of keen joy:
" Sister of her whose footsteps pave the world
" With loveliness—more fair than aught but her,
" Whose shadow thou art—lift thine eyes on me." [70]
I lifted them: the overpowering light
Of that immortal shape was shadowed o'er
By love; which, from his soft and flowing limbs,
And passion-parted lips, and keen, faint eyes,
Steamed forth like vaporous fire; an atmosphere [75]

---

52 since, R
54 & yet sweet— E sweet, R sweet,— L sweet— Fr
55 & E eyes E Fr
56 dream— E Fr said, M^2 Fs R W L Fr
57 Sea-sister R slept E
58 mountain-mists E mountain-mists, R^2
59 flakes E
60 sleep . . . E L sleep. . . . Fr
61 Dreams Fs One E R W Fr
62 other, his pale, E L Fr
63 Prometheus; R & E
65 within; R & E
66 dizzy E A brain E Fr
68 'Sister E *quotes beginning only* E; *beginning and end only* M
69 her E Fs Fr
70 me! E me!" Fr
71 them— E Fr them. The R them; W
72 oer E
73 which R & E limbs E Fr
74 & keen faint eyes E keen R
75 Steam'd E

---

51 *falls* in Cuningham.
55 *pain* at first *woe* or the reverse.
60 55 Shelley's count, below *the* There is no dot on the first *i* of *shielding* Shelley first wrote either *ei* or *ie* and then changed the letters.
69 *more* above [*thysel*]*fair* Cuningham transposed *With* and *Whose* in lines 69-70.

Which wrapt me in its all-dissolving power,
As the warm ether of the morning sun
Wraps ere it drinks some cloud of wandering dew.
I saw not, heard not, moved not, onlv felt
His presence flow and mingle thro' my blood [80]
Till it became his life, and his grew mine,
[E.2 25v] And I was thus absorb'd, until it past,
And like the vapours when the sun sinks down,
Gathering again in drops upon the pines,
And tremulous as they, in the deep night [85]
My being was condensed; and as the rays
Of thought were slowly gathered, I could hear
His voice, whose accents lingered ere they died
Like footsteps of weak melody: thy name
[E.2 26r] Among the many sounds alone I heard [90]
Of what might be articulate; tho' still
I listened through the night when sound was none.
[E.2 25v] IONE awakened then, and said to me:
" Canst thou divine what troubles me to night?

---

76 wrapped M power E Fr
78 dew E
79 not—heard not—moved not— E Fr moved not— Fs moved not; R moved not,— L only E-Fr
80 & E thro E through M blood, R
81 life & E life Fr mine E mine. R
82 absorbed— E Fr absorbed, M absorbed,— R absorbed:— L past E passed, M passed; R past,— L
83 And, R vapours, R down E
84 pines E
86 condensed, & E condensed, Fr and, R
88 as they died E A Fr
89 far melody thy name, E far L J Fr melody. Thy name, R melody; W
90 sounds, R heard, R
91 though E M
93 & E me E
94 to night E to-night? M-Fr[Fo¹ R²] <tonight? R²> *quotes beginning and end only* M

---

79 *onlv sic* in 1820. Possibly also *mv* for *my* in line 80.

81-86 Locock punctuated "to show that 'was condensed' goes with 'until,' just as 'was absorbed' goes with 'till.' Otherwise either or both might be taken as independent verbs."

81 *76* Shelley's count, below *became*

83 [*Then*] *And* *like* at first *as*

84 *Gathering* in pencil above [*Which hang*] deleted in pencil. [*on the*] *upon*

85 *And* above .[*So*].

89 *far melody* above [*lost music . . . but I heard*] Locock discovered the correct reading *far* A clear *w* precedes it, and there is evidence of other letters being overwritten. I agree with Locock that Shelley wrote *weak* and changed it to *far* probably because of II.ii.33, where *weak melody* occurs again. *lost* is deleted in pencil. This line was followed by:

[Among the many sounds, one word, thy name]

thy name, is repeated on 26r.

94 What appears to be a false mark from crossing of the *t* in *to* may be a hyphen.

" I always knew what I desired before, [95]
" Nor ever found delight to wish in vain.
" But now I cannot tell thee what I seek;
" I know not; something sweet, since it is sweet
" Even to desire; it is thy sport, false sister;
" Thou hast discovered some enchantment old, [100]
" Whose spells have stolen my spirit as I slept
" And mingled it with thine: for when just now
" We kissed, I felt within thy parted lips
" The sweet air that sustained me, and the warmth
[E.2 26v] " Of the life-blood, for loss of which I faint, [105]
" Quivered between our intertwining arms."
I answered not, for the Eastern star grew pale,
But fled to thee.
ASIA. Thou speakest, but thy words
Are as the air: I feel them not: Oh, lift
Thine eyes, that I may read his written soul! [110]

---

95 before E
96 vain E vain; Fr
97 seek E seek: R
98 not—something sweet E Fr not: Fs
99 desire— E Fr desire. It R sport false sister! E sister! L Fr
100 inchantment old E inchantment L old Fr
101 slept, R
102 thine;— E thine; W Fr for, R
104 The E me; W & E
105 life-blood E R^2 Fr faint E R^2 Fr
106 Quivered E arms" E
107 far the J eastern Fs R pale E
108 thee E
109 air. E Fr air; W not.... oh E not. Oh! R<not. Oh R^2> not... Fr not... L oh Fs
110 eyes E Fr soul. E

---

98 [*yet it is**] above [*even—so sweet, that it is sweet*] The received half line, *something sweet since it is sweet* is opposite, on 26r, probably added later. * is an illegible word probably ending in *ing* but I believe not *killing* as Freeman suggested.

99 *thy* above [*some*] and *false sister!* above [*of thine*]

100 [*an*] above [*some*] with the latter underlined to indicate stet, probably after the change in line 99.

104 *97* Shelley's count, below *sustained* *The* without quotation mark.

106 There is one small dot before *Quivered* but I believe no intended quotation mark.

109 *Thou speakest, but thy words* above [*Lift up thine*]

110 *soul.* above [*spirit*] At this point the following passage (regarded by Locock as the "germ" of the "Life of Life" lyric at II.v.48-71) is deleted by a single firm line down the center of the page, with separate deletions as indicated:

[[Lift up thine] eyes [Panthea— —they pierce—they burn!]
Panthea
Alas I am consumed—I melt away
The fire is in my heart—
Asia
Thine eyes burn burn!—
Hide them within thine hair
Panthea
O quench thy lips

[E.2 27v] PAN. I lift them tho' they droop beneath the load
Of that they would express: what canst thou see
But thine own fairest shadow imaged there?
ASIA. Thine eyes are like the deep, blue, boundless heaven
Contracted to two circles underneath [115]
Their long, fine lashes; dark, far, measureless,
Orb within orb, and line thro' line inwoven.
PAN. Why lookest thou as if a spirit past?
ASIA. There is a change: beyond their inmost depth
I see a shade, a shape: 'tis He, arrayed [120]
In the soft light of his own smiles, which spread
Like radiance from the cloud-surrounded morn.
[E.2 28r] Prometheus, it is thine! depart not yet!
[E.2 27v] Say not those smiles that we shall meet again
Within that bright pavilion which their beams [125]

111 them, though E M Fs R W L J
112 express— E Fr express; W
113 there E
114 deep blue E Heaven E L
115 Contracted in E A Fr
116 long E R lashes— E Fr
measureless,— E L measureless— Fr
117 within orb Fs R & E through E M inwoven— E
118 passed? M
119 change, E Fr change; M Fs R W L
120 shade—a shape— E Fr he, Fs
121 smiles E
122 moon E morn! R<moon! R²> moon. Fo-Fr
123 Prometheus it is thine— E thou— Fr Depart R yet E
125 Pavilion E L

I sink I perish
Asia
Shelter me now—they burn
It is his spirit in their orbs . . my life
Is ebbing fast—I cannot speak—
Panthea
Rest, rest!
Sleep death annihilation pain! aught else]

they in the first line may be *thy* The next two leaves in the MS were torn out, so there may have been more in this deleted passage. *111* Shelley's count, below *annihilation* Freeman read this number as 94, but the preliminary line count before additions is correct at *111* and the figure can be so read.

112 *that* at first *what*

118 *111* Shelley's count, in the left margin opposite *Panthea* After the deletion following line 110 the poet apparently recounted from his *97* (text line 104), giving this second occurrence of *111*

119 *beyond* above [*within*]

122 As Zupitza noted, the word could easily be read *morn* The R² change resulted from Blind's confirmation of *moon* from E ("Shelley").

123 This line was included in Shelley's count. *thine* might be read *thou* as in Freeman, but I find a faint dot above the *i*

125 Freeman read both a capital and small *p* for *Pavilion* but I believe that Shelley merely retraced a faint *P* after dipping the pen. *their* is actually *ther*

Shall build on the waste world? The dream is told.
What shape is that between us? Its rude hair
Roughens the wind that lifts it, its regard
Is wild and quick, yet 'tis a thing of air
[E.2 28v] For thro' its grey robe gleams the golden dew [130]
Whose stars the moon has quench'd not.

DREAM.
Follow! Follow!

PAN. It is mine other dream.
ASIA. It disappears.
PAN. It passes now into my mind. Methought
As we sate here, the flower-infolding buds
Burst on yon lightning-blasted almond-tree, [135]
When swift from the white Scythian wilderness
A wind swept forth wrinkling the Earth with frost:
I looked, and all the blossoms were blown down;

---

126 build oer E H-Fr the dream is told E told! . . . R told, Fr
127 its E
129 & E quick; R yet, L air, Fs R W H L
130 through E M
131 quenched E M Follow, follow! E Fr
132 dream— E L Fr dissappears <*sic*> E
133 methought E Methought, R
134 methought the flower unfolding buds Dr here E Fs flower-enfolding R
135 trees Dr almond-tree E almond tree, M R J<almond-tree, R^2> almond tree; W
136 And then from yon white Dr
swift, E wilderness, E
137 swept down Dr earth with frost. R frost . . . E L Fr frost; W
138 & E down E down, Fr

---

126 Zupitza felt that *oer* might be *on* I find *oer* (used also by Koszul, Hughes, and Herford) quite distinct. Freeman's *told*, is also in his dissertation.
128 *it*, [*&*] *its*
129 *122* Shelley's count, before *Is*
130 *ugh* of *through* added later. Locock felt that here the word was emphatic, and that Shelley used *thro* intentionally only when pressed for space or to guard against undue accentuation.
131 James Thomson felt that the Dream, "as a Shape that speaks, ought to be in the list of *dramatis personae* along with the Phantasm, the Spirits, and the Echoes" ("Notes," p. 371).
133-40 For a transcription of Shelley's draft of these lines, see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.
133 The draft has (undeleted): *I had dreams of spring/Last night burst forth on your/methought<etc>* E: *methought* below [*methou it was*] The *m* may be a capital. [*methou*] may be [*methin*] but there is no evidence of a dot over the *i*
134 *A* [*dream of sprin*] above *As we sate* *sat* in Shepherd.
137 *swept* at first *swepth*
138 The first *s* of *blossoms* appears to have been originally an *o* (possibly a start on *blooms*).

But on each leaf was stamped, as the blue bells
Of Hyacinth tell Apollo's written grief,
O, FOLLOW, FOLLOW!
ASIA. As you speak, your words
Fill, pause by pause, my own forgotten sleep
With shapes. Methought among the lawns together
We wandered, underneath the young grey dawn,
[E.2 29v] And multitudes of dense white fleecy clouds
Were wandering in thick flocks along the mountains
Shepherded by the slow, unwilling wind;
And the white dew on the new bladed grass,
Just piercing the dark earth, hung silently;
And there was more which I remember not:
But on the shadows of the morning clouds,
Athwart the purple mountain slope, was written
FOLLOW, O, FOLLOW! As they vanished by,
And on each herb, from which Heaven's dew had fallen,
The like was stamped, as with a withering fire,

139-41 And on each leaf, as on the hyacinth's bell/Was written ai ai Dr
139 stamped— E L Fr
140 Apollos E grief— E L Fr
141 "Oh follow, follow!" R follow, follow! E speak E Fs
142 Fill pause by pause Fs pause by pause mine E mine A Fr
143 shapes . . . methought E Fr shapes.— L these E H-Fr
144 dawn E
146 mountains, R W L
147 slow E R wind, Fr
148 new-bladed grass E Fr new-bladed M-L[Fo]
149 silently— E Fr silently. R silently: Fo D silently:— L
150 not; E W L Fr
151 But, E moving clouds E L Fr moving A J
152 mountain-slope, R^2 L slope E Fr
153 Follow, o follow as E "Follow, oh follow!" R as Fo D W H L as they vanished by A by; W H L
154 herb E Fr heaven's Fs R fallen E Fr
155 stamped E R Fr fire E Fs fire. Fo^2 L fire; W H Fr

---

139 *blue* [*of*] *bells*
140 Freeman thought that the first four letters of *Hyacinth* were at first *the an* (he conjectured *the ancient*). *the* under *Hy* is questionable, but there is an *n* under *c* I believe that Shelley wrote *Hyan* and then corrected *n* to *c* before finishing. *tell* above [*speak*]
142 Freeman found "little choice" between *mine* and *my* but chose the former since "Shelley evidently preferred it" (Text, p. 46).
145 *dense* at first possibly *thin*
151 Locock preferred the MS reading so that *moving* might go directly with *athwart*
153-55 Locock thought that the punctuation of 1820 and M made a "clumsy sentence"; that of Forman and Dowden (with *as* for *As*) "no sentence at all." He argued for a semicolon after *by* because of a thick comma in the MS, "often Shelley's equivalent for a semicolon" (I find no evidence for this assumption with respect to *Prometheus Unbound*), and he felt that the absence of a full stop at *fire* could not be regarded as evidence against it "since Shelley frequently omitted such pauses at the ends of his

A wind arose among the pines; it shook
The clinging music from their boughs, and then
Low, sweet, faint sounds, like the farewell of ghosts,
Were heard: OH, FOLLOW, FOLLOW, FOLLOW ME!
And then I said: " Panthea, look on me." [160]
But in the depth of those beloved eyes
Still I saw, FOLLOW, FOLLOW!

[E.2 30r] ECHO.
Follow, follow!

[E.2 29v] PAN. The crags, this clear spring morning, mock
our voices
[E.2 30v] As they were spirit-tongued.
ASIA. It is some being
Around the crags. What fine clear sounds! O, list! [165]

---

156 pines— E Fr
157 & E
158 Low sweet faint sounds E sounds Fr ghosts E Fr
159 heard—oh, follow, follow, follow me E heard— Fr "Oh follow, follow, follow me!" R
160 said Panthea look on me E said, M Fs R W L J said Fr me:" R L
161 of thy Fr belovèd E
162 saw follow, follow. E saw "follow, follow!" R
163 crags E Spring R L morning E Fr voices, M Fs R W A L J
164 spirit-tongued E It's Fs
165 crags—what E sounds—o list E Oh R L

---

lines." The punctuation is *fire* in Cuningham; *fire.* in Dickinson; and *fire;* in Koszul and Herford (after Hutchinson).

158 *Low* at first *Slow* Then *S* was canceled and the *l* converted to *L* Locock read a possible *farewells* The final stroke on the last *l* is heavy, but I question an intended *s*

161 *those* may be *thine* Freeman thought that it was *thy* out of *thine* or the reverse, but not *those* There is, however, no downstroke for *y* and the evidence is strongly in favor of *those* The pen was running dry on the word *belovèd* and the apparent accent may be merely part of the *d* backstroke.

162 The part of this line assigned to *Echo* is on 30r, opposite, in finer pen, and with an insertion mark on 29v. [*Voice*] *Echo*

165 Rossetti thought that *Around* was a misprint for *Among* or *Amid* but his reviewer (identified by Forman as Professor Baynes) held that the original was "thoroughly Shelley-like," and that "the term *being* is undoubtedly here used by Shelley in a generic sense, and means that vital presences . . . are around the crags, their immaterial essence and inorganic voices being felt and heard on every side" (*Edinburgh Review*, 1871, p. 454). Forman felt that Asia "simply means some diffused, elemental being . . . similar in character to those described by the Earth" at I.658-61. Woodberry noted that *around* meaning "in the neighborhood of" is "perfectly good English, and used by Shelley"; while Locock thought that the word meant "moving around" and he compared II.ii.41, "where they are described as 'inchanted *eddies* of echoes.' "

ECHOES, UNSEEN.

Echoes we: listen!
We cannot stay:
As dew-stars glisten
Then fade away—
Child of Ocean! [170]

ASIA. Hark! Spirits speak. The liquid responses
Of their aerial tongues yet sound.
PAN. I hear.

ECHOES.

O, follow, follow,
As our voice recedeth
Thro' the caverns hollow, [175]
Where the forest spreadeth;
(MORE DISTANT)
O, follow, follow!
Thro' the caverns hollow,
As the song floats thou pursue,
Where the wild bee never flew, [180]

SD Echoes unseen E
166 we—listen E we! Listen! R
167 stay E stay,— R^2
168 glisten, R
171 Hark spirits speak! the E Spirits, M spirits Fs speak! R L Fr
172 aërial M-Fr[A] sound— E hear E
173 O follow follow E O M Fs Oh follow, follow! R<Oh follow, follow, R^2> follow, follow Fr
174 recedeth, R
175 Thro E Through M hollow E Fr hollow— R
176 this forest spreadeth E Fr spreadeth— R
SD More distant E *SD omitted* Fr
177 O follow follow E O Fs Oh follow, follow, R follow, follow, L follow, follow Fr
178 Through E M hollow E hollow. R hollow; L
179 floats, E L pursue E
180 wild-bee E A L flew E flew; R

---

166 SD: [*V*] *Echoes unseen*
167 [*As*] *We*
169 The dash after *away* is very faint but, I believe, present.
171 *liquid* above [*aerial*] Forman noted the change in sense resulting from Mrs. Shelley's comma after *Spirits* (followed also by Cuningham, and initiated by Galignani). See also note at I.469 for *aerial*
172 Possibly *thier* (*sic*). Possibly a period after *hear*
175-78 Cuningham modified the meaning by giving *hollow!* in line 175, *spreadeth* in 176, and *hollow.* in 178.
176 SD in fainter ink and smaller letters.
178 *ugh* added to *Thro* Locock would "prefer" *Thro* here (see note at II.i.130).
179 The comma after *floats* is very faint.
180 *173* Shelley's count, in the lower right-hand corner of the page.

[E.2 31v]

Thro' the noon-tide darkness deep,
By the odour-breathing sleep
Of faint night flowers, and the waves
At the fountain-lighted caves,
While our music, wild and sweet,
Mocks thy gently falling feet,
Child of Ocean!

ASIA. Shall we pursue the sound? It grows more faint
And distant.

PAN. List! the strain floats nearer now.

ECHOES.

In the world unknown
Sleeps a voice unspoken;
By thy step alone
Can its rest be broken;
Child of Ocean!

ASIA. How the notes sink upon the ebbing wind!

ECHOES.

O, follow, follow!

---

181 Through E M noontide E Fs-Fr now E
[Fo J] deep E
182 odour breathing E
183 night-flowers, M Fs R W L & E
184 caves E Fr caves; R
185 While the our music wild & sweet E music wild and sweet R
186 gently-falling E L feet E
188 sound?—it E sound?— L
189 distant E list— E List— A
SD Echo E
191 unspoken E
193 broken E broken, R Fr
194 Ocean E
195 wind E
SD Echo E
196 O follow follow E O M Fs Fr Oh follow, follow, R follow, follow, L

---

183 *faint* in pencil, above [*sweet*] deleted in pencil. There is a dot between *night* and *flowers* that may be an intended hyphen.

184 *At* at first *Of*

185 *our* above an undeleted *the*

186 Originally *Mocks* altered to *Mocked* with the *d* then canceled and the *e* converted to *s*

189 Originally *It floats nearer now list—the strain* added later, with *strain* deleting *It*

192 *that step* in Cuningham. *steps* in Koszul.

195 In the second issue of 1820 the word is *win* with the *d!* having dropped out. The Library of Congress copy has the *d!* written in.

Thro' the caverns hollow,
[E.2 32v] As the song floats thou pursue,
By the woodland noon-tide dew;
By the forests, lakes, and fountains [200]
Thro' the many-folded mountains;
To the rents, and gulphs, and chasms,
Where the Earth reposed from spasms,
On the day when He and thou
Parted, to commingle now; [205]
Child of Ocean!

ASIA. Come, sweet Panthea, link thy hand in mine,
And follow, ere the voices fade away.

SCENE II.

A FOREST, INTERMINGLED WITH ROCKS AND CAVERNS. ASIA AND PANTHEA PASS INTO IT. TWO YOUNG FAUNS ARE SITTING ON A ROCK, LISTENING.

SEMICHORUS I. OF SPIRITS.
The path thro' which that lovely twain

---

197 Thro E Through M hollow E hollow! R hollow; L
198 floats, E L Fr pursue E Fr pursue; R
199 wood land E noontide dew E Fr noontide D W-L noontide dew, R
200 forest lakes & E forest, H lakes Fs fountains, M Fs R W H L J Fr
201 Thro E Through M mountains E Fr mountains,— R
202 rents & gulphs & chasms E rents and gulfs and chasms Fs Fr gulfs, M
203 spasms E R Fr
204 & E Thou R
205 Parted— E L Fr to a commingle R^2 now E
206 Ocean E
207 Come sweet Panthea—link thine hand in mine E Panthea— Fr mine Fs
208 away E

SD Scene 2. A forest intermingled with rocks & caverns. Asia & Panthea pass into it—2 young fawns are sitting on a rock listening E
Semi-Chorus of Spirits—1 E
1 through E M

---

197 *190* Shelley's count, in the lower right-hand corner of the page.
200 Hutchinson's error (*forest,*) was followed by Hughes and Herford.

Scene ii follows the last line of II.i, but is written with a finer pen.
SD: *A forest* [*surrounded by Mountains*] *intermingled 2 young fawns* etc. added later, probably when their speeches were interpolated (see note at line 63). Shelley appears to have written *Chorus of Spirits* and then, with heavier ink, *Semic* before *Chorus* and—*1* after *Spirits* (Zupitza thought that—*1* was in originally). He then drew

Have past, by cedar, pine, and yew,
And each dark tree that ever grew,
Is curtained out from Heaven's wide blue;
[E.2 33v] Nor sun, nor moon, nor wind, nor rain,
Can pierce its interwoven bowers,
Nor aught, save where some cloud of dew,
Drifted along the earth-creeping breeze,
Between the trunks of the hoar trees,
Hangs each a pearl in the pale flowers
Of the green laurel, blown anew;
And bends, and then fades silently,
One frail and fair anemone:
Or when some star of many a one
That climbs and wanders thro' steep night,
Has found the cleft thro' which alone
Beams fall from high those depths upon
Ere it is borne away, away,

---

2 of laurel, myrtle, pine & yew Dr pine & yew E pine Fs
3 grew E
4 heaven's Fs R blue E blue. R
5 Nor star nor sun Dr *no punctuation* E R Fr Nor sun nor moon nor wind Fs
6 bowers; E R L
7 aught E Fs R save when Fr dew E Fs Fr
8 the wandering breez<*sic*>Dr breeze E Fs R W Fr
9 trees E Fr
10 i the white flowers Dr
11 laurel blown anew, R W
12 bends& E bends Fr silently E Fr
13 & E anemone. R anemone; W
14 Or, when some star, R
15 climb& wander Dr climb& wander through steep Night E climb and wander A through M night Fs Fr Night, L
16 Has found that spot Dr thro E through M
17 fall from heaven Dr upon, E L Fr upon,— R W

---

a line touching both the *c* of *Semic* and the *C* of *Chorus* intending to delete one or the other. This line forms the apparent hyphen, which may not have been intended. Zupitza thought that the *C* was the deleted letter, but the line is very low to it.

2 and 5-56 For a full transcription of Shelley's draft of these lines and relevant unused passages, see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

7-8 Draft at first: *Save where some cloud of wandering dew / Is driven on the earth creeping breez<sic>*

7 Freeman read *when* for *where* but the spacing confirms *where*

10 *pale* above [*faint*]

14 Mayor felt that the line was "a reminiscence of Wordsworth's *Ode*" [line 51: "—But there's a tree, of many, one"] and should be read "of many, one" ("Shelley's Metre," p. 261).

15 Draft at first: *That walk*

16 *cleft* above [*spot*]

By the swift Heavens that cannot stay,
It scatters drops of golden light,
Like lines of rain that ne'er unite:
And the gloom divine is all around;
And underneath is the mossy ground.

[E 2 34v] SEMICHORUS II.

There the voluptuous nightingales,
Are awake thro' all the broad noon-day,
When one with bliss or sadness fails,
And thro' the windless ivy-boughs,
Sick with sweet love, droops dying away
On its mate's music-panting bosom;
Another from the swinging blossom,

19 heavens Fs R stay— E Fr stay,— R stay: L
20 It scatters lines Dr golden <*sic*> light E light Fr
21 which neer unite Dr unite; W
22 For the gloom divine is still around Dr around E Fr around, R H around. D Fo^2
23 ground E ground; Fo^2
SD Semichorus 2. E
24 nightingales E Fs R A L Fr
25 thro the broad noonday Dr through E M noonday E noonday. R H noon-day. Fo D J Fr noonday: W noon-day A noonday; L
26 fails E
27 through E M ivy-boughs E
29 mates E bosom— E L Fr
30 Another, R blossom E R Fr

19 Locock, "with some doubts," put a colon after *stay* because "a skeleton of the sentence, as previously punctuated, demonstrates a flaw in its syntax:—'Nothing can pierce its interwoven bowers . . . save (1) where some cloud of dew hangs a pearl . . . or (2) when some star has found the cleft . . . *It* scatters drops.' Evidently this '*It*' is wrong." He rejected Rossetti's full stop after *anemone* (line 13) because he preferred to regard lines 14-19 "as describing an *exception* to the general gloom, rather than . . . [an] independent construction."

20 Draft at first: *It scatters beams* E: *drops* above [*beams*] Shelley may have started to write *gleaming* as Freeman suggested. He may also have been influenced by the sound of *beams* or, as Freeman admitted, this may have been a slip of the pen, since *golden* is in the draft.

21 Draft at first: *Which fall in lines that neer unite*

23 It is probable that the semicolon in Fo^2 is a misprint, possibly a printer's inversion of the punctuation for lines 22 and 23.

24 What appears to be an *I* before *There* is, I believe, a false start on *There* with a dry pen.

25 Forman felt that the comma after *noonday* in the early editions was "clearly a misprint." Most editions have given a stronger pause.

26 *f* of *fails* at first *s*

27 [*A*]*nAnd* Draft at first: *ivy leaves*

28 Draft at first (undeleted): *deep love*

30-35 Draft at first (abstract): *Another on the laurel bloosom/Watches to catch the dying song/Of the last strain, and lifts on high/The Heaven-upclimbing melody/Till new delights of feeling bear/That song and it is almost mute*

Watching to catch the languid close
Of the last strain, then lifts on high
The wings of the weak melody,
'Till some new strain of feeling bear
The song, and all the woods are mute;
When there is heard thro' the dim air
The rush of wings, and rising there
Like many a lake-surrounding flute,
Sounds overflow the listener's brain
So sweet, that joy is almost pain.

[E.2 35v] SEMICHORUS I.

There those enchanted eddies play
Of echoes, music-tongued, which draw,

---

32 Of its last strain, Dr
33 melody E Fr melody,— R
34 Till some new streams Dr Till E M new stream E L Fr
35 That song Dr Thesong, <*sic*> M <The song, M^2> & E
36 the still air Dr through M
37 & E and, R there, W
38 lake surrounded Dr lake-surrounded E M-Fr flute E
39 listeners E
40 sweet Fs R Fr pain E
SD Semichorus 1. E
41 inchanted E L
42 echoes E Fr Echoes music-tongued R draw E

---

31 *close* above [*strain*]
33 *weak* above [*faint*]
34 *stream* at first *strain*
35 A question mark precedes this line.
38 Rossetti thought that *lake-surrounded* was a misprint, but that both it and *lake-surrounding* were unintelligible. He cited *lake-resounded* as the "plausible" suggestion of "a friend." His reviewer (Professor Baynes?) disagreed, "lake-surrounded flutes being simply flutes playing in a boat or on an island in the midst of a lake, the tranquil expanse of water adding to the liquid sweetness of the notes" (*Edinburgh Review*, 1871, p. 453). Rossetti's note was omitted in R^2 after Blind's confirmation from E ("Shelley"). In the light of this confirmation, Forman assumed 1820 to be the misprint, corrected by Mrs. Shelley from the errata of the poet. Nor did he find difficulty with the expression, for "the singing of the nightingale is compared to the sound of many flutes reaching the ear from the midst of a lake on whose shores the hearer is stationed." Hughes interpreted the meaning as, "Rising frequent as reeds in a lake." Bradley compared "When soul-enfolding music floats around" (*Queen Mab* VI.6) in support of *lake-surrounding* ("Notes," p. 29); and Locock thought that *surrounding* gave a "more magical effect." All others except Shepherd gave *lake-surrounded*
39 Draft at first: *Such melody*
40 Draft at first: *Till like that aye renewed strain/So sweet the joy is almost pain/He dies away* E: *241* Shelley's count (he does not number for each scene), in the lower left-hand corner of the page. Just above it Shelley adds *241* to *818* (his count for Act I) to total *1059* Freeman noted that it would appear from these numbers that Shelley had not yet added any lines to Act I. Either this, or he merely picked up his original count without rechecking.
41-42 Draft at first: *enchanted echoes dwell/Which draw music, tongued*

By Demogorgon's mighty law,
With melting rapture, or sweet awe,
All spirits on that secret way;
As inland boats are driven to Ocean
Down streams made strong with mountain-thaw:
And first there comes a gentle sound
To those in talk or slumber bound,
And wakes the destined soft emotion,
Attracts, impels them: those who saw
Say from the breathing earth behind
There steams a plume-uplifting wind
Which drives them on their path, while they
Believe their own swift wings and feet

43 Demogorgons mighty law E
law. Fs
44 rapture or strange awe Dr rapture or deep awe E rapture Fs R Fr deep awe, A
45 trackless way Dr way, E W Fr
46 ocean Fs R
47 mountain-thaw; E M Fs W L Fr <mountain thaw; M^2>mountain-thaw. R
48 a faint low sound Dr
49 bound E
50 destined—soft emotion E A Fr destined: soft emotion M Fs L J <destined, M^2> destined; soft emotion R^2W destined. Soft emotion Fo D emotion,— H
51 them; M Fs W H them. Those R
52 Earth E L Fr
53 streams M^2 R<steams R^2>
54 Which sweeps Dr
55 & E

44 In the draft there is an undeleted *&* above *or*
45 Draft at first: *All spirits around by the way* E: *o* of *on* is only partly formed, but I do not believe that it can be read as *i*
46 Draft at first: *As the woodmen's boats* Shelley had considerable difficulty with this line (see Appendix A).
47 Draft at first: *By streams*
48 Draft at first: *And first the sound is like the truths/Left melancholy* Then: *And first there comes a sound so low/Which like the twilight shade around/Is sad yet sweet, when oer it seeps* Again he met with difficulty in arriving at the next lines (see Appendix A).
50 Woodberry and Hutchinson listed *destinied* for 1820. It does not appear in either issue and may have been a misprint in Woodberry followed by Hutchinson. Forman assumed from Blind's article ("Shelley") that she had found a full stop after *destined* in E (she had said that it "ought to be" a full stop), and that Shelley probably included it in his errata. Julian gave a comma after *destined* in 1820, but it does not appear in either issue. There is some pause at *destined* in Cuningham, Scott, Scudder, Alexander, Dickinson, and Dole. *emotion.* in Cuningham.
52 *breathing* above [*steaming*] What appears to be a deletion of *breathing* is the crossing of the *t* in [*steaming*]
53 *There* at first some other word also starting with *Th* with the balance illegible. Cuningham followed M^2 with *streams* (which had been given earlier by Galignani), but Scott differed from R^1 by giving *steams* probably as a result of Blind's information from E ("Shelley").
54 Draft at first: *Which drives*

The sweet desires within obey:
And so they float upon their way,
Until, still sweet, but loud and strong,
[E.2 36v] The storm of sound is driven along,
Sucked up and hurrying as they fleet
Behind, its gathering billows meet
And to the fatal mountain bear
Like clouds amid the yielding air.

[E.2 37r] FIRST FAUN. Canst thou imagine where those spirits live
Which make such delicate music in the woods?
We haunt within the least frequented caves
And closest coverts, and we know these wilds,
Yet never meet them, tho' we hear them oft:

---

56 desire within obey E desire Fr
obey. R obey; Fs W
57 way E
58 Until still sweet E sweet R
& strong E strong Fr
59 along E Fr
60 & hurrying— E hurrying: M-J
[W A] hurrying; W hurrying— A Fr
fleet, L Fr
61 Behind E L Fr meet, R
63 air E
64 SD 1st Faun E
66 least-frequented Fs lest J
67 & we E
68 them though E though M oft, E

---

56 Zupitza and Locock questioned *desire* but if the word is *desires* the final *s* is poorly formed. However, the draft at first had: *Their own desires* Possibly *within*,

59-61 Rossetti (R²) noted the punctuation uncertainties. He interpreted the passage to mean: "and so they [the destined spirits] float upon their way, until, still sweet but loud and strong, the storm of sound is driven along. As they [the spirits] fleet onward, sucked up and hurrying, its gathering billows [i.e., the billows, either of the sound, or else of the plume-uplifting wind from the breathing earth behind, as mentioned shortly before] meet behind, and bear [the spirits] to the fatal mountain." The brackets are Rossetti's. On this interpretation he conjectured:

The storm of sound is driven along.
Sucked up and hurrying as they fleet,
Behind its gathering billows meet,
And . . .

Forman thought that Mrs. Shelley supplied the colon after *hurrying* from Shelley's errata. Dickinson, in addition, moved the comma from *behind* (line 61) to *fleet* (probably on the basis of Rossetti's note). But Locock felt that, despite many schemes of punctuation, "it may still be open to doubt whether 'sucked up' is to be taken with the 'spirits' or the 'storm.' " Most later editions have a strong pause at *hurrying* (usually a colon).

63 *264* Shelley's count, precedes this line. Below *air* is an insertion mark to indicate the location of the balance of this scene, which was written later, as an afterthought, beginning at the top of 37r. 37r also has an insertion mark and [*enter two young female*] *Fauns* *Fauns* at first *Fawns*

64 SD originally *1st* with *Faun* added later. For a draft of lines possibly intended for this context see Appendix A.

66 *least frequented* above [*moist & mossy*]

Where may they hide themselves?
SECOND FAUN. 'Tis hard to tell:
I have heard those more skilled in spirits say,
The bubbles, which the enchantment of the sun
Sucks from the pale faint water-flowers that pave
The oozy bottom of clear lakes and pools,
Are the pavilions where such dwell and float
Under the green and golden atmosphere
Which noon-tide kindles thro' the woven leaves;
And when these burst, and the thin fiery air,
The which they breathed within those lucent domes,
Ascends to flow like meteors thro' the night,
They ride on them, and rein their headlong speed,
And bow their burning crests, and glide in fire
Under the waters of the earth again.
FIRST FAUN. If such live thus, have others other
lives,

69 SD 2^{d}. <*sic*>Faun E tell— E Fr tell. R tell; W
70 say E
71 bubbles E which enchantment M Fs J
72 water-flowers, E L Fr
73 & pools E
74 dwell, & E dwell, L Fr
75 & E
76 Which the noontide E noontide Fs-L[Fo] through E M leaves E
77 And, R & the thin fiery air E air Fr
78 lucent domes *above* lucid homes E domes Fr
79 through E M
80 on & They reign E on them Fr
81 thier <*sic*>burning crests & E
82 Earth again E Earth Fr
83 SD 1st E other lives E Fr

69 SD originally 2^{d}. <*sic*>with *Faun* added later.
71 *which enchantment* was first given by Galignani.
72 There is a dot only between *water* and *flowers* but I believe that it was intended as a hyphen. Shelley's hyphens are frequently diminished.
76 Zupitza read, erroneously, [*the*] A caret after *noon* directs to *tide* above the line.
78 *Shining homes* above *The* Zupitza thought that it might be *striving* or *shining* and wondered if the words could belong to II.iii.5, on 36^{v} opposite. But *Shining* is almost certainly the word, and the phrase is probably an alternate for *lucid homes* and *lucent domes* (neither deleted) at the end of the line.
79 In E *night* is very close to the margin and is followed by a slight mark which may or may not have been intended as a comma.
80-81 These lines developed as follows:

They ride on [it & *] & in fire
They reign [its] their headlong speed, & glide [with it]
And bow thier <*sic*>burning crests

* is practically illegible. Zupitza read *them* and Freeman [*then*] *it* I do not find enough letters to support Freeman, and, contrary to Zupitza, I believe the word is deleted. A clear dot shows above it, suggesting a poorly written [*their*] *the headlong* in Cuningham.
82 *Under* below [*If Into*] Zupitza read [*It*] or [*If*]
83 *If* [*these*] *such*

Under pink blossoms or within the bells
[E.2 38r] Of meadow flowers, or folded violets deep, [85]
Or on their dying odours, when they die,
Or on the sunlight of the sphered dew?
SECOND FAUN. Aye, many more which we may
well divine.
But, should we stay to speak, noontide would come,
And thwart Silenus find his goats undrawn, [90]
And grudge to sing those wise and lovely songs
Of fate, and chance, and God, and Chaos old,
And Love, and the chained Titan's woful dooms,
And how he shall be loosed, and make the earth
One brotherhood: delightful strains which cheer [95]

---

84 blossoms, R
85 flowers R W <meadow-flowers R^2> meadow-flowers, Fs L deep E
86 odours R die E die? M^2
87 Or in E Fo-Fr
88 SD 2d. E Ay, M more, E L more; Fr divine E divine.—R divine; Fr
89 But E M Fs W L J Fr try to speak, E wd. E come Fr
90 undrawn E
91 & lovely E
92 fate & chance & God, & E fate and chance and God and chaos old Fs Fate, and Chance, R W H L fate and chance Fr
93 love & E love Fs Love R W Fr Titans woful doom E doom. M doom, Fs-Fr
94 & make E Earth E
95 brotherhood— E Fr brotherhood; W strains, Fr

---

85 *folded violets deep* in ink over pencil is above [*in the violets heart*] deleted in pencil.
86 Freeman thought that *they* may at first have been *thier* (*sic*). I do not.
87 Blind corrected Rossetti with *Or in* ("Shelley"). This has been followed generally.
88 *divine* in ink over pencil is above [*imagine*] Rossetti (R^2) questioned whether *more which* should not be *more than* but Mayor disagreed (see Critical Notes).
89 *try* offers difficulty. Zupitza thought that it might be *stay* altered to *try* and Locock thought that *se* (he conjectured *seek*) had been altered to *try* Clearly, an *s* has been extended upward and crossed, and the *y* is legible, but the other letter is not clear. I do not believe that the word is *stay* but whatever the intention it eventuated in *try* (see illustration, facing p. 173) [*the*] *noontide*
90 Rossetti referred to Shepherd's "conjectural emendation" of "swart" Silenus, "wh. I am sure is wrong" (Garnett, *Letters*, p. 46).
91 This line was originally followed by:

Our solitary solitary
[Which cheer our lonesome] twilights, & which charm
To silence the unenvying nightingales . .

solitary above [*lonesome*] is in pencil. *Which cheer* and *lonesome* are deleted in both pencil and ink, *our* in ink only.
A half-inch blank space is followed by line 92 in ink; 93-95 then follow in ink traced over pencil. Freeman held that the penciled *solitary* was written first, but he gave no evidence. No insertion marks are used to indicate the placement of lines 92-95.
93 Forman thought that the period after *doom* in M was a misprint, "probably dropped in when the *s* was taken out." Cuningham followed M, but generally a comma has been substituted. Shepherd, however, gave *dooms*, as in 1820.

Our solitary twilights, and which charm
To silence the unenvying nightingales.

[E.2 36v]

SCENE III.

A Pinnacle of Rock among Mountains. ASIA and PANTHEA.

PAN. Hither the sound has borne us—to the realm
Of Demogorgon, and the mighty portal,
Like a volcano's meteor-breathing chasm,
Whence the oracular vapour is hurled up
Which lonely men drink wandering in their youth,
And call truth, virtue, love, genius, or joy,
That maddening wine of life, whose dregs they drain
To deep intoxication; and uplift,
Like Mænads who cry loud, Evoe! Evoe!
The voice which is contagion to the world.

[E.2 37v] ASIA. Fit throne for such a Power! Magnificent!
How glorious art thou, Earth! And if thou be
The shadow of some spirit lovelier still,
Though evil stain its work, and it should be

---

96 solitary solitary <*sic*> E & E
97 nightingales . . E

SD Scene 3. A pinnacle of rock among Mountains—Asia & Panthea E
2 & E portal E
3 Volcano's E chasm E
4 breathed up E A
5 youth E
6 genius or joy E genius or joy. Fs joy— R
7 life Fs R
8 intoxication, E R L Fr & uplift E uplift Fr
9 loud E Fr loud "Evoe! Evoe!" R "Evoe! Evoe!" Fs
11 power! E Fs D Fr Magnificent: E
12 thou Earth! & if thou beest E And, R^2 and W L Fr
13 Spirit E R L Fr still E still,— R
14 work E Fr

Scene iii follows II.ii.63 on page 36v, having been a continuation of the act before the interpolation of the speeches of the two Fauns.

SD *Asia & Panthea* added later, apparently with the same pen used to add *2 young fauns* etc. to the SD of scene ii.

1 *to* was at first something else: Zupitza thought possibly *the* but a clear dot would support Freeman's *'tis* or *this*

11 The reading may be *Magnificent!* since a faint vertical line leads into the upper dot of the colon and may be a faulty pen stroke with the lower part intensified to form the dot.

14 *should be* above [*must*]

Like its creation, weak yet beautiful,
I could fall down and worship that and thee.
Even now my heart adoreth: Wonderful!
Look, sister, ere the vapour dim thy brain:
Beneath is a wide plain of billowy mist,
As a lake, paving in the morning sky,
With azure waves which burst in silver light,
Some Indian vale. Behold it, rolling on
Under the curdling winds, and islanding
The peak whereon we stand, midway, around,
Encinctured by the dark and blooming forests,
Dim twilight-lawns, and stream-illumined caves,
And wind-enchanted shapes of wandering mist;
And far on high the keen sky-cleaving mountains
[E.2 38v] From icy spires of sun-like radiance fling
The dawn, as lifted Ocean's dazzling spray,

---

15 beautiful E beautiful,— R
16 & worship that & thee— E thee: L
17 adoreth— E Fr adoreth. R W L
18 Look Sister— E Sister, R L Sister— Fr brain; E Fr brain. R
19 mist E mist. Fs
20 paving, R
21 light E
22 vale . . . behold E Fr vale. . . L it R
23 & E
24 stand— E L Fr midway R² around E L Fr
25 & blooming forests E
26 twilight lawns & stream-illumed caves E twilight lawns M² Fs Fr twilight lawns, R L twilight-lawns J stream-illumed H A L Fr caves Fs
27 wind-inchanted E L wind enchanted Fs mist E mist: Fr
28 keen heaven cleaving Dr mountains, M² J
29 From pyramids of sunlike Dr sunlike E Fs R W L Fr
30 The daylight, as the Ocean's Dr Oceans dazzling spray E ocean's R

---

15 This line developed as follows:

Like its creation
[As these perchance] yet
[Like all we love], weak [although] beautiful

24 *midway, around* added later, with a finer pen, "clearly as a makeshift," according to Locock, who added that both words "must go with 'Encinctured.' Possibly Shelley meant that the forests extended halfway up the peak, or that they formed the middle distance, the 'sky-cleaving mountains' being the background; but the simplest sense is 'halfway round.' "

28-42 For the development of this magnificent passage see the draft (now first transcribed) in Appendix A, and illustration, facing p. 172. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

28 Preceding this line the draft had at first (abstract): *How horrible . . tis noonday, but the stars/Are glittering overhead, as if deep night/Had risen at noon from her untimely grave/Where she keeps watch oer peace & sleep & death/And lit these lamps within their sepulcher* E: *293* Shelley's count (in error for 292), precedes *And* He carried this error to text line II.v.20. *mountains* on 38r, to avoid crowding it into the margin.

29 *icy spires* above [*pyramids*]

From some Atlantic islet scattered up,
Spangles the wind with lamp-like water-drops.
The vale is girdled with their walls, a howl
Of cataracts from their thaw-cloven ravines
Satiates the listening wind, continuous, vast, [35]
Awful as silence. Hark! the rushing snow!
The sun-awakened avalanche! whose mass,
Thrice sifted by the storm, had gathered there
Flake after flake, in heaven-defying minds
As thought by thought is piled, till some great truth [40]
Is loosened, and the nations echo round,
Shaken to their roots, as do the mountains now.
PAN. Look how the gusty sea of mist is breaking
In crimson foam, even at our feet! it rises
As Ocean at the enchantment of the moon [45]
[E.2 39v] Round foodless men wrecked on some oozy isle.

---

31 up E
32 water drops E Fr
33-34 how with a roar/Of waterfalls, from the thaw riven ravines Dr
33 walls— E L Fr walls: R
34 thaw-clovén <*sic*> E thaw-clov'n L ravines, Fo D H
35 listening air Dr
36 silence—hark! E Fr hark tis the driven snow Dr snow E snow, Fr
37 avalanche, whose mass E avalanche, Fr
38 storm E has Fr
39 after flake: in Heaven-defying E L after flake,— R after flake: A Fr
41 And shake even to thier <*sic*> roots as ye do now/To your own voice Dr & E round E Fr
42 roots: E A L Fr
43 Look, E L
44 foam E feet— E Fr feet!— L
45 ocean R inchantment E L
46 on an oozy isle E on an A

---

31 Draft at first: *From some windless reef is scattered hurled thro the clear air*
32 Draft at first: *Girdles this mighty chasm . . then a howl* Then: *Spangles the stormless air how with a roar* In the draft Shelley also considered *grave* for *chasm* and *atmosphere* for *air* The received version is five lines below in the draft, separated by interlining, and was at first: *Spangles the air*
34-35 Draft at first: *from the frost cloven chasms/ Is filling the calm air* Shelley also first wrote *wide* for *vast* E: Shelley apparently wrote *thaw-cloven* and then put the apostrophe above *e* without deletion of the *e*
37-38 Draft at first: *Which the keen north thrice sifted and which fell* Shelley at once changed *keen* to *clear* and above the line wrote *slow gathering there* The received lines appear only in this form in the draft.
38 *had* at first *has* and not the reverse as Freeman thought.
39 Draft at first: *heaven chosen minds*
41 *nations* above [*mountains*] As Freeman suggested, this is almost certainly an error in copying.
42 Draft at first: *as ye do now/Bare skinless bones of this outwearing world!/To your own awful voices*
45 *310* Shelley's count, in the lower left-hand corner of the page. I do not agree with Freeman that *inchantment* was first *enchantment*

ASIA. The fragments of the cloud are scattered up;
The wind that lifts them disentwines my hair;
Its billows now sweep o'er mine eyes; my brain
Grows dizzy; I see thin shapes within the mist.
PAN. A countenance with beckoning smiles: there burns
An azure fire within its golden locks!
Another and another: hark! they speak!

[E.2 40r] SONG OF SPIRITS.

To the deep, to the deep,
Down, down!
Through the shade of sleep,
Through the cloudy strife
Of Death and of Life;

---

47 up— E L Fr up. R
48 which lifts E hair— E L Fr
49 It's E oer my eyes— E my eyes— Fr eyes— L
50 dizzy— E L Fr dizzy: Fs R seest thou shapes within the mist? E H-Fr [J] I see shapes M Fs R W See'st J
51 smiles— E Fr smiles; W
52 locks— E Fr locks. R
53 Another & another—hark they speak! E Another, and another! R another—hark, Fr Hark! R²
54 To the Deep, to the Deep E To the Deep, to the Deep, Fr
55 Down, Down! E
56 Sleep E Sleep, R L
58 life E

---

47 *clouds* in Dickinson.

49 *w* of *sweep* at first *t* Freeman assumed that Shelley did not intend the change of *my* to *mine* inasmuch as he had not made it even after working on Act IV on the opposite page (Text, p. 46).

50 This line has caused much difficulty. It appears to be:

st thou
Grows dizzy—[I] see ∧ shapes within the mist?

Zupitza at first read *If* or *H* for the *st* and then arrived at *seest thou shapes* *thou* may be *those* but it is almost certainly not *thin* What follows *mist* is debatable (see illustration, facing p. 173). Zupitza read an *s* combined with a period changed to a question mark, which I doubt, and Locock held that the question mark itself might be an *s* (*Examination*). There may, I believe, have been a colon, with the hyphen a deletion mark inserted when the question mark was added, or the hyphen may have been an original short dash. Locock thought that it was possible that Mrs. Shelley, "being aware from her 'formidable list' of errata that 'thin' was a misprint, consulted the MS. and, failing to decipher it, decided to be content with what was easily legible"; Freeman felt that she "attempted a revision" and that the passage offers evidence that Shelley "did not read Mary's transcription carefully, if at all" (Text, p. 46).

52 *An* [*o*]

53 An insertion mark below *speak!* indicates the location of the *Song of Spirits.*

54 This song was interpolated later, the need for it being indicated by Shelley's having written *Desideratur aliquid* (see note at line 61). The complex draft is transcribed fully in Appendix A. All of the MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

Through the veil and the bar
Of things which seem and are
Even to the steps of the remotest throne,
Down, down!

While the sound whirls around,
Down, down!
As the fawn draws the hound,
As the lightning the vapour,
As a weak moth the taper;
Death, despair; love, sorrow;
Time both; to day, to morrow;
As steel obeys the spirit of the stone,
Down, down.

[E.2 41r] Through the grey, void abysm,
Down, down!
Where the air is no prism,
And the moon and stars are not,

---

59 viel, <*sic*> within the bar Dr viel <*sic*> & E
60 & E are, M Fs R W L
61 footstep of the Eternal throne Dr Throne E
62 Down, Down! E
63 sound, E
64 Down, Down! E Down, down!— R <Down, down! R^2>
65 hound E hound; R
66 lightning, R a vapour Dr vapour E vapour; R
67 moth, R taper E taper, Fr
68 Death Despair, Love Sorrow E Death Despair, Love Sorrow, Fr Death, Despair; Love, Sorrow; A L
69 Time both, To-day to-morrow; E Time, R W Time both, To-day To-morrow; Fr to-day, to-morrow; M-J [R Fo] to-day, to-morrow;— R <today, tomorrow; R^2>
70 Spirit of the stone E
71 Down, Down E Down, down! M-Fr
72 grey void Abysm E grey R Abysm, L Abysm Fr
73 Down, Down! E
74 prism E
75 & stars are not E

---

60 Draft at first: *Of the things*
61 This line developed as follows:
[Desideratum] the [threshold of the]
Even to [Desideratur aliquid]
steps of the remotest Throne
Zupitza noted that the *Desideratur aliquid* indicated that "Shelley himself probably became aware of the necessity of a completion." Freeman read *e* of [*threshold*] as at first *o* and conjectured *throne* The letter is not clear.
63 Draft at first: *eddies round*
65 The draft offers serious difficulties here. See Appendix A.
66 Draft at first: *the vapour*
68 *Despair* at first *despair* Zupitza read *Sorrow* at first *sorrow* but I believe not.
70 Draft at first: *a stone* E: *Spirit* possibly at first *spirit*
74 Draft at first: *There the air*

And the cavern-crags wear not
The radiance of Heaven,
Nor the gloom to Earth given,
Where there is one pervading, one alone,
Down, down!

In the depth of the deep
Down, down!
Like veiled lightning asleep,
Like the spark nursed in embers,
The last look Love remembers,
Like a diamond, which shines
On the dark wealth of mines,
A spell is treasur'd but for thee alone.
Down, down!

We have bound thee, we guide thee;
Down, down!

---

77 heaven, Fs heaven R
78 earth Fs earth given,— R given; E L Fr
79 One pervading, One alone E One pervading, One alone,— R One pervading, One H A L One pervading, One alone— Fr
80 Down, Down! E
81 Deep E deep, Fs R H L Deep, Fr
82 Down, Down! E Down, down!—R^2
83 veil'd Lightning E veil'd A L Lightning Fr
84 that Dr E A L Fr embers E
85 Like the last look Dr
86 diamond E R Fr
87 mines E mines. M^2
88 treasured M treasured, Fr hidden, but from thee alone,—E hidden, but from thee alone. A alone,— L alone— Fr
89 Down Down! E
90 guide thee E R Fr <guide thee, R^2>
91 Down Down! E Down, down, R

---

78 Draft at first: *Nor the darkness is* E: *Earth* at first *earth*
79 In both instances *One* at first *one* A faint line after *alone* may be a comma.
82 Cuningham shifted emphasis by *Down, down,* here and *mines.* in line 87.
83 Draft at first: *Like a fire the lightning chains keep* Shelley then tried a number of false starts before arriving at his next received line (see Appendix A). E: *veil'd* at first *veiled* The second *e* was then deleted.
84 Draft at first: *Like a spark* Shelley also considered *ashes* for *embers* E: Freeman considered *that* of the MS to be more specific, inasmuch as reference is to the last look of Love (Text, p. 46).
85 Draft at first: *Like the word*
86-88 Shelley made several false starts in the draft, including (deleted): *Like a diamond* He did not, however, arrive at the received reading of these lines. See Appendix A.
88 *hidden* above [*buried*], and *from* above [*for*] Zupitza noted that the added words were in different ink.
90 Draft at first: *It has bound thee*

[E.2 42r] With the bright form beside thee;
Resist not the weakness,
Such strength is in meekness
That the Eternal, the Immortal, [95]
Must unloose through life's portal
The snake-like Doom coiled underneath his throne
By that alone.

---

92 With thy Dr thee— E Fr thee. R
93 weakness— E Fr weakness! R weakness,— L
94 meekness— E Fr
95 Eternal the Immortal E Immortal Fr
96 The key of Death's portal Dr thro E
97 Will loose the Serpent coiled under his throne Dr doom Fs throne, L
98 Through that alone Dr alone! E Fr

92-98 These lines begin halfway down the page, below the added II.iv.24-25.

92 *the* probably *thy* at first, changed to *that* and then to *the*

93 Rossetti thought that the line should have "*some* meaning beyond" its use as a rime for *meekness* above; perhaps: "Attempt not to overcome thine own weakness, which makes thee passive in our hands." He suggested a change to "thy weakness."

94 Draft at first: *For strength* After several false starts Shelley rewrote *Such strength is in* but, probably as a slip of the pen, put *weakness* instead of *meekness* as the final word of the line. E: *Such* [*For*]

95-96 These lines developed as follows:

[That the Eternal the Immortal
With the key of life's portal]
That the Eternal the Immortal
[Will loose] unloose thro life's portal
[With] Must [unchain, at]

96 Draft at first: *Thro the graves crag portal*

97 Draft at first: *Will send* Then: *Will wake* E: *The* [*DO*] *Doom* at first *doom coiled* [*up*]

98 Draft at first: *For that alone* E: On E.2 1r is the following passage:

[Down to]
The [living frame which sustains my soul]
Is [sinking beneath the fierce controul]
Down through the lampless deep of song
I am drawn & driven along—

Zupitza noted the passage but did not know where to fit it into Shelley's work. Kroder felt that the lines belonged to *Prometheus Unbound* and that they formed a planned continuation of this scene, as an answer of Asia or Panthea to the "Down, down!" lyric, but that the poet did not continue because the scene was ended more effectively with the lyric. Kroder held that both content and rhythm supported this view ("Shelleyana," p. 134).

[E.2 39v] SCENE IV.

THE CAVE OF DEMOGORGON. ASIA AND PANTHEA.

PAN. What veiled form sits on that ebon throne?
ASIA. The veil has fallen.
PAN. I see a mighty darkness
Filling the seat of power, and rays of gloom
Dart round, as light from the meridian sun,
Ungazed upon and shapeless; neither limb,
[E.2 40v] Nor form, nor outline; yet we feel it is
A living Spirit.
DEM. Ask what thou wouldst know.
ASIA. What canst thou tell?
DEM. All things thou dar'st demand.
ASIA. Who made the living world?
DEM. God.
ASIA. Who made all
That it contains? thought, passion, reason, will,
Imagination?
DEM. God: Almighty God.
ASIA. Who made that sense which, when the winds
of spring

SD Scene 4 the Cave of Demogorgon Asia, Panthea, E
1 Form R throne. E
2 fallen! . . E fallen! Fr Darkness E R L Fr
3 power; E R power: L
4 Sun E sun. H sun A Sun, Fr
5 Ungazed-upon and shapeless. Neither R —Ungazed H & shapeless— . . E shapeless: neither limb Fs shapeless . . . A shapeless:— L shapeless— Fr limb E
6 form nor outline E form Fs Fr
7 Spirit E spirit. M² Fs Fr know E
8 darest demand E darest A Fr
10 contains— E Fr contains?— Fs
11 God, Almighty E Fr
12 which E Fr at the winds of Spring R sping <*sic*> E Spring H L

Scene iv follows II.iii.53 on page 39v.

SD *Asia, Panthea,* [*a v Demogorgon on his throne*] Zupitza read [*a v*] as [*and*] and Freeman as [*a &*] It is clearly an anticipation of [*A veiled*] in line 1.

1 [*A veiled s*] *What* Zupitza conjectured *shape* for the *s* Possibly *throne*

2 *Darkness* at first *darkness*

3 *the* above [*that*] which had been changed to *the* before it was deleted and the second *the* written above. The semicolon after *power* may at first have been a colon, or a comma may have been converted to a colon.

4 Rossetti (R²) would place a full stop after *sun* with the next words applying to Demogorgon. Koszul, Hughes, and Herford followed Hutchinson in doing so.

7 *know* is poorly formed and looks like *knr*

8 *darest* in Shepherd.

10 *thought* above [*sense*] with the latter, as Freeman suggested, probably deleted in favor of line 12.

12-15 Rossetti admitted taking "a serious liberty" in substituting *at* for *when* but he

In rarest visitation, or the voice
Of one beloved heard in youth alone,
Fills the faint eyes with falling tears which dim
The radiant looks of unbewailing flowers,
And leaves this peopled earth a solitude
When it returns no more?
DEM. Merciful God.
[E.2 41v] ASIA. And who made terror, madness, crime, remorse,
Which from the links of the great chain of things,
To every thought within the mind of man

13 visitation M^2
14 alone E Fr
15 tears, E L Fr
16 flowers E flowers,— R
18 more E God E
19 remorse E
20 Which, R things E Fs R W Fr
21 man, R

felt that something was "wrong or missing" with *when* left in; indeed, that a "*whole line*" had been omitted by Shelley's or the printer's oversight. He "presumed" the meaning of the passage to be: "Who made that sense which—when the wind of Spring in rarest visitation, or the voice of one beloved heard in youth alone, *is felt or heard again*—fills the faint eyes with falling tears?" He chose the alternative of a minor emendation rather than the "height of audacity" in supplying the line, although he admitted that *at* gave only a "passable suggestion" of the sense in getting rid of the defect of structure. For a "very parallel passage" he cited: "The deep recesses of her odorous dwelling/Were stored with magic treasures—sounds of air,/Which had the power all spirits of compelling,/Folded in cells of crystal silence there; /Such as we hear in youth, and think the feeling/Will never die—yet ere we are aware,/The feeling and the sound are fled and gone,/And the regret they leave remains alone" (*The Witch of Atlas* xiv).

Swinburne, however, compared the structure with "On every side now rose/Rocks, which, in unimaginable forms,/Lifted their black and barren pinnacles/In the light of evening, and, its precipice/Obscuring the ravine, disclosed above,/Mid toppling stones, black gulfs and yawning caves" (*Alastor* 543-48). Swinburne held that one should merely note the poet's "omission or oversight and pass on" without attempting "any patching or refurbishing . . . by excision or substitution" ("Notes," p. 360).

With this Forman agreed. He did not feel that a line was missing but wondered if the word *or* in line 13 might be the "corruption of some verb, such as *bear*," inasmuch as nothing was predicated concerning *sense* in line 12. Woodberry admitted a "rapid change of construction" but held the sense to be entirely clear. G. H. Clarke assumed that Shelley intended *fills* in line 15 as the predicate for *which* and suggested that *breathe* for *In* in line 13 would clarify the image, but that any such change would be "hazardous." Locock decided that Shelley "inadvertently" made *fills* serve for both *which* and *when* and to the comparison from *The Witch of Atlas* he added: "Seem like a well-known tune,/Which in some dear scene we have loved to hear,/Remembered now in sadness" (*Queen Mab* II.170-72); and "Her voice was like the wildest, saddest tone,/ Yet sweet, of some loved voice heard long ago" (*The Revolt of Islam* I.xxxii). Locock concluded: "Shelley's prose is full of the same idea, notably *The Assassins*, the *Essay on Love*, and the *Defence of Poetry*. It is evident from a comparison with these passages that 'in youth alone' means, not 'only in youth,' but 'in youth and when no others are present.' "

Sway and drag heavily, and each one reels
Under the load towards the pit of death;
[E.2 42r] Abandoned hope, and love that turns to hate;
And self-contempt, bitterer to drink than blood;
[E.2 41v] Pain, whose unheeded and familiar speech
Is howling, and keen shrieks, day after day;
And Hell, or the sharp fear of Hell?
DEM. He reigns.
ASIA. Utter his name: a world pining in pain
Asks but his name: curses shall drag him down.
DEM. He reigns.
ASIA. I feel, I know it: who?
DEM. He reigns.
ASIA. Who reigns? There was the Heaven and
Earth at first,
[E.2 42r] And Light and Love; then Saturn, from whose throne
Time fell, an envious shadow: such the state
Of the earth's primal spirits beneath his sway,
As the calm joy of flowers and living leaves

---

22 & drag heavily— E heavily— L Fr
24 hope Fs & E hate E hate, Fr
25 self-contempt M²
26 Pain E & E
27 howling & E howling Fs R Fr shrieks R Fr day after day, E Fr
28 hell, Fs reigns E
29 name— E Fr name! A world R name; W
30 name; E W Fr down! Fs R
31 reigns E it— E Fr
32 there E Fr heaven and earth Fs & E first E
33 light and love; Fs & Love;— E
34 shadow; E W L Fr shadow. Such R
35 world's *or* earth E sway E R
36 & E leaves, Fr

---

22 *S* of *Sway* at first something else, probably *W* which Zupitza thought was itself from something else.

24-25 Insertion marks on both pages indicate the location of these lines.

27 This line is followed by three lines deleted by slanting strokes:

[Or looks which tell that while the lips are calm
And the eyes cold, the spirit weeps within
Tears like the sanguine sweat of agony;]

Locock noted that these lines appear in slightly different form in E.4, among the *Prince Athanase* fragments (*Examination*, p. 55): "Yes often when the eyes are cold & dry/ And the lips calm the Spirit weeps within/ Tears bitterer than [Christ's] the blood of agony" (*Prince Athanase* 303-5, as given in Locock); and finally in more powerful form as follows: "I the rather/Look on such pangs as terror ill conceals,/The dry fixed eyeball; the pale quivering lip,/Which tell me that the spirit weeps within/Tears bitterer than the bloody sweat of Christ" (*The Cenci* I.i.109-13).

32 *351* Shelley's count, below *there*

35 *world's* is underlined, probably to indicate consideration of the other word, for *earth* is opposite, on 43r.

[E.2 43r] Before the wind or sun has withered them
[E.2 42v] And semivital worms; but he refused
The birthright of their being, knowledge, power,
The skill which wields the elements, the thought
Which pierces this dim universe like light,
Self-empire, and the majesty of love;
For thirst of which they fainted. Then Prometheus
Gave wisdom, which is strength, to Jupiter,
And with this law alone, ' Let man be free,'
Clothed him with the dominion of wide Heaven.
To know nor faith, nor love, nor law; to be
Omnipotent but friendless is to reign;
And Jove now reigned; for on the race of man
First famine, and then toil, and then disease,
Strife, wounds, and ghastly death unseen before,
Fell; and the unseasonable seasons drove
With alternating shafts of frost and fire,
[E.2 43v] Their shelterless, pale tribes to mountain caves:
And in their desert hearts fierce wants he sent,
And mad disquietudes, and shadows idle
Of unreal good, which levied mutual war,
So ruining the lair wherein they raged.

37 have E A them, R Fo² Fr
38 semi-vital M Fs worms. But R
39 birthrights E L Fr being— Fs
knowledge power, E
41 pieerces <*sic*> E Universe E
42 Self-empire & E Self-empire Fs
love, E love: Fs
43 fainted; then E Fr
44 Jupiter E
45 And, R alone: E Fr alone—
"Let man be free"— Fs let E alone R
"Let man be free," M *no quotes* E Fr
46 heaven. Fs
47 faith nor love nor law, E R Fr
faith nor love Fs law, W
48 friendless, E W Fr friendless, is to
reign. R
49 reigned: Fs man, E Man R
50 famine & then toil & then disease
E famine and then toil Fs Fr
51 wounds Fs & E before E
52 Fell, E drove, M R W L
53 & fire E fire Fr
54 Thier <*sic*>shelterless E shelter-
less R mountain-caves; Fs mountain-
caves: R² caves E caves; W
55 desart E sent E
56 & shadows E disquietudes Fs

37 This line is in pencil. Freeman read *winds* but what he probably took for *s* is clearly separated from *wind* and is an *h* under the *o* of *or* as Zupitza noted. I believe that Shelley started to write *wind has*

39 [*The spirit*] *birthrights* *The* was mistakenly deleted. Locock, erroneously, read [*spirits*] *knowledge* above [*wisdom &*] *birthrights* in Koszul.

41 Cuningham changed the emphasis with *universe;*

42 Possibly *love;*

47 *no faith* in Dickinson. 50 Possibly *toil,*

54 *ie* of *Thier* (*sic*) are very close together; one or the other letter may have been added. The word may possibly be *Their*

55 For *desert* see note at II.i.12.

Prometheus saw, and waked the legioned hopes
Which sleep within folded Elysian flowers,
Nepenthe, Moly, Amaranth, fadeless blooms,
That they might hide with thin and rainbow wings
The shape of Death; and Love he sent to bind
The disunited tendrils of that vine
Which bears the wine of life, the human heart;
And he tamed fire which, like some beast of prey,
Most terrible, but lovely, played beneath
The frown of man; and tortured to his will
Iron and gold, the slaves and signs of power,
And gems and poisons, and all subtlest forms
Hidden beneath the mountains and the waves.
He gave man speech, and speech created thought,
Which is the measure of the universe;
And Science struck the thrones of earth and heaven,
[E.3 1^{v}] Which shook, but fell not; and the harmonious mind
Poured itself forth in all-prophetic song;
And music lifted up the listening spirit
Until it walked, exempt from mortal care,
Godlike, o'er the clear billows of sweet sound;
And human hands first mimicked and then mocked,
With moulded limbs more lovely than its own,
The human form, till marble grew divine;

---

59 & E
60 elysian R
61 moly, amaranth, R blooms; E Fr
62 & E
63 death, and love E
66 fire, which like some beast of chase E Fr fire,— R^2 prey R^2
67 terrible R
68 man, & E man: Fs man, R^2 Fr
69 & & E power; E Fr Power, R
70 & poisons, & E
71 & the waves E
72 Man R & E thought E
73 Universe E Universe; Fr
74 science R Earth & Heaven E Earth and Heaven, L Fr
75 shook E R Fr
76 song, E Fr
77 spirit, R
80 mimicked, R^2 & then mocked E mocked R^2
81 own E
82 until till E divine, E Fs R L J divine M

---

66 *chase* is not distinct. Zupitza read it as probably *chase* or *prey* and Locock *chase* or *Air* I think that *prey* is out of the question. The word is crowded into the margin, but *ch* is reasonably clear, with a strong possibility of *a* for the third letter. The other letters are indistinguishable.

74 *392* Shelley's count, below *And*

75 Zupitza pointed out that a comma after *not* was corrected to a semicolon with a pencil.

76 The comma after *song* is light, possibly in pencil.

80 *knocked* in Dole.

82 *until* [*it*] *grew* *till marble* is opposite, on 2^{r}

And mothers, gazing, drank the love men see
Reflected in their race, behold, and perish.
He told the hidden power of herbs and springs,
And Disease drank and slept. Death grew like sleep.
He taught the implicated orbits woven
Of the wide-wandering stars; and how the sun
Changes his lair, and by what secret spell
The pale moon is transformed, when her broad eye
Gazes not on the interlunar sea:
He taught to rule, as life directs the limbs,
The tempest-winged chariots of the Ocean,
And the Celt knew the Indian. Cities then
[E.32v] Were built, and through their snow-like columns flowed
The warm winds, and the azure æther shone,
And the blue sea and shadowy hills were seen.
Such, the alleviations of his state,
Prometheus gave to man, for which he hangs
Withering in destined pain: but who reigns down
Evil, the immedicable plague, which, while

84 race—behold, & perish— E race—behold, and perish— A race,— L race—behold and perish— Fr behold Fs
85 & spings <*sic*> E
86 & slept—Death grew like sleep,— E slept—Death grew like sleep— A Fr
88 stars, & E Stars; R stars, Fr Sun E R L
89 & E
90 Moon R L transformed R² Fr
91 sea; E Fr sea. R W
93 Ocean E ocean, Fs R²
94 Indian: E
95 & thro their snowlike E snowlike Fr
96 & E shone E
97 sea & E seen . . . E L Fr
98 Such E Fs Fr state E Fs Fr
99 man— E Fr man: R man,— L
100 pain— E Fr pain. But R pain; W pain:— L rains E M-Fr[Fo]
101 which E Fr

83 Freeman suggested that the commas enclosing *gazing* were added later. Their placement would support this.

84 The comma after *behold* looks rather like a small caret. The second mark may be an intended deletion or merely a pen slip.

86 The comma at *sleep*,— is in pencil.

95 A word that appears to be *Salt* is in the upper left-hand corner of the page, separated from line 95 by a slanting line. May it be a proposed substitute for *snow* in *snow-like* or perhaps a commentary on *snow-like columns*?

100 Forman defended *reigns* inasmuch as "Jove does *not reign* down evil. If it were that he did not *rain* down evil, it would be contradictory of the whole conception of Jove in this poem." Rossetti disagreed with Forman's reasons but gave no counter-arguments, while Scudder merely raised the question: "Does Asia ask the origin of Evil or the ultimate Power of the universe?" Alexander noted that the point of the passage "is that Jove is not the ultimate source of evil; he, too, is enslaved." Dickinson decided that neither word gave "very good sense," but Locock, who felt that *reigns down* "is hardly English," found "nothing 'contradictory' in the assertion that Jove does not *rain down evil* of himself, but only under the compulsion of his master" (*Examination*, p. 31). *rains* (first introduced by Galignani) has been used most frequently.

Man looks on his creation like a God
And sees that it is glorious, drives him on
The wreck of his own will, the scorn of earth,
The outcast, the abandoned, the alone?
Not Jove: while yet his frown shook heaven, aye
when
His adversary from adamantine chains
Cursed him, he trembled like a slave. Declare
Who is his master? Is he too a slave?
DEM. All spirits are enslaved which serve things
evil:
Thou knowest if Jupiter be such or no.
ASIA. Whom called'st thou God?
[E.3 3v] DEM. I spoke but as ye speak,
For Jove is the supreme of living things.
ASIA. Who is the master of the slave?
DEM. If the abysm
Could vomit forth its secrets. But a voice
Is wanting, the deep truth is imageless;
For what would it avail to bid thee gaze
On the revolving world? What to bid speak
Fate, Time, Occasion, Chance and Change? To these
All things are subject but eternal Love.
ASIA. So much I asked before, and my heart gave
The response thou hast given; and of such truths

---

102 God, R god Fs W
103 on,— R on, W H L Fr
104 Earth, E R L Fr
105 alone?— E
106 Jove, E Jove. While R
Heaven, E Fr Heaven, ay, H L aye,
M Fs Fo² W A
108 slave: E
109 is he E Fr
110 evil E evil; Fs
111 know'st R
112 calledst E speak— E Fr
114 is master R —If the Abysm E
—If A Abysm Fr
115 secrets:—but E A secrets. . . . R
H secrets. . . D secrets—but W Fr
118 what E R
119 Chance, R D H & Change:—
E Change?— L Change:— Fr
120 love. E Fr
121 & E
122 & E

---

106 [*for*] *while* with *yet* above the line.
107 A possible comma after *adversary* is, I believe, only a slightly separated part of the *y* upstroke.
112 *e* of *spoke* was added in pencil.
114 Rossetti felt that *the* before *master* spoiled the meter and was probably a misprint or a casual oversight. With this Forman disagreed, as did Locock, who did not find any improvement by the omission of *the*
119 *Chance & Change* at first *chance & change*
122 *response* in pencil above [*answer*] deleted in pencil.

Each to itself must be the oracle.
One more demand; and do thou answer me
[E.3 4r] As my own soul would answer, did it know [125]
That which I ask. Prometheus shall arise
[E.3 3v] Henceforth the sun of this rejoicing world:
When shall the destined hour arrive?
DEM. Behold!
[E.3 4v] ASIA. The rocks are cloven, and through the purple night
I see cars drawn by rainbow-winged steeds [130]
Which trample the dim winds: in each there stands
A wild-eyed charioteer urging their flight.
Some look behind, as fiends pursued them there,
And yet I see no shapes but the keen stars:
Others, with burning eyes, lean forth, and drink [135]
With eager lips the wind of their own speed,
As if the thing they loved fled on before,
And now, even now, they clasped it. Their bright locks
Stream like a comet's flashing hair: they all
Sweep onward.

---

123 oracle.— E
124 demand . . . E L Fr
125 mine Fo D H A
126 ask— E
127 Sun E L Fr world E
128 Hour R^2
129 & E
130 Cars E L
131 winds— E Fr winds; W
132 charioteer, E L Fr
133 there E
134 stars E stars; W Fr
135 Others E Fr eyes E Fr forth Fs & E
136 speed E
137 before E
138 And now—even now they clasped it; their bright E Fr bright hair E
139 Streams like a comets & all E hair; W
140 onward— E Fr

---

123 *441* Shelley's count, below *Each*
124 and 126 These lines at first read:
One more demand . . . and be thine answer now
Nor doubtful nor obscure. Prometheus shall arise
Apparently later, in pencil, Shelley wrote on 4r *Nor dark nor dim* and deleted *Nor doubtful nor obscure* Still in pencil he then wrote *do* above [*be*] and *me* above [*now*] He then changed *thine* to *thou* and wrote the present line 125 and *That which I ask*— (the latter above and partly over the now canceled *Nor dark nor dim*) on 4r.
125 Forman's error on *mine* was followed by Alexander and, after Hutchinson continued it, by Dole, Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.
128 *shall* at first *will*
132 *their* [*speed*] *flight*. The period after *flight* is slightly lengthened, but I believe not a comma.
139 *like a comets* [*scattered hair*] *&* above [*on the blast like meteors & they*] *all* The received reading does not appear in the MS.

DEM. These are the immortal Hours,
Of whom thou didst demand. One waits for thee.
ASIA. A spirit with a dreadful countenance
Checks its dark chariot by the craggy gulph.
Unlike thy brethren, ghastly charioteer,
Who art thou? Whither wouldst thou bear me? Speak!
[E.3 5v] SPIRIT. I am the shadow of a destiny
More dread than is my aspect: ere yon planet
Has set, the darkness which ascends with me
Shall wrap in lasting night heaven's kingless throne.
ASIA. What meanest thou?
PAN. That terrible shadow floats
Up from its throne, as may the lurid smoke
Of earthquake-ruined cities o'er the sea.
Lo! it ascends the car; the coursers fly
Terrified: watch its path among the stars
Blackening the night!
ASIA. Thus I am answered: strange!

140 Hours E
141 demand—one E Fr thee E
142 Spirit E R W L
143 gulph E gulf. M
144 brethren— E Fr charioteer E Charioteer, W
145 What art thou? whither E Fr What art L Speak. E
146 Shadow W
147 aspect— E Fr aspect. Ere R aspect; W
148 Darkness E L Fr
149 Heaven's E R L Fr throne E
150 The E Fr Shadow R W
151 lurid dust E A Fr
152 oer the sea— E sea— Fr
153 Car . . . E L Fr
154 Terrified; E W A Fr Terrified! Watch R stars, R
155 Blackening *below* Darkening E night E answered—strange.! <*sic*> E answered— Fr

140 James Thomson pointed out that the dramatis personae gives *Spirits of the Hours* while here, at their first appearance, Demogorgon calls them simply "the immortal Hours" ("Notes," p. 465).

143 *Ch* above [*Waits with its*] On 5r opposite, in pencil, is *Checks* above [*Stays*] *its dark*

145 Freeman felt that *What* made the answer of the Spirit more logical, since "it does not tell *who* it is, but *what*" (Text, p. 46). *me* is crowded to the margin, and the question mark, written below it, has *Speak.* below it. *speak* is also written on 5r opposite *me*

146 Opposite, at the right edge of 6r, is *image* as a possible alternative for *shadow*

150 *The* at first *That* Zupitza, I believe in error, thought the reverse. *h* of *shadow* at first *p*

151 *may* above [*doth*] *lurid* [*smoke*] *dust* Zupitza thought that *dust* was in different ink. Locock "presumed that Shelley changed his mind again" with respect to *dust* but Freeman defended *dust* because Shelley "got rid of *doth* so he could use *dust*" and he thought that Mrs. Shelley had erred in copying (Text, p. 47).

152 The hyphen before *ruined* appears almost to be a part of the *r* *oer* above [*to*]

153 *Lo!* at first *See!*

154 *watch its path among the stars* above [*& its path darkens the night*]

155 *Blackening* in pencil below *Darkening* *Darkening* at first *Darkens* with the

PAN. See, near the verge, another chariot stays;
An ivory shell inlaid with crimson fire,
Which comes and goes within its sculptured rim
Of delicate strange tracery; the young spirit
That guides it has the dove-like eyes of hope;
How its soft smiles attract the soul! as light
Lures winged insects thro' the lampless air.

[E.3 6v] SPIRIT.
My coursers are fed with the lightning,
They drink of the whirlwind's stream,
And when the red morning is brightning
They bathe in the fresh sunbeam;
They have strength for their swiftness I deem,
Then ascend with me, daughter of Ocean.

I desire: and their speed makes night kindle;
I fear: they outstrip the Typhoon;
Ere the cloud piled on Atlas can dwindle
We encircle the earth and the moon:
We shall rest from long labours at noon:
Then ascend with me, daughter of Ocean.

---

156 verge E R Fr stays E
stays,— R stays, Fr
157 fire E Fr
158 & E
159 tracery— E Fr Spirit E Fr
tracery. The young Spirit R Spirit W L
160 it, E dovelike E Fr hope. E R
161 soul!— E Fr
162 thro E through M
163 lightning E
164 stream E
165 And, R morn R<morning R^2>
bright'ning M W Fr brightening Fs
bright'ning, R
166 sunbeam. R W
167 swiftness, I deem;— R swiftness,
Fr deem E deem; W L
168 me Daughters of Ocean E Daughter R L daughters A Daughters Fr
169 desire— & E desire,— R
desire— W Fr
170 fear— E W Fr fear,— R
typhoon; R W
172 & the moon, E moon. R W
moon; Fr
173 ere noon— E Fr ere A
noon:— R noon; W
174 me daughters of Ocean E Daughter R L daughters A Daughters Fr

---

change in pencil. Between *Asia* and her received line is [*But see See near the verge another chariot stays*] which was then given to Panthea. The deleted line was not included in Shelley's count.
157 *An ivory* above [*Like the*] 158 *Which* [*burns around*] *comes*
159 *the* [*fair*] *young*
160 *That guides it*, in stronger ink above [*Within it,*]
162 [*Leads*] *winged* above [*Attracts*] *Lures* in stronger ink below [*Attracts*]
168 *They ascend* in Cuningham.
172 Possibly *moon;* 173 This line appears to have been inserted later.

SCENE V.

THE CAR PAUSES WITHIN A CLOUD ON THE TOP OF A SNOWY MOUNTAIN. ASIA, PANTHEA, AND THE SPIRIT OF THE HOUR.

SPIRIT.

On the brink of the night and the morning
My coursers are wont to respire;
But the Earth has just whispered a warning
That their flight must be swifter than fire:
They shall drink the hot speed of desire!

[E.3 7v] ASIA. Thou breathest on their nostrils, but my breath
Would give them swifter speed.
SPIRIT. Alas! it could not.
PAN. Oh Spirit! pause, and tell whence is the light
Which fills the cloud? the sun is yet unrisen.
SPIRIT. The sun will rise not until noon. Apollo
Is held in heaven by wonder; and the light
Which fills this vapour, as the aerial hue
Of fountain-gazing roses fills the water,
Flows from thy mighty sister.
PAN. Yes, I feel—
ASIA. What is it with thee, sister? Thou art pale.
PAN. How thou art changed! I dare not look on thee;
I feel but see thee not. I scarce endure
The radiance of thy beauty. Some good change
Is working in the elements, which suffer

SD Scene—the Car pauses within a cloud on the top of a snowy mountain E
1 & E
2 respire, E Fr
4 fire E fire; W
6 nostrils— E Fr
7 speed E Alas, E Fr
8 O Spirit pause & E Spirit, Fr
9 this cloud— E A Fr this cloud? H L J cloud?— Fs The sun R unrisen E
10 till Fs noon— E Fr noon,— L
11 Heaven by wonder— E Heaven L wonder— Fr
12 aërial Fs-Fr[A]
13 water E
14 sister E Sister. R feel . . . E L Fr
15 thee sister? thou art pale E thou Fr
16 thee E thee. Fs
17 feel, E L
19 elements E Fr

Scene v follows immediately after scene iv.
2 *won* in Cuningham.
12-13 Opposite these lines, on 8r, is a question mark. For *aerial* see note at I.469.

[E.3 8v] Thy presence thus unveiled. The Nereids tell
That on the day when the clear hyaline
Was cloven at thy uprise, and thou didst stand
Within a veined shell, which floated on
Over the calm floor of the crystal sea,
Among the Egean isles, and by the shores
Which bear thy name; love, like the atmosphere
Of the sun's fire filling the living world,
Burst from thee, and illumined earth and heaven
And the deep ocean and the sunless caves
And all that dwells within them; till grief cast
Eclipse upon the soul from which it came:
Such art thou now; nor is it I alone,
Thy sister, thy companion, thine own chosen one,
But the whole world which seeks thy sympathy.
Hearest thou not sounds i' the air which speak the love
Of all articulate beings? Feelest thou not

---

20 unveiled—the E Fr
21 That, R
22 thine E H-Fr & E
23 shell R
24 chrystal E
25 isles R & E
26 name, E Fr name: Fs name,— Love, R name,— W
27 world E
28 Earth & Heaven E Earth and Heaven L Fr heaven, R
29 Ocean L & E caves, R L
30 dwell E A Fr
31 came. R W
32 now, E Fr now: Fs alone E alone— R
33 sister E one E one,— R
34 world, R
35 Hear'st R Fo i the air E
36 feelest E Feel'st R Fo

---

20 *510* Shelley's count, follows this line. This error balanced the preceding error at II.iii.28, and his count remained correct to the end of the act. Immediately across, on 9r, Shelley added *818* (his count for Act I) to *510* for a total of *1326* (*sic*). Below and to the right, in larger penciled figures, *1326* is written, crossed out, and underlined, probably for stet. Below this are two smudged numbers, *28* and *10*

22 *ine* is written heavily over *y* of an original *thy* Julian said *they* in 1820, but it does not appear in either issue.

26 *the atmosphere* below [*] This deletion Zupitza thought was *a fire*, *s* with the *a* changed to *an* because of *atmosphere* (before *the* was assigned to that word). Freeman tentatively, and I think erroneously, suggested *az* and conjectured *azure* but did not offer any suggestion for the remaining letters. I agree with Zupitza on the *a* converted to *an* What he took for a comma I am now convinced is the downstroke of a *y* I think that Shelley started to write *a firy*<or *firey*>*sun* but stopped at the *s* of *sun* because of line 27, and made the changes indicated above. See illustration, facing p. 173.

30 *grief cast* below [*Earth*] with the *h* of [*Earth*] not completed. Zupitza, in error, did not read the *h*

35 Forman felt that there could be "no doubt" that Shelley meant both *Hearest* and *Feelest* (line 36) to be contracted, and Scudder, Alexander, and Dickinson followed him in this. *speaks* in Cuningham.

36 *all* above [*each*] with *s* possibly added to *being?* when the change was made.

The inanimate winds enamoured of thee? List!

(*Music.*)

ASIA. Thy words are sweeter than aught else but his
Whose echoes they are: yet all love is sweet,
[E.3 9v] Given or returned. Common as light is love,
And its familiar voice wearies not ever.
Like the wide heaven, the all-sustaining air,
It makes the reptile equal to the God:
They who inspire it most are fortunate,
As I am now; but those who feel it most
Are happier still, after long sufferings,
As I shall soon become.

PAN. List! Spirits speak.

VOICE IN THE AIR, SINGING.

Life of Life! thy lips enkindle
With their love the breath between them;
And thy smiles before they dwindle
Make the cold air fire; then screen them
In those looks, where whoso gazes
Faints, entangled in their mazes.

Child of Light! thy lips are burning

---

37 thee?—list E thee?— L thee?— list! Fr
SD Music E
39 are— E Fr are; W sweet E
40 returned; common E Fr love E
41 ever E
42 Heaven, E L Fr air E
43 God . . . E L Fr god: Fs God. R God; W
44 most, are fortunate E fortunate Fr
46 sufferings E sufferings,— R
47 become E list, spirits speak E List, spirits Fr Spirits, M J
SD Voice in the Air E
48 Life of life! E L Life of Life, W
49 them E them: Fr
50 smiles, R dwindle, R
51 fire: Fs fire,— R L
52 looks E Fs R
53 mazes E
54 limbs E M-Fr

---

38 Scott's *all else* was probably an oversight.

43 *It makes* in pencil above [*Making*] deleted in pencil.

47 [*Panthea*] When Shelley decided not to use the transitional passage on 11r he may have intended *list, spirits speak* to go to Asia, and so have deleted *Panthea* There is no indication of a restoration of the word. *Spirits*, in Cuningham, following M. [*Song of an enamoured Spirit*] above *Voice in the Air*

48-71 For Shelley's translation of these lines into Italian, see Appendix B.

49 Possibly *thier* (*sic*).

51 *fire* in Cuningham.

52 Clive disagreed with Palgrave on *locks*, for *looks*, ("Prometheus," p. 434); and Forman quoted Garnett's support for *looks*, in the Italian translation as *sguardi*,

54 Locock noted *membre* in the Italian translation. *limbs* has been generally followed.

Thro' the vest which seems to hide them;
[E.3 10v] As the radiant lines of morning
Thro' the clouds ere they divide them;
And this atmosphere divinest
Shrouds thee wheresoe'er thou shinest.

Fair are others; none beholds thee,
But thy voice sounds low and tender
Like the fairest, for it folds thee
From the sight, that liquid splendour,
And all feel, yet see thee never,
As I feel now, lost for ever!

Lamp of Earth! where'er thou movest
Its dim shapes are clad with brightness
And the souls of whom thou lovest
Walk upon the winds with lightness,
Till they fail, as I am failing,
Dizzy, lost, yet unbewailing!

---

55 Thro E Through M them E them, R
57 Through E M Though <*sic*> the clouds A clouds, M Fs R W L them E
59 whereso'er thou shinest E
60 others;— E Fr others— A thee. R thee,— L
61 (But R^2 & E tender, R
62 fairest— E L Fr fairest), R^2
63 sight E sight— R^2 splendour E splendour,— R <splendour; R^2 >
64 feel R <feel, R^2 > never E
65 forever! E W L
66 movest, R L
67 brightness, M-J[A]
68 thou thou <*sic*> E
69 lightness E
71 lost . . . yet unbewailing E lost . . L Fr unbewailing. Fr

---

55 Clive would have preferred *veil* instead of the "discordant sibilance" of *vest* ("Prometheus," p. 435), as would Todhunter (*Study*, p. 166), and Scudder.

56 *radiant hues* in Shepherd.

57 Clive noted *thin* for *the* "in many versions" (but in none examined for the present edition) and felt that it "spoils the melody of the line by producing a halt in the endeavour to pronounce a word so distinct and remarkable as 'thin,' and also mars the intellectual beauty of the image" by so definite an idea ("Prometheus," p. 435).

60 This stanza first started with the opening two and one-half lines of the next stanza (to *sou* in line 68). These lines were then deleted, and the present stanza was written. In the deleted lines: *It's* The lines were not included in Shelley's count.

60-64 Rossetti defended his R^2 punctuation as keeping "the primary part of the present stanza primary, and its secondary part secondary." He understood "that liquid splendour" to be the same as "this atmosphere divinest" in the preceding stanza.

65 *555* Shelley's count, follows this line.

68 What appears to be a repeated *thou* above *whom* may be an intended alternative, *those* for *whom*

71 *561* Shelley's count, in the lower right-hand corner of the page. Shelley then

[E.3 11r] ASIA.

My soul is an enchanted boat,
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
And thine doth like an angel sit [75]

---

72 Boat E boat Fs Fr Boat, L 74 singing, E Fr
73 Which Fs swan Fs 75 Angel E L Fr

---

wrote an unused but undeleted transitional passage on 11r, as follows:

Asia
spoke
You [say] said that Spirits [speak] but it was thee
Sweet sister, for even now thy curved lips
Tremble as if the sound were dying there
Not dead
Panthea
was spoke
Alas it [is] Prometheus [speaks]
and I know
Within me, [if I spoke], & [even now it] it must be so
I mixed my own weak nature with his love
And

At this point Shelley dropped to the bottom of the page and wrote *Asia* and lines 72-79 (Locock considered Asia's song an "afterthought"). Apparently later, and with different ink, he wrote the following in the skipped space:

And my thoughts
Are like the many forests of a vale
Through which the might of whirlwind & of rain
rest rest
Has passed [bu and] they [gleam and]
[glimmer] through the evening light
As Imine <*sic*> do now in thy beloved smile.

In the first part, *love* was at first *life* *and I know* and the deletion of *if I spoke* are in the lighter ink used in the second attempt to complete the passage. Locock, in error, read [*And*] for the final word in this first part.

In the second section I am quite sure that *Has* was at first *Had* (Zupitza and Locock thought the reverse; Freeman gave *Has* without noting the change). *passed* at first *past* Freeman read [*bro*] for what I am sure is [*bu*] and thought, I believe erroneously, that the first superscribed *rest* was [*i*]*est* (the *r* is not well formed). [*gleam and*] has previously been given as a second [*glimmer*] but the two words are quite distinct. On the duplicated *rest* Locock commented: "The line sounds right with both the 'rests,' but the fact that Shelley altered his usual 'past' to 'passed' proves that he meant the word to be scanned as a disyllable, and that the first 'rest' was accidentally left uncancelled."

72-84 Neville Rogers (*Music at Marlow*) noted that the germ of this stanza is to be found in *Fragment: To One Singing* (see Critical Notes at II.v.72-84), written for Claire Clairmont, and that the draft of the *Fragment*, reproduced by Rogers (see Appendix A), with its deleted words anticipated this stanza, especially in the *boat-float* of the first line:

My spirit like a charmed [boat] bark doth [float] swim

An abstract of the draft was first given by Locock (*Examination*, p. 63).

Beside the helm conducting it,
Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.
It seems to float ever, for ever,
Upon that many-winding river,
[E.3 12r] Between mountains, woods, abysses,
A paradise of wildernesses!
Till, like one in slumber bound,
Borne to the ocean, I float down, around,
Into a sea profound, of ever-spreading sound:
Meanwhile thy spirit lifts its pinions
In music's most serene dominions;
Catching the winds that fan that happy heaven.
And we sail on, away, afar,
Without a course, without a star,
But, by the instinct of sweet music driven;
Till through Elysian garden islets
By thee, most beautiful of pilots,
Where never mortal pinnace glided,
The boat of my desire is guided:
Realms where the air we breathe is love,
Which in the winds on the waves doth move,

76 a helm Fo D W H it E Fr
77 While Fs ringing E
78 ever—forever— E ever—for ever— Fr forever, W L
79 many winding River E River, Fr E
80 Betweens <*sic*> E
81 Paradise E L Fr wildernesses, E Fr
82 Till E Fr bound E R L
83 Ocean, I float, E Fr float, L
84 Sea E profound R W L sound E sound. M Fs R W L Fr
85 *new stanza* E M-Fr Spirit E L
86 Music's E Fs L Fr dominions E dominions, R dominions: J
87 Heaven E Heaven. L Fr
89 course— E Fr star— E Fr
90 But E Fs R Fo^2 L Fr Music driven E
91 Till, E L Fr elysian R islets, R Fr <garden-islets, R^2>
92 thee W
93 glided E
94 guided— E Fr guided; W
95 Love E Love, L Fr
96 & on E and on R-Fr[W] move E

76 Forman's error (*a helm*) was followed by Alexander and, after Hutchinson's use, by Dole, Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.

79 *Upon* above [*Betwee*] (*sic*). *river* in Cuningham.

80 *mountains, woods,* above [*forests*] and a space left between that word and *abysses,* The *s* of *Betweens* may be an accidental pen stroke, but it is not partly erased as Freeman thought.

84 *spreading* below [*flowing*]

85 *the spirit* in Shepherd, who followed 1820 (as did Galignani) in not forming a new stanza.

96 *Which* [*Which*] Rossetti inserted *and* after *winds* to make the line decasyllabic (as in the other stanzas, which agree in general metrical structure) and to give a more natural expression. Forman agreed (as did Dickinson), adding that *and* avoided the "markedly dactylic opening" which was out of harmony with the general movement.

Harmonizing this earth with what we feel above.

[E.3 13r] We have pass'd Age's icy caves,
And Manhood's dark and tossing waves,
And Youth's smooth ocean, smiling to betray:
Beyond the glassy gulphs we flee
Of shadow-peopled Infancy,
Through Death and Birth, to a diviner day;
A paradise of vaulted bowers,
Lit by downward-gazing flowers,
And watery paths that wind between
Wildernesses calm and green,
Peopled by shapes too bright to see,

97 Harmonising M Earth E L above E
98 past E passed M
99 & tossing waves E
100 And youth's delusive sea which smiles but to betray *or* And youths false waters smiling to betray Dr betray; E W Fr
101 gulfs M
102 infancy, E
103 Thro death & birth E death and birth Fr serener day Dr day, E day:— R<day: R^2>
104 Paradise E L Fr bowers E M R W L J
105 down ward-gazing <*sic*>flowers E
107 & green E
108 see E

But Woodberry thought that the correction of a faultless line for these reasons was open to gravest doubt, as were "all metrical emendations in a poet so accustomed to irregular and original melody as Shelley." The change was generally followed, even before the evidence of the MS.

98-103 These lines developed most interestingly (see also Appendix A). In Huntington MS 2176, in the midst of materials representing drafts of Act IV, are two facing pages, *25v and *26r, with early drafts of these lines. *26r opens with the following inaccurate Spanish of Calderón (a writer admired by Shelley at this time), in ink: "Viento in popa nuestra amor / Navegava hermosos mares / De rayos y de matizes / Quieto el golfo y manso el ayre" These lines Forman translated as follows: "Wind astern, our good ship 'Love'/ Sailed along through beauteous waters—/ Beauteous both in light and colour—/ Calm the bay and soft the zephyr" (*Note-Books*, p. 26).

Apparently influenced by these lines, Shelley wrote at the bottom of the page a draft of IV.383-84 (see Appendix A), described by Forman as "a precious enough outcome of the Spanish; but the transfiguration of ideas evidenced" in II.v.98-102 "is a miracle to be grateful for" (*ibid*, p. 27). The draft, in pencil, between the Spanish and the Act IV lines, and the next stage of the draft, in ink on *25v, should be compared carefully with the received lines (see Appendix A).

99 *Manhood's* at first *manhood's*

100 The second version in the draft was at first: *And youths false sea which smiles but to betray* E: *Youth's* at first *youth's*

101-2 These lines are incomplete in the first draft version, with an option of *sunny* or *glassy* and no adjective for *Infancy* The second draft version was at first: *Beyond the sunny isles we flee* Then *gleaming* above [*sunny isles*] but without *gulphs* See draft note (Appendix A). 107 What appears to be *Eu* precedes this line. I believe Shelley may merely have been clearing his pen with irrelevant marks.

And rest, having beheld; somewhat like thee;
Which walk upon the sea, and chaunt melodiously! [110]

END OF THE SECOND ACT.

---

109 beheld,— R beheld: J sea Fr chant M R W H J
thee E thee,— R SD *omitted* E R W L Fr
110 sea & chaunt melodiously E

Shelley's count for this act may be summarized as follows: He made two errors in counting (see notes at II.iii.28 and II.v.20) which canceled each other and resulted in an even count of 561 (see II.v.71). He sometimes did and sometimes did not compensate for deletions and additions (see notes at II.i.118, 123; II.iv.155; II.v.60). Following is a comparison of the actual count and Shelley's count for the act:

	Actual	Shelley	
Verso totals	571	561	(includes 1 added line from E.2 28^r)
Deletions	16	5	(11 of the 16 accounted for in his 561)
	555	556	
Recto additions	132	131	(1 of the 131 included in his 561)
Lines in printed act	687	687	

[E.3 11v]

ACT III.

SCENE I.

HEAVEN. JUPITER ON HIS THRONE; THETIS AND THE OTHER DEITIES ASSEMBLED.

JUP. YE congregated powers of heaven, who share
The glory and the strength of him ye serve,
Rejoice! henceforth I am omnipotent.
All else had been subdued to me; alone
The soul of man, like an unextinguished fire, [5]
Yet burns towards heaven with fierce reproach, and doubt,
And lamentation, and reluctant prayer,
Hurling up insurrection, which might make
Our antique empire insecure, though built

SD Act 3d Scene—Heaven. Jupiter on his throne Thetis & The other Deities assembled— E
1 Powers of Heaven E Powers of Heaven, R L Fr
2 & E serve E
3 Henceforth am I Fr am I omnipotent E Omnipotent. R
4 has E L Fr me— E Fr
5 Man, R like unextinguished E M-Fr fire E
6 toward Heaven Fs Heaven E L Heaven, Fr reproach & doubt E reproach and doubt Fs reproach Fr
7 lamentation & reluctant prayer E lamentation Fs Fr prayer,— L

See p. 657, note 205, relative to Act III drafts.

SD *Act 3d* in pencil at top of page. *Scene*— etc. one inch below. *Thetis &* was added.

1 SD: Just above *Jupiter* is the same word in pencil.

4 *has* at first *had* Zupitza thought the reverse, but *s* is heavily over *d*

5 Forman assumed that Mrs. Shelley dropped *an* on the basis of the errata. Locock compared "Weapons of unvanquished war" (*The Mask of Anarchy* lxxix), which in the MS read "of an unvanquished war." The omission has been generally followed, except by Shepherd. 5 Shelley's count, follows this line.

8 [*In tameless*] deleted in pencil, and *Hurling up* is on 12r, opposite, in pencil, together with [*The masks of a rebellion*] deleted in pencil.

On eldest faith, and hell's coeval, fear;
And tho' my curses thro' the pendulous air,
Like snow on herbless peaks, fall flake by flake,
And cling to it; tho' under my wrath's might
[E.3 12v] It climb the crags of life, step after step,
Which wound it, as ice wounds unsandalled feet,
It yet remains supreme o'er misery,
Aspiring, unrepressed, yet soon to fall:
Even now have I begotten a strange wonder,
That fatal child, the terror of the earth,
Who waits but till the distant hour arrive,
Bearing from Demogorgon's vacant throne
The dreadful might of ever-living limbs
Which clothed that awful spirit unbeheld,

---

10 & Hell's E Hell's L Fr fear. R
11 And, R though E M thro E through M air E Fr
13 it—though E Fr though M night E M-Fr[Fo]
14 climbs D H life R
15 it R ice wound J feet E feet; R feet,— L
16 misery E
17 Aspiring . . unrepressed; E Aspiring unrepressed; Fr unrepressed:— R
fall. R fall; W
18 wonder— R
19 Child, E R Earth, E Fr
20 destined Hour arrive E R Fr destined M-Fr Hour L
21 (Bearing R Demogorgons E
22 ever living E limbs, Fr
23 Spirit unbeheld) R unbeheld— E A unbeheld,— L

---

10 *10* Shelley's count, follows this line. He numbered more frequently in this act and, in the numbers following the lines, clearly made a running count after the act was finished, since the numbers are consistent in pen and ink used, whereas the text itself is not.

13 *night* is on the opposite page because of lack of space here. Forman (unlike Rossetti in R^2) doubted that *night* in M was based on the errata, because "the sense that the soul of man climbs the crags of life subject to the power of Jove's wrath seems to me more probable than the sense that it climbs under the darkness of his wrath." Locock noted that the word had been similarly altered, probably by the printer, in "Blotting its spherèd stars in supernatural night" (*The Revolt of Islam* I.lv), where *in* was also changed to *with* (Edition, p. 556). Shepherd and Scudder retained *might* with others generally adopting *night*

14 *climb*[*s*] Dowden's use of *climbs* may have influenced Dickinson. Hutchinson's use was followed by Dole, Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.

15 *wound*[*s*] *15* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

18 *a* above [*the*] and *wonder* above [*might*],

19 Shelley first wrote *That* but altered it, possibly to *A* and then wrote a new *That* heavily, the *at* obscuring the original *Th*

20 Zupitza read *Hour* or *Hours* A possibly deleted *s* does appear to be present *20* (at first *21*) Shelley's running count, follows this line.

22 *might* above [*robe*]

23 *awful* in different ink, above [*shadowy*]

To redescend, and trample out the spark.

Pour forth heaven's wine, Idæan Ganymede, [25]
And let it fill the Dædal cups like fire,
And from the flower-inwoven soil divine
Ye all-triumphant harmonies arise,
As dew from earth under the twilight stars:
Drink! be the nectar circling thro' your veins [30]
The soul of joy, ye ever-living Gods,
Till exultation burst in one wide voice
Like music from Elysian winds.
And thou
[E.3 13v] Ascend beside me, veiled in the light
Of the desire which makes thee one with me, [35]
Thetis, bright image of eternity!
When thou didst cry, " Insufferable might!
" God! Spare me! I sustain not the quick flames,
" The penetrating presence; all my being,
" Like him whom the Numidian seps did thaw [40]
" Into a dew with poison, is dissolved,

---

24 redescend Fr & E spark . . . E L Fr
25 Heavens wine Idæan Ganymede E Heaven's L Ganymede L
26 dædal E R W L fire E fire; R
27 divine, M Fs R W soul divine, J
28 Ye all triumphant E harmonies, R W arise E Fr
29 Earth E A L Fr stars; E stars! R stars. W Fr
30 Drink, E thro E through M
31 everliving Gods E everliving Fr gods, Fs
32 voice, R
33 elysian R winds.— & E winds.— A
35 me E
36 Image of Eternity— E Fr Image of Eternity!— L Eternity! R
37 cry— E Fr *quotes at beginning and end only* E M might E might, Fr
38 spare E R^2 W Fr flames E
39 presence, all my being E Fr
41 dissolved— E Fr

---

24 *To redescend* (in same ink as *awful* in line 23) above [*He shall descend &*] with *&* deleted accidentally. Hutchinson, Hughes, and Freeman did not space after line 24.
27 *divine* above [*of Heaven*] Scott's *soul* for *soil* was probably a misprint, as was the same alteration in Julian.
28 *Ye all* in pencil above [*Let the*] deleted in pencil. The pencil is quite faint, but clear.
29 [*the*] *Earth under* above [*beneath*]
30 *circling* in different ink above [*living*] *30* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
33 *Elysian*[*s*] No line division in E.
34 *35* Shelley's running count (in error for 34), follows this line. He carried this error in his running count to text line III.ii.50.
36 *Image* above [*Shadow*]
39 *The* at first *Thy being* above [*frame*] *40* Shelley's running count, opposite on 14r.

" Sinking thro' its foundations:" even then
Two mighty spirits, mingling, made a third
Mightier than either, which, unbodied now,
Between us floats, felt, although unbeheld, [45]
Waiting the incarnation, which ascends,
(Hear ye the thunder of the fiery wheels
Griding the winds?) from Demogorgon's throne.
Victory! victory! Feel'st thou not, O world,
The earthquake of his chariot thundering up [50]
Olympus?

[*The Car of the* HOUR *arrives.* DEMOGORGON *descends, and moves towards the Throne of* JUPITER.

[E.3 14^{v}] Awful shape, what art thou? Speak!

DEM. Eternity. Demand no direr name.
Descend, and follow me down the abyss.
I am thy child, as thou wert Saturn's child;

---

42 thro its foundations—" Even E through M foundations:"— R L foundations,"— W foundations"— Fr
43 spirits mingling E Fr Spirits, R mingling M Fs
44 either—which unbodied now E Fr either; R L which unbodied now Fs
45 us, floats, felt though unbeheld E felt Fs R A Fr unbeheld Fs A
46 incarnation which ascends Fs R ascends— E ascends L Fr
47 Hear E
48 winds? E throne— E
49 Victory! Victory, feel'st thou not o World E Victory! Victory! feel'st Fr Feelest M Fs feel'st A world! M Fs L J World! R World, Fr
50 Earthquake E
SD The Car of the Hour arrives, Demogorgon descends & moves toward the throne of Jupiter. E
51 Shape, E R Fr Speak E
52 Eternity— demand E Fr
53 & E abyss; E Fr
54 thy child Fs Saturns child . . . E Saturn's child, Fr

---

43 *mingling* at first *mingled*
44 [*th*] *which* This line was followed by:

[Which]
[Even now unbodied & invisible]

The deleted line was not included in either Shelley's early or his running count.
45 *felt* [*al*]*though unbeheld* above [*our mighty Progeny*] Zupitza felt that [*al*] was accidentally deleted. *eheld* of *unbeheld* is penciled over what appears to be ink from a pen running dry.
47 *wheels* above [*winds*]
48 *Grinding* in Cuningham. *from* omitted in Shepherd.
49 *Victory!* at first *Victory*, *Feelest* in Dickinson. *50* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
54 *as thou wert Saturns child* above [*as thou art Saturns*] . . . Opposite, on 15^{r}, is *Rhea's*— with a debatable word before it (see illustration, facing p. 173). Zupitza read *He Rhea's*— (as did Freeman) or *As Rhea's*— Locock read it as a marginal note, *or Rhea's*— If the first letter is *H* or *A* the left shank is very faint. I believe that Locock was correct in his conjecture. I think that Shelley made a vertical line (which has been taken as the left shank of *A* or *H*) with a dry pen to separate the note from the text. After writing *or Rhea's*—he attempted to strengthen the line by remark-

Mightier than thee: and we must dwell together
Henceforth in darkness. Lift thy lightnings not.
The tyranny of heaven none may retain,
Or reassume, or hold, succeeding thee:
Yet if thou wilt, as 'tis the destiny
Of trodden worms to writhe till they are dead,
Put forth thy might.
JUP. Detested prodigy!
Even thus beneath the deep Titanian prisons
I trample thee! thou lingerest?

Mercy! mercy!
No pity, no release, no respite! Oh,
That thou wouldst make mine enemy my judge,
Even where he hangs, seared by my long revenge,
[E.3 15v] On Caucasus! he would not doom me thus.

---

55 thee E thee. And R thee; W thee, Fr
56 darkness—lift E Fr not— E Fr
57 Heaven E R L retain E Fs
58 reässume Fs re-assume, L hold E thee . . . E L Fr thee. R thee; W
59 Yet, R wilt—as tis E wilt,— L wilt— Fr
60 dead— E Fr dead,— L
61 might E
63 thee!— Thou lingerest? . . . R Thou M² W L Mercy, mercy E
64 pity— E respite! . . oh E respite! . . L Oh Fs Oh! R<Oh R²>
65 Enemy R judge. E
66 revenge E
67 Caucasus— E *He* R He L thus— E

---

ing it but brought the new line down just to the right of the first and into the *o* of *or* (suggesting *A* or *H*). The above readings would be accounted for by this hypothesis.

55 *Mightier than thee* is underlined. *together* is below what I believe to be a faintly written and heavily deleted [*pent*] (Freeman read [*hence*] but the *t* is legible). The line was added later.

59 *60* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

64 *64* Shelley's correct early count, precedes this line; *65* his running count, follows it. Despite this evident contradiction in the two counts, Shelley apparently did not recheck but trusted his running count.

65 The period after *judge* is probably accidental.

67 Shelley had difficulty at this point. He started as follows:

refuge
No [respite], no appeal— . . .
[Defiance]
[then shall we sink]
Let [loose] Hell unlock

The deletion of *loose* also includes the short stroke of a letter which was a false start on some other word. Apparently not satisfied with any of these endings, he wrote, in pencil, on 16r opposite:

Together then
Sink Into

Then, in ink and partly obscuring the penciled words, he wrote:

[E.3 16r] Gentle, and just, and dreadless, is he not
The monarch of the world? What art thou?
[E.3 15v] No refuge! no appeal!
[E.3 16r] Sink with me then,
We two will sink on the wide waves of ruin,
Even as a vulture and a snake outspent
Drop, twisted in inextricable fight,
Into a shoreless sea. Let hell unlock
[E.3 15v] Its mounded oceans of tempestuous fire,
And whelm on them into the bottomless void
This desolated world, and thee, and me,
The conqueror and the conquered, and the wreck
Of that for which they combated.
Ai! Ai!

---

68 Gentle & just & dreadless E Gentle and just Fs R Fr
69 Monarch R world?—what then E World? R<world? R2> What then M-Fr thou?— R
70 refuge, no appeal— . . . E appeal!— R then— E then! R Fr then,— L
71 shall sink E shall A ruin E
72 & E
73 fight; E
74 sea.— E sea! W Hell E A L Fr
75 Oceans E fire E Fr
77 The desolated world & thou & me E The desolated Fr world and thee Fs
78 & & E
79 combated . . . Ai, ai E combated! R W Ai, Ai! W

Together then
Shall we be drowned in ruin fathomless
but canceled all after *we* and wrote above:
sink down upon the stream of ruin
He then canceled all of this and above and below it wrote the received lines, breaking off in the middle of line 74 to fit *Let Hell unlock* Only by thus separating the preliminary from the final draft of the lines (which has not been done previously) can the passage be properly transcribed.

Lines 68-74 on 16r were included in Shelley's running count only, clearly having been written after the early count.

68 *dreadless* above [*mild if he is now*]

69 Forman thought that Mrs. Shelley restored *then* "doubtless" from the errata, and Freeman noted that the meter required the word (Text, p. 47). It has, except for Shepherd, been generally adopted.

70 *Sink with me then—* is across from and spaced to balance the first half of line 70, which is on 15v. *71* Shelley's running count, follows *then—*

71 *on* appears to be just that, with a dot over the thin *o* Zupitza thought that *in* was changed to *on* and Locock that *on* was changed to *in* by dotting the *o* He also suggested, I believe correctly, that the dot was accidental. *wild waves* in Shepherd.

72 *as* above [*like*]

73 *Drop* above [*Sink*],

74 *75* Shelley's running count, after *unlock*

75 *Its* above [*Thy*]

76 [*Swallow*] *And* [*let*] with a caret after [*let*] directing to *whelm on* above the line.

79 *80* Shelley's running count, follows this line. *O* of *Of* at first some other letter or a weak *O* retraced. No line division in E.

The elements obey me not. I sink [80]
Dizzily down, ever, for ever, down.
[E.3 16r] And, like a cloud, mine enemy above
Darkens my fall with victory! Ai, Ai!

[E.3 15v] ## SCENE II.

THE MOUTH OF A GREAT RIVER IN THE ISLAND ATLANTIS. OCEAN IS DISCOVERED RECLINING NEAR THE SHORE; APOLLO STANDS BESIDE HIM.

OCEAN. He fell, thou sayest, beneath his conqueror's frown?
APOLLO. Aye, when the strife was ended which made dim
[E.3 16v] The orb I rule, and shook the solid stars,
The terrors of his eye illumined heaven
With sanguine light, through the thick ragged skirts [5]

---

80 not . . . I sink . . . E L Fr not! R
81 Dizzily down—ever, forever, down— E Dizzily down— Fr down,—ever, forever, down, L for ever, down! R forever, W
82 And like a cloud the enemy above . . . E And like a cloud Fs Fr the enemy A Fr Enemy R above . . . L
83 victory—ai! ai! E Ai! Ai! R² Fr

SD Scene The mouth of a great River in the island Atlantis—Ocean is discovered reclining near the shore—Apollo stands beside him— E
1 fell thou sayest E say'st R Conquerors E Conqueror's L Fr
2 Ay, M
3 & E stars. E Fr
4 Heaven E L Fr
5 light Fr thro E through M

---

80 This line is followed by:
[Down down down down dizzily, far & deep
Ever ever] d
The deleted line was not included in either the early or the running count. Line 81 (followed by *82* Shelley's running count) was then crowded in between line 80 and the deleted line.
80-82 These lines were included in both the early and running count.
82 *the* above [*mine*] in different ink.

Scene ii follows immediately after III.i.
2 *made* [*pale*] *dim* on 16r because of lack of space here.
5 With [crimson]
sanguine light, thro the thick ragged skirts
crimson may be underlined rather than deleted. *rugged* in Cuningham.

Of the victorious darkness, as he fell:
Like the last glare of day's red agony,
Which, from a rent among the fiery clouds,
Burns far along the tempest-wrinkled deep.
OCEAN. He sunk to the abyss? To the dark void?
APOLLO. An eagle so caught in some bursting cloud
On Caucasus, his thunder-baffled wings
Entangled in the whirlwind, and his eyes
Which gazed on the undazzling sun, now blinded
By the white lightning, while the ponderous hail
Beats on his struggling form, which sinks at length
Prone, and the aerial ice clings over it.
[E.3 17v] OCEAN. Henceforth the fields of Heaven-reflecting sea
Which are my realm, will heave, unstain'd with blood,
Beneath the uplifting winds, like plains of corn
Swayed by the summer air; my streams will flow
Round many peopled continents, and round
Fortunate isles; and from their glassy thrones
Blue Proteus and his humid nymphs shall mark

6 Darkness, E L Fr fell; E W Fr
7 agony E R Fr
8 Which E Fr clouds E Fr
9 Deep E Deep. Fr
10 abyss? to E R W L Fr
11 so, E R A L Fr
12 Caucasus; E R A
13 & E eyes, R W
16 form E A
17 Prone Fs & E aërial M-Fr[A] it— E A
18 heaven-reflecting Fs R H
19 realm R Fo² heave Fs R²
unstained M blood E Fs R² Fr
20 winds— E Fr
22 many-peopled continents & E
many-peopled Fs-Fr[R¹] continents Fr
23 isles. And R & E
24 & E Nymphs E L

6 *90* Shelley's running count, follows this line. The poet does not renumber for each scene.

11 *95* Shelley's running count, follows this line. Forman questioned (Locock thought with "no reason") whether a line had been lost but noted that the passage might mean simply that "an eagle *sinks* so *when* caught in some bursting cloud."

12 The semicolon after *Caucasus* was at first either a comma or a colon.

13 The first letter of *Entangled* may be either *E* or *I*

15 *while* at first *when*

17 *101* Shelley's running count, below *over it* To the right of *101* is *94* Shelley's correct early count. For *aerial* see note at I.469.

22 The hyphen between *many* and *peopled* is light but present. Zupitza thought that it was a print from a crossed *t* on 18r, and if the page is folded carefully it does coincide in position, but I believe not in shape and certainly not in length. The *t* is crossed firmly and would have made a stronger impression had it made any. Locock also disagreed with Zupitza's ingenious hypothesis, even though Zupitza considered his case strengthened because Blind conjectured the hyphen rather than citing the MS ("Shelley"). The hyphen has been generally adopted.

The shadow of fair ships, as mortals see
The floating bark of the light laden moon
With that white star, its sightless pilot's crest,
Borne down the rapid sunset's ebbing sea;
Tracking their path no more by blood and groans,
And desolation, and the mingled voice
Of slavery and command; but by the light
Of wave-reflected flowers, and floating odours,
And music soft, and mild, free, gentle voices,
That sweetest music, such as spirits love.
[E.3 18v] APOLLO. And I shall gaze not on the deeds which make
My mind obscure with sorrow, as eclipse
Darkens the sphere I guide; but list, I hear
The small, clear, silver lute of the young Spirit
That sits on the morning star.
OCEAN. Thou must away;
Thy steeds will pause at even, till when farewell:
[E.3 19r] The loud deep calls me home even now to feed it

25 shadows Fr ships (as R
26 light-laden E Fs-Fr moon, R
27 crest E
28 sunsets E sea); R
29 & groans E groans Fs R Fr
30 desolation Fs
31 & command— E command,— R L command— Fr
32 flowers Fs odours Fs
33 soft Fs & mild free gentle voices E
34 And sweetest Fo D H music,— E Fr music Fs Spirits R
36 Eclipse E Fr
37 guide— E Fr guide. But W guide. But list! R <guide.—But R² L>
38 small clear E
39 i the Morning star— E i' M·Fr Morning Star. R L star— Fr away? E A L Fr away. R
40 even—till when, farewell E even: Fs even,—till when, farewell. R even—till when, farewell. Fr when, L farewell. W
41 Deep E Fr now, E R L

25 Freeman, in error, read a faint final *s* for *shadow*
26 *light-* above [*un*]*laden* *110* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
27 *its* [*unseen*] below [*which is*] plus a mark that might be a start on another letter (Freeman thought *i* but there is no dot). *sightless* above [*is*]
31 *115* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
32 *and odours* [*sweet*], with a caret after *and* directing to *floating* above the line.
33 *free* above [*frank*]
34 *That* at first *The* or the reverse. Forman's *And* was possibly a misprint but was uncorrected in later issues. His use would account for the word in Alexander; that of Hutchinson for the word in Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.
36 *120* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
39 *i*[*n*] with only the first stroke of *n* written. Forman assumed that the errata accounted for M, and Freeman agreed, since Shelley (as at II.v.35) occasionally used *i'* where rhythmically suitable. It has been generally followed here.
40 *even* above an illegible deletion which Zupitza read as [*mor*] and Freeman as [*noon*]
41 This line was at first:
[Hark the loud Deep calls me home too, to feed it]

[E.3 18v] With azure calm out of the emerald urns
Which stand for ever full beside my throne.
Behold the Nereids under the green sea,
Their wavering limbs borne on the wind-like stream,
Their white arms lifted o'er their streaming hair
With garlands pied and starry sea-flower crowns,
Hastening to grace their mighty sister's joy.
(*A sound of waves is heard.*)
It is the unpastured sea hungering for calm.
[E.3 19v] Peace, monster; I come now. Farewell.
APOLLO. Farewell.

SCENE III.

CAUCASUS. PROMETHEUS, HERCULES, IONE, THE EARTH, SPIRITS, ASIA, AND PANTHEA, BORNE IN THE CAR WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE HOUR.
HERCULES UNBINDS PROMETHEUS, WHO DESCENDS.

---

43 forever E W A L throne . . . E L Fr
44 sea E sea— R
45 wind like streams E windlike streams, Fr
46 oer E hair, R W L
47 & E crowns,— R
48 Sisters joy E Sister's R L Fr
SD The roar of waves is heard— E
49 Sea hungring <*sic*>for Calm E hung'ring Fr Sea L
50 Peace Monster—I come now! farewell E monster! R^2 now! L *after Apollo*: Farewell!— E Farewell! L Fr
SD Scene Caucasus, Prometheus, Hercules, Asia Panthea Ione, the Earth. borne by the spirit of the Hour Spirits— E Spirits: R Spirits. L Prometheus who descends E

This was deleted in pencil and the received reading written opposite, in pencil. The two lines balanced in Shelley's counts.

44 Possibly *Sea*

45 Zupitza and Locock read a possible final *s* for *streams* I believe that it is definite. *born* in Cuningham.

46 *130* Shelley's running count, follows this line and is still one line ahead of the actual count (see III.i.39).

48 The following SD is in light pencil.

49 *126* Shelley's early count, below *Calm* The second digit is slightly blotted, but I believe the number to be *126* rather than *136* as in Freeman. *126* would be a correct early count before the changes.

50 *135* Shelley's running count (in error for 133), follows Apollo's *Farewell!*— He carried this error in his running count to text line III.iii.64.

Scene iii follows III.ii directly but is written in lighter ink with finer pen.

SD *borne by the spirit of the Hour* added later. Locock defended the full stop after

HERC. Most glorious among spirits, thus doth strength
To wisdom, courage, and long-suffering love,
And thee, who art the form they animate,
Minister like a slave.
PRO. Thy gentle words
Are sweeter even than freedom long desired
And long delayed.
Asia, thou light of life,
Shadow of beauty unbeheld: and ye,
Fair sister nymphs, who made long years of pain
Sweet to remember, thro' your love and care:
Henceforth we will not part. There is a cave,
All overgrown with trailing odorous plants,
Which curtain out the day with leaves and flowers,
[E.3 20v] And paved with veined emerald, and a fountain
Leaps in the midst with an awakening sound.
From its curved roof the mountain's frozen tears
Like snow, or silver, or long diamond spires,
Hang downward, raining forth a doubtful light:
And there is heard the ever-moving air,
Whispering without from tree to tree, and birds,

1 Spirits, E H Fr spirits! M Fs W J Spirits! R L Strength R
2 wisdom courage & long suffering love E Wisdom, Courage, R courage Fs Love, R
3 animate E
4 Minister, E L Fr slave E
7 Beauty unbeheld; R <beauty unbeheld; R²> unbeheld, & ye E unbeheld; M W A L unbeheld, and ye Fr
8 sister-nymphs who make E sister-nymphs, A L Fr Nymphs R<Nymphs, R²> make A Fr
9 remember through E through M & care E care; M Fs R W L care, Fr
10 Cave E L Fr cave Fs R
11 plants E Fs R Fr
12 curtain-out R² & flowers E flowers; R flowers Fr
13 emerald; R W & a E fountain, M R J<fountain R²>
14 sound; E
15 tears, M Fs R W L J
16 snow or silver E Fs R Fr spires E
17 Hang downward, *or* Cling pendent E light; E W L Fr light. R
18 air E W
19 & E birds Fs

Spirits (used also by Dickinson) since the car probably contained only Asia, Panthea, and the Spirit of the Hour.

5 *than* looks like *thah* Probably a false upstroke was not deleted. *140* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

6 No line break, but extra space before *Asia,*

10 *let us not* is on 20r, opposite line 9, probably as an alternative for *we will not*

12 *140* Shelley's early count (in error for 139), below *Which* He carried this error to text line III.iii.56.

15 *150* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

17 *forth* in light pencil above [*down*] deleted in light pencil. Opposite, on 21r, is *Cling pendent* as a probable alternative for *Hang downward*

And bees; and all around are mossy seats, [20]
And the rough walls are clothed with long soft grass;
A simple dwelling, which shall be our own;
Where we will sit and talk of time and change,
As the world ebbs and flows, ourselves unchanged.
What can hide man from mutability? [25]
And if ye sigh, then I will smile; and thou,
Ione, shalt chaunt fragments of sea-music,
Until I weep, when ye shall smile away
The tears she brought, which yet were sweet to shed.
We will entangle buds and flowers and beams [30]
[E.3 21r] Which twinkle on the fountain's brim, and make
[E.3 20v] Strange combinations out of common things,
Like human babes in their brief innocence;
And we will search, with looks and words of love,
[E.3 21v] For hidden thoughts, each lovelier than the last, [35]
Our unexhausted spirits; and like lutes
Touched by the skill of the enamoured wind,
Weave harmonies divine, yet ever new,
From difference sweet where discord cannot be;

---

20 seats E
21 grass E grass:— R
22 own E
23 & E & change E
24 & E unchanged— E unchanged,— L
25 Man R Mutability?— E mutability?— R L Mutability? Fr
26 smile, & thou E smile, Fr And, if R
27 shall chant E Fr chant Fs R W H A <chaunt R^2>
28 weep,— R *ye* R
29 shed; E Fr
30 & flowers, & beams E flowers, L beams— A
31 brim & E
32 things E
33 innocence E innocence. R
34 search M Fs & E love E Fs
35 thoughts E R last E Fr
36 spirits, E Fr and, R W Fr
37 wind E
39 be . . E be. R L Fr

---

25 [*For*] *What* *160* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
26 A caret after *And* directs to *if* above the line.
27 The word is certainly *shall* and not *shalt*
30 This line was at first:
We will entangle buds & flowers, & make
Then opposite Shelley wrote:
& beams
Which twinkle on the fountain's brim
He then ran a light line from *s* of *flowers* to & of *& beams* The verse was included in Shelley's running count.
34 *161* Shelley's early count, below *And*
35 *170* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
36 *and* above [*till,*] *exhausted* in Koszul.

And hither come, sped on the charmed winds,
Which meet from all the points of heaven, as bees
From every flower aerial Enna feeds,
At their known island-homes in Himera,
The echoes of the human world, which tell
Of the low voice of love, almost unheard,
And dove-eyed pity's murmured pain, and music,
Itself the echo of the heart, and all
That tempers or improves man's life, now free;
And lovely apparitions, dim at first,
Then radiant, as the mind, arising bright
From the embrace of beauty, whence the forms
Of which these are the phantoms, casts on them
The gathered rays which are reality,
Shall visit us, the progeny immortal
Of Painting, Sculpture, and wrapt Poesy,
And arts, tho' unimagined, yet to be.
[E.3 22v] The wandering voices and the shadows these
Of all that man becomes, the mediators
Of that best worship love, by him and us
Given and returned; swift shapes and sounds, which grow

40 thither E A Fr winds E R Fr
41 Heaven, E L Fr heaven (as bees, R<(as bees R^2> heaven— W
42 aërial M-Fr[A] feeds E W
43 own R island homes Fr Himera) R Himera— W
45 Love, R unheard E
46 Pity's R & music E Music, R music Fr
47 & E
48 free E free. R
49 apparitions dim at first E apparitions,— W H first. Fo^2 first Fr
50 radiant,— R L mind W
51 beauty (whence R W H
52 phantoms), R phantoms) W H cast D
53 reality E reality,— R L reality— W H
54 us; R
55 Of Painting Sculpture & rapt Poesy E Sculpture Fs rapt M-Fr
56 though E M be E be; W
57 & E
59 worship, M Fs R W A L Fr & E
60 returned, E & sounds E sounds Fr

40 *And* above [*For*] Freeman defended *thither* on the basis of the context and assumed that the compositor might have dropped the *t* (Text, p. 47).

42 For *aerial* see note at I.469.

43 Rossetti's *own* may have been accidental but was not corrected in R^2. It was followed by Scudder and Dickinson.

44-62 In his anthology, *The Spirit of Man* (1916), Robert Bridges gave these lines (item 68) with the following note: "The great beauty of this passage suffers from the involved grammar, which deepens its obscurities. I have made my own punctuation and added some capitals." Bridges' variants were as follows:

45 Love, 46 Pity's pain; and Music, 50 radiant— mind
51 Beauty (whence 52 phantoms) 53 reality— 55 rapt
59 worship, Love,— 62 And,

More fair and soft as man grows wise and kind,
And veil by veil, evil and error fall:
Such virtue has the cave and place around.
(*Turning to the Spirit of the Hour.*)
For thee, fair Spirit, one toil remains. Ione,
Give her that curved shell, which Proteus old [65]
Made Asia's nuptial boon, breathing within it
A voice to be accomplished, and which thou
Didst hide in grass under the hollow rock.
IONE. Thou most desired Hour, more loved and
lovely

---

61 & E & kind E kind Fr
62 And, veil R W H veil by veil Fr
veil evil & error fall . . . E fall. R W
fall . . . L fall. . . . Fr
63 & place around E
SD turning to the Spirit of the Hour E
64 thee fair Spirit E Ione E
65 shell R old, M J
67 & E
68 rock E
69 & E

In the Fourth Impression (1917) lines 45 and 46 were changed to conform to 1820, since Bridges was "convinced by critics" that he "did wrong to alter" these, but not the other, lines. He quoted Dr. Henry Bradley as follows: "I read the passage something like this; the liberated spirit of man throughout the world awakes to countless activities of blessing. The 'echoes' of all its voices—of the whisper of love, of the murmurs of pity, of music, of the utterance of 'all that tempers or improves man's life'—and the 'apparitions' of all its visible creations, shall visit us here. . . . Music is thought of as one of the voices conveying humanizing and ennobling influences; and then the thought is interposed that this voice, the echo of which is heard, is itself an echo of the heart. . . . That is, its value is not only in its beneficial influence, but in its revelation of the unexhausted wealth from which it issues." Bridges commented: "The word *music*, therefore, should not have a capital initial, since it ranges not with love and pity, but with their vocal utterances: and Dr. Bradley objects to giving capitals to love and pity, because that tends to personify them more than is intended: an objection which does not forbid the capitals to Painting, Sculpture, and Poesy; nor the capitals which I have given to Love and Beauty below, where they serve another purpose" (Note to Fourth Impression [n.p.]).

45 *180* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

47 *Itself* at first *itself* with the *I* written in front of the undeleted *i* The *i* is not dotted, and Shelley may have noted the error as he was about to do so.

52 Dole's *cast* either assumed *forms* to be the subject, or was a misprint.

55 *190* Shelley's running count, follows this line. Cuningham and Shepherd retained *wrapt* as in 1820.

56 *184* Shelley's early count (in error for 182), below *be* He carried this error to text line III.iv.58.

63 *virtue as* in Cuningham.

64 *200* Shelley's running count (in error for 197), follows this line. He carried this error to text line III.iv.10.

69 *Hour* at first *hour*

Than all thy sisters, this is the mystic shell;
See the pale azure fading into silver
Lining it with a soft yet glowing light:
Looks it not like lulled music sleeping there?
SPIRIT. It seems in truth the fairest shell of Ocean:
Its sound must be at once both sweet and strange.
[E.3 23v] PRO. Go, borne over the cities of mankind
On whirlwind-footed coursers: once again
Outspeed the sun around the orbed world;
And as thy chariot cleaves the kindling air,
Thou breathe into the many-folded shell,
Loosening its mighty music; it shall be
As thunder mingled with clear echoes: then
Return; and thou shalt dwell beside our cave.

And thou, O, Mother Earth!—
THE EARTH. I hear, I feel;
Thy lips are on me, and thy touch runs down
Even to the adamantine central gloom

---

70 sisters this the mystic shell E this the M Fs R A Fr shell. R W
71 silver, R
72 light. E light. W
74 Ocean E ocean: Fs ocean; R
75 It's E sounds D & strange E
77 coursers! E Fr coursers; W
78 world E world, R
79 And, R air E Fr
80 Shell E
81 music . . . E Fr
82 echoes— E Fr echoes. Then R echoes; W
83 Return & E Return: R Return Fr cave E
SD kissing the ground E
84 And thou o Mother Earth— E Earth— Fr O M Fs R W L J Fr
I hear—I feel— E Fr feel. R
85 & their touch E their touch H-Fr

---

70 Forman (and Woodberry) did not consider 1820 uncharacteristic, and he thought that the dropping of *is* was an accident of the press (where *is* after *this* was "peculiarly liable" to be omitted). He compared IV.554. Rossetti (R^2) wondered if it should not be restored, and Woodberry noted that the word is "naturally slurred in the meter." Locock, who found the duplicate omission in the MS and in M "remarkable," compared "And this the man that in his study sits" (Marlowe, *Dr. Faustus*, Prologue 28) (*Examination*, p. 32).

74 *210* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

75 *203* Shelley's early count, below *strange* *sounds* in Dole.

77 *On the* in Koszul.

79 *215* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

80 The hyphen is merely a dot between *many* and *folded*

83-84 The spacing appears to be thus in E, but inasmuch as line 82 runs over no extra space may have been intended.

84 *220* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

85 *&* appears to be a strengthening of a weaker *&* Freeman suggested that the second *thy* was the result of transfer, and defended *their* especially in the light of the unused SD (Text, p. 47). *their* in Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.

Along these marble nerves; 'tis life, 'tis joy,
And thro' my withered, old, and icy frame
The warmth of an immortal youth shoots down
Circling. Henceforth the many children fair [90]
Folded in my sustaining arms; all plants,
And creeping forms, and insects rainbow-winged,
And birds, and beasts, and fish, and human shapes,
Which drew disease and pain from my wan bosom,
[E.3 24v] Draining the poison of despair, shall take [95]
And interchange sweet nutriment; to me
Shall they become like sister-antelopes
By one fair dam, snow-white and swift as wind
Nursed among lilies near a brimming stream.
The dew-mists of my sunless sleep shall float [100]
Under the stars like balm: night-folded flowers
Shall suck unwitting hues in their repose:
And men and beasts in happy dreams shall gather
Strength for the coming day, and all its joy:
And death shall be the last embrace of her [105]
Who takes the life she gave, even as a mother
Folding her child, says, " Leave me not again."

87 nerves—'tis life 'tis joy E nerves: Fs nerves— Fr joy,— R
88 And, M R W J through my withered old E Fr through M old Fs & icy E frame, R
90 Circling—henceforth E Fr
91 arms, Fr plants E Fs Fr
92 forms Fs & insects rainbow-winged E rainbow-winged Fs Fr
93 birds & beasts & fish & human shapes E birds and beasts and fish Fs Fr birds and beasts R
94 & E bosom E
96 nutriment. To R
97 sister-antelopes, R sister antelopes D
98 snowwhite & E snow white Fs snow-white, W wind, M-Fr[A]
99 stream; E Fr
100 dew mists E
101 balm, E balm; W
102 unwithering E M-Fr repose E repose; W repose! L
103 & beasts E
104 day & all its joy E day and all its joy. R day Fr joy; W
106 mother, M R W L J
107 says R leave me not again! E

94 *230* in the ink of Shelley's running count, below *wan* with *222* his early count, below *bosom* 95 *Draining* in different pen or ink, above [*Sucking*]
98 The final *e* of *snowwhite* was clarified by Shelley, not doubled as Freeman thought. Cuningham and Shepherd retained the ambiguity of *wind* but generally the reading has been *wind*,
102 *ering* of *unwithering* might be confused with *ing* and thus have led Mrs. Shelley to read *unwitting* in the transcript for 1820. But the *h* is clear, and the second *i* is dotted clearly. Forman assumed that Mrs. Shelley made the change in M on the basis of the errata. At first: *unwithering colours as they dream* To avoid the repetition in line 103 or the rime with line 99 Shelley deleted *dream* Later, in pencil, he deleted *coulours as they* and wrote *hues in their repose* on 25r, opposite.
103 Possibly *dream* 104 *240* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

ASIA. Oh, mother! wherefore speak the name of
death?
Cease they to love, and move, and breathe, and speak,
Who die?
THE EARTH. It would avail not to reply:
Thou art immortal, and this tongue is known
But to the uncommunicating dead.
Death is the veil which those who live call life:
They sleep, and it is lifted: and meanwhile
[E.3 25v] In mild variety the seasons mild
With rainbow-skirted showers, and odorous winds,
And long blue meteors cleansing the dull night,
And the life-kindling shafts of the keen sun's
All-piercing bow, and the dew-mingled rain
Of the calm moonbeams, a soft influence mild,
Shall clothe the forests and the fields, aye, even
The crag-built desarts of the barren deep,
With ever-living leaves, and fruits, and flowers.
And thou! There is a cavern where my spirit
Was panted forth in anguish whilst thy pain

108 O mother E O R L Fr
109 love & move & breathe & speak E love and move and breathe Fs love and move and breathe and speak R Fr
110 reply E reply; W
111 immortal & E immortal W
112 dead— E
113 life E life; W Life: Fr
114 sleep— & it is lifted . . . & E sleep— and it is lifted . . . Fr lifted. And R lifted; W lifted. . . And L
115 seasons mild, R
116 showers Fs & odorous winds E
118 Sun's E Fr
119 & E
120 mild; E mild Fs
121 & the fields—aye E fields— R L Fr
122 deserts M deep E deep— R Fr
123 leaves & fruits & flowers E leaves and fruits Fs Fr leaves and fruits and flowers.— R
124 Thou . . . there E Thou! . . L Thou! Fr there W Cavern whence E Cavern L whence A Fr

108 The dot of the question mark is actually a long comma, possibly a pen slip.
110 [*The*] *It*
112 *But* above [*Only*]
114 *They* in ink over pencil, above [*Men*] *250* Shelley's running count, follows this line, on 25r. *242* Shelley's early count, below *&*
120 *l* of *influence* is more like an apostrophe and may have been inserted (cf. I.539). The semicolon after *mild* may be a colon.
124 *spirit* is crowded into the margin and followed by *2* Shelley left this and wrote *260* his running count, on 26r opposite.
125 Shelley appears to have written *whil* and the upstroke of *t* and then changed this upstroke to *s* and added *t* for *whilst* Freeman thought that *thy* was at first *my* but actually the downstroke of *y* from *my* in line 124 was overly long and came just in front of the *t* This, combined with the crossing of the *t* of *thy* and a second stroke just above it (possibly a cutting off of the long downstroke) led to Freeman's misreading.

Made my heart mad, and those who did inhale it
Became mad too, and built a temple there,
And spoke, and were oracular, and lured
The erring nations round to mutual war,
And faithless faith, such as Jove kept with thee;
Which breath now rises, as amongst tall weeds
A violet's exhalation, and it fills
With a serener light and crimson air
Intense, yet soft, the rocks and woods around;
[E.3 26v] It feeds the quick growth of the serpent vine,
And the dark linked ivy tangling wild,
And budding, blown, or odour-faded blooms
Which star the winds with points of coloured light,
As they rain thro' them, and bright golden globes
Of fruit, suspended in their own green heaven,
And thro' their veined leaves and amber stems
The flowers whose purple and translucid bowls
Stand ever mantling with aërial dew,

126 mad. And R & E those that M Fs R <those who R^2>
127 too; R & built a Temple there E
128 spoke E Fr & lured E
129 war E Fs
130 thee: Fs thee. R
131 rises as among E rises W among Fs A Fr
132 violets E exhalation; R & E
133 & E air, R
134 Intense yet soft E Intense R Fr & woods around; E around. R around. . . . Fr
135 vine E Fr vine; R
136 wild E wild; R
137 blown Fs
138 light E W
139 through E M them; R & bright, E bright, A L
140 fruit W heaven; E R Heaven; L
141 And, E R L through E M & E stems, R L
142 & E
143 aerial E A

126 Forman thought that Mrs. Shelley's *that* was an accidental alteration, and he felt that Shelley would not add "so trivial a change" to his errata. Cuningham followed M.

131 [*Which now floats upward*] deleted in pencil, and opposite, on 26r, *Which breath now rises* in ink over pencil. Freeman defended *among* on the basis of euphony (Text, p. 47).

134 *270* Shelley's running count, on 26r opposite. *262* Shelley's early count, below *around;*

135 *s* of *serpent* over a partly erased *g*

138 [*Starring*] deleted in pencil and *Which star* written in pencil on 27r, opposite. Before *Which star* in ink is what looks like *She dhart* (see illustration, facing p. 173). Locock decided that each *h* might be a poorly formed *p*, with the words being *sped past* (for an intended *speed past*) as an alternative to *rain through* in the next line. I read an initial capital *S* and cannot believe that Shelley would omit the downstroke on *p* twice, even though Locock compared "With the Antarctic constellations paven" (*The Witch of Atlas* xlviii), where *paven* was originally printed *haven*. Zupitza read *Shedhart* or two words, the first *She* or possibly *The*

142 *translucent* in Scudder.

143 For *aërial* see note at I.469.

The drink of spirits: and it circles round,
Like the soft waving wings of noonday dreams,
Inspiring calm and happy thoughts, like mine,
Now thou art thus restored. This cave is thine.
Arise! Appear!

[*A Spirit rises in the likeness of a winged child.*

This is my torch-bearer;
Who let his lamp out in old time with gazing
On eyes from which he kindled it anew
With love, which is as fire, sweet daughter mine,
For such is that within thine own. Run, wayward,
And guide this company beyond the peak
Of Bacchic Nysa, Mænad-haunted mountain,
[E.3 27v] And beyond Indus and its tribute rivers,
Trampling the torrent streams and glassy lakes
With feet unwet, unwearied, undelaying,
And up the green ravine, across the vale,
Beside the windless and crystalline pool,
Where ever lies, on unerasing waves,

---

144 spirits; E W L Fr spirits. And R round E Fr
145 soft-waving L dreams E
146 & E thoughts— R mine E
147 restored . . . that Cave is thine E restored . . . . That A restored. . . L That Fr
148 appear! Fs torch-bearer, Fr
SD A spirit arises in the likeness of a winged child E
148 *follows* SD E appear! this is my torch-bearer E
149 time, E
151 love which is as fire sweet Daughter mine E Daughter L mine,— R
152 own—run Wayward! E own.— R L wayward! A Wayward, Fr
154 mountain E
155 Indus, & E Indus, L Fr
156 & E
157 undelaying; E R L Fr
158 vale E
159 & chrystalline pool E crystàlline Fo L Fr pool R
160 lies R waves E R

---

144 *280* Shelley's running count, follows this line.

145 [*hum of fountain-gathered dreams*] deleted in pencil, with the received reading also in pencil on 27r, opposite.

147 Freeman defended *That* on the basis of the context (Text, p. 48).

148 The SD is in ink traced over pencil. Line 148 is undivided in E.

152 *is* appears to have been *as* at first, with the thin *a* dotted. *Wayward!* is opposite, on 27r, for lack of space here.

154 The first *c* of *Bacchic* appears to have been changed from a false start on an anticipated *h* *290* Shelley's running count, follows this line on 27r, while *282* his early count, is under *mountain*

158 *vale* in Cuningham.

159 There is a horizontal mark, possibly intended as an accent mark, above the *a* of *chrystalline* Forman noted the absence of the accent in 1820 but assumed that it was "doubtless meant to be" accented. The final *e* of *Beside* was strengthened by overwriting, as was the *e* of *unerasing* in the next line.

The image of a temple, built above,
Distinct with column, arch, and architrave,
And palm-like capital, and over-wrought,
And populous most with living imagery,
Praxitelean shapes, whose marble smiles
Fill the hushed air with everlasting love.
It is deserted now, but once it bore
Thy name, Prometheus; there the emulous youths
Bore to thy honour thro' the divine gloom
The lamp which was thine emblem; even as those
Who bear the untransmitted torch of hope
Into the grave, across the night of life,
[E.3 28r] As thou hast borne it most triumphantly
To this far goal of Time. Depart, farewell.
[E.3 27v] Beside that temple is the destined cave.

---

161 temple built above. E temple R temple built above Fr
162 column arch & architrave E arch and architrave Fs architrave Fr
163 capitals, & over wrought, E capital Fs capitals, Fr over-wrought R overwrought, W Fr
164 with most-living imagery E with most H-Fr imagery,— R
165 shapes R
167 now; R
168 name Prometheus, E Prometheus. There R
169 thine E A Fr thro E through M
170 lamp, E Fr emblem . . . E Fr emblem: Fs emblem:— L
172 grave E R Fr life . . . E Fr life,— R
174 Time . . . depart, farewell! E time. R Time. . . L Depart: Fs farewell! W
175 Temple E Cave . . . E Cave. L Fr

---

161 This line is followed by
[Which bore thy name ere faith was o]
The line was not included in either count.
164 *300* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
165-66 Locock gave, as "on the margin of one of the pages of *Prince Athanase*," in Bodleian MS Shelley E.4, the following (*Examination*, p. 75):
Praxitelean shapes whose marble smiles
Filled the mute air
168 *there the emulous* above [*and ardent*]
169 Freeman defended *thine* on the basis of euphony (Text, p. 48).
170 Opposite, at the right side of 28r, is the note: *The beginning of Plato's Republic*— (see Critical Notes at III.iii.168-70). *which* at first possibly *when*
173-74 These lines were included in Shelley's running count only.
174 *far* above [*high*]
175 This line originally followed line 172, and read: *Beside it is the destined Cave . . . depart!* Shelley then deleted *it* and *depart!* and wrote *that Temple* below [*it*] *311* Shelley's running count, follows this line, and appears to have been *301* at first.

[E.3 28ᵛ]

SCENE IV.

A Forest. In the Background a Cave. PROMETHEUS, ASIA, PANTHEA, IONE, and the SPIRIT OF THE EARTH.

Ione. Sister, it is not earthly: how it glides
Under the leaves! how on its head there burns
A light, like a green star, whose emerald beams
Are twined with its fair hair! how, as it moves,
The splendour drops in flakes upon the grass!
Knowest thou it?
Pan. It is the delicate spirit
That guides the earth thro' heaven. From afar
The populous constellations call that light
The loveliest of the planets; and sometimes
It floats along the spray of the salt sea,
Or makes its chariot of a foggy cloud,
Or walks thro' fields or cities while men sleep,
Or o'er the mountain tops, or down the rivers,
Or thro' the green waste wilderness, as now,
Wondering at all it sees. Before Jove reigned
It loved our sister Asia, and it came
Each leisure hour to drink the liquid light

SD Scene=A forest—in the background a Cavern—Prometheus Asia Ione Panthea the Spirit of the Earth— E
1 Sister it is not Earthly . . . E earthly! How R earthly; W earthly. . . How L earthly . . . Fr
3 light E R Fr
4 moves E
6 Spirit R
7 thro Heaven. E through M Heaven. L Fr
9 planets, E Fr planets:— R
10 sea E Fr sea; R
11 cloud E cloud; R
12 thro E through M sleep E
13 oer E mountain-tops Fs mountain-tops, R² L rivers Fs
14 through E M
15 reigned, R
16 & E

SD *Scene*=[*the The hut*] I believe that Shelley wrote *hut* and then changed the *h* to *f* (for *forest*) after which he deleted and made a fresh start. Zupitza found the word illegible or possibly [*pull*] and Freeman [*pat*] The *ut* is clear and the *h* altered to *f* resembles *p* The characters are numbered as follows to indicate order:

3 4 1 2
Ione Panthea Prometheus Asia

2 *how* above [*&*] The exclamation point after *leaves* was superimposed on an undeleted comma. Shelley wrote *its its* and superimposed the *h* of *head* on the *ts* without deleting the *i*

3 Possibly *emerald-beams*

4 *315* Shelley's running count, follows this line, on 29ʳ

10 *320* Shelley's running count (in error for 318), follows this line. He carried this error to text line III.iv.39.

17 *318* Shelley's early count, below *liquid* Freeman, in error, read *315*

[E.3 29v] Out of her eyes, for which it said it thirsted
As one bit by a dipsas, and with her
It made its childish confidence, and told her [20]
All it had known or seen, for it saw much,
Yet idly reasoned what it saw; and called her,
For whence it sprung it knew not, nor do I,
Mother, dear mother.

THE SPIRIT OF THE EARTH. (RUNNING TO ASIA.)
Mother, dearest mother;
May I then talk with thee as I was wont? [25]
May I then hide my eyes in thy soft arms,
After thy looks have made them tired of joy?
May I then play beside thee the long noons,
When work is none in the bright silent air?

ASIA. I love thee, gentlest being, and henceforth [30]
Can cherish thee unenvied: speak, I pray:
Thy simple talk once solaced, now delights.

SPIRIT OF THE EARTH. Mother, I am grown wiser,
though a child
Cannot be wise like thee, within this day;
And happier too; happier and wiser both. [35]

---

19 dipsas; & E dipsas; R Fr
20 & E
21 seen (for R much E
22 saw— & called her— E saw: and called her— Fs saw), and called her— R saw, and called her— Fr her,— Fo² L her— D H A
23 not nor do I— E I,— R Fo² A L I— Fs R² D H Fr
24 Mother dear Mother E "Mother, dear mother." Fs R Fo² "Mother, dear Mother." L dear Mother. Fr
SD Asia & the spirit have entered the cave The Spirit running to Asia E
24 *after SD:* Mother dearest Mother! E dearest mother, R dearest mother! Fs W dearest Mother! Fr
26 mine E A Fr arms E Fr
28 noons E Fr
30 thee E being! M Fs J
31 unenvied—speak I pray E unenvied. Speak, M Fs R W unenvied— Fr pray; W
32 solaced . . . E solaced— L Fr
33 SD: Spirit E wiser E
wiser (though R
34 thee) R day E
35 too, happier & E too— Fs too, Fr

---

20 *330* Shelley's running count, follows this line, on 30r.
23 *From whence* in Shepherd. *sprang* in Dickinson.
24 SD: *Asia & the spirit have entered the cave* opposite, on 30r.
25 *335* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
26 Freeman assumed *mine* to be Shelley's preference (Text, p. 48).
27 *A* of *After* at first possibly *U*
30 *340* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
32 *Thy* is followed by a deleted letter or part of a letter. Freeman read a possible *f* I believe that Shelley started *simple* with the *f*-type *s* used in doubling, deleted it, and started again on *simple*

Thou knowest that toads, and snakes, and loathly worms,
[E.3 30v] And venomous and malicious beasts, and boughs
That bore ill berries in the woods, were ever
An hindrance to my walks o'er the green world:
And that, among the haunts of humankind,
Hard-featured men, or with proud, angry looks,
Or cold, staid gait, or false and hollow smiles,
Or the dull sneer of self-loved ignorance,
Or other such foul masks, with which ill thoughts
Hide that fair being whom we spirits call man;
And women too, ugliest of all things evil,
(Tho' fair, even in a world where thou art fair,
When good and kind, free and sincere like thee,)
When false or frowning made me sick at heart
To pass them, tho' they slept, and I unseen.
Well, my path lately lay thro' a great city
Into the woody hills surrounding it:
A sentinel was sleeping at the gate:
When there was heard a sound, so loud, it shook
The towers amid the moonlight, yet more sweet

36 know'st that toads and snakes R
toads & snakes & loathly worms E
no punctuation Fs Fr
37 venemous <*sic*> & E & boughs E
39 A hindrance M oer E world E
world; W
40 that Fs humankind E Fs Fr
41 Hard featured E proud angry
looks E proud R
42 cold E R & hollow smiles E
43 ignorance E
44 masks E R Fr
45 man E Spirits call Man,— R
46 evil E Fs R^2 Fr
47 Though E (Though M art fair E
48 & kind free & E sincere, like thee)
R <thee), R^2> thee, E thee), M Fs
D H L J thee) W Fr
49 frowning,— R
50 though E M & E
51 Well— E through M City E
52 it. E Fr it; W
53 The sentinel E A Fr gate. E
gate; W
54 sound so loud Fs loud R D

36 *337* Shelley's early count, below *worms* and partly obscured by a blot.

39 Locock read *Ac* for *An* in his *Examination* but changed it to *An* in the notes to his edition. The *n* is under a blot but can be read. *350* Shelley's running count (in error for 347), follows this line on 31r. He carried this error to text line III.iv.119, at which point he dropped the running count for the act. *A hindrance* in Cuningham.

49 *360* Shelley's running count, follows this line on 31r and is also written lightly at the beginning of the line. Barnard placed a comma at *frowning* "since 'made' must serve as the verb for 'men' (41) as well as for 'women.' "

53 Locock noted that the reading of the MS "gives point to an otherwise rather pointless line, but at some sacrifice of euphony." Freeman defended *The* as more specific, since it implies "one sentinel, and hence the gate was left unguarded" (Text, p. 48).

Than any voice but thine, sweetest of all;
A long, long sound, as it would never end:
And all the inhabitants leapt suddenly
[E.3 31v] Out of their rest, and gathered in the streets,
Looking in wonder up to Heaven, while yet
The music pealed along. I hid myself
Within a fountain in the public square,
Where I lay like the reflex of the moon
Seen in a wave under green leaves; and soon
Those ugly human shapes and visages
Of which I spoke as having wrought me pain,
Past floating thro' the air, and fading still
Into the winds that scattered them; and those
From whom they past seemed mild and lovely forms
After some foul disguise had fallen, and all
Were somewhat changed, and after brief surprise
And greetings of delighted wonder, all
Went to their sleep again: and when the dawn
Came, would'st thou think that toads, and snakes,
and efts,
Could e'er be beautiful? yet so they were,
And that with little change of shape or hue:
All things had put their evil nature off:

56 all E all: Fr
57 A long E sound R^2 end E end; W
58 leaped Fs H
59 & E streets E
60 heaven, Fs R
61 along; E Fr
62 square E
64 leaves— & E leaves: Fs leaves— Fr
65 & E visages, R<visages R^2>
66 pain E R^2 Fr
67 through M & E
68 them, & E them, Fr
69 passed E & E
70 fallen— & E fallen. And R fallen,— L
71 changed— E Fs changed; and, R changed; L
73 again— E again. And, R again; W
74 Came—wouldst E Fr Came,— R L wouldst M toads & snakes & efts E toads and snakes and efts Fs R Fr
75 beautiful?— E Fr were E were,— R
76 hue E hue. R hue; W
77 off E off. R off; W

56 [*But*] *Than*
58 *360* Shelley's earlier count (in error for 357), below *And* He carried this error to text line III.iv.79.
59 *370* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
63 *the* before *reflex* was at first *a* over which the *t* of *the* was written.
69 *380* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
71 *Were* at first something else. Zupitza surmised *Where* and Freeman *Who* but even *Were* is not clear.
77 This line is followed by:
[Like an old garment soiled & overworn]
The line is included in Shelley's early count only.

I cannot tell my joy, when o'er a lake
Upon a drooping bough with night-shade twined,
[E.3 32v] I saw two azure halcyons clinging downward [80]
And thinning one bright bunch of amber berries,
With quick long beaks, and in the deep there lay
Those lovely forms imaged as in a sky;
So with my thoughts full of these happy changes,
We meet again, the happiest change of all. [85]
[E.3 33r] ASIA. And never will we part, till thy chaste sister
Who guides the frozen and inconstant moon
Will look on thy more warm and equal light
Till her heart thaw like flakes of April snow
And love thee.
SPIRIT OF THE EARTH. What; as Asia loves Prometheus? [90]

---

78 joy R oer a lake, E lake, R W L
79 nightshade E M-Fr[Fo J] twined E
80 downward, R
81 bunch *above* mass E berries E R Fr
82 & E
83 sky— E Fr sky. R
84 So, R D H changes E
86 Sister E Sister, R sister, W L J
87 the inconstant E moon, R W L J
88 & E
89 snow, M Fs R W L
90 thee E What, E Fr What— Fs What! M² R W L Prometheus E

---

79 *383* Shelley's early count (in error for 379), below *Upon* He carried this error to text line III.iv.108. *390* Shelley's running count, on 32r. Freeman read *nighshade* (*sic*). The *s* is heavy and slightly blotted, and I believe that the *t* may well be combined with it, although it is not clear. In Dowden, *nightshade* divides at the line end, but his usual treatment would suggest an unhyphenated use. *twined* is crowded into the margin, with only *tw* clear.

80 Opposite, on 33r, is penciled something Zupitza read as *from* above [*those*] which he thought possibly might belong to line 84. The letters are so formed as to be susceptible of another reading: *Trim* above [*thin*] This would be more reasonable if the words had been written at the same time as the penciled *bunch* of line 81. Shelley might then have been considering a substitution of *trimming* for *thinning*

81 *bunch* in pencil above *mass* without deletion. Cuningham's *amberberries* gave an interesting change of emphasis.

86-96 These lines are in pencil, apparently, as Locock suggested, an afterthought, especially since the lines were included in Shelley's running count only.

86 *till* above [*and*] *chaste* above [*cold*] *Sister* which is, in turn, above [*cold chaste*] In [*cold chaste*] *chaste* is either deleted with two lines, or one of these is an underline to indicate stet, as Freeman thought, after which Shelley, to be certain, rewrote it undeleted above.

87 *the* above the line between *and* and *inconstant* Freeman read *the ch* but I find no *h* and only a mark that may be a doubtful *c*

88 *more* [*pure*] *warm* with *warm* partly above [*pure*] and the balance of the line on the same level as *warm* *on the* in Shepherd.

89 This line was added between the normally spaced lines 88 and 90. *400* Shelley's running count, in ink below *snow*

90 *of the Earth* added, but apparently in the same pencil as lines 86-96.

ASIA. Peace, wanton, thou art yet not old enough.
Think ye by gazing on each other's eyes
To multiply your lovely selves, and fill
With sphered fires the interlunar air?
SPIRIT OF THE EARTH. Nay, mother, while my
sister trims her lamp [95]
'Tis hard I should go darkling.
ASIA. Listen; look!
[E.3 32ᵛ] *The* SPIRIT OF THE HOUR *enters.*
PRO. We feel what thou hast heard and seen: yet
speak.
SPIRIT OF THE HOUR. Soon as the sound had
ceased whose thunder filled
The abysses of the sky and the wide earth,
There was a change: the impalpable thin air [100]
And the all-circling sunlight were transformed,
As if the sense of love dissolved in them
Had folded itself round the sphered world.
My vision then grew clear, and I could see
Into the mysteries of the universe: [105]

---

91 Peace Wanton— E wanton! M² R W L Wanton— Fr enough E
92 ye, E R Fr others E eyes, R
93 & E
95 Nay Mother E Mother, L Fr
96 Tis E darkling— E Fr darkling! R —Listen! E Listen: Fs Listen! Fr
SD Enter, the Spirit of the Hour E
97 & seen—yet speak E seen; W seen— Fr
99 sky, & E earth; E
100 change . . . E L change; W change. . . . Fr
101 transformed E Fr
102 love, dissolved in them, M Fs R W L
103 world E
104 clear & E clear Fr
105 Universe E universe. R W L Universe: Fr

---

94 *fires* above [*lights*]
95 *trims* above [*fills*] Freeman thought that *while* covered some other word, but I can find none.
96 [*Why*] *Tis* This line is followed, in ink, by:

Spirit
I hear & see, but I must away

This line was not included in either Shelley count, nor given in the printed play. Freeman suggested an attempt to link Asia's speech with that of Prometheus. But if this line is assigned to the Spirit of the Earth, as it appears to be, it would not form a satisfactory transition to the speech of Prometheus, addressed as the latter is to the Spirit of the Hour. With the line omitted, Asia's *Listen! look!* offers a natural clue for the entrance of the Spirit of the Hour. The SD: *Enter* etc. is on 32ᵛ, immediately following line 85. The passage on 33ʳ was clearly designed as a transition to this SD.
98 [*thu*] *sound* with [*thu*] probably an anticipation of *thunder*
99 A caret after *abysses* directs to *of* above the line. *sky* above [*air*], *410* Shelley's running count, follows this line.
100 *There* looks more like *Then* as is frequently the case with Shelley.
101 [*The light*] *And*

Dizzy as with delight I floated down,
Winnowing the lightsome air with languid plumes,
My coursers sought their birth-place in the sun,
[E.3 33v] Where they henceforth will live exempt from toil
Pasturing flowers of vegetable fire. [110]
[E.3 34r] And where my moonlike car will stand within

106 down E down; W
107 plumes E A plumes. R Fr <plumes, R^2>
108 birthplace E Fs R D W H L Fr sun E A sun: R
109 toil, M Fs R W H L Fr
110 fire— E A fire; R D H Fr fire, W
111 moonlight Fs

106-8 Forman, objecting to Rossetti's "serious innovation" of a full stop at *plumes* (but note *plumes*, in R^2), paraphrased: "While I, dizzy with delight, floated down, my coursers sought their birth-place in the sun." Woodberry's *down;* was approved by Alexander, although he followed 1820. Koszul gave *down.*

108 *birthplace* above [*pastures*] *401* Shelley's early count, and *1778* are below [*pastures*] *in* At this point (4 over in his early count) he changed to a cumulative count for the play. He does not give the addition leading to *1778* but it is clearly based on the early count. 818, his count for Act I, plus 561, his count for Act II, plus the present 401 would give 1780. This error he carried to text line III.iv.163. The running count was continued (or had already been written in before the change to cumulative) to text line III.iv.119.

110 *421* Shelley's running count, follows this line (or the number may be *420* below *toil* to indicate that line. The figure *1* is slightly thickened, but I believe not open enough to be *0*). There is also a mark after *fire* to direct the insertion of the passage on 34r, which opens with a corresponding insertion mark.

Forman thought that *on* should follow *Pasturing* "which, as the line stands, is used in a transitive sense, as if 'to pasture flowers' meant the same as 'to eat flowers,' instead of meaning the same as 'to feed flowers.' " Woodberry discounted this conjecture as unnecessary, "the phrase being a recognized poetic idiom," but Scudder, finding it a "very poor line," would favor the addition. Forman thought that the full stop after *fire* resulted from a misprint.

111-24 These lines are, in effect, in draft state. Locock considered them an afterthought.

111-12 These lines developed as follows:

[chariot]
car will stand
And where my moonlike ∧ [stands] within
[fretted]
A temple, [underneath its hollow dome
Poised on twelve columns of resplendent stone,
And Around stand Asia & the Earth & thou
Prometheus, and the sisters of the Sea
In memory of the tidings it has borne
Phidian
And] gazed upon by [living statues] forms, [around]

Zupitza noted that *chariot* fits metrically the earlier reading *stands within* *resplendent* at first *resplended* Freeman thought that *Phidian* had been changed to *Phidine* but I am quite sure it was the reverse.

111 *moonlight* in Cuningham.

A temple, gazed upon by Phidian forms
Of thee, and Asia, and the Earth, and me,
And you fair nymphs looking the love we feel;
In memory of the tidings it has borne;
Beneath a dome fretted with graven flowers,
Poised on twelve columns of resplendent stone,
And open to the bright and liquid sky.
Yoked to it by an amphisbenic snake
The likeness of those winged steeds will mock
The light from which they find repose. Alas,
Whither has wandered now my partial tongue
When all remains untold which ye would hear?
As I have said I floated to the earth:

112 Phidine Fr forms, E
113 Asia & E & me E *no punctuation* Fs
114 you, W yon Fr nymphs, E M Fs W L Fr Nymphs, R feel E feel, Fs Fr feel,— R D W H
115 borne E borne, Fs borne,— R D W H
116 flowers E Fr
117 stone E
118 & liquid sky E
119 amphisbænic M^2 snake, R
121 flight E M-Fr repose—alas E repose.—Alas! R Alas! Fs
122 tongue, R
123 w^d hear!— E hear?— L
124 said, M-Fr[Fo D A] Earth E earth; W Earth: Fr

113 *thee* at first *thou*
114 *you* or *yon* below *those* or *thou* *you* (or *yon*) may be underlined, but I believe that this mark is part of the insertion line to bring line 115 into place. Piccoli felt that sense required *nymphs:* since *looking* refers to *forms* in line 112.
115 This line was at first four lines below but is directed to its proper place by a marginal guide line, which Freeman misread as a location line for *bright & liquid sky* of line 118.
116 [*which*] above the space between *dome* and *fretted* *graven flowers* above [*carven*]
117 *resplendent* at first *resplended* or *resplendid*
118 *bright & liquid sky* vertically in the left margin as a substitute for [**-surrounding Heaven*] For the illegible word Zupitza read *all* which was at first something else; Freeman read *Earth* The word was first written with a drying pen (as was *the*) and appears to have been originally *all* It was then overwritten with a word that may be a poorly formed *Earth* The line is crowded between two normally spaced lines.
119 This line is above:

[And Drawn by the likeness of those winged steeds]

The deleted line is preceded by *430* as Shelley's final running count (in error for 427). At this point he changed to his cumulative count for the play as a whole. *Yoked* also stands alone at the bottom of the page.
121 Forman considered *light* an "obvious misprint." Except for Shepherd and Dickinson *flight* has been generally adopted.
122 [*Withe*] *Whither*
123 *untold* at first *unsaid* although Zupitza thought the reverse.
124 This line completes the interpolated material on 34^r. Below it *5* has been subtracted from *14* to give *9* Shelley apparently counted the lines on this page before writing *430* before line 119. There were originally fourteen lines to that point, with

[E.3 33v] It was, as it is still, the pain of bliss
To move, to breathe, to be; I wandering went
Among the haunts and dwellings of mankind,
And first was disappointed not to see
Such mighty change as I had felt within
Expressed in outward things; but soon I looked,
And behold, thrones were kingless, and men walked
One with the other even as spirits do,
None fawned, none trampled; hate, disdain, or fear,
Self-love or self-contempt, on human brows
No more inscribed, as o'er the gate of hell,
" All hope abandon ye who enter here;"
None frowned, none trembled, none with eager fear
Gazed on another's eye of cold command,
Until the subject of a tyrant's will
Became, worse fate, the abject of his own,
Which spurred him, like an outspent horse, to death.
None wrought his lips in truth-entangling lines
Which smiled the lie his tongue disdained to speak;
[E.3 34v] None, with firm sneer, trod out in his own heart
The sparks of love and hope till there remained
Those bitter ashes, a soul self-consumed,

---

126 be. R W
127 & E mankind E mankind; R
128 dissappointed <*sic*> E
129 change, M J within, M R
130 things. But R looked E looked; R
131 behold! E R A Fr & men E
132 do: Fs L do. R Fr do— W
133 frowned, E A Fr trampled, hate disdain or fear E disdain Fs fear M²
134 self-contempt E Fr brows, E Fo D
135 oer E
136 abandon, E R W L Fr here" E here." R W here"; Fr
137 fawned, E A Fr frown'd, M
138 anothers E command E Fr
139 tyrants E
140 Became (worse fate!) R own E
141 death E
142 truth entangling E
143 speak E speak. R W
144 None with firm sneer E Fr
145 & hope, E hope; R hope, L Fr

---

five deleted, and the resulting nine added to the previous count of 421 would give the 430 of his count.

131 The exclamation point after *behold* is in pencil and appears almost a question mark. Before this line, or between 130 and 131, is the figure *1790* Both *1790* and *1800* (at line 140) are so placed as to make identification of the intended lines impossible, but in any event errors are present in the count. See note at III.iv.163.

139 *subject* above [*captive*] *c* of *captive* at first *s* and the change gives the effect of a capital *C*

140 *abject* above [*subject*] *1800* Shelley's count, is between *Became* and *Which* There was insufficient room to put the number before either line.

141 Possibly *death*—

145 *ain* as a probable alternative for the ending of *rema'ned* is on 35r, opposite.

And the wretch crept a vampire among men,
Infecting all with his own hideous ill;
None talked that common, false, cold, hollow talk
Which makes the heart deny the *yes* it breathes,
Yet question that unmeant hypocrisy
With such a self-mistrust as has no name.
And women, too, frank, beautiful, and kind
As the free heaven which rains fresh light and dew
On the wide earth, past; gentle radiant forms,
From custom's evil taint exempt and pure;
Speaking the wisdom once they could not think,
Looking emotions once they feared to feel,
And changed to all which once they dared not be,
Yet being now, made earth like heaven; nor pride,
Nor jealousy, nor envy, nor ill shame,
The bitterest of those drops of treasured gall,
Spoilt the sweet taste of the nepenthe, love.

147 crept, E Fr creeps A men E
148 ill. E R W L Fr
150 yes it breathes E
151 questions Fr
153 *no punctuation* E women R beautiful Fs & kind E kind, W
154 Heaven L & E
155 passed— R gentle, radiant forms E Fr gentle, W
156 customs E Custom's L & pure. E
157 think E
158 feel E
160 Yet, R make Earth like Heaven— E Fr make A made Earth like Heaven; L heaven. Nor R pride E Fs
161 *no punctuation* E jealousy nor envy Fs ill-shame, M R L J
162 gall— E
163 nepenthe love E

147 *creeps* as an alternative for *crept* is on 35^{r}, opposite. Possibly *Vampire*
150 "*yes*" in Dickinson.
152 The period after *name* was at first a semicolon, with the upper dot deleted and the period placed heavily on the comma.
158 *Looking* at first *Looked*
159 A poorly formed *be* has been deleted, but without being rewritten on 35^{r} as Freeman stated.
160 [*And*] *Yet* The first two or three letters of *pride* were written, deleted, and the complete word put on 35^{r}.
162 A low second *l* of *gall*— was lengthened, giving the effect of the word being over something else. The dash is quite short.
163 [*1823*] *1832* below *the sweet* The 1823 would have been in error for 1821. The error in count of four lines between III.iv.108 and this point (Shelley is now two over rather than two under) may be attributed to the complexity of the added lines on 34^{r} or to carelessness. *1832* (in error for 1835) is probably a recount from 1778 (at III.iv.108) which includes the addition of fourteen lines on 34^{r}. This would give 1833, and the complexity of 34^{r} might easily lead to a miscount of one. This error (1832 for 1835) was carried to text line III.iv.184. It is not clear from E whether Shelley intended the extra space between lines 163 and 164 (present in 1820) inasmuch as line 164 starts the new page in E.

[E.3 35v] Thrones, altars, judgement-seats, and prisons; wherein,
And beside which, by wretched men were borne
Sceptres, tiaras, swords, and chains, and tomes
Of reasoned wrong, glozed on by ignorance,
Were like those monstrous and barbaric shapes,
The ghosts of a no more remembered fame,
Which, from their unworn obelisks, look forth
In triumph o'er the palaces and tombs
Of those who were their conquerors: mouldering round
Those imaged to the pride of kings and priests,
A dark yet mighty faith, a power as wide
As is the world it wasted, and are now
But an astonishment; even so the tools
And emblems of its last captivity,
Amid the dwellings of the peopled earth,
Stand, not o'erthrown, but unregarded now.

164 Thrones altars judgement-seats & E judgment seats, M judgement-seats Fs Fr prisons— Fs prisons,— R L prisons, W Fr wherein E
165 besides Fr
166 Sceptres tiaras swords & chains, & E swords and chains Fs
167 wrong E Fr ignorance,— R
168 monstrous *or* secret & E shapes E
169 no-more-remembered R W H no-more Fs fame E W
170 *no punctuation* E Fs R Fr Which W
171 oer E & E
172 these J conquerors, E R A L Fr conquerors; W round. R L Fr round, W H
173 These E H A L imaged, R L Kings & Priests E priests W H Fr
175 wasted,— R
176 astonishment. Even R
177 it's last captivity E captivity Fr
178 Earth, E Fr 179 now; E

164-79 This difficult passage has led to "tomes of reasoned wrong" (Locock). Rossetti defended his punctuation with the following paraphrase: "Thrones, altars, judgment-seats, and prisons, were like those monstrous and barbaric shapes sculptured by the ancient Egyptians on still unworn obelisks, and recording matters once famous, now forgotten,—which shapes yet look forth in triumph over the palaces and tombs of their Saracenic or other conquerors, now mouldering around them. Those shapes did, at the time when their meaning was understood, image forth, unto the pride of kings and priests of that remote age, a dark yet mighty faith, a supernatural and desolating power coextensive with the world: now, being no longer understood, those shapes are mere objects of astonishment. And even so the thrones, altars, judgment-seats, and prisons, remain as yet unruined, and, whereas they used once to have a practical meaning, they now have none such."

Swinburne ventured the following: "[The] thrones, altars, and prisons of the past were now like those barbaric and monumental figures carved or engraved on obelisks, which survive the decay of later structures raised by their conquerors, tombs and prisons built by kings of a dynasty more recent than the race which had reared *them;* these they see mouldering round them, built since their date in honour of the religion and the pride of past kings and priests, and are themselves now merely looked on as wonders" ("Notes," p. 363). He admitted the awkwardness of this but felt that Rossetti's change (with *imaged* not taken as a participle) was "inadmissible." He noted that the confusion resulted from "the parenthesis being so long between the two main

And those foul shapes, abhorred by god and man, [180]

180 shapes,— W God & man E God R Fr God and Man, L man,— H

verbs which prop the sentence ('which look forth . . . and are now,' etc.); but in fact these large and stately structures of massive and majestic verse do seem too often to need more help of clamps and girders, if the main stones and joists of the fabric are to hold together" (*ibid.*).

Forman held to the 1820 punctuation, finding the sentence "unimpeachable" grammatically unless *imaged* is taken as a participle as in Swinburne, although he thought that the colon might have been shifted from the line end in going through the press; but he felt that Swinburne's paraphrase "makes Shelley's grammar appear more faulty than it really is." He found the sentence "easy to construe: the Spirit of the Hour tells how, in the changed world, thrones, altars, &c. were like the forms engraved on the obelisks, which forms look forth over palaces and tombs of their conquerors (that is to say, the conquerors of those who had the forms engraved). If the colon is to be placed at the end of the line, we have simply to add, to what is predicated of the conquerors' palaces and tombs, that they were mouldering around. If the colon stays where it is, the Spirit of the Hour goes on to say that those monstrous and barbaric shapes, mouldering round, depicted, to the pride of kings and priests, a dark faith and a power as wide as the world it wasted,—that those shapes are now but an astonishment,—and that, in like manner, the tools and emblems of the earth's latest captivity (its latest religion and polity) stand, in the renovated world the Spirit is describing, not overthrown, but of no account." Forman thought that the argument for *round:* would be that Shelley might be more likely to apply *mouldering* to the palaces and tombs rather than to the shapes themselves, "but as I have no doubt that those very shapes are referred to in the continuation (line 180 et seq.) as the several transmutations of the idea of God or Jupiter, and as the word *mouldering* is applied to them in line 189, there can be no difficulty about it being applied to them in line 172,—in the same spiritual sense. I take it to mean that their sway over the mind of man is mouldering, or perishing; and, in that case, it does not interfere with the epithet *unworn* in line 170."

Scudder adopted Rossetti's punctuation and commented: "The general sense is clear: that the monuments of our present civilization, secular and sacred, will be to a regenerate humanity mere memorials of an outworn past, as the monuments of ancient civilization are to us to-day." And Woodberry added that "the fact that these monuments survived the new race and last into our still later time is an unnecessary and subordinate incident inserted because it appealed to Shelley's imagination."

164 *wherein* possibly *whereon* at first. There is splattered ink after *judgement* but I believe the hyphen is present.

168 *those* [*hideous*] *secret monstrous* in different ink, on 36^{r}. *hideous* appears to have been written first with a drying pen and then strengthened. *secret* is underlined rather than deleted, as in Zupitza. Shelley may have intended the line for deletion, but I believe that he underlined the word to reserve it for final choice, before he wrote *monstrous*

172 *conquerors, mouldering round.* in Hughes. *round:* ("with some hesitation") in Dickinson. *round,* in Koszul and Herford.

173 A dash before *These* was explained correctly by Zupitza as a mark that slipped off the edge of 34^{r} and onto three following pages. *These* and *priests* of Hutchinson followed by Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.

175 * *they* on 36^{r}. *they* is clear, but the first word is nearly obscured by a heavily overwritten word of the Preface. Zupitza thought that it might be *as* and Freeman, *Earth* There are not enough letters for *Earth* and the word is definitely illegible.

177 Possibly *Captivity*

180 Possibly *Man*

Which, under many a name and many a form
Strange, savage, ghastly, dark, and execrable,
Were Jupiter, the tyrant of the world;
And which the nations, panic-stricken, served
[E.3 36v] With blood, and hearts broken by long hope, and love [185]
Dragged to his altars soiled and garlandless,
[E.3 37r] And slain among men's unreclaiming tears,
[E.3 36v] Flattering the thing they feared, which fear was hate,
Frown, mouldering fast, o'er their abandoned shrines:
The painted veil, by those who were, called life, [190]
Which mimicked, as with colours idly spread,
All men believed and hoped, is torn aside;
The loathsome mask has fallen, the man remains

181 Which E Fr & E form, M Fs R L
182 dark & execrable E dark Fs H L Fr
183 Tyrant of the World,— R world E world, W
184 nations panic-stricken E Fr
185 blood R<blood, R²> & & E
186 & garlandless E garlandless Fr
187 amid E H-Fr tears E
188 hate E hate,— R W H L hate— Fr
189 oer E A on Fr shrines E shrines. R W Fr
190 veil E veil— R life— R
191 mimick'd, M
192 or hoped, E H-Fr aside— E Fr aside. R
193 fallen. The man remains,— R Man remains,— L J

184 *1854* Shelley's count (in error for 1856), below *served*

186 *Dragged to* above [*Slain at*] *Dragged to* is also on 37r.

187 This line was included in Shelley's count. *And* is in ink traced over pencil, and *sl* of *slain* was first written in pencil. *amid* at first *among* but I cannot agree with Locock that the change was made "so minutely that it might easily have escaped notice," for the *g* is carefully deleted by three short strokes, and the *d* is clear above the undeleted *on* with the closed *o* dotted to serve as *i*

189 *Frown*, below [*Stand*] *oer* at first *on* although Freeman thought the reverse.

193-98 This passage, too, has been much discussed. Rossetti thought that Shepherd's conjecture, "Passionless, not yet free from guilt and pain" the "grossest and silliest misconception of the whole purport of the poem" (Garnett, *Letters*, p. 46). He defended his own punctuation (which was followed by Scudder) by pointing out that otherwise the sense would be that "man remains sceptreless (unsubjected to any sceptre), *but* equal, exempt from degree, and the king over himself; free, *but* exempt from awe; uncircumscribed, *but* unclassed, tribeless, and nationless." He added: "A little reflection will show that this '*but*' is quite inappropriate; for there is no opposition or antithesis, but the contrary, between the epithets which precede the '*but*,' and those which succeed it." With his punctuation, he felt that the meaning would be that "man, though sceptreless, free, and uncircumscribed, is still man; though equal, the king over himself, &c., he is still man. He has not passed from the human into any other condition: only his human condition is now an exalted instead of a dejected one."

Forman thought that Rossetti threw "light, but also darkness," and he followed 1820 although "the forms of expression are certainly eccentric." To Forman *but* meant "only" or "merely," and "the man remains sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, mere man, equal, unclassed, tribeless and nationless, exempt from awe, worship, degree, king over himself, just, gentle, wise,—not passionless, yet free from guilt and pain, and not

Sceptreless, free, uncircumscribed, but man
Equal, unclassed, tribeless, and nationless, [195]
Exempt from awe, worship, degree, the king
Over himself; just, gentle, wise: but man
Passionless; no, yet free from guilt or pain,
Which were, for his will made or suffered them,
Nor yet exempt, tho' ruling them like slaves, [200]
From chance, and death, and mutability,
[E.3 37r] The clogs of that which else might oversoar
[E.3 36v] The loftiest star of unascended heaven,

194 uncircumscribed:,— <*sic*>but man E uncircumscribed:—but man. A uncircumscribed,—but man: L J man: R man. Fr
195 tribeless & nationless E tribeless Fs L J Fr
196 degree,—the King E L degree—the King Fr King J
197 wise:,— <*sic*>but man: E wise; W wise,—but man: L J wise—but man: Fr man. R man: A
198 Passionless? no— E A Fr Passionless— Fs W Passionless? no:— R Passionless?— H Passionless? no: L J pain E pain,— R
199 made, E L J Fr them; R W Fr
200 though E M
201 chance & death & mutability E chance and death Fs Fr chance and death and mutability,— R
203 Heaven E Fr heaven R Heaven, L

exempt from chance, death, and mutability, though ruling them like slaves." He did not think that Shelley would wish *Passionless?* and he felt that Rossetti's full stop at *man* (line 197) destroyed "the one great antithesis" that the poet meant to express: "man equal and thoroughly emancipated from artificial laws and restraints, but not man passionless,—man exempt from guilt and pain, but not from death and mutability."

Alexander followed Rossetti in *man:* and *man.* (at lines 194 and 197) but considered the other changes unnecessary; and Locock, commenting on Rossetti's interpretation, noted: "Since this antithesis [the difference in human condition] provides something like an anticlimax, it might be possible to find another—not between the divine and the man, but between the mask and the man. In that case the sense would be—'The mask has fallen,—the real man becomes visible, free to follow his own true nature. And this 'man' is not the masked, cowering, vicious slave called man by mankind, but 'that fair being whom *we spirits* call Man' [III.iv.45]: equal, virtuous, independent,—'Whose nature is its own divine controul' [IV.401]. 'But man' would then mean 'but really man, though hardly recognisable as such in his altered state.' "

194 For *uncircumscribed:,—* see note on line 197. After *man* Zupitza read a colon possibly changed to a period, Locock *man:* and Freeman *man.* The apparent deletion of the upper dot is unusually heavy (more like a clearing of the pen) and does not actually touch the dot. I believe the intended reading was *man:* to balance line 197.

197 Zupitza thought that a comma and dash after *wise* had been converted to a colon and dash, as in line 194. But in neither case is the comma deleted. A strong pause after *man* has been general except in those who have followed Hutchinson closely.

198 A semicolon or comma at first followed *Passionless* Either the upper part or all of the question mark was then added. *Passionless,* in Shepherd and Dickinson. In general, *Passionless?* has prevailed. *yet* above [*but*] *or* at first &

200 *Nor yet* above [*Though not*] and *though* above [*yet*]

202 This line was at first (on 36v):

[Which Which clog that spirit, else which might outsoar]

W of the second *Which* at first *T* The substituted line was included in Shelley's count.

Pinnacled dim in the intense inane.

END OF THE THIRD ACT.

---

204 Below this line is *Prometheus* which led Zupitza to inquire if Shelley intended to close the act with a speech by that character. SD: omitted in E R W L Fr

In the left margin opposite 198-200 Shelley added *5* to *1866* for a total of *1871* to which he then added *29* for a total of *1900* Which of the additions, or combinations of additions, to the acts comprise the numbers *5*, *29*, and a possible *11* (written lightly below the 1900) is not clear; nor is it clear how the poet arrived at his final count of *1915* below *Pinnacled* The published acts (I-III) total 2032 lines, a difference of 117 which Freeman suggested might indicate the addition, after this count, of the Speech of the Fauns (II.ii.64-97), the "Down, Down" lyric (II.iii.54-98), and the "Song of Asia" (II.v.72-110) (Text, pp. 26-27). These three passages comprise 118 lines (not 117 as Freeman stated) and, as we have seen, the error of one would not be unusual with Shelley. But this conjecture assumes much greater accuracy in recount than his general practice will justify. In any event, we can only accept the fact of his clearly written *1915*

The poet's final computation for the play (including Act IV) is on 37^{r} but will be considered below (see note at IV.578).

Shelley's three counts for the present act may be summarized as follows: In the early count, which terminated at his figure *401* (line III.iv. 108, or total act line 416), he made four errors in counting (see notes at III.iii.12, 56; III.iv.58, 79), resulting in his *401* being an overcount of four. In the running count, which terminated at his figure *430* (line III.iv.125, or total act line 427), he made five errors in counting (see notes at III.i.34; III.ii.50; III.iii.64; III.iv.10, 39), resulting in his *430* being an overcount of three. The early count was complicated by the fact that additions and deletions were sometimes included and sometimes not (see notes at III.i.44, 67, 80; III.iii.30, 161, 173-74; III.iv.77, 86-96), while the running count, made later, accounted for all lines. These two counts may be tabulated as follows:

Early Count		Running Count	
Shelley's verso count (including two additions from E.3 16^{r})	401	Shelley's running count	430
Overcount error	4	Overcount error	3
	397	Total act line	427
Deletions not accounted for in his count	1		
	396		
Additions not included	21		
	417		
Addition not used in play	1		
Total act line	416		

Shelley's third count, cumulative for the three acts, was introduced at III.iv.108, with the figure *1778*. Errors in counting (see notes at III.iv.108, 131, 163, 184) are present, as are problems of including or excluding deletions and additions (see notes at III.iv.124, 187, 202). But Shelley does not carry this numbering to the end of the act, shifting on the last page to the figures given above at III.iv.204. By this inexplicable computation he arrived at 1915 lines for the three acts, as compared with an actual text count of 2032 lines (see note at III.iv.204).

ACT IV.

SCENE, A PART OF THE FOREST NEAR THE CAVE OF PROMETHEUS. PANTHEA AND IONE ARE SLEEPING: THEY AWAKEN GRADUALLY DURING THE FIRST SONG.

VOICE OF UNSEEN SPIRITS.

The pale stars are gone!
For the sun, their swift shepherd,
To their folds them compelling,
In the depths of the dawn,
Hastes, in meteor-eclipsing array, and they flee [5]

SD Scene a part of forest near the cave of Prometheus—Panthea & Ione are sleeping—they awaken gradually during the first song. E

1 Stars are gone,— E gone, R

2 Sun thier <*sic*>swift Shepherd E sun Fs Sun, R L Fr shepherd M Fs W J

3 compelling E R Fr

4 Dawn E Dawn, Fr

5 Hastes R array; R & E

SD At the top of 2r, heavily inked and underlined, is something read by Zupitza as *Act 4* and by Locock as *Sept 11* (Freeman did not note it). If it is *Act 4* a single vertical line follows *4* (possibly a *1*). But it is more likely that Shelley would give the act number, since he has done so for the other acts, than that he would give a date. What he actually wrote is susceptible of either interpretation (see illustration, facing p. 173). The SD developed as follows:

part of
Scene a [beautiful] forest near the cave
of Prometheus—Panthea & Ione [are] are
[sitting beside a stream]
sleeping— [dreaming]— they awaken gradually
during the first song.

[*dreaming*] is deleted with a wavy line that makes reading difficult. It may have been overwritten with another word. I wonder if *Awakening* was not present at one time or if it was not that rather than *dreaming* *Voice* at first *Song*

1-82 For Shelley's translation of these lines into Italian, probably as an exercise in the language, see Appendix B.

3 *the folds* in Dickinson.

4 *depths* started as *dee* and then the second *e* was converted to *p*

5 *y* of *array* was strengthened and enlarged. *Hastens*, in Shepherd.

Beyond his blue dwelling,
As fawns flee the leopard.
But where are ye?

A TRAIN OF DARK FORMS AND SHADOWS PASSES BY CONFUSEDLY, SINGING.

Here, oh, here:
We bear the bier
Of the Father of many a cancelled year!
Spectres we
Of the dead Hours be,
We bear Time to his tomb in eternity.

[E.1 2^v] Strew, oh, strew
Hair, not yew!
Wet the dusty pall with tears, not dew!
Be the faded flowers
Of Death's bare bowers
Spread on the corpse of the King of Hours!

Haste, oh, haste!
As shades are chased,
Trembling, by day, from heaven's blue waste.

---

7 leopard . . . E L Fr leopard, M Fs W J

SD A train of dark forms & shadows passes by confusedly, singing—Panthea wakens E confusedly M J by, confusedly Fs

9 Here oh here! E R^2 oh! M J oh! here! Fs oh here R oh, here! W L oh, here, Fr

11 father E W year E year. R

13 Of dead hours be E Of dead A be; W

14 time M^2 eternity E Eternity. R L

15 Strew oh strew E oh! M Fs oh R

19 Deaths E

20 king Fs

21 oh E Fs R oh haste, R^2

22 chased E Fr

23 Day, from Heaven's blue waste E Day, from Heaven's blue waste, L Fr waste, R W J <waste! R^2>

---

7 *o* and *a* of *leopard* converted from something else, probably *leapord* or *leepord*

8 SD: The comma and *singing*— (and possibly *Panthea wakens*) were added. Freeman suggested that *singing* was probably added when *Voice* was written over *Song* in the SD above, "with perhaps the idea of having the song be a response to a recitative." Cuningham followed M in *confusedly* with the resultant change in meaning.

8 Locock noted: "Although the question is answered, if the punctuation of the next line is correct, by the 'train of dark Forms and Shadows,' it was probably addressed, not to them, but to the present and future Hours, whom the Unseen Spirits had arranged to meet at daybreak, and who answer the repetition of the call" at line 55. But he noted also that "Qui, oh qui" in the Italian translation has no stop.

13 Freeman defended *the* of 1820 on the basis of the Italian translation (Text, p. 48).

We melt away,
Like dissolving spray,
From the children of a diviner day,
With the lullaby
Of winds that die
On the bosom of their own harmony!

IONE.
What dark forms were they?

PANTHEA.
The past Hours weak and grey,
With the spoil which their toil
Raked together
From the conquest but One could foil.

IONE.
Have they past?

PANTHEA.
They have past;
[E.1 3r] They outspeeded the blast,
While 'tis said, they are fled:

IONE.
Whither, oh, whither?

---

24 away E
25 spray E
29 harmony E harmony. Fs R Fr
SD they vanish E They vanish. L J Ione, E
31 hours Fr & grey E
32 spoil, E
34 foil E
35 have past E
36 blast. R blast,— Fo² blast; L
37 tis E said Fs fled— E L Fr fled. R fled! W
38 oh E Fs R² oh! M R

---

24 *melt* above [*flee*]

26 A period after *day* was probably changed to a comma when the next lines were added. A vertical line following the comma has been crossed out, as though Shelley did not wish it to be confused with an exclamation point. *they vanish* is to the right and below this line. It was probably written before the new lines were added, and what appears to be an underline may be a directional line to indicate its placement after line 29.

27-29 These lines were crowded in, with line 29 spaced as follows:
of their own harmony
On the bosom Ione, ([awakening])

30 For the *Ione* SD see preceding note. Actually *forns* (*sic*) in E.

38 Second *whither* at first *whether*

PANTHEA.

To the dark, to the past, to the dead.

VOICE OF UNSEEN SPIRITS.

Bright clouds float in heaven,
Dew-stars gleam on earth,
Waves assemble on ocean,
They are gathered and driven
By the storm of delight, by the panic of glee!
They shake with emotion,
They dance in their mirth.
But where are ye?

The pine boughs are singing
Old songs with new gladness,
The billows and fountains
Fresh music are flinging,
Like the notes of a spirit from land and from sea;
The storms mock the mountains
With the thunder of gladness.
But where are ye?

---

40 Heaven, E L Fr
41 Earth, E L Fr
42 Ocean, E L Fr ocean: R
43 & E
44 Storm E glee E
45 emotion— E Fr
46 mirth— E L Fr
48 pine-boughs E R L
50 & E
51 flinging E Fr
52 spirit, R L & from sea E
54 gladness, M^2 W J Fr gladness— L

---

39 This line developed as follows:
To the [cold, to]
dark, to the past, to the dead.

46 This line was inserted, with the dash actually an insertion mark. Possibly Shelley made the mark to indicate that a line was to be supplied, and then left it to balance the dash after *emotion* above.

49 *Old* at first *New* With respect to *gladness gladness* (lines 49 and 54), Rossetti considered this an oversight on Shelley s part and suggested the possibility of *madness* (in the sense of "frenzied exultation" or "maniac glee") at line 54. He compared IV.319-20 and "Teach me half the gladness, / That thy brain must know, / Such harmonious madness" (*To a Skylark* 101-3). Forman felt that such a change was unnecessary, and Locock that *madness* "would destroy the force of 'mock,' used here in the sense of 'playfully deceive.' The storms deceive the mountains with thunder which, after all, turns out to be merely 'the thunder of gladness.' In Shelley's Italian translation the word is represented in the two cases by 'gioja' and 'diletto.'"

54 *With the thunder of* above [*Both howl in their*]

[E.1 3v] IONE. What charioteers are these?
PAN. Where are their chariots?

SEMICHORUS OF HOURS.
The voice of the Spirits of Air and of Earth
Have drawn back the figured curtain of sleep
Which covered our being and darkened our birth
In the deep.

A VOICE.
In the deep?

SEMICHORUS II.
Oh, below the deep. [60]

SEMICHORUS I.
An hundred ages we had been kept
Cradled in visions of hate and care,
And each one who waked as his brother slept,
Found the truth—

SEMICHORUS II.
Worse than his visions were!

SEMICHORUS I.
We have heard the lute of Hope in sleep; [65]

---

56 these E
SD Semichorus of Hours. 1. E Semichorus I. of Hours. R
57 air & earth E
58 Has R W sleep, R W L J
59 & E
60 *first occurrence:* deep— E L Fr SD: Voice E SD: Semichorus 2. E Oh below the deep E Oh! M Fs R L J
SD: Semichorus 1. E
61 A hundred M Fs J
62 & care E
63 slept E R W L Fr
SD Semichorus 2. E
64 were E were. R^2
SD Semichorus 1. E
65 sleep E

---

56 3v at first opened with [*Chorus*] above which line 56 was crowded in as follows:
Ione
What charioteers are these Panthea Where are their chariots?
Below *these* (which was at first *they*) is an insertion mark to locate Panthea's speech, which was an afterthought according to Locock.

57 SD: [*Chorus*] above and [*Semichorus 1*] below *Semichorus of Hours. 1.* in which the *o* of *of* was at first the number *1* (and not *a* as Freeman thought).

58 *Has* in Dickinson.

61 *A hundred* in Cuningham.

62 *visions* above [*dreams*] A canceled letter before *care* is probably the shaft of an *h*

65 *Hope* at first *hope* or the reverse.

We have known the voice of Love in dreams,
[F.1 4r] We have felt the wand of Power, and leap—

SEMICHORUS II.

As the billows leap in the morning beams!

CHORUS.

Weave the dance on the floor of the breeze,
Pierce with song heaven's silent light,
Enchant the day that too swiftly flees,
To check its flight ere the cave of night.

Once the hungry Hours were hounds
Which chased the day like a bleeding deer,
And it limped and stumbled with many wounds
Through the nightly dells of the desart year.

But now, oh weave the mystic measure
Of music, and dance, and shapes of light,
Let the Hours, and the spirits of might and pleasure,
Like the clouds and sunbeams, unite.

66 love in dream E dreams; Fs R W H L dream, A
SD Semichorus 2 E
68 beam E beams. R L beam! A
70 Heaven's E L Fr
71 Day E R² L Day, R flees E R²
72 flight, E Fr Night; E Night. R H A L Fr
74 Day, E Fr Day Fs R L deer E
75 & stumbled E
76 desert M year E Year. Fs
77 now— E R² L Fr now—oh!R oh! M Fs oh, W J
78 music & dance E music and dance Fs R Fr light! R light; L
79 Hours Fs Fr & all Spirits E all Spirits A Spirits R W L & pleasure E pleasure Fs Fr
80 & the sunbeams unite E and the sunbeams A and the sunbeams, unite— Fr sunbeams Fs unite— W L

66 Freeman justified the 1820 reading here and at lines 68, 79, and 80 by appeal to the Italian translation; but, as he recognized, Shelley may have been translating an 1820 copy of the poem as printed (Text, pp. 35, 48-49).

67 This line at first ended with *Power—* Shelley then gave *And leap,* to Semichorus 2, deleted it and added *and leap—* after *Power—* with the *a* of *and* deleting the dash, and a comma inserted to replace the dash.

68 See note on line 66. *beams?* in Cuningham.

71 *Day* at first *day*

72 *check* below [*soothe*] *Night;* at first *night;* Locock noted that the comma after *flight* probably indicated an intentional internal rime not carried out in the next stanzas.

76 A caret after *Th* of *Though* directs to *r* above the line. See note at II.i.12.

77 Freeman read an *I* above *oh* as a possible initial of *Ione* But what he read as *I* is, I am sure, the upstroke of an original *h* on which the pen missed, after which Shelley retraced the letter, but gave it a shorter shank.

79 *Hours* at first *hours* and possibly *Spirits* at first *spirits* See also note on line 66.

80 See note on line 66.

A Voice.
Unite! [80]

Pan. See, where the Spirits of the human mind
Wrapt in sweet sounds, as in bright veils, approach.

[E.1 4v] Chorus of Spirits.
We join the throng
Of the dance and the song,
By the whirlwind of gladness borne along; [85]
As the flying-fish leap
From the Indian deep,
And mix with the sea-birds, half asleep.

Chorus of Hours.
Whence come ye, so wild and so fleet,
For sandals of lightning are on your feet, [90]
And your wings are soft and swift as thought,
And your eyes are as love which is veiled not?

Chorus of Spirits.
We come from the mind
Of human kind
Which was late so dusk, and obscene, and blind, [95]

---

80 SD: a Voice E Unite. M Fs R
81 See E R Fr Human Mind, R mind, W
82 like radiant veils, E A sounds R approach E approach! Fs
SD Chorus of Spirits of the Mind. R
84 & the song E song R^2 Fr
87 deep W Fr
88 sea birds E Fr sea-birds half-asleep. M W J sea-birds Fs R L
89 *no punctuation* E & E
90 feet E Fr
91 & swift E
92 Love E L
SD Chorus of Spirits of the Mind. R
94 humankind, R W L kind, M Fs J
95 dusk & obscene & blind; E dusk and obscene and blind; Fs Fr dusk and obscure and blind:— R <obscene R^2> blind; M Fo^2 W L

---

82 *Wrapt* above [*Clothed*] *sounds* above [*song*], *veils, approach* above [*garments, come*]
84 *song* in Blind, apparently followed by Rossetti in R^2, with the resultant changed emphasis.
88 Locock assumed that the absence of a comma at *sea birds* in the MS meant that the birds and not the fish were half asleep.
89 *come*[*s*]
92 What Freeman read as an exclamation point after *not* is, I am sure, a question mark.
95 Rossetti argued for *obscure* as agreeing "by similitude" with *dusk*, and *blind*, and by contrast with *clear* and *serene* He thought that *obscene* introduced a novel and

Now 'tis an ocean
Of clear emotion,
A heaven of serene and mighty motion.

From that deep abyss
Of wonder and bliss,
Whose caverns are crystal palaces;
[E.1 5r] From those skiey towers
Where Thought's crowned powers
Sit watching your dance, ye happy Hours!

From the dim recesses
Of woven caresses,
Where lovers catch ye by your loose tresses;
From the azure isles,
Where sweet Wisdom smiles,
Delaying your ships with her syren wiles

From the temples high
Of Man's ear and eye,
Roofed over Sculpture and Poesy;
From the murmurings
Of the unsealed springs

---

96 tis an Ocean, E Ocean L Fr
97 emotion E
98 Heaven E L Fr & E motion:— R motion D
99 Abyss E L Fr
100 & bliss E bliss R Fr
101 chrystal palaces, E
103 Thoughts crowned Powers E thought's R Powers L Fr
104 Hours E Hours:— R
106 caresses E Fr
107 loose *or* sliding tresses— E sliding tresses; A L J tresses H tresses— Fr
108 isles E R Fr
109 smiles E Fr
110 wiles. M-Fr[R] wiles:— R
112 man's ear & eye E man's Fs R L Fr
113 sculpture and poesy; R & Poesy E

---

incongruous element. Blind corrected him ("Shelley"), and she and Scott used *obscene* Rossetti withdrew his note in R^2. Forman noted that *obscene* was used in the same sense as in "The obscene ravens, clamorous o'er the dead" (*Adonais* xxviii), and he felt that *obscure* would be "hardly more than a repetition" of *dusk*, He took *obscene* to be in "simple and exact opposition to *clear* or *pure emotion*."

96 *Ocean* at first *ocean* or the reverse.

98 *A* at first something else—probably, as Zupitza suggested, *Of*

104 *Sit* [*y**] with the second letter probably a start on *o* in anticipation of *your* as Zupitza suggested. *Hours* at first *hours*

107 *sliding* above [*loose*] with [*loose*] then underlined for stet. Locock thought that, with *sliding* illegible, the transcriber may have chosen the easier canceled word (*Examination*). But Shelley frequently underlines for stet.

110 *wiles* without the period *sic* in 1820.

Where Science bedews his Dædal wings.

Years after years,
Through blood, and tears,
And a thick hell of hatreds, and hopes, and fears;
We waded and flew,
And the islets were few
Where the bud-blighted flowers of happiness grew.

[E.1 5v] Our feet now, every palm,
Are sandalled with calm,
And the dew of our wings is a rain of balm;
And, beyond our eyes,
The human love lies
Which makes all it gazes on Paradise.

CHORUS OF SPIRITS AND HOURS.

Then weave the web of the mystic measure;
From the depths of the sky and the ends of the earth,
Come, swift Spirits of might and of pleasure,
Fill the dance and the music of mirth,
As the waves of a thousand streams rush by

---

116 her E H-Fr dædal R W L wings E
117 after years E
118 blood & tears E blood and tears Fs blood R Fr
119 hatreds & hopes & fears, E hatreds and hopes and fears, Fs R Fr fears, Fo² W L
120 & flew E flew,— R flew Fr
122 grew E
126 *no punctuation* E Fs R Fr
127 lies, W L J
128 on, E L paradise. Fs R SD & E
130 & E Earth E Earth; Fr
131 & E
132 & E mirth,— R

---

116 *de* of *bedews* obscured an illegible letter or letters, one of which may be *t* Possibly a start on *bestrews*

119 A caret following *a* directs to *thick* above the line. *fears* in Cuningham.

122 *120* Shelley's count (in error for 122), precedes this line. He carried this error to text line 168.

123 *feet* at first something else indecipherable (Freeman read *fear*) which Shelley deleted. Then, since there was not room to write the word above, he wrote *feet* heavily on the deleted word, giving the effect of a deletion for *feet* also. *every* above [*each cal*] A mark above *c* of [*cal*] suggests that Shelley started to convert *c* to *p* and then deleted *cal* and wrote *palm*,

For a Shelley draft assigned to this context by Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen, with reasons for the present editor's transference of the lines to IV.181-84, see Appendix A.

125 *is* at first *in*

129 This line is followed by:

[Of music & dance & shapes of light]

133 *waves and* in Shepherd.

To an ocean of splendour and harmony!

CHORUS OF SPIRITS.

Our spoil is won,
Our task is done,
We are free to dive, or soar, or run;
Beyond and around,
Or within the bound
Which clips the world with darkness round.

[E.1 6r] We'll pass the eyes
Of the starry skies
Into the hoar deep to colonize:
Death, Chaos, and Night,
From the sound of our flight,
Shall flee, like mist from a tempest's might.

And Earth, Air, and Light,
And the Spirit of Might,
Which drives round the stars in their fiery flight;
And Love, Thought, and Breath,
The powers that quell Death,

---

134 Ocean E L Fr & E
3D Chorus of Spirits of the Mind. R
135 won E
136 done E
137 dive or soar or run . . . E Fr dive or soar Fs
138 or around E or around, A Fr
140 round E
141 Eyes E
143 Deep to colonize E colonize; W Fr
144 Death Chaos & E Chaos and Night Fs Chaos W Night Fr
145 flight E Fs R L Fr
146 Tempests might E
147 earth air & light E Air Fs W
148 Might E R
149 Stars E flight: Fs flight, R
150 love, thought, & breath E love, thought, and breath Fr Thought Fs W
151 the E death, E Fr

---

135 There is a short underline beneath *Chorus of Spirits* The chorus at first started:
[Away, away
We are]
138 *or* at first *&*
139 Freeman thought that *within* was at first *The* I believe that a pen slip at the top of *t* resulted in what might be taken for a capital. With a capital assumed it is possible to read *thi* as *The* but this would result in an indefensible spacing.
140 *round*, in Scudder, changing the meaning slightly.
141 *We'll* at first *We've*
143 *hoar* above [*old*] with the *h* possibly started as something else, I believe a false start on *o*
146 [*dust*] *mist* above [*mists*]
151 [*And*] *the*

Wherever we soar shall assemble beneath.

And our singing shall build
In the void's loose field
A world for the Spirit of Wisdom to wield;
We will take our plan
From the new world of man,
And our work shall be called the Promethean.

[E.1 6v] CHORUS OF HOURS.
Break the dance, and scatter the song;
Let some depart, and some remain.

SEMICHORUS I.
We, beyond heaven, are driven along:

SEMICHORUS II.
Us the enchantments of earth retain:

SEMICHORUS I.
Ceaseless, and rapid, and fierce, and free,
With the Spirits which build a new earth and sea,
And a heaven where yet heaven could never be.

---

152 beneath! E Fr
154 Void's E Fr field, E
155 weild,—<*sic*>E
157 man E M^2 J Man R^2
158 Promethean E
159 & E song E
160 depart E Fr & some remain, E remain; W
SD Semichorus 1. E
161 We beyond heaven Fs R Heaven, E L Fr along— E Fr along; W
SD Semichorus 2. E
162 Us, the inchantments of Earth retain— E inchantments of Earth L Earth retain— Fr retain; W
SD Semichorus 1. E
163 Ceaseless & rapid & fierce & free E *no punctuation* Fs Ceaseless and rapid and fierce R Fr
164 spirits Fs that build Dr & sea E sea Fr
165 Heaven where till now one could never be Dr Heaven where yet Heaven cd never be— E Heaven where yet Heaven L Fr never could be— Fr be; W

159-68 For a full transcription of Shelley's draft of these lines see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.
161 Draft at first: *We with the spirits will haste along*
162 *Us*, at first *We*, The comma may be deleted, but I believe that the line is a slip. *Earth* at first *earth*
163 Draft at first: *& wild & free*
164 *Spirits* at first *spirits*
165 Draft at first: *it could never be*

SEMICHORUS II.

Solemn, and slow, and serene, and bright,
Leading the Day and outspeeding the Night,
With the powers of a world of perfect light.

SEMICHORUS I.

We whirl, singing loud, round the gathering sphere,
Till the trees, and the beasts, and the clouds appear [170]
From its chaos made calm by love, not fear.

SEMICHORUS II.

We encircle the ocean and mountains of earth,
And the happy forms of its death and birth
Change to the music of our sweet mirth.

[E.1 7r] CHORUS OF HOURS AND SPIRITS.

Break the dance, and scatter the song, [175]
Let some depart, and some remain,
Wherever we fly we lead along
In leashes, like starbeams, soft yet strong,
The clouds that are heavy with love's sweet rain.

SD Semichorus 2. E
166 Solemn & slow & serene & bright E Solemn and slow and serene Fs R Fr
167 day & E Day, M Fs W L J day, R day Fr night E Fr night, R
168 Powers E L Fr light— E Fr light; W light: L
SD Semichorus 1. E
169 sphere E Fr
170 trees & E *no punctuation* Fs R Fr & E
171 From the Fr chaos, R fear— E Fr fear; W
SD Semichorus E
172 Oceans & Mountains of Earth E Oceans A oceans L J Fr earth J Earth, Fr
173 & birth E birth, A
174 mirth E
SD &E
175 dance & E dance Fr song—E Fr song; R W L
176 depart & some remain E depart R Fr <depart, R^2> remain; W L Fr remain. R
177 fly, R
178 leashes like star-beams, R <starbeams, R^2> star-beams, M Fs W L strong E Fr
179 Loves sweet rain E Love's L Fr
SD they depart E

---

168 *146* (not *156* as in Freeman), Shelley's count (in error for *168*), precedes this line. How so large an error could be made from his preceding count is not clear, unless he skipped a page. But to skip either 5^v or 6^r would not have given a correct count of 146. In any event, he carried the error to line 287.

174 *sweet* written at first with a drying pen, and then intensified.

179 *157* (not *167* as in Freeman), Shelley's count, below *The* From this point the count picks up on 8^r, the balance of 7^r and the lines on 7^v having been added later. Freeman plausibly suggested that Shelley had not yet worked up the transitional passage (lines 180-93) between the lyrics and the blank verse of Panthea and Ione, so left the remaining two-thirds of 7^r and all of 7^v blank (after having written *P.* at the

PAN. Ha! they are gone!
IONE. Yet feel you no delight [180]
From the past sweetness?
PAN. As the bare green hill
When some soft cloud vanishes into rain,
Laughs with a thousand drops of sunny water
To the unpavilioned sky!
IONE. Even whilst we speak
New notes arise. What is that awful sound? [185]
PAN. 'Tis the deep music of the rolling world
Kindling within the strings of the waved air,
Æolian modulations.
IONE. Listen too,
[E.1 7v] How every pause is filled with under-notes,

---

180 SD Pan E Ha, E Fr
181 hill, R W
182 rain E
184 while Fs speak, R
185 arise . . . E arise. . . L Hark to the awful sweetness of that sound Dr
sound E
186 Tis E world, M Fs R W L J
187 air E M-Fr[Fo D A]
188 modulations E Listen, Fr too E R
189 under notes E under notes, Fr

---

top of 7v before shifting Panthea's speech, beginning with line 194, to the top of 8r). Thus the transitional passage, when it was put in, occupied the balance of 7r and only five lines on 7v, the remainder of that page having a diagonal line to prevent further copying thereon (Text, p. 29). That 180-93 were written late is confirmed by their draft appearance in the midst of a speech of Earth near the end of Act IV. See Appendix A.

180 The assignment of *Ha, they are gone!* presents a difficulty. Freeman thought that Shelley wrote *Pa* and then converted it to *Ione* But if so, Ione is assigned two consecutive speeches by name. I believe that Shelley wrote *Ione* and then converted it to *Pan* although he normally does not abbreviate the names of characters. The original *I* appears to me to be quite clearly altered.

181-93 For a full transcription of Shelley's draft of these and relevant unused lines see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft.

181 *green* above [*dry*]

182 *When some* [*some*] *vanishes into rain* below [*of has loosed its*] [*has*] is uncertain, possibly at first *loose* as Freeman suggested.

183 *water* below *sunny* [*wet*] which is below [*orbed &*] The [*&*] may be a start on a letter. Shelley apparently closed the speech at this point, wrote *Ione* for the next speech, and then decided to add to Panthea's lines. The development is as follows:

Laughs with a thousand drops of [orbed &]
sunny [wet]
water

[To the pale sky, my]
[unpavili Ione]
To the unpavilioned sky!

186 In the draft Shelley first started a following line: *Made Living* Then: *Made Fathomless*

189 Draft at first: *is broken into notes* E: *P.* above the line. See note on line 179.

Clear, silver, icy, keen awakening tones,
Which pierce the sense, and live within the soul,
As the sharp stars pierce winter's crystal air
And gaze upon themselves within the sea.
[E.1 8r] PAN. But see where through two openings in the forest
Which hanging branches overcanopy,
And where two runnels of a rivulet,
Between the close moss violet-inwoven,
Have made their path of melody, like sisters
Who part with sighs that they may meet in smiles,
Turning their dear disunion to an isle
Of lovely grief, a wood of sweet sad thoughts;
Two visions of strange radiance float upon
The ocean-like enchantment of strong sound,
Which flows intenser, keener, deeper yet
Under the ground and through the windless air.
IONE. I see a chariot like that thinnest boat,
In which the mother of the months is borne
By ebbing night into her western cave,
When she upsprings from interlunar dreams,
O'er which is curved an orblike canopy
Of gentle darkness, and the hills and woods

190 silvery, Fs keen, E R D H-Fr [J] tones E Fr
191 sense & E sense Fs Fr soul E Fr
192 Winters chrystal E Winter's L Fr chrystal sky Dr air, R Fr
194 see, E Fr where, M Fs R W L J
195 over-canopy, R²
196 rivulet E R
197 moss, M Fs R L J Fr violet-inwoven E violet inwoven, M
198 melody (like R
199 smiles E
201 thoughts E thoughts), R
203 Ocean-like inchantment E inchantment L sound E
204 intenser keener E yet, R W L
205 & E air E
206 boat E M Fs R W L Fr
207 Mother of the Months E R H L Fr
208 light E H-Fr cave E Fr
209 inter lunar E dreams; R W H L Fr
210 Oer E curbed M orb-like W
211 & & E woods, R W H

191 Draft at first: *Which pierce into the spirit,*
192 Draft at first: *As the clear starbeams pierce the wintry air*
194 *But see* above [*And see*],
198 *sisters* above [*friends*] with the *s* of [*friends*] running off the edge of the page and showing partly on 9r.
204 *keener* above [*calmer*]
208 I do not agree with Locock (who was led to his examination of the MS in the "expected discovery of this reading") that *light* is easily mistakable for *night* or that the *l* is short as compared with the *i* (*Examination*, p. 32). The only possible confusion might come from taking the *li* for an *h* with a dot over the body of the letter (see illustration, facing p. 173). There is, of course, no question that *light* is the correct word in this context. *light* also in Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.

Distinctly seen through that dusk airy veil,
Regard like shapes in an enchanter's glass;
[E.] 8[v] Its wheels are solid clouds, azure and gold,
Such as the genii of the thunder-storm,
Pile on the floor of the illumined sea
When the sun rushes under it; they roll
And move and grow as with an inward wind;
Within it sits a winged infant, white
Its countenance, like the whiteness of bright snow,
Its plumes are as feathers of sunny frost,
Its limbs gleam white, through the wind-flowing folds
Of its white robe, woof of ætherial pearl.
Its hair is white, the brightness of white light
Scattered in string; yet its two eyes are heavens
Of liquid darkness, which the Deity
Within seems pouring, as a storm is poured
From jagged clouds, out of their arrowy lashes,
Tempering the cold and radiant air around,
With fire that is not brightness; in its hand
It sways a quivering moon-beam, from whose point
A guiding power directs the chariot's prow
Over its wheeled clouds, which as they roll

212 aery veil E aëry L Fr
213 enchanters E glass. R
214 & E
215 thunderstorm E R[2] D H L Fr thunder-storm M Fs R[1] Fo W A
217 Sun E it, E
218 & grow E wind. E R L Fr
219 Infant, E Fr infant. White R infant— W Infant,— L
220 countenance E Fr snow; R
221 frost; R
222 white R thro E
223 robe J pearl— E pearl, W
224 is white,— E L
225 strings, E Fr strings; M-J Heavens E L Fr
226 deity R
227 Within, E L
228 lashes E
229 & E around E Fs R W L Fr
230 fire which E A Fr brightness, E brightness. In R
231 moonbeam, E R D W H L Fr
232 chariots E
233 clouds; which, R

219 [*br*] *white* Zupitza conjectured a start on *bright* *Infant* at first *infant*

221 *as* above [*like*] Rossetti noted the "exceptional, not to say unrhythmical quality of this line," and suggested instead: "Its feathers are as plumes of sunny frost." Forman thought this "worthy of attention," but Woodberry felt (as did Alexander) that the line was characteristic of Shelley, who did not seek regularity. Scudder also felt "a certain charm in the hovering movement of the line." Locock, who thought that Shelley changed the word because of *like* just above, agreed that "the substituted word certainly does not carry the weight of the pause so well."

225 Forman assumed that the change to *strings* was based on the errata. Except for Shepherd, the change was generally adopted.

230 Freeman thought that Mrs. Shelley altered *which* to *that* without authority (Text, p. 49).

Over the grass, and flowers, and waves, wake sounds,
Sweet as a singing rain of silver dew.
[E.I 9r] PAN. And from the other opening in the wood
Rushes, with loud and whirlwind harmony,
A sphere, which is as many thousand spheres,
Solid as chrystal, yet through all its mass
Flow, as through empty space, music and light:
Ten thousand orbs involving and involved,
Purple and azure, white, green, and golden,
Sphere within sphere; and every space between
Peopled with unimaginable shapes,
Such as ghosts dream dwell in the lampless deep,
Yet each inter-transpicuous, and they whirl
Over each other with a thousand motions,
Upon a thousand sightless axles spinning,
And with the force of self-destroying swiftness,

---

234 grass & flowers & E grass and flowers and waves Fs grass and flowers R Fr sounds E R L Fr
237 *no punctuation* E Fr & E
238 A sphere R spheres,— R spheres; W
239 crystal, M
240 & light E light; W
241 Ten-thousand R^2 & involved E
242 & azure, white & green & golden E white and green R L J Fr and green, Fo D H A green Fs
243 sphere, & E sphere, Fr
244 shapes E
245 deep E deep; W Fr
246 inter transpicuous, & E inter-transpicuous. And R<intertranspicuous. And R^2> inter-transpicuous; W L J intertranspicuous, Fr
247 motions E
248 spinning E spinning; R
249 And, R self destroying swiftness E

---

234 [*bending*] *grass*
236 *200* Shelley's count, follows this line. See note at IV.179.
238 *m* of *many* at first *th*
242 This line developed as follows:

white & green & [& white]
Purple & azure, ∧ golden [white & green]

The caret is in pencil. Rossetti conjectured *and* between *white* and *green* because he felt that "Shelley gave it, for the metre's sake." Forman agreed, but Woodberry saw no authority for it in "Shelley's habitual versification. The vowels and pause of the first half line, lengthening its time, the redundant syllable at the end and the five strong stresses, certainly make together a full line, and its movement heightens the effect, both musically and rhetorically, while as read with the inserted *and* the line is toned down and tamed to the blank-verse monotone."

245 It is possible, as Freeman thought, that *deep* was at first *dep* and that the word might have been *depths* except for lack of space. The matter could not have been important to Shelley, however, for there was ample room above the word to write *depths* had he wished.

246 Locock noted the need of a stop stronger than a comma after *intertranspicuous* to show that it is not the *shapes* but the *orbs* that whirl.

Intensely, slowly, solemnly roll on, [250]
[E.3 37r] Kindling with mingled sounds, and many tones,
Intelligible words and music wild.
[E.1 9r] With mighty whirl the multitudinous orb
Grinds the bright brook into an azure mist
Of elemental subtlety, like light; [255]
And the wild odour of the forest flowers,
The music of the living grass and air,
The emerald light of leaf-entangled beams
[E.1 9v] Round its intense yet self-conflicting speed,
Seem kneaded into one aerial mass [260]
Which drowns the sense. Within the orb itself,
Pillowed upon its alabaster arms,
Like to a child o'erwearied with sweet toil,
On its own folded wings, and wavy hair,
The Spirit of the Earth is laid asleep, [265]
And you can see its little lips are moving,
Amid the changing light of their own smiles,
Like one who talks of what he loves in dream.

---

250 Intensely slowly E solemnly, M R W J <solemnly R^2> on— E
251 & E sounds R tones E R A
252 & E wild— E A
253 Orb E
255 light, E
256 forest-flowers, R^2 flowers E
257 & air E
258 beams, R W L
259 intense, E L Fr speed Fs R W Fr
260 aërial M-Fr[A]
261 sense . . within the Orb E
sense . . . L Orb itself Fr itself L
263 Like a child overwearied E A Fr
264 wings & wavy hair E wings Fs R W Fr hair R W Fr
265 asleep E asleep; R L
266 moving E Fs Fr
267 ther <*sic*> own smiles E
268 dream— E Fr

---

250 *roll* may have been *rolls* at first.

251-52 An insertion mark after line 250 directs the location of these lines, which are merely hinted at on E.1 9r by the following, penciled vertically in the left margin:

Kindling with many Intelligible words & music wild

The received lines are in ink, with the second *i* of *kindling* at first *e* *mingled* above [*many*] and *many* above [*mingled*] Freeman suggested, I believe correctly, that these inked lines may be in a hand other than Shelley's, a vertical script unusual to the poet. The lines are not included in Shelley's count.

260 For *aerial* see note at I.469.

261 *Orb* at first *orb* or the reverse. *drown* in Cuningham.

263 Garnett suggested to Locock that this line in 1820 may have been the work of Peacock. Freeman found an "awkward formal correctness" in the 1820 reading (Text, p. 49).

264 *On* above [*Within*] A caret after *its* directs to *own* above the line. *folded winds* in Koszul.

265 *Spirit* at first *spirit*

267 *a* of *changing* at first *il* Freeman suggested a start on *childish* or *childlike*

IONE. 'Tis only mocking the orb's harmony.
PAN. And from a star upon its forehead, shoot,
Like swords of azure fire, or golden spears
With tyrant-quelling myrtle overtwined,
Embleming heaven and earth united now,
Vast beams like spoke of some invisible wheel
Which whirl as the orb whirls, swifter than thought,
Filling the abyss with sun-like lightnings,
And perpendicular now, and now transverse,
Pierce the dark soil, and as they pierce and pass,
Make bare the secrets of the earth's deep heart;
[E.1 10r] Infinite mine of adamant and gold,
Valueless stones, and unimagined gems,
And caverns on crystalline columns poured
With vegetable silver overspread;
Wells of unfathomed fire, and water springs

---

269 Orb's harmony. . . E Fr harmony. . . L
270 forehead Fs R W Fr
271 fire W
273 Heaven & E Heaven and Earth L
274 spokes E M-Fr wheel: R wheel, L
276 sunlike lightenings E sunlike L Fr lightenings, R H-Fr <lightnings, R^2>
277 And, perpendicular now R & now transverse E
278 & E and, as R & pass E pass W
279 Earths E Earth's L Fr heart, E heart;— R
280 mines E H-Fr & gold E
281 stones & E stones R Fr gems E Fr
282 chrystalline E crystàlline Fo L poised E M^2-Fr[R L] <poized M^1> poised, R L
283 overspread E overspread, R
284 & watersprings E water-springs R W L watersprings Fr

---

272 *i* of *quelling* possibly at first *e*
274 *spoke sic* in 1820. *smoke* in Ascham (1834) and through him in Daly (1836).
275 Possibly *Orb*
276 Rossetti introduced *lightenings*, since *lightnings*, "leaves a syllable deficient in the line." But Forman considered this "a very slight change producing a very calamitous results," although it reduced the line to normal scansion. He found the rhythm "perfectly good" if not normal, and felt that, if change were needed, it would be less objectionable as "Filling with sun-like lightnings the abyss" on the assumption "that Shelley's MS had been obscurely interlined at this point, and that those who had the printing and revision of the volume had unravelled the line wrongly." Note that Rossetti reverted to *lightnings*, in R^2. Zupitza compared the scansion with IV.372, and Locock noted that Shelley usually spelled the word with an *e* regardless of meter. *lightenings*, in Koszul, Hughes, and Herford.
277 *And* above [*Which*]
279 *secret* in Cuningham.
282 *on chrystalline columns poised* above [*of columnar stone w like jet*] [*stone*] is underlined, probably for stet at some point in the development of the line. *poised* generally, except in Shepherd. For *crystalline* see note at III.iii.159.
284 [*Fount*] *Wells*

Whence the great sea, even as a child is fed, [285]
Whose vapours clothe earth's monarch mountain-tops
With kingly, ermine snow. The beams flash on
And make appear the melancholy ruins
Of cancelled cycles; anchors, beaks of ships;
Planks turned to marble; quivers, helms, and spears, [290]
And gorgon-headed targes, and the wheels
Of scythed chariots, and the emblazonry
Of trophies, standards, and armorial beasts,
Round which death laughed, sepulchred emblems
Of dead destruction, ruin within ruin! [295]
The wrecks beside of many a city vast,
Whose population which the earth grew over
Was mortal, but not human; see, they lie
Their monstrous works, and uncouth skeletons,
Their statues, homes and fanes; prodigious shapes [300]

---

285 Sea, E L Fr sea R W child, E L Fr fed E
286 Earth's E L Fr mountain tops R <mountain-tops R^2>
287 kingly R snow; the E Fr on, R
289 ships E ships, Fr
290 marble, quivers helms & spears E marble, Fr helms Fs
291 & the E
292 chariots; R & E
293 *no punctuation* E standards Fs & E
294 Death E R L Fr
295 Destruction, L Fr within ruin;— R
296 vast E
297 population, R Earth E Fr over, R
298 mortal but not human, E mortal Fr human. See, they lie, R lie, Fo D W H L Fr
299 works & E works R Fr
300 Thier <*sic*> E homes, E R L Fr & E

---

286 *monarch* above [*mount*]
on
287 [*as*] *the beams flash* [*deep*] below [*see, as they flas*] *250* Shelley's count (in error for 273), follows this line. He may have read his previous count as 201 instead of 200 (the third digit is susceptible of such misreading), which would account for the present error, which he carried to text line 411. Beginning with [*see*] Shelley appears to have changed to a coarser pen, used also for the revision in line 282.
288 *And* above [*They*]
290 The final *s* of *spears* runs off the page and onto 11^r.
292 *t* of *the* at first *e*
294 Forman wondered, because of the curious meter, if *these* had dropped out at the end of this short line, while Mayor would insert *the* after *laughed* ("Shelley's Metre," p. 261). Zupitza suggested that Shelley might have said *emb(e)lems* as in *lightenings* at IV.276, or, noting the length of the line, might have left it, assuming five accents.
295 *destruction* at first *Destruction* or possibly the reverse. *death destruction* in Koszul.
298 *lie*, used generally in later editions.
300 This line developed as follows:
statues, [fan] homes, & fanes; prodigious shapes
Thier [once Heaven-cleaving pyramids & domes]
n of [*fan*] is only half formed.

Huddled in grey annihilation, split,
Jammed in the hard, black deep; and over these,
[E.1 10v] The anatomies of unknown winged things,
And fishes which were isles of living scale,
And serpents, bony chains, twisted around [305]
The iron crags, or within heaps of dust
To which the tortuous strength of their last pangs
Had crushed the iron crags; and over these
The jagged alligator, and the might
Of earth-convulsing behemoth, which once [310]
Were monarch beasts, and on the slimy shores,
And weed-overgrown continents of earth,
Increased and multiplied like summer worms
On an abandoned corpse, till the blue globe
Wrapt deluge round it like a cloke, and they [315]
Yelled, gasped, and were abolished; or some God
Whose throne was in a comet, past, and cried,

---

302 hard E Fr hard black deep: and, R & over these E these Fr
305 chains R
307 thier <*sic*> E
308 crags;—& E crags;— L and, over these, R
309 alligator & E alligator Fr
311 & E shores E R Fr
312 Earth E Fr earth R Earth, L
313 & E
314 corpse,— R
315 Deluge E Fr cloak, & E
316 gaspt & E abolished, Fr God, W god Fs
317 Comet, E comet R & cried— E cried R Fo^2 cried— L Fr

---

304 *isles* above [*islands*] which had in turn been changed to *isles* before deletion, after which the word was rewritten above the line.

306 *within* above [*around*]

308 Rossetti felt that the repetition of *iron crags* (lines 306 and 308) was Shelley's oversight, "and emendation is impossible." In R^2 he compared "and the leaves / Of the old thorn, that on the topmost tower / Usurped the royal ensign's grandeur, shook / In the stern storm that swayed the topmost tower" (*Queen Mab* IX.98-101). Forman disagreed and defended the use as "a forcible repetition arising from the necessity of the thought expressed, namely that the snakes were either twisted round the rocks or buried in the dust to which they had crushed the rocks. It is difficult to imagine how it could have been expressed as nobly in any other way."

310 *i* of *which* possibly *o* at first.

315 Forman thought that the spelling of *cloke* should be retained, and he believed (erroneously, as the MS showed) that it had been adopted "to avoid the commonplace associations" of *cloak*. He did not indicate what were the "commonplace associations" that he found objectionable.

316 [*Gasped*], *Yelled*, *or* is poorly written, but I do not agree with Freeman that it may have been intended for *as* or *&* The *o* is thin and *r* appears at first to have looked like a second thin *o* which was then written over rather clumsily by Shelley for clarification.

317 *280* Shelley's count, below *Whose*

Be not! And I ke my words they were no more.

THE EARTH.

The joy, the triumph, the delight, the madness!
The boundless, overflowing, bursting gladness,
The vapourous exultation not to be confined!
Ha! ha! the animation of delight
[E.1 11r] Which wraps me, like an atmosphere of light,
And bears me as a cloud is borne by its own wind.

THE MOON.

Brother mine, calm wanderer,
Happy globe of land and air,
Some Spirit is darted like a beam from thee,
Which penetrates my frozen frame,
And passes with the warmth of flame,
With love, and odour, and deep melody
Through me, through me!

---

318 "Be not!" and R 'Be not!' H "Be not!"—and Fr not!—& E not!—and L and W more E
319 madness E
320 overflowing E Fr gladness E
321 vaporous M-J[Fo] exultation, E L
322 Ha ha! R² Ha! Ha! A Animation E
323 me R light E
324 wind! E R Fr
325 Sister mine Dr wanderer E
326 & air E
327 Some spirit wraps thine atmosphere & thee Dr spirit Fs R L thee E Fr
328 frame E Fr
329 passes, R flame— E
330 love & odour & E love and odour Fs R Fr strange melody Dr melody, R
331 me!— E

319-538 For a full transcription of Shelley's draft of many of these and unused lines see Appendix A. All MS readings below are from E unless specifically identified as from the draft. For these lines the draft materials are so complex that only a basic abstraction is practical here. For full details see Appendix A.

Forman felt that throughout this section the headings should be *Spirit of the Earth* and *Spirit of the Moon*, although he did not employ them in his text because of "an element in [Earth's speeches] which might be taken as more appropriate to the veritable Gaia."

319-20, 332-33 Lack of indentation *sic* in E, 1820, and M, although usually not followed in later editions.

319 *madness* above [*gladness!*]

320 See draft note in Appendix A.

321 Draft at first: *The fire of bursting joy not to be confined* Shelley did not arrive at the received reading in the draft.

325 Draft at first: *Green & azure wanderer*

326 Followed at first in the draft by: *Who latest born of all the / What is this awakens me / Which stain thy sea, like an embowered well*

327 *is darted like a beam from* above [*wraps thine atmosphere &*] *thine* at first *thy*

328 Draft at first: *Which penetrates mine icy axis* This was changed first to: *my frozen breast*

THE EARTH.

Ha! ha! the caverns of my hollow mountains,
My cloven fire-crags, sound-exulting fountains
Laugh with a vast and inextinguishable laughter.
The oceans, and the desarts, and the abysses, [335]
And the deep air's unmeasured wildernesses,
Answer from all their clouds and billows, echoing after.

They cry aloud as I do. Sceptred curse,
Who all our green and azure universe
[E.1 11v] Threatenedst to muffle round with black destruction, sending [340]
A solid cloud to rain hot thunder-stones,
And splinter and knead down my children's bones
All I bring forth, to one void mass battering and blending.

---

332 Ha, ha,! <*sic*> E Ha ha! R²
cavens <*sic*> E mountains E Fr
333 My cloud of wrath *or* My mouthed fire-hills Dr fountains, M Fs R W L J
334 & E laughter E laughter! R
335 The Oceans & the Desarts & the Abysses E *no punctuation* Fs The oceans and the deserts R The Oceans and the Deserts and the Abysses Fr deserts M Fo² abysses A L J
336 Of the Dr E A-Fr wildernesses E L Wildernesses Fr
337 & E after E
338 do—Sceptred Curse E do:—"Sceptred Curse, R L do—Sceptred Curse, Fr
339 & azure Universe E
340 destruction Fs
341 thunderstones, E H Fr thunder-stones W
342 & knead E children's bones, E bones, M-Fr
343 forth R in one dark mass Dr & blending E blending— R Fr blending: Fo² L blending, W blending,— H blending Fs

---

333 Draft alternate at first: *The breathless mouth of my volcanoes*
334 Draft at first: *Laugh with an inextinguishable laughter* Shelley added *loud* but canceled it in favor of *vast*
336 *the* at first *thy* *measured* above *un*[*fathomed*] Locock pointed out that *Of* is also the reading of the draft, and that Schick had noted that the "echo" of three things should consist of three things and not four. Julian, probably in error for line 355, said *the* was omitted in 1820.
337 A caret after *from* directs to *all* above the line.
338 Shelley made several starts in the draft, including: *What didst thou do / Where is he now the / Jupiter hear, thou sceptre bearing curse / They cry aloud where art thou* In M the comma after *curse* is broken type, corrected in M².
339 Draft at first: *Who oer this green*
341 Draft at first: *A solid cloud raining*
342 Draft at first: *To splinter* E: What has been read as an apostrophe in *childrens* is a comma after *thunderstones* above.
343 Draft at first: *Battering into one dark* The draft at first had *to* as does the received line. The general usage has been less than a full stop after *blending*

Until each crag-like tower, and storied column,
Palace, and obelisk, and temple solemn,
My imperial mountains crowned with cloud, and snow,
and fire;
My sea-like forests, every blade and blossom
Which finds a grave or cradle in my bosom,
Were stamped by thy strong hate into a lifeless mire.

How art thou sunk, withdrawn, covered, drunk up
By thirsty nothing, as the brackish cup
Drained by a desart-troop, a little drop for all;
And from beneath, around, within, above,
Filling thy void annihilation, love
Bursts in like light on caves cloven by thunder-ball.

THE MOON.
The snow upon my lifeless mountains

---

344 "Until R L craglike tower & E craglike Fr tower Fs R Fr column E
345 Palace and obelisk Fs R & Obelisk & Temple solemn E obelisk Fr
346 light & snow & stilness <*sic*> Dr cloud & snow & fire, E cloud and snow Fs Fr cloud and snow and fire, R fire, W
347 & E
348 That finds a grave & cradle on Dr on my bosom E on my bosom, A Fr
349 strong wrath Dr mire E mire— R mire: W H L
350 "How R L coverd <*sic*>—drunk up E covered,— L covered— Fr drunken up Dr
351 Nothing, L
352 Drain'd M <Drained M^2> desart tribe *or* desart wandering Band Dr Desart-troop— E desert-troop, M desert-troop,— L all! E R L Fr
353 beneath within, around Dr
354 Love E R L Fr
355 Burst Fo H by the thunderball Dr E by the M-Fr by the thunderball!" R <thunderball!" R^2> by the thunder-ball! W by the thunder-ball." L by the thunderball. Fr

---

344 Draft at first: *mountainous tower* Shelley also tried *spirelike column*
346 Draft at first: *And old heaven-cleaving fane, each pyramid* The received line had at first: *My monarch mountains* E: *with* [*ligh*] *cloud*
347 Draft at first: *My mighty forests . . . every blossom*
348 Draft at first: *Of life that feeds from my fond bosom*
349 Draft at first: *Were stamped into a mire of lifeless* E: *b* of *by* probably *o* at first. *thy* at first *my*
351 Draft at first: *as the half drained cup* Then *unreplenished* for *half drained*
352 Draft at first also had *thirsty* before *desart* at one point. For *desart* see textual note at II.i.12.
355 In the draft Shelley had difficulty developing the *light* image (see Appendix A) and left unused but undeleted: *As sunlight on a prison which sudden earthquake rend* Also: *caves* at first *prisons* Forman's *Burst* (on which he did not comment) was frequently followed, probably through Hutchinson in later editions. *by the* generally used.
356-69 Not in the draft.
356 SD: *Moon* at first *moon* *s* of *mountains* very faint.

Is loosened into living fountains,
My solid oceans flow, and sing, and shine:
[E.1 12r] A spirit from my heart bursts forth,
It clothes with unexpected birth
My cold bare bosom: Oh! it must be thine
On mine, on mine!

Gazing on thee I feel, I know
Green stalks burst forth, and bright flowers grow,
And living shapes upon my bosom move:
Music is in the sea and air,
Winged clouds soar here and there,
Dark with the rain new buds are dreaming of:
'Tis love, all love!

THE EARTH.

It interpenetrates my granite mass,
Through tangled roots and trodden clay doth pass,
Into the utmost leaves and delicatest flowers;
Upon the winds, among the clouds 'tis spread,
It wakes a life in the forgotten dead,
They breathe a spirit up from their obscurest bowers.

---

357 fountains E fountains; Fr
358 Oceans flow & sing & shine E flow and sing Fs R flow and sing and shine; Fr sing and shine; W
359 forth E forth; R²
361 bosom—oh, E bosom. Oh, W bosom—Oh, Fr oh R² oh, L
363 thee, R feel E know, M Fs R W L J
364 & E grow E Fr
365 move E move; W Fr
366 & air E
367 Wingèd R Fo D W H L & there E there W
368 of E
369 Love, all Love! E R L Fr
370 mass E mass; R
371 trodden *or* lifeless Dr & E pass E Fs R W H Fr
372 & delicatst <*sic*> flowers E
373 clouds, 'tis spread; R spread E
374 It gives a life to Dr dead E dead,— R W L
375 bowers E bowers; R W bowers: L

---

368 *dreaming* is crowded into the margin and actually reads *dreamy*
370 SD: What appears to be an underline of *The Earth* may be a crossing of the third *t* in *interpenetrates* below, but the other *t*'s are not crossed.
371 Draft at first: *And through hard roots & lifeless clay*
372 *utmost* at first *inmost* Freeman thought that the *s* of *delicatest* was missing. I read the *s* but not the *e* preceding it. Possibly *flowers*,
375 *bowers* at first *powers* and then a heavy *b* written over *p* In a letter to Maria Gisborne on December 28, 1819, Mrs. Shelley wrote: "If by any chance you have not sent the Prometheus [to England] add the word *bowers* after *from their obscurest* & in the other change it to *it's mother fears awhile*" (*Letters*, I, 92. For "the other" see line 392).

And like a storm bursting its cloudy prison
With thunder, and with whirlwind, has arisen
[E.1 12v] Out of the lampless caves of unimagined being:
With earthquake shock and swiftness making shiver
Thought's stagnant chaos, unremoved for ever,
Till hate, and fear, and pain, light-vanquished shadows, fleeing,

Leave Man, who was a many sided mirror,
Which could distort to many a shape of error,
This true fair world of things, a sea reflecting love;
Which over all his kind as the sun's heaven
Gliding o'er ocean, smooth, serene, and even

---

376 And, R storm, E L Fr
377 lightning *or* thunder Dr thunder & E thunder Fs R Fr whirlwind Fs it has risen Dr
378 secret caves of mans imagined being Dr being E being:— R being; W
379 shook <*sic*>& E
380 forever, E W L ever:— R
381 Till ignorance & hate, like shades from sunrise fleeing Dr Till Hate & Fear & Pain, E hate and fear and pain Fs hate and fear and pain, R^2 Hate, and Fear, and Pain, L Hate and Fear and Pain, Fr fleeing E
382 *was* a many-sided mirror R manysided mirror E many-sided M-Fr [Fo^1 A] many-sided mirror W Fr
383 error E R W L Fr
384 things—a Sea reflecting Love; E L Sea reflecting Love; Fr
385 kind, E M-Fr[R Fo] kind— R Suns Heaven E Sun's Heaven L Fr
386 Oer ocean glides with pace serene & even Dr oer Ocean E Ocean, Fr serene & even, E serene Fs even— R even, W-Fr[J]

376-78 Draft at first: *And like a whirlwind bursting its craggy prison / With earthquake & with whirlwind, it has risen / Out of the caverns of the<?>of thought* See draft note on line 376 in Appendix A.
379 Zupitza read *shook* and the word as written is that.
380 At one point in the draft: *The worlds deep base, immovable forever* E: *Th* is over something else. Freeman read *Eu* and the *E* does come through, but whether the next letter is *n* or *u* is uncertain, and I believe that a third illegible letter may be present.
381 Draft at first: *from the morning planets fleeing*
382 *Leave* at first *Leaves* A second larger *e* covers the *es*
383-84 At one point the draft had (undeleted): *Which imaged many a monstrous shape of error / As a calm sea the sky reflecting [thee great Titan]* Also: *could* at first *did* in received line 383. Scudder: *shade of error*
384 Draft at first: *This true & lovely world*
385-86 Draft at first: *Which like a cloud melodious sounds embolden / To scale steep Dawn with wings purple &* Then: *Which like a cloud melodious winds embolden / To scale the Dawn with wings shadowy & golden*
385 Draft of received line at first: *like the great Heaven* Scott: *is kind*
386 Draft of received line at first: *Over the sea, with pace serene & even* E: *smooth* in pencil above [*smooth*], deleted in pencil. The *sm* of [*smooth*] is so heavily and badly written over something else that Shelley deleted and rewrote the word above.

Darting from starry depths radiance and light, doth
move.

Leave man, even as a leprous child is left,
Who follows a sick beast to some warm cleft
Of rocks, through which the might of healing springs
is poured;
Then when it wanders home with rosy smile,
Unconscious, and its mother fears awhile
It is a spirit, then, weeps on her child restored.

[E.1 13r] Man, oh, not men! a chain of linked thought,
Of love and might to be divided not,
Compelling the elements with adamantine stress;
As the sun rules, even with a tyrant's gaze,
The unquiet republic of the maze
Of planets, struggling fierce towards heaven's free wil-
derness.

---

387 & life, doth move Dr E life, Fo R^2 D H-Fr life doth move: W move, M Fo J move; Fs move:— R move: H L
388 Man, E M-Fr[W] Man W left E R Fr
390 rocks R<rocks, R^2> poured E poured, Fs poured,— R
391 smile E
392 Unconsciously, Dr & E
393 Spirit— E L spirit,— R spirit— Fr then Fs R^2 W restored: W
394 Man,—oh! R<Man,—oh R^2> oh not men; E thought E
395 & E not E
396 stress— E stress, Fr
397 Sun E R L Fr rules W tyrants gaze E gaze W Fr
398 Republic E L Fr
399 Of even<for *ever*>wandering Planets, revolving in their spheres Dr Planets, E R toward Fs Heavens E Heaven's L Fr wilderness: W

---

387 In the draft Shelley made several false starts on this line (see Appendix A). E: There are some blots after *move* but, I feel sure, no period.

388 Draft at first: *Leave man my latest born my most beloved / The image of the Power by which is moved* E: *Leave* at first *Leaves*

389 Draft at first: *Who follows some sick child* E: *a* above [*some*] *sick* *some* above [*a*] *warm*

391 Draft at first: *returns home*

392 See textual note on line 375.

393 Piccoli substituted a semicolon after *restored* in order to make the stanza parallel with the preceding. He considered the entire passage (lines 370 ff.) in reality a single lyrical period.

394 Draft at first: *Leaves man, not men, an union* See draft note in Appendix A.

396 Draft at first: *By which the rebellious shapes of this* Also: *Binding* for *Compelling* and *sway* for *stress*

399 For Shelley's difficulty with this line see Appendix A. Note that he did not arrive at the received line although at one point he had what might have become: *Of worlds struggling to seek Heaven* and *keepless wilderness* E: *er* of *wilderness* is inserted above the *dn* of *wildness*

Man, one harmonious soul of many a soul,
Whose nature is its own divine controul,
Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea;
Familiar acts are beautiful through love;
Labour, and pain, and grief, in life's green grove
Sport like tame beasts, none knew how gentle they could be!

His will, with all mean passions, bad delights,
And selfish cares, its trembling satellites,
A spirit ill to guide, but mighty to obey,
Is as a tempest-winged ship, whose helm
Love rules, through waves which dare not overwhelm,
Forcing life's wildest shores to own its sovereign sway.

---

400 harmonious Soul of many a soul E harmonious Soul L Fr
401 Whose love is its own law & one controul Dr it's E controul E control, M
402 To which all things flow as Dr
403 thro love, E
404 Labour & Pain & Grief E *no punctuation* Fs Labour and pain R Labour and Pain and Grief in Life's Fr Pain, and Grief, L thro' life's Dr grove, R
405 Walk like Dr beasts— E L Fr beasts,— R Fo^2 beasts; W be E
406 Will, E delights Fs
407 And sceptred cares, Dr satellites,— R <satellites— R^2>
408 ill to rule Dr guide Fs guide; A obey,— R
410 Love guides, Dr rules Fs overwhelm E
411 Forcing remotest shores to own its sovereign's sway Dr Life's E Fr sovereigns sway E sovereigns J

400-1 Draft at first: *My sons are as one soul of many a soul / Subject to one*
402 Draft at first: *And all the forms of life*
403 Draft at first: *Familiar things* Then: *Sweet* above *Familiar* but *Sweet* deleted. E: [*by*] above [*thro*] and then [*thro*] underlined for stet. Koszul: *though*
404 Draft at first: *And Toil, & Thought* Shelley also tried: *& grief with solemn* E: *in* above [*through*]
405 Draft at first: *Like beasts that once were wild* Also: *Wander like beasts made tame—*
406 Draft at first: *ill delights*
407 Draft at first: *With Low cares, its terror mailed satellites*
408 Draft at first: *Is a spirit ill to serve* E: Possibly *obey;*
409-10 Draft at first: *A tempest winged boat, a chariot speeding / With winds for steeds*
410 Draft of received line at first: *Love rules,* but *guides* above [*rules*],
411 I read the final *s* of *sovereigns* as did Freeman. Zupitza was not sure, and Locock thought that it was "probably" present. Locock noted that the draft also had *sovereigns* and pointed out that the superfluous *s* "is not an uncommon mistake in Shelley's MS." Forman evidently interpreted the final *s* as an intended possessive (*Note-Books*, p. 70).
375 Shelley's count (in error for 397), below *Forcing* He carried this error to text line 502.

[E.1 13ᵛ] All things confess his strength. Through the cold mass
Of marble and of colour his dreams pass;
Bright threads whence mothers weave the robes their children wear;
Language is a perpetual orphic song,
Which rules with Dædal harmony a throng
Of thoughts and forms, which else senseless and shapeless were.

The lightning is his slave; heaven's utmost deep
Gives up her stars, and like a flock of sheep
They pass before his eye, are numbered, and roll on!
The tempest is his steed, he strides the air;
And the abyss shouts from her depth laid bare,

---

412 strength, from the cold mass Dr strength— E
413 & E pass E pass,— R pass— W
414 threads, E
415 Orphic song E R Fr Orphic M W H L J
416 Ruling with mighty harmony, the throng Dr Ruling with dædal harmony, E Ruling A dædal R W L
417 Of thoughts of forms Dr & & E forms Fs R were E
418 Lightning E L Fr Heavens E Heaven's L Fr
419 & E
420 numbered M² & E on. R L J
421 Tempest is his steed,— E L Tempest Fr steed; R Fr air! E air, R Fr
422 bare E Fr

412-13 Draft at first: *And all things own his power, from the cold mass / O white & silent marble. such forms pass / At his command* E: *Through the cold mass* below [*From the cold mass*]

414 Draft at first: *And mothers gaze & love & children* *Bright threads* not in the draft, which is, for this and the next line, in rough state E: *Bright threads, whence mothers* above [*And Mothers gazing*] *w* of *whence* is over what I take to be a false start on *m* of an anticipated *mothers* Locock compared the deletion with II.iv.83.

416 Draft at first: *Which builds* E: *Ruling* in pencil partly before [*Which rules*] deleted in pencil. *ng* of *Ruling* over *W* of [*Which*] Locock thought that the final rejection of *Ruling* was to avoid a "second trochaic commencement." *a* above [*the*]

417 Draft at first: *Of feelings & of forms,*

418 Draft at first: *Heavens blue Abyssm* <*sic*> In the draft *his* is deleted and *ma* <*man's?*> written above it.

419 *G* of *Gives* at first something else. Freeman thought *Y* and conjectured *Yields* But before the *G* (in addition to something under it) is a shank that duplicates the shank of *Heavens* above. It may have been a false start, or Shelley may have started to write *Heaves* But the *H* was not crossed.

420 Locock held that a misreading of the MS "is responsible for the exclamation-mark hitherto generally printed at the end of the line." But the exclamation mark is clear, and I do not see how it can be "misread" (see illustration, facing p. 173).

421 Draft at first: *The World within the World tears off its veil* Also an option: *is laid all bare* which he adapted in line 422.

422 Draft at first: *The World within shouts*

Heaven, hast thou secrets? Man unveils me; I have
none.

THE MOON.

The shadow of white death has past
From my path in heaven at last,
A clinging shroud of solid frost and sleep;
And through my newly-woven bowers,
[E.1 22r] Wander happy paramours,
Less mighty, but as mild as those who keep
Thy vales more deep.

THE EARTH.

As the dissolving warmth of dawn may fold
A half infrozen dew-globe, green, and gold,

---

423 To Heaven What are thy secrets? Dr "Heaven, R W L me, I have none E none." R W L
424 Death hath E Fr Death L hath A
425 Heaven E L 426 & sleep— E
427 newly woven W bowers E R Fr
428 paramours E
431 —As R <As R²> Dawn E Fr
432 half unfrozen Dr half-unfrozen dewglobe, green & gold E half-infrozen R² half-unfrozen A Fr hall <*sic*> unfrozen J unfrozen M Fs Fo-L[A] green and gold Fs R L Fr

---

423 Draft at first: *Shouts what are now thy secrets* E: Shelley first wrote: [*What secrets hast thou Heaven*]*?* and then the received line below it.

424-30 Not in the draft.

424 *hath* at first *has*

427 *b* of *bowers* at first something else. Freeman thought *w* but the left shank is circular. Possible it is *c* for an intended *chambers*

428 The intervening pages (beginning with 14r) contain parts of the Preface, the *Ion* translation, and Act I, the latter continuing on the verso pages. Parts of the *Ion* and corrections or additions for Act I also account for discrepancies in consecutive numbering for Act IV.

431 Draft at first: *And as the spirit of the Dawn, may fold* See the draft for Shelley's attempts at the present reading. Forman noted that *warmth* was changed to *light* in the draft and then back to *warmth* in E. He commented: "Of course *warmth* is the better reading. . . . It must have been the alertness of the poet's conscience on the quasi-scientific side that led him to do violence to the Spirit of the Dawn by the substitution of the physical effect of warmth on ice as an introduction to his tiny, delicate, Turneresque air effect" (*Note-Books*, p. 77). E: SD: *Earth* is underlined.

432 Rossetti defended *infrozen* by holding that "the whole simile (applicable to the preceding passage as to the vitalizing of the moon) sets forth how the *warmth* of dawn dissolves a dew-drop into mist. To call this dew-drop, in the first instance, 'half frozen' (or 'infrozen') furthers the simile; but to call it 'half unfrozen' counteracts the simile." Forman felt that the errata probably dictated Mrs. Shelley's change, and found Rossetti's reasoning "difficult." He wrote: "I should have thought that a half frozen dew-drop was exactly in the same state as a half unfrozen one, and therefore at least as well fitted for comparison to the unfrozen moon; but beyond this it is to be noted that the dissolving warmth of dawn would at first operate on what was wholly frozen, and itself

And crystalline, till it becomes a winged mist,
And wanders up the vault of the blue day,
Outlives the noon, and on the sun's last ray
Hangs o'er the sea, a fleece of fire and amethyst.

THE MOON.

Thou art folded, thou art lying
In the light which is undying
Of thine own joy, and heaven's smile divine;
All suns and constellations shower
On thee a light, a life, a power
Which doth array thy sphere; thou pourest thine
On mine, on mine!

[E.1 25r] THE EARTH.

I spin beneath my pyramid of night,

---

433 chrystalline, E mist E Fr
434 Day E Day, L Fr
435 moon, H & on the Sun's E Sun's Fr
436 oer the Sea; E Sea, Fr & amethyst— E amethyst— L J Fr
437 lying, R <lying R^2>
439 joy Fs R & Heavens smile divine E Heaven's L Fr
440 & E
441 thee, a light a life E power, R W
442 sphere— E
444 I roll beneath Dr night E W

---

reduce the dew-drop to the state described by *half unfrozen*, before it reduced it to mist. It would not have remained half frozen from night till dawn; and in like manner the moon would have been half unfrozen before it was wholly unfrozen. The simile seems to me perfect in Mrs. Shelley's edition,—imperfect in Shelley's."

433 In the draft Shelley also considered *purple wandering* as well as *beamy* for *winged*

434 *vault* above [*path*] *Day* at first *day*

435 Draft at first: *evenings ray* E: *on* at first *in* Hutchinson's misprint *moon*, was followed by Koszul, Hughes, and Herford. In the 1933 resetting of Hutchinson, *noon*, was restored.

436 Draft at first: *gold & amethyst* E: *s* of *Hangs* added in pencil. *400* Shelley's count, below *amethyst*— Rossetti conjectured a dash after *amethyst* in the belief that the simile "is responded to by the *succeeding* speech of the Moon" rather than referring to the preceding speech (R^2). Locock noted the MS confirmation and elaborated: "It is possible that the Earth may have intended to apply its simile to the newly vitalized Moon rather than to itself; but it seems to me that the Earth's attitude throughout is intended to be that of one so wild with joy that it takes no notice of the calmer strains of the Moon; yielding only to its 'soft influence mild' at the conclusion of its final song (cf. 499). The Moon's lyrics abound in sympathetic references to the Earth, which seems to be reserving its reply until the full confession of the Moon has fulfilled Asia's prediction [III.iv.86-90]. From this point the Moon is intended to have its full share of the verse. Accordingly it takes up the strain of the Earth's simile and, however it was intended to be applied, applies it to the Earth."

437-43 Not in the draft.

444 Draft at first: *I lay beneath* *lay* was then changed to *spin* which was in turn changed to *roll* E: SD: *Earth* is underlined.

Which points into the heavens dreaming delight, [445]
Murmuring victorious joy in my enchanted sleep;
As a youth lulled in love-dreams faintly sighing,
Under the shadow of his beauty lying,
Which round his rest a watch of light and warmth doth keep.

THE MOON.

As in the soft and sweet eclipse, [450]
When soul meets soul on lovers' lips,
High hearts are calm, and brightest eyes are dull;
So when thy shadow falls on me,
Then am I mute and still, by thee
Covered; of thy love, Orb most beautiful, [455]
Full, oh, too full!

Thou art speeding round the sun
Brightest world of many a one;

---

445 Heavens, dreaming delight E heavens,— R heavens, W J Heavens, A L Fr
447 And a nympth <*sic*> Dr love-dreams, E A-Fr
448 her beauty Dr lying E
449 & E keep E
450 As, R & sweet eclipse E eclipse R Fr
451 lovers lips E lips Fr
452 calm & E dull E
453 So, M Fs R L J me E Fr
454 & still,— E still,— L still; Fr
456 oh too full!— E oh! R <oh R^2> too full!— L
457 Sun E Fr sun, M Fs R W L J
458 World E Fr one E

445-47 Locock commented on the E commas after *Heavens* and *love-dreams:* "The first makes it clear that 'dreaming delight' refers to the Earth: the second that 'faintly sighing' goes with the 'youth' rather than with 'love-dreams,' the faint sighs of the youth being analogous to the spinning of the sleeping Earth. The line below may be taken quite literally: the youth is lying under the shadow, or halo, cast by the light of his own beauty into the air above." He compared "So fair a creature, as she lay enfolden / In the warm shadow of her loveliness" (*The Witch of Atlas* ii).

445 *heaven's* in Koszul.

446 Draft at first: *And murmuring in my dreams wild notes of joy & exultation* Despite several attempts Shelley did not arrive at the received reading.

447 Draft at first: *Even like a love* See draft note in Appendix A. E: Shelley wrote *dreans* <*sic*> and then added another *s* to make the word look like *dreams*

449-56 Not in the draft.

449 [*a*]*round* The [*a*] may, as Freeman suggested, be over some other letter, but I believe that Shelley started to write *r* over *a* and then let it stand as deletion of the letter.

450 SD: *Moon* underlined.

451 *meets* in pencil above [*darkens*] *d* of [*darkens*] is over something else, I believe a start on *m* as though Shelley wrote *darkens* and started to change it to *meets* but deleted (in ink, not in pencil as Freeman thought) and later wrote *meets* above in pencil.

458 Draft at first: *Thou green world* Then: *Fairest world* The line was first followed by: *Swifter calmer is thy motion / Finless cleaver of the an Ocean*

Green and azure sphere which shinest
With a light which is divinest
Among all the lamps of Heaven
[E.I 28r] To whom life and light is given;
I, thy crystal paramour
Borne beside thee by a power
Like the polar Paradise,
Magnet-like of lovers' eyes;
I, a most enamoured maiden
Whose weak brain is overladen
With the pleasure of her love,
Maniac-like around thee move
Gazing, an insatiate bride,
On thy form from every side
Like a Mænad, round the cup
Which Agave lifted up
In the wierd Cadmæan forest.
Brother, wheresoe'er thou soarest
I must hurry, whirl and follow
Through the heavens wide and hollow,
Sheltered by the warm embrace

459 & azure moon *or* orb Dr & azure sphere, E sphere, L Fr
461 heaven Fs R
462 light and life is given.. R <life and light is given. R^2> & E
463 icy paramour Dr chrystal E paramour, M Fs R W L J
465 Paradise E Fr paradise, Fs R
466 Magnet-like, M Fs R W L J in lovers eyes Dr
467 And I, as an Dr maiden, M Fs W L J
469 love— E
470 Maniac-like, R moving Dr move, E W L Fr move— R
471 bride E
472 side, M Fs W L Fr side— R
473 Mænad R W Fr
475 weird M^2-Fr forest— E Fr
476 wheresoer E soarest, R J
477 hurry whirl & E whirl, and follow, R whirl, Fr follow. J
478 Thro' the Heavens E Heavens A L Fr & E hollow; R

463 Draft at first: *I thy chrystal* Note that Shelley restored this in E. E: *thy* [*icy*] *thy* at first *thine* and probably, as Freeman suggested, changed when *icy* was canceled in favor of *chrystal*

465-66 Draft at first: *Like the magnet Paradise / Which there is in lovers eyes* Forman found "a good deal to be said for the [draft] reading, ingenuous as it is; for *like something magnet-like* is not strictly defensible from such a lofty stand-point as Shelley's" (*Note-Books*, p. 84).

467 Draft at first: *Like a most* E: *I*, [*like*] *a*

470 Draft at first followed this with: *A Green world and many a star / None of which more happy are / Th* <an? > *I am spinning around*

471-80 Not in the draft.

472 *thy* [*sweet*] *form* with the deletion in both ink and pencil.

478 *Heavens* above [*cavens*] (*sic;* compare IV.332) or [*Cavens*]

479 *b* of *by* at first *f*

Of thy soul from hungry space, [480]
Drinking from thy sense and sight
Beauty, majesty, and might,
[E.1 29r] As a lover or a cameleon
Grows like what it looks upon,
[HM 2176 *27v] As a violet's gentle eye [485]
Gazes on the azure sky
Until its hue grows like what it beholds,
As a grey and watery mist
Glows like solid amethyst
Athwart the western mountain it enfolds, [490]
When the sunset sleeps
Upon its snow.

THE EARTH.

And the weak day weeps
That it should be so.

---

480 soul, E L Fr space E space. Fs
481 Drinking, E R^2 L Fr & E sight, R^2 Fr
482 majesty Fs W & might E might;— R might; L
483 or cameleon Dr M Fs D or chameleön R
484 what he gazes on Dr gazes on— E A upon; R
487 beholds; R Fr beholds J
488 empty mist Dr
489 Lies like Dr
490 Over the western Dr enfolds M Fs J
492 snow, Fs R snow— H L snow Fr
493-94 *given to Moon.* R

481-86 Van Dam, arguing that "*drinking as a lover grows* is no logic, *lover* and *it* is no grammar, and line 483 is no metre," assumed a printer's error at line 483 and would put a full stop after *might* and read lines 483 f. "Love as a cameleon" etc. (*Metrik*, p. 93).

483 Draft at first: *or a cameleon* E: The question of an *a* before *cameleon* is, I believe, impossible of final answer (see illustration, facing p. 173). Mrs. Shelley and Rossetti omitted the *a* but Forman felt it "safer" to leave it. In the draft there is a vertical line through the letter, an unusual position for Shelley's deletions, but we may assume the intent. In E Shelley first wrote *As a lover or cameleon* and then apparently inserted the article above the line, heavily and indistinctly. But a careful analysis of this heavy *a* leads me to wonder if it is not actually more than that. I believe that it is an original *a* intensified heavily, or an original *a* deleted. I do not believe that an evident lower part of the looped body was made with the same stroke as what I take to be the overwriting. *or cameleon* in Cuningham and Dole.

484 *r* of *Grows* at first *a* (a possible anticipation of *gazes*). Locock noted that the alteration from the MS would be necessary when the next ten lines were added.

485-94 These lines do not appear in the MS, but the draft of 485-92 is extant (see Appendix A).

492 See Appendix A for an unused continuation of this speech.

493-99 Not in the draft.

493-94 Rossetti considered it an "editorial obligation" to transfer these lines to the Moon because "the couplet completes the sense, the metre, and the rhyme, of the Moon's speech, and is at variance with all these properties of the Earth's speech." He

[E.1 29r] Oh, gentle Moon, the voice of thy delight [495]
Falls on me like thy clear and tender light
Soothing the seaman, borne the summer night,
Through isles for ever calm;
Oh, gentle Moon, thy crystal accents pierce

---

495 O Gentle moon, E A O M Fs R W L Fr
496 & E
497 seaman R W night E M Fs R W L J Fr
498 Thro' isles forever E forever W A L
499 Oh Gentle Moon, E O M Fs R W L Gentle moon, A chrystal E

---

cited the draft of lines 485-92 (which had been published by Mrs. Shelley as *A Fragment*), in which Shelley had "cut out" six lines, substituting the present lines 493-94, and he felt a "great probability that the substituted couplet may have been so jammed in between the Moon's speech and the Earth's as to seem, to the printer's eye, proper rather to the second than the first." Swinburne, in the body of his essay, found a "sweet and subtle miracle of music in the text as it stands"; but in a footnote he made a "partial recantation" as follows: "Exquisite as would be the echo of the parting song of the Moon given back by the deeper tone of the music of the Earth, I think now that the fantastic beauty of that single repercussive note would perhaps be out of tune with the supreme and equable harmony of the whole"; and he agreed that there was probably a misprint ("Notes," p. 364).

Forman answered categorically that there is no incompleteness in the Moon's speech, and Earth is commenting on it; that the lines do not (in sense) replace the six canceled lines, which were probably canceled because the speech was getting unwieldy; and that similar distributions of meter and rime are found in this act, as at lines 30-39, 57-68, 159-62, and 519-53. Then he noted that in 1820 the Moon's speech ended with half an inch of paper to spare, and that reverse printing showed through. He pointed out that Shelley examined the book carefully for errors and would surely have seen this if it were an error; also that Mrs. Shelley carried his corrections into her edition and made no change here. Later (1911), in transcribing Shelley's notebooks, Forman returned to this problem, which, he pointed out, was not solved by the draft. Mrs. Shelley, he noted, in 1839 gave the two groups of similes with no indication of a *Prometheus Unbound* relationship, gave them as of an 1821 date, put a full stop at *snow*, and printed the rejected reading: "Until the voiceless wind be music too." There was, he noted, ample space for Shelley to have written the disputed lines, and he continued: "My impression is that the second group is not an extension of the first, but that the two are alternative extensions of lines 476-83. . . . Mrs. Shelley, by treating the two groups of similes as one fragment and re-punctuating them, furnished the basis for the argument that Shelley had actually extended the Moon's speech by the second group of similes and then struck the group out and substituted the two lines—["And the weak day weeps / That it should be so"]. In the source of her so-called fragment there is no striking out and no substitution." But Forman did consider the dash after *snow* (in the draft) as typical of Shelley's method of indicating suspension where the sense is begun by one speaker and taken up by another (*Note-Books*, pp. 89-91).

Woodberry felt that this was but another of Rossetti's corrections "by standards Shelley did not observe." Scudder considered the passage "a last and most exquisite instance of the free and broken music which we have found throughout the drama."

498 The apparent apostrophe after *Thro* may be an ink splatter.

499 *Moon* at first *moon* Locock noted that in view of *O Gentle moon* (line 495) and

The caverns of my pride's deep universe,
Charming the tiger joy, whose tramplings fierce
Made wounds which need thy balm.

PAN. I rise as from a bath of sparkling water,
A bath of azure light, among dark rocks,
Out of the stream of sound.
IONE. Ah me! sweet sister,
The stream of sound has ebbed away from us,
And you pretend to rise out of its wave,
Because your words fall like the clear, soft dew
Shaken from a bathing wood-nymph's limbs and hair.
[E.130r] PAN. Peace! peace! A mighty Power, which is as darkness,
Is rising out of Earth, and from the sky
Is showered like night, and from within the air
Bursts, like eclipse which had been gathered up

---

500 Pride's deep Universe E Pride's deep Universe, Fr
501 tyger Joy, E Joy, Fs A L Fr
502 Makes wounds Dr wounds, E balm E
503 rise— R
504 In the deep hollow of the sunless rocks Dr light R rocks— R
505 sound— E Fr Ah me, sweet sister E Ah me, Fr
506 from you Dr us E us; R<us: R^2>
507 wave E Fr
508 clear E M Fs R W L Fr
509 wood nymphs limbs & hair E Wood-nymph's R L
510 Peace! Peace!—a E Peace, peace! a M^2 W J Peace, peace! R Peace! peace!—a Fs L Peace! Peace! a Fr a M W Power R a Darkness Dr Darkness E darkness M R^2<darkness, M^2> Darkness, L Fr
511 out o' the Earth Dr earth, R & E
512 Night, & E Night, L

Oh Gentle [*m*] *Moon* here, "those who are inclined to lay too much stress on the preservation of Shelley's orthography might take warning. . . . It can hardly be supposed that any distinction was intended [by the poet]."

500 Draft at first: *The solid heart of my glad universe* which Forman considered superior to the received line. See draft note in Appendix A.

501 Draft at first: *Soothing the eagle joy,* E: *tyger* at first *Tyger* *Joy* at first *joy* or the reverse.

502 457 (at first 357) Shelley's count (in error for 478), follows this line. He carried this error to the end of the act.

503 A much finer pen was used beginning with this speech.

504 The received line is not in the draft. See draft note in Appendix A.

505 Draft at first: *Ha ha sweet sister* See draft note in Appendix A.

506 *sound*[*s*]

508-9 The received lines are not in the draft. E: *fall* at first (probably) *are*

511 Draft at first: *from the Earth*

512 *Night* at first *night* with only the first shaft altered for the capital.

Into the pores of sunlight: the bright visions,
Wherein the singing spirits rode and shone,
Gleam like pale meteors through a watery night.
IONE. There is a sense of words upon mine ear.
PAN. An universal sound like words: Oh, list!

DEMOGORGON.

Thou, Earth, calm empire of a happy soul,
Sphere of divinest shapes and harmonies,
Beautiful orb! gathering as thou dost roll
The love which paves thy path along the skies:

THE EARTH.

I hear: I am as a drop of dew that dies.

DEMOGORGON.

Thou, Moon, which gazest on the nightly Earth
With wonder, as it gazes upon thee;
Whilst each to men, and beasts, and the swift birth
Of birds, is beauty, love, calm, harmony:

---

514 of light—and the Dr sun-light— E sunlight. The R sunlight; W sunlight— Fr Visions E Fr visions Fs Visions, L
515 Spirits R W & shone E shone Fr
516 like two meteors Dr thro' a watery mist E mist. A
517 ear— E L Fr
518 A M Fs L J words . . . o list E words. Oh! R<words. Oh R^2> words . . . L Fr oh, Fs O Fr
519 Thou E R L Fr Empire E Fr Soul, E L Fr
520 Spheres J & harmonies E
521 orb, R
522 Love E L thro the Void *or* skies Dr skies E skies! R
523 I am a dew drop, trembling ere it dies! Dr hear,— E dies! E L Fr
524 Thou Moon E R Thou M^2 L J Fr earth E Fr
525 thee E
526 While each to men and beasts Fs each, to men and beasts R men & beasts & E men and beasts Fr
527 harmony E harmony! R

---

514 A caret after *of* directs to *sun-* above the line. [&] following *light* is deleted by a long stroke either intended as a dash or extending an already present dash.
515, 517-18 Not in the draft, and 516 is unfinished. E: *Wherein* at first *Wherin* after which *ei* was written over *in* and another *n* added.
516 Locock assumed that *mist* was changed because of an objectionable rime with *list* below, although "Schick and others consider the reading of [E] more like Shelley."
520 Draft at first: *Home of*
521 Draft at first: *Attractive World*
524-28 Not in the draft.
524 *on* at first *of*
527 An apparent deletion of the comma after *birds* is, I believe, ink splatter.

THE MOON.

[E.1 31r] I hear: I am a leaf shaken by thee!

DEMOGORGON.

Ye kings of suns and stars, Dæmons and Gods,
Ætherial Dominations, who possess
Elysian, windless, fortunate abodes
Beyond Heaven's constellated wilderness:

A VOICE FROM ABOVE.

Our great Republic hears, we are blest, and bless.

DEMOGORGON.

Ye happy dead, whom beams of brightest verse
Are clouds to hide, not colours to pourtray,
Whether your nature is that universe
Which once ye saw and suffered—

A VOICE FROM BENEATH.

Or as they
Whom we have left, we change and pass away.

---

528 hear— E thee. R W
529 Kings E H L Fr Kings of Suns and Stars! R sun Fr stars! demons and gods, Fs & & E stars! M J
530 Dominations! M R J domina-tions! Fs
532 Heavens E heaven's Fs wilderness E wilderness! R
533 We hear,—kingless Dr republic hears: Fs hears . . . E L Fr hears; M R J <hears: R^2> hears: W blest M^2 & bless E
534 Dead, E H L dead! M Fs Dead! R
535 pourtray E portray, M
536 your nation<?>Dr Universe E L Fr
537 & E or E Or, R W
538 & E away— E R

---

528 *The Moon* omitted in E.
529 Draft at first: *O Demons & elemental Spirits* E: *Dæmons* at first *Demons*
530 Draft at first: *Powers of those Elysian windless* E: *possess* at first *posess*
533 See draft note in Appendix A. E: SD: *from above* added later. *R* of *Republic* over *re*
534 Draft at first: *O unimagined People of the dead* Then: *Ye People of the dead, whom even my words* E: *Dead* at first *dead*
536 Draft at first: *Whether your nation<?>fills the Universe*
537 Draft at first: *Which living ye beheld & felt—as they* See draft note in Appendix A. E: Possibly *Ye as* above [*like*]
538 *we have left* above [*we hither haste*], Shelley first wrote *Whom we hither haste*, then canceled *m* of *Whom* and *we* in ink, penciled *m* above [*m*] and made the [*hither haste*] deletion and the *we have left* addition in pencil.

DEMOGORGON.

Ye elemental Genii, who have homes
From man's high mind even to the central stone
Of sullen lead; from Heaven's star-fretted domes
To the dull weed some sea-worm battens on:

[F.134r] A CONFUSED VOICE.

We hear: thy words waken Oblivion.

DEMOGORGON.

Spirits, whose homes are flesh: ye beasts and birds,
Ye worms, and fish; ye living leaves and buds;
Lightning and wind; and ye untameable herds,
Meteors and mists, which throng air's solitudes:

A VOICE.

Thy voice to us is wind among still woods.

DEMOGORGON.

Man, who wert once a despot and a slave;
A dupe and a deceiver; a decay;
A traveller from the cradle to the grave

---

540 mans E
541 lead, E lead— Fs Heavens E heaven's Fs R H
542 on— E on! R
543 hear— E Fr
544 Spirits E R L Fr Spirits! M Fs J flesh— E Fr flesh; Fs W flesh! R <flesh— R^2> & birds E birds— Fr
545 worms & fish— E worms M Fs R W L fish, R<fish! R^2> fish— Fr & buds— E buds, R buds— Fr
546 & Wind—& E wind! R<wind, R^2> Wind— Fr untamable W
547 & E feed Airs solitudes E feed A L Fr Air's Fr solitudes. M^2 J solitudes! R solitudes:— D H
548 woods E
549 Man E Man! Fs & a slave,—E slave, W
550 or a deceiver,—a Decay E or a deceiver,—a Decay; Fr or A deceiver, a decay, W Decay; L
551 Traveller E L Fr

539-78 Not in the draft.
543 SD crowded in, probably later. Possibly *a* rather than *A*
545 *500* Shelley's count, precedes this line.
547 *which* at first *who* *feed* above [*throng*] Locock noted *feed* as superior in sound and as giving point to *herds* in line 546 if *feed* is taken in the sense of "feed on" (he compared III.iv.110). Freeman thought that the revision might have escaped Mrs. Shelley's notice (Text, p. 49). *Airs* may be *Air's* with the *i* undotted. The mark is over the *i* but is longer than Shelley's usual dot.
550 *or* is slightly blotted, but I believe it is that rather than *&*

Through the dim night of this immortal day:

ALL.

Speak: thy strong words may never pass away.

DEMOGORGON.

This is the day, which down the void abysm
At the Earth-born's spell yawns for Heaven's despotism,
And Conquest is dragged captive through the deep:
Love, from its awful throne of patient power
In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour
[E.1 35r] Of dead endurance, from the slippery, steep,
And narrow verge of crag-like agony, springs
And folds over the world its healing wings.

Gentleness, Virtue, Wisdom, and Endurance,
These are the seals of that most firm assurance
Which bars the pit over Destruction's strength;
And if, with infirm hand, Eternity,
Mother of many acts and hours, should free

552 Day E day! R Day: L Day— Fr
553 Speak— E Fr Speak! M Fs R J <Speak: R^2> away E
554 This the M Fs Day E Fr day R W Day, L Abysm E L Fr abysm, R
555 Earthborn's E spell, R Heavens Despotism E Despotism, Fr
556 conquest R <Conquest R^2> Captive thro' the Deep; E deep; M^2 W L J deep. R Deep; Fr
557 Love E awful home E A
558 heart— Fs
559 dread E M-Fr[Fo D] endurance; E endurance— Fs steep Fs
560 craglike Agony E agony— Fs springs, R Agony springs, Fr
561 wings E
562 Wisdom & Endurance,— E Wisdom and Endurance— Fs Wisdom Fr Endurance— R W Endurance,— L
564 Destructions E
565 And, if R hand R
566 & E

552 *the immortal* in Dickinson.
554 Forman assumed that the omitted *is* in M was accidental (see also note on III.iii.70). Cuningham followed M.
555 Possibly *Heaven's*
557 Freeman defended *throne* as the type of change that only Shelley would make, and conjectured that it was one of the emendations sent to the Gisbornes (Text, pp. 49-50).
559 Forman thought that Mrs. Shelley's *dread* was a press error, and argued for *dead* as meaning "from the last hour of endurance now dead." Rossetti (R^2) thought that *dead* "may perhaps be correct." Zupitza felt that the MS change might have been made after the printer's copy was sent, but there is no evidence of alteration in the MS. *slippery* in Cuningham.
562 *Gentleness, Virtue*, above [*Virtue & Love &*]
566 *should* at first *would*

The serpent that would clasp her with his length;
These are the spells by which to re-assume
An empire o'er the disentangled doom.

To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To defy Power, which seems omnipotent;
To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;
Neither to change, nor flatter, nor repent;
This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be
Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free;
[E.1 36r] This is alone Life, Joy, Empire, and Victory.

---

567 length— E Fr length, M Fs R W L
568 reassume E Fs R² D W H
569 o'er that E A Doom E doom: Fs Doom. L Fr
570 hope R infinite E
571 Death or Night E Death or Night; Fr
572 Power R <power R²> Omnipotent; E
573 love M² Fs R² & E to hope, Fr till hope R
574 contemplates E contemplates: M Fs J
575 *no punctuation* E change nor falter E Fs Fr falter, M²-J[Fs] faulter, M
576 Titan! E M Fs J Fr
577 great, R & E & free E
578 Empire & Victory E Victory! M Fs R W J

---

568 *e* of *spells* at first closed, then altered, probably to prevent confusion with *i*
569 *disentangled* at first *Disentangled* *Doom* at first *doom* Freeman defended *the* with the same argument as that for *throne* at line 557 (Text, p. 50).
573 There is a blot after *hope* which may hide a comma.
575 Forman assumed that Mrs. Shelley's change to *faulter* was based on the errata.
578 This line developed as follows:

Life Joy
This is alone [Peace], [Peace], Empire & Victory

Life above [*Peace*] in ink; *Joy* in pencil above [*Peace*] canceled in pencil. *533* Shelley's count, centered below the line. The balance of the page is taken up with the *Ion* translation.

Shelley's count for this act may be summarized as follows: He made five errors in counting (see notes at lines 122, 168, 287, 411, and 502), resulting in his *533* being an undercount of 21. There were no discrepancies with respect to deletions and additions,

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and in this act the poet made use of both verso and recto pages for his copy. Following is a comparison of the actual count and Shelley's count for the act:

	Actual	Shelley	
Lines before additions	554	533	
		21	(undercount error)
		554	
Deletions	2	2	
	552	552	
Additions	26	26	
Lines in printed act	578	578	

Shelley's final computations for the play as a whole were made on E.3 37^{r}, at the end of Act III. There the poet first added *533* (his erroneous count for Act IV) to *1915* (his total at the end of Act III) for the figure *2448* He then, at some later time, made a compilation above these numbers as follows:

40
97
553

690
1915

2605

The *553* is poorly written and appears to have been *560* at first. What additions were combined to get the *40*, *97*, and the revised *553* (for Act IV) is not clear, but it is interesting to note that, despite the errors and complications previously described, he ends with a figure only five over the actual count of 2600 lines for the MS (there are 2610 lines in the printed play but, as noted at IV.485-94, ten of these were not in this MS)

Critical Notes

Explanatory Note

In the critical notes, short titles of critical works have been used in most references. For editions or studies which follow the line order of the poem, and can thus be located easily, reference is to editor's or author's name only; other items (in introductions, in notes to other poems not cross-referenced, and so forth) have been identified more fully.

Where critical reference has been made to other lines in *Prometheus Unbound*, these lines are given by number only; for other works the text, where not given by the author, has been supplied if practicable, or summarized in its pertinent features. All quotations have been standardized by substitution, where necessary, of a single translation or edition: the Loeb Classical Library for classical writers; the Oxford Standard Authors Series for modern poets; the John D. Sinclair edition of Dante's *Divine Comedy;* and the Julian Edition of Shelley's *Works* for the letters and for such prose as does not appear in the form of prefaces or notes in the Oxford Standard Authors series of the *Poetical Works.* My appreciation for permission to use these editions has been expressed in the Acknowledgments above.

Quotations from *The Wandering Jew*, not included in the Oxford Standard Authors series, are from the George Woodberry Cambridge Edition.

Title Page

Audisne hæc etc.] "Then Cleanthes stamped with his foot upon the ground and, according to the story, recited a line from the *Epigoni:* Do you hear this, Amphiaraus, in your home beneath the earth?" (Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations* II.xxv.60). *Epigoni:* "A tragedy of Aeschylus translated by Accius: Amphiaraus the Argive seer went with Adrastus on the expedition against Thebes and was swallowed up by the earth. Cleanthes applies the line to his master Zeno who was numbered amongst the dead" (*ibid.*, Loeb Classics Edition, pp. 214-15). Amphiaraus foretold the failure of the expedition and Zeus saved him by causing the earth to swallow him. K. N. Cameron commented: "Shelley means that forces are

stirring beneath the surface of society, the rumblings of which are audible to the enlightened" (Edition).

PREFACE

26-33. White noted that in Aeschylus Prometheus was "guilty of the sin of presumption," and his compromise merely recognized the realities of existence. Shelley, however, "meant only that he could tolerate no surrender of the *principle* of resistance to injustice . . . [although] he was willing to tolerate individual abuses indefinitely, as a matter of practical necessity, provided only the principle of reform were kept alive and advanced" (*Shelley*, II, 112). J. Barrell assumed that Shelley's repugnance to the Aeschylean solution stemmed from the fact that "in the century separating Æschylus from Plato, Greek morality had advanced to quite other notions of right and wrong, and one looks in vain in the pages of Plato for the doctrine of retributive justice" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 142); but C. Baker read the problem differently: "Aeschylus seems to have had in mind a symbolic reconciliation of the two virtues of justice and compassion. . . . [To Shelley] Jupiter represented a force making for evil, as Prometheus represented a force making for good . . . [and he] was seeking to avoid the reconciliation of a cardinal virtue with a deadly vice. Thus the whole drive of this ethic is precisely the contrary of his Greek 'source' " (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 281). B. Weaver saw a more practical solution: "Obviously, in Athens, Zeus still reigns, and Æschylus has no desire and no permission to dethrone him. With equal obviousness, in England, Tyranny still reigns, and Shelley has every determination, permission or no permission, to destroy Tyranny" (*Prometheus*, p. 132). A. M. D. Hughes, however, following Ernest Myers, had suggested that the catastrophe might not have been as "feeble" as Shelley supposed if it were assumed that "Zeus relents from his vengeance at the pleading of Hercules, and Prometheus tells the secret after his return to heaven. The desire to hear the secret would then be one motive in the mind of Zeus, but an awakening sense of right would be another" (Edition, p. 183).

33-34. Weaver noted that Shelley "does not exclude that *historical* Being whom Prometheus resembles" (*Prometheus*, p. 122).

35-47. A. C. Bradley considered this a "strange notion" and felt that Shelley "did not perceive that to show the absurdity of the imperfect is to glorify the perfect" ("View of Poetry," p. 166); and M. T. Solve added: "[Shelley] frequently judged the creations of art by the common standards of conduct. . . . Poetry, we must infer from this [passage], is essentially concerned with beauty, goodness, perfection; with the ideal, in short; and ugliness and evil are a blight upon it" (*Theory of Poetry*, pp. 45-46). R. H. Fogle ascribed this attitude to Shelley's acceptance of "Plato's requirement that poetry should imitate unmixed virtue," and his rejection of

Aristotle's hero "who is great but faulty" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 24). For other comparisons with Satan see Introduction, pp. 70-71.

47-50. W. R. Rutland commented: "Aeschylus, we may conjecture, would have been almost as much astonished to know that the Prometheus of his first play would become what [as here described] he is in the mind of Shelley . . . as would Milton to hear that Satan was the 'Hero of *Paradise Lost*' " (*Swinburne*, p. 79). To J. H. Cousins this sentence represented "a specification of excellences that falls into the triangular design of human capacities—mental, emotional, and dynamic" ("Message," p. 160). But to E. M. W. Tillyard it suggested a dramatic lack on Shelley's part: "[He] isolates the character from [Aeschylus'] play, as he does Satan from *Paradise Lost*, and puts all the stress upon it in that isolation" (*Poetry Direct and Oblique*, p. 93).

52. Helen Angeli agreed that "the Thermæ of Caracalla and the Apennines near Pisa were the immediate influences which set the right chords vibrating within," but added, "The scenery . . . is not that of the Alps or the Apennines any more than of the Valley of the Thames. They are the mountains and the abysses and the vast spaces and the heavens of the poet's mind that he has given us" (*Shelley and His Friends*, p. 308). Shelley's fuller description of the Baths (first noted by Rossetti) was sent in a letter to Peacock from Rome, March 23, 1819:

> I think I told you of the Coliseum. . . . The next most considerable relic of antiquity, considered as a ruin, is the Thermæ of Caracalla. These consist of six enormous chambers, above 200 feet in height, and each enclosing a vast space like that of a field. There are, in addition, a number of towers and labyrinthine recesses, hidden and woven over by the wild growth of weeds and ivy. Never was any desolation more sublime and lovely. The perpendicular wall of ruin is cloven into steep ravines filled with flowering shrubs, whose thick twisted roots are knotted in the rifts of the stones. At every step the aërial pinnacles of shattered stone group into new combinations of effect, and tower above the lofty yet level walls, as the distant mountains change their aspect to one rapidly travelling along the plain. . . . These walls surround green and level spaces of lawn, on which some elms have grown, and which are interrupted towards their skirts by masses of fallen ruin, overtwined with the broad leaves of the creeping weeds. The blue sky canopies it, and is as the everlasting roof of these enormous halls.
>
> But the most interesting effect remains. In one of the buttresses which supports an immense and lofty arch, which "bridges the very Winds of Heaven," are the crumbling remains of an antique winding staircase, whose sides are open in many places to the precipice. This you ascend, and arrive on the summit of these piles. There grow on every side thick entangled wildernesses of myrtle, and the myrletus, and bay, and the flowering laurustinus, whose white blossoms are just developed, the wild fig, and a thousand nameless plants sown by the wandering winds. These woods are intersected on every side by paths, like sheep tracks thro the copse wood of steep mountains, which wind to every part of the immense labyrinth. From the midst rise those pinnacles and masses, themselves like Mountains, which have been seen from below. In one place you wind along a narrow strip of weed grown ruin; on one side is the immensity of earth and sky, on the other a narrow chasm, which is bounded by an arch of enormous size, fringed by the many coloured

foliage and blossoms, and supporting a lofty and irregular pyramid, overgrown like itself by the all-prevailing vegetation. Around rise other crags and other peaks, all arrayed, and the deformity of their vast desolation softened down, by the undecaying investiture of nature. . . . Still further, winding half up one half of these shattered pyramids, by the path through the blooming copse-wood you come to a little mossy lawn, surrounded by the wild shrubs; it is over grown with anemones, wall flowers, and violets, whose stalks pierce the starry moss, and with radiant blue flowers, whose names I know not, and which scatter thro the air the divinest odour which as you recline under the shade of the ruin, produces a sensation of voluptuous faintness, like the combinations of sweet music. The paths still wind on, threading the perplexed windings, other labyrinths, other lawns, and deep dells of woods and lofty rocks, and terrific chasms. When I tell you that these ruins cover several acres, and that the paths above penetrate at least half their extent, your imagination will fill up all that I am unable to express of this astonishing scene [Julian, X, 37-39].

Joseph Severn painted a posthumous portrait of "Shelley Writing 'Prometheus Unbound' in the Baths of Caracalla," now in the Keats-Shelley Memorial House, Rome. See illustration facing p. 140 for a detail of this portrait.

56-60. J. A. Notopoulos commented: "This stimulus may be the source of much of the natural Platonism in the poem, which consists of the intuitive and natural quest for the spirit of Beauty in the various manifestations of nature" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 233).

61-73. W. J. Alexander noted that the similes at II.i.1-12 and II.iii.40-42 illustrate this quality (Edition, p. 324), which, Lilian Winstanley held, is akin to Plato's emphasis on the world of the mind, a supersensuous world more real than the earthly world ("Platonism in Shelley," pp. 84-85), the latter, according to Notopoulos, being viewed as "the veil of transcendent Reality" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 235). R. H. Fogle, however, pointed out that "to [Shelley] mind is coequal with the phenomenal world and of the same order, but the two are not identical, nor are they fused. There is always a gap between them," and he considered the poem "expressionistic" in quality (*Imagery*, p. 224). As a result, F. C. Prescott believed, Shelley compared "things to thoughts" (as at I.801-6; II.i.2, 7-9) rather than the customary reverse (*Poetry and Myth*, p. 85); and White suggested that this "boldness and originality of the imagery" (of which Shelley was fully aware) has frequently led to misunderstanding of the poem (*Shelley*, II, 127).

74-157. Comparisons:

[H. J. C. Grierson (*Personal Note*, p. 10)] I have written more carelessly; that is, without an over-fastidious and learned choice of words. In this respect I entirely agree with those modern critics who assert that in order to move men to true sympathy we must use the familiar language of men, and that our great ancestors the ancient English poets are the writers, a study of whom might incite us to do that for our own age which they have done for theirs. But it must be the real language of men in general and not that of any particular class to whose society the writer happens to belong [Preface to *The Cenci*].

For the circumstances that led to the writing of the last five paragraphs of the Preface, and for a pertinent quotation from the Preface to *The Revolt of Islam*, see Introduction, pp. 23-24. Grierson noted that Shelley had Wordsworth (among others) in mind here.

92. Carl Grabo cited "uncommunicated lightning," as well as "The cloud of mind" and "collected lightning" (line 117) as evidence of Shelley's preoccupation with these symbols (*Interpretation*, p. 4).

100-106. H. Levin compared, "If not for Rome and Christianity we should all have been Greeks—without their prejudices," and commented: "Liberty, then, is the sole reason for this superiority of the ancient Greeks. . . . Is liberty enough? Shelley reveals not only a superficial conception of liberty, but also a superficial conception of genius. An age of genius has seldom been an age of liberty" (*Broken Column*, pp. 56-57). The Shelley quotation, identified by Levin simply as to a "correspondent," I have been unable to locate in the Julian *Letters*, although a similar sentiment was expressed to Peacock, January 24, 1819: "O, but for that series of wretched wars which terminated in the Roman conquest of the world; but for the Christian religion, which put a finishing stroke to the antient system; but for those changes which conducted Athens to its ruin—to what an eminence might not humanity have arrived!" (Julian, X, 26).

106-19. Comparisons:

> [K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 734)] [He] not only beholds intensely the present as it is, and discovers those laws according to which present things ought to be ordered, but he beholds the future in the present, and his thoughts are the germs of the flower and the fruit of latest time [*A Defence of Poetry*, Julian, VII, 112)].

F. Stovall noted that "the rise and the decline of poetry accompany, if they do not actually herald, the rise and decline of social institutions" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 226); J. Barrell that "Shelley, like other writers since his time, was aware of a 'wave of the future,' conscious of the flux of contemporary opinions and values, and sure that this latter was pregnant with some new construction of thought or society" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 12); and J. A. Notopoulos that, "though Shelley is primarily referring to contemporaries, his words apply equally to Plato, who because of his genius is the contemporary of every great thinker and poet" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 81).

110-12. Comparisons:

> [K. N. Cameron] He died, / Who was the Sire of an immortal strain, / Blind, old, and lonely, when his country's pride, / The priest, the slave, and the liberticide, / Trampled and mocked with many a loathed rite / Of lust and blood; he went, unterrified, / Into the gulf of death; but his clear Sprite / Yet reigns o'er earth [*Adonais* iv].

117. *lightning*] G. W. Knight cited this ("exactly suggesting Byron") as evidence of Byron's important influence on the poem (*Byron*, p. 257).

127. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] According to one mode of regarding those two classes of mental action, which are called reason and imagination, the former may be considered as mind contemplating the relations borne by one thought to another, however produced; and the latter, as mind acting upon those thoughts so as to colour them with its own light, and composing from them, as from elements, other thoughts, each containing within itself the principle of its own integrity [*A Defence of Poetry*, Julian, VII, 109].

sources of emotion and thought] The "mind of man" and "nature" of line 124 (Barnard).

141-46. Notopoulos saw in this the Platonic notion of the One and the Many (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 299).

158-84. Into this paragraph H. J. C. Grierson read Shelley's contention that the poem "was written with an immediate purpose, to prepare the minds of the young and generous to give to the revolution, which Shelley believed to be approaching, the guidance of the spirit of love and forbearance, that it may not lose itself in a chaos of violence and cruelty, leading back to tyranny, as the French Revolution had done" (*Personal Note*, pp. 10-11).

159-61. The phrase quoted (first identified by Rossetti as being from Forsyth) is the title of Chapter XVI of Robert Forsyth's *The Principles of Moral Science* (Edinburgh, 1805).

162-64. William Paley (1743-1805) was the theologian with whose works Timothy Shelley tried unsuccessfully to alter the poet's atheistic opinions. Thomas Robert Malthus (1766-1834), author of the *Essay on Population*, was generally disliked by Shelley.

In her journal for November 8, 1820, Claire Clairmont wrote the following "caricature" of Shelley: "Himself and God Almighty. He says If you please, God Almighty, I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon than go to Heaven with Paley and Malthus. God Almighty, It shall be quite as you please, pray don't stand upon ceremony. Shelley's three aversions, God Almighty, Lord Chancellor and didactic Poetry" (quoted in White, *Shelley*, II, 602). In 1837 an anonymous writer commented: "Begging pardon for using the expression, we say in similar terms: We had rather be damned with Percy Bysshe Shelley, than go to Heaven with John Calvin and Robert Pollok. Their Heaven must indeed be a hell to one, who feels a single thrill of love for universal man, or feels a single spark of the divinity stirring within" (*Western Messenger*, p. 478). J. Barrell noted that, while in his own day Malthus would not have been classed with the reformers (as Shelley apparently intended Plato and Bacon to be), we now consider him "the progenitor of two distinct movements for reform," birth control and eugenics (*Shelley and Thought*, pp. 10-11).

164-79. Comparisons:

> [Ingpen-Peck] A poem very didactic is I think very stupid [To Hookham,

January 26, 1813. Julian, IX, 42].

[H. Read (*Defence of Shelley*, p. 14)] If I understand myself, I have written neither for profit nor for fame. I have employed my poetical compositions and publications simply as the instruments of that sympathy between myself and others which the ardent and unbounded love I cherished for my kind incited me to acquire [canceled *Adonais* Preface passage].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 253)] [1] they whose souls are far more pregnant than their bodies, conceive and produce that which is more suitable to the soul. What is suitable to the soul? Intelligence, and every other power and excellence of the mind; of which all poets, and all other artists who are creative and inventive, are the authors [*Symposium* 209a. Shelley trans. Julian, VII, 204]; [2] He who has been disciplined to this point in Love, by contemplating beautiful objects gradually, and in their order, now arriving at the end of all that concerns Love, on a sudden beholds a beauty wonderful in its nature. This is it, O Socrates, for the sake of which all the former labours were endured. It is eternal, unproduced, indestructible; neither subject to increase nor decay . . . but it is eternally uniform and consistent, and monoeidic with itself [*ibid.* 210e. Julian, VII, 206].

Read noted that, "whilst avoiding like the plague the didactic use of poetry, Shelley is far from that theory of pure poetry, which would exempt poetry from any useful effect whatsoever," and he cited Shelley's *A Defence of Poetry* as "the most explicit statement" of the poet's aims in this respect. And H. R. Pearce has recently gone even further in insisting (with respect to *Epipsychidion*, but with a generalization equally applicable here) that Shelley was didactic: "The real trouble is in the [Platonic] conception of poetry as the clothing of an ideal, whereas in fact the poetic vision and its expression should be the same thing. . . . Shelley's wrong conception has necessitated for him a didactic use of symbol and form. His symbolism often represents not an inevitable freezing of apprehension, but its clothing —an action which involves of necessity an other than aesthetic process. One can sense . . . in his poetry a poetic experience bound to the limits of a myth as a set of ideas which are not part of that experience" ("Didacticism of the Romantic Poets," p. 23). Oliver Elton accepted Shelley's statement in the Preface and commented: "But he would hardly have understood the later notion that art and ethics move in different and never-intersecting planes: a notion, by the way, that leaves *Prometheus Unbound* and the *Paradiso* no reason for existing" (*Shelley*, p. 80); and H. N. Brailsford added: "Whether by Platonic influence, or by the instinct of his own temperament, he moves half-consciously from the Godwinian notion that mankind are to be reasoned into perfection. The contemplation of beauty is with him the first stage in the progress towards reasoned virtue" (*Shelley, Godwin*, p. 234).

With this view E. Barnard agreed: "No better statement of Shelley's creed as a poet and moralist can be made. . . . He had considered the doctrines of Godwin and the rationalists, and had concluded that they were empty and futile [later, C. E. Pulos saw in the passage evidence of Shelleyan skepticism stemming from the influence of Hume and Drummond

(*Deep Truth*, pp. 47-48)]. His faith in the natural goodness of human nature had long since gone into the discard. He had come to believe that men must be born anew, and baptized not with the water of reason but with the fire of Imagination—which is in the most literal sense the gift of God to men to redeem them from their slavery to the powers of evil" (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 250-51). Douglas Bush, however, considered that Shelley's words were "a virtual repudiation of the office of the poetic legislators of the world, for a poet who offers a serious interpretation of life cannot afford to be content with beautiful idealisms" (*Mythology*, p. 153). White found in the passage Shelley's belief that "poetry was the most authentic voice of the imagination—and the imagination . . . was an almost divine quality of the human mind. It could at times perceive almost by intuition truths not perceptible to the ordinary reason operating within long-familiar boundaries" (*Shelley*, II, 432); and White believed that the poet may have turned deliberately to "select" readers of "highly refined imagination" because of his "deep dejection as he became convinced that his voice was failing to find an audience" (II, 281); although White also believed that, despite the "beautiful idealisms of moral excellence," the "underlying principles of his belief . . . never varied greatly from those set forth in *Queen Mab*" (I, 294). Finally, R. H. Fogle saw in this passage "the central Romantic reconciliation of beauty and truth, in which truth is made operative by the action of beauty upon the feelings" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 27).

179-84. Sidney Lanier cited this as evidence that Shelley was not "completely satisfied with the Promethean story" ("English Novel," p. 95). J. R. Ullman interpreted it to mean that Shelley proposed "to build his magic structure of transcendent song upon the rock-bottom of intellectual theory and to weave the evanescent substances of his dreams into the abiding oneness of The Dream" (*Mad Shelley*, pp. 82-83).

189-91. Comparisons:

> [R. Elsner (*Shelley's Abhängigkeit*, p. 28)] I am bound to employ my talents, my understanding, my strength and my time, for the production of the greatest quantity of general good [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, 135].

Dramatis Personae

PROMETHEUS

Prometheus (Gr. "forethought" or "forethinker") was conceived of by Shelley under that form of the myth that made him the son of Iapetus (who is not referred to by the poet) and Themis; but, as W. N. Guthrie noted, Themis as "Earth" rather than as "law" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 175).

Interpretations of this character have been varied and usually composite, but have fallen into four general areas: Prometheus as (1) Humanity; (2) the Mind or Soul of Man; (3) a religious manifestation; (4) a political manifestation.

The first of these was initiated by Mrs. Shelley, although her interpretation actually involved several elements, for she described Prometheus as "one . . . full of fortitude and hope and the spirit of triumph emanating from a reliance in the ultimate omnipotence of Good"; as "the regenerator" who "used knowledge as a weapon to defeat evil, by leading mankind . . . to [a state] in which they are virtuous through wisdom"; as "Humanity"; as "the benefactor of mankind"; and as "the emblem of the human race" (see Appendix C). Some or all of these elements have been stressed frequently,[1] with the suggestion of Humanity qualified at times as in F. C. Prescott's "first man as poet, suffering for mankind, and in the final act man enjoying the realization of his vision. . . . [Not] the individual man, but mankind" (*Poetic Mind*, pp. 294-95); and J. W. Beach's "potential state" of man "in so far as it is good" (*Romantic View*, p. 118). In this connection it is interesting to recall that Shelley himself had accepted Prometheus as a representative of "the human race" in his note to *Queen Mab* (see above, p. 28).

Prometheus as the Mind or Soul of Man was suggested by Shelley himself when in his Preface he described the Titan as "the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual nature." J. A. Symonds, of the later critics, first picked up the clue, but with emphasis on the mind (*Shelley*, p. 122), and G. H. Calvert first stressed the soul: "a prolific idea, an idea . . . supremely modern and spiritual, that man as a soul is not only indestructible, but, through high will inspired by love, is creative" (*Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe*, p. 216). But it was Rossetti who most firmly established this interpretation, arguing against Prometheus as "in a vague general sense man, collective mankind," and for the character as Mind (or Soul) of Man, "that faculty whereby man is man, not brute" ("Study," pp. 59-60). W. N. Guthrie, similarly, saw him as "the prophetic soul of humanity," and suggested the pertinence of *Hellas* 795-97 ("Thought / . . . and its quick elements, Will, Passion, / Reason, Imagination") as a commentary on the character (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 161-62). John Todhunter amplified this. Translating the name as "foresight," he connected him with "that poetic imagination which is the true prophetic power, penetrating the mystery of things" (*Study*, p. 136); and he added that Prometheus "contains within himself not only the masculine element, with its boundless aspiration, indomitable energy of creative power, and unflinching endurance, but the female element, with its measureless self-surrender and self-devotion, without which this glorious masculine force degenerates into selfish pride, like that of Milton's Satan" (p. 138).[2]

[1]By Schuré ("Poète panthéiste," p. 769); G. B. Smith (*Shelley*, p. 202); Noel ("Shelley," p. 120); Blind ("Shelley's View of Nature," p. 44); Scudder (Edition, p. xxxiii); Woodberry (Cambridge Edition, p. 621); Dickinson (Edition, p. xi); Locock (Edition, I, 596); O. Elton (*Shelley*, p. 37); Van Dyke ("Knight Errant," p. 220).

[2]Similar identifications were made by Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 62); Ackermann (*Shelley*, p. 224); J. M. Brown (*Study*, pp. 19, 66); Hughes (Edition, p. 172); Winstanley

The religious significance of Prometheus was stressed as early as 1821 when he was described as "a type of religion oppressed by the united powers of superstition and tyranny" (*London-Inquisitor*. See Appendix D, item VIII). Later in the century the first comparison with Christ was made when J. A. Harrison wrote that "here is the paradox of Shelley's life: the Christ-less Shelley bringing before us as the supreme creation of his genius the One whom he had rejected"; and he described Prometheus as "Beneficence . . . a Christ hung to the precipice" ("Two Views," p. 98). Similarly, Carl Grabo saw him, in part, as "an aspect of deity . . . on the way to Godhood" (*Interpretation*, p. 178), or "Christ who endures the crucifixion and redeems the world through love" (p. 180); but, more than Christ, "he is the creative spirit of man, which builds a new world based on Christian humanitarian ethics, the Greek love of nature and beauty, and the speculative and experimental scientific research of the modern man" (pp. 189-90); and F. E. Maser asked: "[Is he] the Spirit of Truth? Is he Shelley, himself? Is He Jesus Christ? Who can tell? It is significant, in this connexion, that in *Hellas* . . . it is Christ who pleads before the Almighty Father for the freedom which will stamp out tyranny, and who prophesies the ultimate triumph of truth. And is it not Christ of whom Shelley is speaking in 'Worlds on worlds are rolling ever / From creation to decay' [*Hellas* 197-98], lines which reach their true climax from our point of view in the following verse: 'A power from the unknown God, / A Promethean conqueror, came; / Like a triumphal path he trod / The thorns of death and shame' [etc., *Hellas* 211-24]" ("Darkness and Light," pp. 144-45).[3]

("Platonism in Shelley," p. 88); Bowra (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 107). Benham insisted on soul rather than mind ("Interpretation," p. 112), as did Campbell (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 205) and Barnard (Edition, p. 86); while Stovall saw him as "the personification of wisdom which enlightens the human mind, not the mind itself" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 242). Lea called him "the imagination defying reason" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 112); and Grierson and Smith saw him, in part, as "wisdom that has learned the final lesson of forgiveness" (*History*, p. 396).

[3]Others who have seen Prometheus as typifying Christ: Brooke ("Interpretation of Christianity," p. 376); Slaughter ("Shelley," p. 77); Knight (*Christian Renaissance*, pp. 330-31); Meldrum ("Classical Background," p. 161).

Interpretations related to the foregoing may be found in Hunt: "the Benevolent Principle" ("Letters" [see Appendix D, item XII]); Delrieu: "the Good" ("Poètes modernes," p. 190); Gilfillan: "a being between man, demon, and Deity" (*Sketches*, p. 115); Barrot: the type of humanity and, at the same time, of divine spirit; the forerunner of Socrates, Vanini, Galileo; the great sufferer through whom Caucasus recalls Golgotha ("Poète philosophe," p. 455); Warner: "Universal Love which dissolves all law and leaves man free" ("Shelley," p. 305); Revell: "a type of the broadest and noblest kind of the redeeming, and spiritual, healing, and refining elements and powers of humanity" ("Prometheus," pp. 418-19); Strong: "the incarnation of all that is benign and inspired in man" (*Studies*, p. 47); Moore: "Satan in so far as he is rebellious against God," or Shelley himself in "a delusion of grandeur" (*Study of Character*, pp. 30-31); Cousins: "the eternal Being (cosmic or individual) which creates its own self-limitation, even as he became the child of Earth, and the victim of Jupiter to whom he himself had given sovereignty" (*Work Promethean*, p. 30).

Prometheus was first seen as a political symbol by W. J. Alexander, who felt him to be the spirit of resistance, of revolution against the tyranny of authority, but tormented by the contemplation of the misery and wickedness of men (Edition, p. 317). K. N. Cameron emphasized the narrower political side of the character and identified him as "the leader of humanity —specifically the peoples of post-war Europe" ("Social Philosophy," p. 464); and again, "a symbol of the intellectuals of [Shelley's] own day . . . of those 'Poets,' those 'unacknowledged legislators of the world,' who have made possible all human progress" ("Political Symbolism," p. 730); to which H. J. C. Grierson added specifically: "And Prometheus is just Shelley and Hunt and all who have refused to be carried away by the tide of reaction which overwhelmed Southey and Coleridge and Wordsworth" (*History*, pp. 395-96).[4]

But general approbation of Prometheus has not gone unchallenged. J. A. Symonds found "something vague and hollow" in him because, while sketched "on a scale of surpassing magnificance," he, like Asia, was reduced "too much to the level of earthly life" (*Shelley*, pp. 123-24). J. Slater admitted that the character was "absolutely faultless" but objected that by Act III he seemed "utterly to have lost . . . his public spirit" and played "an insignificant part throughout the remainder of the piece" (" 'Prometheus,' " pp. 383-85). Richard Garnett, commenting on Rossetti's lecture before the Shelley Society, argued that if Prometheus represented the human mind (but with the suggestion of forethought or providence) it was difficult to understand how man could commit such an amazing blunder as setting up Jupiter in the way he had done; and also, if Jupiter was the creation of the human mind, Prometheus should not owe his liberation to any power outside himself. Garnett assumed, however, that, if Demogorgon were taken as necessity rather than as time, the difficulty would be solved (Comments, p. 120). In the same discussion, F. J. Furnivall agreed that if Prometheus was all-wise it was questionable that he would "[endow] with wisdom the worst passions of man," and "with wisdom [give] Jupiter his own imperfections"; and it was difficult also to account for frost, famine, and misery with an all-wise Prometheus. Furnivall argued that Shelley wrote before he had a logical scheme in his own mind (p. 121). Later, J. Kooistra was to ask: "But what could be a more unlikely thing for 'the intellectuals' to do than, after having overthrown tyranny, to

[4]Related views have been held by Hughes: "a glorified type of those revolutionary heroes who were portrayed in *Islam*, *Athanase* and in *Rosalind and Helen*" (Edition, p. 171); Buck: "the passive spirit of revolution" (*Social Forces*, p. 240); Kooistra ("*Prometheus*," p. 216); Moore (*Study of Character*, p. 31); Gingerich (*Essays*, pp. 219-20). Kurtz linked Prometheus and Prospero as symbols of "the meliorism of forward looking, forward hoping spirits" (Introduction, p. xxviii); and Bush saw in him "the highest and noblest result of human evolution" (*Mythology*, p. 144).

For comparisons of Prometheus with the same character in other writers, see Introduction, pp. 57-79.

withdraw from their less enlightened fellow-men and lead a life of purely egoistic enjoyment in some secluded corner of the world?" ("*Prometheus*," p. 216); and M. Bald was to find Prometheus "a voice rather than a man," lacking "the massive elemental dignity of the Arch-fiend" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 115).

DEMOGORGON[5]

The origin of the name Demogorgon (not, as E. Schuré thought, an invention by Shelley from *demos* [people] and *gorgone* [fright]: "that which frightens the people" ["Poète panthéiste," p. 773]) is to be found possibly in a corruption of *Demiourgos*, or *Demiourgon*, the creator of the world, probably as a "clerical error of some mediæval copyist, fumbling with the scholia of an anonymous grammarian" (H. N. Brailsford, *Shelley, Godwin*, p. 228). It was, according to Gilbert Highet, "evidently a blend of the monstrous terrifying Gorgons and the great Craftsman, *Demiourgos*" (*Classical Tradition*, p. 678).

In any event, the figure would appear to derive from the "Demiourgos" of Plato's myth of the creation (*Timaeus* 28-40), where he was a beneficent power and creator of the cosmos,[6] after which he retired and delegated his

[5]R. Ackermann, with credit to Leon Kellner, first traced (in any important way) the Demogorgon references before Shelley. He cited Lucan, Boccaccio, Ariosto, Spenser, Marlowe, Greene, and Milton in this connection ("Studien," pp. 34-39). A. M. D. Hughes, however, pointed out that "much of what Ackermann has to tell about Demogorgon appears in a note to Peacock's *Rhododaphne*, which was published in 1818 and written in 1817, that is, while Shelley and Peacock were in daily intercourse at Marlowe. . . . Demogorgon is only incidentally mentioned in Canto vi [of *Rhododaphne*], but a note is appended to the following effect:—' "The dreaded name of Demogorgon" is familiar to every reader in Milton's enumeration of the powers of chaos. Mythological writers in general afford but little information concerning this terrible Divinity. He is incidentally mentioned in several places by Natalis Comes, who says, in treating of Pan, that Pronapides in his Protocosmos makes Pan and the three sister Fates the offspring of Demogorgon. Boccaccio, in a Latin treatise on the genealogy of the Gods, gives some account of him on the authority of Theodocian and Pronapides. He was the genius of the Earth, and the Sovereign Power of the terrestrial Daemons. He dwelt originally with Eternity and Chaos, till, becoming weary of inaction, he organized the chaotic elements, and surrounded the earth with the heavens. In addition to Pan and the Fates, his children were Uranus, Titaea, Pytho, Eris, and Erebus. This awful Power was so sacred among the Arcadians that it was held impious to pronounce his name. The impious, however, who made less scruple about pronouncing it, are said to have found it of great virtue in magical incantations. He has been supposed to be a philosophical emblem of the principle of vegetable life. The silence of mythologists concerning him can only be attributed to their veneration for his "dreaded name"; a proof of genuine piety which must be pleasing to our contemporary pagans, for some such there are' " (Edition, p. 175). See also Maurice Castelain, "Demogorgon, ou le barbarisme déifié," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*, No. 36 (July, 1932), pp. 22-39.

[6]K. N. Cameron pointed out that he was not actually the creator, since the world existed first in divine idea, but rather the "manufacturer" of the world from matter (Edition, p. 525).

power to the gods of his creation. E. B. Hungerford noted that after Plato the Demiurge "degenerated into a mysterious power, not neccesarily beneficent, whose name was too terrible to mention, whose home was in the depths, and who had vague but tremendous power" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 177).

Following Plato, the next references were those of Lucan and Statius who, without naming the god, alluded to him. Lucan wrote: "Has witchcraft power over all the gods, or are these tyrannical spells addressed to one special deity who can inflict upon the world all the compulsion that he suffers himself" (*Pharsalia* VI.496-99); and again: "Or must I appeal to Him, at the sound of whose name the earth ever quakes and trembles. He looks on the Gorgon's head unveiled; He lashes the cowering Fury with her own scourge; He dwells in a Tartarus beneath your view; to Him ye are the gods above; He swears by the Styx, and breaks his oath" (*ibid.* VI. 744-48). Statius' reference reads: "I know the name whose knowing and whose speaking ye so dread . . . the high lord of the triple world, who may not be known" (*Thebaid* IV.513-16). Lactantius (ca. 450), commenting on Statius, noted that "he refers to the supreme god, Demogorgon, whose name may not be known," and this would appear to be the earliest extant mention of the name (G. L. Dickinson, Edition, pp. viii-ix); although, according to J. C. Collins (ed. Robert Greene, II, 344), it appears by insertion in some editions of Hyginus: "Ex [Demogorgone et] terra, Python" ("Python, from Demogorgon and Earth") (*Fabulae*, Preface, p. 34). Demogorgon was also described in the *Repertorium* of Conrad de Mure (1273) as the primordial God of ancient mythology (OED).

Boccaccio, in turn, in his *Degenealogia deorum* (I.i, vi, vii), referred to an authority, Theodontius, who in his turn professed to have his account from the *Protocosmos* of Pronapides, said to be the teacher of Homer (neither Theodontius nor Pronapides is extant). Boccaccio, however, did not profess to have read Theodontius, but to have borrowed his statements from a book by Paulus Perusinus, librarian to Robert, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, which book is likewise not extant (Dickinson, Edition, pp. viii-ix; E. B. Hungerford, *Shores of Darkness*, pp. 177-78). The Abbé Banier in his *Mythology* has paraphrased Boccaccio fully, and from this the relevant elements have been most adequately summarized by Hungerford:

> Boccaccio relates that Theodontius names Demogorgon as the primordial ancestor of the gods, and since he finds no reference in any writer to any parents of Demogorgon, he is content to believe that Demogorgon was truly the first of all the gods. He commences his book, therefore, with an imaginary account of Demogorgon. He fancies himself descending into the bowels of the earth through a narrow and rocky defile either in Mount Taenarus or Aetna, passing the Stygian swamps, and arriving at the seat of Demogorgon. Then Demogorgon appears, the ancient father of all the gentile and the pagan gods, surrounded by clouds and vapor, dwelling in the depths of the earth. His very name is horrible. He has a mossy pallor about him, and is clothed by a stale humidity, giving off an earthy, repulsive, and fetid odor.

Boccaccio explains that the belief in Demogorgon did not originate with learned men, but rather with rustic Arcadians who, seeing the vital forces of nature at work in fruits and flowers, her power bringing forth fountains, streams, and rivers, her voice making the earth itself shake in violent convulsions, imagined that nature itself was animated and named the animating spirit Demogorgon. The Abbé Banier, who interprets the name as meaning the "Genius or Intelligence of Earth," expresses the opinion that philosophers had meant no more by it than the vegetative principle, but that "the vulgar fancied it was a real god who resided in the bowels of the earth, to whom they offered sacrifices, especially in Arcadia. We must not forget," he adds, "the opinion of some authors, that Demogorgon had been a magician so skillful in his art, that he had ghosts and aerial spirits under his command, made them absolutely subject to his will, and severely punished those of them who did not execute his orders" [*ibid.*, pp. 179-80].[7]

Boccaccio was followed, in references to Demogorgon, by other Italian writers: by Boiardo, in the *Orlando innamorato* (II.xiii.26ff.), where "it is in the name of Demogorgon, stronger than all other spirits or powers, that Orlando presently sets Morgana's captive free" (C. W. Lemmi, "Spenser and Shelley," p. 168); by Ariosto, who wrote: "Here [in his temple in the Himalaya mountains] Demogorgon, who controls and rules the fairies, giving and depriving them of power by customary observance and by ancient law, every fifth year calls them to council from the remotest parts of the world";[8] and by Tasso, in the *Gerusalemme liberata*, who may have had reference to Demogorgon in: "My tongue . . . can well repeat that dreaded name which, heard, great Dis cannot escape" (XIII.x.3-5. Cited in J. C. Collins ed. of Robert Greene, II, 344). Through these sources the name came into English literature.

In Spenser we find: (1) "Great Gorgon, Prince of darknesse and dead night" (*Faerie Queene* I.i.37); (2) "O thou most auncient Grandmother of all, / . . . Which wast begot in Dæmogorgon's hall" (I.v.22); and (3) "Downe in the bottome of the deepe *Abysse*, / Where *Demogorgon* in dull darknesse pent, / Farre from the view of Gods and heavens blis, / The hideous *Chaos* keepes" (IV.ii.47). Marlowe has "Orientis Princeps Belzebub, inferni ardentis monarcha & demigorgon, propitiamus vos, ut appareat, & surgat Mephistophilis" ("Belzebub, Prince of the East, monarch of burning hell, and Demogorgon, we propitiate ye, that

[7]A. G. Lotspeich, by citing many parallels of descriptive detail (e.g., II.iii.1-5; II.iv.150-55; III.i.51-52) as well as Mrs. Shelley's identification of Demogorgon as "the Primal Power of the world," established Boccaccio's work as the source of many elements in Shelley's conception of the character (" 'Eternity' and Demogorgon," pp. 309-11).

[8]The reference to Ariosto occurs very widely, but always, to my knowledge, without citation of locus. This is probably because Demogorgon is not named in the *Orlando furioso* proper, but in the *Five Cantos Which Follow the Subject Matter of the Furioso*, first published in 1545 from a MS in the possession of Ariosto's son. The first part of supplementary Canto I is devoted to a description of Demogorgon's temple and of the council, with the present quotation a translation of I.iv.3-8 (*Orlando furioso* [Vol. V], Milano: Dalla Società Tipografica di Classici Italiani, Vol. XLV, 1814).

Mephistopheles may appear and rise") (*Dr. Faustus* 244-46 [1616 text]). Robert Greene has: (1) "And *Demogorgon*, maister of the fates" (*Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* 1636); (2) "*Tuque Demogorgon, qui noctis fata gubernas, / Qui regis infernum solium, coelumque, solumque!*" ("And thou, Demogorgon, master of the fates of night, / Who rules the infernal throne, the heavens, and the depths") (*The History of Orlando Furioso* 1164-65); (3) "Hath Demogorgon, ruler of the fates, / Set such a baleful period on my life" (*ibid.* 1272-73); and (4) the passage (cited by H. Zettner) in *The First Part of the Tragedy and Reign of Selimus*, attributed doubtfully to Greene: "Black Demogorgon, grandfather of Night, / Send out thy furies from thy fiery hall" (lines 1318-19). And Milton has: (1) "*Demogorgonem* Deorum omnium Atavum . . . Terram genuisse" ("Demogorgon, ancestor of all the gods, whom I note was also called Chaos by antiquity, begot the Earth among many other children whom he had borne") (*Prolusiones Quædam Oratoriæ. Works*, XII, 127); (2) "nisi crassam . . . ipsi *Demogorgoni* . . . nominare" ("unless we wish erroneously to call Night that dense, foul obscurity, equivalent even to Demogorgon himself?") (*ibid.*, p. 135); and (3) "*Orcus* and *Ades*, and the dreaded name / Of *Demogorgon*" (*Paradise Lost* II.964-65).[9]

In addition to the foregoing, it has been suggested that Shelley's Demogorgon may owe something to the "Evestrum" of Paracelsus (E. Ebeling, "Paracelsian Element," pp. 514-25);[10] to the Hindu and Buddhist "Karma" (E. Barnard, Edition, p. 86); to Spinozan pantheism, in which Eternity was extended to mean Essence of God or Essence of Nature, with Shelley's confusion in the Asia characterization indicating that the poet had not fully assimilated what he got from Spinoza (A. R. Benham, "Interpretation," pp. 113-15); to "the Jewish God who appeared, in part, to Moses on the mountain" (O. W. Campbell, *Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 215); or to Shelley's interest in the occult (T. V. Moore, *Study of Character*, p. 13). A Shelleyan variant of the idea of Demogorgon has also been suggested by Woodberry: "And universal Pan . . . passed out of his everlasting lair / Where the great heart of the great world doth pant" (*The Witch of Atlas* ix).

[9]Of the early references, as given in OED, may be noted Dryden's "He's the first begotten of Beelzebub, with a face as terrible as Demogorgon" (*Spanish Friar* V.ii.327), and Conyers Purshall's "The Saline, and Sulphurious Vapours, I take to be the true Demogorgon of the Philosophers, or Grandfather of all the Heathen Gods, i.e. Mettals" (*Mechanism of the Macrocosm*, p. 85).

C. M. Bowra, noting that in Spenser and Milton Demogorgon was a "principle of chaos and disorder," found Shelley's choice (even though he gave him a new role) "peculiar, if not a little perverse," but ascribed it to the fact that Shelley "liked to think of him as some kind of opponent to Milton's God. . . . In any case, Demogorgon has a mysterious and resounding name, and that is perhaps enough to justify Shelley's introduction of him" (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 108-9).

[10]J. A. Notopoulos, however, felt that "the influence of Paracelsus on Shelley's Platonism may well be confined to the early years of Shelley's life" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 112).

Finally, Carlos Baker felt that "Shelley's apparent inconsistency in speaking of Demogorgon in the masculine gender, of Demogorgon as Eternity, and of Eternity in the feminine gender" may have been the result of his "combining the 'companions' of Boccaccio into a single concept" for dramatic unity or "to suggest that Demogorgon partook of both the male and the female," and also that the law of amoral necessity was eternal (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 116); or, as A. Wormhoudt saw it: "The dual sex of Demogorgon may have been suggested by Boccaccio's picture of him and his spouse Eternity. Shelley combines wife and husband into one figure similar to Boccaccio's description of Eternity as an aged woman encircled by a snake, that is, the phallic mother" (*Demon Lover*, p. 99).

Identifications of Demogorgon have been most varied and have centered largely around the character as (1) a Primal Power behind the world; (2) Necessity, Destiny, or Fate; (3) an aspect of divinity; (4) Eternity; or (5) Reason. Frequent overlapping has appeared in these areas, as in J. F. C. Gutteling's suggestion that he was a fusion of three ideas: (1) the mystery behind existence—Eternity, Destiny, Fate; (2) the mythologic fatal child who dethrones his father; and (3) an incarnation (influenced by Christian conceptions) into the child begotten by Jupiter ("Demogorgon," p. 285).

Mrs. Shelley first called the character "the Primal Power of the world" (see Appendix C), and, while some have followed her in this,[11] more have seen Demogorgon as specifically representative of Necessity or Destiny, with the principal qualifications Garnett's necessity as "eternal law, existence," rather than merely "sequence of time" (Comments, p. 120); Todhunter's "the eternal Nemesis which pursues crime" (*Study*, p. 137); P. Edgar's "frigid necessarianism which once held undisputed sway . . . [but no longer controls] the sovereign will of man" ("Shelley's Debt," p. 199); J. W. Beach's "a refined symbol of Necessity" which "takes on the character of Destiny as conceived by the Greek tragedians," and also "a platonic cast" ("Shelley's Naturalism," p. 219); Louis Cazamian's "a fatality, good or indifferent, subject only to the will of the universe, which will is, for Shelley, the unknown God" (Edition, pp. 40-41); and Carlos Baker's "the eternal law of amoral necessity which requires an act of mind to be set in motion" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 94).[12]

[11]E.g., Boglietti ("Prometeo," p. 39); Brooke (Edition, p. 328); Dickinson (Edition, p. viii); R. M. Smith (*Types of Drama*, p. 346).

[12]Similar interpretations have been made by Scudder (Edition, p. xxxi); Alexander (Edition, pp. 318-19); Hancock (*French Revolution*, p. 72); Steichen ("Study," p. 48); G. H. Clarke (Edition, p. 239); Strong (*Studies*, p. 47); Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 73); A. Sen (*Studies*, p. 135); Bush (*Mythology*, p. 146); Baker (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 94).

Cameron insisted that it was Necessity as used in *Queen Mab* ("Political Symbolism," p. 742; or "historical evolution" ["Social Philosophy," p. 464]); but E. Barnard considered it the Necessity of Plato rather than that of the early poem (Edition, p. 86).

A more specifically religious significance has frequently been read into the character. Thus Todhunter saw him in part as "Divine Justice itself," and in the end as "the perfect law of liberty" of which love is the fulfillment (*Study*, p. 137). To Helene Richter he represented the dark conception which we have of a highest Being, rather than the highest Being himself—the presentiment by which we consort with the Godhead (Edition, p. 124). W. N. Guthrie was more detailed, arguing that Demogorgon must be judged by his office, his origin, and his way of fulfilling his office. To Guthrie he was an "external auxiliary to the 'Saviour and the strength of suffering man'. . . . If the wrath of man did not—because it could not—work the righteousness of God, and the wrath of man was overcome by love, then that overcoming God, who is love to holiness, must reveal himself as wrath to the evil *as evil*, overruling it for 'good to them that love' him. Here lies the very difference between the New Testament theosophy and that of Shelley. In the New Testament, Prometheus and Demogorgon are one." Guthrie assumed that Thetis (in virtue of her origin) represented impulsive freedom, and Jupiter extraneous compulsion. Then Demogorgon, as their child, was a compromise between them, a compromise necessary to reach Shelley's ideal state. With his descent with Jupiter "the active incarnation of Demogorgon . . . ceases, and he is again that impenetrable Gloom, living, omniscient, solicitous for the safety, bliss and perfection of man" who speaks at the close of the play, where we are "given the secret of salvation . . . in the attitude which Prometheus took" (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 191-99).

Woodberry related Demogorgon more closely to Shelley's conception of religion as revealed in Asia, holding:

> The conception has points in contact with that of the soul of being in the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, and with numerous other apprehensions of the divine element in Shelley's poetry. It is more abstract and gray, in this shape of the genius presiding even over Jupiter's fate, than usual, because a part of the cosmic idea it embodies is transferred to Asia in this drama, as the being in whom love kindles and through whom creation becomes beautiful; Demogorgon is thus elemental in the highest degree, lying in a region back even of the great poetic conceptions of Love and Beauty, as well as of apparently Omnipotent Power, in the world of celestial time. To him, as the ultimate of being conceivable by man's imagination, the concluding chorus of the drama is fitly given [Cambridge Edition, p. 623].[13]

H. N. Brailsford also found religious significance in Demogorgon, calling him "the eternal X which the human spirit always assumes when it is at a

[13]Lea agreed (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 137), as did Hughes: "He stands, in fact, for all that Asia represents, except that he is executive; he is the power which carries the influence of Asia into effect" (Edition, p. 176). A religious emphasis has also been stressed by H. Clarke ("Prometheus Myth," p. 119); Knight: the Holy Spirit "when the Father-Son relation is starkly out-of-joint," with Asia later taking the role (*Christian Renaissance*, p. 332); Grabo (*Interpretation*, pp. 70, 85); Barnard (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 94).

loss to balance its equations. . . . [Shelley] invents his God very much as those detested imposters, the primitive priests, had done. He gives Humanity a friendly Power as they had endowed their tribe with a god of battles" (*Shelley, Godwin*, p. 229); and J. A. K. Thomson noted: "The Zeus of Homer does not feel perfectly secure; he threatens too much. And there was a widespread popular fancy that some day a new order of things would come into being, with the return of Kronos or the advent of some divine child. Shelley's Demogorgon, in spite of his absurd name, is imaginatively right" ("Religious Background," p. 6).

Rossetti accepted Demogorgon's self-identification as Eternity ("Study," pp. 69-71)[14] or Eternal Law ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 154) and commented: "The Eternal Law is shown as effecting the downfall of Jupiter only after long cycles of time have rolled out; and that downfall, once operated by the law, is final and irreversible—it lasts eternally" (*ibid.*); and A. G. Van Kranendonk wrote: "What was uppermost in [Shelley's] mind was the fact, that the development of the divine instinct in man, the working out of evil, would take a considerable length of time. And this important factor in the liberation of mankind must be personified in the drama" ("Demogorgon," p. 60).

Of those who have seen Demogorgon as Reason, Vida Scudder called him "the critical and destructive thought of the eighteenth century," or (most usefully) the "Principle of Reason," not omniscient, but "the best instrument man possesses for the approach to absolute truth. . . . Shelley doubtless meant Demogorgon to represent that background of inscrutible mystery in existence which is at once the source and negation of all our knowledge" (Edition, p. xxxv). E. Schuré found him a personification of inner truth or eternal wisdom ("Poète panthéiste," p. 774), as did H. Van Dyke ("Knight Errant," p. 220); while to C. E. Pulos he was "the inconceivable ultimate reality of scepticism" (*Deep Truth*, p. 61).[15]

[14]As did Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 63); Ackermann (*Shelley*, p. 226); Locock; Bowra (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 109-10); and others (although G. B. Shaw did not think it "very satisfactory" [Comments, p. 122]). Revell preferred "the Time-spirit" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 426).

[15]Of miscellaneous interpretations may be noted that of Kurtz, who found in Demogorgon the "mystical persuasion . . . that mind and matter . . . are somehow one, without any erasure of the disparateness of individual things," and who quoted a French critic as describing the character as "the missing link between mind and matter" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 176); and of Wormhoudt who, with his psychiatric bent, saw in Demogorgon "the archetype of the pre-oedipal phallic mother and the negative oedipal father (insofar as he is to replace Jupiter) combined" (*Demon Lover*, p. 98), and who added: "He is called the child of Jupiter insofar as the positive oedipal relation, symbolized by Jupiter himself, precedes and gives birth to the negative oedipal relation" (p. 103). Less extreme have been the interpretations of those who have seen the character as "a spirit of rebellion" (Todhunter, *Study*, p. 137); "Revolution" in his aspect as the child of Jupiter and Thetis (Scudder, Edition, p. xxxv); "freedom, the atmosphere of all noble existence, and yet the inspirer of dread war and red revolution" (J. M.

Finally, there have been frequent objections to this character. As early as 1823 it was held that "the introduction of Demogorgon is neither classic nor sense . . . [and] the *shape* of Eternity is absurd" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). Later in the century S. A. Brooke wrote that when Shelley was "forced, as it were, to realise a central cause, he creates Demogorgon, the dullest of all his impersonations . . . [which] has neither form nor outline in his mind. . . . The truth is, the indefinite was a beloved element of his life" ("Thoughts on Shelley," p. 127). R. H. Hutton found in the character only "abstract nothingness . . . or at best, let us say, Kant's pure idea of *à priori* Time seated in *à priori* Space, who overthrows the tyrant at last simply because the tyrant's day is done"; and he held that nothing could be "more imbecile than Demogorgon's function in the poem" ("Shelley," p. 183). Yeats, in turn, felt that "Demogorgon made his plot incoherent, its interpretation impossible, it was thrust there" by a compulsion to the "dark, destructive, indefinite" ("Prometheus," p. 366). And D. G. James noted that Demogorgon "ruins the play and saves it," the former because he has no place in a world of Greek mythological figures ("by him the Greek mythology which Shelley is employing is condemned and indeed broken"), and because he "undermines" the dramatic structure by dominating, in Act II, "a mystical heaven which has no place in drama." Yet he saves the play by solving the second act problem: "The first Act . . . shows the tragic situation in which Prometheus finds himself; the third Act would naturally show his release. But something must come between, and it could hardly consist of another version of Act I" (*Romantic Comedy*, pp. 129-31).

JUPITER

Interpretations of the character of Jupiter have fallen primarily into religious, political, and moral categories, with evil, expressed or implied, as the dominant quality in all three. Frequent overlapping has occurred

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Brown, *Study*, p. 20). Floyd Stovall considered him "both an abstraction and a personality; the personality is derived from the marriage of Jupiter and Thetis, and may be defined as revolution; the abstraction . . . is the eternal law which as cause and effect governs the operation of fate, time, occasion, chance, and change" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 242).

In view of the great variety evidenced in the foregoing interpretations, as well as in those to be found for others of Shelley's characters, Notopoulos' comment on Demogorgon is pertinent: "It is characteristic of Shelley to use symbols or abstractions in a half-revealing and half-concealing manner, even as these symbols and abstractions are often used in Aeschylean, Pindaric, and Platonic thought and in particular in myths of Plato. To expect precise identification in Shelley's symbols and abstractions is to disregard the fact that symbols often in the flux of his imagination become protean and plastic. The difficulty is further increased by the fact that Shelley takes traditional symbols and infuses them with a meaning all his own; this being the case, it is impossible to identify these symbols with a traditional conception of philosophy which no longer fits Shelley's new and re-creative conception of it" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 246).

between the categories, as in John Todhunter's description of him as "the evil principle . . . 'the Prince of this world,' the embodiment of tyranny, false religion, evil custom, 'the letter that killeth'—authority, orthodoxy, the petrified dogma which hinders the play of free thought, the obsolete or hypocritical code of morality which enslaves the soul"; and Todhunter added: "In this poem Shelley appears to have conceived of evil as arrest, abortion, retrogression, anachronism; the persistence of an obsolete something, a lifeless husk, a withering leaf upon the Tree of Life, which must disappear when the flowering time of Eternity is fully come" (*Study*, pp. 136-37). And J. W. Beach's view was even more complex a half century later. To Beach the character suggested "religious superstition," "ignorance and fear," "political and ecclesiastical tyranny," "a kind of Everlasting No," "the force of inertia in human affairs and the heart of man" (including that represented by the new humanist critics) ("Latter-Day Critics," p. 731). Beach also considered Jupiter "about as real as 'error' in Christian Science philosophy," but he was also "all that hampers the progress of civilization" ("Shelley's Naturalism," p. 241). Later, Beach developed his view more fully. He called Jupiter "the backward drag of selfish interest and tradition," and held that he was not "a god and a principle of evil quite outside human nature," a misapprehension that has stemmed from "a want of understanding of the requirements of allegory," and from "the critics' forgetting the fact that for Shelley the gods are . . . mythological personifications, and in any case creations of the human mind." Moreover, Jupiter was "in no sense to be identified with the supreme power of the universe, nor even with the Creator" (*Romantic View*, p. 114), but he was rather "the actual state of man in so far as it is evil" (p. 118). Beach felt that in the poem human nature was represented by three figures: (1) Prometheus, "the inventive and progressive powers of man"; (2) Jupiter, "the backward drag of selfish personal interest, tradition, and established authority"; and (3) Asia, the "type of love," the power that could break the deadlock between the other two (pp. 116-17).

More narrowly, in 1820 Jupiter was called "Religion in general, that is, every human system of religious belief" (*Blackwood's Magazine*. See Appendix D, item III); and this general view was to be echoed a century later by C. H. Herford, who wrote that "we may quarrel with the imperfect justice which sums up the whole Christian church of that day in the figure of an insolent tyrant; but we must not refuse to recognize that what Shelley deliberately sought to enthrone in its place was simply the spirit of Christ, from which the Christian Church had become, in his view, so completely estranged" ("Romanticism," p. 132).

Supplementing this general religious view, Jupiter was identified with "the united powers of superstition and tyranny" (*London-Inquisitor*, 1821. See Appendix D, item VIII); "Religious Custom or 'Prejudice' " (Locock, Edition, I, 596); or "the *status quo* thought of as sacred or divine" (A. R.

Benham, "Interpretation," p. 113). Leigh Hunt considered him "that False Idea of the great and beneficent First Cause, which men create out of their own follies and tyrannies" ("Letters." See Appendix D, item XII); for, as A. M. Gannett noted, Shelley believed that "many of the sufferings of men have sprung from their false notions of a God" through "*perverted* Christianity," which Jupiter represents ("Shelley's Morality," pp. 104-5). Rossetti suggested that, after Prometheus gave wisdom to Jupiter, he became the anthropomorphic God of the theologians and the tyrant of humanity, to exist only so long as the human mind tolerated his existence. Before Prometheus gave him wisdom he was probably Fortune, or the Vicissitude of the World: "Fortune, a power destitute of what we call moral attributes, became, when invested by the Human Mind with wisdom and dominion, an anthropomorphic Deity; and his operations, being in fact capricious and unregulated, turned, when interpreted into acts of unlimited power guided by wisdom, into tyranny and evil" ("Study," pp. 65-67). Hughes elaborated on this by describing Jupiter as "the personal God of the historical religions, who rules by ignorance and terror, and not by knowledge and love. . . . He is the prototype and support of earthly tyrants and the key-stone of man's misery. . . . And the evil which has tainted man's mind overflows into Nature, and appears in the forms of poison and dearth" (Edition, p. 172). Helene Richter held him to be the spirit of intolerance to which Shelley swore eternal enmity; or the pseudo-god, able to fetter only those who are not awakened to the full significance of his power (Edition, p. 130).[16] Carl Grabo reflected these points of view (*Interpretation*, pp. 103, 161, 189, 195) and added "the deification by mankind of self-will, the individual desire to dominate at the expense of others, which manifests itself socially as tyranny, and in religion as bigotry" (pp. 79-80). To G. W. Knight the figure was more subtle: he was "God the Father in so far as he is in conflict with the Son," thus "Satan,[17] or the Satanic attributes of the Father. . . . We must always remember that the First Person tends to include evil as well as good. . . . If we are to see evil in a single theological person, it must be in the Father, since

[16]Most of these qualities E. Sieper ascribed to the influence of Gnosticism ("especially in the treatment of Jupiter as the evil principle—for this, classical literature had no room"), which also "led Shelley to see in Prometheus the Regenerator," and to hold that "evil is not the equal of good, but only the negation of good" ("Gnostischer Einflusse," p. 328).

Others holding views of Jupiter similar to these were Slaughter: "orthodox Christianity with its train of evils" ("Shelley," p. 77); Strong: "all that is tyrannous and false in the conception of deity" (*Studies*, p. 47), as also Angeli (*Shelley and His Friends*, p. 61), Van Dyke ("Knight Errant," p. 220), Kurtz (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 163), and Barnard (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 33; Edition, p. 87); Fairchild: "all that threatens romantic desire, [and] this Urizenic symbol certainly includes the God of Christianity" (*Religious Trends*, p. 335).

[17]Earlier Delrieu ("Poètes modernes," p. 190) and Brailsford (*Shelley, Godwin*, p. 226) had suggested that Jupiter was the devil.

Satan is not personified in the Trinity" (*Christian Renaissance*, pp. 330-31).

A transition from religious to political interpretation is found in the view that Jupiter is the symbol of restrictive law. Thus H. Sweet wrote: "[Shelley's] conception of Jupiter . . . is quite new and original: he makes him the personification of all that hinders the free development of the human mind" ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," p. 298); and Vida Scudder (like Hughes) held him to be "institutions, civil and religious, which were once the true expression of the will of man, but which, as the centuries have passed, become effete forms, still powerful to bind, and with an innate tendency to repress progress. 'Thrones, altars, judgment-seats, and prisons' . . . unite in the idea of Jupiter" (Edition, p. xxxiv).[18] More narrowly political was the opinion of W. A. O'Conor, who found in Jupiter "the Cromwell, or Napoleon, of the skies" ("Prometheus," p. 43). Similarly, W. J. Alexander described him as "institutions or authority associated, as a result of the pre-revolutionary philosophy, with the principle of evil; the condition existing in Shelley's own day" (Edition, pp. 316-17); A. E. Hancock as "the kings and priests of Queen Mab" (*French Revolution*, p. 72); André Maurois as "a sort of Lord Castlereagh" (*Ariel*, p. 248); and K. N. Cameron as "the despotic state . . . specifically the rule of the Quadruple Alliance" ("Social Philosophy," p. 464), or "not just tyranny but the tyrannical rule of Metternich, Castlereagh, and their satellites, the tyranny of the Holy Alliance" ("Political Symbolism," p. 748).

Jupiter in his role as moral evil was introduced by Mrs. Shelley in her note to the poem, where she referred to him as "the Evil Principle" or "the usurping evil one." As we have seen, this characteristic has colored most of the other interpretations given above, but it has also been given principal considerations at times. P. E. More thought that "for a remote analogy to his personification of evil [Shelley may have gone] back to Homer's blind *atê*, which Zeus cast upon the minds of those who were doomed to sin" ("Shelley," p. 7). W. N. Guthrie elaborated on the theme of evil in holding that Jupiter was "not [originally] ill-disposed to man, we infer, or Prometheus had been grievously lacking in insight and foresight" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 176), but he represented that evil from which man needs salvation, whatever that evil may be. Guthrie would add to the views of Rossetti and Scudder the role of Jupiter as "the conception of morals which derive their authority from something alien to, maybe hostile to, the soul itself; that require unreasoning obedience, under threat of all sorts of possible and impossible penalties to be visited upon the obdurate." Violence, he felt, was the common trait in all such conceptions of Jupiter as government, anthropomorphic God, and moral codes: Jupiter was given

[18]A similar position was taken by Schuré ("Poète panthéiste," p. 769); Boglietti ("Prometeo," p. 52); Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 62); Woodberry (Cambridge Edition, p. 621); Ackermann (*Shelley*, pp. 224-27); G. H. Clarke (Edition, p. 239); Cousins (*Work Promethean*, p. 33); Bowra (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 107-8).

power because man needed something to give him confidence, but his power was turned to violence (pp. 186-89).[19] Floyd Stovall and E. B. Hungerford qualified the view slightly. To the former Jupiter became "the organic structure of society," or "a mere projection or personification of the Spirit of Evil, which, as we are informed in the *Revolt of Islam* [I.343-51], is immortal . . . but temporal in its human character" ("Shelley's Doctrine of Love," pp. 291-92). Hungerford, in his turn, held that Jupiter was "not evil in the universe itself, for the universe was not evil, but evil in the mind of Prometheus and of mankind in general" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 165), and that, rather than abstract evil, he represented "the smugness of false morality, the hypocrisy and spiritual deterioration of institutionalized religion, political tyranny—indeed, all evil established in the world" (p. 174). D. G. James, comparing Keats's *Hyperion*, noted that in both poems the sovereignty is "over a tragic world of evil and suffering . . . [but the] Godhead of *Hyperion* is that which acknowledges for its own the world in which Lear suffered and Cordelia was hanged, and is yet no less a principle of Beauty and Order; in *Prometheus* the deity of a world in which there are evil and suffering is itself evil" (*Romantic Comedy*, p. 128).

In addition to the foregoing prevalent views, two unusual interpretations should be noted: F. A. Lea reversed the usual Promethean identification by making Jupiter "the reasoning faculty in man" opposed to the imagination (Prometheus) (*Romantic Revolution*, pp. 113, 121); and R. W. Fogle offered a more subtle analysis (related to that of J. W. Beach with which this section opened): "One can think of him, in fact, as the masculine principle in Prometheus of courage and unlimited aspiration, but perverted and made evil from want of balance and control, which in Prometheus is supplied by Asia, the feminine principle of Love" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 26).

Objections to the handling of Jupiter have not been numerous. Julian Schmidt, however, felt that "the climax of religious uncertainty is . . . reached in 'Prometheus Unbound.' Antique and modern ideas are confused beyond recognition. Jupiter is almighty God. At the same time he is a thorogoing devil and merciless tyrant. Sometimes there is the suggestion of another, of a good God, perhaps Spinoza's 'Naturgott,' who is, however, unable to assert himself" (L. M. Price, *Julian Schmidt*, p. 35). J. Slater objected that the character was not the "merely heathen Jupiter," but for Shelley also the "Supreme God"; and so the pleasure of Act I was "greatly marred by almost constant shocks to our most sacred

[19]Bald also saw him as "a representative of Ultimate Power" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 114). Combinations of the foregoing identifications have been advanced by Warner ("Shelley," p. 305); O. Elton (*Shelley*, p. 36); Winstanley, with the addition of man's "lusts and concupiscence, his errors of mind and his sins of body" ("Platonism in Shelley," pp. 75, 88, 91); Gingerich (*Essays*, pp. 219-20); Moore, who saw him also as Shelley's father (*Study of Character*, pp. 28-29); Stovall (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 242); Bush (*Mythology*, p. 144); Grierson and Smith (*History*, p. 396).

religious feelings" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 384). And Rossetti argued that Jupiter's position was "ambiguous and hardly . . . tenable" because "as a *dramatis persona* he necessarily figures as wise, the sovereign of Heaven, and tyrannous to man," but he was not actually so, but only supposed so by the Mind in an initial stage of development, and he tyrannized only in and through the Mind of Man. This ambiguity, Rossetti noted, was not present in the Greek drama ("Study," p. 67).[20]

THE EARTH AND THE SPIRIT OF THE EARTH

These two characters may well be considered together because of their apparent ambiguity, which was considered a fault by Louis Cazamian (Edition, p. 34), and of which A. L. Keith wrote: "The conception of Earth as mother is of course a familiar one but when later in the same poem Shelley calls the Earth a brother I doubt if the ordinary reader accepts the change of gender so readily as the poet did" ("Imagery," pp. 61-62).

Mrs. Shelley, taking her cue from the poet's lines, simply stated in her note that "Maternal Earth, the mighty parent, is superseded by the Spirit of the Earth, the guide of our planet through the realms of sky" (see Appendix C). Forman, however, attempted to reconcile the confusion in the characters. He noted that the term Earth was made to do double duty, that Earth to the end of Act III was the Hellenic Gaia, clearly distinguished from the "more truly Shelleyan" Spirit of the Earth, and that in Act IV Earth became the masculine brother to the feminine Moon. Forman believed that in the time-lapse between writing Act III and Act IV Shelley used the Earth and the Moon in Act IV as a "kind of mental short-hand for The Spirit of the Earth and The Spirit of the Moon," and that the latter appellations should be read throughout the passage (IV.319-528). As to the change of sex, he raised, but discounted, the possibility that in Act IV the speaker was intended to be the literal planet, citing as evidence against this the reference to it as "The Spirit of the Earth" at IV.265, the emphasis on its youth in Act III (where it was a masculine child) as compared with its apparant maturity in Act IV, Mrs. Shelley's insertion of "The Spirit of the Moon" into the dramatis personae, and a comparison of the tale of "hollow mountains, crags, desarts, oceans, abysses, &c" (IV.332 ff.) with that of Earth the Mother (I.152 ff.), "where it is clearly not the planet, but a personal emanation who speaks" (Edition, p. 264).

Rossetti's approach to the problem was slightly different. He considered the Spirit of the Earth still to be a child after the reunion of Prometheus and Asia: "Perhaps we should see in this Spirit an emblem of the childhood of the world in its golden prime before Prometheus had been chained; a child now resuming his career of development, and preparing for his larger and unbounded destinies. [Or he may be] the perpetual rejuvenescence of

[20]For comparisons of Jupiter with the same character in other writers, see Introduction, pp. 57-79.

the earth, renewed from day to day, from season to season, from year to year, and from æon to æon—never wearied, never ageing, a perpetual child among the stars of the firmament"; and Rossetti thought also that Mrs. Shelley showed in her note that Shelley in Act IV intended to give a "new and diverse symbol" of Earth ("Study," p. 57). G. L. Dickinson agreed: "The Earth is introduced by the poet under two distinct impersonations; the one is the ancient goddess of the Greeks; the other . . . one of Shelley's own characteristic creations . . . and it is this spirit [first presented in III.iv] that appears in the fourth act" (Edition, pp. viii-ix). Woodberry found "the original germ" of the character in " 'Twas at the season when the Earth upsprings / From slumber, as a spherèd angel's child, / Shadowing its eyes with green and golden wings, / Stands up before its mother bright and mild" (*Prince Athanase* 240-43), with "some indebtedness" to Coleridge's "Then, his eye wild ardours glancing, / From the choirèd gods advancing, / The Spirit of the Earth made reverence meet, / And stood up, beautiful, before the cloudy seat [*Ode to the Departing Year* iv]" (Cambridge Edition, pp. 625, 642). Later, E. B. Hungerford offered an attractive interpretation, suggesting that the Spirit of the Earth was introduced by Shelley as "a figure as opposite as possible to the Eumenides" for whom there was no longer any need: "The Eumenides were the children of Earth. This new child is likewise a child of Earth, the Spirit of Earth, and his appearance . . . marks the alteration in the order of things" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 203-4. See also note at III.iv.6-7).

As to separate identifications, W. N. Guthrie related Earth to Themis in her role of Earth rather than as law (*Poet Prophets*, p. 175), while A. Wormhoudt found in her a psychiatric meaning as an ambiguous representation of "the bad-mother image" (*Demon Lover*, p. 92). The Spirit of the Earth has been variously described as "a young Prometheus, like Goethe's Euphorion. . . . We may guess that Prometheus and Asia are probably his parents" (Todhunter, *Study*, p. 175); "masculine energy" (H. Salt, *Shelley Primer*, p. 64); and "atmospheric electricity" (C. Grabo, *Interpretation*, p. 117). For further distinctions see note at III.iii.148.

MERCURY

The writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* felt that Mercury was "made rather sentimental; he is not the messenger of upstart Jove: he speaks more as Vulcan is made to speak by Æschylus, as a power that could feel for the sufferings he was obliged to inflict" (1848 [1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). This view was also taken by Woodberry (Cambridge Edition, p. 622), and by Olwen Campbell, who included Oceanus also as contributing to the characterization (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 198). J. Todhunter first identified Mercury as "the Spirit of Compromise" (*Study*, p. 144), and in this was followed by Henry Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 63) and by J. M. Brown (*Study*, p. 60). Armin Kroder thought that the change in

Mercury from the Aeschylean character was possibly due to Lucian's twenty-first dialogue of the gods, where Mercury appeared as the temporizer and go-between as Ares ridiculed the threat of Zeus ("Shelleyana," p. 138). To K. N. Cameron's suggestion that he symbolized "those who carry out the will of the aristocratic class and despise themselves for so doing" ("Political Symbolism," p.732), Carlos Baker objected, feeling that Mercury would then also be tortured by the Furies (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 284); and Baker offered his own interpretation of the character as "half-enslaved and indecisive intellect disconsolately unleashing further tortures within the mind" (p. 114).

ASIA, PANTHEA, IONE: SOURCES

The close association of the Oceanides, both as sisters in the story and as related symbols, dictates their consideration as a group here.

Various suggestions have been offered as to Shelley's sources for the characters. For Asia, A. Delrieu suggested the personification of the continent regarded as the source of the human race ("Poètes modernes," p. 194), "the home of all the beauty and fire of civilisation" (J. M. Brown, *Study*, pp. 19-20). Richard Ackermann suggested either the *Theogony* of Hesiod (line 359), where she is named as the daughter of Tethys, or Herodotus, where she is mentioned as the wife of Prometheus ("Studien," p. 33. See also Appendix E). Woodberry found her to be essentially the Aphrodite of Lucretius humanized by Shelley (Cambridge Edition, p. 621); while A. M. D. Hughes believed that the poet "caught the motive for the Asia of his play from Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound* 555-560) in the contrast drawn by the Chorus between their present grief and the meaning of their joy as they sang their hymeneal song when the Titan led home their sister Hesione" (Edition, p. 191).

G. L. Dickinson noted that "Asia is represented by the Ancients sometimes as the mother, sometimes (as here) as the wife of Prometheus; she is also identified with Venus, and thus with the productive spirit of nature," as Shelley conceived her (Edition, p. viii). To this concept Carl Grabo brought Erasmus Darwin's interpretation of Venus as the "personification of life rising from the sea," and suggested that Asia was "no other than this earthly Venus [with] Platonic implications" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 46). The Platonic implications were made paramount by J. A. Notopoulos, who held that in Asia Shelley was plastically shaping the "basic doctrine of Platonism to suit his moods and the needs of his imagination," and that the choice of a woman to represent his equation of Intellectual Beauty and Love showed that "the Platonism of the *Symposium* is refracted in this poem through Shelley's own poetic nature . . . and through the Platonic tradition, where it finds expression in Dante, in Spenser, and in Wieland, all of whom influenced Shelley" (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 238-39). To G. W. Knight, the very name was important,

because "India is magnetic to Shelley" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 210). But the most satisfactory general evaluation has probably been that of E. B. Hungerford, who noted the classical references to Asia as one of the Oceanides and the wife of Prometheus, and the use of the Oceanides as a friendly Chorus in Aeschylus: "To make Asia both an Oceanid and the wife of Prometheus would thus tie the play still closer to the Aeschylean drama, and yet give Prometheus a wife without departing from classical authority." Also, he noted, as the continent Asia represented the cradle of civilization, so the character could represent the pristine culture, associated with Prometheus, which had prevailed before evil contaminated it. Her exile to India, Hungerford believed, probably recalled Jean S. Bailly's idea that, after the fall of the Atlanteans, or Titans, some vestiges of their culture survived in Asia. Hungerford doubted, however, whether anyone other than Shelley had interpreted the mythological figure as Venus and Nature, "but it is clear that he so interpreted her for the purpose of the drama" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 180-81).

Fewer efforts have been made to trace the sources of Panthea and Ione. For the former, A. Delrieu stated simply that the name explained the character ("Poètes modernes," p. 194). Todhunter stated that Ione's name was "connected with that of the violet, Shelley's flower of hope" (*Study*, p. 138); and R. Ackermann gave Hesiod's *Eïone* (*Theogony* 255) for Ione and Lucian's *Essays in Portraiture* for Panthea ("Studien," p. 33). But Armin Kroder treated the subject more fully. He argued that Shelley was naïve in giving names, that it did not occur to him to coin them, so he picked them up from his readings with slight variations on the sources. He felt that Hesiod was a dubious source for Ione, and that it was more likely an anagram of *Hesione* in Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound* 559), or was developed from Io in the same play or even from the *Ion* of Plato, which Shelley was translating. Possibly, too, Ianthe (a favorite name with Shelley) may have influenced him. Panthea, Kroder thought, might have derived from Spenser's "That hearbe of some, Starlight is cald by name, / Of others *Penthia*" (*Astrophel* 194), but he admitted that this was not likely in view of Shelley's pronunciation of the word. More likely, he thought, would be the several references to Panthea, the loyal wife of Abradates and the model of every female virtue, in Xenephon's *Cyropaedia* (sections 4-6); or the Lucian essays noted above, which were dedicated to Panthea the beloved of Verus; or even, as Dowden suggested, Pandeia, the Indian daughter of Hercules ("Shelleyana," pp. 143-45). With the latter A. Wormhoudt agreed, and cited Shelley's translation of Homer's *Hymn to the Moon* (lines 20-23): "The Son of Saturn with this glorious Power / Mingled in love and sleep—to whom she bore / Pandeia, a bright maid of beauty rare, / Among the Gods, whose lives eternal are" (*Demon Lover*, p. 92). To Hungerford the two sisters were "personages in the drama, but, as Oceanids, they are also bodies of water. Ione is the Ionian sea. Panthea

is a combination of the bodies of water which lie at the foot of the Caucasus and extend to India" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 182).

More recently, Earl Wasserman has suggested that inasmuch as Asia is in "one of her symbolic meanings . . . the creative Venus, the generative spirit in Nature . . . it is appropriate that one of her reflections be the *panthea*, the goddess partaking of the qualities of all the other deities (who, in turn, are the personified spirits of Nature's component parts)." As a possible source for Ione, Wasserman cited the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus, whose "list of Oceanides begins with Asia (I.2). Immediately thereafter Apollodorus catalogues the Nereides, who are also water-nymphs, but belong to the seas instead of the oceans. Among these sea-nymphs appear both a Pione and an Ione. In his 1782 edition of Apollodorus, Christian Gottlob Heyne [suggested a connection between Ione and Hesione]. Ione, therefore, is an appropriate sister to Asia on two grounds. Being a sea-nymph, she is similar to, but slightly lesser than, the ocean-nymph Asia. And because of Heyne's implication of an etymological connection between 'Ione' and 'Hesione,' the name of the Oceanid whom Aeschylus makes the bride of Prometheus, Ione is a form of Asia, the Oceanid whom Shelley chose to name as Prometheus' wife. Indeed, she is something of a second wife to Prometheus" ("Myth-Making," pp. 182-83).

ASIA

Interpretations of the three characters have been fairly consistent. Asia has been most widely considered to be Love, Nature, or Beauty, either singly or in combination, with Todhunter's the fullest statement as he described her as "the spirit of divine beauty and love—at once the exciter and reciprocator of all pure passion . . . the life of life; the ideal which we passionately seek, and which seeks us with equal ardour . . . the supreme something beyond, after which the creative imagination of the Creator perpetually aspires" (*Study*, 139); and "that goddess revealed through Nature, who is archetypal Nature—the spirit of the Cosmos, or Eternal Beauty" ("Notes on 'Triumph,' " p. 77).

Slight qualifications of Asia as Love have been found in Mrs. Shelley's "Venus" (see Appendix C); Rossetti's Emotional or Loving elements in the human soul ("Study," pp. 63-65); W. N. Guthrie's "not Love so much as the Lovable, that which kindles Love" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 162); Carl Grabo's "passionate creative love" (*Interpretation*, p. 52); K. N. Cameron's Love "personal and humanitarian," or "generous comradship and brotherhood" (Edition, p. 524); and C. Baker's Love as "a harmonizing power," or the highest degree of "love and perceptiveness within the human mind" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, pp. 114, 103).[21]

[21]Baker also raised the question as to whether Shelley considered his poem "imperfect" (see Introduction, p. 8) because he "did not combine Love (Asia) and Eternity (Demogorgon)" as he later came to do in *Adonais* lii ("The One remains," etc.) (p. 252).

Qualifications of Asia as Nature have been given in G. L. Dickinson's "the productive spirit of nature" (Edition, p. vii), and W. N. Guthrie's Nature "in her potential beauty" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 162). Asia as Beauty was most effectively treated in J. A. Symonds' "the Idea of Beauty incarnate, the shadow of the Light of Life which sustains the world and enkindles it with love, the reality of Alastor's vision, the breathing image of the awful loveliness apostrophized in the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, the reflex of the splendour of which Adonais was a part" (*Shelley*, pp. 122-23).

Miscellaneous interpretations of Asia (usually in association with one or more of the foregoing) have seen her as Body (Rossetti, "Study," p. 63); Life (L. Steichen, "Study," p. 47), or the Soul of the World (Hughes, Edition, p. 173); the eternal feminine and Prometheus' alterego, his better self which won his freedom (H. Richter, *Shelley*, pp. 417-18), or "the inner and receptive aspect of one entity whose outer and executive aspect is Prometheus," and "the embodiment of wisdom, beauty and love, the unified highest degrees of the triple endowment of humanity, mental, æsthetical and active" (J. Cousins, *Work Promethean*, pp. 30-31), or the epipsyche to Prometheus' psyche (C. Baker, *Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 109), or "the ally of evolving man" (D. Bush, *Mythology*, p. 144); the Holy Spirit "when there is perfect harmony" (i.e., after Jupiter's fall, before which Demogorgon was the Holy Spirit) (G. W. Knight, *Christian Renaissance*, p. 332); "the good pre-oedipal mother-wife image" (A. Wormhoudt, *Demon Lover*, p. 97).

Finally, it should be noted that Asia has not been universally acclaimed. As early as 1823 it was argued that "all the beautiful poetry, and lovely imagery, and exquisite versification, cannot make personified Asia bearable," for the "lover-like stuff" is a "disgusting travestie" of the attendant nymphs in Aeschylus (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). At mid-century Julian Schmidt felt that she was "at first . . . a real individual," then "a personification of the continent of Asia, and finally . . . perhaps the eternal feminine or something else" (S. Liptzin, *Shelley in Germany*, p. 65). J. A. Symonds found "something vague and hollow" in her character (*Shelley*, p. 124); while J. C. Shairp went farther: "There is nothing in the reality of things answering to Asia.

Mrs. Shelley's identification of Asia as Love and Nature was followed by Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 62); Woodberry (Cambridge Edition, p. 621); Maurer (*Shelley und die Frauen*, pp. 131-35); Ackermann (*Shelley*, p. 224); Van Dyke ("Knight Errant," p. 220); Beach ("Shelley's Naturalism," p. 213; *Romantic View*, p. 116). Others holding Asia to be (1) basically Love: Clive (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 433); Locock (Edition, I, 596); Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 95); Gingerich (*Essays*, p. 222); Koszul ("Oceanides et l'amour," p. 386); Yeats ("Prometheus," p. 366); A. Sen (*Studies*, p. 203); Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 738); (2) basically Nature: Rossetti ("Study," pp. 63-65); G. B. Smith (*Shelley*, p. 202); Barnard (Edition, p. 86); G. H. Clarke (Edition, p. 239); Stovall (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 242); (3) Love and Beauty combined: J. M. Brown (*Study*, pp. 19, 64); Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 248).

She is not human, she is not divine. There is nothing moral in her—no will, no power to subdue evil; only an exquisite essence, a melting loveliness" ("Lyric Poet," p. 211); and J. Slater wrote: "She has no size, no shape, no will, no virtue, no aims; she has but soft, ardent longings, and is herself the object of them in others" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 187). H. Druskowitz objected that she was sometimes a goddess, sometimes a mortal (*Shelley*, p. 277); R. H. Hutton dismissed her as "a rich overpowering perfume rather than a power" (" Shelley," p. 183); and E. B. Hungerford felt that her identification with Love was "perplexing and forced in so far as the myth is concerned" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 191).

PANTHEA

Although Floyd Stovall felt that it was "impossible to ascribe to [her] any definite character" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 242), many writers[22] have accepted John Todhunter's identification of Panthea as Faith (*Study*, p. 138). Todhunter added that she was "the perpetual messenger of love between Prometheus and his divine consort, as Faith is between the genius of man and its ideal" (p. 151). Woodberry objected to Faith as too precise, but in effect echoed Todhunter's description (Cambridge Edition, p. 623), as did Helen Clarke in calling her "a nymph of telepathy" ("Prometheus Myth," p. 100). But J. Kooistra suggested that if she was Faith the word should be interpreted as " 'man's faith in his own perfectibility,' which, in connection with Shelley's social and political opinions, implies: faith in the new democracy" ("*Prometheus*," p. 217).

To Faith was added Intuition or Insight (V. Scudder, Edition, pp. xxxi, 147);[23] or Confidence (H. Richter, p. 418); or that which "acts for Asia as the higher mind of man acts for the intuition, as the coordinating and generalizing agent between it and the out-turned aspect of the mind, personified in Ione" (J. A. Cousins, *Work Promethean*, p. 31).

Rossetti (and, following him, R. Ackermann [*Shelley*, p. 226]) considered that Panthea's relationship to Asia would make her the "shadow of Nature," and Rossetti described her as "a sweet amiable being, who plays to Asia something of the same part proportionately as Celia to Rosalind in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*." He felt also that her name, meaning "All-the-gods" or "Deity-in-all," must have been given with intent by Shelley: "If Panthea is both the sister and the 'shadow' of Nature, we may perhaps understand that Shelley . . . intended to imply that the deities of the ancient world, the deities of poetry or of the poetic imagination, are personifications or 'shadows' of the powers or realities of Nature" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 152). Stopford Brooke considered her "the whole of

[22]Among them: Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 63); J. M. Brown (*Study*, pp. 54, 65); G. H. Clarke (Edition, p. 243); Alexander (Edition, p. 318).

[23]As also Hughes (Edition, p. 177); Guthrie (*Poet Prophets*, p. 338); Prescott (*Poetic Mind*, p. 207).

the phenomenal universe" (Edition, p. 328). To A. H. Koszul she represented mature earthly love ("Océanides et l'amour," pp. 387-88); to Carl Grabo, sympathetic love (*Interpretation*, p. 54); to K. N. Cameron, despite the usual ascription to Ione, Panthea was Hope ("Political Symbolism," p. 740); to Carlos Baker she was next to the highest degree of "love and perceptiveness within the human mind" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 103); and to A. Wormhoudt's psychiatric eye she appeared (with her sisters) as a "good-mother" image, "the favorable side of [Shelley's] ambivalent concept of the mother" (*Demon Lover*, p. 92).

IONE

Todhunter was also responsible for the usual interpretation of Ione as Hope (*Study*, 138),[24] although J. Kooistra objected that the interpretation was based on "very slender internal evidence," with only II.i.95-96 suggesting Hope ("*Prometheus*," p. 217); and Floyd Stovall felt that no "definite character" could be ascribed to her (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 242).

To other readers Ione has seemed more adequately identified with Perception (W. N. Guthrie, *Poet Prophets*, p. 337; F. C. Prescott, *Poetic Mind*, p. 207); "the out-turned aspect of the mind" (J. A. Cousins, *Work Promethean*, p. 31); youthful passion (A. H. Koszul, "Océanides et l'amour," pp. 387-88); the Spirit of Love in Beauty (C. Grabo, *Interpretation*, p. 57); Memory (K. N. Cameron, "Political Symbolism," p. 740); the lowest of the three "degrees of love and perceptiveness within the human mind" (C. Baker, *Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 103); or one of the "good-mother images" (A. Wormhoudt, *Demon Lover*, p. 92).

In addition to the more detailed interpretations of the Oceanides given above, there have been a few general statements that should be included here. Todhunter, for example, in calling them Faith, Hope, and Love, suggested that the sisters "typify the spiritual forces of the universe, which are also cardinal virtues of the human mind," and he pointed out that Shelley, "like the Christian mystics, looked upon the external world as intimately connected with, and even dependent upon, the soul of man; all creation groaning and travailing in harmony with the agony of humanity" (*Study*, p. 138).

W. N. Guthrie developed his identification of Ione and Panthea by writing that the former was not Hope but "the Perception of Beauty (and therefore of ugliness) in the sense world, and in our inner mental reproduction of it. The *meaning* of what she sees she has to get of Panthea," but she is "always the first to see and enjoy the outer appearance." Similarly, Guthrie held, Panthea was not Faith, but Divination, and she was "always

[24]Followed by Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 63); Scudder (Edition, p. 147); J. M. Brown (*Study*, p. 54); G. H. Clarke (Edition, p. 147); Alexander (Edition, p. 318); Richter (*Shelley*, p. 418); Hughes (Edition, p. 177).

'insight' into the 'sight' which is Ione. . . . She is a living sympathy between the Soul of Man, fallen, and the Soul of Nature, solitary and obscured" (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 337-38). With Ione as the seeing one and Panthea as the knowing one F. C. Prescott agreed, adding: "They may be regarded therefore as representing these two sides of Shelley's mind; in fact . . . of the mind in general," and thus they were "internally . . . derived," but also, as "emanations from the mind of Asia," they were "externally derived" (*Poetic Mind*, p. 207). And J. A. Cousins varied this view only slightly in describing Panthea as the "all seeing" one "who acts for Asia as the higher mind of man acts for the intuition, as the coordinating and generalizing agent between it and the out-turned aspect of the mind, personified in Ione" (*Work Promethean*, p. 31). Louis Cazamian noted the possibility of Religion, Science, and Intuition as identifications, presumably for Panthea, Ione, and Asia, in that order (Edition, p. 20). Douglas Bush, however, brought the discussion down to earth by pointing out that we have "a wife and two sisters-in-law, a typical Shelleyan household . . . [and] whenever the seraglio of feminine abstractions appear, they dissolve what elements of hardness belong to the fable and to Prometheus himself" (*Mythology*, p. 146).

Finally, of those who have objected to the prevailing identification, J. Kooistra raised the question why, if Panthea and Ione are faith and hope, they need to stay with Prometheus after the overthrow of tyranny, since all evil is extinguished and there would be nothing left to hope for or have faith in ("*Prometheus*," p. 217). E. Barnard found little need for the elaborate symbolic meanings attached to Panthea and Ione, pointing out that they participate in the sensitivity and tenderness of Asia and serve as Chorus, voicing some of Shelley's most enchanting descriptions, and that no further justification is really needed (Edition, pp. 104-5).

Perhaps the most attractive alternative interpretation of the Oceanides, and the one based on the most penetrating analysis, has been that of A. H. Koszul. He admitted the defensibility of Todhunter's position (and compared the last sentence of Shelley's Preface: "Until the mind can *love*, and admire, and *trust*, and *hope*") but felt that it was not entirely satisfactory, and that it offered many problems (e.g., the irony of admitting Christian virtues to the reconstruction of a pagan story; the etymology of Panthea's and Ione's names; the many parts other than faith played by Panthea [as at I.822-23; II.i.30-31, 70, 110, 113, 120; II.v.38-39]; their nonappearance as faith and hope in Acts III and IV). Koszul then suggested what he believed to be a more modest but more intelligible identification in line with Shelley's consistent tendency to autobiographical writing. He felt that it was clear that Prometheus loved the three sisters and that they loved him. Ione, then, more clearly and precisely than Hope, would be the youthful love which awakens to a life of passion (see II.i.95-99), a type of love desirable to Prometheus as to Shelley, a love vague, maidenly, demure.

Panthea, less timid, more informed, more mature, who had been loved by Prometheus less for herself than as a reflection of ideal Love (the only type of love possible to the hero while Asia was so long exiled [see II.i.68-75]), would then represent mature earthly love. Asia would remain as ideal Love. Thus, Koszul concluded, the poem was interwoven with the theme of love in the different aspects suggested by the Oceanides ("Océanides et l'amour," pp. 385-88).

HERCULES

Hercules has been characterized as "Strength," probably following Shelley's own identification in the poem (Mrs. Shelley's Note); as "the might of the people" (J. M. Brown, *Study*, p. 66); as "Necessity" (S. C. Newsom, Edition, p. xxxi); as "force, which may be the accompaniment but not the cause of the triumph of good over evil" (F. Stovall, *Desire and Restraint*, p. 244); and as strength of mind (C. Baker, *Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 114).

FURIES

Medwin recorded that he argued with Shelley against introducing the Furies. He held that their attributes were different from those needed, inasmuch as Jove knew Prometheus was beyond their power, for his conscience was at rest and he had nothing to unsay or wish undone. Medwin felt that Bia and Cratos of the *Prometheus Bound* would have been more suitable, but he recognized that Shelley might have come off badly had he (after Aeschylus' lines) made them speak (*Shelley*, pp. 213-14).

Henry Salt interpreted the Furies as "demons of doubt and remorse" (*Shelley Primer*, p. 63); and Alexander as "the various causes of pain and suffering among men" (Edition, p. 322). Woodberry found them to be "in character, description, and language, Shelley's creation" (Cambridge Edition, p. 622). Hughes noted that "here, as always, spiritualizing the Greek myths, Shelley makes these ministers of vengeance wound the mind and not the body" (Edition, p. 177); and Olwen Campbell felt that they were "direct descendents of the Furies of the Eumenides, but completely evil, and more subtly and demoniacally cruel," and she noted Shelley's early interest in the *Eumenides*, which he had quoted in 1810 at the head of Canto IV of *The Wandering Jew* (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 210). R. H. Fogle, too, believed that "the Furies who hounded Orestes are their obvious parents, and are employed in precisely the same fashion" (*Imagery*, p. 225). Benjamin Kurtz felt that they externalized "the very mental disturbances of which the Titanic idealist is aware in his own mind" (Introduction, p. xliii), as did Carl Grabo, who called them "creations of thought and passion" (*Interpretation*, p. 32). But O. W. Firkins would qualify this by making them "not embodiments of passions, such as Hate, Wrath, Pride, and Jealousy with which literature has . . . familiarized us,

but the incarnations of experiences, of particular moments or sensations in the growth or activity of passion. This accounts for their number and their marked individuality" (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 41). And K. N. Cameron, contending that they signified more than the Furies of the *Eumenides*, particularized them in their political-historical significance as "the tormenting thought-images of the aftermath of war and dictatorship of the French Revolution," as well as "those forces by means of which the governing aristocracy, the powers of the Quadruple Alliance . . . kept itself in power; its vast armies . . . its crooked judges, lawyers, and money-lenders . . . its bond-holding parasites" ("Political Symbolism," p. 730, 732). But Cameron also accepted them as "tormenting thoughts of all kinds" (p. 732), which last, Carlos Baker commented, "is precisely what they do represent," Cameron's other elements being the result of over-particularizing (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 284).

THETIS

Although Thetis is assigned no lines, and does not appear in the Dramatis Personae, she has not been overlooked by the interpreters. Todhunter noted that she was, like Asia, a "child of Ocean [but] her false counterpart . . . a type of the false ideal, the sham love and reverence which tyrants exact from their slaves, the superstitious worship of a god who is feared not loved, the adulation which rises like incense round the throne of kings of the Louis Quatorze species, the martial glory of conquerors like Napoleon. She *is* glory—the tinsel happiness of the vain and selfish, which the vulgar envy" (*Study*, pp. 169-70). Vida Scudder called her "overweening arrogance; overweening display" (Edition, pp. xxxiv-xxxv); A. M. D. Hughes, noting that she is called "bright image of Eternity," interpreted the meaning to be that "the modes of unblessed power—superstitions and tyrannies—strive to marry themselves to what is permanent and irresistible, and by this aspiration beget without knowing it the forces which supersede them" (Edition, pp. 176-77); K. N. Cameron stressed her political significance as "the false hopes of the despots for the perpetuation of their rule" ("Political Symbolism," p. 748); and Carlos Baker found in her "some sort of whoredom, probably a personification of lust" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 114).

OTHER CHARACTERS

Identifications of other characters have been so few, or of such nature, that they have seemed better incorporated into the Critical Notes of the present edition, at the point where application will be most meaningful.

ACT I

The first act has been described by Ruth Bailey as "concerned with what is, not with what might be" (*Shelley*, p. 93). W. J. Alexander considered its theme to be patient endurance (Edition, p. 319), and F. A. Lea held that it was, "as a work of intellectual imagination," one of the finest in English poetry (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 125).

This act has been recognized generally as the most classical of the four, both in subject matter and in language (Locock, Edition, I, 596), and Todhunter compared the opening passages to the opening movement of a great symphony, freeing it of time and space (*Study*, p. 143). Sidney Lanier felt that it contained "nearly the substance of the whole drama," with little added in the remaining acts except wordiness ("English Novel," pp. 90-91). Rossetti, however, offered the most penetrating general statement:

> It is in a high degree majestic; and I think that Shelley justifies in it the dictum in his preface, "Didactic poetry is my abhorrence." The Act contains the great ethical nucleus of the poem—the conversion of Prometheus, the Human Mind, from an attitude of vengeance and denunciation to an attitude of pardon and pity—the casting-out of retaliation: and yet it puts this so simply—so much as if this were but one phase of emotional incident among a multitude of others—it enlarges or "preaches" so little over this moral change of front, that I think the importance of the fact itself, as the prime spiritual factor in the unbinding of Prometheus, has not yet secured the full attention of critics or readers ["Prometheus as Poem," p. 150].

For the scenery of the act Dowden compared:

> [*Shelley*, II, 189] [From Les Echelles to Chambéry the] rocks, which cannot be less than a thousand feet in perpendicular height, sometimes overhang the road on each side, and almost shut out the sky. The scene is like that described in the Prometheus of Aeschylus. Vast rifts and caverns in the granite precipices, wintry mountains with ice and snow above; the loud sounds of unseen waters within the caverns, and walls of toppling rocks, only to be scaled, as he described, by the winged chariot of the ocean nymphs" [Journal for March 26, 1818. Julian, IX, 293].

In comparing Act I to Aeschylus, an early reviewer wrote that in the first two hundred lines "one might almost fancy that we had recovered some of the lost sublimities of Aeschylus" (*Blackwoods Magazine*, 1820. See Appendix D, item III). With reference to Prometheus of Act I, A. M. D. Hughes wrote: "Shelley's hero, fulfilled with the *anima Christiana*, has put his sinful angers away, and with the subtler needs of a modern man leans upon Asia for happiness and help. But he has all the august fortitude, the colossal soul and will of his prototype" (Edition, p. 181). The fullest comparison with Aeschylus, however, was that of Vida Scudder, who pointed out that this act offered most of the direct parallels in the drama, with the scene much the same in both: vast heights, remoteness, desolation, earthquake, the vulture, wind, whirlwind—with many passages almost

transcriptions of the Greek, but with Shelley's constant references to snow (not found in Aeschylus) and his emphasis on color probably the result of the influence of Swiss scenery on the modern poet. Scudder noted a difference, however, in the attitudes toward nature, with a fullness of detail and spirituality of conception in Shelley, and a more "external" emphasis in Aeschylus. As to details, she listed the similarities in the opening invocations; the curse of the Phantasm (no one passage in Aeschylus, but several in which the mood was the same); the colloquy between Mercury (Hermes) and Prometheus (similar in motivation and in sharpness of repartee, but with Mercury well disposed toward the Titan and closer, in this respect, to Aeschylus' Oceanus or Hephaestus); and the reference to the coming years of pain which must end with the end of Jupiter's tyranny. The Furies scene, Scudder held, paralleled the *Choephorae* and *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, rather than the *Prometheus Bound.* In both writers the Furies are "sable-stoled daughters of Night; they rise from Hell in evil throngs, their locks are snaky, they track their victim like hounds, they feel fierce joy in the pursuit," and Apollo protecting the victim in Aeschylus is similar to Mercury in Shelley. Also, the shift from the Chorus of Furies to the Chorus of healing spirits Scudder found paralleled in the *Eumenides.* But the gross physical furies of Aeschylus gave way to the shadowy forms of spiritual evil in Shelley. The sea nymphs winging upward in Aeschylus reminded Scudder of Shelley's Furies, and in the moaning quality of Prometheus' "Ah me! alas, pain, pain ever, for ever" (line 23), as well as in the earth choruses, she found echoes of the Greek dramatist (Edition, pp. 127-43).

Miss Scudder also traced the lyrical effectiveness of this act. She noted that blank verse marked the transitional passages or those of repressed feeling, whereas the climaxes of passion rushed into lyrical form. Thus, after Prometheus calls for the curse, the voices (I.74-106) "respond, and deny, in long lyrical lines," and, though their words are of carnage, relief is offered by the movement of the verse. The next lyrics (I.222-39), where Panthea and Ione hail the approach of the Phantasm of Jupiter, offer "the first passage in the drama of pure and painless beauty." Then the curse (I.262-301) "is lyrical, but even, slow, serene in movement." After this, "exquisite lines" (I.314-37) herald the coming of Mercury, with the next lyrical passage (I.495-577) that of the Furies, whose "horror is rendered endurable, and competent to purge us by pity and terror, largely through the marvellous beauty of the music through which it breathes." But, Scudder noted, the "climax of the revelation of sorrow" is in blank verse, as is Prometheus' supreme cry of anguish. Then the tension relaxes, and the spirits of the human mind sing (I.672-800) with "a serene and tender beauty" (pp. liii-lv).

G. W. Knight, admitting that "Aeschylus is, of course, *behind* the drama," argued for Byron as a primary influence (see Introduction,

pp. 78-79), and held that "the noble opening . . . was a transcription" of the following stanzas:

> And thou, who never yet of human wrong
> Left the unbalanced scale, great Nemesis!
> Here, where the ancient paid thee homage long—
> Thou who didst call the Furies from the abyss,
> And round Orestes bade them howl and hiss
> For that unnatural retribution—just,
> Had it but been from hands less near—in this
> Thy former realm, I call thee from the dust!
> Dost thou not hear my heart?—Awake! thou shalt, and must.
>
> It is not that I may not have incurr'd
> For my ancestral faults or mine the wound
> I bleed withal, and, had it been conferr'd
> With a just weapon, it had flow'd unbound;
> But now my blood shall not sink in the ground;
> To thee I do devote it—*thou* shalt take
> The vengeance, which shall yet be sought and found,
> Which if *I* have not taken for the sake—
> But let that pass—I sleep, but thou shalt yet awake.
>
> And if my voice break forth, 't is not that now
> I shrink from what is suffer'd: let him speak
> Who hath beheld decline upon my brow,
> Or seen my mind's convulsion leave it weak;
> But in this page a record will I seek.
> Not in the air shall these my words disperse,
> Though I be ashes; a far hour shall wreak
> The deep prophetic fulness of this verse,
> And pile on human heads the mountain of my curse!
>
> That curse shall be Forgiveness.—Have I not—
> Hear me, my mother Earth! behold it, Heaven!
> Have I not had to wrestle with my lot?
> Have I not suffer'd things to be forgiven?
> Have I not had my brain sear'd, my heart riven,
> Hopes sapp'd, name blighted, Life's life lied away?
> And only not to desperation driven,
> Because not altogether of such clay
> As rots into the souls of those whom I survey.
>
> [*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* IV.cxxxii-cxxxv]

Knight commented: "So these Promethean stanzas which Shelley [later] denounced as 'mischievous insanity' had nevertheless been at work within himself to mature in a scene which for human realization and dramatic weight out-topped his normal accomplishment, the supposedly wicked lines forcing him to write above himself and compose his masterpiece" (*Byron*, pp. 257-59).

Finally, P. H. Butter suggested:

> This first act should be read not simply as an old myth nor as an allegorical de-

scription of the condition of the world in Shelley's time; it is a dramatization of the condition of the idealist (in some degree of all men) at any time. The idealist desires perfection, but is confronted by evil—both in the external world and in himself; he can respond to the evil by acquiescence (Mercury), by returning evil for evil (the earlier Prometheus) or by love and forgiveness (the later Prometheus); he is tempted to despair, but is encouraged by signs of good active in the world" [*Shelley's Idols*, p. 180].

SD. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, pp. 127-28)] [1] To earth's remotest confines we are come, to the Scythian track, an untrodden solitude . . . to clamp this miscreant upon the high-beetling crags in shackles of binding adamant that cannot be broken . . . upon this rocky cleft assailed by cruel winter . . . this desolate crag, where nor voice nor form of mortal man shall meet thy ken; but, scorched by the sun's bright beams, thou shalt lose the fair bloom of thy flesh [*Prometheus Bound* 1-23]; [2] riveted in fetters beneath the open sky [*ibid.* 112]; [3] look on me, pinioned by what fetters, upon the summit crag of this ravine, I am to hold my unenviable watch [*ibid.* 141-44); [4] But, as it is, a plaything of the winds, to my misery, I suffer ills whereat my foes exult [*ibid.* 158-59]; [5] to waste away upon cliffs in mid-air, my portion this desolate and drear crag [*ibid.* 272-73]; [6] By what name am I to call him I behold exposed to the tempest in bonds of rock [*ibid.* 562-63].

J. M. Brown pointed out that "in the drama of Æschylus we have 'Scythia, on the heights of Caucasus. The Euxine seen in the distance,' a scene, though the 'abomination of desolation' to a Greek, yet easily fixed by his geography. Here we have . . . 'the Indian Caucasus,' mountains unknown to either ancient or modern maps. The geography and scenery . . . are purely ideal" (*Study*, p. 55). Locock, however, identified Shelley's setting as the Hindu Kush range, and noted, with respect to Aeschylus, that "the Scholiast points out that the scene is not, strictly speaking, in the Caucasus, but on the N. W. confines of the Euxine." He added that "the time [see II.i.6] is early spring." L. Cazamian pointed out that the Indian Caucasus was the origin of humanity according to the science of Shelley's time (Edition, pp. 13-14). To A. Wormhoudt, however, with his psychiatric interpretation, the SD had a different significance: "Shelley is primarily concerned with the problem of expressing the shift from the positive to the negative oedipus conflict. The more basic conflict between mother and son is kept in the background though it is clearly symbolized in the fact that Prometheus hangs bound to an icy precipice: an infant masochistically attached to the denying mother's breast" (*Demon Lover*, pp. 88-89).

morning . . . breaks] G. W. Knight commented: "[The] dawn of a new physical creation is in the air from the start. . . . But a more explicit dawn flushes the later action [at II.i]," and the "central moment of Asia's transfiguration [II.v.54 ff.] is accompanied by a dawn lyric" (*Starlit Dome*, pp. 207-8).

For the time scheme of the poem see Appendix G.

1-73. G. W. Knight compared *The Revolt of Islam* III.xii-xxix, where Laon "is stripped naked, raised to a dizzy height, bound with 'brazen links,' and left to suffer sun-blistered torments" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 192).

Bennett Weaver noted that hatred of tyranny (and bigotry as a form of tyranny), combined with a desire for wisdom and mildness, marked Shelley's thought early, and not as a pose. Weaver cited, for illustration, Shelley's *Song: Translated from the German* (1809), *A Dialogue* (1809), *Bigotry's Victim* (1809-10), *Stanza from a Translation of the Marseillaise Hymn* (1810), *To Death* (1810), *Ghasta* (1810), *The Wandering Jew* (1810), *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson* (1810), *A Tale of Society as It Is* (1811), *To the Republicans of North America* (1812), *The Retrospect: Cwm Elan* (1812), *Queen Mab* (1813), *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* (1816), *The Revolt of Islam* (1817-18); *A Letter to Lord Ellenborough* (1812. Julian, V, 281-94); and the following pages in the *Letters* (here converted to the Julian Edition): On Bigotry—VIII, 24, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36, 45, 73, 75, 76, 82, 83-84, 89, 93, 131, 218, 320; IX, 28. On Tyranny—VIII, 35, 108, 110, 124, 130, 138, 139-40, 224-25, 239, 291, 308, 325; IX, 37-38, 46; and Ingpen, *Letters* (1914), I, 355 (of questionable authenticity and not given in Julian) ("First Beginnings," pp. 191-95).

Rossetti considered that the opening speech, "as fine a proem as we could wish to the mighty action of the drama," contains "some very important indications of that attitude of soul which Shelley postulates as indispensable to the unbinding of Prometheus, the Human Mind" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 146); and Vida Scudder noted that, in "the union of austere and elevated simplicity with a certain splendor of effect, the blank verse is singularly like that of Paradise Lost." In this speech, too, A. A. Jack found evidence that, "though [Shelley] dwells in a vague world, there is one side of him—his dramatic side—which is not vague" (*Shelley*, p. 113); and Benjamin Kurtz saw in it three of Shelley's "familiar death-motifs": "the murderous tyrant, the all-enduring martyr, the extinction of the tyrant" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 159).

1-17. Comparisons:

> [A. M. D. Hughes] [1] If thou beest he; But O how fall'n! how chang'd / From him, who in the happy Realms of Light / Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine / Myriads though bright: If he whom mutual league, / United thoughts and counsels, equal hope, / And hazard in the Glorious Enterprize, / Joynd with me once, now misery hath joynd / In equal ruin: into what Pit thou seest / From what highth fal'n, so much the stronger provd / He with his Thunder: and till then who knew / The force of those dire Arms? yet not for those / Nor what the Potent Victor in his rage / Can else inflict do I repent or change, / Though chang'd in outward lustre; that fixt mind / And high disdain, from sence of injur'd merit, / That with the mightiest rais'd me to contend, / And to the fierce contention brought along / Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd / That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring, / His utmost power with adverse power oppos'd / In dubious Battel on the Plains of Heav'n, / And shook his throne [*Paradise Lost* I.84-105]; [2] Is this the Region, this the Soil, the Clime, / Said then the lost Arch

Angel, this the seat / That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom / For that celestial light? Be it so, since hee / Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid / What shall be right: fardest from him is best / Whom reason hath equald, force hath made supream / Above his equals. Farewel happy Fields / Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrours, hail / Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell / Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings / A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time. / The mind is its own place, and in it self / Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. / What matter where, if I be still the same, / And what I should be, all but less than hee / Whom Thunder hath made greater? Here at least / We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built / Here for his envy, will not drive us hence: / Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce / To reign is worth ambition though in Hell: / Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n [*ibid.* I.242-63].

T. V. Moore, assuming that Jupiter was a psychological substitute for Shelley's father, contended that "such words as these refer to no mythological personage. They are Shelley's reaction to the theistic concept, determined, not by reason, but by the emotional resonance of his father-complex" (*Study of Character*, p. 29).

1-2. L. Winstanley compared *Phaedrus* 253-54, for the allegory "of the dark horse and the white horse, the one struggling against the other," for a dualism similar to that employed by Shelley in the "mental action" of *Prometheus Unbound* ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 88). E. Ebeling compared Paracelsus' idea of the Archeus, that "each planet has its own living, guiding spirit, impelling sun, moon, and stars" ("Paracelsian Element," pp. 511-12). Ebeling admitted that here pantheism might account for the lines, but held that the Archeus is clearly intended at I.139; III.iv.6-15; IV.261-68: "Indeed, the whole plan of spirit choruses . . . is nothing more nor less than a poeticized version of the Paracelsian idea that each created thing is endowed with its own spirit." Rossetti noted that Jupiter "is not the monarch of the one spirit, the Mind of Man, which persists in exercising its free-will, and in protesting against the oppression of Vicissitude. [He is] an elemental and spiritual deity, robed now in oppression because the Mind of Man" gave him wisdom and dominion ("Study," p. 67).

1. *Daemons*] "[Intermediate] beings between Gods and men, as satyrs, or fauns, or as the good or evil genius of a man" (Hughes).

2. *One*] Accepted generally as Prometheus (compare I.265, 274, 492 [G. H. Clarke]). Carl Grabo contended that, inasmuch as Prometheus should be identified with the One of Neoplatonic thought, *One* might be considered as either (*Interpretation*, p. 13. See note at IV.34); but Notopoulos warned against going along too completely with Grabo's Neoplatonic interpretation here, since Shelley's own natural mythopoeic and symbolic talent may lead us to mistake his own "romantic improvisation on Platonic themes" for evidence of Neoplatonic influence, "especially if we can find in Neoplatonism any remote or cognate parallels." He argued that Platonism should be the character of the poem, especially since there is no

evidence of Shelley's having actually read Plotinus (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 240-41). A. Wormhoudt, however, assumed that *One* referred to Demogorgon, "who alone has the power to overthrow Jupiter and hence is not subject to him" (*Demon Lover*, p. 89).

4-8. Grabo commented: "The self-contempt, abasement, and false shame fostered by religion Shelley repeatedly execrates [as had Godwin]" (*Interpretation*, p. 16).

4. Comparisons:

[Hughes] Wherefore on this joyless rock thou must stand sentinel, erect, sleepless, thy knee unbent [*Prometheus Bound* 32].

[Locock] [1] 1.12, 280, 815; [2] Where thou descendst each night with open eyes / In torture, for a tyrant seldom sleeps, / Thou never [Canceled lines. See Textual Note at 1.37].

sleepless] Locock noted that the epithet was to be taken literally.

6. Comparison:

[Hughes] to receive from us / Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile [*Paradise Lost* V.778-79].

8. M. Bald compared I.546-77, 618-31, 780; and she found in the line "the epitome of all temporal existence," for in this poem, "with its restatement of the old vision, hope and discouragement struggle side by side" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 117). Douglas Bush noted that "the words are recalled, with a difference, in the last lines of the poem" (*Mythology*, p. 145).

9-11. Comparison:

[G. H. Clarke] *Io:* By whom shall he be despoiled of the sceptre of his sovereignty? *Prometheus:* By himself and his own empty-headed purposes [*Prometheus Bound* 761-62].

Clarke commented: "It is a Promethean taunt of the dramatic moment quite in keeping with the words Æschylus makes his hero speak to Io concerning Zeus, his persecutor and her lover."

9. Comparisons:

[G. H. Clarke] Which the impetuous blasts, with eyeless rage [*King Lear* III.i.8].

[L. R. Lind ("Shelley Reappraised," p. 420)] Eyeless in *Gaza* at the Mill with slaves [*Samson Agonistes* 41].

eyeless in hate] Blinded by bitterness (G. H. Clarke), or "unforeseeing in thy hatred of me" (Locock). The phrase has generally been taken to modify *thou* in line 10. A. Wormhoudt saw in the words a possible allusion to the castration theme (*Demon Lover*, p. 89).

11. Comparisons:

[B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 188)] [1] The moon arose: and lo! the ethereal cliffs / Of Caucasus [*Alastor* 352-53]; [2] Even to the base of Caucasus [*ibid.* 377].

Weaver pointed out, also, earlier evidences of the theme of aloneness, culminating in *Prometheus Unbound*, in *The Solitary* (1810), and *The Retrospect: Cwm Elan* (1812).

12-43. R. H. Fogle noted that, as in "Blake's vision of the fallen world of Urizen," of images which develop the theme, most notable at the beginning are those of "deadness, immensity, and height. . . . The images of deadness . . . stand for a dead world of the Fall, in which the evil principle predominates" ("Image and Imagelessness," pp. 28-29). Fogle also contrasted the localization of scene in Keats (e.g., *Hyperion*) with the "vastness of scale" in time and place of *Prometheus Unbound* (*Imagery*, pp. 42-43).

12-15. Comparison:

> [B. P. Kurtz (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 148)] "Month after month," he cried, "to bear this load / And as a jade urged by the whip and goad / To drag life on, which like a heavy chain / Lengthens behind with many a length of pain!" [*Julian and Maddalo* 300-3].

12. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann ("Studien," p. 22)] throughout the countless years of time apportioned me [*Prometheus Bound* 94].
>
> [Woodberry] Wherefore on this joyless rock thou must stand sentinel, erect, sleepless, thy knee unbent [*Prometheus Bound* 32].
>
> [J. Barrell (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 144)] For each soul returns to the place whence it came in ten thousand years; for it does not regain its wings before that time has elapsed, except the soul of him who has been a guileless philosopher or a philosophical lover; these, when for three successive periods of a thousand years they have chosen such a life, after the third period of a thousand years become winged in the three thousandth year and go their way [*Phaedrus* 249a].

Rossetti, who would not stress the point, considered this "a brief estimate even of the historical period of human development . . . it would appear that Shelley contemplated a very early awakening and emancipation of the race" ("Study," p. 54); and Floyd Stovall, comparing line 58, felt that "we do not see clearly the slow increase of wisdom in the human mind, but it is suggested in the . . . three thousand years" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 244). As to the time given, Locock acknowledged a suggestion "that the 'three thousand years' are to be taken literally, i.e. from about 1180 B. C. to about 1820 A. D. Æschylus, according to the Scholiast, made the term τρεῖς μυριάδας [three myriads] in his *Prometheus Porphyrus*, though this term was actually reduced to 30 years." E. B. Hungerford pointed out that "Shelley's contemporary, the Baron Cuvier, was able to state that if any fact was firmly established by geology, it was that the present epoch of the world, that in which man was created, was not older than five or six thousand years" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 76); and he noted: "Ancient writers differed as to the length of time which Prometheus spent chained to the rock, thirty thousand years being the farther limit. He was, at any rate, chained there long enough so that if Shelley chose he could

imagine the liberation as taking place, not in the past of a mythological age, but in the future, either remote or immediate," with Shelley imagining the latter, for he "had been inspired by the promise" of enlightenment in the French Revolution, American Democracy, Spain, and Greece (pp. 173-74).

14-15. Sidney Lanier noted that these "purely spiritual" torments are an advance over Aeschylus, although lines 20-22, 31-33, 38-43, and 432-34 show that Shelley "retains and even multiplies the physical torments," but with a modern treatment ("English Novel," p. 88). B. Kurtz read the lines as personal: "Each word . . . like nearly every word in the soliloquy—refers straight to Shelley's bitter days, from the alienation of Harriet to the exile; and Prometheus's victory over defeat is his own success in building up, out of the failure of his own life and service, a will further to live and further to serve" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 160).

15 Comparisons:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 131)] [1] Woe! Woe! For misery present and misery to come I groan. . . . For it is because I bestowed good gifts on mortals that this yoke of constraint hath been bound upon me to my misery. . . . Such is the offence for which I pay the penalty, riveted in fetters beneath the open sky [*Prometheus Bound* 98-114]; [2] See now, my friend, how bootless was thy boon. Tell me, what succour for thee is there, and where, in creatures of a day? What aid? Didst thou not behold the helpless infirmity, no better than a dream, wherein the purblind generation of men is shackled? Never shall the counsels of mortal men transgress the ordering of Zeus [*ibid.* 544-51]; [3] Oh that he had hurled me below the earth, aye 'neath Hades, the entertainer of the dead, into impassable Tartarus, and had ruthlessly fastened me in fetters no hand can loose, that so nor god nor other kind had now gloated over this my agony! But, as it is, a plaything of the winds, to my misery, I suffer ills whereat my foes exult [*ibid.* 152-59].

Scudder felt that *scorn and despair* were "faintly suggested" in the Aeschylean lines.

empire] Forman first noted the apparent trisyllabic pronunciation (see Textual Notes). W. G. Alexander cited a similar use in "On Freedom's hearth, grew dim with Empire" (*Letter to Maria Gisborne* 34); and Locock in (1) "A crownless metaphor of empire" (*Hellas* 567); (2) "Under the crown which girt with empire" (*The Triumph of Life* 498). Locock suggested that, as an alternative here, *despair* might be given three syllables and *empire* two.

16. A. Wormhoudt read this as "a masochistic acceptance of punishment. . . . Shelley's Prometheus seems to be considerably less master of himself than Aeschylus', for the latter at least knows when to submit" (*Demon Lover*, p. 89).

18-19. Rossetti noted that, if the Mind of Man acquiesced, "Jupiter's power would nowhere encounter any opposition" ("Study," p. 68).

20-29 Bennett Weaver pointed out that as Aeschylus, through Hephaestus and Strength, presents to the imagination the very " 'firmament of

God' which overspreads the theatre," so does Shelley here; and both heighten the effect by the "play of the elements" (see also I.38-40, 67-69, 165-69, 432-37). Moreover, Shelley, "by a psychic reaching back," suggests action and, without resort to the same physical horror, uses "most of the properties" (chains, rivets, etc.) used by Aeschylus ("*Prometheus*," pp. 117-21).

20. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] Now straight through his chest drive the adamantine wedge's stubborn edge with thy full force [*Prometheus Bound* 64-65]; [2] Passed the white Alps—those eagle-baffling mountains [*Prince Athanase* 262].

R. H. Fogle noted the "strong suggestions of dizzying altitude," as also at III.iv.204, in contrast to the depths of II.iii.54-98 (*Imagery*, pp. 94-95).

21-22. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] this desolate crag, where nor voice nor form of mortal man shall meet thy ken [*Prometheus Bound* 21-22].

[Hughes] [1] this rocky cleft [*Prometheus Bound* 15]; [2] This was a wild and wondrous scene . . . Bare rocky mountains, to all living things / Inhospitable; on whose sides no herb / Rooted, no insect fed, no bird awoke / Their echoes, save the Eagle, strong of wing, / A lonely plunderer, that afar / Sought in the vales his prey [Southey, *Thalaba* VI.12].

23. Comparison:

[Scudder (Edition, 142)] Woe! Woe! For misery present and misery to come I groan [*Prometheus Bound* 98-99].

R. H. Fogle noted that "Shelley's organic images have neither the hypnotic spell nor the powerful throb and beat of which Keats was master. . . . They are not, however, without force and poignancy. His images of pain, for example, are simple, direct, and deeply felt" (*Imagery*, p. 93).

25-30. Comparisons:

[O. Barrot ("Poète philosophe," p. 453)] I call thee to witness, O earth of Lemnos! O sun! dost thou behold and suffer this? [Fénelon, *Adventures of Telemachus*, trans. Hawkesworth, ed. O. W. Wight (New York: Derbey & Jackson, 1858), p. 408].

[Scudder (Edition, pp. 131-32)] [1] O thou bright sky of heaven, ye swift-winged breezes, ye river-waters, and multitudinous laughter of the waves of ocean, O universal mother Earth, and thou, all-seeing orb of the sun, to you I call! Behold what I, a god, endure of evil from the gods [*Prometheus Bound* 88-92]; [2] Woe! Woe! For misery present and misery to come I groan, not knowing where it is fated deliverance from these woes shall dawn [*ibid.* 98-99].

[L. M. Buell ("Byron and Shelley," p. 312)] My mother Earth! / And thou fresh breaking Day, and you, ye Mountains, / Why are ye beautiful? I cannot love ye. / And thou, the bright eye of the universe, / That openest over all, and unto all / Art a delight [*Manfred* I.ii.7-12].

26. B. Langston compared "the all-seeing sun" (*Romeo and Juliet* I.ii.97) ("Shelley's Use of Shakespeare," p. 174). Locock noted that " 'Sun' is not

in apposition to 'Heaven,' but a part of it." O. W. Firkins commented: "In listing the forms of light which enthralled his imagination I shall have listed all the chief natural sources of light in the known universe": sun or sunrise "opening no fewer than three acts" of *Prometheus Unbound* (I, II, IV); sunset (III.ii.7; IV.491-92); moon (personified in Act IV); Venus (III.ii.26-28); stars (I.234; II.ii.20; III.iv.204); comet or meteor (II.ii.70-82); lightning (I.765); glowworm (not in this poem) (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 110-17).

27-28. R. H. Fogle noted that *Prometheus Unbound* "is rich in images of the finite-infinite relationship" (see I.197-99, 779-80; II.i.28-31, 71-75; II.v.48-71; III.iii.62; III.iv.190-92) (*Imagery*, pp. 233-36).

30. Scudder found this "the first notable example of an irregular line, though other minor instances have already occurred. . . . Shelley's variations on the schematic line are one of the chief sources of his musical power."

31-43. Although W. A. O'Conor objected to physical tortures "so mingled with elemental impersonations that our sense of compassion grows confused" ("Prometheus," p. 36), R. H. Fogle found in these lines evidence of "Shelley's sensitivity to harsh, sharp touch-images. . . . The Titan's agony is the pain of cutting, of tearing, of splitting, reinforced by the sensations of cold which merge with the ungentle touch of the knife." He noted that in this poem cold "is a symbol of reaction and death," and cited as further illustration I.266-70, 383-85; II.iii.28-30, 36-41; and III.iii.88-89. Fogle pointed out that "in a sense the action of *Prometheus Unbound* is a symbolic struggle between Cold, representing Evil, Reaction, and Death; and Warmth, the emblem of Good, Life, and Liberation. Warmth conquers through the life-giving touch of Prometheus the Fire-Bringer. In sum, Shelley describes cold as if he hates it like an enemy, the Principle of Evil in a kind of Manichaean dualism of existence, while Keats accepts it as a pleasurable part of the wholeness of sensational experience" [*Imagery*, pp. 70-76]. Bennett Weaver, too, noted: "It might seem that Shelley's Titan suffers more acutely from cold than from heat, as I suspect the poet himself did" ("*Prometheus*," p. 120).

31. Comparison:

> [Hughes] These glaciers [on Mt. Blanc] flow perpetually into the valley, ravaging in their slow but irresistible progress the pastures and the forests which surround them, and performing a work of desolation in ages which a river of lava might accomplish in an hour, but far more irretrievably—for where the ice has once been the hardiest plant refuses to grow—if even, as in some extraordinary instances, it should recede after its progression has once commenced. The glaciers perpetually move onwards at the rate of a foot each day with a motion which commences at the spot where on the boundaries of perpetual congelation they are produced by the freezing of the waters which arise from the partial melting of the eternal snows. They drag with them from the regions whence they derive their origin all the ruins of the mountain, enormous rocks and immense accumulations

of sand and stones. These are driven onwards by the irresistible progress of the stream of solid ice and when they arrive at a declivity of the mountain sufficiently rapid, roll down scattering ruin [To Peacock, July 24, 1816. Julian, IX, 185-86].

Carl Grabo commented: "The fact that glaciers crawl is not visually perceived. It is a scientific fact intellectually grasped and translated into a visual image" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 198).

32. *moon-freezing*] Freezing in the moonlight (Alexander). Scudder noted that the glaciers "are the chains which bind the vast form of the Titan to the rock. A stupendous image is thus suggested of the scale of the picture, and the duration of Prometheus' torture."

34-47. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 129)] [1] First, the Father will shatter this jagged cliff with thunder and lightning-flame, and will entomb thy frame, while the rock shall still hold thee clasped in its embrace. But when thou hast completed a long stretch of time, thou shalt come back again to the light. Then verily the winged hound of Zeus, the ravening eagle, coming an unbidden banqueter the whole day long, with savage appetite shall tear thy body piecemeal into great rents and feast his fill upon thy liver till it be black with gnawing [*Prometheus Bound* 1016-25]; [2] the blasts of all the winds leap forth and set in hostile array their embattled strife; the sky is confounded with the deep. Behold, this stormy turmoil advances against me, manifestly sped of Zeus to make me tremble [*ibid.* 1085-89]; [3] And glad thou shalt be when spangle-robed night shall veil his brightness and when the sun shall scatter again the rime of morn [*ibid.* 23-25].

34. Comparison:

[H. Richter] Beware the sharp-beaked hounds of Zeus that bark not [*Prometheus Bound* 803].

Scudder commented on this single reference to the vulture, and noted that Shelley substituted more subtle tortures of the spirit for much of the old machinery. To J. M. Brown this was "the vulture of religious intolerance and of reverence for past habits, with poison subtly drawn from the old centre and object of reverence, poison of slander, and hate, and cruelty" (*Study*, p. 57).

35. A. T. Strong found in Shelley's frequent use of the poison symbol a correspondence "to something deep-rooted in his soul—his poignant sense of the evil and suffering everywhere interwoven with the beauty of the world" (*Studies*, p. 87).

38-40. R. H. Fogle held that the images of "tearing, splitting, and rending" symbolize the agony of Prometheus, the stony world of the Fall, and the "coming destruction of the apparently solid and invulnerable realm of Jupiter" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 29).

38. R. Piccoli compared "The Earthquake-demon" (*Mont Blanc* 72).

40. Locock held that this showed "the supernatural character of the earthquake."

41. R. H. Fogle noted that shrill howls and yells (cf. I.95, 434) are more common in Shelley than in Keats (*Imagery*, p. 82).

42-43. O. W. Firkins noted Shelley's "vivid and insatiable" delight in wind, because of "its invisibility," "the tender and caressing quality of its gentler movements," "its power of interpenetration with other substances, with sunlight, moisture, or cloud," "its office as purveyor or charioteer of various objects dear to Shelley," "its office in the propulsion of boats," "its effects crisping the surface of the seas, lakes, fields, and the like," and "its use as a symbol for religious or poetical inspiration" (see I.66-67, 204, 231; II.i.37-38, 146-47; II.v.77) (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 92-99).

44-48. An early writer noted that, although generally reminiscent of Milton in theme and meter, here "the number of one-syllabled lines [*sic*] seem constructed in contradistinction to Milton's studied polysyllabic resonance" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV).

44-46. Comparison:

> [Woodberry] scorched by the sun's bright beams, thou shalt lose the fair bloom of thy flesh. And glad shalt thou be when spangled-robed night shall scatter again the rime of morn [*Prometheus Bound* 24-25].

Olwen Campbell pointed out that in Aeschylus it was because of relief from suffering; in Shelley because each day brought nearer the hour of Jupiter's fall (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 199).

47-50. Bennett Weaver noted that in *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*, *Queen Mab*, *The Revolt of Islam*, and *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley employed "a structure spanning the past, the present, and the future" ("First Beginnings," p. 195). O. W. Firkins pointed out that "the Hour becomes clothed in the most solemn and terrible attributes of humanity, and is vivified to an all but incredible intensity [cf. note at IV.9-14]" (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 29).

48-51. W. A. O'Conor objected to the un-Aeschylean "plaintive self-consciousness" of this ("Prometheus," p. 36).

48. Scudder compared II.i.16. A. G. Van Kranendonk identified the "one" as Demogorgon because, as "eternity or time in general, [he] comprises them all" ("Demogorgon," p. 61). But Carlos Baker held that it was "not a particular predestined time, but any hour at which Prometheus reaches the point of growth which he has now reached." Dramatically, like the Ghost in *Hamlet*, "the consciousness that the Hour is imminent, that things are about to happen," makes Prometheus' ripeness convincing (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 96).

50-52. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] [1] Ruin seize thee, ruthless King! . . . Nor even thy virtues, Tyrant, shall avail / To save thy secret soul from nightly fears [Gray, *The Bard* 1-7]; [2] O'er thee, oh King! their hundred arms they wave, / Revenge on thee in hoarser murmurs breath [*ibid.* 25-26]; [3] Edward, lo! to sudden fate / (Weave we the woof. The thread is spun) / Half of thy heart we consecrate [*ibid.* 97-99].

51-59. Carlos Baker noted that, like Satan (and despite I.337), Prometheus before his conversion had hatred and pride (see I.245, 378), and the

suddenness of the recantation here, "as if he had momentarily forgotten himself . . . serves to emphasize the comparative recency of his conversion" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 97).

53-58. Comparison:

> [F. A. Lea (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 118)] [One's] opinion, which he often hopes he has dispassionately secured from all contagion of prejudice and vulgarity, would be found, on examination, to be the inevitable excresence of the very usages from which he vehemently dissents [*Speculation on Morals.* Julian, VII, 83].

B. Rajan noted that Prometheus' "new found sympathy is haunted by the language of revenge" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 297); and Lea suggested that these lines indicate "the reason why he cannot himself repeat the curse. . . . [He] sees, for the first time, that his own defiance and the tyranny of heaven have been equally to blame for the evil condition of men. . . . By this admission the conflict is transcended" (*Romantic Revolution*, pp. 116-17).

53. An early writer held that the change from hatred to benevolence makes him superior to Aeschylus' Prometheus (*Southern Literary Messenger*, 1842, p. 195); and Alexander noted it as the first step toward his release. G. H. Clarke pointed out that it "wins no higher tribute than that of Jupiter himself" at III.i.64-69. But G. R. Elliott (citing I.305, 480) argued that "the initial nobility of Prometheus is soon softened down by his rising pity for all things, including the powers of evil . . . and finally [III.iii] this active striver for mankind becomes a retired well-wisher. . . . Thus the outlines of Prometheus and his Asia fade into each other: the two are not married, but merged" ("How Poetic Is Shelley's Poetry?" p. 315).

54. See Textual Notes.

56-58. Comparisons:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 123)] *Prometheus:* In one word, I hate all the gods that received good at my hands and with ill requite me wrongfully. *Hermes:* Thy words declare thee stricken with no slight madness. *Prometheus:* Mad I may be—if it is madness to loathe one's enemies [*Prometheus Bound* 975-78].
>
> [B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 189)] that poor wretch who cannot, cannot love [*The Solitary* 10].
>
> [Todhunter (*Study*, p. 142)] A Necessarian is inconsequent to his own principles if he indulges in hatred or contempt; the compassion which he feels for the criminal is unmixed with a desire of injuring him [*Note to Queen Mab* VI.198].
>
> [W. N. Guthrie (*Poet Prophets*, p. 182)] [1] Undoubtedly, no person can be truly dishonoured by the act of another; and the fit return to make to the most enormous injuries is kindness and forbearance, and a resolution to convert the injurer from his dark passions by peace and love [Preface to *The Cenci*]; [2] resist not evil [Matthew v.39]; [3] overcome evil with good [Romans xii.21]; [4] Love your enemies [Matthew v.44]; [as well as I Peter iii.14; Matthew v.10; II Corinthians xi.19-20; Luke xxiii.34; Acts vii.60; I Peter ii.23; and James i.20].
>
> [Woodberry] [*The Revolt of Islam* for Laon's "spiritual power of high-minded and forgiving endurance of wrong."]

[Paul Elsner (*Shelley's Abhängigkeit*, p. 34)] [1] III.iv.43 and IV.557-58; [2] But virtue itself depends for its value upon the energies of intellect [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I. 309].

[Locock] wisdom-working grief [*The Sunset* 36].

Todhunter held that "the former curse of Prometheus typifies the blind rage against evil of uncivilized mankind, in whom reason is imperfectly developed" (*Study*, pp. 142-43); but W. A. O'Conor found here and in lines 70-71 an inconsistency with the opening address ("written to evoke abhorrence and detestation from the reader") and the repeated curse ("introduced to give an opportunity of hurling defiance against the gods") plus the humiliation for Jupiter by making his phantasm repeat the curse. O'Conor felt that this was the result of the fact that Shelley himself was "inspired by a vengeance which he denies to his hero" ("Prometheus," p. 41). To Woodberry, however, this was "the initial point of the action of the drama. . . . The fulfilment of the moral ideal in Prometheus is the true cause of the end of the reign of evil, though this is dramatically brought about by the instrumentality of Demogorgon"; and to J. M. Brown the suggestion was that "misery, grief, pain, is the mother of pity, and pity of wisdom, and wisdom of love" (*Study*, p. 58). A. T. Strong noted that "[Man] has been liberated, not by the conscious and calculating process of reason, but by the cosmic and spontaneous operation of love" (*Studies*, p. 49). Benjamin Kurtz commented: "So long as against the oppressor the oppressed wish to use the destructive instruments of hatred, they themselves are caught painfully in the wide-spread net of destruction. . . . Only in suffering is freedom to be found, for it destroys egotism" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 161). And White noted that hatred and revenge "had ruined the fair prospects of the French Revolution" (*Shelley*, II, 113).

58-69. Although a reviewer found this "merely opposition of words, phrases, and sentiments, so violent as to be utter nonsense" (*Literary Gazette*, 1820. See Appendix D, item II), G. W. Knight has seen in it "a massive world crammed with slow movement [note the pauses] and deep music" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 205).

59. *recall*] revoke (Butter, *Shelley's Idols*, p. 173).[25]

[25]Five letters in *TLS* ("Shelley's Use of 'Recall' ": December 16, 1955, January 6 and 20, 1956; and February 15, 1957), initiated by Philip Drew's objection to this interpretation, appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work. All the writers agreed that "recall" meant "remember," but disagreed as to its further possible meaning, "revoke." Drew and G. M. Matthews thought that Prometheus neither revoked the curse nor forgave Jupiter; Louise Boas that he forgave but did not revoke the curse; George Watson and Frederick Pottle that he both forgave and revoked the curse; or, as Pottle put it, that "he repented of all of it [I.303] and revoked 90 per cent of it . . . [for he] never revoked his defiance nor his wish for Jupiter's downfall." Pottle cited IV.570-78 as saying "flatly that Prometheus *forgave* Jupiter while *defying* him," and he concluded: "Prometheus, after his regeneration as before, looked steadfastly forward to the fall of Jupiter and was not shaken by the thought that Jupiter would suffer pain, but the pain itself was no longer desirable to him. Surely it would

62. *wrinkling*] Shrivelling (Alexander).

63. *vibrated*] G. H. Clarke noted the "nervous effect induced by the accent-shifting."

65. Comparisons:

[Hughes] As when the Sun new ris'n / Looks through the Horizontal misty Air / Shorn of his Beams [*Paradise Lost* I.594-96].

[K. N. Cameron] [1] II.iii.74; [2] Beyond our atmosphere the sun would appear a rayless orb of fire in the midst of a black concave. The equal diffusion of its light on earth is owing to the refraction of the rays by the atmosphere, and their reflection from other bodies [Note to *Queen Mab* I.242-43].

Carl Grabo thought that the allusion stemmed from Erasmus Darwin's suggestion that in the upper tenuous air the sun's rays would be conveyed without being visible (*Newton among Poets*, p. 152).

67. Comparison:

[Locock] It ceased, and from the mute and moveless frame [*The Daemon of the World* I. 108].

69. *then*] A temporal and emphatic use (Locock).

70-72. Comparisons:

[P. Elsner (*Shelley's Abhängigkeit*, pp. 28-29): [1] I.305, 403-4; IV.575-77; [2] [Godwin, *Political Justice*, Bk. IV, Chap. viii, and Bk. VII, on the need for mankind without hatred].

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 191)] it is our will / That thus enchains us to permitted ill— / We might be otherwise—we might be all / We dream of happy, high, majestical. / Where is the love, beauty, and truth we seek / But in our mind? and if we were not weak / Should we be less in deed than in desire? / . . . We are assured / Much may be conquered, much may be endured, / Of what degrades and crushes us. We know / That we have power over ourselves to do / And suffer—what, we know not till we try; / But something nobler than to live and die— / So taught those kings of old philosophy / Who reigned, before Religion made men blind; / And those who suffer with their suffering kind / Yet feel their faith, religion [*Julian and Maddalo* 170-91].

Grabo commented: "[Prometheus] is neither wholly enslaved nor wholly free. The will to resist . . . is the sign of his divinity and freedom. But he is enslaved by his past, by his own thoughts." He is "partly free, growing in freedom as he prefers good to evil." P. H. Butter noted that "This [change] is very important, and perhaps from a dramatic point of view is introduced too early and with insufficient emphasis; for from this change all the following events flow" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 173).

70. Locock noted that *aught* is used adjectively also in *The Cenci* IV.i.121 and *The Revolt of Islam* II.xxi.4 (*Examination*, p. 51).

73. Comparison:

[Hughes] and then shall straightway be fulfilled to the uttermost the malison his father Cronus imprecated as he fell from his ancient throne [*Prometheus Bound* 910-12].

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not be absurd in Christian theology to say that though God *wills* or *ordains* or *permits* his creatures to suffer, he does not *wish* them to." See also Critical Notes at I.633.

W. N. Guthrie noted that Prometheus has forgotten the curse, and does not gloat over it as the Prometheus of Aeschylus would (*Poet Prophets*, p. 178).

74-106. Comparisons:

> [*Gentleman's Magazine* (See Appendix D, item XIV] [Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel* I.xv-xvii, in which the River Spirit asks the Mountain Spirit when the "feudal jars" will cease, and is told not "Till pride be quell'd and love be free."]
>
> [Woodberry] [*Macbeth*, the witch choruses.]
>
> R. Ackermann, Locock, White (*Shelley*, II, 134)] [Byron, *Manfred* I and II.iii, the spirit songs. Ackermann cited specifically:] Where the slumbering earthquake / Lies pillow'd on fire, / And the lakes of bitumen / Rise boilingly higher; / Where the roots of the Andes / Strike deep in the earth, / As their summits to heaven / Shoot soaringly forth; / I have quitted my birthplace, / Thy bidding to bide— / Thy spell hath subdued me, / Thy will be my guide! [I.i.88-99].

The *Gentleman's Magazine* writer assumed that Shelley would "indignantly deny" the Scott comparison. A. Clive found a "distressing sense of flatness and puerility" in these responses (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 424), and Sidney Lanier felt that they embodied "such a mass of namby-pamby horror and falsetto sublimity that Shelley himself would surely have drawn his pen through the whole if he had lived into the term of manhood" ("English Novel," p. 89). But Scudder held that "the controlled sadness of the soliloquy of Prometheus is relieved by the more impassioned horror of these Voices of Nature, just as the even movement of the blank verse is relieved by the swift, free movement of the lyrics." Scudder also noted that throughout the poem blank verse marks passages of transition or of repressed feeling, while climaxes of passion rush into lyrical form, as here, where words of carnage are relieved by the movement of the verse (Edition, p. liv). Alexander held that inasmuch as "the curse predicted the fall of the tyrant . . . it must have been the mere terror and awfulness of the curse that overcame [the voices]." G. H. Clarke noted: "The responses are made by each Voice as adjured by Prometheus. All the Voices are in sympathy with the Titan, like the Æschylean chorus, but their nature-equilibrium is shudderingly disturbed by the conflict between Jupiter and his victim, as brought to focus in the memory of the awful curse, of which they are silently unforgetful."

Olwen Campbell pointed out that the "Ocean misses" of Aeschylus, and their "naive and archaic-schoolgirl comments," were replaced by "Shelley's imagination which instinctively personified all forms of natural beauty." But, as in Aeschylus, "they can do no more than comfort; Prometheus must free himself" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 200). To Louis Cazamian, the individualized characterizations were reminiscent more of Far East literatures than of the Greek (Edition, pp. 15-16). And K. N. Cameron interpreted the passage to mean: "When Prometheus cursed Jupiter (i.e., when hatred and revenge entered the heart of man) tyranny seized control and nature—the voices—sensed humanity's suffering."

74. Comparison:

[Woodberry] thrice three hundred thousand men [Coleridge, *Fire, Famine, and Slaughter* 23].

Carl Grabo noted that there were many guesses as to the age of the earth in Shelley's day, but none quite so specific as this (*Newton among Poets*, p. 180).

76-77. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] But my soul is agitated by piercing fear, and I am in dread about thy fate [*Prometheus Bound* 183-85]; [2] How is it that thou knowest no fear in uttering such taunts? [*ibid.* 932].

78. Comparison:

[C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 137)] There is a third sort, called "bright thunderbolts," of an extremely remarkable nature; this kind drains casks dry without damaging their lids and without leaving any other trace [Pliny, *Natural History* II.lii, 137].

Grabo noted that Beccaria "speaks of an electric fire which will 'even explode water into vapor,' and again of 'the violent explosion of liquids effected by lightning.' "

parched] Evaporated (Barnard).

80-81. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] Or the whirlwind up and down / Howling, like a slaughtered town [*Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 56-57].

82-83. Comparisons:

[R. Piccoli] [1] For there is no colour at all in the elements of matter [Lucretius, *De rerum natura* II.737-38]; [2] colours cannot be without light [*ibid.* 795-96].

Carl Grabo cited Newton's discovery "that color resides not in the object but in its ability to absorb and to reflect certain of the air-refracted rays of light" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 153). G. S. Brett thought that the lines expressed "precisely the function of the air, or 'earth-born atmospheres,' to produce those colours which would otherwise not exist and cannot be found above in 'the white radiance of eternity' " ("Berkeley and Drummond," p. 201).

86. *beneath*] Earthquakes were once thought to be caused by violent subterranean winds (Barnard). See also Textual Notes.

95-98. Comparisons:

[B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 188)] [1] I.768; [2] I met a maniac—like he was to me [*Fragment of Margaret Nicholson* 19].

[G. H. Clarke] I moved my lips—the Pilot shrieked / And fell down in a fit; / The holy Hermit raised his eyes, / And prayed where he did sit. / I took the oars: the Pilot's boy, / Who now doth crazy go, / Laughed loud and long, and all the while / His eyes went to and fro. / "Ha! ha!" quoth he, "full plain I see, / The Devil knows how to row" [Coleridge, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* 560-69].

Locock found the sea pictures common in the poem, as at I.720; II.iii.45; IV.86, 497; and Weaver noted that Shelley's concern with madness is also evident in Laon, Athanase, Lionel, and Maddalo, and that the poet was preoccupied with Tasso while working on this play.

101-2. M. T. Solve noted that, with respect to the rime, "what he lost in technical correctness he gained in freshness and spontaneity," and he compared I.75-77, 79-81; II.v.96-97 (*Theory of Poetry*, pp. 147-48).

103. Forman offered a comment with respect to *Arethusa* 52-53 (where this same rime combination occurs) that is pertinent here:

> The licence taken by Shelley in such rhymes as this seems to demand some explanation. This is one of several cases in which, amidst marks of the most fastidious workmanship, we find *ruin* set to rhyme with *pursuing* or some other present participle in *ing*. I cannot think that Shelley would have permitted himself to indulge in so indefensible a solecism had the words not formed a rhyme to him; and it seems likely that, being of the aristocratic caste, the habit of dropping the final *g* was indelibly acquired as a child and youth, and never struck him as a bad habit to be got over. If so, to him, *ruin* and *pursuing* were a perfect rhyme; and I need not tell the reader that, to this day [1877], it is an affectation current among persons who are or pretend to be of the aristocratic caste, not only to drop the final *g* in these cases themselves, but to stigmatize its pronunciation by other people as "pedantic"!

Alexander also found the pronunciation "at the present time [1898] in England . . . at once a fashionable and a vulgar error," and he compared *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* 50-51 for the same rime, as well as "sullen . . . culling" in Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality* 43-46.

Commenting on the Forman note, F. A. Pottle held that, although Shelley used "ruin . . . pursuing" six times in his poetry, the pair was not, to the poet, a "real rhyme" determined by pronunciation, but rather an accepted convention: "One might suppose from Buxton Forman's note that there were several cases of the rhyming of *ruin* with some other word than *pursuing*. I have been able to find only one ["ruin . . . strewing," *Mt. Blanc* 107-9]. . . . An examination of the poetry of the eighteenth century, where if anywhere in English poetry, the rhymes are exact, will show an unlimited number of rhymes in which the final *g* is disregarded . . . [and] I think it is high time that Shelley be exonerated from this particular charge of carelessness" (*Shelley and Browning*, pp. 60-62).

105. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] for thou on me lookedst so, and so— / And didst speak thus . . . and thus (*Julian and Maddalo* 458-59); [2] Whisper it, sister! so and so! [Coleridge, *Fire, Famine, and Slaughter* 17].

107-220. For the Earth see also Critical Notes on Dramatis Personae.

James Thomson first noted the confusion resulting from Earth's "articulate" and "inarticulate" voices. At lines 112-13 Prometheus does not understand her; at lines 130 and 137-38 he does; at lines 140-45 the voice is inarticulate lest Jupiter hear and punish her; but at lines 152-86 she

denounces Jupiter in her articulate voice (Locock thought that it was only the actual curse that she dared not "speak like life," and E. Barnard that she overcame her fear and yielded to Prometheus' request) whereby she "sharply contradicts herself, and altogether stultifies the evocation of the Phantasm of Jupiter, by destroying all the reasons alleged for recourse to it" ("Notes," p. 370). But Rossetti argued that she used only one language, that of life, her reference to the language of the dead being to that which is used in the phantom world whence the Phantasm of Jupiter will be summoned ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 175). Hughes, in turn, assumed two voices, and paraphrased lines 139-51 as follows: "Interpret to me what the dead say. The Earth may not speak the words in a living tongue, for Zeus would destroy her. If she utter them in the language of the dead they will not reach Prometheus, for he is a God, and the Gods do not understand that language. She reflects, however, that, since he is wiser and greater than God, he may after all understand; and she repeats the curse in the language of the dead, but without success [lines 143-51]." At last, Hughes held, "a way out of the difficulty is found by making a shade tell the curse in living speech [lines 242-45]; for Jupiter cannot hurt a shade [lines 215-18]." Finally, E. B. Hungerford felt that Shelley, although "capable of dealing with subtle complexities, [here] attempts the unnecessary," and "the action is bogged down in the question whether Prometheus can or cannot understand what is said to him by his mother" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 188-89).

107-11. Comparison:

> [Hughes (Edition, p. 169)] Soul drives all things in Heaven and earth and sea by its own motions, of which the names are wish, reflection, forethought, counsel, opinion true and false, joy, grief, confidence, fear, hate, love, and all the motions that are akin to these or are prime-working motions [*Laws* X.896-97].

With the repeated "Misery" (see also I.306-11) Scudder compared *Prometheus Bound* 396-435, where στένω (mourn, lament) is similarly repeated (Edition, p. 142). James Thomson found the word at line 306 "appropriate to the situation," but not here, since the curse "smote the fell Tyrant" and "predicted his fall" ("Notes," p. 370); but Locock answered that "perhaps it expresses the sympathy of Nature with Prometheus in the inevitable punishment of such blasphemy." Hughes noted the similarity, in the Plato comparison, of the "mystic idea that all Nature is groaning under the same oppression as the human spirit, just as it is sustained by the same power."

Benjamin Kurtz paraphrased: "Violence breeds misery; hate, death!" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 162); and F. A. Lea felt that the Caverns, Heaven, and Ocean cried "Misery" because "the enthronement of Jupiter, and Prometheus' curse upon the tyrant, were twin aspects of a single event . . . the divorce of reason from imagination. . . . Satan cannot cast out Satan: that is the truth expounded in *Prometheus Unbound*" (*Romantic Revolution*,

p. 119). To Harry Levin the passage was distasteful: "Shelley discovered that it was no more trouble to write hymns on mountains and chasms than to write homilies on stones and brooks, thereby reducing Wordsworth to absurdity. In a passage like [this], he develops a veritable apotheosis of the 'pathetic fallacy' " (*Broken Column*, p. 60); and Valerie Pitt saw in the passage an illustration of "Shelley's major fault—that of over-elaboration . . . the presentation not of an experience, but of a mental pattern of horror, and the pattern [of order and alliteration] is only too obvious. . . . His intelligence is too active and the machinery creaks. . . . [There is a] break between mental pattern and sense experience" ("Reading Shelley," p. 102).

110. Comparison:

> [Hughes] The waves arose. Higher and higher still / Their fierce necks writhed beneath the tempest's scourge [*Alastor* 323-24].

112. *the voice*] The curse which the Voices dare not repeat (G. H. Clarke).

113-19. Comparison:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 143)] However, touching your question for what cause he torments me, this I will now make clear. Soon as ever he had seated himself upon his father's throne, he forthwith assigned to the deities their several privileges and apportioned unto them their proper powers. But of wretched mortals he took no heed, but desired to bring the whole race to nothingness and to create another, a new one, in its stead. Against this purpose none dared make stand save I myself—I only had the courage; I saved mortals so that they did not descend, blasted utterly, unto the house of Death [*Prometheus Bound* 228-38].

Bennett Weaver noted that "the filching of the fire [as] an act of rebellion against Zeus," stressed in Aeschylus, is minimized in Shelley, and the accent is on pity for man ("*Prometheus*," pp. 125-26). Rossetti stressed that Prometheus, the Mind of Man, the sustaining and preserving power of the human race, is earth-born ("Study," p. 60); but Carl Grabo held that he is "God or a part of God, sharing the intellection which is the true reality and in the patterns of which all material things are cast," and thus he has prevented destruction (*Interpretation*, pp. 17, 19). Locock noted that, while Prometheus addresses Earth, he is unaware of her presence (see line 151), suggesting that "Man divorced from Love is estranged also from Nature." And Weaver suggested that, unlike Job, "who suffered blindly that blindly he himself might be rewarded," Prometheus endures "that others may have life and have it abundantly" (*Understanding of Shelley*, p. 111).

113. *thy sons*] The Mountains, Springs, Air, and Whirlwinds (Locock).

114-15. Comparisons:

> [White (*Shelley*, I, 293)] Mocking my powerless tyrant's horrible curse / With stubborn and unalterable will [*Queen Mab* VII.257-58].
>
> [E. Barnard (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 139-40)] [1] I.273-74 and IV.570-78; [2] it is our will / That thus enchains us to permitted ill [*Julian and Maddalo* 170].

Barnard saw in this the final abandonment of the Necessity of *Queen Mab*, and commented: "The human soul has allowed evil to gain power in the world; but it *cannot* give away its own freedom. It can, however, fail to use that freedom; and then man becomes, in fact, a slave."

116. *had vanished*] Barnard considered this probably only a "vigorous figure of speech" denying ultimate reality to the physical world, and he held that, if it is literal (as Grabo believed [*Interpretation*, p. 19]), then Prometheus is "Universal Mind," of which the physical world is a "temporal manifestation."

120. Comparison:

> [Charles Elton (*Shelley's Visits*, p. 13)] no river or rock-encircled lawn [on the drive from Les Rousses to Lake Geneva] relieved the eye [*Journal*. Julian, VI, 119].

122-23. Scudder interpreted this to mean that, separated from Asia (the "Anima Mundi"), man, "tortured and unredeemed, seeks in vain to understand the language of nature." C. Baker noted the cruder parallel in *The Revolt of Islam*, where Laon and Cythna, companions and lovers in youth, are separated by Othman (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 95).

123. *life*] Love and electricity or force (C. Grabo, *Interpretation*, p. 20). Grabo commented: "The spirit of man languishes because he is divorced from the natural life. He is deprived of life, love, and energy in the degree once his." Grabo noted evidence of Rousseauistic, Platonic, and scientific elements.

124. *informs*] Animates (Alexander).

126. R. Ackermann noted Shelley's fondness for the chariot, as at I.333; II.iv.93, 130, 132, 143, 156; III.i.50; III.iv.11; IV.56, 206.

132. *whisper*] The "inorganic voice" of line 135 (Woodberry). B. P. Kurtz paraphrased: "The misery of violence is known to all things that die, and their whispers are awful with the terrible curse" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 162).

134. Comparison:

> [Locock] as lightning in a cloud / Gleams, hovering ere it vanish [*Alastor* 418-19].

Carl Grabo suggested an influence from Beccaria's experiments on the "zigzag character of the electric flash through air" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 136).

136. Locock suggested that either Prometheus "feels instinctively; he cannot hear an 'inorganic voice' that is 'scarce like sound': or . . . 'only' qualifies 'I.'"

moving near] "Hovering round me" rather than "approaching" (Locock). See also Textual Notes.

137-38. Comparison:

> [C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 20)] To own that death itself must be, / Like all the rest, a mockery [*The Sensitive Plant* III.128-29].

140-43. Comparison:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 143)] But if thou hurlest forth words so harsh and of such whetted edge, peradventure Zeus may hear thee, though throned afar, high in the heavens, so that thy present multitude of sorrows shall seem but childish sport [*Prometheus Bound* 313-16].

E. Meldrum commented that Shelley has "understood the Greek teaching that the agent must suffer and the sufferer learn." As in Aeschylus, the Earth suffers with Prometheus, but in Shelley "the passages where he writes of it overweight the poem" ("Classical Background," p. 160).

140. *Heaven's fell King*] Jupiter, as also *God, almighty Tyrant, supreme Tyrant,* and *the Supreme,* in lines 144, 161, 208, 216 (Barnard).

142. Hughes noted that "under the reign of evil the revolutions of Earth are torture to her."

143-45. Grabo pointed out that Prometheus is superior to Jupiter in all save force, which is denied in his separation from Asia, and that the "ultimate triumph of moral goodness is forecast" (*Interpretation,* pp. 20-21).

148. A. Oras noted that Shelley frequently used imagery representing contact, as here (and at I.290-91; II.i.157; II.ii.85; II.iv.60; IV.488-92); and especially painful contact (as at I.31-33, 268-69, 384-85, 452-54; III.i.11-15; III.ii.16-17) ("Shelley's Imagery," pp. 34-39).

150-51. Marjory Bald noted that Shelley early longed for the secrets beyond death, and in this poem "he peered beyond the veils of sense to some place mysterious and apart where the very language is known 'only to those who die' " ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 131).

152-53. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] Full oft my mother Themis, or Earth (one form she hath but many names) [*Prometheus Bound* 211-12].
>
> [K. N. Cameron] As if their own indignant Earth / Which gave the sons of England birth, / Had felt their blood upon her brow [*The Mask of Anarchy* xxxv].

Louis Cazamian noted that, if Prometheus is humanity, the maternal relationship of the earth is appropriate (Edition, p. 16).

153-79. Comparisons:

> [E. Ebeling ("Paracelsian Element," pp. 513-14)] [1] IV.237-53; [2] [Paracelsus, for the idea of the relationship between macrocosm and microcosm, in which the "life and death of man is inseparable from the life of the universe."]
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley,* p. 242)] [*Timaeus* 34 ff., for Plato's conception of the earth as a living organism.]

153-58. Ralph Houston held that Shelley's "habit of involuntary associative thinking" led him "into a form of 'Impressionism', the basis of which is compression, and therefore inimical to the Homeric simile," and he placed him between Milton and "the extreme compression" of T. S. Eliot by comparing the present lines with Milton's "Southward through *Eden* went a River large, / Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggie

hill / Pass'd underneath ingulft, for God had thrown / That Mountain as his Garden mould high rais'd / Upon the rapid current, which through veins / Of porous Earth with kindly thirst up drawn, / Rose a fresh Fountain, and with many a rill / Waterd the Garden; (*Paradise Lost* IV.223-30); and with Eliot's "The goat coughs at night in the field overhead; / Rocks, moss, stonecrop, iron, merds" (*Gerontion* 11-12). Milton, Houston noted, "is straightforward . . . but when Shelley suddenly compresses, transferring, by implication, the 'stony veins' to the tree, one cannot, I think, assent. Mr. Eliot, on the other hand, relies entirely on presenting a series of distinct impressions to the reader" ("Shelley and Association," pp. 57-58). W. Milgate, answering Houston, held that this is "a compression not of imagery but of construction; joy ran *within* earth's stony veins and *from* them to the tips of the leaves . . . [conveying] a sense of the *unity* of earth and tree" ("Reading Shelley," p. 88). And David Erdman added that one should not think of "Earth's stony veins as *stones* . . . [they are] the sapbearing veins of the world's vegetation; they have been made stony by the 'frozen air' of the dark night of oppression . . . [but] the rise of Prometheus caused the sap of joy to run [once more]" ("Reading Shelley," p. 98).

154. Comparison:

[Locock] To the least fibre of their lowest root [Wordsworth, *Vaudracour and Julia* 158].

157-58. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] From the earth thou springest / Like a cloud of fire [*To a Skylark* 7-8].

E. Barnard held that the late birth of Prometheus is inconsistent (with, e.g., lines 381-82); but Carl Grabo felt that the present lines "refer not to the birth of Prometheus but to an incarnation of his spirit, his separation from Mother Earth" (*Interpretation*, p. 21). See also Textual Notes.

163-65. Grabo found this consistent with Herschel's theory that there were many "habitable planetary globes" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 169).

165-79. Comparisons:

[L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 99)] [*Statesman* 272-74, for Plato's description of the "time of darkness and gloom."]

[Woodberry] [Classical myth, for the sorrow of Demeter after the rape of Persephone, and the woes then visited on the earth.]

[R. Piccoli] [1] [*Julius Caesar* I.iii.3-28 and II.ii.13-24, for Shakespeare's description of the portentous earthquake and prodigies in Rome preceding Caesar's assassination]; [2] [Vergil, *Georgics* I.466-88 and III.478-566, for the description of the terrors of earth "after Caesar sank from sight"]; [4] [*The Sensitive Plant* III, for the "most complete expression" of the "macabre and sinister element of Shelley's fantasy."]

165-69. Comparison:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 130)] Therefore let the lightning's forked curl be cast

upon my head and let the sky be convulsed with thunder and the wrack of savage winds; let the hurricane shake the earth from its rooted base, and let the waves of the sea mingle with their savage surge the courses of the stars in heaven [*Prometheus Bound* 1043-50].

168. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] as often, shooting stars, unloosed from heaven, speed across the sky, their tresses streaming in their wake [*Aeneid* V.527-28]; [2] from his horrid hair / Shakes Pestilence and Warr [*Paradise Lost* II.710-11].

[A. Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 429)] See you how the torches shake their shining tresses [Catullus, *Poems* LXI.77-78].

169-79. Comparisons:

[C. H. Clarke] Between the time of the wind and the snow / All loathliest weeds began to grow, / . . . And hour by hour, when the air was still, / The vapours arose which have strength to kill; / At morn they were seen, at noon they were felt, / At night they were darkness no star could melt [*The Sensitive Plant* III.50-73].

[Hughes] [1] Therefore when a sky which is alien to us happens to set itself in motion and a dangerous air to crawl about, it creeps slowly like cloud or mist, causing commotion wherever it goes and compelling change [*De rerum natura* VI.1120]; [2] On this land from the sickened sky there once came a piteous season that glowed with autumn's full heat. Every tribe of cattle, tame or wild, it swept to death; it poisoned the lakes, it tainted the pastures with venom [*Georgics* III.478-80].

[R. Ackermann] [*The Revolt of Islam* xlvi-lv, where Shelley describes the desolate village.]

Grabo noted the evidence in this passage (as in II.iii.2-10, 18; III.iii.84-136) of Shelley's interest in the contemporary experiments (by Davy especially) with gases, and commented: "[Shelley] could not but be struck by the close association in nature of powers which work to man's benefit and to his destruction" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 185-89).

170-72. Comparisons:

[R. Ackermann] Then fell blue Plague upon the race of man [etc., *The Revolt of Islam* X.xx ff.]

[Hughes] And the river shall bring forth frogs abundantly, which shall go up and come into thine house, and into thy bedchamber, and upon thy bed, and into the house of thy servants, and upon thy people, and into thine ovens, and into thy kneadingtroughs [Exodus viii.3].

170. Comparisons:

[Locock] While death's blue vault, with loathliest vapours hung [*Alastor* 216].

[E. Barnard] Prickly, and pulpous, and blistering, and blue [*The Sensitive Plant* III.60].

Arthur Symons commented: "Horror puts on all the daintiness of beauty, losing none of its own essence" (*Romantic Movement*, p. 284); and Locock noted that "Shelley has a characteristic use of the epithet 'blue' when describing anything ghastly or pestilential" (Edition, p. 540).

176. Locock compared III.iii.94-95.

183. *inarticulate*] H. Richter assumed that, because of Shelley's view of communication with the dead, this would be defined as "scarcely audible."

184. *preserve*] Benjamin Kurtz commented: "In the world of dreariness vengeance is darkly treasured" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 162).

187-90. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] The cloud shadows of midnight possess their own repose, / . . . Whatever moves, or toils, or grieves. hath its appointed sleep [*Stanzas.—April. 1814* 17-20].

191-301. Comparisons:

[A. Delrieu ("Poètes modernes," p. 192)] *Lucifer:* Behold these phantoms! they were once / Material as thou art. *Cain:* And must I be / Like them? *Lucifer:* Let Him who made thee answer that. / I show thee what thy predecessors are [Byron, *Cain* II.ii.86-88].

[H. S. Salt (*Shelley Primer*, p. 72)] [*Hellas* 860-912, where Ahasuerus "enables Mahmud to . . . divine the impending ruin by raising his own 'imperial shadow' from the phantom-world."]

[R. Ackermann (*Lucan in Shelley*, p. 29)] The dead man spoke in sorrow, and his tears flowed fast: "Brought back from the high bank of the silent river, I saw not the cruel Fates at their spinning" [*Pharsalia* VI.776-78].

[Hughes] [1] a figure wrapped in a mantle, came to his bedside, and beckoned him. He got up, and followed, and when in the drawing-room, the phantom lifted up the hood of his cloak, and said, "*Siete soddisfatto*," and vanished [Medwin, *Shelley*, p. 405, on Shelley's vision of his own phantom at Casa Magni]; [2] And after him I marked the mighty Heracles—his phantom; for he himself among the immortal gods takes his joy in the feast [etc., *Odyssey* XI.601-14].

[Locock] Many saw / Their own lean image everywhere, it went / A ghastlier self beside them [*The Revolt of Islam* X.xxii].

[R. Piccoli] [1] [*De rerum natura* I.123, for the regions in Acheron where dwelt "certain similitudes of [our spirits and bodies] pallid in wondrous wise"]; [2] That garden sweet, that lady fair, / . . . In truth have never passed away: / . . . For love, and beauty, and delight, / There is no death nor change [*The Sensitive Plant* III.130-35].

Much of the effectiveness of the passage has been generally ascribed to Shelley's invention, or to the "lingering love of magic which so bewitched" his boyhood (Scudder). Thus J. A. Cousins held that "Shelley's idea of death as an incident of life . . . is not based on theological assumptions taken from others, but on his free intuitional responses to his universe. . . . [Here] he declares the existence of a super-physical habitat of the activities of the human psyche, the realm of imagination, faith and love . . . only reachable through the change of consciousness called death" (*Work Promethean*, pp. 59-61).

But the Platonic notion of archetypes and the fixity of the past in eternal memory has also been noted frequently (e.g., Scudder, Alexander, Woodberry, G. H. Clarke, Locock). To E. Ebeling, the idea could stem only from the Paracelsian doctrine "that there is an attendant spirit [Evestrum] born with everything, uniting the created being with the

eternal. All Evestra issue from the same ultimate source and are of two kinds—mortal and immortal. . . . [The] mortal Evestrum is 'like the shadow on the wall. The shadow grows and originates with the body and remains with it up to its ultimate matter.' " It should not be confused with spirit or soul, however: "The eternal or immortal Evestra are not born with individuals and have neither beginning nor end." Thus Zoroaster sees not a ghost, but his mortal Evestrum, "sole of men" probably because he "alone was powerful enough to call his up" (see also I.246-47; II.iv.2-7; III.i.42-48, 51-53). Since Demogorgon is no "real figure" (see line 207) he is no ordinary Evestrum but a prophetic Evestrum ("Paracelsian Element," pp. 514-18). Carl Grabo, however, thought that Porphyry, as cited by Proclus, offered "the most intelligible explanation of the soul residing as a shadow in Hades during the mortal existence of its earthly counterpart," and he summarized the difficult passage as follows:

> [The] soul in its earthly incarnation takes to itself a humid dress or vehicle in which resides a spirit that is not the true soul at all, this latter being resident in the realm of intellective being. The soul presides over its earthly "vehicle" and over that untenanted "vehicle" which awaits the spirit in the lower world until the decease of the earthly body. The "shadows of all forms that think and live" are the vehicles prepared for them, having no life of their own until inhabited by the spirits of the dead. Nor is this second existence or incarnation any more "real" than is earthly existence. From it ultimately the soul wholly withdraws to its true realm, that of mental existence, having in its incarnations acquired the experience it desired or which was demanded of it.

And Grabo added: "It is the phantasm of Jupiter, this empty image in the lower world, which, though non-existent in itself, is made to speak" (*Interpretation*, pp. 25-28).

J. A. Notopoulos, in his turn, held that there was no need to go beyond the *Symposium* and the *Phaedo* (as did Ebeling and Grabo) for the two Platonic notions involved. These he gave as:

> . . . (1) the eternal versus the relative world, and (2) the immortality of the soul. The two notions are complementary in Shelley as in Plato. Shelley not only fuses these Platonic conceptions but also makes the habitation of the eternal beneath the grave a symbol of nether instead of upper transcendence, a conception probably inspired by the subterranean locus of Elysium, a word which Shelley used frequently. The phrase "shadows of all forms" is almost a Platonic formula for the shadowy manifestation of Platonic forms . . . in the relative world [*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 242].

Julia Power believed that Poe's *Sonnet—Silence* (1840) was an attempt to answer this passage, and that the "nameless elf" of line 12 might be a reference to Shelley (*Shelley in America*, p. 107):

> There are some qualities—some incorporate things
> That have a double life, which thus is made
> A type of that twin entity which springs
> From matter and light, evinced in solid shade.

There is a two-fold *Silence*—sea and shore—
Body and soul. One dwells in lonely places,
Newly with grass o'ergrown; some solemn graces,
Some human memories and tearful lore,
Render him terrorless; his name's "No More."
He is the corporate Silence: dread him not!
No power hath he of evil in himself;
But should some urgent fate (untimely lot!)
Bring thee to his shadow (nameless elf
That haunteth the lone regions where hath trod
No feet of man), commend thyself to God!

To Todhunter, "the evocation of the phantasm . . . is one of the obscurest and least satisfactory parts of the poem. The meaning may, perhaps, be that past history still lives in a sort of phantasmal world, and speaks when evoked by the human imagination" (*Study*, p. 143); to Arthur Clive it was a "grotesquery" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 425); but to Rossetti the passage was "one of the most singular inventions in the whole range of Shelley's poetry" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 146), a view shared by Louis Cazamian, who commented on its admirable vigor and majesty, equal to Aeschylus in nervous energy, superior in strength of evocation, comparable only to the sublimity of Dante (Edition, p. 16).

192. *Zoroaster*] Either the Persian religious leader (ca. 1000 B.C.) or the Bactryan wizard of earlier date—both believed in in Shelley's day (Grabo, *Interpretation*, p. 22). Grabo commented: "Shelley's mysticism has, indeed, its resemblances to true Zoroastrianism in its characteristic contrasts of light and darkness which in Zoroastrianism denote the powers of good and evil, Ormuzd and Ahriman" (pp. 22-24). E. Barnard noted that Zoroastrianism "differed from Manichaeism, of which there are many traces in Shelley's work, in its faith that the evil power, Ahriman, would in the end be overcome and destroyed by the good, Ormuzd. The story here alluded to is unknown in connexion with Zoroaster, although it is a common theme in folklore."

201. Comparison:

[Locock] Unquenchable disdain of death, and faith / Creating what it feigned [*Hellas* 410-11].

Locock noted: "The idea that Faith is the creator of its own gods is very common in Shelley's works [cf. I.382]."

203-9. G. R. Elliott commented: "This gilded Tyrant, this Jupiter of things as they are; and that vague tremendous being (Demogorgon) which is certain to change things presently, for better or for worse; and even one's own Promethean self, ideally writhing under the idealized oppression of things as they are: all these are there, in shadowy form, stripped both of power and of pain," because Shelley transports us to "an airy, neutral region" ("Solitude of Shelley," pp. 7-8).

204. R. Piccoli compared "A desert peopled by the storms alone" (*Mont Blanc* 67).

207. *tremendous gloom*] Rossetti found the phrase "mysterious . . . proper to a mysterious subject" ("Study," p. 69). E. Barnard noted that the One in *Adonais* lii is named Eternity, as is Demogorgon at III.i.52, but in *Adonais* it is a "white radiance" rather than a "tremendous gloom." In each case an Ultimate Reality is intended, and both Demogorgon and the One differ from the Necessity of *Queen Mab*, which was "arrived at through a cold-blooded process of reason . . . whereas [the One is born] of an emotional, a moral, a spiritual need for something to trust in and hold to amid the chaotic flux of earthly existence" (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 93-94).

209. *burning*] Literally, as at I.291 (Locock).

211. With respect to the selection made by Earth, F. A. Lea commented: "The conception is too subtle for most of Shelley's critics, who, assuming the Titan to be pure from the start, miss the whole point of the first Act, which is the process of his purgation" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 117).

212-13. Barnard felt that the last part of the line seemed inconsistent with the fact that Jupiter is "the supreme of living things" (see II.iv.113). The following line, however, he found in harmony with the implication (at II.iv.110) that Jupiter is the servant of an evil Power greater than himself.

212. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann (*Lucan in Shelley*, p. 28)] She had more cause to boast of him than of Typhon or Tityos and fierce Briareus [*Pharsalia* IV.595-96].
>
> [Alexander] *Orcus* and *Ades* [*Paradise Lost* II.964].
>
> [Hughes] Pity moved me, too, at the sight of the earth-born dweller of the Cilician caves curbed by violence, that destructive monster of an hundred heads, impetuous Typhon. He withstood all the gods, hissing out terror with horrid jaws, while from his eyes lightened a hideous glare, as though he would storm amain the sovereignty of Zeus. But upon him came the unsleeping bolt of Zeus, the swooping levin brand with breath of flame, which smote him, frightened, from his high-worded vauntings; for, stricken to the very heart, he was burnt to ashes and his strength blasted from him by the lightning bolt. And now, a helpless and a sprawling bulk, he lies hard by the narrows of the sea, pressed down beneath the roots of Aetna; whilst on the topmost summit Hephaestus sits and hammers the molten ore. Thence there shall one day burst forth rivers of fire, with savage jaws devouring the level fields of Sicily, land of fair fruit—such boiling rage shall Typhon, although charred by the blazing levin of Zeus, send spouting forth with hot jets of appalling, fire-breathing surge [*Prometheus Bound* 353-74].

Alexander noted that in *Paradise Lost* Hades (Ades) is likewise used for Pluto, the presiding divinity of the lower world.

213. *Evil*] G. H. Clarke noted the allegorical suggestion, and contrasted lines 219-22.

216. *vacant shades*] Empty phantoms, whom the wrath of Jupiter cannot harm (Locock).

220. *aught resembling me*] His "own ghost" of line 211 (Locock).

221. Ackermann felt that the Phantasm was modeled after the "Spirit of Darius" in Aeschylus' *Persae*, but in an entirely original configuration (*Shelley*, p. 224); and White that the word "may have come into his mind from the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, which he quoted from in his motto to *Alastor*, as early as 1815" (*Shelley*, II, 580).

J. Slater noted, without solution, the difficulty centering in Prometheus' power over the shade of Jupiter: "The difficulty may perhaps be solved by settling the relation which Jupiter himself bore to his ghost. The poet, however, nowhere helps us to this" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 184). To J. M. Brown the Phantasm was "little else than a dramatic embodiment of reminiscence. And it and its world of spirits represent the fact that in the tissues of our brain seem to linger the impressions of all that we have thought or felt; and at a touch, as from an unseen hand, they often start into unexpected but shadowy life" (*Study*, p. 138). But in Arthur Wormhoudt's psychiatric view, by calling the phantasm of Jupiter rather than of himself Prometheus "signifies that he only desires to shift from the positive to the negative oedipus relation. For by making the father repeat the curse of the son, Prometheus is able to shift the guilt for his own aggression onto the father image. This leaves him in that completely passive position which is characteristic of the negative oedipus relation and prepares the way for the feminine identification with the mother image which is to occur in the last act of the play" (*Demon Lover*, p. 91).

appear . . . appears (line 224)] Louis Cazamian noted as a fault that Shelley frequently repeats words in different context at short intervals. He cited also I.318 and 323, 530 and 537, 682 and 687, 754 and 760; II.i.26, 34 and 37; II.iv.7 and 9; II.v.102 and 108; III.i.47 and 50; III.ii.26 and 32; III.iii.115 and 120, 167 and 169, 171 and 173; III.iv.42 and 49, 86 and 89, 194 and 198; IV.23 and 26, 49 and 54, 146 and 148, 359 and 364, 460 and 462 (Edition, p. 34).

222-39. Todhunter found in these lines "a foretaste of the ethereal music which makes this poem like Prospero's enchanted island . . . 'full of noises, / Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not' [*The Tempest* III.ii.147-48]" (*Study*, p. 143). G. H. Clarke noted that Ione and Panthea bring to Prometheus "something of the consolation" Asia's "own presence would assure. These spirits serve the purpose of a chorus, as now, lyrically anticipating the appearance of the Phantasm of Jupiter."

222-30. Arthur Clive commented on the "cunningly-devised language and melody," and the "delicious and unobtrusive alliteration with which the stanza concludes" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 425).

223. Comparisons:

[Hughes] Yet dazle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim / Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes [*Paradise Lost* III.381-82].

[K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 740)] [1] the veiled eye of Memory [*Prince Athanase* 99]; [2] [Edition] [Memory] replies, / Veiling in awe her second-

sighted eyes; / "I know the past alone—but summon home / My sister Hope,—she speaks of all to come" [*Letter to Maria Gisborne* 136-39].

Cameron's comparisons stemmed from his reversal of the customary identification of Panthea and Ione (see Critical Notes under Dramatis Personae). He held that Ione represented Memory, and Panthea Hope, and commented (Edition):

> Ione is never able to see the future or to understand present action passing into the future. For instance, she is never able to understand where the various "spirits," which appear in the course of the drama, have gone, knowing only that they have left the present [see I.801; IV.34, 181]. . . . It is Ione who gives the ancient shell of love to the Spirit of the Hour and who is to sing "fragments of sea music" (presumably from the past) to Prometheus and Asia in their cave [III.iii.27]. She cannot understand things as can Panthea, for, as Shelley implies in *A Defence of Poetry*, the type of mind which functions on mechanical reasoning from past events cannot have the comprehension of the truly imaginative intellect. . . . Cf. the union of hope and love in *The Masque of Anarchy* for a parallel to Panthea and Asia.

224-26. Locock interpreted this to mean: "The shape appears and the throng of sounds arise." He cited also IV.57-58 for "use of a plural verb with a (strictly speaking) singular subject."

228. R. Piccoli compared "this heart of many wounds" (*Queen Mab* VII.162).

231-39. B. P. Kurtz called this "Shelley's utmost picture of political evil" as well as of "the god of ignorant superstition" (*Pursuit of Death*, pp. 162-63); and R. H. Fogle commented: "Jupiter, it is too infrequently noticed, is a worthy opponent, an imaginative conception of the first rank" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 25).

235. Comparison:

> [Hughes] Then there came up the spirit of the Theban Teiresias, bearing his golden staff in his hand, and he knew me and spoke to me [*Odyssey* XI.90-91].

236. Comparison:

> [Locock] a wand, / He walkt with to support uneasie steps [*Paradise Lost* I.294].

237. A. Oras noted that Shelley frequently used imagery representing "ramified structures" of veined texture, as here (and at II.i.117; II.v.23-24; III.iii.13); or something moving through, or as if through, veins or pores (as at I.153, 488-91; II.i.197-203; III.iii.85-87, 135 ff; IV.370-72, 389-90, 412-14, 510-14); or nerves (as at I.475-76) (*Shelley's Imagery*, pp. 24-33).

240. Scudder noted the "fine nemesis" in a self-condemned evil pronouncing its own doom.

244. See Textual Notes.

246-47. Elizabeth Ebeling noted that Paracelsus' "favorite way of describing the Evestrum [see note at I.191-209] is as a shadowed image of the individual" ("Paracelsian Element," p. 518).

253. Locock noted that "the temporal 'yet' before a negative" is common in Shelley, and he compared "Yet never found I one not false to me" (Dedication [vi] to *The Revolt of Islam*).

254-55. Comparisons:

[T. Böhme (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, p. 336)] Or as the thonder cleaves the cloudes, / . . . Wherein the lightsome levin shroudes, / So cleaves thy soule a sonder [*Shepherd's Calendar, August* 85-88].

[E. Barnard] A spirit not my own wrenched me within [*Hellas* 456].

258-60. G. W. Knight, in urging Byron as a strong influence on the poem, commented: "This is, at least if we read 'bitterness' for 'hate,' almost exactly how Shelley in *Julian and Maddalo* . . . saw Byron" (*Byron*, p. 258).

258. *on*] Written on (Barnard).

262-81. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, pp. 132-34)] [1] There is no torment or device by which Zeus shall induce me to utter this until these injurious fetters be loosed. So then, let his blazing levin be hurled, and with the white wings of the snow and thunders of earthquake let him confound the reeling world. For naught of this shall bend my will even to tell at whose hands he is fated to be hurled from his sovereignty [*Prometheus Bound* 989-96]; [2] Lo, now it hath passed from word to deed—the earth rocks, the echoing thunder-peal from the depths rolls roaring past me; the fiery wreathed lightning-flashes flare forth . . . the blasts of all the winds leap forth and set in hostile array their embattled strife; the sky is confounded with the deep. Behold, this stormy turmoil advances against me, manifestly sped of Zeus to make me tremble. O holy mother mine, O thou firmament that dost revolve the common light of all, thou seest the wrongs I suffer! [*ibid.* 1080-93].

[Hughes] Yea, verily, the day will come when Zeus, howbeit stubborn of soul, shall be humbled, seeing that he purposeth a marriage that shall hurl him into oblivion from his sovereignty and throne; and then shall straightway be fulfilled to the uttermost the malison his father Cronus imprecated as he fell from his ancient throne. Deliverance from such ruin can no one of the gods show him clearly save only myself. I know it and the means thereof. So let him sit there in his assurance, putting his trust in the crash reverberating on high and brandishing in his hands his fire-breathing bolt. For naught shall these avail him against falling in ignominious and unendurable ruin [*Prometheus Bound* 907-19].

[L. O. Kuhns (*Dante and the Poets*, p. 193)] [1] *Capaneus*: Though Jove wear out his smith from whom in rage he seized the keen bolt with which, the last day, I was smitten—though he wear out the rest by turns at the black smithy . . . and hurl his shafts at me with all his force, he should not so have the joy of vengeance [*Inferno* XIV.52-62]; [2] Be absolute for death [*Measure for Measure* III.i.5].

[Peck (*Shelley*, II, 128)] [*To the Lord Chancellor* and *The Cenci* IV.i.114-57, for Shelley's two other "memorable curses."]

[F. A. Lea (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 113)] [*Queen Mab* and *The Assassins* for "the curse pronounced by Shelley himself on kings, priests and statesmen."]

Arthur Clive felt that the curse contained "more the eloquence of rhetoric than of poetry" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 425); and Sidney Lanier found here, as throughout the play, evidence of Shelley's "besetting sin [of] wordiness" ("English Novel," p. 90), but also an "instinct of modernness

both in the spirituality of the torment and in the minuteness of its description" (pp. 88-89). To H. Richter the curse was an outbreak of that wild rage which rises up against evil before reason has recognized its necessity; and she noted also (*Shelley*, p. 415) that Jupiter fulfills, sentence by sentence, the details of the curse, with the furies representing the hurling down of his hatred. To Olwen Campbell "the curse, expressing a spirit of wrath and vengeance, belongs to that evil side of life which Jupiter represents." She justified the repetition of the curse dramatically as showing "how far [Prometheus] has traveled since the beginning of his sufferings," adding that also "Shelley *wanted* to curse Jupiter. Throughout his life he managed to live up to most of his doctrines of forgiveness and love, but in this matter of cursing tyrants he had perpetual backslidings," as in *Lines to a Reviewer* and *Lines to a Critic*, as well as in references to the critics in the Preface to *The Revolt of Islam* and in the letters (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 208). Similarly, E. Barnard, finding the curse dramatic but not absolutely necessary, noted that Shelley believed and lived up to the Gospel command, "Love your enemies," but that he was human enough to enjoy "a ringing denunciation" (Edition, p. 98). Peck, in turn, considered the curse "singular" for "one who resolutely disclaimed the passion of hate" (*Shelley*, II, 128). But B. Rajan held that "to put the curse in the mouth of Jupiter's ghost is a subtle commentary on Jove's essence no less dramatic because it is incipient, an identification of a curse with a phantom, a judgement in the shadowland of thought [see also I.603-4]. It is Prometheus' first act of understanding" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 297). Psychiatrically, A. Wormhoudt found the curse "typical of a son with a positive oedipus complex," but, since Jupiter is now speaking, "the object of the curse . . . must now be Prometheus himself and he . . . is on the way toward identifying himself with the mother in the negative oedipus relation. If the curse is read carefully it will be seen that there is nothing in it which will definitely determine the sex of the person against whom it is directed" (*Demon Lover*, pp. 92-93).

265. R. Piccoli compared I.2, 274.

273-74. Comment on this important sentence has been varied. To Rossetti it indicated "the unvanquishable power of will in the Human Mind," and that "the Mind itself is that which has allotted or ascribed power to the Vicissitude of the World" ("Study," p. 60). Alexander read: "Authority gets the right from men to control them externally, but one man cannot confer on another the power of self-control or power over the *will* of others." To G. H. Clarke it meant that "all power derives its authority from the spirit of truth and justice." But S. F. Gingerich, who argued narrowly that Shelley was "the advocate of the cosmic, spiritual, impersonality of all things" with an "overarching Necessity" controlling the action and thought in *Prometheus Unbound*, insisted that this evidence of free will was but an exception which proved the rule (*Essays*, p. 219).

Carl Grabo held that the "creative will [of Prometheus] as in the One of the theology of Platonism, is prior to and greater than all its works, [but] subject to them in the same way that a man is subject to the thoughts which have been his. . . . The past cannot be destroyed. It can at best be forgiven." Thus Shelley outgrows the limitations of French Revolutionary philosophy in ignoring the past (*Interpretation*, pp. 30-31).

J. W. Beach, broadening the approach, cited this (and II.iv.101-4; III.iv.198-99; IV.406-11) as evidence that Shelley believed in "the paramountcy of the will," even though II.ii.41-63 suggested "that he is still clinging to the doctrine of necessity." Actually, Shelley "in apparently conflicting passages shows two sides of a coin which, however often and ingeniously you toss it, will continue to have two sides. 'Will' is one of the most indispensable and most ambiguous of words." Shelley, Beach held, asserted

> . . . the primacy of the will, yes, the responsibility of the will, yes, the need of right guidance for the will, yes—but the freedom of the will, no—not if you mean by that, that the will exists in a vacuum, out of relation to the rest of our nature and the world. . . . The poet can often be convicted of inconsistency because he is so fond of turning the object round and round in many lights, bringing to view facets of the truth hard to reconcile by any logic or any psychology at our command. But that is a main source of his appeal to those who take the truths of experience as they come, leaving to later reflection to make them conformable to logic or invent a psychology whose refinements will be equal to comprehending them in one system [*Romantic View*, pp. 119-22].

E. Barnard, citing also I.381 and II.iv.43 ff., commented:

> According to the old myth, Prometheus, during the struggle between the Titans and the usurping Olympian Gods, found his fellows scornful of his counsels, and accordingly went over to the enemy and aided Jupiter to triumph in the conflict. What bearing, if any, the statement has on Shelley's immediate philosophical purpose is uncertain. It becomes clear if, with a certain group of critics, we regard Jupiter as standing for an anthropomorphic God and the teachings of dogmatic religion in general. It is perhaps simpler, and more in harmony with the Platonic and Christian doctrines now coming to be dominant in Shelley's thought, to regard Jupiter, here, as the objectification of Prometheus' own weaknesses and evil impulses in times past.

Finally, Joseph Barrell pointed out that, "though Prometheus thus gave to Jupiter knowledge of the physical forces of nature, particularly of the supreme force, of lightning, he did not extend to him knowledge of the psychical forces . . . [probably because] he had not attained to it himself [see I.56-59]"; and he noted that the *Republic* would appeal to Shelley as a basis for the ethical thought of this act: "To Plato the real world was of the nature of mind and could be apprehended by the mind. Man thus becomes not the measure of all things but the knower of all things," a philosophy that would be attractive to Shelley on two grounds—"the future it holds out for man" and "its harmony with the scientific point of

view" (*Shelley and Thought*, pp. 143, 149). To this J. A. Notopoulos would add that whereas "Shelley believes that evil can be overcome by the exercise of the will . . . Plato believes that it can be overcome by the mastery in the soul of the rational element." But, he acknowledged, Shelley, like Plato, contradicts himself at I.294 and II.iv.101 (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 236).

277. See Textual Notes.

281. *while*] Locock held this to be a temporal use (since "Prometheus knows that the reign of Jupiter is destined to come to an end"), while *must* shows that "he regards the reign as a misfortune to Jupiter himself."

286-301. Hughes compared Byron, *Prometheus* II (see Appendix E). Bennett Weaver pointed out that "alike in the Greek and English drama, that which gives significance to the will of Prometheus is pain," but in Shelley there is "the tempering of the nature of the suffering with vicarious warmth: Shelley's Titan would be not only the foe of Zeus but the saviour of man." He noted some sixty references to the pain of Prometheus in Aeschylus and forty in Shelley, with Aeschylus using a larger variety of words, but Shelley creating "a greater shock and charge of pain" than Aeschylus, since Shelley's words are "often used in figures of speech, a circumstance which gives them vividness and impact." Also, Shelley gives greater unity by (1) stressing the actual chaining rather than the "foul shame" which is emphasized in Aeschylus; (2) concentrating on the fire-stealing theme rather than Prometheus' haughtiness; and (3) permitting Prometheus himself, rather than other actors, to comment on his pain. But, Weaver concluded, "in the grander aspects of their characters [their defiance through timeless suffering], the Greek and the English Prometheus resemble each other" ("*Prometheus*," pp. 123-25).

289. Comparison:

> [Douglas Bush (*Mythology*, p. 145)] As when *Alcides* from *Oealia* Crown'd / With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe [*Paradise Lost* II.542-43].

robe] The shirt of Nessus which poisoned Hercules (Woodberry).

290-91. Comparison:

> [Bush ("Notes," p. 299)] The golden coil about her head that lay / 'Gan spurt a marvellous stream of ravening fire [Euripides, *Medea* 1186-87].

R. H. Fogle noted that "Shelley, except for his use of warmth to symbolize spiritual regeneration, is characteristically sharp of edge in his heat-imagery [see I.268-69, 383-85, 612; II.iv.53-55; III.i.38-39]. In all these examples a common sharpness and penetrative quality is present, vividly and imaginatively expressed" (*Imagery*, pp. 78-79).

292-301. Comparisons:

> [Scudder] the will / And high permission of all-ruling Heaven / Left him at large to his own dark designs, / That with reiterated crimes he might / Heap on himself damnation, [also F. L. Jones, "Shelley and Milton," p. 500] while he

sought / Evil to others, and enrag'd might see / How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth / Infinite goodness [*Paradise Lost* I.211-18].

Scudder noted that the curse is "simply the statement of the inexorable law by which cause works out to effect." Carlos Baker elaborated: "Like Milton's Satan, Jupiter will heap ill deeds upon his own soul; like him also he will be damned in the most excruciating fashion—'beholding good,' knowing the bliss of heaven but being unable to share in it; like Satan, too, though majestic in his power, he will be shown to be outwardly what he is internally, an image of all evil; and like Satan, he will fall through boundless space and time down to 'the wide waves of ruin . . . into a shoreless sea' [III.i.71-74]" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 98).

292-95. See Textual Notes.

293. Joseph Barrell suggested: "No doubt the notion of good came to Prometheus through the unexpected misuse to which Jupiter put the knowledge that Prometheus had given him" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 144).

294. Comparisons:

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 236)] [1] it is impossible that evils should be done away with, Theodorus, for there must always be something opposed to the good [*Theatetus* 176a]; [2] [*Statesman* 272-74, where "evil is described as the result of the absence of God from the world, and, as a result of the world's being given over to earthly desires, it returns to its primeval disorder."]

White held that this line, as well as III.i.73 and IV.565-67, contradicts Mrs. Shelley when she said in her note that Shelley believed evil could be expelled from man's "own nature, and from the greater part of the creation" (*Shelley*, II, 123-24). Notopoulos noted also the contradiction to I.273-74.

296-301. Comparison:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 134)] So let him sit there in his assurance, putting his trust in the crash reverberating on high and brandishing in his hands his fire-breathing bolt. For naught shall these avail him against falling in ignominious and unendurable ruin [*Prometheus Bound* 915-19].

297. Carlos Baker pointed out that "the whole of the poem is the biography of an Hour . . . together with the events immediately preceding it, and those which directly ensue upon its arrival" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 96).

301. *lagging*] Long-delayed (Hughes).

303-5. Comparisons:

[Woodberry ("Titan Myth," p. 77)] but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also [Matthew v.39].

[Alexander (Edition, p. lxvi)] The true patriot will endeavor to enlighten and to unite the nation and animate it with enthusiasm and confidence. . . . Lastly, if circumstances had collected a more considerable number as at Manchester on the memorable 16th of August, if the tyrants command their troops to fire upon

them or cut them down unless they disperse, he will exhort them peacably to risque the danger. and to expect without resistance the onset of the cavalry, and wait with folded arms the event of the fire of the artillery and receive with unshrinking bosoms the bayonets of the charging battalions. . . . And this, not because active resistance is not justifiable when all other means shall have failed, but because in this instance temperance and courage would produce greater advantages than the most decisive victory [*A Philosophical View of Reform*. Julian, VII, 48-49].

[G. W. Knight (*Byron*, p. 258)] Not in the air shall these my words disperse, / Though I be ashes; a far hour shall wreak / The deep prophetic fulness of this verse, / And pile on human heads the mountain of my curse! / That curse shall be Forgiveness [*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* IV.cxxxiv-cxxxv].

Medwin felt that Shelley would have uttered these words with respect to his own verses on Lord Eldon (*Shelley*, p. 187). To Rossetti "this final superiority of the mind over its darker passions is the beginning of the downfall of Jupiter, and of the unbinding of Prometheus" ("Study," p. 62). G. H. Clarke felt that "the operation of the law of necessity expressed in the curse as inevitable is not repented, but rather the spirit of malevolence found in [lines 286-95. Cf. line 53]. The lyric outbursts of despair that follow suggest the inability of the purely *natural* mind of antiquity—facing the fact of Prometheus's captivity—to appreciate the meaning and power of unselfishness," and he compared I.394-401. E. M. Chapman considered the change in Prometheus "a touch impossible, I think, to any modern poet except Shelley" (*Literature in Account with Religion*, pp. 122-23); and E. Barnard pointed out that, although "critics still persist in regarding Jupiter's fall as completely causeless, the result of blind fate," the fall is actually motivated by this change in Prometheus' character (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 124). But Joseph Barrell felt that there was "no ordinary causation between the words of Prometheus" and the later events: "The subsequent action can only mean that with the revocation of his curse Prometheus has attained to the level of absolute good, where good, no matter how wretched, pities evil, no matter how prosperous. Then goodness loses its impotence, and evil its power" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 144). Carlos Baker assumed that Jupiter hears the repeated curse: "The moral reformation of Prometheus is now complete, and the way for his reunion with Asia has been prepared, so that he is able to endure with equanimity almost all the remaining tortures, the most cruel and subtle excoriations of mind, which Jupiter, out of a vengeful determination to requite him for having had the curse repeated, now heaps upon him" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 98).

In a more narrowly political vein K. N. Cameron held that Shelley, opposed to mass violence, felt that the French Revolution had started because the French lacked intellectual leaders to keep them from going to extremes. Here "the intellectuals of the age are beginning to realize that they must erase all thought of revenge from their hearts in order to lead the coming revolution into peaceful channels, and, so, avoid anarchy"

("Political Symbolism," p. 738). To this Carlos Baker replied that Prometheus "expresses no fears that the coming revolution will be in any sense war-like, while a state of anarchy . . . appears to be the very goal which Prometheus seeks" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 285). C. M. Bowra suggested that here "Jupiter appears to be not an ultimate and hideous principle of evil but a deity who has to be fought as a personal enemy." But the principle of evil "will not be defeated by forgiveness. In making his myth dramatic, Shelley has for the moment forgotten what his Jupiter really represents, and the result is a confusion in the scheme of the poem" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 121). And P. H. Butter commented: "Prometheus and Jupiter represent the good and evil in the human soul. While a man continues to brood over his past sins, even if with abhorrence of them, those sins in some degree remain alive and effective in his mind. He frees himself from them not by hating them, but by turning towards active good and ceasing to think of them" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 176).

Finally, G. W. Knight, arguing for the important influence of Byron on the poem (see Introduction, pp. 78-79), wrote of this passage: "That holds the very accent of Byron in 1818. Indeed, we find here not only a reminder of the Maniac's forgiveness in *Julian and Maddalo*, but also *an exact dramatization of the curse crowned by forgiveness* in the Promethean stanzas of *Childe Harold* [see Comparisons, above]. . . . We now suggest that the noble opening of the *Prometheus Unbound* . . . was a transcription of those very Promethean stanzas" (*Byron*, p. 258).

305. Hughes noted that, like Spinoza, "he is more for the One than for the Many, and fain to see the finite not persistent in itself or individual in its own right, but ever surrendering and fading into the infinite . . . his ideal imagination waters down or washes out division, conflict, pain [as here] . . . and therefore the separateness and assertiveness of the individual" ("Theology of Shelley," pp. 193-94).

306-11. Todhunter commented: "The earth has not yet faith to receive the Shelleyan (or Christian) doctrine that evil is not to be overcome by evil," hence she thinks that he is vanquished (*Study*, p. 144). Scudder added that Earth, "with merely natural understanding, feels that he who forgives is vanquished," but Prometheus has escaped from "the order of natural law, with its unfailing nemesis." And Benjamin Kurtz pointed out that "the populace, bound to attribute infallibility to the hero, cannot permit him to grow in grace and wisdom. . . . With such misunderstandings the helper of men must always reckon" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 164).

312-13. Todhunter commented: "The wonderfully solemn cadence of despair produced by the double echo of the Earth's last words, is an early instance of those delicate tricks of verse in which Shelley revels all through this, his poem of poems. You can almost hear the sob of Earth's hopeless anguish dying away in sullen echoes through the wild gorges of Caucasus" (*Study*, p. 144). Also, Scudder felt, the voices "enhance the vastness

of the action by suggesting the mysterious sympathy of all creation."

314-37. Scudder noted that Ione "beholds, describes, and questions," while Panthea interprets, and she cited as further evidence I.579-90; II.iv.1-7; IV.30-40, 185-90. A. Delrieu found this passage imitative of but notably inferior to Aeschylus. In Aeschylus it is Ocean, a god of the Titan race, who proposes mediation with Jupiter to Prometheus, and the ocean nymphs are appropriate to their roles. But in Shelley the chorus is a "bizarre accessory, fantastic" ("Poètes modernes," p. 192).

318-22. Comparisons:

> [A. Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 428)] [1] As when a woman staineth ivory with scarlet, some woman of Maeonia or Caria, to make a cheek-piece for horses, and it lieth in a treasure-chamber, though many horsemen pray to wear it; but it lieth there as a king's treasure, alike an ornament for his horse and to its driver a glory; even in such wise, Menelaus, were thy thighs stained with blood, thy shapely thighs and thy legs and thy fair ankles beneath [*Iliad* IV.141-47]; [2] As when one stains Indian ivory with crimson dye, or as when white lilies blush with many a blended rose—such hues her maiden features showed [*Aeneid* XII.67-69].

319-24. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] The god made ready to obey his mighty father's bidding, and first binds on his feet the golden shoes which carry him upborne on wings over seas or land, swift as the gale (*Aeneid* IV.238-41); [2] And he took the wand wherewith he lulls to sleep the eyes of whom he will [*Odyssey* V.47].

Hughes noted that the winged sandals and the wand entwined with two serpents were always assigned to Mercury: "He uses his wand as the God of sleep to shut and open men's eyes, and to guide men's souls to the lower world."

325. Comparison:

> [R. Ackermann] But stay, for yonder I behold his lackey, the servitor of our new lord and master [*Prometheus Bound* 941].

For Mercury see also Critical Notes on Dramatis Personae.

328. Comparison:

> [Woodberry] *Apollo:* Avaunt, I charge ye! Get ye gone forthwith from out this house, quit my prophetic sanctuary [Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 179-80].

331-34. E. B. Hungerford commented: "It was the function of the Furies, in classical myth, to pursue with torments persons upon whom a curse had been uttered. In Shelley's play, when the dreadful curse is repeated, even though it is now recalled, the Furies automatically appear, not to torment Zeus, but to torment Prometheus himself. The moral allegory is that Prometheus, by hating, has . . . been made evil: the torments of the Furies have been called down not upon Zeus, who was cursed, but upon Prometheus, who had done the cursing" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 171-72). K. N. Cameron interpreted the lines politically, holding that thus the aristocrats "sent all their forces of defeatist propaganda—using the

collapse of the French Revolution as their main weapon—to break the spirits of the intellectuals" ("Political Symbolism," p. 738). And P. H. Butter noted that, unlike the general qualities personified in medieval allegories, "these Furies and Spirits . . . [personify] *particular* mental experiences or thoughts" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 177).

331. R. Ackermann compared I.34.

335-36. Carl Grabo found "mixed neo-Platonic and magical sources" in this (*Interpretation*, p. 32).

thin] Unsubstantial, or sucked dry (Locock).

338-40. Comparison:

> [Hughes] Aha! Here is the trail of the man, and plain! Follow the evidence of a voiceless informant. For as a hound a wounded fawn, so do we track him by the drops of blood. My heart pants at my sore and wearying toil; for I have ranged over every region of the earth, and in wingless flight I came in pursuit of him over the sea, swift as a swift ship. So now, somewhere hereabout he must be crouching. The smell of human blood makes me laugh for joy [Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 245-53].

339-40. Scudder noted the "horrible dramatic appropriateness of the simile, on the lips of Fury."

341-42. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance [*Paradise Lost* X.616].
>
> [B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 192)] [1] Bigotry's bloodhounds [*A Dialogue* 18]; [2] the tyrant's bloodhounds [*A Tale of Society as It Is* 18].

Hounds] Because of their wakefulness (Hughes).

342-44. Comparison:

> [G. H. Clarke] What! Shrinking again and groaning over the foes of Zeus? Look to it lest the day come when thou shalt grieve for thyself [*Prometheus Bound* 67-68].

Son of Maia] Mercury.

Clarke noted "a vindictive suggestion here of Jovean vengeance overtaking hesitancy, as in [the *Prometheus Bound* lines]."

344. Comparison:

> [L. O. Kuhns ("Dante's Influence," p. 164)] [Inferno VIII.68-78, for the description of "the city of Dis, with its walls and towers, rising like a fortress on the banks of the river Styx."]

345. Comparison:

> [E. Barnard] *Cocytus*, nam'd of lamentation loud / Heard on the ruful stream; fierce *Phlegeton* / Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage [*Paradise Lost* II.579-81].

See also Textual Notes.

346. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann] [1] And near them are their winged sisters three, the snake-haired Gorgons, loathed of mankind, whom no one of mortal kind shall look upon

and still draw breath [*Prometheus Bound* 799-800]; [2] *Gorgons* and *Hydra's*, and *Chimera's* dire [*Paradise Lost* II.628]; [3] He looks on the Gorgon's head unveiled; He lashes the cowering Fury with her own scourge [*Pharsalia* VI.746-47].

[Hughes] Turn thy back and keep thine eyes shut, for should the Gorgon show herself and thou see her there would be no returning above [*Inferno* IX.55-57].

Geryon] A monster with three bodies and three heads, whose oxen ate human flesh, and were guarded by Orthros, a two-headed dog. Hercules slew both Geryon and the dog.

Gorgon] The Gorgons were three sisters, Stheno, Euryale, and Medusa, the last slain by Perseus (G. H. Clarke). In Homer there is one Gorgon who lives in the nether world. In Hesiod there are three—winged forms with snake locks, whose looks turned the beholder to stone. They lived on the western edge of the world, by the realm of Night (Hughes).

347. Comparison:

[Hughes] When the riddling Sphinx was here, Why hadst thou no deliverance for this folk? [Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 391-92].

Chimæra] A fire-belching monster, described by Homer as having a goat's body, a lion's head, and a dragon's tail. It was born in Lycia, and slain by Bellerophon.

Sphinx] Hughes commented: "The Sphinx was a winged being, with the body of a lion and the face of a maiden. It settled on a hill near Thebes, and slew all passers by who could not answer its riddle. Oedipus answered the riddle, and the Sphinx destroyed itself. This led ultimately to the undoing of Oedipus, to his marriage with his mother (unnatural love) and the conflict between his sons (more unnatural hate)."

348. *poisoned wine*] A figurative reference to the events stemming from the riddle set by the Sphinx (Barnard).

350. L. Vivante noted: "The furies themselves do not lack the notion of pity, if it helps them: they ask for pity, while exerting their cruelty, in order to be allowed the evil deed" ("Shelley," p. 157).

- 352-80. Comparison:

[Ackermann] *Hermes:* To thee, the clever and crafty, bitter beyond all bitterness, who hast sinned against the gods in bestowing honours upon creatures of a day, and art the thief of fire—to thee I speak. The Father bids thee tell what marriage thou vauntest whereby he is to be hurled from power—and this, mark well, set forth in no riddling fashion, but point by point, as the case exactly stands; and do not impose upon me a double journey, Prometheus—thou seest Zeus is not appeased by dealing such as thine [*Prometheus Bound* 944-52].

The contrast between the "sympathetic, persuasive language" of Mercury and the "overbearing insolence" of Aeschylus' Hermes (Locock) has been noted frequently. Alexander pointed out that Mercury more nearly resembles Hephaestus (see below). In Mercury's speech B. P. Kurtz saw "the supreme temptation . . . to be worldly wise and to renounce the seemingly impossible task. Why contend with the omnipotence of facts?" (Introduction, p. xliii).

352-57. Comparisons:

[Ackermann] [1] I.56, 305, 428; [2] *Oceanus:* For thy fate, thou may'st be sure, I feel compassion [*Prometheus Bound* 288].

[Scudder (Edition, p. 136)] *Hephaestus:* But for me—I cannot nerve myself to bind amain a kindred god upon this rocky cleft assailed by cruel winter. Yet, come what may, I am constrained to summon courage to this deed; for 'tis perilous to disregard the commandments of the Father. Lofty-minded son of Themis who counselleth aright, against my will, no less than thine, I must rivet thee with brazen bonds. . . . Oh handicraft that I have learned so much to loathe! [*Prometheus Bound* 14-20, 45].

[Woodberry] *Hephaestus:* Alas, Prometheus, I groan over thy pangs [*Prometheus Bound* 66].

353. Comparison:

[A. Kroder ("Shelleyana," p. 173)] So here I am unwilling and withal / Unwelcome; no man cares to hear ill news [Sophocles, *Antigone* 276].

Kroder noted that such wordplay as "unwilling . . . unwillingly" was popular with the Greeks and that Shelley made rich use of it. Locock held that *unwilling* goes with *thee.* Gilbert Murray agreed that this would be clear to any reader of *Prometheus Bound,* and that *Awful Sufferer* would mean, "O thou that sufferest awful things"; but he believed that, "to most English readers, even Greek scholars, the words suggest something different. It is Prometheus himself rather than his suffering that is 'awful' to us" (*Classical Tradition,* p. 173). A. A. Jack interpreted the line to mean that, if even Jupiter's adherents were against him, and Jupiter's phantom employed as it is, "it is because a dying theology is conscious of its weakness and withers of itself" (*Shelley,* pp. 103-4); and similarly, J. M. Brown read the passage as meaning that "there is ever a flicker of energy in a civilisation before it succumbs to the new. And in religion this appears as renewed and bitter persecution of the reformers with an attempt to compromise" (*Study,* p. 60). But K. N. Cameron saw Mercury as "symbolizing those who carry out the will of the aristocratic class and despise themselves for so doing" ("Political Symbolism," p. 732).

357-60. Comparison:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 137)] Thou seest a spectacle grievous for eyes to behold [*Prometheus Bound* 69].

360. B. Weaver noted that it is Hephaestus who pays this tribute in: "Lofty-minded son of Themis who counselleth aright" (*Prometheus Bound* 18-19).

362-64. Hughes paraphrased: "The Heavenly Bodies measuring the years from which thou canst not escape."

371-80. E. Barnard commented: "He is tempted first to surrender his individuality, his own sense of right and wrong, in order to escape from pain; he is tempted to sell his soul by conforming to the way of the world—

'the world' in exactly the Christian sense [cf. I.452 ff., 546-59]" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 122).

371. Comparisons:

[Ackermann] The Father bids thee tell what marriage thou vauntest whereby he is to be hurled from power [*Prometheus Bound* 947].

[Hughes] Not by persuasion's honied enchantments shall he charm me; and never will I, cowering before his dire threats, divulge this secret, until he shall release me from my cruel bonds and desire to proffer satisfaction for this outrage [*Prometheus Bound* 173-79].

The secret—that Jupiter would wed Thetis, whose child would overthrow him—Rossetti felt derived essentially from the Greek myth and not from the ideal system of Shelley's reconstruction; and Rossetti could not see what the secret could have been according to Shelley's system ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 147).

375-76. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 143)] Zeus may hear thee, though throned afar, high in the heavens [*Prometheus Bound* 315].

[F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Milton," p. 500)] To Heav'n thir prayers / Flew up, nor missed the way, by envious windes / Blow'n vagabond or frustrate: in they passd / Dimentionless through Heav'nly dores; then clad / With incense, where the Golden Altar fum'd, / By thir great Intercessor, came in sight / Before the Fathers Throne: Them the glad Son / Presenting, thus to intercede began [*Paradise Lost* XI.14-21].

Alexander considered the secret as intercessor to be "a striking example in miniature of Shelley's mythopœic faculty," similar to those in *The Cloud.*

376-80. Benjamin Kurtz saw in this the first temptation of the idealist: "to compromise, and thus achieve peace" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 165).

377-78. Comparison:

[Hughes] Within a cavern of man's trackless spirit / Is throned an Image, so intensely fair / That the adventurous thoughts that wander near it / Worship, and as they kneel, tremble and wear / The splendour of its presence, and the light / Penetrates their dreamlike frame / Till they become charged with the strength of flame [canceled passage, *Ode to Liberty*].

378. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 143)] [1] Save thyself, as thou best knowest; while I [Prometheus] will drain to the dregs my present lot until such time as the mind of Zeus shall abate its wrath [*Prometheus Bound* 377-78]; [2] Never think that, through terror at the will of Zeus, I shall become womanish and, with hands upturned, aping woman's ways, shall importune my greatly hated foe to release me from these bonds. I am far, far from that [*ibid.* 1002-6].

[H. Richter ("Shelley's Weltenschauung," p. 262)] [1] II.iv.104; [2] by the will I understand a faculty of affirming or denying, but not a desire [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 95]; [3] The will is only a certain mode of thought, like the intellect [*ibid.*, p. 32].

Richter commented: "For Shelley the will is a faculty of the mind [as in 'Thought / Alone, and its quick elements, Will, Passion, / Reason, Imag-

ination' (*Hellas* 795-96)], an instance of intellectual power. . . . For Spinoza the will is the faculty, by means of which the soul affirms or denies the true and the false." M. T. Solve noted that "Prometheus is not a passive sufferer. He is the rebel of heaven . . . [and] wills to recall the curse; wills, after long struggle, to cast pride and hate out of his heart" (*Theory of Poetry*, p. 92).

379-80. Locock noted this and other typical Greek commonplaces, as at I.353, 357, 371, 400, 408, 425, 427, 461.

380-416. Benjamin Kurtz noted that "what may be called a class-conception of good and evil—the governed being naturally good, all governors inevitably becoming evil—lies back of this stoicism. . . . Preferable, perhaps, is the individualistic conception . . . [that salvation] is individual. . . . Such salvation was what Shelley was in reality experiencing, after the madness of *Julian and Maddalo;* but still he must unwittingly disguise it in large social terms" (*Pursuit of Death*, pp. 165-66).

380-409. Comparison:

> [Locock] *Prometheus:* Bravely spoken, in truth, and swollen with pride thy speech, as befits a minion of the gods. Young ye are, as young your power, and ye think forsooth that ye inhabit heights beyond the reach of grief. Have I not seen two sovereigns cast out from these heights? A third, the present lord, I shall live to see cast out in ruin most shameful and most swift. Dost think I quail, perchance, and cower before these upstart gods? Far from it—nay, not at all. But scurry thee back the way thou camest; for thou shalt learn naught whereof thou questionest me [*Prometheus Bound* 953-63].

Locock noted the difference from Aeschylus not only in Mercury's speech, but in the reply of Prometheus as well.

380-82. Comparison:

> [Locock] transforming all they touch into the corruption of their own natures [To Ollier, February 16, 1821. Julian, X, 236].

W. N. Guthrie commented: "Man's moral salvation is seen, then, to be an essentially spiritual process; the battle against evil is a battle against self; the kingdom of heaven is . . . actually at hand, within reach" (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 170-71). Oliver Elton felt that making Prometheus "both the installer of Jupiter and his victim [is] very well in the interpretation, which is that man has invented the gods of false theology, who become his tyrants; but in the myth it is confusing" (*Shelley*, pp. 34-35). To M. T. Solve, Jupiter, "a creature of fear and hate, owed his existence to the hate in the mind of Prometheus . . . [and] must fall when man ceases to fear." Solve objected to Olwen Campbell's assertion (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 205) that Shelley "thought evil had no power to create," and countered it by citing I.465-72 and 481-82 (*Theory of Poetry*, p. 40). Carl Grabo assumed that Shelley here was "thinking of the past of man's theology, and the various concepts of God which are expressed in religions old and new. . . . Whatever [the god's] virtues once, these in time become evils . . .

[and] lie a dead weight on future generations. . . . Man is the victim of his past, not only of his evil deeds but of his best ideals, for these too become inadequate" (*Interpretation*, pp. 35-36). But E. Barnard, citing II.iv.110-19, concluded that "why or how this [change of good to evil] should be possible remains a mystery" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 157). White pointed out that this concept of evil as in the mind of man was a change from the view expressed in the letter to Miss Hitchener (January 26, 1812. Julian, VIII, 252), where Shelley based his optimistic view of human nature on a conviction that all evil is traceable "to the sophistications of society" (*Shelley*, I, 624). Arthur Wormhoudt interpreted Prometheus' statement as evidence of a "masochistic attachment to Jupiter, for he says that Jupiter is merely a puppet of his creation and hence he is being tortured by his own puppet." The following passages, according to Wormhoudt, augment this masochistic quality, and the masochistic conflicts are "with the mother images rather than the father image, though the latter is supposed to be ultimately responsible" (*Demon Lover*, pp. 94-96).

383-84. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] scorched by the sun's bright beams, thou shalt lose the fair bloom of thy flesh [*Prometheus Bound* 22-23]; [2] My parchèd skin was split with piercing agonies [*The Revolt of Islam* III.xviii].

385. Scudder (Edition, p. 128) compared "the white wings of the snow" (*Prometheus Bound* 993).

387. Hughes compared "You sulfurous and thought-executing fires" (*King Lear* III.ii.4).

thought-executing] Thought-destroying (Barnard).

388-91. Comparisons:

> [L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," pp. 89-90)] [*Republic* IX, where the entire book is given to the theme of the tyrant's misery, e.g.] [1] the man who is shown to be the most evil will also be the most miserable [IX.iv]; [2] he must needs be . . . envious, faithless, unjust, friendless, impious, a vessel and nurse of all iniquity, and so in consequence he himself most unhappy and make all about him so [IX.vi].

389. Comparison:

> [B. Weaver ("Pre-Promethean Prose," p. 207)] The nature of a narrow and malevolent spirit is so essentially incompatible with happiness as to render it inaccessible even to the influencings of the benignant God [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 234].

To W. N. Guthrie this was "the actual damnation of Jupiter" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 178).

390. Hughes paraphrased: "For the world I bestowed on him, for my former friendship which he has lost." Locock felt that, unless the meaning is "or a lost friend bestowed again," some such words as "or true sorrow" must be understood after *gratitude* in line 391.

394. Hughes paraphrased: "The reproaches disturb the insecure complacency of those who have, as they think, taken revenge."

395-400. Comparisons:

> [F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Milton," p. 500)] [1] And courage never to submit or yield: / And what is else not to be overcome? [*Paradise Lost* I.108-9]; [2] Peace is despaird, / For who can think Submission! [*ibid.* 660-61]; [3] is there no place / Left for Repentance, none for Pardon left? / None left but by submission; and that word / *Disdain* forbids me [*ibid.* IV.79-82].

Rossetti noted that, "if the Human Mind were finally to submit to the anthropomorphic God, and to perpetuate his sway, the remnants of freedom for the will and the thought of man must collapse" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 147). Olwen Campbell felt that concern for mankind is not found in Aeschylus' Prometheus, but is the only motive for Prometheus here in refusing a reconciliation (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 209). C. M. Bowra held that "to [Shelley] it was both intolerable and impossible that reason should come to terms with evil. It must act on the highest motives of love for the good, and evil must perish through its own progeny" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 108). But A. Wormhoudt suggested an inconsistency: "If Jupiter's downfall is really inevitable, as Prometheus says, then Prometheus' prophecies will not affect it and his suffering is needless. Furthermore he says he does not know the exact time of the overthrow and thus his incomplete information might well be useless to Jupiter" (*Demon Lover*, pp. 93-94).

398. *the Sicilian*] "Damocles, a flattering courtier, over whose banqueting-chair the tyrant Dionysius suspended a keen sword by a horsehair, as a symbol of the insecurity of place and power" (G. H. Clarke).

401-7. Comparison:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 124)] Worship, adore, and fawn upon whoever is thy lord. But I care for Zeus less than naught. Let him do his will, let him hold his power for his little day—since not for long shall he bear sway over the gods [*Prometheus Bound* 937-40].

403-5. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] For / Revenge and Wrong bring forth their kind, / The foul cubs like their parents are, / Their den is in the guilty mind, / And Conscience feeds them with despair [*Hellas* 728-32].

Alexander paraphrased: "Justice will not punish those who sin against her laws; those who sin inflict a more than sufficient punishment on themselves [cf. line 480]"; but, E. Barnard added, Shelley's view is also that the endless chain of evil can be broken through forgiveness, if men renounce their evil passions, especially the desire for revenge.

405-7. White noted that, if Shelley stresses

> . . . the passive virtues, it is not to be assumed . . . that he placed no proper value on the positive ones. In his own life he realized the value of positive action. . . .

Under the conditions prevailing in 1819, and with his closely limited object in view, Shelley may well have considered that the virtues of endurance and patience were those most in need of emphasis. This would be especially true if one believed . . . that Eternity held in store some Hour . . . which would liberate the human spirit as inevitably as the arrival of spring . . . it is the optimism of an invincibly hopeful nature restrained by a powerful and very subtly comprehensive intellect [*Shelley*, II, 124-25].

406. *retributive hour*] M. T. Solve called this a "dramatic device rather than either an element in the Greek myth or a survival from Shelley's early enthusiasm for the French materialists. For there must be an interval permitted between the recalling of the curse and the disappearance of evil in order to allow time for the development of the secondary theme, the growth of Love and the other virtues, Asia and her sisters" (*Theory of Poetry*, p. 92).

408-9. Comparison:

[Woodberry] Haste thee then to cast the fetters about him, lest the Father behold thee loitering [*Prometheus Bound* 52-53].

411-16. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, pp. 137-38)] [1] *Prometheus:* But now no limit to my tribulations has been appointed till Zeus be hurled from his sovereignty. *Io:* What! Shall Zeus one day be hurled from his dominion? . . . *Prometheus:* Then thou mayest assure thyself that these things are so [*Prometheus Bound* 755-60]; [2] *Chorus:* Do not then benefit mortals beyond due measure and yet be heedless of thine own distress; forasmuch as I am of good hope that thou shalt yet be loosed from these bonds and have power no wise inferior to Zeus. *Prometheus:* Not thus, nor yet, is fulfilling Fate destined to bring this end to pass. When I have been pent by pangs and tortures infinite, thus only am I to escape my bondage. Art is feebler far than Necessity. *Chorus:* Who then is the steersman of Necessity? *Prometheus:* The triform Fates and mindful Furies. *Chorus:* Can it be that Zeus hath less power than they? *Prometheus:* Aye, in that at least he cannot escape what is foredoomed. *Chorus:* Why, what is foredoomed for Zeus save to hold eternal sway? *Prometheus:* This thou must not learn as yet; be not importunate [*ibid.* 507-20].

412. *period*] Duration (Ellis); date of termination (Locock). S. F. Gingerich thought it "significant that though Prometheus must be purified in mind neither his character nor his conduct determines the time of his release. He does not know when it shall be. . . . It is predetermined, necessitated" (*Essays*, p. 220).

416-24. O. W. Firkins commented: "As with Space, so with Time, [Shelley] struggles with the impossibility of its realization"; but in line 424 the "spirit transcends the thought that it cannot vanquish" (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 21).

416-21. Comparison:

[L. Vivanti ("Shelley," p. 140)] and when I gaze / Upon those infinitely more remote / Clusters of stars, that seem / To us like mist, to which not alone Man /

And this our earth, but all these stars of ours / Infinite both in number and in size, / All these, together with the golden sun, / Are either unknown, or appear as small / As they to earth, a point / Of nebulous radiance [Leopardi, *The Broom*, trans. R. C. Trevelyan (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1941), 43].

417. Locock compared "To the last syllable of recorded time" (*Macbeth* V.v.21).

424. B. Weaver commented: "The will of one perfect in love can stay the forces of evil until time shall be brought into eternity and good shall exist without its false counterpart, evil" (*Understanding of Shelley*, p. 111); even, Carl Grabo noted, though the time "is vastly remote" (*Interpretation*, p. 37).

426-27. Comparison:

[H. Richter] Dost think I quail, perchance, and cower before these upstart gods? [*Prometheus Bound* 960].

Carlos Baker noted the similarity to the temptation of Christ, although, "unlike Satan . . . Mercury pities his prospective victim." He noted also that, like Christ, "Prometheus refuses to quit his Golgotha in the bleak ravine, and the agonies which yet must come, because he knows that the reign of evil will end, after the agony" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 99). L. D. Weatherhead, treating of Shelley's hell obsession, which drove his "sensitive mind into violent and passionate rebellion," found here "a conception of the hopelessness of punishment and torture as an answer to belief and liberty of thought" ("Shelley's Hell Complex," pp. 201, 207).

428. W. N. Guthrie, citing I.263 and 410, called this "false pity" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 180).

429-31. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 135)] *Prometheus:* For thy servitude, rest thee sure, I'd not barter my hard lot, not I. *Hermes:* Better, no doubt, to serve this rock than be the trusted messenger of Father Zeus! [*Prometheus Bound* 966-69].

[Hughes] Methinks thou revellest in thy present plight [*ibid.* 971].

[A. Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 429)] But mercy is above this sceptred sway, / It is enthroned in the hearts of kings [*The Merchant of Venice* IV.i.193-94].

[F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Milton," pp. 500-1)] [1] To bow and sue for grace / With suppliant knee, and deifie his power / . . . that were low indeed [*Paradise Lost* I.111-14]; [2] how wearisom / Eternity so spent in worship paid / To whom we hate [*ibid.* II.247-49].

430. Carlos Baker noted the "serene self-dominance" which enables him to withstand the subtle tortures (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 99). See also line 492.

431. Comparisons:

[Scudder [1] Vertue could see to do what vertue would / By her own radiant light, though Sun and Moon / Were in the flat Sea sunk [*Comus* 373-75]; [2] Vertue gives her selfe light, through darknesse for to wade [*Faerie Queene* I.i.12].

432 ff. W. N. Guthrie felt that the test was whether Prometheus could "retain his confidence in the *real* omnipotence of good, in the face of the full display of the *apparent* dominion of evil" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 179).

433. Comparison:

> [Hughes] First, the Father will shatter this jagged cliff with thunder and lightning-flame [*Prometheus Bound* 1017].

Sidney Lanier commented on the inconsistency of the cedar in a scene just described as "without herb, insect, or beast, or sound of life" ("English Novel," p. 88).

437-38. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] Thither came *Uriel*, gliding through the Eeven / On a Sun beam, swift as a shooting Starr [*Paradise Lost* IV.555-56]; [2] *Uriel* to his charge / Returnd on that bright beam, whose point now raisd / Bore him slope downward to the Sun now fall'n [*ibid.* IV.589-91].
>
> [D. Bush (*Mythology*, p. 160)] So Iris, all dewy on saffron wings, flits down through the sky, trailing athwart the sun a thousand shifting tints, and halted above her head [*Aeneid* IV.700-2].

Bush noted that "the speed and lightness are pure Shelley."

441-42. It has been generally agreed that *hollow* refers to *they* rather than to *wings*. Swinburne held that the Furies were " 'phantasms,' hollow and shadowy emanations of 'the all-miscreative brain' " ("Notes," p. 362); and Locock explained that, "to Ione's view, the Furies, as they fly up the ravine in the line of sight . . . would appear like an arched line of skeleton structures, 'hollow underneath, like death.' " Todhunter called the lines "that splendid image, so intelligible as a mere picture, yet so full of imaginative horror" (*Study*, p. 144); and Scudder noted that "the horrible formlessness of the Furies has both an æsthetic and a symbolic value [see I.465-70]." E. Barnard found a similar parallel in I.768. To H. Richter the Furies signified the terrible recognition, for the conscientious striving one, that at times even the bad flows out of good action.

445-46. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] Hence, horrible shadow! / Unreal mockery, hence! [*Macbeth* III.iv.106-7].
>
> [Locock] Whence and what art thou, execrable shape [*Paradise Lost* II.681].

445. To the present editor, the twelve syllables (or thirteen if *chained* is made disyllabic) of this line form a crowded pentameter. If full value is given to *Prometheus* a hexameter results.

446-48. Comparisons:

> F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Milton," p. 501)] A Universe of death, which God by curse / Created evil, for evil only good, / Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds, / Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things, / Abominable, inutterable, and worse / Then Fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd, / *Gorgons* and *Hydra's*, and *Chimera's* dire [*Paradise Lost* II.622-28].

450. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] [1] II.iv.83; [2] The mind becomes that which it contemplates [*Prince Athanase* 139].

[Locock] [1] IV.484; [2] Till his mind grew like that it contemplated [*Marenghi* xxiii]; [3] It is impossible to feel them [emotions on reading Petrarch] without becoming a portion of that beauty which we contemplate [*A Defence of Poetry*, Julian, VII, 128]; [4] we thus dilate / Our spirits to the size of that they contemplate [*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* IV.clviii].

[Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 243)] [Craftsmen must be prevented from representing evil] that our guardians may not be bred among symbols of evil, as it were in a pasturage of poisonous herbs, lest grazing freely and cropping from many such day by day they little by little and all unawares accumulate and build up a huge mass of evil in their own souls [*Republic* III.xii.401c].

452 ff. For the Furies see also Critical Notes under Dramatis Personae. Todhunter commented that the Furies "wring with mysterious agony the conscience of the heretic and the reformer, confusing his vision until he sees himself but the fountain of new evil. They conceal from him the ultimate issues of his work, and force him to fix his eyes upon the anarchy which must apparently be its first consequence" (*Study*, p. 145). J. Slater noted the advance over Aeschylus in Shelley's substitute of mental for physical tortures: "The thought is too sublime for a pagan poet to conceive or for a pagan audience to appreciate. . . . It is only one instance of many in which modern poets are indebted for their chief beauties to Christian ideas" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 185). Benjamin Kurtz pointed out that the second temptation (see I.376-80 for the first), reminiscent of Shelley's own hopes and failures, "springs from the tragic suffering and death of others . . . the great doubt-temptation of the altruist: the doubt of the pre-eminence of righteousness and the efficacy of evangelism . . . the temptations to despair" (*Pursuit of Death*, pp. 166-68); or, as E. Barnard saw it: "He is then tempted from within—as a man, rejecting the dull stagnation of common life, should become embittered, and either retire from the world or prey upon it, instead of trying to make it better" (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 122-23).

454-55. Comparisons:

[G. H. Clarke] [1] IV.73-75; [2] A herd-abandoned deer struck by the hunter's dart [*Adonais* xxxiii]; [3] Your image, as the hunter some struck deer, / Follows me not [*The Cenci* I.ii.12-13]; [4] let the galled jade wince, our withers are unwrung [*Hamlet* III.ii.256-57].

[Hughes] For as a hound a wounded fawn, so do we track him by the drops of blood [Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 247].

[R. Piccoli] [1] As a poor hunted stag / A moment shudders on the fearful brink / Of a swift stream—the cruel hounds press on / With deafening yell [*Orpheus* 46-49]; [2] Then, as a hunted deer that could not flee, / I turned upon my thoughts, and stood at bay, / Wounded and weak and panting [*Epipsychidion* 272-74].

[D. L. Clark ("Shelley and Shakespeare," p. 275)] a poor sequester'd stag, / That from the hunters' aim had ta'en a hurt, / Did come to languish [*As You Like It* II.i.33-35].

458. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] [1] Full oft my mother Themis, or Earth (one form she hath but many names) [*Prometheus Bound* 211-12]; [2] One shape of many names / . . . Its names are each a sign which maketh holy / All power—ay, the ghost, the dream, the shade / Of power—lust, falsehood, hate, and pride, and folly; / . . . Yes, it is Hate—that shapeless fiendly thing / Of many names [*The Revolt of Islam* VIII.ix.x, xxi].

[E. Barnard] III.iv.180-83.

459-60. Comparison:

[A. Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 428)] But suddenly, with fearful swoop from the mountains the Harpies are upon us, and with loud clanging shake their wings, plunder and feast, and with unclean touch mire every dish [*Aeneid* III.225-28].

464. Comparisons:

[G. H. Clarke] [1] Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind; and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other [Bacon, "Of Deformity," *Works*, VI, 480]; [2] But I, that am not shap'd for sportive tricks, / Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass; / . . . I am determined to prove a villain [*Richard* III I.i.14-15, 30].

E. Barnard noted that Count Cenci suggests that "Shelley's answer, apparently, is that it can; and in giving this answer he accepts the Christian view of evil and rejects that of Godwin" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 127).

465-70. Scudder compared I.441-42.

465-66. O. W. Firkins commented: "Most of us would have said the delight of beauty, but the beauty is subtly conceived to be the effect or manifestation of the delight" (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 167).

467-69. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] For his cheek became, not pale, but fair, / As rose-o'er-shadowed lilies are [*Rosalind and Helen* 819-20]; [2] So pale, that even beside his cheek, / The snowy column from its shade / Caught whiteness [*ibid.* 1152-54]; [3] And she unveiled her bosom, and the green / And glancing shadows of the sea did play / O'er its marmoreal depth [*The Revolt of Islam* I.xx]; [4] And so she moved under the bridal veil, / Which made the paleness of her cheek more pale [*Ginevra* 13-14].

Hughes noted that Shelley "loved to catch the more exquisite aspects of things."

469. Locock compared I.319-20 and II.v.12.

470-72. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] III.iii.165-66; [2] The strong fantasy / Had made her accents weaker and more weak, / And quenched the crimson life upon her cheek / And glazed her eyes, and spread an atmosphere / Round her, which chilled the burning noon with fear, / Making her but an image of the thought / Which, like a prophet or a shadow, brought / News of the terrors of the coming time [*Ginevra* 83-90].

Woodberry held that "the ethical doctrine that each sin brings its own penalty of necessity, and essentially is its own punishment, is involved in

the image that the Furies are shapeless in themselves." Carl Grabo found the lines "of a piece with the Platonic philosophy that all creative thought seeks material expression. . . . [The Furies'] forms are moulded from the pain and blood of their victims, a conception analogous to that which prompted animal sacrifices to demons" (*Interpretation*, pp. 33-34).

472. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] Ah, cruel indeed the wrongs of the woeful daughters of Night, bereft of honour and distressed! [Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 791-92]; [2] O mother Night, give ear to the cry of my passion! [*ibid.* 845].

473-74. Comparisons:

> [G. B. Woods] Be bloody, bold, and resolute; laugh to scorn / The power of man [*Macbeth* IV.i.79-80].
>
> [B. Langston ("Shelley's Use of Shakespeare," p. 170)] our castle's strength / Will laugh a siege to scorn [*ibid.* V.v.3-4].

475-76. R. H. Fogle pointed out that "many of Shelley's most powerful organic images have a sinister strain" (*Imagery*, p. 93). See also lines 488-91.

479. Locock compared "Her lidless eyes for thee" (*Ode to Liberty* 60).

480-82. Comparison:

> [L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 89)] a good and honourable man or woman, I say, is happy, and an unjust and wicked one is wretched [*Gorgias* 470e].

Winstanley noted that "the Furies are represented as utterly miserable, while Prometheus amid his tortures can still pity them"; and M. Bald commented: "Shelley described Goodness fighting with weapons of pity and knowledge against forces miserable, aged, dull, and barren [cf. II.iv.47-48 and III.i]" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 116).

483-91. Scudder found in these lines (which L. Cazamian thought anticipated psychoanalysis [Edition, p. 17]) "the nearest approach to the consciousness of Sin to be found in the drama." H. Richter pointed out that, as "the voice that tells Manfred he shall not rest is the consciousness of his guilt, so the Furies are the pain of conscience and doubt, which make the striving man doubt the value of his strife. They are that anarchy which follows every great innovation and which in moments of depression can conceal the great end goals from the innovator" (*Shelley*, pp. 415-16). Alexander held that "the foul and evil ideas which arise in the mind are represented as springing from external influences, but are so subtly infused that the sufferer thinks they originate with himself." Woodberry argued that "the intimacy of remorse in the soul is partly indicated by the expressions used. The nature of the suffering brought by sin is most truly conceived and presented in what the Furies say of themselves throughout the scene. The idea, however, is confused by the addition of the element of the evil nature active within the soul and assailing it. The two notions are not incompatible, but the second has little pertinence to Prometheus

here." To this E. Barnard replied: "But Shelley is probably thinking of Prometheus' torture as typifying the manner in which the human soul is beset by all kinds of evil" (Edition, p. 113).

R. H. Fogle, like Woodberry, felt an "ambiguous relationship" in the manner in which the spiritual sufferings "are transposed into vivid organic imagery" (*Imagery*, p. 225). T. R. Slicer noted the contrast between "the snarl . . . the dark chasms which yawn downward into bleakness," and II.ii.64-97 (*An Appreciation*, p. 49). Olwen Campbell found in these lines the answer to those critics who saw Shelley "to the end a child, all unlearned in the ways of life and the struggles of the human soul. It was not ignorance and childishness, but profound and compassionate insight that taught him to write the words 'astonished heart' . . . expressing perhaps more vividly than any poet ever did before the agony of man's struggle to save his soul, not from priests and kings, but from himself—poor hybrid of Heaven and Earth" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 210).

484. Hughes paraphrased: "Thou think'st we will dwell in the bodily organs which affect thought and feeling, getting as near to the soul as we can."

487. *self-content*] Inward satisfaction (Ellis); self-containment (Locock).

490. *labyrinthine*] Ivan Roe noted Petrarch's (as well as Shelley's [see I. 805]) fondness for the word, and cited Petrarch's "[At birth] I entered the labyrinth, nor do I see the way out" (Sonnet CLVII), and "A long wandering in a blind labyrinth" (Sonnet CLXIX) (*Last Phase*, p. 206).

491-94. E. Barnard commented: "Surely it is absurd for any critic, in the face of a passage like this, to pretend that Shelley had a naïve belief in the 'natural goodness' of man, that he was ignorant of the nature of human weakness and sin, or that he considered evil to be something external" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 123).

492-93. Comparisons:

> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 243)] [1] [*Republic* 440b ff., on the tripartite soul controlled by the reason despite inner conflicts] [2] [*Phaedrus* 253d ff., where, under the image of the soul as two horses and a charioteer, the control of the emotions is described.]

E. Barnard considered this "the keynote of the whole scene."

495-577. Alexander noted that this passage treats of various "forms in which evil and misery exist among men." C. M. Garnier commented:

> The uniform [anapestic] cadence of the first three lines, the strong emphasis of their one rhyme, the repetition in the first verse, make of this impressive *tutti* of Furies the most sweeping and sonorous of outbursts.
>
> Then the voices subside a little, whilst keeping the same hasty rhythm . . . and after a third *come, come, come,*—a sort of trumpet call, the longest lines ring again with full ample harmony. The 6 soli . . . link the two Choruses together. Semi-choruses I and II correspond to the Soli. As we can expect of chorus symphony, subtle combinations of sounds are not to be found: they would be lost in the boom and din. . . . The character of this episode lies in the disposition of the sonorous masses and in the general sway of the whole [*Metrical Study*, p. 151].

495-520. G. H. Clarke found the "evil heaviness of the flight and movement metrically suggested" in this passage reminiscent of the witch scenes in *Macbeth* and the Walpurgis Night scene in *Faust*. Locock noted that, "with the exception of the two lines 'Come, Come, Come!' this chorus is symmetrical" with I.539-63.

495. Comparisons:

> [K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 731)] [1] For, from the utmost realms of earth, came pouring [*The Revolt of Islam* X.iv]; [2] From every nation of the earth they came [*ibid.* X.v]; [3] Myriads had come—millions were on their way [*ibid.* X.viii].

Cameron noted that in *The Revolt of Islam*, also, "one group arrives first and is followed by another and larger group."

500. *wingless*] Having furled your wings (Hughes).

510-31. Carl Grabo commented: "These are the theme of Voltaire's eloquence. Shelley stamps them with the aphoristic power of verse" (*Interpretation*, p. 37).

510-12. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] As it is, all of us who are worth anything, spend our manhood in unlearning the follies, or expiating the mistakes, of our youth. We are stuffed full of prejudices; and our mutual passions are so managed, that if we restrain them we grow intolerant and precise because we restrain them not according to reason but according to error, and if we do not restrain them we do all sorts of mischief to ourselves and others [To John Gisborne, November 16, 1819. Julian, X, 123).
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 243)] [*Republic* 514 ff., where one released from the shadows of the cave would regard his earlier illusions as more real than what he now saw.]

512. Olwen Campbell noted that Shelley "knew that the individual must pay dearly for living riotously and grossly" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 286).

513-16. Alexander interpreted: "The dread of Hell makes men cruel."

514. *maniac dreamer*] Probably religious fanatic (Barnard).

524. Locock compared I.439 and the spirit songs in *Manfred* I.i. He also referred to "an interesting discussion" of the line in Maurice Hewlett's novel, *Open Country*. The reference is to Senhouse's vivid description of "these sea-women" (Ione and Panthea) as they hear "the thunder of new wings"; and then the "master-stroke" of this line, of which Senhouse says: "There's immortality assured in a line like that, if anybody knew anything about it; but of course nobody does" (pp. 56-57).

525-32. Comparison:

> [K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," pp. 730-31)] [*The Revolt of Islam* VI.iv ff.; X.iv-xi, xxi ff., xxxii ff., for the picture of the Napoleonic Wars.]

525. See Textual Notes.

530. *Kingly conclaves*] Such as the Congress of Vienna (K. N. Cameron).

539-77. Comparisons:

> [K. N. Cameron] [The Furies] inflicted their vengeance upon earth by wars, pestilence. and dissensions, and by the secret stings of conscience [Lemprière, *Classical Dictionary* (1788). ed. F. A. Wright (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1949), p. 234].

Scudder noted that Prometheus' central agony, as the veil that separates present from future is torn, is found in the pessimistic suggestion that great events such as the Crucifixion and the French Revolution resulted in injury rather than benefit to humanity because they were destined to remain forever unfulfilled. To Woodberry, "the lesson the Furies draw is the folly of Prometheus in having opened the higher life for man, since it entails the greater misery the more he aspires, and is doomed at each supreme effort to increase rather than alleviate the state of man (cf. I.595-97). The torture inflicted by the Furies, as well as the description of their methods in the abstract just commented on, gives an ethical reality to them which takes them out of the morals of the ancient world and transforms them into true shapes of modern imagination." And G. W. Knight commented: "The Furies disclose what seems a distant future; but the comforting spirits immediately after arrive with reports from human history. Time is all but rendered subordinate to simultaneity" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 206).

539. Locock held that lines 561-62 disprove Scudder's identification of the veil as that between present and future. Rather, he felt, "the physical agony of the earlier part of the scene now gives place to the more subtle and more powerful torture of the mind, when Prometheus learns that all his efforts for the good of mankind have resulted only in greater ills." Louis Cazamian, too, would disagree with Scudder, for he argued that the visions shown by the Furies were in themselves retrospective, not prophetic (see I.191). Prometheus' punishment endures while man suffers, he held, and his deliverance opens a golden age. The action then takes place in a future vague and symbolic, in which all known history is in the past (Edition, p. 17). B. Rajan interpreted the veil image to mean that "the new Prometheus is going out of himself. . . . With [the veil's] tearing aside Prometheus penetrates to the contorted essence of a system" described at I.627-28 ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 298).

541. Comparison:

> [E. Barnard] He said unto them, Give place: for the maid is not dead, but sleepeth. And they laughed him to scorn [Matthew ix.24].

mighty Titan] Locock found "something mocking in the assonance and alliteration" here.

laugh . . . scorn] In retaliation for I.473 (Locock).

542-55. W. A. O'Conor commented:

> Shelley considered that suffering was unnatural and unnecessary in a deliverer. He conceived that view from a misconception of Christianity. . . . Christ distinctly

said that He was bringing, not peace on earth, but a sword. . . . The sight of suffering caused by his example should not be represented as causing sorrow or disappointment to Prometheus. There cannot be a greater error than to impute such feelings to Christ. . . . Dreary and miserable as earth has been, it would have been far worse without its martyr. Persecution has only demonstrated that there are men who can dare unjust earthly omnipotence, and die ["Prometheus," pp. 38-39].

See also lines 597-604.

542-44. Scudder noted that "the victory of Prometheus is in resisting not sin, but doubt; in retaining his faith in truth, though history, reason, intuition seem to strengthen the great world-lie" (*Life of the Spirit*, p. 117).

542. Rossetti held that this line established Prometheus as the Mind of Man, for "whence does the knowledge of man proceed save from his mind" ("Study," p. 61).

546-59. Comparisons:

[D. MacDonald (*Radicalism of Shelley*, p. 88)] They [the evangelists] have left sufficiently clear indications of the genuine character of Jesus Christ to rescue it forever from the imputations cast upon it by their ignorance and fanaticism. We discover that he is the enemy of oppression and of falsehood [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 240].

[R. Piccoli] [1] [*A Philosophical View of Reform* and the Prologue to *Hellas* for a sympathetic attitude toward Christ]; [2] All but the sacred few who could not tame / Their spirits to the conquerors . . . Or those who put aside the diadem / Of earthly thrones or gems . . . / Were there, of Athens or Jerusalem [*The Triumph of Life* 128-34]; [3] And Gregory and John, and men divine, / Who rose like shadows between man and God; / Till that eclipse, still hanging over heaven, / Was worshipped by the world o'er which they strode, / For the true sun it quenched [*ibid.* 288-92].

Although Helene Richter argued for Rousseau (in whom Shelley recognized an embodiment of the upward-striving spirit of humanity, and whom Shelley in the *Essay on Christianity* called the one modern most similar to the "mysterious sage of Judæa" [Julian, VI, 247]) as the subject of these lines, *One* has almost universally been interpreted as Christ. D. Macdonald felt that the change in attitude from *Queen Mab* was "due to the influence of his residence in Italy and of his love for the New Testament." But Douglas Bush held that "the genuine admiration which he came to feel for Christ must be somewhat discounted, for he saw in Christ only a Judean Shelley" (*Mythology*, p. 159); and H. N. Fairchild commented: "The sympathy and respect [for Christ] . . . were directed solely toward a great human rebel, reformer, and martyr to the cause of love and liberty. They do not imply a growing affection for the historic faith. . . . [The] emphasis is on the horrible futility of the Crucifixion and the evils perpetrated in the name of Christ. . . . The only consoling feature . . . [is] that the flames of this faith will dwindle" (*Religious Trends*, pp. 338-39). Lilian Winstanley noted the careful distinction "between the character of Christ . . . and the horrible superstition which has perverted his teaching into one of the worst

agents of evil" ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 76); and S. F. Gingerich added that "to the last the horrors of Christian superstition, as Shelley saw it, weighed [heavily] on his mind. . . . [This] implies a certain profound pessimism, on Shelley's part, concerning the present race of man. Yet Shelley was easily capable of conceiving as roseate all things at a far distance" (*Essays*, p. 216).

H. N. Brailsford commented: "As Jupiter's Furies rend the heart of the merciful Titan . . . murders and crucifixions are enacted in the world below. . . . A mystical parallelism links the drama in Heaven with the tragedy on earth" (*Shelley, Godwin*, p. 227). To E. Barnard the third temptation (see, for the others, I.371-80 and 452 ff.) is "the temptation of which Christianity makes so much—despair. . . . This appalling mystery of evil that always triumphs, changing good to its own nature . . . is the hardest trial of the initiate into the deepest mysteries of religious experience" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 124).

547. *sanguine*] Bloodstained (Locock).

548. Carl Grabo commented: "The religions of humanity mark the stages of man's emergence from the brute. As they are outgrown they are with difficulty cast aside and replaced with new and better ideals. So, evidently, in Shelley's eyes institutional Christianity is inadequate to modern man, whereas the ethics of Christ, which are those of love, remain as the ideal of man's moral perfection" (*Interpretation*, pp. 192-93).

549. Comparison:

> [H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 249)] Pity, therefore, in a man who lives according to the guidance of reason is in itself bad and unprofitable [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 220].

Richter commented: "Since, for Spinoza, everything is reprehensible which disturbs the equilibrium of the soul, or which does not flow from clear cognition, so for him even pity is something blameworthy. Shelley, on the other hand, counts pity and compassion among the most noble and highest things of which the human spirit is capable."

554. E. Barnard, comparing I.585 and 769, commented: "It has been objected that the character of Christ as here presented is lacking in manliness . . . and it must be acknowledged that Shelley's martyr-heroes are often too patient and pallid to win our complete sympathy. The portrayal of Christ in the *Essay on Christianity* and the *Prologue to Hellas* suggests, however, that the failure in the present scene, so far as it exists, is in artistry rather than in insight."

555. Comparison:

> [B. P. Kurtz (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 167)] Jesus Christ opposed with earnest eloquence the panic fears and hateful superstitions which have enslaved mankind for ages. Nations had risen against nations employing the subtilest devices of mechanism and mind to waste and excruciate and overthrow. . . . Retaliation [it was held] is the only remedy which can be applied to violence, because it teaches

the injurer the true nature of his own conduct, and operates as a warning against its repetition. . . . Such reasonings and the impetuous feelings arising from them have armed nation against nation, family against family, man against man [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 236-37].

561. *remembers*] Each with its fatal memories (Hughes); or the miseries for which it has to thank you (Locock).

562-63. Comparison:

[Ivan Roe (*The Last Phase*, p. 204)] What now presses upon and burdens our spirit—before, now, yesterday, tomorrow, morning and evening—all in an instant will pass like a shadow [Petrarch, *Trionfo della morte*].

564-65. Todhunter, noting that Prometheus "is in the very Gethsemane of the spirit; the bloody sweat of the penultimate struggle is upon him," cited I.584-85 and 787 as further evidence that Shelley is linking Prometheus with Christ (*Study*, pp. 145, 149).

566. *respite*] Locock noted that this is "clearly ironical, the vision of hope being quickly followed by the climax of despair."

567-77. Comparisons:

[P. Elsner (*Shelleys Abhängigkeit*, pp. 45-46)] No man can more fervently deprecate scenes of commotion and tumult, than the author of this book [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, xvii-xviii].

[Locock] [1] Was Florence the liberticide? that band / Of free and glorious brothers who had planted, / Like a green isle mid Aethiopian sand, / A nation amid slaveries, disenchanted / Of many impious faiths [*Marenghi* vi]; [2] And when to whelm the disenchanted nation [Coleridge, *France: An Ode* 28].

The passage has been read generally as a reference to the French Revolution. A. Sen found it significant that Shelley's only reference in *Prometheus Unbound* to the events of the Revolution "has little organic relationship with the development of its plot. Shelley no longer lived in the past; he was now an ardent student of the present" (*Studies*, p. 335).

569-70. Comparison:

[P. Elsner (*Shelleys Abhängigkeit*, pp. 36-37)] Make men wise, and by that very operation you make them free. Civil liberty follows as a consequence of this [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, 259].

574-75. Comparisons:

[R. Piccoli] How like Bacchanals of blood / Round France, the ghastly vintage, stood / Destruction's sceptred slaves, and Folly's mitred brood! [*Ode to Liberty* xii].

[Hughes] [1] And another angel came out from the altar, which had power over fire; and cried with a loud cry to him that had the sharp sickle, saying, Thrust in thy sharp sickle, and gather the clusters of the vine of the earth; for her grapes are fully ripe [Revelation xiv.18]; [2] Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save. Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel, and thy garments like him that treadeth in the winevat? I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none

with me: for, I will tread them in mine anger, and trample them in my fury; and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment [Isaiah lxiii.1-3].

578. Olwen Campbell suggested that he groans "not at their torment, but at his own thoughts" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 211).

579-93. See Scudder's note at I.314-37.

582. Comparison:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 144)] *Chorus:* Ah, ah, avaunt, alas! Never, oh never, did I dream that words so strange would greet mine ears; nor yet that sufferings so grievous to look upon, aye and so grievous to endure, a tale of outrage, would smite my soul as with double-pronged goad. Alas, O Fate, O Fate, I shudder at beholding the plight that hath befallen Io [*Prometheus Bound* 687-95].

583. Scudder commented: "Faith and Hope veil their faces, and Prometheus endures unaided."

584-604. An early reviewer thought that this passage "must be most offensive, as it too evidently seems to have been intended to be, to every sect of Christians" (*Monthly Review*, 1821. See Appendix D, item VII).

584-85. C. E. Jones held that here one of the Furies takes the form of Christ, and that Prometheus at lines 603-6 is "addressing the Christ before him." The Fury, he noted, speaks the words of Christ at line 631, and after the Fury vanishes "Christ is not mentioned by name, nor do any of the characters address him" ("Christ a Fury?" p. 41). But Carlos Baker answered that the Fury merely displays the crucifix (*emblem*, line 594) and it is this rather than the Fury that Prometheus addresses. He felt that, had Shelley staged it, he would have used a "curtained recess, backstage center, where the Fury could have pulled the curtain aside, and revealed, within, the Christian image" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 100). This view would account for Shelley's use of *crucifix* rather than "cross" (objected to as "grievous laxity of speech" by Rossetti ["Prometheus as Poem," p. 148]) here and at line 601.

585-615. Comparison:

[H. Richter] for thou didst groan, not weep, / When from its sea of death, to kill and burn, / The Galilean serpent forth did creep, / And made thy world an undistinguishable heap [*Ode to Liberty* viii].

Richter identified these as the monstrosities of the religious wars which were a result of Christendom.

590. Comparison:

[Alice Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 429)] On whom, as in despite, the sun looks pale, / Killing their fruit with frowns [*Henry V* III.v.17-18].

591-93. See comparison at I.582.

594-96. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] Of those who love their kind and therefore perish / In ghastly torture [*Prince Athanase* 307-8].

An early writer considered Shelley too hasty: "There is a triumph in their torment which he seems . . . not to have taken into calculation"; but he admitted that Shelley balanced his one-sidedness in the poem's conclusion (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1838, pp. 658-59). E. Barnard cited these lines as evidence that the poet was fully aware of the painful nature of human existence (see Appendix C, note 2). With this Edmund Blunden would agree, for he felt that in the following passage (lines 597-612) Shelley "discloses his Prometheus as one terribly aware of the miseries heaped on those in the modern state of society who wished to live in freedom from its conventions." In this speech "[the] expressions are figurative, conveying the problems of political justice which [Shelley] had so often defined in other terms, and the whole play is a web of allegorical allusions" (*Shelley*, pp. 253-54). Barnard also noted that, through the suffering suggested in these lines, "according to the Ultimate Law, [the world is compelled] to an ever greater measure of perfection" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 296), and that these lines and those at 618 ff. "mark the climax of Prometheus' suffering" (Edition).

597-615. Comparisons:

> [B. Weaver (*Understanding of Shelley*, pp. 232-33)] [1] I stood beside Him: on the torturing cross / No pain assailed His unterrestrial sense; / And yet He groaned. Indignantly I summed / The massacres and miseries which His name / Had sanctioned in my country, and I cried, / "Go! Go!" in mockery. / A smile of godlike malice reillumed / His fading lineaments.—"I go," He cried, / "But thou shalt wander o'er the unquiet earth / Eternally" [*Queen Mab* VII.174-83]; [2] E'en now, by horror traced, I see / His perforated feet and hands; / The maddened crowd around him stands; / Pierces his side the ruffian spear, / Big rolls the bitter anguish'd tear. / Hark, that deep groan!—he dies—he dies. / And breathes, in death's last agonies, / Forgiveness to his enemies [*The Wandering Jew* III.22-29 [see also lines 9-47)].

Henry Salt commented: "For the 'sublime human character of Jesus Christ' he felt the deepest respect and veneration. . . . But he repudiated and condemned in the strongest manner the dogmas of the Christian faith, and thought it a duty to utter his opinions plainly on the subject of the existing religion" (*Shelley Primer*, p. 28). Hughes noted that in *Queen Mab* VII.161 ff.:

> Christ is represented as teaching men truth and peace in semblance only, that he might awake in them the bigotry in which he rejoiced. In a note to the passage Shelley inclines to think him a political pretender. After these pronouncements he arrived at the view expressed in these verses, distinguishing Christ from historical Christianity. In the *Essay on Christianity* (1815) he brings Christ's teaching into conformity with his own beliefs. In the fragmentary progress to *Hellas* (1821), Christ, Mahomet, and Satan appear after the Book of Job among the Sons of God in heaven, and Christ is the champion of Hellas and light, and Plato his forerunner. In a chorus of the play a new view is taken—Christianity is the higher dispensation which superseded the religions of Greece and of Mahomet, and must itself be superseded by something nobler (1090 ff.). In the *Triumph of Life* (1822)

Plato is carried along with the subject crowd, and only Christ and Socrates are mentioned among those who "could not tame their spirits to the conquerors" [lines 128-29].

Bennett Weaver, listing this as one of "the three studies of death upon the cross" (see Comparisons, above), commented: "Out of the elements of the passion and the crucifixion, after the trials of nine years, the Genius of Shelley painted this picture" (*Understanding of Shelley*, pp. 232, 235). Carl Grabo emphasized, in the present passage, the "sorrowing heartfelt love and compassion" as against the bitter hatred of *Queen Mab:* "Shelley accepts the ethics of Christ and rejects all else of Christianity" (*Interpretation*, p. 38); and C. M. Bowra wrote: "Prometheus, who at this stage is unable to face what Christ's sufferings have brought to man, represents the spirit which is unable to understand the true nature of love because of the false associations attached to it. In this scene Shelley puts something from his own experience. In his youth he denounced not only Christianity but Christ, whom in *Queen Mab* he calls a 'malignant soul.' In *Prometheus* he has passed beyond that and found in Christ a type of those who suffer because they love," and so the Spirits to come give "examples of loving sacrifice" (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 112-13).

597-604. See note at lines 542-55.

597. Locock envisaged Prometheus pointing "to the image of the crucified Christ."

601. Locock held that "no doubt intentionally the line is almost unpronounceable."

603-4. For the *Quarterly Review* attack on these lines, and for Hunt's defence, see Appendix D, items X and XII. Like the *Quarterly* reviewer, the writer in the *Dublin University Magazine* (1877) held that Shelley could "see nought in the name of Christ but a curse. He charges Him with the woes inflicted on humanity by Sectarian strife and religious animosity . . . he charges on the religion of the cross the maintenance of those evils which the Incarnate came on earth to destroy" (p. 779).

604-5. Comparison:

[Ivan Roe (*Last Phase*, p. 93)] Caricature for poor [Shelley] S. He looking very sweet and smiling. A little [child playing] Jesus Christ playing about the room. He says. Then grasping a small knife and looking mild [I'll quietly hide that little child] I will quietly murder that little child [Claire Clairmont's journal, November 8, 1820; given here in the more complete version as found in White, *Shelley*, II. 602. Brackets indicate deletions].

605-34. An early writer noted that "these are the facts of history, and of our daily life. It is the natural man—and every man is more or less so—which throws impediments in the way of the spiritual man, and of whatsoever is spiritual in himself" (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1838, p. 658).

606. Comparison:

[Locock] The sublime human character of Jesus Christ was deformed by an imputed identification with a Power, who tempted, betrayed, and punished the innocent

beings who were called into existence by His sole will; and for the period of a thousand years, the spirit of this most just, wise, and benevolent of men has been propitiated with myriads of hecatombs of those who approached the nearest to His innocence and wisdom, sacrificed under every aggravation of atrocity and variety of torture [Note on *Hellas* 1090-91].

607-8. Comparison:

[Ingpen-Peck] Away, away! to thy sad and silent home; / Pour bitter tears on its desolated hearth [*Stanzas.—April, 1814*].

Locock held that the lines were probably autobiographical. C. M. Bowra noted that here Shelley "tends to abandon symbols and becomes almost realistic in his presentation of actual facts . . . [showing] the human feelings implicit in his abstract notions" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 119).

heart's home] Faith (H. Richter).

609. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] Halloa! another prey, / The nimble Antelope! / The ounce is freed; one spring, / And his talons are sheathed in her shoulders, / . . . In vain his master's voice, / No longer dreaded now, / Calls and recalls with threatful tone [Southey, *Thalaba* IX.20]; [2] Dandl'd the Kid; Bears, Tygers, Ounces, Pards [*Paradise Lost* IV.344].

hooded] Before being loosed (Hughes).

ounces] Lynxes or wildcats, used especially in Persia for hunting.

610. A. T. Strong cited this as evidence of Shelley's "preoccupation with putrefaction" (*Studies*, p. 134).

614. Hughes compared "Kneading them down with fire and iron rain" (*Hellas* 381).

615. Comparison:

[Locock] By the light of his own blazing cot / Was many a naked Rebel shot [Coleridge, *Fire, Famine, and Slaughter* 56-57].

616-17. Comparison:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 144)] *Prometheus:* As to the tale thou now hast heard—believe that it has not even reached the prelude. *Io:* Ah me, ah me, alas! *Prometheus:* What! Dost again cry out and groan? What wilt thou do, I wonder, when thou hast learned the suffering still in store for thee? *Chorus:* What! Can it be that thou hast sufferings still left to recount to her? *Prometheus:* Aye, a tempestuous sea of calamitous distress [*Prometheus Bound* 740-46].

618-33. Although to Locock much of the speech seemed inappropriate from the mouth of a Fury, Todhunter found it "noteworthy that the Fury's last and worst words are a simple unimpassioned statement of the every-day facts of life. . . . Yet it is truly the dull prosaic evils of every-day life which clog the wings of our souls and blind their eyes, as dust defiles our skins and chokes our lungs; thus most effectually hindering us in our pursuit of ideal perfection. We shut our eyes and stop our ears to the miseries of our fellow-creatures, that we may be able to live at all; and

smile, sadly or cynically, at the notion that we could do otherwise" (*Study*, pp. 146-47). Scudder pointed out that "this climax of the torture is expressed in dull blank verse." Alexander commented: "The degradation of the inner nature is worse than the bodily anguish which has been described [see IV.404-5 (Barnard)]. In this passage we have a picture of the actual world as it appeared in Shelley's eyes"; and, similarly, H. N. Brailsford held that Shelley "is now less concerned [than in *Queen Mab*] to declare that [evil] is unnatural, than to insist that it flows from defects in men which are not inherent or irremovable" (*Shelley, Godwin*, p. 224). To Woodberry, Prometheus' "preference to feel such pain rather than be dull to it, and his continuance in faith that it shall end, combined with his lack of hatred or desire for vengeance, signalizes his perfection of soul under experience." And Carl Grabo wrote: "In his description of life as it now is . . . Shelley is an impassioned and unblinking realist. . . . [These words] are intolerable if man is to be without hope of a better future. . . . The despairing hope of a better world . . . kept [Shelley] throughout his lifetime from madness. . . . It was in neo-Platonic mysticism that he found the faith which he clung to increasingly" (*Interpretation*, pp. 39-41).

621. O. W. Firkins summarized the variety of images under which "mind or heart or soul" may be found in Shelley's poetry: bell, judgment seat, temple (as here), standard; vine (II.iv.63-65), sun (I.430-31), wilderness (I.742), ocean (IV.93-98), heaven (I.578-81), sea beach, aether (I.661, 675-89), cavern or cave (I.658-59, 805-6; IV.99-104), fawn, universe, legions (IV. 416-17) (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 34-41).

625-28. Comparisons:

> [Todhunter (*Study*, p. 147)] "Ay, if we were not weak—and we aspire / How vainly to be strong!" said Maddalo: / "You talk Utopia" [*Julian and Maddalo* 177-79].
>
> [E. Barnard (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 77)] [1] And the great Spirit of Good did creep among / The nations of mankind, and every tongue / Cursed and blasphemed him as he passed; for none / Knew good from evil [*The Revolt of Islam* I.xxviii]; [2] [Edition, p. 498] And much I grieved to think how power and will / In opposition rule our mortal day, / And why God made irreconcilable / Good and the means of good [*The Triumph of Life* 228-31].

F. A. Lea noted that "power divorced from goodness, wisdom from love . . . are Jupiter himself" (*Romantic Revolution*, pp. 114-15).

627. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] A pardlike Spirit beautiful and swift— / A Love in desolation masked; a Power / Girt round with weakness [*Adonais* xxxii].
>
> [E. Barnard (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 77)] Eldest of things, divine Equality! / Wisdom and Love are but the slaves of thee, / The Angels of thy sway [*The Revolt of Islam* V.2212-14].
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 243)] Is not Love, then, the love of that which is not within its reach, and which cannot hold in security, for the future, those things of which it obtains a present and transitory possession? [*Symposium* 200e. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 195].

G. H. Clarke commented: "Though this is a projected picture, it reflects back also upon the present situation in the drama—Prometheus wanting Asia's aid, and Asia Demogorgon's, to complete their freedom of spirit and of action." Hughes noted that "Professor de Sélincourt suggests to me that 'the wise want love' may refer to Godwin and his system, and 'those who love want wisdom' to Shelley himself." Barnard pointed out that the Spirit of Good in *The Revolt of Islam* I.xxviii "hovers also above the action of *Prometheus Unbound.* But here its powers and attributes are divided among three of the actors, who, curiously enough, seem more or less to represent the Wisdom [Prometheus], Love [Asia], and Equality [Demogorgon] of Laone's hymn" (see Comparisons above) (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 77).

631. Comparisons:

[Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 11)] Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do [Luke xxiii.34].

[B. Weaver (*Understanding of Shelley*, p. 165)] [1] IV.571; [2] It may well be said that these wretched men [the critics] know not what they do [Preface to *Adonais*]; [3] Alas, we know not what we do / When we speak words [*Rosalind and Helen* 1194-95].

Carlos Baker commented: "The Fury ceases with an ironic echo of the words of Jesus. . . . But, as the Saviour's words were spoken out of an infinite pity, so Prometheus reacts with pity for man's ignorance. . . . [Shelley] has suffused a myth of pagan origin with deeply felt Christian symbolism" in the first act. "He has begun with Aeschylus and ended by the representation of an ethic which is close to that of the New Testament" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, pp. 100-1).

633. Comparisons:

[Rossetti ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 140)] it is our will / That thus enchains us to permitted ill— / We might be otherwise—we might be all / We dream of happy, high, majestical. / Where is the love, beauty, and truth we seek / But in our mind? and if we were not weak / Should we be less in deed than in desire? [*Julian and Maddalo* 170-76].

[G. H. Clarke] [Matthew iv.1-11 and Luke iv.1-13, for the temptation of Christ in the wilderness.]

Rossetti held that the change to pity in Prometheus and the resulting overthrow of Jupiter represent "the crisis of human fate. That the human mind should be cleared of delusions and purged of bad passions amounts to this—that mankind is in the highest sense enlightened and virtuous," and perfectibility is possible. Walter Raleigh commented: "Of all passions, the ugliest in Shelley's eyes is Hate; the most terrible and maleficent is Fear. But Prometheus through his long agony feels no fear, and no rancour; the pity and love that endure in his heart are at last victorious, and the Furies, baffled, take themselves away" ("Shelley," p. 297). B. P. Kurtz found the lines "in epitome the inner life of Shelley at this time" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 169). E. Barnard commented:

> When he [Prometheus] gains complete self-realization, when he knows that no external force has power over his soul, when hatred of his oppressor turns to pity, then he is free. Physical pain is nothing to him, evil passions cannot move him, the dreadful vision of evil coming from good is not evil to him. Those who make him suffer are evil; but his suffering is not evil. It is no matter whether or not Hercules sets the Titan free—he is free already. It is of no consequence whether or not Jupiter is dethroned by Demogorgon—he has already fallen. Prometheus need not retire with Asia to their mystic cave—they are already one. Nothing in heaven or on earth has power upon the human soul, except the soul itself [*Shelley's Religion*, p. 132].

Barnard considered that Leslie Stephen was thus in error in posing *Prometheus Unbound* as a struggle between "reason" and "the blind forces by which it is opposed." The easier task is to adapt oneself to one's natural environment, but "man's most difficult and most pressing task is to triumph over himself" (pp. 134-35). And F. A. Lea pointed out that "the Fury has tormented him with the assertion that power divorced from goodness, wisdom from love, are omnipotent. But Promethus knows now that the divorce has been . . . the means towards a new reconciliation: his own suffering has been a privilege. Against that knowledge the Fury is powerless" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 120). P. H. Butter commented: " 'Those they torture not' are those who have acquiesced in evil, those who have ceased to care. It is possible to forgive, or at any rate to cease to hate, not out of real charity, but out of indifference. The incident of the Furies is necessary to show that this is not the case with Prometheus. He no longer hates, but he still feels as much abhorrence for evil as before, and he still retains faith in the ultimate triumph of good" (*Shelley's Idols*, pp. 178-79).

Countering those who have seen a strong Christian element in Prometheus' attitude, Phyllis Bartlett noted that Shelley "is quite careful in the first act of *Prometheus* not to make Prometheus' expressions of pity sound specifically Christian. Prometheus does not 'forgive' Jupiter and the Furies, he 'pities' them. The words are not synonymous. 'Pity' is involuntary and may be impersonal, 'Forgiveness' is voluntary and personal. . . . I think Shelley's avoidance was deliberate, because the verb 'forgive' bears the indelible impress of Christian prayer, whereas 'pity' has more universal connotations" ("Hardy's Shelley," pp. 22-23). See also Critical Notes at I.59.

635. E. Barnard commented: "In Prometheus' lament . . . we hear the immemorial cry of the human soul as it faces the mystery of evil. It is the same cry that came from the cross: 'My God! My God! Why hast thou forsaken me?' " (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 124).

638-45. Oliver Elton held that the austerity learned from Aeschylus, plus the coercion of a great subject, led Shelley to write in this manner, not usual with him (*Shelley*, p. 86). B. P. Kurtz found in this passage "the philosophy of defeat, the wisdom of misery. . . . The ugliness of the doom

Shelley has not yet thought away; but he has reduced the ugliness of suffering and of the grave by substituting pity for hatred" (*Pursuit of Death*, pp. 169-70).

638-40. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 143)] [1] Ah, hardly would'st thou bear my agonies to whom it is not foredoomed to die; for death had freed me from my sufferings [*Prometheus Bound* 752-54]; [2] Why should I fear whose fate is not to die? [*ibid.* 933]; [3] do what he will, *me* he shall never bring to death [*ibid.* 1053].

[R. Ackermann (*Lucan in Shelley*, p. 24)] death is a blessing; from those who have life before them the gods conceal this, in order that they may go on living [*Pharsalia* IV.520].

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," pp. 431-32)] [1] I.199 and II.v.103; [2] Death is no foe to Virtue [*Queen Mab* IX.176]; [3] Death is a gate of dreariness and gloom, / That leads to azure isles [*ibid.* IX.161]; [4] Heardst thou not, that those who die / Awake in a world of ecstasy? [*Rosalind and Helen* 1123-24]; [5] He hath awakened from the dream of life / . . . He has outsoared the shadow of our night / . . . He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he [*Adonais* xxxix-xli]; [6] But [Love's] reward is in the world divine / . . . beyond the grave [*Epipsychidion* 597-98]; [7] The human mind cannot be absolutely destroyed with the body, but something of it remains which is eternal [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 269].

[R. Piccoli] Thou in the grave shalt rest [*Stanzas.—April, 1814*].

639. G. H. Clarke noted this as a "not infrequently recurring mood of Shelley."

641-45. Comparison:

[R. Ackermann (*Lucan in Shelley*, p. 23) [Shall I ask whether] violence can ever hurt the good, or Fortune threatens in vain when Virtue is her antagonist? [*Pharsalia* IX.569-70].

642. Locock compared "Which if not Victory is yet Revenge" (*Paradise Lost* II.105). B. Rajan noted that "evil has doomed itself by the laws of its being. Its application has revealed its essence" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 298).

646-55. Comparison:

[Locock] How rapidly the zealots of the cause / Disbanded—or in hostile ranks appeared; / Some, tired of honest service; these, outdone, / Disgusted therefore, or appalled, by aims / Of fiercer zealots—so confusion reigned, / And the more faithful were compelled to exclaim, / As Brutus did to Virtue, "Liberty, / I worshipped thee, and find thee but a Shade!" [Wordsworth, *The Excursion* III.770-77].

The passage has been interpreted generally as another reference to the French Revolution.

646. Comparison:

[Locock] Painful is it to me even to tell the tale, painful to keep it silent—my case is hapless every way [*Prometheus Bound* 199-200].

Hughes paraphrased: "Do not make me double my sorrow by relating what I have seen."

648-52. K. N. Cameron compared Volney, *The Ruins*, 106-7, for the " 'standard' with the names inscribed upon it in *three colors*. And in the 'confusion' which 'fell from heaven' we have [an] echo of Volney's 'movement of confusion' among the nations" ("Major Source of 'Islam,' " p. 185).

651-53. B. Rajan called this "the essential antithesis. The existing values of strife, deceit, and fear [see III.iv.188 where fear and hate become synonymous] are to be replaced by truth, liberty, and love" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 298).

655. Comparison:

> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 243)] [*Republic* VII.i-ii for the myth of the cave, in which men are pictured as fettered so they can see only shadows cast on a wall. Inasmuch as they see neither the light nor the objects whose shadows are cast, they will assume that the shadows are the reality.]

Notopoulos commented: "This line is a Platonic formula for the myth of the Cave. . . . The doctrine appears as a Platonic leitmotif in this poem."

658-63. Comparisons:

> [W. N. Guthrie (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 180-81)] [1] [Matthew iv.11 and Mark i.13, for the angels that came after the temptation of Jesus] [2] [Luke xxii.43, for those that came after Gethsemane]; [3] [Job xl.6, for the angel of the Lord appearing to Job.]
>
> [Olwen Campbell (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 212)] [1] The imagery . . . will be found, in many instances, to have been drawn from the operations of the human mind [Shelley's Preface]; [2] [*Adonais* ix-xii, for the dreams ministering to the dead poet.]

Guthrie called the spirits "intuitions of obscure origin, the self-assertion of divine instincts from the subconscious mind of man." Woodberry commented: "The torture-scene (with which, in the physical sense, the drama of Æschylus closes) being now over, the modern drama goes on to develop the regeneration of man, and first introduces this counter scene of the consolation of Prometheus by the spirits of the human mind, which inhabit thought." Campbell noted that "it was not merely winds and clouds that Shelley clothed with individual life. Even the thoughts and dreams of a man's mind seemed to him mysterious messengers from a realm beyond." Carl Grabo found the spirits Neoplatonic in origin: "The truths of intuition, revealing as they do the divine nature, are timeless, for they recall perfections which are not in time but in eternity. They are, therefore, to man . . . prophetic, for they are not yet realized in the lower world of material being. They afford him stay and comfort, assurance that they are prophecies of good to be" (*Interpretation*, p. 43). R. H. Fogle added that, except for Prometheus himself, the principle of goodness in the early scenes barely maintains itself against the powers of evil: "This dimness and evanescence is, however, profoundly ambiguous, as in the nature of Platonic idealism it must be. When compared with concrete reality it is weak, but on the other hand a strength, the strength of the eternal, uncreated, and

absolute Platonic forms" ("Image and Imagelessness," pp. 26-27). And to C. M. Bowra the spirits were "examples of the living forces which not only refuse to submit to evil but are even brought into action by opposition to it," thus illustrating Shelley's belief that "in the end evil is conquered because it breeds its own opposite" (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 110-11).

659. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] a fearful sleep, / Which through the caverns dreary and forlorn / Of the riven soul, sent its foul dreams [*The Revolt of Islam* III.xxii];[2] the two who stood beneath that night [of the cave], / Each only heard, or saw, or felt the other [*ibid.* VI.xxiv]; [3] But a friend's bosom / Is as the inmost cave of our own mind [*The Cenci* II.ii.88-89].
>
> [Locock] [1] Treasures from all the cells of human thought [*The Revolt of Islam* V.2215]; [2] Come thou, but lead out of the inmost cave / Of man's deep spirit [*Ode to Liberty* xviii]; [3] Great Spirit whom the sea of boundless thought / Nurtures within its unimagined caves [*Fragment: "Great Spirit"*].
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 243)] [1] In the still cave of the witch Poesy [*Mont Blanc* 44]; [2] What a picture does this line [of Sophocles] suggest of the mind as a wilderness of intricate paths . . . a world within a world [Shelley on a line of Sophocles. See Appendix C].

660. Scudder compared "the pure air, the pathway of birds" (*Prometheus Bound* 283) (Edition, p. 143).

661-63. Comparisons:

> [K. N. Cameron] [1] Imagination or mind employed in prophetically [imaging forth] its objects is that faculty of human nature on which every gradation of its progress . . . depends [*Speculation on Morals.* Julian, VII, 75]; [2] For [the poet] not only beholds intensely the present as it is . . . but he beholds the future in the present, and his thoughts are the germs of the flower and the fruit of latest time [*A Defence of Poetry.* Julian, VII, 112].

Cameron (Edition) held that the spirits were symbols of the prophetic imagination, and made only a general reference to the works from which the present editor has selected the pertinent passages.

661. *Its*] E. Barnard identified this as human thought "which apparently both dwells in dim caves and surrounds the world. The seeming inconsistency is perhaps only a figurative way of contrasting the realms of thought and of matter."

662. *as in a glass*] "Mirrored in the present" (P. H. Butter, *Shelley's Idols*, p. 179). Locock compared IV.213.

664-71. Todhunter commented: "The breaking into rhyme of Panthea and Ione . . . is like the sudden outbreaking of the sun through a cloud. . . . A fitting introduction for the beautiful lyrics that follow!" (*Study*, pp. 147-48).

669. Hughes compared "The air whirs with the light rush of pinions" (*Prometheus Bound* 124).

672-91. H. Richter saw "a family relationship" with the spirits of *Manfred* I.i (*Shelley*, p. 427), and Bennett Weaver noted that as early as 1810,

in the *Posthumous Fragments of Margaret Nicholson*, Shelley had used a Chorus of Spirits "which suggests the great choruses" of *Prometheus Unbound* ("First Beginnings," pp. 195-96). Scudder commented: "As the Furies turn all good into evil, so these gentle Spirits of the Human Mind bring consolation by singing that all evil is the occasion for higher good"; and Carl Grabo added: "If [they have] forever existed unchanged and have . . . brought [man] faith and solace, they are trustworthy auguries of the future. They are a part of the eternal unchanging intellectual world" in which man shares, and "it is in his higher intelligence, not his earthly and mortal nature, that man shares the divine" (*Interpretation*, pp. 44-45). C. M. Garnier pointed out that the lyrical design of the opening of this passage (lines 672-800) is much the same as in the Furies episode, but without the "boisterous repetition," and with the "sonority . . . toned down. The Soli are more developed and woven into finer texture," and there is more subtlety of blended alliteration and assonance ("Metrical Study," p. 151).

675-76. Arthur Clive cited II.ii.12-13 as further evidence of Shelley's mannerism of introducing another portion of the sentence between two words closely connected (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 427).

690-91. Comparison:

> [Hughes] know ye not, / That leagued against ye are the Just and Wise, / And all Good Actions of all ages past, / Yea, your own crimes, and Truth, and God in Heaven? [Southey, *Thalaba* IX.15].

Rossetti noted that the prophecy is "founded upon the constitution and powers of the Human Mind" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 149). To Hughes it was the "prophecy of human perfection"; and to Locock it was defined in I.787.

692-93. Comparison:

> [Arthur Clive (*Prometheus*, 427)] Her angels face / As the great eye of heaven shyned bright, / And made a sunshine in the shadie place [*The Faerie Queene* I.iii.4].

Clive noted that frequently in Shelley "beautiful beings shed a light around them," as at I.762; II.iii.51; and II.iv.18.

694-751. G. H. Clarke commented: "The Spirits have insight into the final triumph of Good, as the Furies into the long-resisting power of Evil. Each Spirit, instancing an action or attitude of high good, seeks to justify the faith of all the Spirits." K. N. Cameron added: "The spirits sing of the signs in the world of that great 'change in our social conditions' of which Shelley speaks in the Preface; they symbolize 'the cloud of mind discharging its collected lightnings' [Preface], and the new spirit of the age hailed in the conclusion of *A Defence of Poetry*."

694-707. *First Spirit*] Courage even in defeat (Scudder); philosophico-political idealism (W. N. Guthrie, *Poet Prophets*, p. 181); heroic actions

(Alexander); Revolution (Woodberry); Resolution, or Courage (Locock); spiritual enlightenment (A. T. Strong, *Studies*, p. 32); love (D. Bush, *Mythology*, p. 146); hope and liberty rising from the chaos of the Napoleonic Wars (K. N. Cameron, "Political Symbolism," p. 734).

To T. S. Eliot, who was "hampered" in his enjoyment of Shelley by the poet's ideas, these lines were "just bad jingling. . . . Walter Scott seldom fell as low as this, though Byron more often. But in such lines, harsh and untunable, one is all the more affronted by the ideas" ("Shelley and Keats," pp. 91-92).

695. Comparison:

> [Locock] They [the winged figures of Victory] look, as it were, borne from the subject extremities of the earth, on the breath which is the exhalation of that battle and desolation, which it is their mission to commemorate [To Peacock, March 23, 1819. Julian, X, 40].

703-5. Comparisons:

> [Locock] Above, below, around, / The circling systems formed [*The Daemon of the World* I.247-48].
>
> [E. Barnard] And from the blessed power that rolls / About, below, above, / We'll frame the measure of our souls: / They shall be tuned to love [Wordsworth, *To My Sister* 33-36].

Locock noted that "these collocations of local adverbs abound in Shelley's poems."

704-8. B. Rajan pointed out that, since Prometheus is loving and wise (I.58), "the Furies' axioms [I.627] are no longer valid. Defiance which is no more than the will's refusal to accept defeat, has turned into the understanding which is conscious power [I.642]" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 298).

708-22. *Second Spirit*] Self-sacrifice, impossible if suffering were not (Scudder); the Christ that has always been, and still is among the sons of men (W. Revell, " 'Prometheus,' " p. 421); love of one's kind, losing and finding itself in death undergone for their sake (A. T. Strong, *Studies*, p. 33); growth of a spirit of brotherhood among the armed forces (K. N. Cameron, "Political Symbolism," p. 734).

708-12. See Textual Notes.

716-23. A. T. Strong held that this passage "illustrates that intense feeling for the beauty of ethical goodness which recurs constantly throughout [Shelley's] poetry and puts him in touch with the Cambridge Platonists" (*Studies*, p. 33).

717. Locock suggested that "['spread'] may be the indicative mood and 'beneath' an adverb; or the former may be a past participle and the latter a preposition."

718-19. Comparison:

> [G. H. Clarke] I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak, / Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin, / I flam'd amazement . . . Jove's lightnings, the pre-

cursors / O' the dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary / And sight-outrunning were not [*The Tempest* I.ii.196-212].

721-22. Ingpen-Peck cited this as one of Shelley's many allusions to death by drowning.

723-36. *Third Spirit*] Wisdom, a power of hope (Scudder); Enlightenment (W. Guthrie, *Poet Prophets*, p. 181); passion for learning which Plato had called the intellectual Eros, and considered akin to sexual passion in its most pure and spiritual form (A. T. Strong, *Studies*, pp. 32-33); development of understanding and hope among scholars (K. N. Cameron "Political Symbolism," p. 734).

725. See Textual Notes.

732. Henry Sweet noted that "*shade* and *shadow* . . . do not necessarily imply darkness [in Shelley], but simply diminished light" ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," pp. 312-13).

737-51. Comparisons:

> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 244)] [1] [*Symposium* 195d (see note at I.772-79)]; [2] They tell us that these souls, flying like bees from flower to flower, and wandering over the gardens and the meadows and the honey-flowing fountains of the Muses, return to us laden with the sweetness of melody; and arrayed as they are in the plumes of rapid imagination, they speak truth [*Ion*. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 238].

Fourth Spirit] Imagination, a power of hope (Scudder); art power (W. Guthrie, *Poet Prophets*, p. 181); creative power of the poetic imagination (Alexander); Poetry (Woodberry); "passion working beneath the law of beauty, and finding its own words and music in the highest and most conscious form of art" (A. Strong, *Studies*, p. 33); awakening of a new spirit in the poetry of the age (K. Cameron, "Political Symbolism," p. 734), as seen also in the conclusion to *A Defence of Poetry* (Cameron, Edition).

With respect to the *Ion* comparison Notopoulos commented: "As Shelley had not read the *Ion* until 1821, it cannot be maintained that there is a direct influence. On the contrary, this passage in *Prometheus Unbound* seems to be the sort of inspiration that is responsible for the interpolation of the [phrase: 'and arrayed as they are in the plumes of rapid imagination'] which is not in Plato's text. In this respect we have here a tangent image emanating independently in the mind of the poet."[26]

The parallel between this passage and Shelley's own poetic temper has been noted frequently. G. H. Clarke called it a faculty that "upbore him

[26]Apparently Notopoulos was unaware of Shelley's translation of about half of the *Ion* in E.1 (see footnote, p. 22). The translation, in draft state, was written in E sometime after Act IV (completed by December, 1819) was copied therein. Thus, theoretically, Shelley could have been working on the translation as early as 1820, and could have been reading the dialogue during 1819. Notopoulos recognized the probability that Shelley had read the *Ion* in translation while at Oxford.

in those great moments for which he paid in the pain and sorrow of gray intervals" (Edition, p. lxiii). A. Clutton-Brock added that "beautiful things were indeed to [Shelley] prophetic of a nobler life because of their beauty, and . . . he could transform that beauty into the music of his verse, so that nothing of what he had seen remained in it except beauty. 'Prometheus' is an attempt to treat the whole universe in this way, and consists entirely of transformations and rejections, all made according to one persistent ideal" (*Man and Poet*, p. 213). And Stephen Spender likened Shelley to Ovid, and to Goethe of *Faust II*, as a creator of metamorphoses: "In this kind of pure invention of a spirit-voice which expresses something invisible which we *feel* to be present in the universe, he compares with Shakespeare, if in no other respect. Only Ariel could have spoken [these lines]" (*Shelley*, pp. 30-31). But to Douglas Bush "such lyrics [as also those at II.v.72-110] suggest the melting of serious myths into day-dreams. We, having grown up on seventeenth-century poetry, like bone and muscle, and Shelley has little of either" (*English Poetry*, p. 143).

742. O. W. Firkins commented: "Among the English words that are notable for the power of dim suggestiveness, the word 'shape' is conspicuous [see also I.765; II.i.119-20; II.iii.50]. . . . Meaning shape, it suggests shapelessness" (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 82).

743-49. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 263)] The tragedies of the Athenian poets are as mirrors in which the spectator beholds himself . . . stript of all but that ideal perfection and energy which every one feels to be the internal type of all that he loves, admires, and would become [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 121].
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 337)] A nursling of man's art . . . transformed by the enchantment of Nature into a likeness of her own creations, and destined to partake their immortality! [*The Coliseum*. Julian, VI, 303].

A. Clutton-Brock held that Shelley meant here "that from the beauty of actual things he drew his conception of ultimate reality; that this beauty sank into his mind apart from the object possessing it; that it came out again in his works in an utterly different form, as beauty is born again in the works of a musician, and that these works, being thus made of pure beauty purged of all the imperfection of this life, were nearer to ultimate reality and therefore more real than beautiful actual things" (Introduction, p. xix). Carl Grabo stressed the Platonic implication "that thought is the sole reality and also, aesthetically, that natural objects serve the poet solely as inspirations to his thought" (*Interpretation*, p. 46).

744-46. Hughes noted that "he does not regard *them*, but the beauty in them which is prophetic of the ideal." M. T. Solve commented: "Those who celebrate Shelley as the greatest of all nature poets dwell upon the unusually sharp observation which must precede such employment of reflected light, but they usually pass over the lines preceding and the lines following." The real importance, Solve held, of the bees in reflected light

"was that they furnished a point of departure to a region *more real than* earthly phenomena—the world of ideas, though not consistently Platonic" (*Theory of Poetry*, pp. 73-74).

746. Louis MacNeice cited this line to show that "Shelley was an inferior poet because he did not qualify his dogmas with observation. . . . Enthusiasm . . . is the better if tempered with Reason and observation" (*Modern Poetry*, p. 202).

747-49. J. Notopoulos suggested that, influenced by the translation of the *Symposium*, these lines (and III.iii.50-51) show "one of the loveliest expressions of the essence of that dialogue," as well as referring to "the immortal creations of poetry" (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 61, 244).

748. E. Barnard commented: "And these forms are more real than living man . . . because they contain more beauty and goodness, which are to Shelley . . . the only ultimate reality of which man knows" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 263).

752-55. Comparison:

> L. O. Kuhns ("Dante's Influence," p. 164)] As doves, summoned by desire, come with wings poised and motionless to the sweet nest, borne by their will through the air, so these left the troop where Dido is [*Inferno* V.82-85].

755. R. Piccoli cited a similar rime (*despair-dear*) in *To —* ("One word is too often profaned").

756. *sweet, sad*] G. H. Clarke compared I.671.

760. *grain*] Locock noted that the word is "generally taken to mean 'cloudlike texture,' but other interpretations seem at least equally likely. 'Grain' is the colouring matter produced by the coccus insect, and is often used in poetry as the equivalent of 'Tyrian purple.' " He cited, as examples, "plumes of purple grain" (*Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 80); "And cast her colours dyed deepe in graine" (*The Faerie Queene* I.vi.1); "crimsin dyde in grayne" (*Epithalamion* 228); "your purple-in-grain beard" (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream* I.ii.98); "the graine / Of *Sarra*" (*Paradise Lost* XI.242-43). But Locock noted that Milton ("skie-tinctur'd grain" [*Paradise Lost* V.284]; "darkest grain" [*Il Penseroso* 33]; "sorry grain" [*Comus* 750]) and others did not confine their use of the word to purple colors, nor did Shelley (e.g., "wings whose grain / Was as the light of sunny rain" [*The Mask of Anarchy* xxviii]). Locock concluded: "It would seem, therefore, as if 'skiey grain' might mean any one of the following:—(1) Red colour, like that of the sunset sky. (2) Sky-blue and red: (='orange and azure' in the next line). (3) Sky-blue colour. (This I think is the least probable.) (4) Cirrus-like texture or conformation."

763-71. Rossetti saw in this a reference to the "glorious aim and tragic catastrophe" of the French Revolution ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 149). Scudder noted that "these two spirits bring the healing power of Sympathy . . . they do not gloat over [the evil in the world], but lament it. The consolation offered Prometheus has no unreal element; it never

transcends the limits of truth." Alexander read the lines as an indication that Shelley had learned that "love in the actual world is followed by disappointment and pain." And R. H. Fogle saw in the passage the culmination of the motif of "a fatal bond between good and evil, in which every effort at advance becomes a retrogression" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 26).

With respect to the versecraft, C. M. Garnier pointed out that "the meters, even lengthened to 7 beats . . . are not long enough to contain the overflowing gladness and sadness of life: each verse is eked out by an unaccented syllable" ("Metrical Study," p. 152).

765-66. To Carl Grabo this was "symbolism which in one of its aspects is scientific, the identification of electricity, energy, and light with love" (*Interpretation*, p. 47).

765. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] [1] two glittering lights were seen to glide / . . . commingling into one, / One clear and mighty planet . . . beneath the planet sate a Form [*The Revolt of Islam* I.lvi-lvii]; [2] On its helm, seen far away, / A planet, like the Morning's, lay [*The Mask of Anarchy* xxix].

planet] The morning star, identified in *The Revolt of Islam* I.xxvi with the Spirit of Good (Barnard).

shape] Love (Woodberry).

766. *ambrosial*] Divinely beautiful (G. B. Woods).

768. *sages*] E.g., Socrates, Galileo, etc. (Locock).

769. Comparison:

> [G. H. Clarke] Chatterton / Rose pale,—his solemn agony had not / Yet faded from him [*Adonais* xlv].

770. See Textual Notes.

772-79. Comparisons:

> [Forman] [1] For Homer says, that the goddess Calamity is delicate, and that her feet are tender. "Her feet are soft," he says, "for she treads not upon the ground, but makes her path upon the heads of men." He gives as an evidence of her tenderness, that she walks not upon that which is hard, but that which is soft. The same evidence is sufficient to make manifest the tenderness of love [*Symposium* 195d. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 189]; [2] delicate are her [Ate's] feet, for it is not upon the ground that she fareth, but she walketh over the heads of men, bringing men to harm, and this one or that she ensnareth [*Iliad* XIX.92-93].
>
> [Locock] [1] But the dark fiend who with his iron pen / Dipped in scorn's fiery poison, makes his fame / Enduring there, would o'er the heads of men / Pass harmless, if they scorned to make their hearts his den [*The Revolt of Islam* VIII.xx]; [2] With step as soft as wind it passed / O'er the heads of men [*The Mask of Anarchy* xxx]; [3] The weight which Crime, whose wings are plumed with years, / Leaves in his flight from ravaged heart to heart / Over the heads of men [*Hellas* 906-8]; [4] he walks / As if he trod upon the heads of men (*Charles the First* i.59-60).
>
> [R. Piccoli] [1] Her voice is hovering o'er my soul—it lingers / O'er-shadowing it with soft and lulling wings [*To Constantia, Singing* iii]; [2] He went with soft

light feet—as if his tread / Fell not on earth; no sound their falling gave [Homer's *Hymn to Mercury* xxv. Shelley's translation]; [3] A Love in desolation masked [*Adonais* xxxii].

[W. Peck (*Shelley*, II, 130)] Love sometimes leads astray to misery [*Julian and Maddalo* 349].

[A. C. Bradley ("Coleridge-Echoes," p. 175)] Till Desolation seemed a beautiful thing [Coleridge, *Remorse* V.i.276].

[K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," pp. 734-35)] But such a degree of unmingled good was expected [from the French Revolution] as it was impossible to realise. . . . Thus. many of the most ardent and tender-hearted of the worshippers of public good have been morally ruined by what a partial glimpse of the events they deplored appeared to show as the melancholy desolation of all their cherished hopes. Hence gloom and misanthropy have become the characteristics of the age in which we live [Preface to *The Revolt of Islam*].

Olwen Campbell held that Shelley perverted Plato in this passage (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 213), but J. A. Notopoulos, noting that, "just as Agathon substituted Love for Calamity, so Shelley reverts to Homer's conception and substitutes Desolation," cited the following passages as evidence of Shelley's deep interest in Agathon's speech:

[1] Then Plato's words of light in thee and me / Lingered like moonlight in the moonless east, / For we had just then read—thy memory / Is faithful now—the story of the feast; / And Agathon and Diotima seemed / From death and dark forgetfulness released [*Prince Athanase* II.224-29]; [2] or let them guess / How Diotima, the wise prophetess, / Instructed the instructor, and why he / Rebuked the infant spirit of melody / On Agathon's sweet lips, which as he spoke / Was as the lovely star when morn has broke / The roof of darkness, in the golden dawn, / Half-hidden, and yet beautiful [*Epipsychidion* Fragment 101-8]; [3] I do not think, if perhaps, I except (and I know not if I ought to do so) the speech of Agathon in the Symposium of Plato—that there ever was produced a moral discourse more characteristic of all that is admirable and lovely in human Nature . . . than that of Henrietta to Mandeville [in Godwin's *Mandeville*] as he is recovering from madness [To Godwin, December 7, 1817. Julian, IX, 260]; [4] [and the note on *The Banquet* which describes the setting at the house of Agathon (Julian, VII, 162)] [*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 244-45].

Interpretations of the passage have varied. To Todhunter "the general meaning of this dainty but obscure lyric would appear to be that life makes us promises which it never fulfils; we are tantalized with the vision of unrealizable ideals" (*Study*, p. 149). To Woodberry "the two spirits who sing the passage of Love followed by Ruin, present in poetical and intense imagery the one comprehensive and symbolic sorrow of the state of man: love is not denied, but its fruits are misery to mankind. The prophecy that 'begins and ends' in Prometheus is that he shall destroy this death that follows in Love's track, of which the Crucifixion and the Revolution have been taken as the great symbols, but similar ruin pervades all life acted on by love." To K. N. Cameron "the French Revolution arose . . . from 'Desolation'; and . . . in 'desolation' it ended." Desolation "in its tenuously deceptive character, [is] a 'delicate thing,' blinding men to all but the

stirring impulses which it temporarily produces and hiding the ultimate reaction—'pain'—which it inevitably results in. Instead of a democratic order based on Love there arises only the new desolation of militaristic dictatorship out of the old desolation of feudalism and revolution" ("Political Symbolism," p. 735). And to Ivan Roe the passage was an expression of Shelley's own "desolation of the spirit . . . during that creative year which had begun with 'some deadly change in love.' " Shelley, Roe believed, found in the betrayal of those who love "something of the deepest circle of Dante's arrangement of the inferno, the fourth zone of the ninth circle, called the Giudecca, where Judas, Brutus and Cassius were gnawed in the three mouths of Lucifer" (*Last Phase*, pp. 185-86).

With respect to the versecraft, Edmund Blunden noted that Hunt "had published a few years earlier a mask called *The Descent of Liberty* in which the dancing measure adapted to lyrics was pleasantly used, and when Shelley wrote [this] he caught up one of his friend's metrical varieties" (*Shelley*, p. 259). To Arthur Quiller-Couch this was "a simple, even a common [meter], as common as Christy Minstrelsy" with which, in 1814, Shelley had experimented with "the most flagrant and (to my mind) the most delicate pauses, stresses, cadences, undulations" in *Stanzas.—April, 1814* ("Shelley," p. 62). A. A. Jack noted that the world of Prometheus "is a vague world, but in this vague world each idea is seized definitely." So in these lines "we are in a world of idea, but in a world where the ideas as they fly are caught" (*Shelley*, pp. 110-12).

777. R. H. Fogle cited this as a synesthetic example (see also II.i.89, 179) of music "concretely portrayed as the movement and sound of footsteps" (*Imagery*, p. 130).

778-79. Comparison:

> [Ivan Roe (*Last Phase*, p. 206)] From that time till now I know what one does in love's cloister; that one fears, and that one hopes; who knows how to read it sees on one's brow the monster [Petrarch, *Trionfo d'amore*].

778. *monster*] Because unreal and deceptive (Barnard). Barnard commented: "The echo of Shelley's own frequent disillusionments is clearly perceptible."

779. *shadow*] To Carl Grabo this implied "that which accompanies something else; is its inevitable, and dark, consequence"; and possibly a Platonic distinction also "between the heavenly 'real' and the earthly and unreal 'shadow,' " which indicates Shelley's interest in the problem of reality (*Interpretation*, pp. 47-48).

780-88. E. Meldrum commented: "It is to the classical god and the classical conception of a Golden Age that Shelley returns, attacking Christianity and pointing out its failures. . . . [Prometheus] is to be the saviour of mankind against God. [The chorus] have seen the death of Christ in a vision and that it will leave a path of ruin and suffering in the lives of men" ("Classical Background," pp. 160-61).

780-84. K. N. Cameron saw this as "the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars" ("Political Symbolism," p. 735).

780. Hughes paraphrased: "Though Ruin dogs all ideal endeavours." E. Barnard held that "the primary meaning is that Prometheus' love of mankind has brought suffering upon both him and them."

782. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] And I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him. And power was given unto them over the fourth part of the earth, to kill with sword, and with hunger, and with death, and with the beasts of the earth [Revelation vi.8].
>
> [B. Weaver (*Understanding of Shelley*, p. 228)] [1] In contrast, like the courser pale / That stalks along Death's pitchy vale [*The Wandering Jew* 234-37]; [2] he rode / On a white horse, splashed with blood; / He was pale even to the lips, / Like Death in the Apocalypse [*The Mask of Anarchy* viii]; [3] He saw an Apothecary on a white horse / Ride by on his vocations, / And the Devil thought of his old Friend / Death in the Revelations [Coleridge, *The Devil's Thoughts* v].

784-85. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] [1] The multiplying villainies of nature / Do swarm upon him [*Macbeth* I.ii.11-12]; [2] So foul and fair a day I have not seen [*ibid.* I.iii.38].

787. To Rossetti this meant that "the Mind shall turn chaos into cosmos" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 149). To E. Barnard it was the "prophecy" of I.690, 706, and 799.

quell] Kill (G. B. Woods).

789. Locock noted that the line "is metrically a part of the chorus which follows."

790-800. R. Piccoli compared "If Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?" (*Ode to the West Wind* 70). Todhunter called these "delicious lines, which seemed to be steeped in the balmiest dews of spring. . . . The thought . . . that the slightest tendencies towards good visible in the world, are an earnest of its final triumph . . . is a frequent one in Shelley's writings, but it is nowhere more delicately expressed than here" (*Study*, pp. 149-50). And Carl Grabo noted that, "as the buds know in the soft winds an assurance of spring, so the Spirits know in the persistence of Wisdom, Justice, Love, and Peace that the effort will be justified in the liberation of Prometheus who is the goal of their prophecy. The assurance is born of intuition" rather than reason (*Interpretation*, p. 48).

790. *atmosphere*] Of human thought (Hughes).

794-95. To Arthur Clive this was "a couplet of such surpassing melody and sweetness that it seems to cast a shade over its companions, as a bright gem amongst pebbles" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 428). Locock found the syntax "loosely put together," as at IV.556, with the lines not dependent on *As* (line 791) but forming "a kind of appendix to the relative clause" of line 793.

796-97. Comparisons:

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 422)] The wise man is satisfied with nothing. . . . Finite things must be perpetually capable of increase and advancement [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, 266].

801-6. C. M. Garnier noted the transitional riming couplets, as at I.664-71 ("Metrical Study," p. 152).

802-6. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] Music, when soft voices die, / Vibrates in the memory [*To*— ("Music, when soft voices")].

802. *omnipotence*] L. Vivante cited this as one of the forms under which Shelley expresses infinity (see also I.416-21; II.iv.75-76; IV.495-98) ("Shelley," p. 141).

804. *responses*] Scudder noted that the accent shift is not uncommon in Shelley, and cited II.i.171. G. H. Clarke added II.iv.122; and Locock gave: (1) "Its stony jaws, the ábrupt mountain breaks" (*Alastor* 551); (2) "Yielding one only résponse" (*ibid.* 564); (3) "Thy éxtreme hope" (*Adonais* vi); and (4) "Another clipped her prófuse locks" (*ibid.* xi).

807-20. F. A. Lea commented: "What speaks in [these lines] is the Dark Night of the Soul that precedes spiritual victory" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 115).

808-9. B. Weaver compared *To Harriet* (1812), where, like the later Prometheus, Shelley is a "lone spirit . . . drear and cold" looking forward to "those awful limits / . . . When Time shall be no more," and where Harriet, like Asia (the "light of life"), is the "dear love" that "gleamed upon the gloomy path" (lines 5-10) ("First Beginnings," p. 191).

Weaver commented: "Surely those gifts which Percy consecrates to his 'second self,' the radiant Harriet, are among the characteristics of Prometheus: 'Virtue and Love! unbending Fortitude' [*To Harriet* 70]." Carl Grabo held that "evil is symbolized in the separation of the mind of man from nature, with consequences disastrous to both" (*Interpretation*, p. 49); while to K. N. Cameron "love has been driven from the hearts of men by the despotic state. . . . Only by the reuniting of the two, i.e. only when men begin to think in terms not of the individual but of humanity, can a new order of equality and justice be achieved" ("Political Symbolism," p. 740). Cameron later added that "despotism has only partly succeeded. Hope and memory remain beside man, and, of the two, hope [Panthea in Cameron's reading] especially links man to love. . . . Despotism cannot destroy man's memory of the past or his hopes for the future" (Edition, p. 525).

808. Comparisons:

[L. Steichen ("Study," p. 46)] [1] II.iv.120; [2] Yet slow and gradual dawned the morn of love [*Queen Mab* IX.38]; [3] a nation / Made free by love [*The Revolt of Islam* V.xiv].

Lilian Winstanley commented: "Shelley has been blamed for making his Titan a lover, and doubtless with justice; but we can only say that he

substitutes a Platonic ideal for the sterner and grander conception of Aeschylus" ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 95). To A. Sen the poet also offered a picture of man's redemption quite different from Godwin's, with the latter's emphasis on reason (*Studies*, p. 227). E. Barnard (citing also I.721-22 and IV.557-61) called this "the first and the last of Shelley's religion . . . [and] the source of his worship not only of Christ, but of Plato and of Dante" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 295).

809-11. Todhunter saw perfectibility as evolutionary in this poem: "The dependence of Asia upon Prometheus is one of the deepest mysteries of the Shelleyan philosophy. To comprehend it we must understand that Shelley, like Blake, regarded the human imagination as a divine creative force, a portion of that which creates and sustains the universe. Prometheus is, therefore, not merely the spirit of humanity; he is the divine imagination, the father-force, which creates and re-creates the universe by its marriage with the divine idea, or mother-force, Asia" (*Study*, pp. 139-41). To this E. Barnard added that the separation of Prometheus and Asia "would be the consequent coming into existence of a dualism of spirit and matter, of God and Nature; their reunion and retirement to the cave would mark the end of the cycle of manifestation. In at least three places [III.iii.174; III.iv.108-9; and IV.14] Shelley suggests that Time is at an end with Jupiter's fall. And of course Demogorgon calls himself Eternity. It is probably not necessary to assign to such an interpretation any definite place in the philosophical pattern of the poem as a whole, which has only a general and not a detailed consistency."

To Marjory Bald there were times when Shelley felt "that one human spirit could not contain all its riches. Prometheus also recognised that but for Asia the overflow of his soul would be wasted. But with Asia . . . self was not so much given away as realised, in the process of communion" ("Psychology of Shelley," p. 361). And, linking these lines with II.i.31, J. A. Cousins commented: "These are no drawing-room compliments, but the symbolical expression, in terms of human relationships, of the mystery of the cosmic duality-in-unity of the two aspects, life and form, of one Being and one process. These operate in the atom as well as in the stellar sphere. They are bound together by the cohesive principle in the universe which is called love" (*Work Promethean*, p. 27).

814. Hughes compared "To sleep: perchance to dream" (*Hamlet* III.i.65). Locock suggested that "the disjointed character of the speech indicates a state of hopeless exhaustion."

815-18. Comparisons:

> [B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," pp. 191, 194)] [1] Let me forever be what I have been, / . . . the friend of the unfriended poor [*On Leaving London for Wales* 32-55]; [2] For who that might undaunted stand, / The saviour of a sinking land [*The Retrospect: Cum Etan* 72-73].

M. T. Solve felt that Shelley was here "acknowledging that there *are*

physical laws apart from individual mind, and that freedom lies in directing our wishes according to those laws" (*Theory of Poetry*, p. 94); but E. Barnard argued that while this "might be wrenched into support of the doctrine of Necessity . . . [the passage] means, I take it, only that he is determined to be what he *may* be (or may fail to be): the saviour . . ." (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 140).

819-20. G. H. Clarke commented: "The Furies' torments and the Spirits' consolation are alike incomplete. The Furies have derided the idea of love, and even the Spirits cannot ignore its apparent failures, yet in it alone lies hope. The memory of Prometheus and the words of Panthea both turn his thoughts toward Asia, the principle of that never-wearied Love which animates and sustains the universe," that Light, Beauty, Benediction, and Love of *Adonais* liv.

821-23. Comparisons:

> [Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 75)] [Southey's *The Curse of Kehama*, in which Ladurlad and Kehama represent good versus evil, and in which Kailyal shares the fate of the father as Panthea and Ione stand at the side of Prometheus.]
>
> [W. Peck (*Shelley*, II, 131)] [An Arab maiden] watched his nightly sleep, / Sleepless herself, to gaze upon his lips / Parted in slumber [*Alastor* 134-36].

K. N. Cameron, with his unorthodox identification of Panthea and Ione, interpreted the lines to mean that "the feudal state can take Love [Asia] away, but not Hope [Panthea] or Memory [Ione]" ("Political Symbolism," p. 740); to which Carlos Baker answered that Jupiter makes no effort to do so (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 284).

826. Comparison:

> [B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 189)] Nought waits for the good but a spirit of Love [*A Dialogue* 23].

K. N. Cameron cited this line in support of his identification of Panthea as Hope, "for Hope [joining Asia] is more important in the achieving of a new order than is Memory [Ione]" ("Political Symbolism," p. 741).

827-33. Comparison:

> [C. Baker (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 93)] Thou Friend, whose presence on my wintry heart / Fell, like bright Spring upon some herbless plain [Dedication to *The Revolt of Islam* vii].

To Rossetti this passage was the "exact keynote" to establish Asia as Nature: "Nature transforms a desert into a thing of beauty: but it is only by association with Mind—with Human Mind, as we know it—that Nature has substantive or conscious being: but for the mind which contemplates and imbues it, Nature would be a practical nullity—it would have no phenomenal existence" ("Study," p. 64). G. H. Clarke paraphrased: "Love, if she is to persist, must be united to Wisdom." To A. Sen the passage (as also II.iii.72-81; II.v.26-30; and III.iv.190-204) evidenced the influence of Indian thought on Shelley (*Studies*, p. 245); while to O. W.

Firkins Asia's personality operating like spring was one of many examples of "effluence," an idea of great interest to Shelley, as evidenced by I.467-72; II.i.30-31; II.v.11-14, 26-30; IV.325-31, 356-59, 437-43, and 450-56 (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 168). B. P. Kurtz suggested Spenser as the source of the bower of naturalness, used also by Shelley in III.iii, *Epipsychidion*, *The Sensitive Plant*, *The Revolt of Islam*, and *Lines Written among the Euganean Hills*. Kurtz noted that "in each case the outward form of the bower, or garden, is expressive of an inner experience, viz., moral loveliness" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 171). To Carl Grabo "the transformation of frozen nature . . . symbolizes the imminent reunion of Asia and Prometheus and his triumph over Jupiter." The unity of Prometheus and Asia "is necessary to the well-being of both"; indeed, she is more dependent upon him than he on her, she lives only in him. "The implication . . . is that mind, the mind of man, is the directing force of the universe [the only reality], and all else subservient to it," as suggested by "Thought / Alone, and its quick elements, Will, Passion, / Reason, Imagination, cannot die; / They are . . . / The stuff whence mutability can weave / All that it hath dominion oer" (*Hellas* 795-800) (*Interpretation*, pp. 49-51).

830-33. To Locock, the rhythm, with pauses toward the end of each line, expressed an "attitude of departure," as at the end of II.ii.

833. Hughes noted that "the Spirit of Asia is not mingled with Prometheus at this dramatic moment," and he held that "the sentence holds good as stating a general truth," since "the Ideal draws its life from the spirit of man, as in turn man's spirit from the Ideal."

Act II

Act II, on the theme of "joyful advance and attainment" (Alexander, Edition, p. 319), has met with some objection. J. Slater found in it "the effects of opium. . . . The whole act, as it stands, is spoiled by the great sin of modern [1884] poetry . . . it wants 'sanity' " (" 'Prometheus,' " pp. 188-89); and more recently (as well as more moderately) E. B. Hungerford has described it as "badly proportioned in terms of the whole play. The moral allegory has value, but the long progress of Asia . . . to the cave of Demogorgon, with her subsequent excursion in the chariot of the Hour, is too long for the amount of dramatic value which it contains. . . . [It relates] to the unfamiliar Demogorgon story rather than to the Prometheus story, and the reader fails to understand either what is happening or why it is happening" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 191).

But such objections have been exceptional. W. N. Guthrie answered those who might find the absence of Prometheus a flaw by pointing out that "really he has done his part, and . . . he himself, in a sense, is the stage on which all that the others do is transacted" (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 181-82). Rossetti considered the act about equally fine with Act I, but "with a considerable difference of quality." Act I he found more dramatic, II more

lyrical, with only the dialogue between Asia and Demogorgon keeping it from being entirely so. He noted that it was originally the central act of the drama, the "Act of Asia: an exalted idyll of Beauty, and the point of crisis in the drama—for here is centralized that supreme moment at which the ages of suffering have ended, and the ages of triumph are to begin"; and he felt that this three-act symmetry was partly obscured by the added fourth act, which he nevertheless agreed was a "great and positive gain, and in no sense an anticlimax" ("Prometheus as Poem," pp. 156-57). To White Acts II and III were dominated by spring: "For, as Shelley had already made clear in the first act, there were deep human impulses, inscrutable and undying, which when once awakened could overcome the world of evil as victoriously as spring swept over the ruins of winter" (*Shelley*, II, 115).

A. H. Koszul, having identified Ione as youthful love, Panthea as mature love, and Asia as Ideal Love, interpreted the act accordingly. To him it represented the procession of love from the first awakening of vague desire, from the first visions (II.i.62-106), through the communion with the love of nature (II.i [end] and II.ii), to the dizzy ecstasy which sweeps the loving soul to the dark center of the earth (II.iii). There (II.iv) Love penetrates to the inexpressible secret of life (a common notion with Shelley, as in "Yes, Love when Wisdom fails makes Cythna wise" [*The Revolt of Islam* IX.xxxiv]); for Love, to Shelley, is, in effect, a source of salvation ("Océanides et l'amour," pp. 390-92). To R. A. Holland the journey was

> . . . an argument for the progress and perfectibility of mankind. The argument is Necessity—Nature's primal law—the inevitable relation of antecedent and consequent which renders every thought, word and deed as persistent and perpetual in their influence as the forces that formed and are yet forming the earth; and as these forces have evolved order out of chaos, life out of death, and spirit out of clay, so the wise thought, the true word, and the good deed, by the imperishable power within them, shall countervail the Evil of temporary ignorance and falsehood, and produce the perfect race ["Soul of Shelley," p. 158].

To A. Sen the suggestion was that "the power which Shelley recognised as working in and through the universe has not only reason and will but feeling as well. . . . It is Asia, the Universal Spirit of Love, who, out of affection for Prometheus, the prototype of Man, ventures deep into the world of primal causes and struggling through a series of varied spiritual experiences, brings about the redemption of Humanity" (*Studies*, p. 203). And to K. N. Cameron's more narrowly political view Shelley was depicting "the workings beneath the surface of history of those forces which are gathering up, as a result of the movements engendered by the American and French revolutions, for the overthrow of the aristocratic state and the establishment of a new order" ("Political Symbolism," p. 747).[27]

[27]G. M. Matthews' "A Volcano's Voice in Shelley," which appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work, held that "the *volcanic activity* concept can be

As to the lyrics in Act II, Vida Scudder noted that they are more frequent and "blend more with structure than in the first act"; that there is a chantlike accompaniment to the journey, and a subtle mystical meaning in the semichoruses; and that the blank verse of the Asia-Demogorgon intellectual discussion gives way to lyric as emotion and action reappear. Scene v, indeed, "touches the highwater mark of the English lyric." Scudder compared the hate, darkness, and horror of the scene of the Furies in Act I, with the love, light, and supreme rapture in this scene, and found the "Life of Life" simple in form, "as a ray of white sunlight is simple," and Asia's response "a sequence of subtly interwoven harmonies" (Edition, pp. lv-lvi).

SCENE I

Todhunter became ecstatic in discussing this scene: "Every line seems to palpitate with the dewy sunshine of a sweet spring morning, in which the airiest abstractions of the mind live with a vitality as intense as that of Ariel in the enchanted island. . . . The passionate, quivering intensity of [the dialogue] intoxicates the reader, like some magical wine distilled from the fragrance of flowers. . . . Shelley has here made blank verse the native language of elemental genii" (*Study*, pp. 150-53). To him:

> The general meaning of this myth, interpreted in relation to human progress, would appear to be that Love and Faith are becoming conscious of their power as practical forces for the regeneration of the world, and are setting out hand in hand to accomplish this; Ione, or Hope, being left to console Prometheus. The forgotten dream of Panthea . . . represents the Spirit of Progress, while the Echoes are doubtless the voice of Ione, or Primæval Hope, still lingering about the craggy recesses of the world—the transitory aspects of eternal things, the legends of old heroic deeds, the aspiring songs of dead bards [p. 156].

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shown to contribute to [the poem's] mechanism as well as to its symbolic content" (p. 204). With many analogues from Shelley's reading, letters, and poems, Matthews concerned himself principally with "the sea-sisters' journey to Demogorgon as far as the fall of Jupiter, II.i-III.ii" (*ibid.*), and noted that in keeping with the contemporary belief that "volcanos erupted when their caves were invaded by sea-water . . . [it] is clear what was to be expected, scientifically speaking, if children of Ocean were drawn into contact with the magma of a volcanic cavern—a violent eruption, accompanied by the classic symptoms: earthquakes; mephitic vapours; the familiar pine-tree cloud; the bursting of a storm, with *ferilli* or volcanic lightning; and of course destruction—in this case final destruction of the heavenly dictatorship which Demogorgon tells Jupiter, 'none may retain, / Or reassume, or hold, succeeding thee' (III.i.57-8). All these symptoms occur" (pp. 215-16). Or, more broadly, Matthews commented: "The basis of much of the volcanic imagery in Shelley's mature poetry must now be clear. This is the perception of revolutionary activity in the external world and in the human mind—of irrepressible collective energy contained by repressive power" (p. 222). Matthews' principal illustrations: II.i.175-76, 201-5; II.ii.1-23, 48-63 (Locock's punctuation); II.iii.1-6, 124-30; II.iv.2-4, 150-52; III.i.4-8, 49-50; IV.319-21, 332-34, 337-41.

Rossetti agreed in general with this view, but felt that "a singular confusion of mind—to me unaccountable—seems to have beset Shelley in this scene: it affects the incidents narrated, and has left its trace even in the diction of some of the earlier speeches" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 151). To Olwen Campbell, also, "the whole scene (despite fine lines) and much of the following two (at a little distance) look like a display of fireworks on a wet evening," making one wonder "why Keats advised Shelley to 'load every rift with ore' " (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 214).

SD. *Morning*] For the time scheme of the poem see Appendix G.
vale] The Vale of Cashmere (L. Cazamian, Edition, p. 20).

1-27. Comparisons:

[Hughes (*Nascent Mind*, pp. 91-92)] [Sydney Owenson's *The Missionary: An Indian Tale* (which Shelley read in 1811), in which Hilarion, the Franciscan monk, dwells in the Vale of Cashmere and is "the apostle of reconciling love between caste and caste and between Christian and Hindu."]

Sidney Lanier found this one of the few passages in the drama worthy of praise, and noted its "modern poetic treatment of nature and of landscape" ("English Novel," p. 93). The lines have been generally praised, with Hughes noting the light-filled motion, the calmness, and a sunrise description in which "it seems as if the intensity can go no further, and all color must wilt and whiten beneath it" ("Shelley and Nature," p. 292).

1-5. Locock compared II.iv.12-18. Alexander saw in this passage an example of the "imagery drawn from the operations of the human mind" referred to in Shelley's Preface. O. W. Firkins listed, for imagery of the same kind, I.440-42; II.i.6-10; II.iii.36-41, 65-70; IV.91-92, 123-24, 200-1, 275 (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 48-54). And R. H. Fogle noted that these images of regeneration and growth (like those at I.152-58; II.i.25-27, 152-58; and III.iii.84-90) oppose images of the fallen world at I.12-43 ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 30). C. M. Bowra, in turn, pointed out that while here visible is compared to invisible, Shelley also compares the invisible to the visible, as does Sophocles in the passage praised by Shelley (see Appendix C). Bowra commented: "Just as Sophocles suggests that the mind of Oedipus is a universe, so Shelley presents his own thoughts as a universe. . . . He gives to his mental world a more or less visible form and at the same time makes it clear that it is still mental" (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 115-16).

6-13. Comparisons:

[White (*Shelley*, II, 193)] Behold! Spring sweeps over the world again, / Shedding soft dews from her ethereal wings; / . . . And music on the waves and woods she flings, / And love on all that lives, and calm on lifeless things. / O Spring, of hope, and love, and youth, and gladness / Wind-wingèd emblem! brightest, best and fairest! [*The Revolt of Islam* IX.xxi-xxii].

Carlos Baker noted that, with the winter of Prometheus' suffering ended, "Asia's transforming powers are accordingly released" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 102). And P. H. Butter suggested that "the renewal of nature in spring is to Asia what signs of love in men are to Prometheus—an assurance of the indestructibility of the good, an augury of its eventual triumph" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 182).

9. Comparison:

> [Locock] Sounds and odours, sorrowful / Because they once were sweet [*Invocation to Misery* vi].

10. Locock compared II.iii.4-6.

12. G. H. Clarke commented: "The short line dwells for a moment with sad intensity upon the idea it expresses." See also Textual Notes.[28]

14. *thou*] Panthea (Alexander).

17-27. Comparisons:

> [W. Peck (*Shelley*, II, 102)] half the sky / Was roofed with clouds of rich emblazonry / Dark purple at the zenith, which still grew / Down the steep West into a wondrous hue / Brighter than burning gold, even to the rent / Where the swift sun yet paused in his descent / Among the many-folded hills . . . And then—as if the Earth and Sea had been / Dissolved into one lake of fire, were seen / Those mountains towering as from waves of flame / Around the vaporous sun, from which there came / The inmost purple spirit of li[illegible] and made / Their very peaks transparent [*Julian and Maddalo* 70-85].

An early reviewer complained that Shelley fancied "that by bestowing *colouring* epithets on everything he mentions, he thereby renders his diction and descriptions vividly poetical. . . . Here in seventeen lines, we have no fewer than seven positive colours, and nearly as many shades. . . . Surely, the author looks at nature through a prism instead of spectacles" (*Literary Gazette*, 1820. See Appendix D, item II). But later views have been more favorable. Stopford Brooke noted that "the changes of colour . . . are watched and described with precise truth. . . . Shelley's imaginative study of beauty is revealed in the way the growth of the dawn is set before us by the waxing and waning of the light of the star, as the vapours rise and melt before the morn" (Edition, p. xxxvi). Henry Sweet added: "The emotions . . . can be traced back step by step to the sensations of a shivering savage basking in the genial warmth and welcome light which relieve him from the discomforts and terror of the night" ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," p. 269). Alfred Noyes held that "in his use of light, Shelley often seems to be

[28]In an article that appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work, L. N. Jeffrey ("Shelley's Life-Images") compiled a list of the "most significant passages in Shelley's poems in which life . . . is equated figuratively with some other thing, abstract or concrete" (p. 480). For *Prometheus Unbound* he found life compared to a desert (this line); death (III.iii.113); night (III.iii.172); a veil (III.iii.113, III.iv.190); a grove (IV.404); a path (III.i.14). Jeffrey commented: "It is significant that of the fifty allusions to life cited in this study, forty-one are clearly unfavourable, only three clearly favourable," including I.766, where life is compared to joy (p. 481).

preoccupied with its most immediate effects—the reflection of a wet leaf . . . a mist sucked up by the sun; or a splendid fragment of celestial pageantry like this" ("Poet of Light," pp. 32-33). And C. M. Bowra pointed out that Shelley's nature descriptions are usually more than mere decorations, but are relevant to the theme "because they set a tone or create an atmosphere. . . . [So this] is a perfectly real dawn and may be enjoyed as such, but it is also symbolical. The dawn is in the world and in the soul, and it has the same character in both. . . . [We] should not attempt to interpret each detail allegorically but respond to the whole effect and see what the awakening of the soul means" (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 117-18).

22-23. A. Oras noted that Shelley frequently used imagery of "interweaving": of clouds and mist, as here; of "abstract concepts . . . seen as webs of tangled fibres" (IV.414), or hair (II.iv.138-39; I.166-68); of leaves or vines (II.ii.6, 27-29, 76; III.iii.135-36; III.iv.79); or of serpents (IV.305-8, 565-67) (*Shelley's Imagery*, pp. 7-23).

fade] Grow dark, the mist shadowing them (Hughes).

24. Comparison:

[C. Elton (*Shelley's Visits*, p. 13)] [The Alps] look like those accumulated clouds of dazzling white that arrange themselves on the horizon in summer [Mrs. Shelley's journal for August 19, 1814. *Journal*, p. 10].

26-27. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] The air whirs with the light rush of pinions [*Prometheus Bound* 125]; [2] Sailes between worlds & worlds, with steddie wing / Now on the polar windes, then with quick Fann / Winnows the buxom Air [*Paradise Lost* V.268-70].

E. B. Hungerford noted that "the sea-green plumes of the sisters are the waves," appropriate to the bodies of water they represent (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 182). See Critical Notes under Dramatis Personae.

Æolian] Reference to the wind-harp; from Aeolus, god of winds.

27-29. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] Thrills with her lovely eyes, / Which like two stars amid the heaving main / Sparkle through liquid bliss [*Queen Mab* VIII.38-40]; [2] her spherèd eyes were brown, / And in their dark and liquid moisture swam, / Like the dim orb of the eclipsèd moon [*Prince Athanase* 312-14].

[T. Böhme (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, p. 335)] And her fayre eyes like stars that dimmed / With darksome cloud, now shew theyr goodly beams [Spenser, *Epithalamium* 93-94].

Hughes commented:

We have here one of the factors which make the unfamiliar beauty of Shelley's poetry. With peculiar frequency he compares the human form and its action to natural phenomena; the eye to star or moon; the voice to winds or streams; a flushed cheek to wind-ruffled lakes or seas, to sunset on Alpine snows, or a dawn-tinged cloud, or even to the rainbow. A light or spiritual form is a vapour animated by a planet, dread flashes from eyes like a meteor, and lips quiver like reeds in a flood. This habit of his Muse is connected, perhaps, with the tendency to fix his gaze on certain qualities in things, thereby losing the things themselves from sight [cf. I.744-46].

29-30. Comparison:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 144)] I behold, Prometheus; and in my alarm for thee there spread o'er mine eyes a mist all filled with tears [*Prometheus Bound* 144-45].

31. Comparisons:

[Locock] are you not my second self, the stronger shadow of that soul whose dictates I have been accustomed to obey? [To Elizabeth Hitchener, November 23, 1811. Julian, VIII, 197].

[C. Baker (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 53)] For neither birth, nor wealth, nor honours, can awaken in the minds of men the principles which should guide those who from their youth aspire to an honourable and excellent life, as Love awakens them. I speak of the fear of shame, which deters them from that which is disgraceful; and the love of glory which incites to honourable deeds. For it is not possible that a state or private person should accomplish, without these incitements, anything beautiful or great [*Symposium* 178. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 171-72].

For the intermediary nature of Panthea between Prometheus and Asia ("The impress of Prometheus's presence is still upon her" [Hughes]) Locock cited II.i.48, 53, 70, 110, 161; and II.v.39. O. W. Firkins cited the same references, and IV.424-53, to illustrate Shelley's attachment to the idea of effluence as represented by "shadow" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 156-58).

Rossetti held that this line was no rhetorical statement, but a "strict philosophical truth" of the relationship between mind and nature ("Study," p. 64); and H. Richter noted that the assumption that a longing of the ideal to unite itself with man corresponds with a striving in man for the ideal, is one of the most charming traits of Shelley's philosophy (*Shelley*, p. 418).

32. *sphered*] Used proleptically: so that its whole sphere was visible (Locock).

35-108. Scudder asked: "When do these dreams come to Panthea? If we attempt to observe consistent chronology we must say, during the Temptation of Prometheus; and it is beautiful to think that even while Humanity suffers most, Faith is visited by fair visions of its future triumph. Yet Panthea does not seem asleep during this period, though she hides her eyes. She looks forth twice at least. After all, the drama takes place in that spiritual region where ideas of succession cannot enter." See Appendix G on the time scheme of the poem.

36. G. H. Clarke compared lines 61-92.

37-38. Comparison:

[Hughes] Till the scent it gives / Makes faint with too much sweet those heavy-wingèd thieves [*To a Skylark* 54-55].

satiate] Locock noted the use of this adjective in the Bible (Jeremiah xlvi.10) and several uses in *Paradise Lost* (I.179; VII.282; VIII.214; and IX.248, 792).

38-55. Todhunter commented: "[In] the primitive or Saturnian Golden Age, when man was instinctively at one with nature, and the real one with the ideal . . . Faith and Hope slept . . . like unopened flowers" (*Study*, pp. 151-52); "but now," Alexander added, "Panthea (faith) is busily employed as a messenger between Asia and Prometheus."

43-55. Hughes paraphrased: "I used to sleep, as I do now, by Ione's side, but not as now in a dream-troubled rest. Yet the dream-trouble is sweet. whereas my waking thoughts are full of pain. Such is now my sleep and such it has been since I became a messenger of thy converse, being dissolved in my dreams into the sense with which love talks."

44-45. Locock compared "hollow caverns clothed with the glaucous sea-moss" (To Peacock, December 22, 1818. Julian, X, 16).

glaucous] Bluish green. Glaucous was a sea god, originally a fisherman, who became immortal by tasting magic grass (G. B. Woods).

47. E. B. Hungerford took this to mean that Ione is also present in this scene, carried on the back of Panthea, and suggesting "some topographical arrangement which Shelley must have had in mind for the juxtaposition of the bodies of water which they represent" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 182). See also Critical Notes under Dramatis Personae.

49. Hughes found this reminiscent of the Homeric epithets "deep-bosomed" and "deep-girded."

50-55. Rossetti noted that the passage "is by no means perspicuous," but paraphrased: "Erewhile I used to sleep locked, as now, in Ione's arms. Yet not exactly as now: for now I find myself, in dream, conversing with thee; and being last night thus in converse with thee, I had a sleep troubled and yet sweet, whereas my waking hours are too full of care and pain" (Edition, I, 498). See also Textual Notes. Locock found the construction "irregular," and commented: " 'Since' is evidently temporal, 'since I am made' being equivalent to 'since I have been made.' Again, 'since dissolved' is an ellipsis for 'since I have been dissolved,' while 'was troubled' can only mean 'has been troubled.' The expression 'But not as now' . . . seems to be a confusion of two ideas, viz.—(1) 'but not *then* restlessly as *now*,' and (2) 'but not *now* peacefully as *then*.' By 'thy most wordless converse,' I understand 'thy wordless conversation, of which I am the medium, with Prometheus.' "

50. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] Be thou, Spirit fierce, / My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one! [*Ode to the West Wind* 61-62].

51. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] [1] II.v.70-71; [2] The wingèd words on which my soul would pierce / Into the height of Love's rare Universe, / Are chains of lead around its flight of fire— / I pant, I sink, I tremble, I expire! [*Epipsychidion* 588-91].

Barnard noted that this is "a frequent complaint of Shelley himself."

52-53. Comparisons:

[Hughes] II.i.79-81.

[R. Piccoli] And we will talk, until thought's melody / Become too sweet for utterance, and it die / In words, to live again in looks [etc. *Epipsychidion* 560-71].

Hughes noted that this converse (with Prometheus) "is not carried on by words, but the minds of Prometheus and Asia are impressed upon Panthea as she sleeps by means of dreams, and they read the dreams in her eyes by a sort of crystal-gazing."

57. Olwen Campbell called this "a line neither Miltonic nor Shakespearean, and, like the first few lines of the scene, as new as it is wonderful" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 214).

58-67. Stephen Spender commented: "In these lines one feels the world wandering through space, the mountains and valleys of Asia, and the presence of Prometheus like a Man in the Moon, symbolizing the bowed fate of humanity" ("Shelley," p. 30).

58-60. E. B. Hungerford commented: "The peculiar kind of condensation through which they receive the communications of Prometheus wordlessly, sustains the idea that they are bodies of water at the foot of Prometheus' mountain" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 182). See also Critical Notes under Dramatis Personae.

60-108. B. P. Kurtz called this Shelley's "Pastoral Symphony" (Introduction, p. xliv).

61. *One*] See line 132 (Locock).

62-92. Scudder called this "the Dream of Fulfilment," and Alexander noted that in it "Faith sees by anticipation the triumph of good," and, Locock added, "the reunion of Prometheus and Asia." R. H. Fogle commented:

> In the opening lines (62-65) the veil is the appearance which conceals the truth [and must be torn aside as at III.iv.190-93], the eternal Prometheus within, a glory and an overpowering light. A new veil, however, is immediately substituted; the light is "shadowed o'er by love" [lines 72-73], which tempers its insupportable pure brilliance. . . . The veil, then, hiding the truth in one aspect, becomes an addition to it, a new and fuller vision of it, from the effects of a fusion of truth and the veil. . . . But the deep truth, penetrate as one will, is still pervasive and difficult, impossible to isolate. . . . The image of the transfigured Prometheus is living and in its life indivisible.
>
> As an image of ultimate reality it is overpowering. Panthea is enwrapped, dissolved, absorbed . . . [but the] moment passes, her being is condensed, the rays of her thought are once again gathered and reordered (lines 86-87) . . . [leaving] a memory—as much of truth as can be grasped and held . . . overmastered, she returns to herself, increased in insight and wisdom. . . . [Shelley] presents a full cycle of the confrontation, of the struggle, and of the victorious defeat of the human spirit at full stretch ["Image and Imagelessness," pp. 34-35].

62. Comparison:

[B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 194)] his form was wasted by the woe / Which tyrants on their victims love to wreak [*A Tale of Society as It Is* 48-49].

63-65. J. A. Notopoulos noted the "aura of Platonic connotation" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 245); while P. H. Butter commented: "Shelley is saying [here and at III.iv.68-69] that 'a Quenchless atom of immortal light' dwells in everyone; this may be obscured, overlaid with evil, but cannot be destroyed, will ultimately free itself" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 103).

66. Comparison:

[Ingpen-Peck] Silver key of the fountain of tears, / Where the spirit drinks till the brain is wild [*A Fragment: To Music*].

67. G. H. Clarke compared *Epipsychidion* 588-91 (see note at line 51).

68-70. Rossetti suggested that Shelley may have intended to imply that "the deities [Pan-thea] of the ancient world, the deities of poetry or of the poetic imagination, are personifications or 'shadows' of the powers or realities of Nature" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 152). A. H. Koszul argued that Panthea as a reflection of ideal Love, loved by Prometheus as this rather than for herself, was clearly more reasonable than Panthea thought of as Faith ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 389). And Carlos Baker held that, in view of the sun and moon imagery used in *Epipsychidion*, "one might suggest that Panthea is a kind of moon to Asia's sun, borrowing reflected light. The conception of Asia as sunlike is clearly in Shelley's mind [see II.v.27-30]. . . . In one of the Homeric Hymns . . . there occurs the name Pandeia [see Critical Notes under Dramatis Personae], 'a bright maid of beauty rare,' whose mother is the moon" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, pp. 103-4).

71-87. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] [1] But his [life], it seemed already free, / Like the shadow of fire surrounding me! / On my faint eyes and limbs did dwell / That spirit as it passed, till soon, / As a frail cloud wandering o'er the moon, / Beneath its light invisible, / Is seen when it folds its gray wings again / To alight on midnight's dusky plain, / I lived and saw, and the gathering soul / Passed from beneath that strong control [*Rosalind and Helen* 1037-46]; [2] [*Epipsychidion* note] the brightness / Of her divinest presence trembles through / Her limbs, as underneath a cloud of dew / . . . the Moon / Burns, inextinguishably beautiful [*Epipsychidion* 77-82].

[R. Ackermann] A vision on his sleep / There came, a dream of hopes that never yet / Had flushed his cheek. He dreamed a veilèd maid / Sate near him, talking in low solemn tones. / Her voice was like the voice of his own soul / Heard in the calm of thought; its music long, / Like woven sounds of streams and breezes, held / His inmost sense suspended in its web / Of many-coloured woof and shifting hues [*Alastor* 149-57].

[Hughes] [1] What is the strong control / Which leads the heart that dizzy steep to climb, / Where far over the world those vapours roll, / Which blend two restless frames in one reposing soul? [*The Revolt of Islam* VI.xxxvi]; [2] We shall become the same, we shall be one / Spirit within two frames, oh! wherefore two? [*Epipsychidion* 573-74].

[B. Rajan ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 299)] that sustaining Love / Which through the web of being blindly wove / . . . Consuming the last clouds of cold mortality [*Adonais* liv].

Hughes noted that "Shelley always develops this image of one soul dissolved into another with peculiar intensity." Rajan commented: "[Acts II

and III] will be meaningless . . . unless we realize that the love of Prometheus is something poured into nature, consuming, transforming and devouring its identity. . . . This is the wine which overflows into Asia's golden chalice. This is the voice which calls on her to follow. This is the stream which swirls her soul to its redemption. . . . [Prometheus'] mind has become the mind of the universe and its message must therefore penetrate to all existence."

71-76. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] II.v.54-59; [2] Her lips were parted, and the measured breath / Was now heard there;—her dark and intricate eyes / Orb within orb, deeper than sleep or death, / Absorbed the glories of the burning skies, / Which, mingling with her heart's deep ecstasies, / Burst from her looks and gestures;—and a light / Of liquid tenderness, like love, did rise / From her whole frame, an atmosphere which quite / Arrayed her in its beams, tremulous and soft and bright [*The Revolt of Islam* XI.v]; [3] His loveliness . . . is a manifestation of the liquid and flowing symmetry of his form [*Symposium* 196. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 190].

71-72. Comparison:

[E. Barnard] The cloud which rested on that cone of flame / Was cloven; beneath the planet sate a Form, / . . . The radiance of whose limbs rose-like and warm / Flowed forth, and did with softest light inform / The shadowy dome [*The Revolt of Islam* I.lvii].

shadowed o'er] Enveloped (Hughes); or "shadowed" as a luminosity, an aura, a subtle emanation (L. Cazamian).

74. Comparison:

[Hughes] the lips [of a "Christ Beatified" by Correggio at Bologna] parted, but scarcely parted with the breath of intense but regulated passion [To Peacock, November 9, 1818. Julian, IX, 343].

75-82. Hughes paraphrased: "Panthea's spirit was absorbed like the dew under the radiating spirit of Prometheus, 'Until it passed,' i.e. his presence [line 80] passed [line 82] from my dreams." Carl Grabo noted that this is "the technique of mesmerism, of which [Shelley] had some knowledge" (*Interpretation*, p. 53); and P. H. Butter commented: "This passage [lines 75-78] well expresses both the entry into and the passing out of a state of ecstasy. The individual being is dissolved, surrendered and then with a return of ordinary consciousness recompacted" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 23).

77-78. Comparisons:

[Locock] III.iv.103 and IV.431.

[R. Piccoli] The unseen clouds of the dew, which lie / Like fire in the flowers till the sun rides high, / Then wander like spirits among the spheres, / Each cloud faint with the fragrance it bears [*The Sensitive Plant* I.86-89].

[A. A. Prins ("Shelley's Vagueness," p. 171)] of Elements / The grosser feeds the purer/ . . . The Sun that light imparts to all, receives / From all his alimental recompence / In humid exhalations, and at Even / Sups with the Ocean [etc. *Paradise Lost* V.404-26].

Carl Grabo cited the lines as attesting "Shelley's interest in and knowledge of atmospheric phenomena" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 137-38). O. W. Firkins commented: "Shelley is as devoted to clouds [see I.665; II.iii.27; II.v.8-13; and IV.324] as if he had set himself to the task of atoning in his single person for the apathy and neglect of all other poets." He was particularly attracted to "(1) the aerial situation of clouds . . . (2) their tenuity and evanescence; (3) the invisible state which is . . . their cradle and their grave; (4) their effective combination with many other noble objects of nature, the sky, the sun [etc.]; (5) their porosity, or penetrability, by wind or sunshine . . . (6) their mobility and prolonged journeys; (7) their effects on earth and man in the renewal of beauty in vegetation and the provision of food and water" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 100-9).

78. *drinks*] R. H. Fogle commented: "In contrast [to Keats], Shelley's infrequent gustatory images are generally either unrealized or disagreeable. Eating and drinking in his poetry are undisguisedly metaphorical [and as here] make no appeal . . . to human appetites" (*Imagery*, p. 90).

87-89. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] She left me, and I stayed alone / Thinking over every tone / Which, though silent to the ear, / The enchanted heart could hear, / Like notes which die when born, but still / Haunt the echoes of the hill [*Lines Written in the Bay of Lerici* 9-14].

87. *gathered*] Condensed, as in line 86 (Locock). Locock noted a similar use at III.iii.53 and in "the gathering soul" (*Rosalind and Helen* 1045).

93-106. Alexander suggested that "Hope [Ione] can only vaguely shape the picture of the ideal," and, G. H. Clarke added, "did not understand the meaning of her [Panthea's] dream." Hughes commented: "Panthea is charged, so to speak, with the Spirit of Prometheus and his love for Asia. Through Panthea this emotion passes into Ione, and is felt by her as a vague desire or delight."

95-99. A. H. Koszul cited these lines to substantiate his belief that Ione represents (instead of Hope) young love which awakens to a life of passion ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 388).

106. Locock noted that this happened "during the process of restoration. It would seem that while Panthea's individuality was being absorbed into that of Prometheus, Ione was passing through a similar transfiguration in relation to Panthea. Shelley seems to be describing some of the phenomena of occult science; the 'medium' (in this case Panthea) has to borrow from those surrounding her the vital essence which she loses during her trance. The feeling of vague desire experienced by Ione is due to this temporary loss of her normal individuality."

107. See Appendix G for the time scheme of the poem.

113. G. H. Clarke compared lines 31, 120.

114-17. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] II.v.53.

[Hughes] [1] her dark and intricate eyes / Orb within orb [*The Revolt of Islam* XI.v]; [2] Rosalie's eyes were large and full; they appeared at a distance uniformly dark, but upon close inspection the innumerable strokes of various hues of infinite fineness and endless variety drawn in concentric circles behind the pellucid chrystal, filled the mind with wonder and admiration [Hogg, *Memoirs of Prince Alexy Haimatoff.* Quoted by Shelley in his review. Julian, VI, 179].

[W. Peck (*Shelley*, II, 75)] Their [the women of ancient Greece] eyes could not have been deep and intricate from the workings of the mind, and could have entangled no heart in soul-enwoven labyrinths [*A Discourse on the Manners of the Ancients.* Julian, VII, 228].

G. H. Clarke called the lines "a beautiful picture of Faith," and E. B. Hungerford noted that "the illimitable depths of [the] eyes are appropriate to water figures" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 182).

119-20. Scudder commented: "Only in the eyes of Faith, can Love behold the vision of Humanity triumphant."

120-31. Elizabeth Ebeling noted that Demogorgon represents Paracelsus' prophetic Evestrum (see note at I.191-209) and "has the power to send out messengers in advance, announcing the coming event. These messengers appear to Asia and Panthea as dreams and visions, bringing them eventually to the source of the prophetic messengers—to Demogorgon himself" ("Paracelsian Element," p. 522).

120-21. Comparisons:

[O. W. Firkins (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 164)] [1] IV.265-67 and 447-49; [2] Her gentle limbs did she undress, / And lay down in her loveliness [Coleridge, *Christabel* I.237-38].

Firkins described this as an effluence represented by irradiation ("something emanating from an object which thereafter stands to that object in the relation of an envelope, an atmosphere, or an aureole"), and commented: "Shelley has a remarkable way of conceiving beauty as a highly rarefied but physical emanation hanging around or suffusing the object from which it springs like an aerial vestment or a lucid atmosphere" (pp. 162-64).

120. G. H. Clarke compared lines 31, 113.

122. Comparison:

[T. Böhme (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, pp. 334-35)] As when faire *Cynthia*, in darkesome night, / Is in a noyous cloud enveloped, / . . . Breakes forth her silver beames, and her bright hed / Discovers to the world discomfited [*The Faerie Queene* III.i.43].

124-26. Carlos Baker noted that the gradation of the sisters is shown in that only Asia can interpret the meaning of Panthea's dream (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 104).

127-31. Scudder felt that this dream (the one not remembered at line 61) represents Progress. Alexander saw it as "the period of transition from

present evil to future perfection . . . a 'rude,' 'wild,' and 'quick' period of arduous pursuit." To K. N. Cameron, "judging by its combination of dawn symbols and 'roughness,' [it] stands for revolution; when it enters Panthea's mind again she has a vision of desolation in the midst of which appears the injunction 'Follow! Follow!' The implication is that although the world is now blighted a path to new hope is opening. When they do follow they arrive at the cave of Demogorgon (Necessity), who, with them, prepares a new revolution." Leslie Stephen commented: "We are . . . in a region where dreams walk as visible as the dreamers, and pass into or out of a mind which is indeed only a collection of dreams. . . . With Shelley . . . spirits themselves inhabit ideas; they live in the mind as in an ocean. Thought is the ultimate reality which contains spirits and ideas and dreams, if, rather, it is not simpler to say that everything is a dream" ("Godwin and Shelley," pp. 390-91). A. Delrieu (without advancing reasons) suggested that the two dreams of Panthea which cry "Follow me" are Hermes and Moses, while the third, which appears to Asia (lines 141-62) also crying "Follow me," is Orpheus ("Poètes modernes," p. 194). And H. Richter noted that "the impulse for freeing Prometheus is personified as a dream. The greatest thoughts with which we exceed our power always come to us unsought, suddenly, as intuitions, in a dream. They are no sober combinations of reason but free gifts of genius, and, as if driven by a foreign power, we carry them out."

128. *regard*] Look, aspect (G. B. Woods).

131-208. Scudder commented: "From the point of the appearance of the Dream of Progress to the end of the scene Nature becomes, as it were, progressively spiritualized. In the first soliloquy of Asia, its marvellous loveliness is still external if not sensuous; but in the latter part of the scene, Shelley's Hegelian conception of the gradual evolution of spiritual consciousness in the natural world finds free symbolic expression." G. H. Clarke noted that "the Dream utters the words of progress that all Nature sounds and echoes."

131-62. A. H. Koszul found this the least intelligible passage in the drama, but felt that it underlined with insistence the role of things seen and heard, at the heart of nature, in the journey of love ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 391). Olwen Campbell noted that "the words 'Follow, follow, follow' affected some sentimental mechanism in Shelley . . . [and he] spends thirty lines upon this phenomenon, and uses the word 'follow' twenty times in the space of seventy lines, rhyming it three times with the word 'hollow' " (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, pp. 214-15). F. C. Prescott argued that Shelley showed "a profounder, at least a more advanced, apprehension of the nature of dream" than did the Greek myths: "[The] manner in which this dream . . . starts, incites, and prophesies the whole succeeding action, is entirely in accord with all that we know of dreams" (*Poetry and Myth*, p. 83). In this connection M. T. Solve compared "I have preferred

to represent the Jew as disclaiming all pretension, or even belief, in supernatural agency, and as tempting Mahmud to that state of mind in which ideas may be supposed to assume the force of sensation through the confusion of thought with the objects of thought, and the excess of passion animating the creations of the imagination" (Note on *Hellas* 814-15) (*Theory of Poetry*, pp. 95-96).

133-41. To K. N. Cameron, the blighting of the tree symbolized the fall of the French Revolution, and the "Follow" of line 141 hinted that new forces of progress were about to be released (cf. II.iii.35-42) in the Cave of Demogorgon ("Political Symbolism," p. 742).

135. Carl Grabo commented: "Lightning is the symbol of evil power, of love perverted by Jupiter to purposes of destruction." The blossoming is "an augury that the object of his wrath will flower into a new and beautiful life" (*Interpretation*, p. 54).

136-38. Arthur Symons asked: "Can syllables turn to more delicate sound and perfume than in such . . . strange and simple lines in which every consonant and every vowel have obeyed some learned spell unconscious of its witchcraft?" (*Romantic Movement*, pp. 283-84). To Locock, the alliteration and assonance "combine to give a blizzard-like effect."

136. *Scythian wilderness*] The scene of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* (R. Piccoli).

139-40. Comparisons:

> [Woodberry] [1] To Phoebus was not Hyacinth so dear [*Adonais* xvi]; [2] For sorrow that you are lost the trees have cast their fruit on the ground, and all the flowers are withered away [Moschus, *Lament for Bion* 31-32]; [3] and thou, O hyacinth, / Utter thy legend now—yet more, dumb flower, / Than "ah! alas!" [*ibid.* 6-7. Shelley's translation, lines 10-12].
>
> [R. Piccoli] Tell me in what land spring up flowers [the hyacinth] with royal names written thereon [Vergil, *Eclogue III* 106-7].

Hyacinth] The son of Amyclas and Diomede, and beloved by Apollo and Zephyr. As he preferred Apollo, Zephyr drove Apollo's quoit to strike Hyacinth's head, killing him. From his blood sprang the flower whose petals were marked Ai, Ai (Woe, Woe).

Leigh Hunt identified the flower as the Turk's Cap Lily (Locock), and E. Barnard noted that it is not the flower to which the name is now applied, "although Shelley's reference to the 'blue bells' indicates that he identified the two." W. B. Yeats commented:

> Intellectual Beauty has . . . ministering spirits [to do her will]. . . . They change continually in his poetry, as they do in the visions of the mystics everywhere and of the common people in Ireland, and the forms of these changes display . . . the flowing forms of his mind when freed from all impulse not out of itself or out of supersensual power. . . . It is these powers which lead Asia and Panthea, as they would lead all the affections of humanity, by words written upon leaves, by faint songs, by eddies of echoes that draw "all spirits on that secret way" . . . beyond the gates of birth and death to awake Demogorgon, eternity, that "the painted veil called life" may be "torn aside" ["Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," pp. 91-92].

141-42. Woodberry commented: "It is noticeable that the first dream belongs to Prometheus, and the second appears to be that of Asia. She recollects the dream, as her own. The double character of Panthea, as the mirror of both lovers, is thus preserved." Benjamin Kurtz interpreted the dream as the "summons of natural beauty to spiritual vision" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 173).

145-47. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] And never the sleepless fountains cease / That feed Cephisus' stream, / But they swell earth's bosom with quick increase, / And their wave hath a crystal gleam [Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 686-89].
>
> [Locock] [1] flocks of fleecy and slowly-moving clouds [To Peacock, July 25, 1818. Julian, IX, 314]; [2] Mark too that flock of fleecy-winged clouds [*Charles the First* iv.11].

Hughes saw this as "a good instance of the survival in Shelley of the primitive myth-making faculty," and E. Barnard pointed out that Ruskin praised these lines for their descriptive accuracy (*Modern Painters*, Pt. I, Sec. III, chap. ii).

147. *unwilling*] Francis Palgrave commented: "What a touch . . . of anthropomorphism, of conscious life at least" (*Landscape in Poetry*, p. 223).

153-59. Mrs. Shelley quoted from these lines in mourning for Shelley (To Maria Gisborne, May 2, [1823]. *Letters*, I, 113-14).

156-59. Comparison:

> [G. H. Clarke] Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is: / What if my leaves are falling like its own! / The tumult of thy mighty harmonies / Will take from both a deep, autumnal tone, / Sweet though in sadness [*Ode to the West Wind* 57-61].

Lilian Winstanley noted that "the only [tree] with whose individual characteristics he is really acquainted is the pine" ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 50); and Locock noted the recent reference to pines at line 84.

160. See note at II.i.31.

164-65. See Textual Notes.

166-69. Comparison:

> [Carl Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 193-94)] We have also divers strange and artificial echos, reflecting the voice many times, and as it were tossing it [Bacon, *New Atlantis*, *Works*, III, 162-63].

G. S. Bower cited this Echo "with underived voice" as evidence of the way "in which Shelley revels in substantializing the negative and personifying the ideal and abstract," as at IV.10-14 ("Philosophical Element," p. 450). But Rossetti concluded that "Shelley had forgotten what it is that forms the essence of an echo: he should, I take it, have called these spirit-voices by some name other than Echoes" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 153). Scudder found them "spiritual nature-voices, undefined"; and Woodberry added: "The Echo songs are of course Ariel songs." To L. Steichen the Echoes were the "ministers" of Demogorgon ("Study," p. 48).

166. *listen*] An "immediate echo" of *list* in line 165 (R. Piccoli).

171. *Spirits*] E. B. Hungerford saw in these the "ghosts and aerial spirits whom [Abbé] Banier described [in his *Mythology*] as at the command of Demogorgon" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 183).

responses] For the accent shift see note at I.804.

173-206. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] O're the smooth enameld green / Where no print of step hath been, / Follow me as I sing, / And touch the warbled string. / Under the shady roof / Of branching Elm Star-proof, / Follow me [Milton, *Arcades* 84-90].

E. Barnard noted that the spirit songs in this and the following scenes are in anticipation of Asia and Panthea reaching the Cave of Demogorgon.

177-87. Comparison:

> [Carl Grabo (*Interpretation*, pp. 57-58)] The nymphs residing in caves shall deduce fountains of intellectual waters to thee [Proclus. No locus given by Grabo].

R. Piccoli noted that this invitation to the forest suggests Rousseau's and other romantics' faith in the beneficent influence of contact with nature.

caverns . . . caves] Grabo saw this as "human existence shut in from reality, or . . . inward looking mind whose meditations are lighted by fountains."

177-78. Locock noted that "these two lines are very effectively introduced as the echo of an echo."

184. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] [1] II.iii.26; [2] Under the cavern's fountain-lighted roof [*The Witch of Atlas* xxvi].

190-94. Rossetti, citing also II.iii.88, commented: "Nature alone, the unfathomed Evolution of Things, can bring the arcane decree into being" ("Study," p. 64). Scudder added: "Lying deep in the unconscious life of humanity, this Reason is passionless and passive; yet now and again it will be roused, it will arise, and, appearing in time under the aspect of some relentless phase of thought, will sweep down the old and sink once more into silence" (Edition, p. xxxv). D. MacDonald noted that "it is only through contact with emotion that abstract thought can become roused to action and be a vital and dynamic power in the sphere of practical life" (*Radicalism of Shelley*, p. 80). But K. N. Cameron argued that "Shelley does not mean that Necessity can act only if assisted by Love. . . . Necessity is a blind ineluctable force acting independently of the mind or wishes of man. . . . Demogorgon can overthrow the old order without the aid of Asia, but he cannot build a new one unless she assists him [cf. II.iii.94-98]" ("Political Symbolism," p. 744). Carlos Baker pointed out that "Prometheus' recantation has made it possible for Asia and Panthea to begin their descent to the unknown world of Demogorgon" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 104).

190. *the world unknown*] The cave of Demogorgon (K. N. Cameron).

191. *a voice*] L. Steichen identified this as "the child of Jupiter, who is destined to dethrone his father" ("Study," p. 49). To Locock it was the "Doom of Jupiter, awaiting its release by Demogorgon" (cf. II.iii.88, 95-98); to E. Barnard it was a Doom identified with the spirit of II.iv.142, to be released only by Love, personified in Asia; and to Cameron it was Demogorgon himself.

202-5. Rossetti paraphrased: "Nature is to return to that point [see I.166-69 (R. Piccoli)] where the temporary divorce between herself and the Human Mind, under the oppression of Jupiter, had been effected" ("Study," p. 64).

202-3. E. Barnard felt that at I.314 and 316 *chasm-spasm* are successfully rimed, but here Shelley "certainly falls into bathos."

207-8. Todhunter commented: "Love and Faith are becoming conscious of their power as practical forces for the regeneration of the world, and are setting out hand in hand to accomplish this; Ione, or Hope, being left to console Prometheus" (*Study*, p. 156).

SCENE II

Arthur Clive held that "the two fauns represent intellectual men of a high and delicate temperament, who recognise the existence of the more ethereal aspects and doings of Nature, but not to such an extent as to rejoice and delight in their beauty; and who, longing for a more homely diet, haste away to hear the songs of 'thwart Silenus'. . . . Shelley was quite well aware in what faculties he surpassed ordinary men" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 430). But E. B. Hungerford felt that they represented "the rustic Arcadians mentioned by Boccaccio, who heard the voices of nature and believed that they proceeded from the earth spirit, Demogorgon" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 183). And Woodberry noted their relationship to the Attendant Spirit in *Comus*.

Rossetti considered this a "sweet and exquisite scene, a very fountain-spray of lovely images and soothing words . . . a welcome pause from the main stress of the profound and high-soaring poem. . . . [It attests] conspicuously the art of Shelley—its instinctive certainty and delicate gradation" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 153). But Olwen Campbell held that the scene, though "charming . . . [is] dramatically very irrelevant" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 215). Arthur Wormhoudt found support for his psychiatric interpretation: "The journey which Asia and Panthea are about to make is a regression back through the genital level of experience to the pregenital level where alone the fate of Prometheus can be discovered. In accordance with this, Scene II of the act is a forest with rocks and caverns which symbolize the male and female genitals" (*Demon Lover*, p. 98).

1-63. Comparison:

[Hughes] Thou hast come to a steed-famed land for rest, / O stranger worn with toil, / To a land of all lands the goodliest / Colonus' glistening soil. / 'Tis

the haunt of the clear-voiced nightingale, / Who hid in her bower, among / The wine-dark ivy that wreathes the vale, / Trilleth her ceaseless song; / And she loves, where the clustering berries nod / O'er a sunless, windless glade, / The spot by no mortal footstep trod, / The pleasance kept for the Bacchic god, / Where he holds each night his revels wild / With the nymphs who fostered the lusty child [Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 668-80].

An early reviewer found in this passage "all the soft and tender gracefulness of Euripides, and . . . at the same time, the very spirit of one of the grandest odes of Pindar" (*Blackwood's Magazine*, 1820. See Appendix D, item III). Stopford Brooke noted that "kindred to [his delight in sky and plain] is Shelley's pleasure in the intricate, changeful, and incessant weaving and unweaving of nature's life in a great forest . . . in whose multitudinous scenery Shelley's imagination could lose and find itself without an end" (Edition, pp. xxxviii-xxxix). To Scudder the lyrics were comparable "to nothing in the range of English poetry except Keats's Ode to a Nightingale. . . . The interwoven rhyme-scheme [abbbacbddcbeefgffhhggii] should be traced . . . that one source of the linked sweetness of the lyric may be understood"; and Locock held that for "sheer beauty this Scene, and especially the opening lyric, may rank as Shelley's most perfect work." J. Kooistra, like Scudder, compared Keats, but found Keats superior in power of detailed nature description. He noted the absence of light in the denser parts of a forest, "but Shelley couples with it the powerlessness of wind and rain, which imparts to the atmosphere a feeling of security and draws the reader's perceptions out of the circle of the mere sensual, within which Keats confines them." The ray of light, he noted, penetrates the foliage in each, but with Keats it is *blown* and does not disturb the absolute rest of the picture; with Shelley it *falls* and expresses a restlessness. For Keats, also, the dewdrop suggested wine, since taste and smell were important for him; for Shelley it suggested a pearl ("*Prometheus*," pp. 219-20).

The journey was identified by Scudder with the "dark forest of human experience" (Edition, p. xxxi), in which "Love and Faith" first pass through "the sphere of the Senses, or external life (Semichorus I.); then through that of the Emotions (Semichorus II.); finally, through that of the Reason and the Will (Semichorus III. [*sic*])" (p. 151); but Woodberry considered such interpretations oversubtle: "The sequence from nature to emotion and impassioned thought belongs to many of Shelley's poems, and is his natural lyrical form; in each of these acts . . . it is exhibited on the grand scale, but in his minor poems it is usual." Carl Grabo found in Proclus (II, 294-95 and 300-1) definitions of symbols which clarify these lines. "Wood" and "wilderness" are seen to symbolize "the realm of earthly existence which is shut away from the reality of heaven [or the mind itself, as in Shelley's comment on the line of Sophocles (see Appendix C)]. . . . Asia's journey thus symbolizes a return to the source of things, to reality, in a twofold sense. She passes to the atomic basis of matter and

she also penetrates beyond the deception of bodily sensations to the reality of intellectual knowledge."

The "dew" of line 7, Grabo held, is divine love, "a heavenly influence which penetrates even through the thick forest of man's sensual enslavement [cf. 'There lies an antique region, in which fell / The dews of thought . . . And when the winter of its glory came, / The winds that stripped it bare blew on and swept / That dew into the utmost wildernesses / In wandering clouds of sunny rain that thawed / The unmaternal bosom of the North' (Prologue to *Hellas* 32-43)]"; the "star" of line 14 also symbolizes things spiritual; and "the reality which Asia seeks lies back of" both the internal universe of the mind and the external world of sensible things, but is "in the life of the mind manifest in occasional flashes or intuitions--the dew and the star-beams of Shelley's figure" (*Interpretation*, pp. 58-64).

Grabo also noted that "Asia and Panthea are reversing the process of life, moving backward in time through the generation of souls and through the basic elements of matter to that preëxistence which only is reality [cf. II.v.98-110]" (p. 68); to that spirit which "lies at the centre of being and can be found only by devotion [Asia as Love] and inspiration [Panthea as Faith]" (C. M. Bowra, *Romantic Imagination*, p. 110).

1-6. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] A shadie grove . . . Whose loftie trees yclad with sommers pride, / Did spred so broad, that heavens light did hide, / Not perceable with power of any starre [*The Faerie Queene* I.i.7]; [2] Cedars, and yews, and pines; whose tangled hair / Is matted in one solid roof of shade / By the dark ivy's twine. At noonday here / 'Tis twilight, and at sunset blackest night [*The Cenci* III.i.262-65]; [3] And its roof was flowers and leaves / Which the summer's breath enweaves, / Where nor sun nor showers nor breeze / Pierce the pines and tallest trees [*The Isle*].

7-23. Medwin felt that these lines were inspired by Shelley's acquaintance with the baths of Caracalla in Rome (*Shelley*, p. 212).

7. R. Piccoli compared "The unseen clouds of the dew" (*The Sensitive Plant* 86).

10. Hughes compared "And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear" (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream* II.i.15).

Hangs] Probably transitive, and if so the meaning is "a pearl in each pale flower" (Locock).

13. *anemone*] Wind-flower.

14-22. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] The silver noon into that winding dell, / With slanted gleam athwart the forest tops, / Tempered like golden evening, feebly fell [*The Witch of Atlas* xxxix].

J. A. Notopoulos found the lines "imbued with natural Platonic imagery expressive of the fleeting disappearance of the shadow of beauty in the world of nature" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 245).

14. See Textual Notes.

19. *cannot stay*] Because of "the turning of the earth on its axis which makes the 'swift Heavens' seem to move" (E. Barnard). See also Textual Notes.

24-63. O. W. Firkins commented: "The devotion of thirty-nine consecutive lines to the representation of sound is too rare in literature not to be highly significant." He noted that at II.v.72-110, as here, sound is described by the figure of moving and rushing water (see also II.iv.79; II.v.4; IV.134 and 303-5). In Act II Firkins found that 188 of the 687 lines "or more than one-fourth are devoted to the exposition of sound" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 120-23).

24-40. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] Thy spirit's sister, the lorn nightingale / Mourns not her mate with such melodious pain [*Adonais* xvii].
>
> [Locock] [1] Accompany the noonday nightingales [*Epipsychidion* 444]; [2] [*Oedipus at Colonus* 670 ff. (see note at II.i.1-63)].

Olwen Campbell disliked being "compelled to hear about" this "slushy" nightingale (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 215); but L. Vivante felt that here "thought is distinctly represented in its ever-originating character. The new moment takes wing, as it were, out of the *infinite* in which the preceding one dissolves—and in tune with it" ("Shelley," p. 148). And to P. H. Butter the nightingales' singing represented "the beauty of this physical world, but this beauty may be taken as a reflection of intellectual beauty and is not necessarily opposed to it" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 186).

24-29. Carlos Baker commented: "When Shelley describes a love-scene in one of his sylvan Edens [as here and at III.iii.136], we are likely to encounter twining ivy" used symbolically with "ulterior erotic meanings" ("Shelley's Ivy-Symbol," pp. 205, 207). Baker ascribed this to the influence of similar use by classical authors and, especially, by Spenser, as in the Garden of Bliss and the Garden of Adonis episodes in the *Faerie Queene* (II.xii.61; III.vi.44).

36-40. G. R. Elliott commented: "The continual though obscured presence of [the spirit of utter solitude] can lure us on, by hints and gleams of itself, through the inanities of Shelley's more ambitious works. We feel that at any moment [as here] the true daemon may take shape, and sing" ("How Poetic Is Shelley's Poetry?" p. 321).

38. See Textual Notes.

40. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] II.i.67.
>
> [E. Barnard] [1] III.iv.125; [2] Till joy denies itself again, / And, too intense, is turned to pain [*With a Guitar, to Jane* 7-8]; [3] Till you might faint with that delicious pain [*Epipsychidion* 452].

41-63. It has been generally recognized that this passage shows Shelley still to be influenced by Necessitarianism. J. W. Beach held that "the syn-

thesis of [his] naturalism and his platonism is anything but perfectly accomplished," and here "the very desires of sense which we follow, or think we follow, of our own will, are but the impulsions of necessity driving us on to our destiny" ("Shelley's Naturalism," p. 220). Todhunter first commented on this:

> The "echoes, music-tongued," are fragments of the cosmic harmony, which by . . . Necessity—the eternal relation between cause and effect—"draw all spirits on that secret way," the path of cosmic evolution, by which Asia and Panthea have just passed. The "plume-uplifting wind" of reason "drives them on their path," while they imagine themselves free agents. The "fatal mountain" may, perhaps, mean the phenomenal world of actual existence . . . and the strange expression, "those who saw," may refer to the Necessitarian school, Godwin himself included. "Demogorgon's mighty law," if it be Godwin's "necessity," would assume the form of "reason" in the individual human mind, and "justice" in the human commonwealth" [*Study*, p. 158].

Scudder felt that the fatalism underlying the lyric injured the poetry, "rendering it obscure and abstruse." Woodberry differed slightly in his reading, noting that "the stream of sound, an image so repeated as to be cardinal in the drama, is introduced, here as a symbol of the force impelling will (perhaps conceived as desire in love), controlling it. The manner of it, II.ii.48-50, is after Plato, as in the *Symposium* and *Phædrus;* the imagery of the boat and the stream is a strange and subtle development of the voyage images in *Alastor* and *The Revolt of Islam.*"

Hughes believed that "those who saw" (line 51) might mean the Necessitarian school, or "simply men of insight," and he noted that "first the persuasion of the Spirit is gentle, while the movement is in the stage of thought or aspiration; then comes the storm and stress of fulfilment." J. A. Cousins held that "to Shelley there is no such thing as a pessimistic fatalism in the recognition of a supreme Will in the universe and the aligning of one's own share of it with the total. . . . This is not only a lyric of the imagination; it is also Shelley's own declaration of what he regards as a law of nature" (*Work Promethean*, p. 103).

Carl Grabo considered this a "key passage" in which "the dual symbolism [Shelley] employs is reconciled." He noted the parallelisms with lines 64-87 in the "round of life" idea, and that "the likeness of the individual soul to a boat driven down an inland stream to join the universal sea" is a frequent image in Shelley, as in "We know not where we go, or what sweet dream / May pilot us through caverns strange and fair / Of far and pathless passion, while the stream / Of life, our bark doth on its whirlpools bear / . . . Nor should we seek to know, so the devotion / Of love and gentle thoughts be heard still there / Louder and louder from the utmost Ocean / Of universal life, attuning its commotion" (*The Revolt of Islam* VI.xxix). And Grabo pointed out that "the origin . . . of Shelley's most pervasive symbol, that of the cloud [line 63] as typifying both the mutations of matter and the life history of the soul . . . is to be found both in science and

in neo-Platonism" (*Interpretation*, pp. 64-66). Other interpretations of the *mighty law* (line 43) include White's suggestion that, "since Shelley nowhere else suggests the nature of Demogorgon's 'mighty law,' we must conclude from these scenes that it is Spring itself—not the literal, physical spring, but the mysterious, invincible power of which spring was the only adequate symbol" (*Shelley*, II, 116); A. H. Koszul's that the whole passage shows how love animates the body of nature, and is a strong, irresistible natural force (cf. "And with sweetest harmony / Let birds, and flowers, and leaves, and all things move / To love, only to love" [Calderón, *Magico prodigioso* iii.11-13. Shelley's translation]) ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 391); and Carlos Baker's that it is similar to the conclusion in *The Revolt of Islam*, "that the furtherance of good in the cosmos is ultimately man's problem, and that the only way in which the forces of moral good can be activated is through a regeneration in the mind of man." The "other side" of the law is that, "if the forces of moral good were capable of being set in motion only through a regeneration in the mind of man, the forces of moral evil can reassume their former dominance only through a degeneration in the strength of that mind [cf. IV.562-69]" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, pp. 116-17).

41 ff. A. Oras noted that Shelley frequently used imagery of circular movement (whirlwind, whirlpool, dance, or heavenly bodies), as here (and at II.iv.86-87; II.v.83-84; III.ii.11; IV.450-92, 521-22); or dizziness (II.v.71; III.iv.106) (*Shelley's Imagery*, pp. 45-53).

44. Comparison:

> [Locock] the sweet awe / Of such mild looks made their own hearts grow mild / And did with soft attraction ever draw / Their spirits to the love of freedom's equal law [*The Revolt of Islam* V.xvii].

50 *destined*] Alexander, who punctuated after the word (see Textual Notes), interpreted this as "the chosen few who seize the truth of things."

soft emotion] A. H. Koszul considered this "very eighteenth century" for "love" ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 391).

52-54. R. Houston noted that "the 'breathing earth' does steam in certain circumstances; but 'a plume-uplifting wind' does not. In effect, the chain of associations has broken in the middle." Houston ascribed this to the influence of the principle of association from Shelley's reading of Hume (echoing Berkeley) rather than to Shelley's "weak grasp upon the actual" as F. R. Leavis would have it, and suggested that an *unselective* association led to breaks, such as this and that at lines 70-82 ("Shelley and Association," p. 46). W. Milgate disagreed with Houston that the "chain of associations has broken" and held that "the association of 'steams' and 'wind' is . . . one of impulsive *force* ('plume-uplifting')" rather than of visual imagery ("Reading Shelley," p. 87). David Erdman, however, held that the "chain" was unified even as visual imagery: "For the plume *is* the

breath of steam, as we soon learn [at II.iii.1-10, where] the uplifted plume is composed of 'oracular vapour . . . hurled up' from a Delphic chasm in the earth" ("Reading Shelley," p. 97). With the latter G. M. Matthews agreed, and added that Shelley was merely doing with the actual (which he had observed "in the hot springs at Bath" and "later at the Grotto del Cane") what he "tells us . . . he does with the actual after grasping it [see I.743-48]. . . . [The] form of the exhalation is meant to suggest both a medicinal steam (capable of healing the pains of mankind) and a suppressed revolutionary force. . . . The whole passage is not only thoroughly sound in itself, but radiates imagery which keeps all parts of the poem in touch with this particular theme" ("Shelley's Grasp," pp. 328-30). I. J. Kapstein believed that the difference between this description of climate and that at III.iii.115-23, consistent with Shelley's belief in the influence of climate on character, was possibly the result of the influence of Cabanis, the eighteenth-century French materialistic physician (cited by Shelley in the *Queen Mab* notes), who stressed the relation between physical well-being and intellectual and moral health ("Shelley and Cabanis," p. 241).

59-61. See Textual Notes.

62. *fatal mountain*] Scudder identified this as the mountain "to which Panthea and Asia are advancing," and Hughes as that in which Demogorgon's cave is located. To G. H. Clarke it was "the higher environment" of II.iii, and K. N. Cameron interpreted it as the "mountain of fate (Necessity)."

bear] Pass onward (Ellis), which Locock considered "inconsistent with the simile in the next line."

63. R. Piccoli compared "the buxom Air" (*Paradise Lost* II.842).

64-87. F. C. Prescott felt that this passage, "beautiful as it is," illustrates how, compared with the Greeks, the "fanciful creations" of modern poets are "less simple and more elaborate, less fresh and more literary and sophisticated" (*Poetry and Myth*, p. 80). Carl Grabo (whose interpretation E. Barnard considered "over-subtle") identified the *spirits* (line 64) with "the elements of which matter is composed" (*Interpretation*, p. 58), and suggested as a possible source Erasmus Darwin's note to *The Botanic Garden* I.127-34 in which the action of hydrogen gas is described. So here "the bubbles [line 71] are the hydrogen gas which the action of the sun liberates from the vegetation at the bottom of lakes and pools. This liberated gas, as in Darwin's description, is electrically ignited and flows in the form of a meteor back to the waters of the earth. . . . In Darwin, the spirits 'ride . . . the rapid fire-ball.' In Shelley, the spirits ride the meteors. In Darwin occurs the phrase 'with broad eye and scintillating hair.' In Shelley, 'and bow their burning crests.' " But, Grabo noted, lines 83-87 go beyond Darwin, suggesting "other activities of the gas or gases (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 171-73). P. H. Butter, following Grabo, felt that Adam Walker's *A System of Familiar Philosophy* "supplies a complete gloss to

these lines. 'The air,' [Walker] writes, 'which swells the bodies of dead animals is a compound of inflammable and fixed air (i.e. Hydrogen and Carbonic Acid gas), which, when discharged, each returns to its proper function, first air to the earth and the roots of plants, whilst the inflammable part ascends to the upper regions, often forming meteors, falling stars; and sometimes, in the very act of discharge from either animal or vegetable substances, ignites in the character of "Will-o'-the-Wisp" ' " (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 150).

64-69. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] Where should this music be? i' th' air, or th' earth? / It sounds no more;—and sure, it waits upon / Some god o' th' island. Sitting on a bank, / Weeping again the king my father's wrack, / This music crept by me upon the waters, / Allaying both their fury, and my passion, / With its sweet air: thence I have follow'd it,— / Or it hath drawn me rather,—but 'tis gone. / No, it begins again [*The Tempest* I.ii.385-93].
>
> [P. E. More ("Shelley," p. 22)] how often from the steep / Of echoing Hill or Thicket have we heard / Celestial voices to the midnight air [*Paradise Lost* IV.680-82].

More commented: "The change [from Shelley to Milton] is a transition from dreaming to the sober certainty of waking bliss; from a bubble-blown phantasmagoria to the ecstasy of intellectual beauty."

65. *delicate music*] R. A. Holland held that this represents "the spiral play of the forces of growth in the trees—forces which have various modes of manifestation, but are one and the same in air, and water, and earth" ("Soul of Shelley," p. 159).

66-67. Comparison:

> [Locock] I know each lane, and every alley green / Dingle, or bushy dell of this wilde Wood [*Comus* 311-12].

69-82. Sidney Lanier, finding this one of the few passages in the poem worthy of praise, compared the atmosphere of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, and commented: "I scarcely know anything more compact of pellucid beauty: it seems quite worthy of Shakspere" ("English Novel," p. 94). Scudder called it "a perfect little fairy-tale in itself. Indeed, the whole dialogue of the Fauns is like a pastoral interlude." Marjorie Bald considered it "a temporary retrogression to the minute ideas of fairy-land. There for a time he played with the fancy that the earth is filled with myriads of tiny lives existing self-sustained. For the moment he forgot the higher conception of an invisible Power focussing all things into a perfect unity" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 125). And R. Houston pointed out that " 'Faint,' clearly, has arrived because of its association with paleness; but fainting water-flowers seem to have little bearing on the main theme of the passage; and if Shelley did not intend to convey this meaning, then the word 'faint' is superfluous. This may seem to be a small point, but it is symptomatic of the way a chain of associations in

Shelley's poetry tends to break down," as also at lines 52-54 ("Shelley and Association," p. 46). W. Milgate answered Houston: "The sense of 'faint' does not seem to be obviously, or even possibly, 'fainting'; the flowers *are* 'pale,' and they *look* 'faint' below the water" ("Reading Shelley," p. 91); and E. M. M. Taylor felt that the passage might owe something to Shakespeare's "By heaven, methinks it were an easy leap / To pluck bright honour from the pale-fac'd moon, / Or dive into the bottom of the deep" (*1 Henry IV* II.iii.201-3) ("Shelley and Shakespeare," p. 368). To Graham Hough the passage appeared to be "a quasi-scientific account of the origin of the *ignis fatuus*, or will o' the wisp: and Shelley is perhaps the first to domesticate such concepts in poetry. . . . [In *Prometheus Unbound*] much of the spontaneous joy is in these passages of natural magic, in which nature is not seen as something opposed to moral activity, but as the lovely matrix from which moral activity arises" (*Romantic Poets*, p. 136).

72 . . . 86. *oozy . . . odours*] G. H. Clarke noted that these were favorite words with Shelley.

88. J. B. Mayor commented: "The question put is: Are there more spirits? to which the answer is: Yes, many which we may divine, but cannot speak of now" ("Shelley's Metre," p. 261).

90. *thwart*] An anonymous writer (identified by Forman as Professor Baynes) commented: "Now, although the adjective *thwart* occurs in Spenser and Milton in the literal sense of transverse, we believe its figurative use to express what is morally perverse, a cross-grained crooked temper, is, amongst the Elizabethan writers, peculiar to Shakespeare. It is indeed used in the same sense by Gavin Douglas and older Scotch writers, a sense exactly equivalent to the Scotch word *thrawn;* but Shelley undoubtedly derived the word from Shakespeare" (*Edinburgh Review*, 1871, p. 442).

Silenus] A wood god, with the gift of prophecy, who was the chief of the Satyrs and the teacher of Dionysus.

91-97. Comparisons:

> [Woodberry] For he sang how, through the great void, were brought together the seeds of earth, and air, and sea, and streaming fire withal; how from these elements came all beginnings and even the young globe of the world grew into a mass; how then it began to harden the ground, to shut Nereus apart in the deep, and, little by little, to assume the forms of things; how next the earth is awed at the new sun shining and from the uplifted clouds fall showers; when first woods begin to arise, and living things roam here and there over mountains that know them not. Then he tells of the stones that Pyrrha threw, of Saturn's reign, of the birds of Caucasus, and the theft of Prometheus [Vergil, *Eclogue VI* 31-42. See also below, Kroder, item 2].
>
> [A. Kroder ("Shelleyana," p. 140)] [1] And old Silenus, shaking a green stick / Of lilies, and the wood-gods in a crew / Came, blithe, as in the olive copses thick / Cicadae are, drunk with the noonday dew: / And Dryope and Faunus followed quick, / Teasing the God to sing them something new [*The Witch of Atlas* viii]; [2] Falling on him—for oft the aged one had cheated both of a promised song—they cast him into fetters made from his own garlands. . . . Smiling at the trick,

he cries: "Why fetter me? Loose me, lads; enough that you have shown your power. Hear the songs you crave; you shall have your songs [Vergil, *Eclogue VI* 18-25].

[F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Milton," p. 502)] Others more milde, / Retreated in a silent valley, sing / With notes Angelical to many a Harp / Thir own Heroic deeds and hapless fall / By doom of Battel; and complain that Fate / Free Vertue should enthrall to Force or Chance [*Paradise Lost* II.546-51].

Carlos Baker noted that the passage anticipates Asia's questions to Demogorgon in II.iv (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 105).

95. Arthur Wormhoudt's psychiatric approach led him to comment: "It thus appears that some sort of homosexuality is to be a defense against the masochistic attachment to the breast" (*Demon Lover*, pp. 98-99).

SCENE III

This scene has been compared frequently (first by S. Brooke [Edition, p. 328]) with Faust's descent to the Mothers in *Faust II* (a work not known by Shelley). Scudder added, by way of comparison, the myth of the descent of Psyche to the shades of Avernus (Edition, pp. xxxi-xxxii); and Adolf Droop compared Southey's *The Curse of Kehama*, in which Ladurlad, Kailyal, and Ereenia go down to Yamen, King of Terrors (but benign to the righteous spirit), who is immutable, and at whose throne souls receive the doom of fate (*Belesenheit*, pp. 75-76). G. W. Knight, in turn, pointed out that, "exactly as Faust has descended to the Mothers, and also got help from the learned Wagner before reaching Helen; and as Dante has to go through Hell with Vergil before ascending Paradise with Beatrice; as all great poets have to burn through their satanic visions and intellectual agonies before creating their resplendent paradises; as, too, the intellectual reign of Law and sin preceded the freer life announced by St. Paul; so, before Prometheus and Asia are joined in happy love, there is this descent to Demogorgon" (*Christian Renaissance*, p. 330). And C. S. Lewis noted that "it is a necessity for Shelley, simply because he has placed his fiend in the sky, to make Asia go down, not up, to fetch this good; but how miraculously it all fits in! Does any reader, whether his prepossessions be psychological or theological, question this descent into hell, this return to the womb, this death, as the proper path for Asia to take?" ("Shelley, Dryden, Eliot," p. 32).

James Thomson held that the scene "shows the nature-worship fading away" (*Studies*, p. 286); and Alexander commented: "Asia and Panthea have passed out of the world of ordinary experience represented by the forest of the previous scene, and rise to the arduous and lofty heights of thought symbolized by the mountainous scenery here presented."

For the time scheme of the poem see Appendix G.

SD. B. P. Kurtz suggested that the realm of Demogorgon is "man's ultimate intuition of idea-reality, which is ineffable and imageless, of which each soul to itself must be the oracle" (Introduction, p. xliv).

1-10. B. Rajan noted that this description suggests that "Demogorgon stands in much the same relation to physical existence as the mind of Prometheus to the nature of Asia" ("Motivation of Prometheus," pp. 299-300).

1-4. J. M. Brown saw in the entrance to this cave "a reminiscence of the mephitic caverns that abound near Naples, and among them the famed Avernus, supposed by the ancient Romans to be the entrance to the lower regions" (*Study*, p. 155). And E. B. Hungerford noted that Boccaccio had mentioned Mount Aetna or Taenarus "as possible locations of the entrance to the lair of Demogorgon. Uncertain which of the two sites to choose, Shelley seems to have combined the two . . . [for] unlike Mt. Aetna, it is an oracular chasm—a detail supplied . . . because Apollo is believed to have presided over the fissure at Taenarus, and because an oracle of the dead . . . is mentioned by Plutarch as at the spot" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 183-84).

3-8. Rossetti found these lines "mysterious" and "proper to a mysterious subject" ("Study," p. 69), and Carl Grabo noted that "Demogorgon is, in one of his capacities, to be identified with . . . creative spirit, with that phase of divinity which makes manifest the ideas of the One" (*Interpretation*, p. 70); but Grabo also pointed out that Shelley's interest in contemporary experiments with gases is evident, and here possibly his interest in the vapors given off at the shrines and oracles, as described by Plutarch and Lucan (*Newton among Poets*, p. 186).

3-4. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] The mountain [Vesuvius] is at present in a slight state of eruption, and a thick heavy white smoke is perpetually rolled out, interrupted by enormous columns of an impenetrable black bituminous vapour, which is hurled up, fold after fold, into the sky with a deep hollow sound, and fiery stones are rained down from its darkness, and a black shower of ashes fall even on where we sate [To Peacock, December 22, 1818. Julian, X, 18].

4-8. Comparison:

> [F. M. Stawell ("Shelley's Triumph of Life," pp. 124-26)] In her right hand she bore a crystal glass, / Mantling with bright Nepenthe; the fierce splendour / Fell from her as she moved [etc. *The Triumph of Life* 343-63].

Benjamin Kurtz identified this vapor as youth's "visions of best possible conditions and ideas—of ideals. . . . Such ideals were the life-blood of Shelley's intellect" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 177). To L. Vivante it was "that creative element which is most distinctly called 'spirit' whenever it realizes itself in its deepest *freedom* and in the fullness and unity of its manifold aspects." It is the "Truth, liberty, and love" of I.651 ("Shelley," pp. 133-34).

9. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] My spirit spurns the ground; / Bid the shrill fife outsound, / My sovereign I obey. / Evoë! / The thyrsus, see, / Calls me; I must away / To join

the Bacchic rout, / With Maenads dance and shout [Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 216-20].
[E. Barnard] [1] III.iii.154 and IV.473; [2] Like the bright hair uplifted from the head / Of some fierce Maenad [*Ode to the West Wind* 20-21].
[K. N. Cameron] Like a wolf-cub from a Cadmaean Maenad [*Ode to Liberty* 92].

Mænads] The frenzied female worshippers who, bearing the thyrsis, a slight staff crowned with a pine cone, in company with Silenus and the Satyrs celebrated the rites of Bacchus. One of their cries was "Evoe!"

Cameron commented: "Panthea, approaching the source of revolution (Demogorgon), feels a similar exaltation."

10. *voice*] Barnard suggested the voice "of Revolution—regarded as beneficent by Shelley and other reformers, and as pestilential by the world in general."

contagion] Moral pestilence (Ellis); or the source of fire or inspiration (Locock). P. H. Butter felt that here the word must be taken in its good sense (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 188).

11. Comparisons:

[R. Piccoli] [1] awful scene, / Where Power in likeness of the Arve comes down / From the ice-gulfs that gird his secret throne [*Mont Blanc* 15-17]; [2] The secret Strength of things / Which governs thought, and to the infinite dome / Of Heaven is as a law [*ibid.* 139-41].

12-42. Olwen Campbell called this "a fine descriptive passage, which is too spun out at a moment when expectation and wonder should be hurrying us along" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 215); but Alfred Noyes cited it as evidence that "never was there a poet for whom more clearly than for Shelley the material universe was the flowing garment of God, illumined by the glory within" ("Poet of Light," p. 37).

12-17. Locock felt that "the series of six alternate rhymes or semi-rhymes must be regarded as a defect."

12-16. Comparison:

[L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," pp. 79-80)] [*Statesman*, for the conception of "the power for good struggling against and almost overcome by the power for evil," and for the idea that "the universe after a time purifies itself from this evil."]

Todhunter commented: "Here Asia speaks rather as a mortal maiden might than in her own character; her hypothesis of a creative Spirit, 'weak yet beautiful,' to some extent resembling that of Mill, of a Creator of limited power" (*Study*, pp. 158-59); but Alexander found Asia's hypothesis to be "in harmony with the revelations of Demogorgon in the next scene, as Asia herself says [at II.iv.121-22)." To Carl Grabo the lines implied "a God not wholly omnipotent, one engaged in doubtful strife with the principle of evil" (*Interpretation*, p. 69); and F. A. Lea found that Asia's "benedicite is troubled and qualified—by that same moral bewilderment, that same doubt, which we saw in *Mont Blanc*" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 137). Joseph Barrell noted that "even in so slight a reference . . . to evil,

evil is regarded as imperfection, as the result of weakness in the maker" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 151). To J. A. Notopoulos the passage was "an outburst of Platonic feeling which views the earth as the shadow of some lovelier spirit. . . . [It] is a Power conceived in terms of Plato's Intellectual Beauty. Though the earth is stained by the evil of partaking of the eternal Beauty, it acquires a derivative Beauty which is not its own" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 247). And C. E. Pulos commented: "While Shelley . . . generally conceives of Beauty as a feeling arising from an unknown cause or power, he sometimes—particularly after 1818—expresses some sceptical form of faith in its objective and independent existence [as in these lines, where the concept] owes its sceptical quality primarily to its conditional form of expression" (*Deep Truth*, p. 83).

13. Comparisons:

> [H. Richter (*Shelleys Weltanschauung*, p. 255)] [1] The awful shadow of some unseen Power / Floats though unseen among us [*Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* i]; [2] It is the shadow which doth float unseen, / But not unfelt, o'er blind mortality [*The Revolt of Islam* VI.xxxvii].

E. Barnard suggested that the spirit might be that of III.iii.148; and Notopoulos noted that "this Platonic imagery became such a commonplace in literature that it cannot be classed as a conscious borrowing from Plato" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 204).

15. H. N. Fairchild commented: "It is astonishing that the God of *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley's most confident declaration of faith, should be 'weak yet beautiful'—precisely like the poet himself in one of his self-pitying moods" (*Religious Trends*, III, 380).

17-27. Comparisons:

> [Different parts of the following by C. I. Elton (*Shelley's Visits*, pp. 29-30), Locock, and Peck (*Shelley*, I, 382-83)] From the summit of one of the hills we see the whole expanse of the valley filled with a white undulating mist, over which the piny hills pierced like islands. The sun had just risen, and a ray of the red light lay on the waves of this fluctuating vapour. To the west, opposite the sun, it seemed driven by the light against the rock in immense masses of foaming cloud until it becomes lost in the distance, mixing its tints with the fleecy sky. . . . The evening was most beautiful; the horned moon hung in the light of sunset that threw a glow of unusual depth of redness above the piny mountains and the dark deep valleys which they included [Mrs. Shelley's journal for August 18, 1814. *Journal* 9-10].
>
> [Peck (*Shelley*, I, 383)] at intervals in the woods were beautiful lawns interspersed with picturesque clumps of trees, and dark pines overshadowed our road [*History of a Six Weeks' Tour*. Julian, VI, 100].

See also note at lines 43-50.

24. See Textual Notes.

26-27. Paul Elmer More held that such lines represent "an innocent and blissful kind of inebriation, very desirable, no doubt, in a world too much given to seeking its escape from prose in quite other and baser ways; but

he who indulges therein should beware of speaking of this phantom realm as if it were peopled with ideas" ("Shelley," p. 21).

28-42. Comparison:

> [Hughes] Mont Blanc was before us. The Alps with their innumerable glaciers on high, all around; closing in the complicated windings of the single vale. . . . Pinnacles of snow, intolerably bright, part of the chain connected with Mont Blanc shone thro' the clouds at intervals on high. . . . We were travelling along the valley, when suddenly we heard a sound as of a burst of smothered thunder rolling above. Yet there was something earthly in the sound that told us it could not be thunder. Our guide hastily pointed out to us a part of the mountain opposite from whence the sound came. It was an avalanche. We saw the smoke of its path among the rocks and continued to hear at intervals the bursting of its fall [To Peacock, July 22, 1816. Julian, IX, 183-84].

36-42. Parke Godwin commented: "He was ever transferring the operations of his feelings to the operations of Nature . . . it is an attempt to make an object clear and intelligible, by comparing it with that which is not clear and intelligible. This is one cause of Shelley's obscurity" ("Shelley," p. 131). To the writer in the *Eclectic Magazine*, "that every object in nature should suggest Prometheus to his bride—that his defiance of Jupiter should be above all things, and by all things presented to her imagination, in a journey which is taken for the very purpose of appealing against the tyranny of the despotic ruler of the skies to some higher power, is, we think, a proof of the highest dramatic genius in the poet" (1848, p. 19). Todhunter found in the lines "the key" to the "mythical significance" of this nature poetry (*Study*, p. 159); and Alexander an "illustration of the species of imagery spoken of" in Shelley's Preface. To Woodberry it was "one of the few sublime images in English poetry," and to Arthur Clutton-Brock it was evidence that "at his best [Shelley] is rather a classical than a romantic poet, that he simplifies and concentrates like no other poet of his time, that his music is divinely clear rather than rich" (*Man and Poet*, pp. 213-14).

Hughes suggested, as other examples of "this kind of simile," the following: (1) "what was this cave? / Its deep foundation no firm purpose knows / Immutable, resistless, strong to save, / Like mind while yet it mocks the all-devouring grave" (*The Revolt of Islam* VII.xxviii); and (2) "Couched on the fountain like a panther tame, / . . . Or on blind Homer's heart a wingèd thought" (*The Witch of Atlas* xxxiv).

38. Locock compared "As snow thrice sifted by the frozen wind" (*The Cenci* V.ii.170).

43-50. See comparisons at lines 17-27. Scudder noted that "suspense and gradual suggestion are admirably used in this passage to prepare us for a great event."

46. Comparison:

> [Locock] As on a foam-girt crag some seaman tossed / Stares at the rising tide [*The Revolt of Islam* XI.x].

49-50. Comparisons:

[A. Symons (*Romantic Movement*, 270)] I.740-42.

[Locock] The mists boil up around the glaciers; clouds / Rise curling fast beneath me, white and sulphury, / Like foam from the roused ocean of deep Hell, / Whose every wave breaks on a living shore, / Heap'd with the damn'd like pebbles.—I am giddy [Byron, *Manfred* I.ii.85-89].

Symons held that this was like Shelley himself who "never saw anything, in life or art, except through a mist [cf. I.740-42]."

51-53. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] [*Paradiso* III.10-18, V.100-5, and X.64-66, where Dante describes the appearance of faces as if reflected in clear water, of fishes seen drawing to the surface of a pool, and of flashing lights of the splendors, "sweeter in their voices than shining in their aspect."]

Rossetti called Shelley's words "wondrously descriptive of the indescribable" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 154). W. E. Peck held that "the fountain on the Quirinal, with its attendant statues of Castor and Pollux in the act of taming their horses was in all probability the inspiration" of this picture and of the song of the Spirit (*Shelley*, II, 119). Carl Grabo, in his turn, saw in it a personification of "the fiery and electric essence of matter" (*Interpretation*, p. 70); and Louis Cazamian was reminded of the cherubim in a famous canvas by Reynolds (Edition, p. 22).

54-98. Comparisons:

[J. Slater (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 188)] I seemed every night to descend—not metaphorically, but literally to descend—into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that I could ever re-ascend [De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, p. 435].

[L. Steichen ("Study," p. 49)] [*Queen Mab* VIII, where "the poet leads us to 'the cradles of Eternity.' "]

[F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Spenser," p. 666)] Downe in the bottome of the deepe *Abysse*, / Where *Demogorgon* in dull darknesse pent, / Farre from the view of Gods and heavens blis, / The hideous *Chaos* keepes [*The Faerie Queene* IV.ii.47].

Stopford Brooke noted that "this song seems to conceive . . . a central source of Being and Power" behind and greater than Love as embodied in Asia, "a vast Perception." Slater, in line with the comparison given above, felt that the entire act was influenced by Shelley's use of opium. Scudder commented: "We have left the phenomenal world behind us, and are on the heights of pure mysticism, whence we are to be carried downward to the abysses of absolute being 'where there is one pervading, one alone.' " Alexander suggested Plato and Berkeley as possible sources for the mysticism. Woodberry pointed out that "the first and third stanzas describe the Cave of Demogorgon as the place of increate eternity or absolute being; it is set forth necessarily by negatives, except in the attributes of universality and unity" in line 79. Although Olwen Campbell held that "the spirits sing well but rather too oracularly" (*Shelley and the Unroman-*

tics, p. 215), C. M. Garnier admired the elaborate texture, variety of measure, and, in lines 64-71 especially, the alliteration and assonance, "closeness of the rhymes," the "subtle set and long vowels," and the feminine ending on *vapour* "which prolongs the sound dimly like the misty fume of the vanishing cloud" ("Metrical Study," p. 152); and R. H. Fogle felt that the poet "calls up feelings of a dizzying vertical downward plunging" (*Imagery*, p. 95).

54-62. J. A. Notopoulos commented: "These melodious lines, which make lyrical use of the Platonic theme of appearance and reality and immortality, constitute one of the most perfect Platonic lyrics in English poetry" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 247).

54. Locock noted that "the Spirits here bind Asia and Panthea" (cf. line 90).

59-60. Comparison:

> [Hughes] [*Republic* VII.514 ff., for the "Platonic distinction between the phenomenal world and the ideal reality . . . as set forth in the parable of the prisoners in the cave watching shadows on the wall."]

Hughes paraphrased: "Life and phenomena are bars from the ultimate truth." Things "which seem and are" are those "which exist and are yet semblances [cf. II.iii.13]."

61. *throne*] The universal reign of law (R. A. Holland, "Soul of Shelley," p. 159).

65-70. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] The grim lioness follows the wolf, the wolf himself the goat, the wanton goat the flowering clover, and Corydon follows you, Alexis [Vergil, *Eclogue II* 63-65].

66-67. E. Barnard noted that the grammatical order is reversed in these lines, after which normal order is resumed.

66. Carl Grabo held that this line involves in its explanation "the whole theory of cloud formation current in [Shelley's] time" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 136).

72-80. A. Sen felt that, "although there is no evidence regarding the source of the poet's inspiration when he describes the progress of Asia to the depths of ultimate Reality, the aroma of Upanishadic thought seems to cling to her" (*Studies*, pp. 261-62). Valerie Pitt, answering F. R. Leavis' charge that Shelley had a "weak grasp upon the actual," noted that here, as frequently, Shelley's technique, unlike that of Keats, "proceeds, not to the intensification of sense experience, but away from it, to the point at which sense experience is formalized into a mental representation with the function of a symbol [as here]. . . . This is not 'actual' and is not meant to be 'actual.' Even the words themselves are given an abstract quality; the attention is directed away from single images to the song as a whole, and as a representation of a pattern of meaning" ("Reading Shelley," pp. 101-2).

74. Alexander paraphrased: "Where the air is not a medium through which light passes, i.e. where there is no light. The reference in 'prism' is to the *use*, not to the *form* of the prism." Compare note at I.82-83.

79. G. H. Clarke commented: "This line keys the song of the Spirits."

83. *asleep*] Not loosed from the cloud (Hughes).

84. *spark*] Probably the "last look" of line 85 (Locock).

88. Rossetti paraphrased: "Nature alone . . . can bring the arcane decree into being" ("Study," p. 64). Locock cited IV.555 for the "spell," and E. Barnard II.i.192 for Asia's role.

90-98. Alexander commented: "In this last stanza we pass from the *intellectual* conditions of the successful pursuit of truth, to the *moral*." Here, according to Carlos Baker, "the mind resolves to rid itself of the attitudes which, as in Plato's myth of the cave, have kept it chained in the darkness" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 113)

92. *bright form*] Panthea, since the spirits are addressing Asia (Barnard).

93-98. Rossetti "supposed" that "the meekness which Prometheus has now attained to is meant, as well as meekness on the part of Asia: but the fact is that the close of this spirit-song is not a good example of Shelley's lyrical power, whether in diction or in music" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 154); but to Scudder it meant that "Asia is not only a spectator, but an agent in the redemption of humanity. The power of Demogorgon can be set free only when Love has attained to utter self-abnegation." Woodberry assumed that "it is because of this change in Prometheus . . . that now 'the Eternal, the Immortal' (Demogorgon) 'must unloose through life's portal that Snake-like Doom' (the Spirit of the Hour of Jupiter's overthrow), 'by that alone,' i.e. the inherent moral power of Prometheus' spiritual state. It should be recalled that Prometheus is mankind, to get the full force of the lesson enunciated." Locock commented:

> The sense may be—"Do not chafe under the helplessness caused by the fetters with which we have bound you; for it is only by your passive obedience now that Demogorgon will be able to send up into the world of life the Doom of Jupiter." Lines 562 etc. of Act IV. are rather deceptive in their similarity to this passage. The "serpent" there is Jupiter; the "infirm hand" there has no connection with the "weakness" here; and "Eternity" there is feminine, while "the Eternal" here is masculine. Yet in III.i.52 Demogorgon calls himself "Eternity" and, to add to the complication, in all other portions of the Poem seems to be neuter.

Olwen Campbell noted Shelley's "curious and very unclassical fondness for what is weak" as evidenced by his frequent use of *weak*, *faint*, *soft*, and *liquid* (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 201). Carl Grabo held that the Doom was

> . . . the enslavement of the will of man (Prometheus) through submission to his own creation (Jupiter), a submission averted by Prometheus when he repents the curse he had passed upon Jupiter. For the meekness of that repentance is in reality strength. . . . Ethically this is to proclaim the truth of Christ's exhortation to overcome evil by love. Metaphysically the point is somewhat subtler. . . .

> Seemingly this Doom—the fatality . . . of Necessity—is inherent in the scheme of creation, unless living creatures, the creation of the Eternal, shall attain through their own free choice—through the exercise of the moral will—to a mastery of evil and proclaim the omnipotence of love [*Interpretation*, p. 71].

And E. Barnard felt the "weakness" to be that "naturally felt by Asia amid 'the lampless caves of unimagined being,' into which she is brought in a kind of trance (symbolized by her being bound). The 'meekness' I take to be that exemplified by Prometheus in recalling his curse upon Jupiter and in telling the Furies that he wishes 'no living thing to suffer pain.' "

93. See Textual Notes.

96-97. Comparisons:

> [W. N. Guthrie (*Poet Prophets*, p. 341)] III.i.72.
>
> [Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 77)] And that the seven-headed Snake, whereon / The strong Preserver sets his conquering feet, / Will rise and shake him headlong from his throne [Southey, *The Curse of Kehama* XXIII.v].
>
> [Hughes] Think ye, because ye weep, and kneel, and pray, / That God will lull the pestilence? It rose / Even from beneath his throne, where, many a day, / His mercy soothed it to a dark repose [*The Revolt of Islam* X.xxxvi].
>
> [Locock] For that same Crocodile *Osyris* is, / That under *Isis* feete doth sleepe for ever [*The Faerie Queene* V.vii.22].
>
> [K. N. Cameron ("Major Source of 'Islam,' " p. 205)] [1] IV.565-69 [2] [Volney's *Ruins* (pp. 133-34, 157), where the serpent becomes the symbol of rebellion against despotism.]
>
> [E. Barnard] Therefore from nature's inner shrine, / Where gods and fiends in worship bend, / Majestic spirit, be it thine / The flame to seize, the veil to rend, / Where the vast snake Eternity / In charmèd sleep doth ever lie [*The Daemon of the World* I.96-101].

Hughes thought that the Doom was described as "snake-like" either

> (1) because of the inevitability with which it fastens on Jove as the serpents on Laocoon, or its fell secrecy, the snake's attraction for Shelley consisting in its solitary and mysterious life [as in "Not a bee shall hear him creeping, / Not a may-fly shall awaken / From its cradling blue-bell shaken, / Not the starlight as he's sliding / Through the grass with silent gliding" (Fragment: "Wake the Serpent Not")]; or (2) an allusion to the philosophy of the Gnostic Ophites, to whom the snake was the symbol of knowledge, the redeeming and saving principle in man.

Hughes referred to Ernst Sieper's study (see Bibliography in the present edition).[29]

96. Locock compared "through birth's orient portal" (*Hellas* 202).

97. Carlos Baker saw in this "the happier destiny of man" to be unloosed

[29]Lloyd N. Jeffrey's "Reptile-Lore in Shelley" appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work. Holding that "Shelley's use of reptile-imagery expresses . . . the romantic feeling for the awesome, unfathomable beauty and plenitude of nature" (p. 45), Jeffrey included the following *Prometheus Unbound* citations: I.324, 632, 707 (deletion following); II.iii.95-97; III.i.72-74; III.iv.119; IV.305-8, 483-84, 565-67.

by love, and possibly to be replaced by "man's darker destiny of suffering" as suggested at IV.562-69 (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, pp. 116-17).

98. *that alone*] Meekness, which is the key to the portal of life (H. Richter, "Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 408).

SCENE IV

To Rossetti, this was the greatest scene in the drama, for "it condenses into one centre those puissant ideas out of which the preceding section of the poem, the captivity and torture of Prometheus, and also the succeeding section, the liberation of Prometheus and of the human race, equally emanate: and it develops these ideas with a noble union of poetic austerity and poetic passion" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 154). A. Clutton-Brock, however, argued that "something happens in the middle of the play; but Shelley cannot tell us what it is, because he does not know. Demogorgon appears . . . but we do not learn why he appears or how he contrives the fall of Jupiter, or even who he is, except that he is Eternity and the child of Jupiter, as Jupiter of Saturn" (*Man and Poet*, pp. 198-99).

Olwen Campbell agreed with Rossetti, and held that this scene, with Acts I and III.i, "forms the body of the whole poem—the rest is mainly drapery and colour." The one flaw in this scene, she thought, was that Asia is "too much the reverse of tongue-tied in the presence of that strange and awful being, Demogorgon" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 215). B. Rajan, however, pointed out that "Asia goes to Demogorgon not to be informed but to inform, not to ask questions but to state ideas, not to extend but to realize her knowledge. Only then can his unchartered energy act, only then can it soar in the service of creation. . . . The logic of [Asia's] questionnaire lies in the planned elimination of alternatives and the remorseless elicitation of a preconceived response" ("Motivation of Prometheus," pp. 299-300). F. A. Lea objected that "Demogorgon is the unknown omnipotence, dwelling 'Where there is One pervading, One alone [II.iii.79].' But now, it seems, he is a spirit of Good opposed to Evil, Beauty opposed to Ugliness—and in this scene Shelley begins to be caught in the toils of the old dualism." Unlike Prometheus, who rules "the torturing and conflicting throngs within" (I.493), by acceptance, Shelley is in rebellion against acceptance (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 138).

Scudder noted that in addition to conscious Aeschylean recollections (see notes to lines below) there is a general influence in this scene: "There is no likeness in the place held by Io and by Asia: yet surely the picture-elements in Io's story helped to create the story of Asia. The vision of a Wandering was in Shelley's mind,—of a woman, questioning a silent figure, wise with foreknowledge of fate, then passing onward on her way" (Edition, p. 141). With respect to Asia, H. Richter found it striking that she "speaks like an ordinary mortal. She is here, as it were, the human soul as it struggles for illumination, and which, no matter how often it bounces off the dark,

always again takes a running start for that which is unfathomable"; but Armin Kroder, comparing the question-answer dialogue of Io and Prometheus in Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound* 757-81), considered it unfortunate in Shelley because the "worrying of questions" lowered Asia to the stature of a mortal ("Shelleyana," p. 141).

SD. R. H. Fogle held that "the cavern of Demogorgon stands for the utmost depths of the human mind, which must be plumbed before man can be redeemed. . . . In relative terms it certainly stands for instinct and feeling. . . . The cavern is the complement in depth of the sky-towering intellect [Prometheus]. Shelley, in the union of Prometheus and Asia, makes clear that the two must be fused" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 31).

1-15. G. W. Knight commented: "This is the spirit of wonder in man so close akin to worship and yet so often confined to childhood" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 215).

1. A. G. Van Kranendonk compared "Time's eternal veil" (*Queen Mab* VIII.12) ("Demogorgon," p. 61).

2-7. Scudder held that "the treatment of Demogorgon cannot be called a great nor a consistent success; yet it is by a fine *tour de force* that Shelley makes us feel . . . the presence of a spirit which is described entirely by negations." These negations H. N. Brailsford likened to Godwin's description (in *Essays Never Before Published*) of his "principle, whatever it is, which acts everywhere around me. . . . The principle is not intellect; its ways are not our ways" (*Shelley, Godwin*, p. 184). G. H. Clarke noted that "Demogorgon's answers have the remoteness and changeless truth of their speaker's character," and A. R. Benham, arguing for Demogorgon as Eternity in the Spinozan sense of Essence, which to Shelley would be Beauty, questioned why the horrors are at the cave and why Demogorgon is referred to as a "tremendous gloom" by Earth (I.207) and "awful shape" by Jupiter (III.i.51). He felt that this was the result of Godwin's influence, especially in the ideas of such a work as the religious *Essays Never Before Published* (1873). The horrors, he noted, are described "before Asia and Panthea have come in contact with [Demogorgon] and the former has been transfigured. Hence, I think I am justified in holding that by these names and this impersonation Shelley is setting forth the popular or superficial view of Eternity with its terrors of mystery and punishment, a view of the sort censured by Godwin" ("Interpretation," pp. 116-18). But E. Ebeling found the Paracelsian influence most pronounced: "This form is no ghost; neither is it a mortal Evestrum [see note at I.191-209] such as the phantasm of Jupiter. . . . Nor is it a mere shadow, but endowed with a 'living spirit'—a prophetic Evestrum. . . . Fate . . . is the Turban of Paracelsus . . . the great presaging essence, the active agent of God's will. From this Turban emanate the prophetic Evestra, revealing the fate which is the ultimate will of God." And she noted his prophetic nature in talking with Asia, and the fulfillment of his prophecy in III.i ("Paracelsian Element," pp. 519-20).

E. B. Hungerford, in turn, found Demogorgon almost "point for point the Demogorgon whom Boccaccio imagined" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 184); and B. Rajan saw him as "finality . . . we can look into but not beyond him" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 299). In R. H. Fogle's distinction of three characters he held that "Prometheus is closest to human, Jupiter somewhat less so, while Demogorgon as Necessity . . . is the most abstract . . . [and] in Demogorgon Shelley attempts with imaginative daring and complete awareness to solve his crucial problem in its extremest terms, to reconcile idea and image, after they have systematically been separated by the intellect, in an image of imagelessness. . . . Demogorgon represents the ultimate in the testing of systematic thought by the demands of poetic imagination" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 28).

Olwen Campbell noted that "to man living in Time, Eternity is but a shadowy dream; and to the spirits freed from Time [Act IV] . . . Eternity, though they inhabit it, is still a dream. . . . Eternity is rather an idea than a reality, a thing that will everlastingly fade like the foot of the rainbow, as fast as it is found" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 216). Marjory Bald, citing II.v.48-71 and IV.518, pointed out that "year by year [Shelley's] conceptions became more indefinite [as the spirit mastered the flesh]. . . . Demogorgon . . . was felt rather than seen; and he, who represented the final secret [II.iv.115-16] was almost inarticulate" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 127). C. E. Pulos, seeing in Demogorgon "the inconceivable ultimate reality of scepticism" (*Deep Truth*, p. 61), noted with respect to these lines that in him are fused the "two aspects of Shelley's doctrine of Necessity": the "secret strength of things" (*Mont Blanc* 139) which, through faith, "is converted into a 'voice' capable of repealing 'Large codes of fraud and woe' [*Mont Blanc* 80-81]" (p. 65).

2-4. Comparisons:

> [A. G. Van Kranendonk ("Demogorgon," p. 61): [1] Time! / Unfold the brooding pinion of thy gloom, / . . . And from the cradles of eternity, / . . . Tear thou that gloomy shroud [*Queen Mab* VIII.3-9]; [2] Now Time his dusky pennons o'er the scene / Closes in steadfast darkness [*ibid.* IX.138-39]; [3] Time . . . / That hoary giant [*ibid.* IX.23-24].

An early reviewer held that this "quite throws Milton into the shade, with his 'darkness visible' [*Paradise Lost* I.63]; and as Mr. Shelley professes to admire that poet, we cannot but suspect that he prides himself on having outdone him" (*Literary Gazette*, 1820. See Appendix D, item II). Van Kranendonk commented, with respect to the comparison above: "Even the same words recur. Note also in [*Queen Mab*] the connection of the notions of time and eternity." And Carl Grabo suggested the possible influence of Davy's use of Herschel's discovery of "black rays" of heat without light (*Newton among Poets*, p. 154).

5-6. Comparison:

> [Locock] The other shape, / If shape it might be call'd that shape had none /

Distinguishable in member, joynt, or limb, / Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd [*Paradise Lost* II.666-69].

R. H. Hutton objected that "the reader does *not* feel it at all, and certainly Shelley as a poet did not feel it" ("Shelley," p. 183).

7-8. Comparison:

[R. Ackermann (*Lucan in Shelley*, p. 30)] The mouth was fettered and gave forth no sound: voice and utterance were given him but only for the purpose of reply [*Pharsalia* VI.760-62].

9-120. Comparisons:

[A. Kroder ("Shelleyana," p. 141] *Prometheus:* Art is feebler far than Necessity. *Chorus:* Who then is the steersman of Necessity? *Prometheus:* The triform Fates and mindful Furies. *Chorus:* Can it be that Zeus hath less power than they? *Prometheus:* Aye, in that at least he cannot escape what is foredoomed. *Chorus:* Why, what is foredoomed for Zeus save to hold eternal sway? *Prometheus:* This thou must not learn as yet; be not importunate [*Prometheus Bound* 514-20].

[R. Piccoli] [According to Christ, God is] the interfused and overruling Spirit of all the energy and wisdom included within the circle of existing things . . . the overruling Spirit of the collective energy of the moral and material world [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 230-31].

[E. Barnard] [1] O, that God, / Profuse of poisons [*Alastor* 675-76]; [2] Declare with measured words that ye / Are, as God has made ye, free [*The Mask of Anarchy* lxxiii]; [3] There was a Power in this sweet place, / . . . Which to the flowers, did they waken or dream, / Was as God is to the starry scheme [*The Sensitive Plant* II.1-4]; [4] Last of the Intercessors! / Who 'gainst the Crowned Transgressors / Pleadest before God's love! [*Ode to Naples* 69-71]; [5] And wingèd words let sail, / Freighted with truth even from the throne of God [*ibid.* 98-99]; [6] In the great morning of the world, / The Spirit of God with might unfurled / The flag of Freedom over Chaos [*Hellas* 46-48]; [7] And why God made irreconcilable / Good and the means of good [*The Triumph of Life* 230-31]; [8] and men divine, / Who rose like shadows between man and God [*ibid.* 288-89]; [9] The concluding verses [of *Hellas* 197-238] indicate a progressive state of more or less exalted existence, according to the degree of perfection which every distinct intelligence may have attained. Let it not be supposed that I mean to dogmatise upon a subject, concerning which all men are equally ignorant, or that I think the Gordian knot of the origin of evil can be disentangled by that or any similar assertions. The received hypothesis of a Being resembling men in the moral attributes of His nature, having called us out of non-existence, and after inflicting on us the misery of the commission of error, should superadd that of the punishment and the privations consequent upon it, still would remain inexplicable and incredible. That there is a true solution of the riddle, and that in our present state that solution is unattainable by us, are propositions which may be regarded as equally certain: meanwhile, as it is the province of the poet to attach himself to those ideas which exalt and ennoble humanity, let him be permitted to have conjectured the condition of that futurity towards which we are all impelled by an inextinguishable thirst for immortality. Until better arguments can be produced than sophisms which disgrace the cause, this desire itself must remain the strongest and the only presumption that eternity is the inheritance of every thinking being [*Note to Hellas* 197-238]; [10] [*Shelley's Religion*, p. 78] I loved, I know not what—but this low sphere / And all that it contains, contains not thee, / Thou, whom, seen nowhere, I feel everywhere [etc. *The Zucca* iii-v].

[C. Baker (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, pp. 105-6] [Peacock's *Ahrimanes*, where "Necessity began by delegating power to El Oran the Creator."]

The distinctions drawn in the passage have been emphasized frequently. An early writer commented: "It may be truly said, that the god of the sensual man is, at all times and in all places, an idol, and not the true God. We suspect that Shelley's Atheism consisted in the denial of this usurper," described by St. Paul as "the God of this World, and the Prince of the Powers of the Air" (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1838, p. 657). Julian Schmidt suggested that the "God" of line 9 might be "Spinoza's 'Naturgott,' who is, however, unable to assert himself" in the poem (L. Price, *Julian Schmidt*, p. 35), a situation similar to the Necessity of Peacock's *Ahrimanes*, where, as Baker noted, "God the Creator has done his work long ago and takes no part in the current action." Sophie Bernthsen would agree with Schmidt. She held that Shelley "presents the God of the Bible as an evil principle, while the God of Nature, according to his presentation, causes everything that is good, beautiful, and noble in the world," and she noted that in *Prometheus Unbound* the poet "uses as weapons the Spinozistic attacks against the Church dogma and the abuses of Christianity which are found in the *Theological-Political Treatise*." But Bernthsen concluded that "Shelley's attack on the God of the Bible is basically his own, arising from the subjective embitterment through his own experience of intolerance" (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, p. 145).

R. P. Scott pointed out that the God who made the world and thought and imagination is declared Almighty by Demogorgon (II.iv.9-11), while Jove, who made terror, madness, Hell, or the fear of Hell (II.iv.19-28), "is expressly declared *not* Almighty by Prometheus [I.15-20]." Thus "the God who does indeed rule the universe is no despot 'holding the tyranny of heaven,' but a merciful and beneficent ruler, whose name, whose attribute, whose power is Love [II.iv.119-20]." Otherwise Shelley is guilty of contradiction of terms, "on which contradiction the whole action of the play rests" (*Place of Shelley*, pp. 24-25). To Todhunter the passage suggested:

> The mystery of the universe is unknowable. God in his pure essence is beyond the sphere of our consciousness, and even of our conception. . . . The unknowable "almighty God" of Demogorgon's speech seems to correspond to the pure Being of Fichte, and what Shelley calls mind or existence, to what Fichte also calls existence. Each particular mind is but a wavelet on this sea of universal mind, and the phenomenal universe arises from the perceptions which stream in upon the particular mind from that universal mind of which it is itself a part [*Study*, pp. 21-23].

Alexander pointed out that "the ultimate source of evil is not traced to God, but to some power of which nothing is known save that it is a power. Evil comes from Jupiter, it is true; but Jupiter is in himself powerless, and the evil which springs from him may, and will, in time be got rid of. But there is more deeply implanted in the universe a mysterious source of evil

of which man knows nothing, and upon which he can exert no influence. Shelley, as others, found the problem of the origin of evil insoluble, and thrust it back into a vague and remote mystery." J. M. Brown noted that "through all the play Jupiter is never called Almighty even by himself, nor once is any approach made to such an epithet for him as Merciful" (*Study*, p. 76). Hughes, in a full discussion, wrote:

> This dialogue contains a poetical cosmology which adumbrates, though indistinctly, Shelley's view of the world. Demogorgon says that God made the living world, men's faculties, and their highest spiritual sense [lines 9-18]. But he does not mean a God with parts and passions [lines 112-13], nor an actual Genesis; he means that the living world and the human mind are of divine nature. But the Evil which clings to all things was "made" by One who now reigns in the Universe. Asia asks several times who this is, and Demogorgon can only reply "He reigns" [lines 19-32]. Asia presses the question—"Who reigns? It cannot be Jupiter, for he owes his power to Prometheus, and trembled at his curse" [lines 32-109]. Demogorgon answers that Jupiter is the supreme incarnation of Evil, but is the slave of the Evil he serves. This Evil which is the master of Jupiter cannot be imaged, it is inherent in the world of Time. Only Eternal Love is not subject to it [lines 110-20]. Love we may take to be identical with "God", and the order of cosmic events seems to be as follows. First, Love dwelt with Light in an original Heaven and Earth [lines 32-33]. But into this untroubled Heaven and Earth there entered Vicissitude or Time, and it is through a changeful Nature—through Nature as we know it—that Evil came into contact with God and disputed his empire. The order of Time, of Evil mixed with Good, began with Saturn [lines 33-43]. . . . But Time was "envious" of the Saturnian reign, and there came the tyranny of Jupiter, through whom Evil put forth all its sting and became regent of the world. All the while, however, Love is working through Prometheus to gain the mastery of Nature. Yet, even when Nature is assimilated to Love, Evil will not be utterly cast out—cannot be while Time and Nature exist. It will be chained and bound; but it will still affect men in some degree, and may, now and then, reassert itself [III.iv.200-4; IV.565 ff.; and "man and woman, / Their common bondage burst, may freely borrow / From lawless love a solace for their sorrow; / For oft we still must weep, since we are human" (*The Revolt of Islam* V.2229-32)]. Only beyond Time and the world of sense, only where God is all in all, can there be perfect and secure bliss [III.iii.113]. . . .
>
> There is some remarkable similarity between these ideas and the Manichean system. According to Mani, two kingdoms or worlds, of Light and of Darkness, of Good and of Evil, existed side by side from all eternity, touching on one side but not intermingling. In the kingdom of Light God dwelt with a heaven and an earth. In the kingdom of Darkness there was an earth but no God. Satan and his demons, however, were born in it, and one day Satan made an incursion into the kingdom of Light. Thus came the first mixture of the two elements, from which afterwards the present world and the race of men were made. The world process consists in the freeing of the elements of Light from the elements of Darkness (i.e. in Man, the Spirit from the Flesh), until every particle of Light returns to its own kingdom and to God to whom it is kin. In the end Light shall triumph and Darkness be cast down to the abyss. "He who reigns" in Shelley corresponds to the Manichean Darkness, and Jupiter is the agent of the one, as Satan is of the other.

O. W. Firkins pointed out that "the use of the term 'God,' [and] the application of the word 'made' [line 9] . . . are utterly foreign to the poet's

habits." But Demogorgon's answer at lines 112-13 says in effect: "In calling this power God I merely fell in with conventional usage. He is not God nor master; these human and personal terms do not apply to him. Of all living, that is, of all organic, human, or human-like beings Jupiter is the chief. . . . Jove is subject to the abstract powers . . . and these in turn are subject to the greater abstraction, 'Eternal Love.' This is the true Shelleyan faith to which we have returned by a circuit that had its starting-point in the apparent contradiction of these principles" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 177-79). And Ellsworth Barnard identified the "God" of lines 9-18 with "the Spirit of Intellectual Beauty, the Spirit of Good in Canto I of *The Revolt of Islam*, and the 'Power,' or 'One Spirit' " of *Adonais* xlii-xliii, and he added:

> In the present poem, considered dramatically, the attributes of this Spirit are divided among Demogorgon, Asia, and Prometheus.—The reader may be further confused by the fact that in Act I Jupiter is sometimes spoken of as "God." Until about the time of this poem, Shelley regularly applies the name "God" to the incarnation of evil human passion which he regarded as the object of worship of orthodox Christians. Henceforth he more frequently uses the name, as here, to refer to his own God. . . . The change indicates a decrease in Shelley's antagonism toward "the popular notions of Christianity," if not toward *organized* Christianity.

9. *living world*] J. A. Cousins considered this "not the general realm of nature, but the special realm of human nature, the psychological world [see lines 10-11] in which the drama-poem moves" (*Work Promethean*, p. 93).

10-11. Comparison:

> [J. A. Cousins (*Work Promethean*, p. 93)] Thought / Alone, and its quick elements, Will, Passion, / Reason, Imagination, cannot die [*Hellas* 795-97].

Cousins noted that "all the capacities enumerated are of the positive order, and the proper companions of the positive Will," fittingly conferred by "Almighty God." Floyd Stovall commented: "These are the higher faculties of the mind which are attributed to God's creation because it is through them that man is aware of God. It is natural, therefore, that Asia [II.iv.59 ff.] should give Prometheus credit for the creation of the very faculties which, previously, Demogorgon had ascribed to God" ("Shelley's Doctrine of Love," p. 294).

contains] Is equivalent to (E. Barnard).

12-18. Comparisons:

> [Alexander] Hence in solitude, or in that deserted state when we are surrounded by human beings, and yet they sympathise not with us, we love the flowers, the grass, and the waters, and the sky. In the motion of the very leaves of spring, in the blue air, there is then found a secret correspondence with our heart. There is eloquence in the tongueless wind, and a melody in the flowing brooks and the rustling of the reeds beside them, which by their inconceivable relation to something within the soul, awaken the spirits to a dance of breathless rapture, and bring tears of mysterious tenderness to the eyes, like the enthusiasm of patriotic success, or the voice of one beloved singing to you alone. . . . So soon as this want

or power is dead, man becomes the living sepulchre of himself, and what yet survives is the mere husk of what once he was [*Essay on Love*. Julian, VI, 202].

[J. A. Cousins (*Work Promethean*, p. 95)] There is a Power by which we are surrounded, like the atmosphere in which some motionless lyre is suspended, which visits with its breath our silent chords, at will. . . . This Power is God [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 231].

Cousins noted that, as the "powers" at line 10-11 were of a "purely masculine atmosphere," so here Shelley balances them with "a sensitive responsiveness of the feminine order to some inner relationship with that universal Being which equally animates nature and humanity in both its positive and receptive phases." Hence "Merciful God" (*Work Promethean*, pp. 93-94).

12-15. See Textual Notes.

12-13. Comparisons:

[Alice Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 429)]: And in the visitation of the winds [*2 Henry IV* III.i.21].

[E. Barnard] sounds of air, / . . . Such as we hear in youth [*The Witch of Atlas* xiv].

15-16. Comparisons:

[Scudder (Edition, p. 144)] I mourn over thee, Prometheus, by reason of thy hapless fate. Shedding from my eyes a coursing flood of tears I wet my tender cheeks with their moist streams [*Prometheus Bound* 399-401].

[C. Baker (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 105)] With beating heart and streaming eyes [etc. *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* v-vi].

Hughes paraphrased: "The tears blur the vision of the flowers."

18. *Merciful God*] T. V. Moore, clearly unaware of the full meaning of the character, called this "satanic sarcasm" inasmuch as Demogorgon is an "infernal deity . . . the demon of magic" (*Study of Character*, pp. 30-31).

19-28. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] According to Jesus Christ, and according to the indisputable facts of the case, some evil Spirit has dominion in this imperfect world. But there will come a time when the human mind shall be visited exclusively by the influences of the benignant power [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 235].

19-23. Comparisons:

[Sophie Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, pp. 90-91)] [1] IV.394-95; [2] The idea of an individual thing actually existing has God for a cause . . . in so far as He is considered to be affected by another idea of an individual thing actually existing, of which idea also He is the cause in so far as He is affected by a third, and so on *ad infinitum* [Spinoza, *Ethic*, pp. 54-55]; [3] As thoughts and the ideas of things are arranged and connected in the mind, exactly so are the affections of the body or the images of things arranged and connected in the body [*ibid.*, p. 254].

[Locock] [1] He who asserts the doctrine of Necessity means that, contemplating the events which compose the moral and material universe, he beholds only an immense and uninterrupted chain of causes and effects, no one of which could occupy any other place than it does occupy, or act in any other place than it does act [Note to *Queen Mab* VI.198]; [2] linked to the chains of necessity [*On the Revival of Literature*. Julian, VI, 214]; [3] To drag life on, which like a heavy

chain / Lengthens behind with many a link of pain! [*Julian and Maddalo* 302-3]; [4] [Shelley was] very much affected by the sight of the convicts [at Pisa] fettered two and two, who, escorted by soldiers, sweep the streets, and still more so by the clank of their chains [Medwin, quoted in Locock's note to *Julian and Maddalo*].

[E. Barnard] the chains which life forever flings / On the entangled soul's aspiring wings [*The Revolt of Islam* II.xxxiii].

Locock found the lines "obscurely expressed," with the construction of the simile, "as frequently happens, broken off in the middle of line 22 [cf. III.ii.11-17]." The sense, he held, might be " 'Who made terror, madness, etc., which, hanging like weights from the chain of destiny (or necessity), sway from side to side in response to every thought in man's mind, so that each man reels' etc.? Or 'To' . . . may simply mean 'attached to.' "

25. G. H. Clarke compared I.511-13 and III.iv.134. E. Barnard, in his note to *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, contrasted the virtue of "Self-esteem" there (line 37) with the "self-contempt" here.

28. *He reigns*] Rossetti suggested that "the Vicissitude of the World [Jupiter], construed as the will of the personal and anthropomorphic God, has produced these scourges of humankind" ("Study," p. 68). It has usually been assumed that Jupiter is intended, but L. D. Weatherhead felt that Asia here arraigns God "as the creator of hell and 'the sharp fear of hell' " ("Shelley's Hell Complex," p. 207). Carl Grabo noted that "it is evident that God the Creator and God the Merciful does not reign in man's universe" (*Interpretation*, p. 74). Louis Cazamian commented: "That Being which reigns, and of which Jupiter is only the instrument, is the evil inherent in all things (as in the Manichean philosophy). Only divine Love escapes its rule" (Edition, p. 248); and Joseph Barrell suggested that Shelley did not think the author of evil "substantial enough to merit a name. He mentions merely that he 'reigns,' a verb implying an end as surely as a beginning" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 151).

30. P. H. Butter noted that during much of this scene Shelley himself is speaking through Asia: "It seems most inappropriate that she—the embodiment of Love—should say, 'curses shall drag him down,' whereas Prometheus has just recalled his curse. This was Shelley's own unregenerate hatred of tyrants breaking out" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 190).

31. R. Piccoli held that the reiteration of "He reigns" is not evasive, but significant in view of Asia's speeches.

32-100. Comparisons:

[Rossetti ("Study," p. 64)] II.iii.12-13.

[R. Ackermann] For it is because I bestowed good gifts on mortals that this yoke of constraint hath been bound upon me to my misery. I hunted out and stored in fennel stalk the stolen source of fire that hath proved to mortals a teacher in every art and a means to mighty ends [*Prometheus Bound* 107-11].

[Scudder (Edition, p. 140)] [1] *Chorus:* Unfold the whole story and declare to us upon what charge Zeus hath taken thee that he thus visits thee with ignominious and bitter outrage. Instruct us, unless, indeed, there be some harm in telling. *Prometheus:* Painful is it to me even to tell the tale, painful to keep it silent—my

case is hapless every way. When first the heavenly powers were moved to wrath, and mutual dissension was stirred up amongst them, some bent on casting Cronus from his seat that Zeus, forsooth, might reign; others, eager for the contrary end, that Zeus might never win mastery over the gods—then it was that I, albeit advising them for the best, was unable to persuade the Titans, children of Heaven and Earth; but they, disdaining counsels of craft, in the pride of their strength sought to gain the mastery without a struggle and by force. Full oft my mother Themis, or Earth (one form she hath but many names), had foretold to me the way in which the future was fated to come to pass—how that it was not by brute strength and not through violence, but by guile that those who should gain the upper hand were destined to prevail. For all that I set this forth by argument to them, they did not deign even to regard my advice one whit. Therefore of what was then before me the best choice seemed to be that I, joining my mother with me, should range myself, a welcome volunteer, on the side of Zeus; and it is by reason of my counsel that the cavernous gloom of Tartarus now hides ancient Cronus and his allies withal. Such profit did the tyrant of Heaven have of me and with such foul return as this did he make requital; for it is a disease that somehow inheres in tyranny to have no faith in friends. However, touching your question for what cause he torments me, this I will now make clear. Soon as ever he had seated himself on his father's throne, he forthwith assigned to the deities their several privileges and apportioned unto them their proper powers. But of wretched mortals he took no heed, but desired to bring the whole race to nothingness and to create another, a new one, in its stead. Against this purpose none dared make stand save I myself—I only had the courage; I saved mortals so that they did not descend, blasted utterly, unto the house of Death. Therefore am I bent by so grievous tortures, painful to suffer, piteous to behold. I that gave mortals first place in my pity, I am deemed unworthy to win this pity for myself, but am thus mercilessly disciplined, as spectacle that shames the fame of Zeus. *Chorus:* A heart of iron and fashioned out of rock, Prometheus, is he who feels no compassion at thy miseries. For myself, I should not have desired to see them; and now that I see them I am pained to the heart. *Prometheus:* Aye, to my friends indeed I am a spectacle of pity. *Chorus:* Thou didst not perchance transgress somewhat beyond this offence? *Prometheus:* Aye, I caused mortals no longer to foresee their doom [of death]. *Chorus:* Of what sort was the cure thou didst find for this affliction? *Prometheus:* I caused blind hopes to dwell within their breasts. *Chorus:* A great boon was this thou gavest to mortals. *Prometheus:* And besides it was I that gave them fire [*Prometheus Bound* 196-254].

[2] *Prometheus:* But hearken to the miseries that beset mankind—how that they were witless erst and I made them to have sense and be endowed with reason. Nor will I speak to upbraid mankind, but to set forth their friendly purpose that inspired my boons. First of all, though they had eyes to see, they saw to no avail; they had ears, but understood not; but, like to shapes in dreams, throughout their length of days, without purpose they wrought all things in confusion. Knowledge had they neither of houses built of bricks and turned to face the sun, nor yet of work in wood; but dwelt beneath the ground like swarming ants, in sunless caves. They had no sign either of winter or of flowery spring or of fruitful summer, whereon they could depend, but in everything they wrought without judgment, until such time as I taught them to discern the risings of the stars and their settings, ere this ill distinguishable. Aye, and numbers, too, chiefest of sciences, I invented for them, and the combining of letters, creative mother of the Muses' arts, wherewith to hold all things in memory. I, too, first brought brute beasts beneath the yoke to be subject to the collar and the pack-saddle, that they might bear in men's stead their heaviest burdens; and to the chariot I har-

nessed horses and made them obedient to the rein, to be an adornment of wealth and luxury. 'Twas I and no one else that contrived the mariner's flaxen-winged car to roam the sea. Wretched that I am—such are the inventions I devised for mankind, yet have myself no cunning wherewith to rid me of my present suffering. . . . Hear but the rest and thou shalt wonder the more at the arts and resources I devised. This first and foremost: if ever man fell ill, there was no defence—no healing food, no ointment, nor any draught—but for lack of medicine they wasted away, until I showed them how to mix soothing remedies wherewith they now ward off all their disorders. And I marked out many ways whereby they might read the future, and among dreams I first discerned which are to come true; and voices baffling interpretation I explained to them, and signs from meetings by the way. The flight of crook-taloned birds I distinguished clearly—which by nature are auspicious, which sinister—their various modes of life, their mutual feuds and loves, and their consortings; and the smoothness of their entrails, and what color the gall must have to please the gods, and the speckled symmetry of the liver-lobe; and the thigh-bones, enwrapped in fat, and the long chine I burned and initiated mankind into an occult art. Also I cleared their vision to discern signs from flames, erstwhile obscure. So much then touching these arts. Now as to the benefits to men that lay concealed beneath the earth—bronze, iron, silver, and gold—who would claim to have discovered them before me? No one, I know full well, unless he were fain to babble idly. Hear the sum of the whole matter in the compass of one brief word—every art possessed by man comes from Prometheus [*ibid.* 442-506].

[Woodberry] [*De rerum natura* V, for a similar outline].

[L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 80)] [1] II.v.17-20; IV.93-98 and 164-65; [2] [*Statesman*, for the alternating periods of order and disorder.]

In Aeschylus, as the above quotation indicates, the content of this speech is assigned to Prometheus, and Shelley followed it closely; but (as Scudder noted) he omitted the passage concerning the reading of omens, and where, in Aeschylus, the hopes awakened are blind, they are not so in Shelley, nor is love added to hope as in the later poet. W. J. Courthope considered Shelley's lines a travesty of Aeschylus' "straightforward narrative" (*History*, p. 309), and J. Slater felt that it was odd to give the lines to Asia: "We thought . . . that female politicians . . . were a growth of the nineteenth century. It seems we were mistaken" (" 'Prometheus,' " pp. 187-88). But Rossetti asked: "What more fitting than that Nature should narrate the course of things material, and the drama of human life and of the Mind of Man, and should finally have to inquire—Who is the author of it all? Is it God, and what is God?" ("Study," p. 64). Bennett Weaver suggested that "Shelley may have felt that for Prometheus to have delivered these matters in his own person would have set up too close a parallel to the older play. Or, he may have sensed the dramatic fitness" in Asia's delivering them. Also, to have added such a speech after I.409 "would have slowed the scene and overweighted the part" (*Prometheus*, p. 127).

As early as 1880 G. H. Calvert noted in this passage an important relationship with ancient thought. He pointed out that the Greeks sought

. . . to embody the conflict, and yet the necessary cooperation, between mind and matter, between substance and form. Around us we daily see this conflict and

> necessary union between institutions and the needs and principles that produce them. The principles, which are the generative constituent, through the ambitious seeking of those that wield them, are liable to get merged and forgotten in the institutions they have created, and thence to resist change and improvement. Thus they grow oppressive, tyrannizing over those for whose sake was made the incarnation of the spirit in institutions [Jupiter]. . . . Prometheus represents the unincarnated spirit that resists the usurpation of Jupiter" [*Coleridge, Shelley, Goethe*, p. 215].

Scudder commented: "This long passage, with its reminiscences of the traditional Golden Age, and its picture of a highly elaborate civilization, seems somewhat inconsistent with the general tenor of the myth; yet it corresponds to Shelley's idea of Jupiter, as the petrifaction of the earlier customs and faith of primitive humanity into rigid and tyrannous law." And Alexander wrote:

> In this passage we have an embodiment in myth of Shelley's ideas as to the history of the universe. First, there is dimly indicated the existence of absolute, eternal entities. Then, with Saturn . . . began the world of phenomena, the actual world which appears to our senses. Originally mankind was like a child, innocent and enjoying its existence, with self-consciousness and intellectual power scarcely developed. With the growth of the latter came wisdom and knowledge; men improved their conditions by inventing institutions, organizing themselves. Hence there arose government and authority, symbolized in this poem as Jupiter. Wisdom enthroned these on condition that men should not be enslaved by them, but should preserve the spirit of liberty, of free investigation; institutions must not blind or impede the spirit of man. But the natural tendency of authority is to evil. . . . From the consequent degradation came the miseries of humanity. Then the spirit of man was roused to produce alleviations for his sad condition . . . ideas, feelings, inventions for increasing his bodily comfort, the discoveries of science, and the creations of art.

Carl Grabo found the passage "a most interesting mixture of legend, myth, science, history, and metaphysics," and he reviewed the uncertainty among Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophers as to the origin of evil, noting Shelley's conception of evil as "the creation of man, as temporal only and to be eliminated in the evolution of man as personified in Prometheus." Grabo suggested that, "if Shelley's doctrine of evil and its source seems somewhat ambiguous, there is justification in both Plato and Plotinus for his uncertainty" (*Interpretation*, pp. 74-78). He pointed out also that, according to Neoplatonism, "evil is necessary that good may be known by contrast; [or] the souls self-willed seek experience, learn the folly of their acts, and return at last to the One; or that in some mystical sense this experience is inevitable and that though they think themselves free in their choice of the lesser good, the souls are not free in reality. . . . [But this] effort to reconcile a perfect God with an imperfect world is not wholly successful." And Grabo suggested two ways out of the dilemma: (1) "the modern belief in the evolution of God himself," a God not omnipotent but striving to become so; or (2) the Neoplatonic belief "that the imperfections

of an evolving world are due to the will of God and are, in some mystical sense which man cannot wholly understand but in which he must believe, wholly right." Neither, he admitted, is wholly satisfying (pp. 193-94). And John Laird saw in the lines, and the sequel in Act III, the best evidence of Shelley's cosmology—a cosmology premised by a conviction that (1) soul is mind; (2) mind is universal (cf. IV.394-95, 400-1); (3) Greece had taught this to the world; (4) he could trust "a species of Platonic idealism construed as plastic imagination animated and controlled by the Forms in whose vitality beauty, truth and goodness were intermingled, strong, clear, bright, gracious and kind." These Forms, then, "were the ultimate foundations of the cosmos, having the splendours of sense for their attendants and ministering angels. Hence they must prevail over kings, priests [etc.]. . . . They had the status of deathlessness, of regnant eternity. . . . [As] a consequence, the vulgar distinction between the real and the seeming, the permanent and the passing, the dominant and the destructible had to be radically reinterpreted [cf. III.iii.49-62; IV.238-61]" (*Philosophical Incursions*, pp. 125-33).

To Herbert Read the lines represented the "central exposition" of the idea of Prometheus as "the hero of humanity struggling against the tyranny of ignorance and superstition" (*Defence of Shelley*, p. 67); and to Carlos Baker they were reminiscent of "a somewhat similar pseudo-historical strategy" in the *Ode to Liberty* (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 106). K. N. Cameron held that Asia's speech was designed to show that the history of mankind "exhibits no evidence of the action of a divine providence, and that such an assumption is, indeed, contradicted by the existence of evil." And Bennett Weaver found that, as early as the 1812 *On Leaving London for Wales*, Shelley "speaks as [Asia's] Titan might speak were he but a boy. This is the Percy who sent up fire balloons 'laden with knowledge' that each of them might be 'A ray of courage to the oppressed and poor' [*Sonnet to a Balloon Laden with Knowledge*], or launched 'Vessels of heavenly medicine' that tyrant-hearts might 'with powerless envy burst / To see their night of ignorance dispersed' [*Sonnet on Launching Some Bottles Filled with Knowledge*]"; and Shelley sees "Reason's flag . . . wave unfurled, / A meteor-sign of love effulgent o'er the world [*On Leaving London for Wales* 25-27.]" Weaver commented: "Reason and love—Prometheus and Asia: here is a flash of the long blue flame that cleanses the later poem" ("First Beginnings," p. 191).

32-33. Comparisons:

> [H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 252)] [Hesiod] says, that after Chaos these two were produced, the Earth and Love. . . . Love, therefore, is universally acknowledged to be among the oldest of things. And in addition to this, Love is the author of our greatest advantages. . . . Hence do I assert that Love is the most ancient and venerable of deities [*Symposium* 178, 180. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 171, 173].
>
> [Locock] [1] the eldest of Divinities [Homer, *Hymn to Venus* 30. Shelley's

translation]; [2] The first-born Love out of his cradle lept, / And clove dun Chaos with his wings of gold [*The Witch of Atlas* xxxii].

[L. Vivante ("Shelley," p. 156)] [1] II.iv.120 and II.v.40; [2] When light is changed to love [*Epipsychidion* 336].

Heaven . . . Love] R. Piccoli assumed that at line 120 these four are reduced to one, "Eternal Love," identical with the "God" of lines 9, 11, and 18. Floyd Stovall commented: "Light here is probably not the natural phenomenon but the spiritual element later incorporated in Prometheus, as Love is the spiritual element later incorporated in Asia" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 242); and Vivante felt that "a kind of dualism between spirit and matter seems to be admitted [here]. . . . 'The Heaven', I suppose, may stand here for space, and 'Earth' for matter. 'Light' and 'Love', on the other hand, are essentially kindred. 'Light' is no mere physical light, and, as the very principle of form, in its deep intrinsicality, it merges into a value of universality, which is akin with love's" ("Shelley," pp. 155-56).

32. *Who reigns?*] G. H. Clarke noted "the rising emotional insistence in Asia's repetitions. She is face to face with the most obstinate of mysteries."

Heaven and Earth] The parents of Saturn (Locock).

33-43. Comparisons:

[L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," pp. 98-99)] [*Statesman*, for the close correspondence of the description. She may have had reference to 272a] So there were no states or families, but they had fruits in plenty from the trees and other plants, which the earth furnished them of its own accord, without help from agriculture. And . . . the climate was tempered for their comfort, and the abundant grass that grew up out of the earth furnished them soft couches.

[R. Piccoli] [1] [The] second generation [made by the gods] which was of silver and less noble by far . . . [in which men lived] only a little time and that in sorrow because of their foolishness. . . . Then Zeus the son of Cronos was angry and put them away, because they would not give honour to the blessed gods who live on Olympus [Hesiod, *Works and Days* 127-39]; [2] The whole frame of human things is infected by the insidious poison [of inequality from which injustice derives]. Hence it is that man is blind in his understanding, corrupt in his moral sense, and diseased in his physical functions. The wisest and most sublime of the ancient poets saw this truth, and embodied their conception of its value in retrospect to the earliest ages of mankind. They represented equality as the reign of Saturn, and taught that mankind had gradually degenerated from the virtue which enabled them to enjoy or maintain this happy state. Their doctrine was philosophically false. Later and more correct observations have instructed us that uncivilized man is the most pernicious and miserable of beings, and that the violence and injustice, which are the genuine indications of real inequality obtain in the society of these beings without mixture and without palliation. Their imaginations of a happier state of human society were referred indeed to the [blank. Piccoli: Saturnian] period, they ministered indeed to thoughts of despondency and sorrow. But they were the children of airy hope, the prophets and parents of mysterious futurity. Man was once as a wild beast, he has become a moralist a metaphysician a poet and an astronomer [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 249-50].

Locock paraphrased:

"Then came Saturn, whose throne cast the malignant shadow which we call Time (Time . . . and Saturn being of course identical). During his reign the life of man,

though happy enough in its way, was merely a sort of vegetable existence, or, at the best, *half*-animal, like the life of worms." I give this paraphrase to show that (1) Time is not to be regarded as envious of the state of man, which, in fact, was not enviable: and (2) "Worms" is not the subject of "withered." The passage which follows shows that Shelley did not regard the *Saturnia regna* as a period of happiness.

E. Barnard noted parallels of the golden age in many mythologies and in the story of the Garden of Eden and the Fall: "It is to be noted that Shelley does not here, as he does (for purely poetical purposes) in the final chorus of *Hellas* ['The world's great age begins anew,' etc.], regard this Age of Saturn as really desirable." And F. A. Lea, citing the state described by Blake as "Tharmas," which is disrupted by the advent of consciousness, commented: "Consciousness is reason; and reason is man's distinctive faculty: but it can be a curse as well as a privilege. It gives him power, but often at the expense of imagination, which is the expression of unity. Knowing himself, he is divided against himself" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 112).

33. Comparison:

[E. Barnard] Before those cruel Twins, whom at one birth / Incestuous Change bore to her father Time, / Error and Truth [*The Witch of Atlas* i].

Barnard noted that "Saturn's Greek name, Cronos, was also the word for 'time.' "

34. *Time*] Carl Grabo pointed out that, Platonically, "God and reality are timeless, but the creation of the material universe, the 'realization' of it in matter, necessitates time 'the envious shadow' " (*Interpretation*, p. 74); and Barnard, citing III.iii.174, III.iv.108-9, and IV.9-14, asked: "Does it perhaps mean that at this point time came into existence (with partial self-consciousness) as with the fall of Jupiter (with the coming of complete self-consciousness) it ceases to exist, giving way to Eternity?" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 158).

35. *primal spirits*] Barnard saw in this "the idea that *man*, properly speaking, only comes into being with self-knowledge and freedom" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 158).

37. *has*] The Shelley subjunctive (Locock).

39-43. Carl Grabo commented: "Knowledge, self-empire, love, these are desired by earth's primal spirits, and this desire . . . is born of Necessity. . . . [The] things which Deity creates partake likewise of this need and must in turn express their being in creation. . . . The creation of Jupiter by Prometheus, the mind of man, is then a necessary act. . . . The free creative will of man is superior to the thing which it creates, though Shelley seems to imply that it is possible for the free will to surrender its freedom by worshiping its own creation" (*Interpretation*, pp. 78-79).

43-46. Comparison:

[H. Richter] Therefore of what was then before me the best choice seemed to be

that I . . . should range myself, a welcome volunteer, on the side of Zeus [*Prometheus Bound* 221-23].

Carlos Baker noted that in Aeschylus Prometheus does not put Jupiter on the throne (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 281), and E. B. Hungerford pointed out that Prometheus' assistance with the proviso that "man be free" is not based on Aeschylus, where "the ingratitude of Zeus is the result of a necessity which he cannot violate. It is because Zeus must conform to that necessity that Prometheus sins in attempting to thwart him. Shelley makes the ingratitude of Zeus a deliberate act." The wisdom idea, Hungerford believed, may have stemmed from "a story in Apollodorus to the effect that when Zeus was ready to be delivered of Athena, it was Prometheus who solved the obstetrical problem by smashing Zeus' head open with an axe, whereupon Athena emerged" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 167-68).

Todhunter interpreted the passage to mean "that the human genius at first evolved various religious and political systems (typified in Jupiter), which afterwards hindered the free progress of mankind, and chained up the genius which created them with the fetters of dogma and authority, from which both Godwin and Shelley believed all the miseries of mankind directly to spring" (*Study*, p. 161); and Rossetti that "when men had reached this half-development of their faculties, and pined eagerly for more, the Mind of Man invested Jupiter with wisdom, or regarded him as the embodiment and source of wisdom, and ascribed to him the dominion of heaven; in other words, the Mind of Man created a God after its own image" ("Study," p. 61). H. Richter found it noteworthy that Shelley let Jupiter, the evil principle, derive his power over man from Prometheus (see I.380-81): "The genius of humanity itself has forged the chains which now fetter him and against which he revolts. Still more striking is it that Jupiter received wisdom from Prometheus, which with Shelley is inseparable from goodness, virtue and love"; and she noted in the passage an instance of the Shelleyan view that everything was originally good, wise, and united in love. Alexander interpreted "Let man be free" as meaning that "institutions should be thoroughly plastic, not checking the liberty of individuals either in the internal sphere of thought or in the external sphere of action" (Edition, p. 317). But Jupiter did not keep his agreement, hence the degradation of man in Shelley's own day. M. T. Solve held that "Shelley here takes the position of the subjective idealist. . . . Mind is the author of good and evil alike, of its gods and tyrants." Hence, he held, Clutton-Brock and others have erred in saying that Shelley "thought of evil as imposed upon the world by a celestial tyrant" (*Theory of Poetry*, pp. 37-38).

M. M. Rader, in turn, offered a subtler interpretation of the passage, pointing out that, while Shelley would hold evil "[rooted] in the necessitous order of nature" to be inexplicable, "there is a type of evil . . . whose origin

we know and whose quietus we ultimately can obtain." This passage describes a "mind-created evil . . . so radical that even the consciousness of time must be fundamentally altered before man can be altogether freed [see IV.14]," but it can be overcome. "The mind is transformed to its deepest foundations . . . [it] learns to see reality *sub specie aeternitatis* [and] rends aside the veil of the temporal order. Thus the poet suggests the profundity, the drastic tenacity of human affliction" ("Theory of Evil," pp. 27-28). Floyd Stovall saw the reign of Jupiter as marking "the beginning of law in the world . . . [and it] was not inconsistent with the perfect wisdom of Prometheus. The source of evil in Jupiter resided in his endowment with supreme power. . . . Shelley does not mean that law or order is evil, except when it lies within the disposition of a single being" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 243). Similarly, J. A. Cousins read the passage as meaning that "Life [Prometheus], finding its manifestation indefinite under the dominion of Time only, placed itself under the dominion of Law [Jupiter]. Had Life been fully developed at this early stage, Law would have been simply an easy channel for it to flow through. But Life was rudimentary, incoherent, inarticulate, and as such needed the defining and developing opposition of Law, as the would-be athlete needs the opposition of system and apparatus in order to gain strength." Through this opposition man learns wisdom (*Work Promethean*, p. 34). But E. Barnard dissented: "Jupiter does not, as some critics have said, represent law: he represents (among other things) the denial of *law* by what men have agreed to call laws, which are in truth the offspring of the lust and passion they pretend to curb" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 242).

43. *For thirst of which*] E. Barnard commented:

> How can these spirits "thirst" for things that they have never known? I would suggest that Shelley has in mind here some cosmic myth of the fall of spirit into matter, with the consequent birth of time and evil, according to certain occult traditions, such as those contained in the gnostic and cabalistic writings. This is the theme of many of Blake's prophetic books—with which Shelley seems not to have been familiar. Possibly the whole play is capable of a similar interpretation. The suffering of Prometheus would represent the discord consequent upon the Universal Spirit's manifesting itself in matter, and thereby limiting itself; the reunion with Asia and retirement to the cave would be the return of Spirit to complete self-consciousness, and withdrawal from manifestation. Jupiter would symbolize Time, dethroned by Eternity. This conception is also close to neo-Platonism [*Shelley's Religion*, p. 158].

44-45. E. Barnard compared I.273. Carlos Baker suggested that "Prometheus granting Jupiter dominance upon only one condition . . . means in effect that the mind of man suffered its fierce wants and mad disquietudes to assume command, while at the same time retaining the power of freedom of choice" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 113).

47-48. Comparisons:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 143)] for it is a disease that somehow inheres in tyranny to have no faith in friends [*Prometheus Bound* 226-27].

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 395)] [1] Royalty inevitably allies itself to vice [Godwin, *Political Justice*, II, 26]; [2] a king is necessarily, and almost unavoidably, a despot in his heart [*ibid.*, II, 39]; [3] politic government . . . that brute engine, which has been the only perennial cause of the vices of mankind [*ibid.*, II, 212].

[F. Stovall ("Shelley's Doctrine of Love," p. 286)] Nature rejects the monarch, not the man; / . . . Power, like a desolating pestilence, / Pollutes whate'er it touches; and obedience / . . . Makes slaves of men [*Queen Mab* III.170-80].

[E. Barnard] Last came Anarchy: he rode / On a white horse, splashed with blood; / . . . And he wore a kingly crown; / And in his grasp a sceptre shone; / On his brow this mark I saw— / "I AM GOD, AND KING, AND LAW!" [*The Mask of Anarchy* viii-ix].

Barnard commented: "This is a common theme in Shelley: that monarchy is really anarchy. . . . That individual human beings should be made to conform, by force, not to their own consciences but to the arbitrary will of another man (or a God with human limitations) was to Shelley a denial of what he felt to be the whole meaning and purpose of life."

49-58. Comparisons:

[Hughes] Didst thou not behold the helpless infirmity, no better than a dream, wherein the purblind generation of men is shackled? [*Prometheus Bound* 547-50].

[Locock] everyone is harsh whose power is new [*Prometheus Bound* 35].

[M. R. Thayer (*Influence of Horace*, p. 91)] After fire was stolen from its home in heaven, wasting disease and a new throng of fevers fell upon the earth, and the doom of death, that before had been slow and distant, quickened its pace [Horace, *Odes*, I.iii.29-33].

[R. Piccoli] [The] third generation [made by Zeus] of mortal men, a brazen race . . . terrible and strong . . . fearful men. . . . Their armour was of bronze, and their houses of bronze, and of bronze were their implements. . . . They were destroyed by their own hands [Hesiod, *Works and Days* 143-55].

Carl Grabo suggested that Shelley gave the Neoplatonic philosophy a new emphasis by "apparently [attributing] the change in the physical forces, their hostility to mankind, to man himself" (*Interpretation*, p. 81). But E. Barnard found in these lines (and III.iv.180-83) the answer to those who would narrow Jupiter's identification to custom, or government, or religion: "Even Shelley's most bitter critics would hardly accuse him of thinking that these could have been responsible for bringing death into the world or inaugurating the changes of the seasons. Jupiter simply represents the evil in the world" (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 158-59). Later Barnard noted that "Shelley avoids the question of *why* the reign of Jupiter should have brought these evils" (Edition).

52. R. P. Scott felt that a play on words "so feeble that we hope it will resolve itself into an unintentional cacophony left in by oversight" showed an "entire lack of humour" on Shelley's part (*Place of Shelley*, pp. 43-44).

54. Locock compared "[they] dwelt beneath the ground like swarming ants, in sunless caves" (*Prometheus Bound* 450-51).

56-57. J. A. Notopoulos found in "shadows idle / Of unreal good" an

"echo of the myth of the Cave in *Republic*, 514 ff." (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 247). See note at I.655.

59-100. On this passage Rossetti commented: "The Mind of Man [Prometheus] raised up the hopes of an immortal destiny; it developed mutual love in humankind; it used fire for all useful services. It gave man" the things listed here. "But the Mind . . . is oppressed and tormented by the very God of its own installation . . . by its own false and superstitious conceptions in theology, [and is] tainted with the passions of rage, hatred, and revenge" to which Prometheus gave utterance in the curse ("Study," pp. 61-62). Carl Grabo noted that "this conquest has now to be in terms of reason, for, because of his fall, that intuitive apprehension of truth which is the mode of real being is possible to man only in flashes. . . . The way of reason is slow, laborious, evolutionary." Shelley in this passage "is sketching the history of early civilizations, the astronomical lore of Egypt and Babylonia or perhaps that of some ancestral race which dwelt on the steppes of Asia north of parallel 49. He celebrates the early voyages of the Phoenicians and the architectural glories of the Greeks" (*Interpretation*, pp. 81-83). Douglas Bush, comparing the "grim and impressive brevity" of Aeschylus, felt that "Shelley muffles and softens the idea with decoration" (*Mythology*, p. 162).

59-65. Hughes noted that "Shelley loves to spiritualize the Greek myths. His Prometheus is a healer of the soul as well as an inventor of useful arts"; and R. Piccoli added that Aeschylus does not include love, song, music, or sculpture in Prometheus' gifts.

61. *Nepenthe*] A magic drug which caused forgetfulness of care and sorrow, as in "Straightway [Helen] cast into the wine of which they were drinking a drug to quiet all pain and strife, and bring forgetfulness of every ill" (*Odyssey* IV.220-21); "Nepenthe is a drinck of soverayne grace" (etc. *The Faerie Queene* IV.iii.43); and "Not that *Nepenthes* which the wife of *Thone*, / In *Egypt* gave to *Jove*-born Helena" (*Comus* 675-76).

Moly] The drug which Hermes gave to Odysseus to counteract the potion of Circe: "So saying, Argeiphontes gave me the herb, drawing it from the ground, and showed me its nature" (*Odyssey* X.302-3); and "And yet more med'cinal is it then that *Moly* / That *Hermes* once to wise *Ulysses* gave" (*Comus* 636-37).

Amaranth] An unfading flower: "Sad *Amaranthus*, made a flowre but late" (*The Faerie Queene* III.vi.45); "Bid *Amaranthus* all his beauty shed" (*Lycidas* 149); and "Thir Crowns inwove with Amarant and Gold, / Immortal Amarant . . . [It grows] where the river of Bliss through midst of Heavn / Rowls o're *Elisian* Flours her Amber stream; / With these that never fade" (*Paradise Lost* III.352-60).

W. N. Guthrie commented: "Nepenthe, oblivion of ill (as antidote to remorse and despair); Moly, spiritual vision (as antidote to sensuality); and Amaranth, 'intimations of immortality' (as antidote to frantic rebel-

lion, since the source of the sweet peace that comes with resignation). Nor did he confine himself to negative blessings," as love, fire, speech, etc. show (*Poet Prophets*, p. 176).

62-63. Comparison:

[Locock] Rekindled all the fading melodies, / With which, like flowers that mock the corse beneath, / He had adorned and hid the coming bulk of Death [*Adonais* ii].

63-65. Comparisons:

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 247)] [*Symposium* 191d, where "Plato conceives of mutual love as 'that reconciler and bond of union of their original nature, which seeks to make two, one, and to heal the divided nature of man' "] [Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 185].

[E. Barnard] I am the vine, ye are the branches [John xv.5].

66-71. Henry Sweet noted that "Shelley could pass at will from the primitive Aryan to the modern point of view. . . . The most effective way of dealing poetically with the forces of nature is, of course, to personify them" ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," p. 297); and A. T. Strong found in the lines "once more the combination of loveliness and terror which fascinates him" (*Studies*, p. 145). Carlos Baker pointed out that, "instead of introducing fire, and hence cookery, and hence the reprehensible practice of meat-eating, and hence disease and corruption into the world [as in the Note to *Queen Mab* (see Introduction, p. 28)], the Prometheus of 1818-19 has at last succeeded in casting corruption forth. The process no longer has anything to do with what man puts, or does not put, into his stomach, but it has everything to do with what man allows, or does not allow, to exist in his mind" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 92).

69. Comparison:

[Locock] Into the dust those symbols of your woe, / Purple, and gold, and steel! [*The Revolt of Islam* XI.xviii].

70. Comparison:

[Locock] Of fire and poison, inaccessible / To avarice or pride, their starry domes / Of diamond and of gold expand above / Numberless and immeasurable halls, / Frequent with crystal column, and clear shrines / Of pearl, and thrones radiant with chrysolite [*Alastor* 89-94].

poisons] Locock commented: "Not merely medicines . . . since these are mentioned in their proper place [line 86]. The meaning is, perhaps, that poisonous minerals, formerly used by tyrants as instruments of destruction, have now become useful for commercial purposes."

72. Comparisons:

[H. Liedtke (*Berkeley und Drummond*, p. 25)] IV.394-95 and 400.

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 149)] This world of ideas . . . could never have been formed without the use of language. For, in the first place, we must have had certain signs or marks of our ideas, which would be absolutely necessary for

our own use, as without them we could not retain them in our memories, or put them together in propositions. And, secondly, we could not otherwise have communicated them to one another. . . . Languages, therefore, may be said to be the parent of all arts and sciences, and to be the first step of that ladder, by which we are to ascend from this earth to that state from which we are fallen [Lord Monbaddo (read by Shelley), *Ancient Metaphysics* (London, 1795), V, 70].

An early reviewer objected that this was "exactly, in our opinion, the cart creating the horse" (*Literary Gazette*, 1820. See Appendix D, item II). Liedtke felt here an influence, through Berkeley, of Drummond. E. Barnard found it "curious that Shelley should say that 'speech created thought,' since often he complains (as in his note on the essay *On Love* ['These words are ineffectual and metaphorical. Most words are so—No help!' (Julian, VI, 202)]) of the inadequacy of words to express 'thought'—at least if the word be taken in the inclusive sense that it has in ['Thought / Alone, and its quick elements, Will, Passion, / Reason, Imagination, cannot die' (*Hellas* 795-97)]." And Barnard compared line 116, but also, "on the other hand," IV.415-17.

75-76. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] Poets . . . were called, in the earlier epochs of the world, legislators, or prophets . . . [and] prophecy [is] an attribute of poetry [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 112].

L. Vivante held that in *all-prophetic* Shelley was speaking of the "*intrinsic character*—rather than anything especially precognitive" ("Shelley," p. 139).

80-82. Comparisons:

[Locock] Peopled, with forms that mock the eternal dead / In marble immortality, that hill [*Ode to Liberty* v].

[M. Solve (*Theory of Poetry*, pp. 115-16)] III.iii.49-56.

mocked] Imitated, with *mimicked* describing the early unsuccessful imitations (Locock).

Solve noted that "to the mature Shelley, art was not copying mundane forms, but imitation of the infinite and archetypal forms, so far as imagination was able to apprehend them. In so far as art was successful it was superior to life, just as the ideal is superior to the temporal. . . . This superiority to life was the work of 'harmonious mind' [line 75]."

82-84. Swinburne commented: "Women with child gazing on statues (say on the Venus of Melos) bring forth children like them—children whose features reflect the passion of the gaze and perfection of the sculptured beauty; men, seeing, are consumed with love; 'perish' meaning simply 'deperire'; compare Virgil's well-worn version, 'Ut vidi, ut perii' ['As I saw, how was I lost!' (*Eclogue VIII* 41)]. I do not think there is any hint of contrast between transient flesh and immortal marble" ("Notes," p. 361). Alexander felt that Swinburne's reading, though it might "seem farfetched," was confirmed by IV.412-14. E. B. Hungerford suggested that Shelley "refers very obliquely to the statue of Niobe, whose grief expresses the

universal love and grief of motherhood. Shelley's admiration for this statue was unbounded, as is attested by his brilliant description of it" in *The Niobe* in *Notes on Sculptures in Rome and Florence* (Julian, VI, 330-32) (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 170).

83. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] I.450 [see note at that line].

[E. Barnard] [*Symposium* 206-11, for Diotima's lengthy discussion of the orders of love leading to perception of the Ideal as the highest.]

[S. Larrabee (*English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, p. 184)] [1] As beautiful men produced beautiful statues, so the latter reacted upon the former and the state became indebted to beautiful statues for beautiful men [Lessing, *Laocoon*, ed. Bell (1890), p. 14)] [2] The charm of the Roman climate helped to clothe his thoughts in greater beauty than they had ever worn before. And . . . his soul imbibed forms of loveliness which became a portion of itself [Mrs. Shelley's Note. See Appendix C].

Louis Cazamian pointed out the similarity to the "Callipédie" of the Greeks, which regained favor in the Renaissance, and became modern eugenics (Edition, p. 248).

85-86. Comparisons:

[R. Ackermann] The limits of the camp were surrounded by a fire of fumigation, in which elder-wood crackled and foreign galbanum bubbled; the tamarisk of scanty leaf, Eastern *costos*, powerful all-heal, Thessalian centaury, fennel, and Sicilian *thapsos* made a noise in the flame; and the natives also burned larchwood, and southernwood whose smoke snakes loathe, and horns of deer—deer whose birthplace is far from Africa. Thus the soldiers were protected at night [Lucan, *Pharsalia* IX.916-22].

[G. H. Clarke] Some say that gleams of a remoter world / Visit the soul in sleep,—that death is slumber [*Mont Blanc* 49-50].

[Locock] Hesiod says that, before the time of Prometheus, mankind were exempt from suffering; that they enjoyed a vigorous youth, and that death, when at length it came, approached like sleep, and gently closed their eyes [Note at *Queen Mab* VIII.211-12].

[C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 27)] Mild was the slow necessity of death [*Queen Mab* IX.57].

87-91. An early writer commented: "This, Promethean, beats all the systems of astronomy with which we are acquainted. . . . Newton was a wonderful philosopher; but, for the view of the heavenly bodies, Shelley doubly distances him [here and at IV.238-61]" (*Literary Gazette*, 1820. See Appendix D, item II). Carl Grabo noted J. M. Manley's suggestion of comets (Barnard suggested planets) and cited "The meeting boughs and implicated leaves" (*Alastor* 426) as meaning "involved" or "interwoven": " 'Implicated orbits' could mean those of comets or, conceivably, those of the planets of our solar system." The sun changing his lair, Grabo thought, probably refers to the seeming movement of the sun (Locock suggested the position in the Zodiac) or to Herschel's discovery "that our solar system is moving towards the constellation Hercules" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 169-70).

91. Comparisons:

[Zupitza-Schick] [1] III.iv.94 and IV.209; [2] Or, when the weary moon was in the wane, / Or in the noon of interlunar night [*The Witch of Atlas* xlvii] [3] the silent Moon, / In her interlunar swoon [*With a Guitar, to Jane* 23-24]; [4] And silent as the Moon, / . . . Hid in her vacant interlunar cave [Milton, *Samson Agonistes* 87-89].

interlunar] In the absence of the moon (Alexander); or between two moons, the moon that has waned and the new moon (Hughes).

sea] The earth's sea "during the moon's interlunar period. At such a time the moon might be said to close her eye" (Locock). L. Cazamian commented: "Here he seems to imagine that the new moon illuminates with its rays a sea invisible to us" (Edition, p. 248).

92-94. H. N. Fairchild noted that this "pays its respects to Southey's *Madoc*. . . . But this allusion appears in a passage glorifying intellectual progress, and has no tincture of primitivism" (*Noble Savage*, p. 311). And G. W. Knight commented: "We find a continual embracing of oriental glamour throughout the Western imagination, as though it sensed there some magical wells fertilizing man's Western progress" (*Starlit Dome*, pp. 210-11).

98. J. A. Cousins noted that the gifts are "alleviations" and not final accomplishments, "for [Shelley] believed with the oriental sage Vasishta that the mere addition of the finite to the finite does not produce the infinite . . . [and] the 'alleviations' of civilisation can take it no further, for its higher self (Prometheus) is shut away from participation in the arts of life" (*Work Promethean*, pp. 35-36).

99. Locock pointed out that the list given in *Prometheus Bound* "includes, besides Fire, (1) Astronomy, (2) Arithmetic, (3) Writing, (4) Use of beasts of burden and equitation, (5) Chariot-racing, (6) Ship-sailing, (7) Medicine, (8) Divination, (9) Mining, (10) All Arts."

100-1. Comparisons:

[D. Bush ("Notes," p. 300)] The skies which rain their plagues on men like dew— / . . . The immedicable soul, with heart-aches ever new [Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* IV.cxxvi].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 247)] [*Theaetetus* 176a, for Plato's similar view (see note at I.294).]

J. W. Beach noted that "in Prometheus . . . [Shelley] does not go into the origin of evil, but takes it for granted, as we all must, as a great power in the life of men. And as for his making evil something external to man, I don't see how anyone could manage to do that." *Prometheus Unbound*, Beach held, represents "the age-long conflict of the good and evil tendencies in man for the possession of his heart," and Shelley must of necessity represent evil as a character, just as Asia represents Love, which "is certainly not something external to man" ("Latter-Day Critics," pp. 727-28).

100. See Textual Notes.

104. E. Barnard, comparing IV.406-8, noted that Prometheus "is an example of a nature which has certainly been 'at odds with itself,' and which still is so, despite the . . . suffering by which it has been purified: for the furies that torture Prometheus are but objectifications of his own thoughts and passions, and the vision of human suffering would not weaken him were he not already weak" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 151).

109-20. Carl Grabo cited, as throwing light on this passage, Plotinus' conception of the Deity as a triad in which the first aspect ("the One") is the absolute, or perfect Love; the second is the Universal Intelligence, whose productive thought is accompanied by the third aspect, a generative principal: "As this materialization of the Divine Ideas proceeds of Necessity, it may be that Shelley . . . is thinking of Demogorgon as the symbol of this third aspect of Divinity, its creative force" (*Interpretation*, pp. 84-85).

109. P. H. Butter commented: "The plain answer . . . would have been Prometheus . . . but it was perhaps right . . . to allow Prometheus to appear as the heroic rebel fighting against apparently superior power" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 192).

110-11. Comparisons:

> [O. Campbell (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 207)] Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. And the servant abideth not in the house for ever: but the Son abideth ever [John viii.34-35].
>
> [K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 746)] all that the wide world contains / Are but thy [Necessity] passive instruments, and thou / Regard'st them all with an impartial eye, / Whose joy or pain thy nature cannot feel, / Because thou hast not human sense, / Because thou art not human mind [*Queen Mab* VI.214-19; and the same idea in the prose of Shelley's *Queen Mab* note at these lines].
>
> [J. Barrell (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 152)] [*Republic* IX, where "evil is construed as the topsy-turvy mastery of the higher faculties by the lower, as the enslavement of the better by the worse."]

Rossetti commented: "This certainly means, he *is* a slave" ("Study," p. 54). Campbell interpreted the lines to mean that "evil is no essential principle of the universe—and indeed no principle at all . . . the real master of Jove is not an evil, but a good power" (p. 217). Cameron noted that Demogorgon cannot answer as to the origin of evil because "Necessity is not human mind . . . [and] moral categories . . . are purely the invention of the 'human mind.' To Necessity, therefore, the problem of good or evil is irrelevant, even non-existent; Demogorgon has no answer to Asia's question.'

112-20. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann (*Lucan in Shelley*, p. 23)] We men are all inseparable from the gods, and, even if the oracle be dumb, all our actions are predetermined by Heaven. . . . Has he any dwelling-place save earth and sea. the air of heaven and virtuous hearts? Why seek we further for deities? All that we see is God [Jupiter]; every motion we make is God also [*Pharsalia* IX.573-78].
>
> [Alexander] *Chorus:* Who then is the steersman of Necessity? *Prometheus:* The triform Fates and mindful Furies. *Chorus:* Can it be that Zeus hath lesser power

than they? *Prometheus:* Aye, in that at least he cannot escape what is foredoomed [*Prometheus Bound* 515-18].

[K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 745)] The greatest, equally with the smallest motions of the Universe, are subjected to the rigid necessity of inevitable laws. . . . To suppose some existence beyond or above them, is to invent a second and superfluous hypothesis to account for what has already been accounted for [*A Refutation of Deism*. Julian, VI, 48].

[P. H. Butter (*Shelley's Idols*, pp. 191-92)] God then, since he is good, cannot be, as is vulgarly supposed, the cause of all things; he is the cause, indeed, of very few things. Among the great variety of events which happen in the course of human affairs, evil prodigiously overbalances good in everything which regards men. Of all that is good there can be no other cause than God; but some other cause ought to be discovered for evil, which should never be imputed as an effect to God [*Republic* II.379c. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 259].

Rossetti commented: "In other words—There is no creative God, apart from the Universe," and only Love is supreme and eternal. "Shelley's own ideas in theology are probably expressed in these terms with a near approach to accuracy" ("Study," p. 54); and again: "There is no personal supreme being other than Jupiter," who creates only evil; the universe and good things are self-subsisting, "and did not come into being by any personal creative act" (p. 68). G. B. Shaw argued that Shelley

. . . never trifled with the word God: he knew that it meant a personal First Cause, Almighty Creator, and Supreme Judge and Ruler of the Universe, and that it did not mean anything else, never had meant anything else, and never whilst the English language lasted would mean anything else. Knowing perfectly well that there was no such person, he did not pretend that the question was an open one. . . . He did know to the contrary; and he said so. Further, though there never was a man with so abiding and full a consciousness of the omnipresence of a living force . . . he never condescended to beg off being an Atheist by calling this omnipresent energy God, or even Pan" ["Shaming the Devil," p. 250].

W. N. Guthrie pointed out that the "distinction between God . . . and our conception of God . . . must be made. . . . Men's conceptions of God are often so inadequate as to constitute *the* great barrier forbidding access to Him." Prometheus makes this distinction and is, therefore, to the masses an anarchist who must be done to death (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 172-73); and again: "God never 'reigns' (i.e.: compels the natures of men and things to *his* private will which has in view his own particular good)" (p. 183). Alexander dealt more fully with the problem:

[In] the ordinary sense of the word "God," Jupiter is God; he is supreme in the world of phenomena. But behind these phenomena lies absolute existence—the permanent laws and conditions of the universe to which all things are subject. Shelley finds language inadequate to express this mystery; these absolute forces are not *personal;* he merely adumbrates them by words like "Fate," "Time," etc. . . . This notion of a dim, inexplicable force behind everything else was held also by the Greeks in their conception of a Fate to which the gods themselves are subject [see comparison above]. . . . Shelley makes an exception to this all-pervading power: Eternal Love is not subject to it. By this he seems to indicate that

there is a spirit present in the universe,—a spirit in which men share,—which rises superior to all conditions and forces; just as many thinkers except from the dominion of necessity the will of rational creatures. Shelley, in short, conceives the universe here, as in the *Adonais*, to be dualistic: on the one hand, there is a sort of body, inert, and sometimes positively evil; and on the other, a spirit of Beauty and Love working in and through it, hampered by the body, yet rising superior to it.

G. H. Clarke added: "Behind and beyond Zeus, said Æschylus, stands Necessity . . . which is ultimate Lord of all. Shelley, with modern idealism, makes Love the Lord of Necessity. . . . To him, Love is the final idea of power, destiny, and Godhood [see I.144]." Olwen Campbell noted that "in the world of time and strife the spirit of evil is in power—or rather . . . he enjoys the shadow of power, so long as the soul of man conceives that there is none greater than he" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 217).

Floyd Stovall read the lines as meaning that "Jove and all things else, except Love, are subject to the universal laws of nature. . . . Love is, alone of all things, not subject to these laws; whence we may conclude that Shelley thought of Love as the power which animates and controls them" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 216). Or, as E. Barnard suggested:

Shelley believes in an eternal Love, a Spirit of Good, which in its own nature is not subject to any other power, although its workings in the manifested world *are*. . . . It is enough, says Shelley, to worship this Spirit, which we know through our own experience, without trying to understand what is in its nature incomprehensible to us. . . . *God* in his previous speech was [not] a mere word empty of content. . . . He is merely denying that he referred to an anthropomorphic God. . . . It is to be noted that Asia's question is as to who made the "*living* world"; and also that Demogorgon refuses to admit that God made evil.—The symbolic significance of Demogorgon and Asia seems to be forgotten in this scene. Shelley apparently uses them only to expound his own theology [*Shelley's Religion*, p. 79].

Cameron held that Demogorgon does not speak more specifically because the hypothesis of a supernatural force is "outside the field of the doctrine of Necessity," and that, "although Shelley later believed that the substance of the universe was spiritual and not material, he did not—as did Berkeley—view this mind substance as God. Mind, he had learned from Locke, was perceptive and not creative. . . . Demogorgon, therefore, is as unable as were Necessity [in Queen Mab] or the Daemon, to describe the nature of any force existing beyond the realm of things as they are" ("Political Symbolism," pp. 745-46). And J. W. Beach, too, felt that "this is . . . a reflection of Shelley's agnosticism on the subject of God considered as the Creator. The origin of the world, he seems to say, is something beyond him" (*Romantic View*, p. 115). But Carlos Baker assumed that Shelley implied "that God the Creator has had nothing to do with the origin of evil, which arose with the reign of Jupiter, long after the Creator's work was done" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 107). And R. W. Fogle, citing also IV.338-40 and 350-55, used the lines (especially line 116) to illustrate his thesis that

Shelley's poetry strives continually to express by images an absolute truth or beauty beyond the scope of imagery . . . his poetry continually climbs toward abstraction on steps of concrete imagery. He is abstract also in that mind is as real to him as matter. . . . Instead of finding the subject within the object, as does Keats, Shelley often goes directly to the subject itself as a separate and distinct entity. Quite frequently he terminates a rising succession of concrete images with an abstraction, to which he apparently assigns a poetical value identical with them" [*Imagery*, pp. 222-23].

112. Locock paraphrased: "And didst thou call *him* God? [at lines 9-11]."

113. *living things*] The things which have a beginning and end; the primeval force which is eternal has nothing in common with him (H. Richter); or, presumably, those things subject to "Fate, Time," etc. (E. Barnard).

115-16 Comparison:

[B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 193)] I [Death] dare not unveil / The shadows that float o'er Eternity's vale [*A Dialogue* 21-22].

James Thomson first noted the contradiction between these lines and II.iv.8, where Demogorgon says he can tell "All things thou dar'st demand" ("Notes," p. 598). Scudder suggested: "Reason is not omniscient, but the best instrument man possesses for the approach to absolute truth" (Edition, p. xxxv). From this passage Pulos took his title *The Deep Truth* for a book in which he investigated "Shelley's intellectual coherence," a coherence found in "his hitherto neglected scepticism, which forms the logical center of his thought, the point where his empiricism terminates and his idealism begins" (*Deep Truth*, p. [vii]).

116. Comparisons:

[N. I. White (*Shelley*, I, 195)] Our conceptions are scarcely vivid enough to picture the degree of crime, of degradation, which sullies human society—but what words are equal to express their inadequacy to picture its hidden virtue? [To Elizabeth Hitchener, November 20, 1811. Julian, VIII, 194].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 233-34)] [1] These we lay down as the principles of fire and all the other bodies . . . but the principles which are still higher than these are known only to God and the man who is dear to God [*Timaeus* 53d]; [2] [*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 248] [The soul] uses as images or likenesses the very objects that are themselves copied and adumbrated by the class below them [*Republic* VI.xxi.511a].

[A. Gerard (*L'idée romantique*, p. 279)] the mind in creation is as a fading coal, which some invisible influence, like an inconstant wind, awakens to transitory brightness . . . but when composition begins, inspiration is already on the decline, and the most glorious poetry that has ever been communicated to the world is probably a feeble shadow of the original conception of the Poet [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 135].

imageless] An early writer commented: "Demogorgon refers her to her own heart for a better god than can be given by the natural theologians" (*Fraser's Magazine*, 1838, p. 660). Locock defined the word as "not to be imaged," as in *sightless* at III.ii.27. B. P. Kurtz called the line "a singularly

impressive testimony to Shelley's intellectual honesty" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 175), and White interpreted it to mean that "truths could exist, and even be partially apprehended . . . without passing through the limited medium of human language" (*Shelley*, II, 118). Carlos Baker, however, felt that "Shelley could easily have caused Demogorgon to answer this question forthrightly. The master of Jupiter is the reformed Prometheus" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 107). And, finally, Notopoulos commented:

> The ideal method of the Platonic philosopher is dialectic that proceeds without the aid of symbols; but often when direct knowledge is not possible, the philosopher, like the poet, proceeds with the aid of symbolism, which is inherent in the very nature of thought . . . [and] is necessitated by the very nature of deep truth which is "imageless." Absolute knowledge, according to Plato, is possible only to God and to the men to whom he chooses to reveal it. . . . The substitution of probability for absolute knowledge, of symbolism for imageless truth, of "dreaming" about Being for direct knowledge of it, is the honest confession of a philosopher who knows the status of human knowledge. Symbolism in both Plato and Shelley is therefore not merely the expression of a poet who gets the better of the philosopher, but the result of the limitations of the human mind and its compromise with probability.

117-20. Arthur Wormhoudt completely misread this passage, by apparently overlooking the negation implied in "What would it avail," when he held that "Demogorgon suggests that the answer might be found by looking on the revolving world" (*Demon Lover*, p. 100).

119-20. Sophie Bernthsen ascribed Shelley's belief in the pantheism of Love to Spinoza's influence, and cited, as other examples, II.v.35; III.iii.2, 45-46; and IV.362 (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, p. 119).

119. S. F. Gingerich found these "vast, vague, and imageless expressions for Necessity" as is Demogorgon, Eternity, himself (*Essays*, p. 220).

120. Comparisons:

> [O. Campbell (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 206)] Yes! crime and misery are in yonder earth, / . . . But the eternal world / Contains at once the evil and the cure [*Queen Mab* VI.29-32].
>
> [A. H. Koszul ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 391)] Love, when wisdom fails, makes Cythna wise [*The Revolt of Islam* IX.xxxiv].
>
> [A. E. Powell (*Romantic Theory*, p. 200)] Oh, that this Deity were the soul of the universe, the spirit of universal, imperishable love! Indeed I believe it is [To Hogg, January 12, 1811. Julian, VIII, 44].
>
> [K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 744)] True Love in this differs from gold and clay, / That to divide is not to take away. / . . . If you divide suffering and dross, you may / Diminish till it is consumed away; / If you divide pleasure and love and thought, / Each part exceeds the whole [*Epipsychidion* 160-89].
>
> [J. Barrell (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 152)] [*Republic* X, in which, to illustrate the rewards beyond death, Er returns to life and relates what he has seen in the other world.]
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 248)] [I] Love seems to me, O Phædrus, a divinity the most beautiful and the best of all, and the author to all others of the excellences with which his own nature is endowed. . . . Love divests us of all alienation from each other, and fills our vacant hearts with overflowing

> sympathy. . . . [It is] the destroyer of all ungentle thoughts; merciful, mild; the object of the admiration of the wise, and the delight of gods [*Symposium* 197c-d. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 191-92]; [2] He ought, then, to consider that beauty in whatever form it resides is the brother of that beauty which subsists in another form; and if he ought to pursue that which is beautiful in form, it would be absurd to imagine that beauty is not one and the same thing in all forms. . . . In addition, he would consider the beauty which is in souls more excellent than that which is in form. . . . He who has been disciplined to this point in Love, by contemplating beautiful objects gradually, and in their order, now arriving at the end of all that concerns Love, on a sudden beholds a beauty wonderful in its nature. . . . For such as discipline themselves upon this system, or are conducted by another beginning to ascend through these transitory objects which are beautiful, towards that which is beauty itself, proceeding as on steps from the love of one form to that of two, and from that of two, to that of all forms which are beautiful; and from beautiful forms to beautiful habits and institutions, and from institutions to beautiful doctrines; until, from the meditation of many doctrines, they arrive at that which is nothing else than the doctrine of the supreme beauty itself, in the knowledge and contemplation of which at length they repose [*ibid.* 210-11. Julian, VII, 205-7].

To Scudder, this was "the quiet statement in abstract terms of the central theme elsewhere expressed through glowing symbol." S. F. Gingerich, reading narrowly, could not accept Love as "an active agency, independent of the law of Necessity," and he felt that, "like the words Necessity and Power [it is] interchangeable with Wisdom, or Nature, or God . . . [and] is chiefly a cosmic force as impersonal and impalpable as Time, or Nature, or any other of Shelley's abstractions, which exist and work in a necessitarian spirit almost exclusively independent of the human consciousness" (*Essays*, pp. 221-22). J. F. C. Gutteling, apparently forgetting that Demogorgon reappears in Act IV, held that, since Love is superior to Demogorgon, "we can understand that when Love's reign is finally established, Demogorgon must sink with Jupiter [III.i.70-71], and dwell in the abyss" ("Demogorgon," p. 285). Campbell noted that "with Time and Evil coexist Eternity and Love"; and H. N. Fairchild returned to the theme of Necessity, arguing that "the world *is* ruled by necessity, but the law which governs all things is not the law of a machine: it is the law of *love*. . . . [Jupiter] is a mere transitory accident caused by our failure to affirm the law of love. . . . How, if the universe is ruled by a necessity which is love, those little hallucinations which we call lust, cruelty and oppression could ever have entered the mind is a question which Shelley is never able to answer" (*Romantic Quest*, pp. 233-34). Later Fairchild added that Eternal Love must be seen as merely the "total energy of human love, not as a superhuman power which man invokes in his insufficiency. The Platonic ideals are not above man, but within him"; and, comparing IV.400-1, he concluded: "With this inversion of Platonism into naturalism the religion of human self-assertion once more emerges from one of its familiar disguises" (*Religious Trends*, p. 362). C. M. Bowra felt that love outside and above mechanical laws was "of course much more than even

Plato attributed to love" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 114). Adolf Droop, however, had identified Shelley's "Love" with Plato's Eros (*Belesenheit*, p. 28), and J. W. Beach, comparing the *Symposium*, had found no "inversion" of Platonism: "Love is, in Shelley as in Plato, one of the terms used for describing the original pattern of the universe" ("Shelley's 'Platonism,'" p. 251).

Barrell had called the line "perhaps the most important philosophic statement in the play. When we remember that in essence Love to Plato is aspiration toward the good and the beautiful, we recognize how close to the thinking of Plato Shelley has come." And Notopoulos, too, held that "the eternal Love is the Love described in Plato's *Symposium* . . . this ideal eternal Love is contrasted with the realm of mutability, which is subject to the forces listed in line 119. For the relation of these lines to evil, see [note on I.294]."

J. A. Cousins broadened the interpretation slightly: "What Shelley taught in 'Prometheus Unbound' was that Love, not man, is superior to Law, and that only when Man-in-the-highest, Man Promethean, is governed solely and completely by Love can he safely be set free from Law" (*Work Promethean*, p. 38). Cameron approached the problem differently, holding that the line "does not mean that Love rules over these entities [line 119], but only that they and Love belong to two different spheres of existence." And, finally, Beach wrote wisely: "Now, Asia is herself an impersonation of eternal Love, and . . . Demogorgon is simply bidding her trust to the inspirations of her own heart. It is one of the most beautiful of dramatic devices thus to make of the hope of the world a humble inquirer after truth, to confront her in the allegory with the spirit of Destiny, and have her receive from his lips a confirmation of what she believes in her heart" (*Romantic View*, p. 116).

121-23. Alexander, comparing II.iii.12-16, noted that "no one can adequately express for another the ideas at which he has been hinting." Carl Grabo pointed out that "mystics of all ages aver that the perception of truth is intuitive, not rational" (*Interpretation*, p. 85); and B. Rajan added: "The principle of the new world has been stated by its architect; and Asia only knows what the oracle of her heart has told her. . . . This is conclusive evidence that she did not come to question. She has given Demogorgon his basis for action; and there is nothing miraculous, nothing abrupt in the appearance of the Car of the Hour. At this point the motivation proper ends, but some of its implications can be discerned in the catastrophe" ("Motivation of Prometheus," pp. 300-1).

123. *Each*] Each heart (Locock).

129-41. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann] Some flying from the thing they feared, and some / Seeking the object of another's fear [*The Triumph of Life* 54-55, and the following description of the charioteer].

[Hughes] [1] II.i.74 and II.v.48-49; (2) two winged figures of Victory, whose hair floats on the wind of their own speed, and whose arms are outstretched, bearing trophies, as if impatient to meet. They look, as it were, borne from the subject extremities of the earth, on the breath which is the exhalation of that battle and desolation, which it is their mission to commemorate. . . . Their lips are parted: a delicate mode of indicating the fervour of their desire to arrive at the destined resting place, and to express the eager respiration of their speed. Indeed . . . no ideal figure of antiquity, not destined to some representation directly exclusive of such a character, is to be found with closed lips [To Peacock, March 23, 1819. Julian, X, 40, 44].

[Locock] [1] There was the figure of Fortune on a globe, eagerly proceeding onwards, and Love was trying to catch her by the hair and her face was half turned towards him, her long chestnut hair was floating in the stream of the wind and threw its shadow over her fair forehead. Her hazel eyes were fixed on her pursuer with a meaning look of playfulness and a light smile was hovering on her lips. The colours which arrayed her delicate limbs were ethereal and warm [To Peacock, November 9, 1818. Julian, IX, 344]; [2] Still as she fled, her eye she backward threw, / As fearing evill, that pursewd her fast; / And her faire yellow locks behind her flew, / Loosely disperst with puffe of every blast: / All as a blazing starre doth farre outcast / His hearie beames, and flaming lockes dispred [*The Faerie Queene* III.i.16]; [3] Still as he fled, his eye was backward cast, / As if his feare still followed him behind; / Als flew his steed, as he his bands had brast, / And with his winged heeles did tread the wind, / As he had beene a fole of *Pegasus* his kind [*ibid.* I.ix.21].

Todhunter called this "a vision worthy of the pencil of Blake in that most ethereal mood which produced the Book of Thel" (*Study*, p. 162); and R. Noel cited the passage (as also II.ii.24 ff., 64 ff.; IV.206 ff., 236-68, 319 ff.; and "that orbèd maiden with white fire laden, / Whom mortals name the Moon" [*The Cloud* 45-46]) to illustrate Shelley's "mythopoeic faculty," which Noel felt he shared with "the world's primeval poets" ("Shelley," p. 121). R. H. Hutton called it "a great subject for a painter . . . a description in fact of the two poetic attitudes of his own mind . . . the keen exquisite sense of want, gazing wildly forward or wildly backward, but vainly striving to close on something which eludes its grasp" ("Shelley," pp. 152-53). H. Richter found in the lines an attempt through fantasy to go beyond the empirical world and so reveal the future. Hughes interpreted the Hours as those "laden with fearful memories and [those] of ardent hope." G. W. Knight stressed the sculpturesque quality of the lines, noting that "speed is plastically presented. . . . Motion is frozen into a poetic stillness" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 205). Marjory Bald commented: "Everything is alive—winds and stars and wild-eyed charioteers. When shall we realize that there was nothing stagnant in Shelley? How could he, living in this throbbing world of the imagination, have been himself an abortion? He was growing at the heart of a living universe. He never stopped growing till the day of his death" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 135). And Firkins wrote: "Reading this glowing and palpitant passage, in the absence of its context . . . who could imagine that the actors in this

fiery carnival were those petty and commonplace divisions of Time which most of us associate with nothing more exciting than the leisurely progress of a small steel bar around a disk of graduated paper?" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 26-27). But K. N. Cameron was more realistic in his interpretation: "The chariots and charioteers represent the hours of the revolution. Demogorgon's chariot . . . is the hour of the actual revolutionary overthrow of the old order; that of Asia and Panthea . . . is the hour of the dawning of the new order. Necessity will overthrow the old, love and hope will usher in the new" (Edition); and again: "Once . . . the immutable tides of historical evolution [Demogorgon] are assisted by the spirit of brotherhood among men [Asia], great social forces are unleashed" ("Political Symbolism," p. 746).

133. Comparison:

> [G. H. Clarke] Like one, that on a lonesome road / Doth walk in fear and dread, / And having once turned round walks on, / And turns no more his head; / Because he knows, a frightful fiend / Doth close behind him tread [*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* 446-51].

134. Scudder, noting that this line (and lines 153-55) indicates that many hours have passed, suggested that we might also conceive "Asia and Panthea gazing upward to the sky through darkness so profound that the stars are revealed even in the morning light. This phenomenon is frequently seen in mines."

136. Comparisons:

> [Rossetti] whose hair floats on the wind of their own speed [To Peacock. See Hughes comparison at lines 129-41].
>
> [Locock] [1] And taking to him wings of his owne heate [Spenser, *Hymne in Honour of Love* 64]; [2] The air of her own speed has disentwined [*Epipsychidion* 107] [3] gathering like a cloud / The very wind on which it rolls away [*The Revolt of Islam* II.xxxi]; [4] On outspread wings of its own wind upborne [*ibid.* IV.xxxi].

Locock noted that he had "collected nearly fifty examples of similar phrases from Shelley's poems, all of them containing the notion of something *paradoxically automatic*. Shakespeare, Byron (especially in *Childe Harold*), and Keats make use of the same device." G. R. Hamilton felt that Shelley's use of "his own," "her own," and "their own" implied "not only the isolation of the individual [as in most writers]—whether spirit or shape, idea or flower—but at the same time a mutual penetration; the individual was not shut up in self, but was a centre of radiation, giving and receiving influence." In the present lines, he held, "the individual is a centre of motion" ("Shelley's Own," pp. 149-50). But E. H. W. Meyerstein countered with the suggestion that the use might be merely "the effect of the poet's classical reading," since Vergil and Lucan both use "own" in "just this 'emphatic' way" (*Correspondence*, pp. 219-20); and A. Esdaile added that "surely so great a metrist began by consciously delighting in a strong, mouth-filling monosyllable, until he fell into an unconscious habit

of using it. And so great an egotist . . . equally fell into an unconscious habit of using the word most expressive and revealing of his character" (*Correspondence*, p. 40).

138-39. Comparisons:

> [B. Langston ("Shelley's Use of Shakespeare," p. 171)] [1] Comets, importing change of times and states, / Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky [*1 Henry VI* I.i.2-3]; [2] and like a Comet burn'd, / . . . and from his horrid hair / Shakes Pestilence and Warr [*Paradise Lost* II.708-11]; [3] The brandisht Sword of God before them blaz'd / Fierce as a Comet [*ibid.* XII.633-34].

140. Comparison:

> [Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 76)] Even now the hour draws near, / When Fate its hidden ways will manifest [Southey, *The Curse of Kehama* XXIII.16].

142. *spirit*] The spirit of the hour of Jupiter's doom (Alexander), whose car Demogorgon now ascends (G. H. Clarke). Carlos Baker suggested that "what to the protagonists is an hour of joy is to their antagonist one of gloom" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 107).

144. *brethren*] James Thomson commented on the discrepancies in references to the sex and immortality of the Hours, noting that here they are masculine; at line 161 the reference appears neuter ("as we often speak of a child"), while at III.iii.65 this same spirit is feminine, as are those at III.iii.70. Then at IV.63 the reference to the Chorus of Hours (IV.9 ff.) is masculine. As to the "immortal Hours" of II.iv.140, they become the "dead Hours" at IV.13 ("Notes," p. 465). But Rossetti answered that, "when we regard the whole scheme of the poem, and the part which the Hours play in it," Shelley could not be accused of inadvertence in this respect ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 178).

145. Locock pointed out that "Asia assumes wrongly that the 'ghastly charioteer' is the one alluded to by Demogorgon [line 141]"; and E. Barnard added: "The Hour who 'waits for' Asia appears in [line] 156."

146. See note at I.471.

147. Locock suggested that "the planet might appropriately be Jupiter."

150-55. An early writer felt that "Demogorgon, or Eternity, in the car of the Hours, as if it was the six-o'clock stage, lumbering up Olympus . . . is ludicrous" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848[1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). A. Clive, more seriously, commented: "So rose the French Revolution when its fatal hour drew nigh (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 432); and Scudder added that "it is only through contact with emotion that abstract thought can become roused to action and appear in the sphere of practical life, a vital and dynamic power" (Edition, p. xxxvi).

154-55. See note at line 134.

159. *spirit*] The spirit of the hour of Prometheus' release (Alexander).

163-II.v.5. Rossetti considered this lyric "trivial," and "perhaps the poorest snatch of song" in the poem ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 155). But

Scudder felt that "a sense of breathless speed is imparted by the break in this lyric and the swift change of scene, as well as by the abrupt omission of the last line in the concluding stanza"; and G. H. Clarke thought the lines "exquisite." Clarke added: "As Demogorgon goes to banish Jupiter [III.i] Asia and Panthea ascend to witness the release of Prometheus [III.iii]." R. H. Fogle, too, commented on Shelley's frequently swift pace, "with light accents and unprecedented use of three-syllabled feet. Sound and meaning move in breathless unison [here] . . . and in the swift, light patter" of I.777-80 (*Imagery*, p. 98).

Carl Grabo, referring to Shelley's background of science, noted that, according to Erasmus Darwin, Davy, and Cavallo, "electrical effects accompany the action of the whirlwind or simoon." Also, he believed, "Beccaria's observation that at dawn atmospheric electricity is either nonexistent or at its lowest ebb" makes II.v.1-2 intelligible (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 130-31). Grabo also saw a resemblance to "the symbolism of the trance and descent of the Witch of Atlas from the 'high pinnacles' to the secure place where is the inextinguishable 'well of crimson fire,' the reservoir of energy within the earth" (*The Witch of Atlas* 53).

163-164. Comparison:

> [C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 27)] The magic car moved on— / From the celestial hoofs / The atmosphere in flaming sparkles flew, / And where the burning wheels / Eddied above the mountain's loftiest peak, / Was traced a line of lightning [*Queen Mab* I.212-17].

170. R. Ackermann compared "impetuous Typhon" (*Prometheus Bound* 356).

171-74. James Thomson asked: "[Why] this aerial excursion?" which he felt was not needed as motivation except for a few lines in the next scene. He answered:

> The real reason, I think, is twofold, a double stem rooted in one artistic instinct: first, the impulse to balance and contrast the masculine Spirit of a dreadful countenance in his dark chariot, the exponent of the agony and terror of the Doom dethroning Jupiter, with the feminine Spirit of the dovelike eyes of hope in her ivory shell inlaid with crimson fire, the exponent of the glory and bliss of the triumph of the Titan; and, secondly, to balance and complement this triumph with one of equal splendour of ostentation [II.v.72-110] for his Bride rejoining him; and here Shelley's artistic instinct was at one with his fervid faith in the high quality of the sexes ["Notes," p. 401].

173. For the time scheme of the poem, see Appendix G.

SCENE V

Rossetti considered this "the most rapturous scene in the poem—or at any rate [it] pairs, in this respect, with the long and varied scene which constitutes Act IV. The subject is the transfigurement of Asia; or (if I may so express it) the added weight of glory which accrues to Nature the

bride, as she is about to re-unite with Mind the bridegroom, triumphant over his own passions and his own delusions, over himself and circumstance" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 155).

1-5. See note at II.iv.163-II.v.5.

3. *warning*] K. N. Cameron commented: "The warning . . . is that the hour of revolution is at hand . . . [and] unless Love arrive quickly it will degenerate into anarchy" ("Political Symbolism," p. 747).

4. Carl Grabo suggested that their "speed is that of electricity" (*Interpretation*, p. 87).

6-7. A. H. Koszul interpreted the lines to mean that love wishes to hasten the divine hour, but the slow course of necessity opposes haste, and he compared II.iii.94-97 ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 392).

10-14. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] The Stars with deep amaze / Stand fixt in stedfast gaze, / . . . And will not take their flight, / For all the morning light, / . . . And though the shady gloom / Had given day her room, / The Sun himself with-held his wonted speed, / And hid his head for shame [Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* vi-vii]; [2] Let ther be Light, said God, and forthwith Light / . . . Sprung from the Deep . . . for yet the Sun / Was not; shee in a cloudie Tabernacle / Sojourn'd the while [*Paradise Lost* VII.243-49].

[R. Piccoli] great Hyperion's son long time / Checked his swift steeds [Homer, *Hymn to Minerva* 15-16. Shelley's translation].

Todhunter paraphrased: "[The] god of ordinary day is struck with wonder at the extraordinary aspect of things, and forgets to rise" (*Study*, p. 163). Scudder felt the passage to be "a bit of Shelleyan mysticism, inconsistent with the general progress of the cosmic day (cf. II.i), but suggestive of the suspension of mere physical light in the presence of the Light of Love." She noted that at I.465-72 "the beauty enhanced horror by contrast, [as] here it enhances beauty by likeness—thus illustrating two great principles of æsthetics." Woodberry argued that line 10 was "not to be taken literally, but only as an image of the amazement in heaven at the fall of Jupiter"; but Carlos Baker could not agree with this (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 108. See Appendix G on the time scheme of the poem). G. H. Clarke commented: "The Sun-God awaits the conclusion of the journey of Love, Child of Light [line 54], whose own being illumines the cloud about the car [lines 11-14]." And K. N. Cameron held the meaning to be that "love cannot bring the new order until necessity has overthrown the old."

12-13. L. Winstanley compared III.iv.64 and 80-83 for Shelley's use of reflections ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 44).

14. Carlos Baker, comparing II.v.26-28, noted that light "emanates from Asia at this hour of her second birth" as it had when she first uprose (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 108).

16-37. Comparisons:

[E. Barnard] [1] Seraph of Heaven! too gentle to be human, / Veiling beneath

that radiant form of Woman / All that is insupportable in thee / Of light, and love, and immortality! / . . . Thou Mirror / In whom, as in the splendour of the Sun, / All shapes look glorious which thou gazest on! [*Epipsychidion* 21-32]; [2] She met me, Stranger, upon life's rough way, / . . . the brightness / Of her divinest presence trembles through / Her limbs [etc. *ibid.* 72-119].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 248)] [*Republic* VII, where the prisoner in the cave, like Panthea, can scarce endure the sun when released. Like that sun, Asia fills the world with light and all nature seeks her sympathy.]

Rossetti, commenting on Asia as Nature, interpreted the prototype here as Aphrodite or Venus, thus identified as "an embodiment, or . . . an avatar, of Nature." The lines, he held, thus show the "glorifying transfigurement of Nature" which follows liberation of the Mind of Man ("Study," p. 65). H. Richter explained that, since Asia has received from Demogorgon a guarantee for the freeing of Prometheus, for whose actualization she now mounts upward, she is transfigured to highest beauty (i.e., the ideal is raised to its highest unfolding, and is ripe to be made reality). W. N. Guthrie commented: "Panthea is the first to worship the transfigured Asia, but, note, she 'feels' and 'sees not,' even can 'scarce endure the radiance of her beauty.'" Ione is the one able to perceive; Panthea divines, feels (*Poet Prophets*, p. 338). L. O. Kuhns noted the similarity to "the beauty of Beatrice, which [likewise] changes from heaven to heaven and becomes too splendid for Dante to gaze upon" ("Dante's Influence," p. 164); and E. Barnard pointed out that Asia's transfiguration here is prophetic of III.iii. Notopoulos commented: "In these lines Shelley stresses the immanent rather than the transcendent nature of Beauty. This is in consonance with his conception of Platonic Love, which is filled with Shelleyan sympathy, a force which Shelley interpolates in his reshaping of the Ideal Love of the *Symposium*. These lines also show that Shelley is using Platonic Love synonymously with Beauty" (p. 249). And A. Wormhoudt argued, psychiatrically: "That there is a hidden destructiveness in Asia's radiance appears from the fact that Panthea can scarcely support its brilliance," as well as from II.v.48-71 (*Demon Lover*, pp. 102-3).

20-30. Comparison:

[Scudder] The statue of Venus, glorious for to see, / Was naked fleting in a large see, / And fro the navele doun all covered was / With wawes grene, and brighte as any glas. / A citole in hir right hand hadde she, / And on hir heed, ful semely for to see, / A rose gerland, fresh and wel smellinge; / Above hir heed hir dowves flikeringe [Chaucer, *Knight's Tale* 1955-62].

Hughes commented: "Aphrodite was fabled to have come among men in a sea-shell, from which she landed at Cythera. As she was the Phoenician goddess Astarte (another seat of her worship being the originally Phoenician Cyprus) she would have floated to Cythera, past the shores which bear Asia's name." Todhunter called these "words which recall, but outshine, Sandro Botticelli's picture of the birth of Aphrodite" (*Study*, p. 164), which, R. Piccoli suggested, Shelley probably saw in Florence in the

autumn of 1818. But Douglas Bush described the passage as "at first a Botticellian picture of crystal purity and simplicity—though when he comes to love his canvas flares into a Turner sunrise" (*Mythology*, p. 103). Alexander noted that the passage "serves to identify Asia in some measure with Venus, and, of course, with the *Uranian* Venus." Woodberry commented: "The irradiation of Asia, as the spirit of love filling the world with created beauty (into which complex conception enter so many mythological and metaphysical strands from Lucretius, Plato, and antique legend) is the highest point reached by Shelley in rendering the character dramatically, as the lyrics immediately following are the highest point reached in its lyrical expression."

21. Locock compared "On the cleer *Hyaline*, the Glassie Sea" (*Paradise Lost* VII.619).

hyaline] Any transparent stone: and so the sea (Hughes).

26-30. Comparison:

> [L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 95)] [Love] does not subsist only in the souls of men, but in the bodies also of those of all other living beings which are produced upon earth, and, in a word, in all things which are [*Symposium* 186. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 179].

Winstanley saw Asia in these lines as the Platonic "supreme vision which includes in itself all wisdom and all knowledge," and in lines 48-71 the equally Platonic idea of "the kindling power of her presence." S. F. Gingerich, however, pressing his necessitarianism thesis, found Asia "the instrument of a similar [cf. II.iv.117-20] impersonal and cosmic power that, in its destined moment, illumines 'earth and heaven' etc." (*Essays*, p. 222); while Carl Grabo held that lines 26-27 "in physical terms may be read light, heat, and electric energy," and he suggested that the likeness of these to love, while natural, might be influenced in Shelley by a possible acquaintance with Swedenborg's *Heaven and Hell* (Boston, 1883; par. 127): "The light of heaven is not natural, as the light of the world, but it is spiritual, since it is from the Lord as the Sun, and this Sun is the Divine Love." But Grabo concluded that "to Shelley, evidently, the distinction between 'spiritual' and 'material' was at bottom meaningless . . . and force one manifestation of love" (*Interpretation*, pp. 87-88). A. Sen, in turn, noted a parallel in Indian thought which probably influenced Shelley here: "The concept of a quiescent Iswara and an active Sacti." Prometheus, he noted, remains inactive, while Asia "is here the active Principle, as it were, of Prometheus, a principle which fills the universe with her radiance and creates a new heaven and a new earth" (*Studies*, p. 260).

30. *grief*] For Prometheus' punishment (E. Barnard).

31. *the soul*] Asia's (Locock).

33. Locock noted that this is "the only instance in this poem of the double feminine ending," but if his reference was to the fifth-foot pyrrhic

either he was in error (see, e.g., lines 44 and 46 below) or his reading was unnecessarily mechanical.

40-47. Comparisons:

[L. O. Kuhns (*Dante and the Poets*, p. 189)] [1] IV.370 ff.; [2] Neither Creator nor creature, my son, was ever without love [*Purgatorio* XVII.91-92]; [3] From the most holy waters I came forth again remade, even as new plants renewed with new leaves, pure and ready to mount to the stars [*ibid.* XXXIII.142-45].

[Hughes] like a worm whose life may share / A portion of the unapproachable, / . . . the worm beneath the sod / May lift itself in homage of the God [*Sonnet to Byron*].

[Locock] [1] How then? of all love taketh equall vew: / And doth not highest God vouchsafe to take / The love and service of the basest crew? [*The Faerie Queene* III.v.47]; [2] I know / That Love makes all things equal: I have heard / By mine own heart this joyous truth averred: / The spirit of the worm beneath the sod / In love and worship, blends itself with God [*Epipsychidion* 125-29].

[E. Barnard] that merciful and benignant power . . . whose influencings are distributed to all whose natures admit of a participation in them, who sends to the weak and vicious creatures of his will all the benefits which they are capable of sharing [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 232-33].

Woodberry noted that these lines "are the antithesis of I.619-32. They are the abstract statement of love, as the former of hatred." W. E. Peck pointed out that "structurally [the passage] is somewhat like Portia's speech of mercy" (*Shelley*, II, 135).

Barnard commented: "[This] universality results not in the degradation but in the exaltation of love. As love becomes wider, it becomes deeper; as it becomes more inclusive, it becomes more pure and more intense: 'to divide is not to take away' [*Epipsychidion* 161], and this statement is true in the most literal sense" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 289).

41. *wearies*] Intransitive use (Ellis).

43. A. T. Strong suggested that Shelley wished "to exalt an object commonly regarded with contempt, and to show that it too has its part in the universal spirit, and shall therefore share in the beneficence of the new order" (*Studies*, pp. 82-83).

makes] E. Barnard suggested "treats as" or "regards as" as the intended meaning, and he held that "the" before "God" implies that "this is not *the* God of [II.iv], but only one of the high order of 'living things.' "

44-46. Comparison:

[Locock] Love . . . possessed by the fortunate, and desired by the unhappy, therefore unhappy because they possess him not [*Symposium* 197. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 192].

48-71. Comparisons:

[Scudder] [1] The blazing brightnesse of her [Una's] beauties beame, / And glorious light of her sunshyny face [*The Faerie Queene* I.xii.23]; [2] [Dante, *Purgatorio* XXX, XXXI, and *Paradiso* I, V, XVIII, XXI, XXIII, XXVI, XXVII, and XXXI]; [3] Already my eyes were fixed again on the face of my Lady, and with them my mind, which was withdrawn from every other thought; and she did

not smile, but "Were I to smile" she began to me "thou wouldst become like Semele when she was turned to ashes; for my beauty, which thou hast seen kindle more the higher we climb by the stairs of the eternal palace, is so shining that if it were not tempered thy mortal powers in its blaze would be as a branch split by a thunderbolt" [*Paradiso* XXI.1-12]; [4] [*Life of the Spirit*, p. 126] O splendour of living light eternal [*Purgatorio* XXXI.139].

[Hughes] Thou art fair, and few are fairer / Of the Nymphs of earth or ocean; / They are robes that fit the wearer— / Those soft limbs of thine, whose motion / Ever falls and shifts and glances / As the life within them dances [*To Sophia* 1-6].

[W. E. Peck (Shelley, II, 135-36)] Lampe of Heavens Christal Hall that brings the Hours, / Eye-dazaler who makes the uglie Night / At thine approach flie to her slumbrie Bowrs, / And fills the World with Wonder and Delight: / Life of all Lifes [Drummond of Hawthornden, *Sonnet* (*Works*, ed. Kastner [1913], I, 8)].

[J. W. Beach ("Shelley's 'Platonism,'" pp. 266-67)] Intellect indeed is beauitful, and the most beautiful of all things, being situated in a pure light and in a pure splendor, and comprehending in itself the nature of beings, of which indeed this our beautiful material world is but the shadow and image; but intellect, that true intelligible world, is situated in universal splendor, living in itself a blessed life, and containing nothing unintelligible, nothing dark, nothing without measure [Plotinus, *Of Nature, Contemplation and the One*, trans. Taylor].

The intangibility of this lyric has been frequently and variously stressed. J. A. Symonds wrote that "if a critic is so dull as to ask what [this song] means, or to whom it is addressed, none can help him any more than one can help a man whose sense of hearing is too gross for the tenuity of a bat's cry" (*Shelley*, p. 124). J. Slater felt that, though beautiful, "the phrases sound extravagant and unmeaning, because we feel that there is nothing in the persons addressed to warrant them" ("'Prometheus,'" p. 189). C. F. Johnson saw it as "poetry infringing on the province of music, as the Wagnerian music seems to be music trying to intrude into the sphere of poetry." But since a spirit is addressing another spirit "I suppose nebulosity is in strict, artistic keeping" ("Shelley," p. 126). Rossetti assigned it to "that most highly volatilized atmosphere of song whose essence is neither imagery nor sentiment, but the subtle sense of beauty still further subtilized by music of words"; but he found it "somewhat obscure and indistinct . . . 'dark with excess of light'" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 155). Henry Salt commented: "And if we do not *talk*, as the *litterateurs* do, about such poetical achievements, it is because there are some feelings which are more appropriately expressed by silence than by words" (*Poet and Pioneer*, p. 154). To Oliver Elton "the screen of language is thin indeed . . . [yet it] gives the essence—almost volatilized—of the poem" (*Shelley*, p. 70); to G. W. Knight Shelley's "visions are all but intangible with too much light; but while they last they are irresistible. . . . The vision here is wholly transcendental" (*Christian Renaissance*, p. 134); to Herbert Read "every image fades into the air, every outline is dissolved in fire . . . the poetry exists in the suspension of meaning, in the avoidance of actuality" (*Defence of Shelley*, p. 84); and to R. H. Fogle "the finite-infinite image lies at the heart of [this] lyric, from which one may

strip off layer after layer without arriving at any solid certainty" (*Imagery*, pp. 234-35).

Todhunter first identified the voice as that of Prometheus, and he described the lyric as "the new love-song of Prometheus on the eve of his golden wedding with Asia. It is Shelley's *Adelaida*—that song of songs in which the human voice acquires the thrilling intensity of the violin, to pour forth the consummate aspirations of a passion which no mortal woman ever inspired." Todhunter found in the lines a clue to Asia's answer (lines 73-78): "We must remember Shelley's conception of the ideal as a living and breathing divinity enamoured of the human soul, as Diana was of Endymion. She is at once visible and invisible, felt rather than seen." And of lines 54-59 he wrote: "The ideal is at once revealed and concealed by the form in which it becomes incarnate. Asia is in one sense the Spirit of Nature, which is the incarnation of the evolutional series of divine ideas" (*Study*, pp. 165-67). R. H. Hutton felt that the lines showed that "[Shelley] is idealist to the heart's core. . . . His adoration is all for the ease and richness and warmth of overflowing, passionate, lavish beauty. Asia . . . is his true goddess. . . . Nothing could express better the ideal of melting beauty; the beauty which, like a rich odour, makes us 'faint,' according to Shelley's own favourite expression" ("Shelley," pp. 174-76). Woodberry, citing I.764-80 as another "highly imaginative statement of love," commented:

> The lyric is an invocation of Asia as "the light of life, shadow of beauty unbeheld" (III.iii.6)—the spirit presiding in creation, the divine *vivida vis*, the invisible power making for beauty, through love, in the world of sensible experience. In the first two stanzas, Shelley presents the supernatural brightness as half revealed in the breath and smile of life, but insupportable, and again as burning through the beauty of nature, which is an atmosphere about it; but in the third and fourth stanzas he returns to its invisibility, as a thing heard like music, as the source of all beauty of shape and all joy of soul,—but insupportable in these modes of knowledge and experience as in its half-visible forms.

A. Clutton-Brock wrote of the passage:

> No poetry could be more empty of fact than this, but it is not therefore meaningless. It expresses with its music Shelley's passion for a perfection that he could not describe any more than a religious poet can describe Heaven. . . . [There is an] inextricable connexion between the sound and the idea. . . . It is not itself philosophy, but the result of a passionate experience of philosophy. It is in fact the expression of a philosophy become faith. . . . [We] get glimpses of facts as we get glimpses of objects in an express train. There is the emptiness, not of unreality, but of a breathless flight towards the last reality. . . . The verse has an unrivalled beauty of motion like the beauty of music itself; and it is the beauty of flight rather than of the dance. . . . Shelley does not seem to be writing about things of which he is ignorant, but rather as if he had a knowledge denied to other men. He speaks . . . with a rapture of conviction, such as we admire and trust in the great religious writers, which communicates its own faith and seems to be reasonable because it is beautiful [Introduction, pp. xiii-xiv, xviii].

> [Shelley] imagines a being that seems to be idealized from nature almost as much as from man. . . . This is sung when the universe is close on its regeneration, and the imagination of Shelley seems to be pained by the intensity of its effort to leap at a bound from the imperfect reality to the perfect ideal. He was always apt to empty the universe of everything except himself and the ideal; and when he had done this he was filled with the fright of loneliness, and thought of himself as drawn to the ideal like a moth to a candle out of the empty night, as one who had travelled too far and high for a man still subject to the laws of this life, and as likely to perish like the first adventurer into an unknown world [*Man and Poet*, p. 215].

S. J. M. Suddard believed that "this faith in the ideal and normal 'Life of life' as contra-distinguished from 'life,' its artificial imitation, forms the first article of his creed" (*Studies*, p. 112); and Olwen Campbell felt that here, in "one of the loveliest things he ever wrote, [he is] telling us more than he knows" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 218). A. H. Koszul pointed out that the words of the invisible but present Prometheus supplement those of Panthea at lines 16-37 ("Océanides et l'amour," p. 389).

Louis Cazamian saw in the imagery a blending of the traits of Botticelli, Luini, and Vinci painting (Edition, p. 23); and E. Barnard, noting that Tennyson is said to have remarked that in this lyric Shelley "seems to go up into the air and burst!" commented:

> Shelley is trying to express an inner experience that to him was incomparably more intense and *real* than any object or event in the external, sensible world . . . [but] he cannot express the inexpressible. . . . Like the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*, but with greater power, it expresses the poet's passionate intuition of an unseen "Spirit of Beauty," a "sustaining Love," at once revealed and hidden by the physical world (the "veil" of life in time); and that world in turn is glorified by participation in (and at the same time darkened by its resistance to) this divine Spirit.

Finally, J. A. Notopoulos noted that these lines, influenced by the *Symposium* and evidencing Shelley's equation of Love with Intellectual Beauty, are full of Platonic nuances, images, and ideas: "Asia, like Beauty, is felt but not seen; as in Plato the Sun gives light and truth to the world (*Republic* 508-9), so Asia is the Lamp of the Earth which endows all the earthly objects with brightness of beauty. The stress on emanation rather than transcendence makes Shelley's conception closer to Plotinian emanation than Plato's conception in the *Symposium*. Asia's veil is an accoutrement of Platonic women" (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 249-50). See also Textual Notes at II.i.110.

48-53. Stephen Spender objected that "even a lyric which opens with the rapturous intensity of the Goethe of *West-Oestlicher Divan*, embarrasses the reader by the confused machinery of the images. . . . [One] wonders how the last three lines work out. How can you be screened by looks which are also mazes in which whoever gazes becomes entangled and faints? An image which suggests a mental structure in the mind of the reader—and how could one draw such a picture?" (*Shelley*, pp. 31-32).

51-52. Comparisons:

[A. Clive (" 'Prometheus,' " pp. 434-35)] [1] II.i.114-17; [2] The only inferior part are the eyes [of the Roman women], which, though good and gentle, want the mazy depth of colour behind colour, with which the intellectual females of England and Germany entangle the heart in soul-inwoven labyrinths [To Peacock, April 6, 1819. Julian, X, 47].

[Woodberry] her dark and intricate eyes / Orb within orb, deeper than sleep or death [*The Revolt of Islam* XI.v].

[Hughes] [1] Their [the Greek women] eyes could not have been deep and intricate from the workings of the mind, and could have entangled no heart in soul-enwoven labyrinths [*A Discourse on the Manners of the Ancients.* Julian, VII, 228]; [2] In her mild lights the starry spirits dance, / The sunbeams of those wells which ever leap / Under the lightnings of the soul—too deep / For the brief fathom-line of thought or sense. / The glory of her being, issuing thence, / Stains the dead, blank, cold air with a warm shade / Of unentangled intermixture, made / By Love, of light and motion: one intense / Diffusion, one serene Omnipresence, / Whose flowing outlines mingle in their flowing, / Around her cheeks and utmost fingers glowing / With the unintermitted blood, which there / Quivers, (as in a fleece of snow-like air / The crimson pulse of living morning quiver,) / Continuously prolonged, and ending never, / Till they are lost, and in that Beauty furled / Which penetrates and clasps and fills the world; / Scarce visible from extreme loveliness [*Epipsychidion* 87-104].

[Locock (Note on *The Revolt of Islam*)] and a light / Of liquid tenderness, like love, did rise / From her whole frame, an atmosphere which quite / Arrayed her in its beams, tremulous and soft and bright [*The Revolt of Islam* XI.v].

[E. Barnard] For she was beautiful—her beauty made / The bright world dim, and everything beside / Seemed like the fleeting image of a shade: / No thought of living spirit could abide, / Which to her looks had ever been betrayed, / On any object in the world so wide, / On any hope within the circling skies, / But on her form, and in her inmost eyes [*The Witch of Atlas* xii].

Hughes paraphrased: "Screen thy smiles in the labyrinth of thy looks—the splendour is insupportable"; and he commented: "It was the turn of Shelley's mind to image all things as pathless or limitless. In the human form he habitually regards the play of features or the sinuosities of motion which give the effect of something mazy or flowing." Carl Grabo saw in the lines the "identification of love, light, and electrical energy" (*Interpretation*, p. 88). See also Textual Notes.

51. *screen*] Locock noted that this is in "the indicative mood, as shown by Shelley's translation into Italian of this song; the smiles, when they dwindle, screen themselves, etc."

52. *looks*] Eyes (A. Clive, " 'Prometheus,' " p. 434).

53. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] Thy deep eyes, a double Planet, / Gaze the wisest into madness / With soft clear fire [*To Sophia* ii].

54-59. Comparisons:

[L. O. Kuhns (*Dante and the Poets*, pp. 190-91)] [1] II.i.120-21 and IV.322-23, 437-39; [2] [Dante, *Paradiso* XI, where "Paradise consists of nine heavens, in-

habited by spirits swathed in light, a splendor constantly changing as the greater or less joy of the soul is manifested."]

[Locock] As light may pierce the clouds when they dissever / In the calm regions of the orient day [*Ode to Liberty* x].

[G. S. Brett ("Berkeley and Drummond," pp. 197, 201)] [1] I.82-83; [2] [Drummond, *Academical Questions* II.v, dealing with the soul and its operations.]

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, pp. 88-89)] And saw by the warm light of their own life / Her glowing limbs beneath the sinuous veil / Of woven wind [*Alastor* 175-77].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 352)] [1] Few poets of the highest class have chosen to exhibit the beauty of their conceptions in its naked truth and splendour; and it is doubtful whether the alloy of costume, habit, &c., be not necessary to temper this planetary music for mortal ears [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 117]; [2] Veiling beneath that radiant form of Woman / All that is insupportable in thee / Of light, and love, and immortality! / . . . Veiled Glory of this lampless Universe! [etc. *Epipsychidion* 21-32].

[A. Gérard (*L'idée romantique*, pp. 53, 55)] [1] II.v.16-18; [2] She met me, robed in such exceeding glory, / That I beheld her not [*Epipsychidion* 199-200]; [3] So knew I in that light's severe excess / The presence of that Shape [*The Triumph of Life* 424-25]; [4] Like a Poet hidden / In the light of thought [*To a Skylark* 36-37; [5] him [God] First, him Last to view / Through meaner powers and secondary things / Effulgent, as through clouds that veil his blaze [Coleridge, *The Destiny of Nations* 15-17].

Brett suggested Drummond as the direct source of the lines and commented: "When Shelley says Life of Life he is using the form which denotes pure essence, just as the Christian fathers said 'Light of Light.' Language can go no further, but the object is made more conceivable by working out the analogy: as, in the case of extraordinary mortals, the limbs might be seen through gauze, so in this case the limbs themselves are the outer texture through which the inner form appears." And Brett interpreted the passage: "The soul (in itself, without the refractive medium of its body) is as pure as the sun's rays before they become refracted by the atmosphere through which they pass to us. It is this terrestrial density which makes the painted veil in general" (pp. 197-201). C. M. Bowra held that, "when Shelley tried to reduce his most essential convictions to order, he found that it was almost impossible. He could do no more than hint at a radiance so dazzling that he could hardly look at it" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 115). Notopoulos commented: "Shelley is applying to poetry the Platonic conception of Beauty. Intellectual Beauty is so intensely bright that she must be seen through a veil." Gérard considered the metaphor of light (the "personal property" of Shelley) and cloud to differ here from its use in the cited Coleridge passage. Coleridge and Wordsworth, he felt, valued the forms of nature as steps leading to contemplation of the divine, whereas Shelley "is obsessed by the pure Idea, unincarnate, which the sensible, often, shackles. . . . Always in the work of Shelley the metaphor of light suggests the intolerable splendor of an ideal inaccessible to the senses" (pp. 54-55).

58. *atmosphere divinest*] Todhunter, who preferred "veil" to "vest" as

more euphonious, identified this with the "veil" of line 55 (*Study*, p. 166). See also Textual Notes.

60-65. Todhunter, noting Shelley's "licence of construction," commented: "The natural sequence of the words would be: 'Fair are others; none beholds thee; for that liquid splendour (the veil) folds thee from sight; but thy voice sounds low and tender, like the fairest (voice).' Or perhaps we may construe, 'like the (voice of that which is) fairest.' The strange words, 'lost for ever!' express that passionate self-abasement which possesses those who yearn after the unattainable ideal" (*Study*, p. 167). H. S. Salt found in the lines the spirit of lyric poetry, "the miracle of kindling by words that divine sympathy with the inarticulate voice of the elements, which we feel in the presence of the wind, the sea, the mountains. . . . Such sympathy is dæmonic, heaven-sent, unattainable by human diligence or philosophic speculation; those who feel it not will for ever fail to comprehend it, and those who have once felt it will value it above all mortal possessions" ("Lyric Poets," p. 55). Hughes paraphrased: "None beholds thee but the splendour folds thee from sight"; and he compared Plato's doctrine in the *Symposium* 211, that "all love is an instinct for the Beauty which is 'eternal, in the heavens'—in which all beautiful things, moral and physical, participate"; or, in Shelley's translation: "What then shall we imagine to be the aspect of the supreme beauty itself, simple, pure, uncontaminated with the intermixture of human flesh and colours, and all other idle and unreal shapes attendant on mortality; the divine, the original, the supreme, the self consistent, the monoeidic beautiful itself?" (Julian, VII, 207). To this J. A. Notopoulos added that "the Absolute is created in Shelley's own image; it is now a spirit, now a woman, now an abstract unity of Platonic dialectics; sometimes it is emotional, sometimes mystical or intellectual. . . . He feels it [see line 64] rather than knows it" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 22). See also Textual Notes.

62. *it*] Alexander paraphrased: "[The] liquid splendour in which thou art clothed. The 'for' introduces the reason that 'none beholds thee.' " But E. Barnard felt that the antecedent might be "voice," and compared IV.82.

63. Comparisons:

[R. Piccoli] [1] notes of liquid gladness [*Prince Athanase* 201]; [2] [*To a Skylark* 4, 30, 35, 56, 65, 85, 104, where various suggestions of the liquid quality of sound are given, e.g., "Pourest thy full heart" (line 4).]

66-71. Todhunter commented: "The ideal is the 'Lamp of Earth,' which, while it attracts the soul like a moth, sheds over the obscure hieroglyphics of the world its revealing light. The souls of the seers, whom it loves, are possessed with that martyr-passion which lifts them above this mortal world, until failure and death are as nothing in their eyes" (*Study*, p. 167). S. J. M. Suddard noted that (as in IV.260-61) at the "supreme moment of union with the ideal . . . [there is in Shelley] a certain tremulousness at the highest point of intensity, an unsteadiness of vision which only perceives

the ideal in blurred outline, a quavering in the voice when it rises to the highest notes" (*Studies*, pp. 106-7).

69. *winds*] Emphatic (Locock).

with] On account of, as at I.814 (Locock).

70. *they*] Those enthused by an idea, who become its martyrs (H. Richter).

71. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] [1] The wingèd words . . . Are chains of lead around its flight of fire— / I pant, I sink, I tremble, I expire! [*Epipsychidion* 588-91]; [2] And all the gazer's mind was strewn beneath / Her feet like embers; and she, thought by thought, / Trampled its sparks into the dust of death; / As day upon the threshold of the east / Treads out the lamps of night [*The Triumph of Life* 386-90].

See also Textual Notes.

72-110. Rossetti noted that this lyric was usually read for its "supersensual meander" rather than its meaning, which he took to be "that the soul, transported into idealism by melody, muses upon the indefinable possibilities of existence prænatal and præterlethal—the world of spirit before birth and after death" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 156). Scudder found in it "the passage of the weary nature back through age, maturity, youth, and childhood, till it enters the eternal sphere." Alexander saw in the lyric "a wonderful example of the use of imagery, not as a symbol to be intellectually interpreted, but like notes of music, to suggest and stimulate a certain train of feeling,—the ineffable sense of the perfect satisfaction of every desire." Woodberry felt that it "takes up the image of the boat and the stream from II.ii.41-63 . . . and elaborates it, the boat being the soul of Asia, driven on the song of the Singer; the Singer and Asia are thus united spiritually in the song and guided musically on the mystic voyage backward through the forms of human life to the soul's preëxistent eternity (reversing Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*)." Hughes paraphrased:

> The Soul of Nature, being manifested chiefly in man, lives the ideal life with and through and in humanity. The communion with the ideal takes men beyond the temporal to the eternal. The beings of the ideal state will not cease physically to die, but the evil and the subjection of spirit which make youth treacherous and age icy—which make Youth and Age what we know them for—will all but disappear. Time will not be Time in the same sense as before, and even this life on earth will be essentially eternal. Thus Asia, in union with Prometheus, her pilot, sails down the river of Time to Eternity.

Irving Babbitt was scarcely enthusiastic as he wrote: "Nothing . . . is more Rousseauistic than . . . the desire 'to be borne on forever down an enchanted stream' " (*Rousseau and Romanticism*, pp. 281-82); and again: "The romanticism of nympholeptic longing may almost be said to culminate, at least in England, in [this] passage" (p. 359). Olwen Campbell, too, considered the passage an "unfortunate" afterthought (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 218). But C. M. Garnier called it the "crowning lyric of

Act II," and held that the stanzas, "announced and prepared for by [lines 48-71], with their feminine endings at the close of every strophe," were no less remarkable for their internal music than for the "involved set of metres and the sonority of their double and treble rhymes" ("Metrical Study," pp. 152-53). E. Barnard called the lines an attempt "to give a voice to Love incarnate, in the moment of attaining self-realization." C. M. Bowra noted that "the theme is the progress of the soul in love. . . . The intellectual idea has been fused with the images, and the result is that the idea has a new appeal" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 117). R. H. Fogle saw in the passage a synaesthetic complex "of music-water-color-motion. . . . The metaphors of the boat, the swan, and the 'silver waves' are definite and strongly concrete. They react upon each other so as to heighten the general effect; the climactic 'silver waves' is more vividly realized by virtue of the preparatory figures. Since, however, the boat is a symbol of the soul, we do not strongly feel the sense-transference in 'waves-singing,' for the image has committed itself to a subjectivity in which one moves at will from plane to plane," as at IV.239-40 (*Imagery*, p. 131). Fogle also pointed out that symbols of river and boat "represent aspiration, desire, synthesis, and conclusion. . . . This boat-journey in Shelley is habitually accompanied by synaesthetic fusions of thought with sensation, and transferences among sensations themselves. Water, motion, and music are generally equated, and referred to the motion and the vibration of the spirit" (*Image and Imagelessness*, pp. 32-33).[30]

72-84. Comparisons:

[L. O. Kuhns ("Dante's Influence," pp. 164-65): [*Purgatorio* II, where "the boat containing the souls of the saved comes sailing over the shoreless sea, wafted by the white wings of the Angel-boatman"] ["Shelley's most favourite passage" (Mrs. Shelley, *Letters*, II, 283)].

[Woodberry] [1] Now is thy voice a tempest swift and strong, / On which, like one in trance upborne, / Secure o'er rocks and waves I sweep, / Rejoicing like a cloud of morn [*To Constantia, Singing* iv]; [2] My spirit like a charmèd bark doth swim / Upon the liquid waves of thy sweet singing, / Far far away into the regions dim / Of rapture—as a boat, with swift sails winging / Its way adown some many-winding river, / Speeds through dark forests o'er the waters singing [*Fragment: To One Singing*].

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 89)] [1] my spirit's bark [*Adonais* lv]; [2] [*Alastor*, for the central boat image]; [3] For other bark than ours were needed now / To stem the torrent of descending time [*Hellas* 349-50]; [4] But the soul in its first descent, derives this spirit from the planetary spheres, and entering this as a boat associates itself with the corporeal world, earnestly contending that it may either at the same time draw this spirit after it, in its flight, or that they may not abide in conjunction [Proclus, trans. Taylor, II, 271].

[Hughes (*Nascent Mind*, p. 88)] [*The Witch of Atlas* xxxvii ff., and Southey,

[30]Asia's song is the only item from *Prometheus Unbound* that I have found among the recordings of Shelley's poetry (*The Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, read by Vincent Price. Caedmon TC-1059 [1956]).

Thalaba XI.31 ff., and *The Curse of Kehama* VII, for "ships or boats self-wafted through air or flood."]

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 250-51)] [1] the wide ocean of intellectual beauty [*Symposium* 210d. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 206]; [2] If the Soul returns to this Sphere it finds itself under the same Spirit or a new, according to the life it is to live. With this Spirit it embarks in the skiff of the universe: the "spindle of Necessity" then takes control and appoints the seat for the voyage, the seat of the lot in life [Plotinus, *Enneads* III.iv.6, trans. Mackenna].

Grabo noted here, as at II.ii.41-46, the "association of music with generation," and found in the passages possibly an as yet unidentified echo of Rosicrucianism: "The whole world is taken as a musical instrument. . . . Earthly music is the faintest tradition of the angelic state; it remains in the mind of man as the dream of, and the sorrow for, the lost paradise" (Jennings, *The Rosicrucians . . .*, I, 269-70) (*Interpretation*, p. 90). Notopoulos recognized the attraction of Grabo's ascription of the imagery to Neoplatonism, but pointed out that Plato too used the word "ocean" for the ultimate unity of Beauty. He did not believe, as did Grabo, that Shelley was consciously using Neoplatonic symbolism, but rather that it was "emotional and poetically cognate rather than metaphysically derivative from Neoplatonism," and that the image might have stemmed from the *Purgatorio* passage, from Shelley's fondness for sailing, or from its place as a common symbol in Romantic poetry. Neville Rogers ("Music at Marlow," pp. 22-25) traced the *Fragment: To One Singing* to the period of residence at Marlow on the basis of Bodleian MS Shelley E.4. (See Appendix A for Shelley's draft of the pertinent lines.) Rogers decided the song was written for Claire Clairmont, that the poet may well have had Claire's singing in mind at I.802-6, and that "something, certainly, of Claire went into his vision of Asia."

84. R. H. Fogle noted that references to music, as at IV.203, are "more generalized, less weighty" in Shelley than in Keats (*Imagery*, p. 82).

86. *dominions*] In the air (Hughes).

88-90. Hughes paraphrased: "[Not] looking before and after and taking thought, but following the instinct of beauty."

89. Locock compared "Without a sphere, without a course" (*Manfred* I.i.121).

90-95. Comparison:

[R. Ackermann] even like a sphere / Hung in one hollow sky, did there appear / The Temple of the Spirit; on the sound / Which issued thence, drawn nearer and more near, / Like the swift moon this glorious earth around, / The charmèd boat approached, and there its haven found [*The Revolt of Islam* XII.xli].

92. Locock compared "Love . . . our most excellent pilot (*Symposium* 197. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 192).

95. Locock compared "And the Earth was all rest, and the air was all love" (*The Sensitive Plant* 99).

97. Comparison:

[Locock] Love is the divinity who creates peace among men, and calm upon the sea, the windless silence of storms, repose and sleep in sadness [*Symposium* 197. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 191].

L. Steichen paraphrased: "Mankind (Prometheus), omnipotent through perfected Love, begins to actualize its Ideal (Asia)" ("Study," p. 46). G. H. Clarke suggested that "harmonizing" should be accented on the second syllable, but I see no necessity for the wrenched accent at this point. Locock noted the absence of the medial rime, and suggested that "above" might refer to "Music's most serene dominions" (line 86). J. A. Notopoulos pointed out that "the harmonizing of this earth with what we feel above is capable of Platonic exploitation if we remember that for Plato the relative world should try to imitate the divine world as much as possible" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 251).

feel] W. E. Peck commented: "The sometime apostle of Reason here trusts to another guide to Truth. It is his feelings, his emotions, which give him apprehensions of an ideal state, not his reason . . . and his greatest poems, their strength and their weakness, spring from his absolute surrender to his emotions" (*Shelley*, II, 137).

98-110. Comparisons:

[G. H. Clarke] [1] [*The Faerie Queene* II.xii, for "some notes of Spenserian music" that linger in this song]; [2] [Wordsworth, *Ode: Intimations of Immortality*, for "similar symbolic suggestions—the regaining of 'the glory and the freshness' "]; [3] O how I long to travell back / And tread again that ancient track! / That I might once more reach that plaine, / Where first I left my glorious traine, / From whence th' Inlightned spirit sees / That shady City of Palme trees; / But (ah!) my soul with too much stay / Is drunk, and staggers in the way. / Some men a forward motion love, / But I by backward steps would move, / And when this dust falls to the urn / In that state I came return [Vaughan, *The Retreat* 21-32].

[G. Sampson (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 762)] Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven [Matthew xviii.3].

[E. M. W. Tillyard ("*Prometheus* and Plato's *Statesman*," p. 691)] [1] First the age of all animals, whatever it was at the moment, stood still, and every mortal creature stopped growing older in appearance and then reversed its growth and became, as it were, younger and more tender; the hoary locks of the old men grew dark, and bearded cheeks grew smooth again as their possessors reverted to their earlier ages, and the bodies of young men grew smoother and smaller day by day and night by night, until they became as new-born babes, to which they were likened in mind and body; and then at last they wasted away entirely and wholly disappeared [*Statesman* 270e]; [2] It is a natural consequence of the return of the old to childhood that those who are dead and lying in the earth take shape and come to life again, since the process of birth is reversed along with the reversal of the world's revolution [*ibid.* 271b].

[E. Barnard] [*Phaedrus* 249-50, on the return of the soul whence it came, in ten thousand years for most, in three thousand years for philosophers and philosophical lovers. Also on the transmigration of the soul:] For the soul which has never seen the truth can never pass into human form. For a human being must understand

a general conception formed by collecting into a unity by means of reason the many perceptions of the senses; and this is a recollection of those things which our soul once beheld, when it journeyed with God and, lifting its vision above the things which we now say exist, rose up into real being. [But few retain an adequate recollection and do not understand their amazement when they see something beautiful here.]

[D. Bush (*Mythology*, p. 148)] For birth and life and death, and that strange state / Before the naked soul has found its home, / All tend to perfect happiness, and urge / The restless wheels of being on their way [*Queen Mab* IX.149-52].

Todhunter commented: "It is the old, old story, long prophesied of, but not yet come true for our world, of 'new heavens and a new earth'—a sabbath of creation, more glorious than that primæval one when the morning stars sang together" (*Study*, p. 168). Rossetti noted that the reversion through birth to a diviner day peopled by shapes too bright to see suggests Nature which, "even in her utmost glory, [is] a neophyte to the realms of super-Nature" ("Study," p. 65). A. T. Strong noted that Shelley's lines are "the converse of the last scene in *The Revolt of Islam*, where the human spirit voyages to its consummation after death. The conception of an antenatal state of happiness is fairly common in Shelley" (*Studies*, p. 103). Floyd Stovall found in the lines "an idealized account of that change in the world which will restore it to the conditions of the Golden Age of Saturn, with the exception, of course, that man will not lose the intellectual powers that he has acquired through evolution" (*Desire and Restraint*, p. 244). Sampson, noting that here we have "the reverse" of Wordsworth's *Ode*, pointed out that both poets "agree in viewing life as a movement away from the First and the Last—the primal and the ultimate Perfection, which can, however, be regained."

Barnard questioned Tillyard's suggested source, holding that Shelley might have found "sufficient suggestions" in Wordsworth's *Ode*, or in the *Phaedrus*. Notopoulos, too, objected to the *Statesman* as a source, holding that the lines show no direct knowledge of that work, nor is there any evidence that the poet was reading or had read it. Notopoulos suggested that he might have "absorbed" the notion from Hesiod's *Works and Days* 109-201 where Hesiod describes the golden age); or from Vergil's Fourth Eclogue (a vision of the new golden age under Augustus), which has the *Statesman* 268d ff. as source. But Notopoulos concluded that Shelley's ideas are too complex to make any one source ascription certain (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 251-53).

Carl Grabo paraphrased: "[Youth], undifferentiated [from the universal] as yet . . . feels a false harmony with his kind. Its sense of oneness with other minds and with the universe is betrayed by the storms of life. Its separateness from its kind in maturity is symbolized by the waves which disturb the sea of being. The waves are a part of the whole and yet detached from it. . . . They symbolize the unhappiness of the soul in its separation from the universal and when a prey to the storms of the emo-

tions." Grabo held that the "watery paths" (line 106) would be the "streams of individual experience," and the "wildernesses calm and green" (line 107) the "universe outside of the individual percipient." In line 110 he saw an apparent distinction "between the paradise to which Asia's soul has returned and the sea of universal mind or spirit upon which walk the bright shapes"; and he compared the concept of Nirvana, which "is to be attained only after many earthly incarnations," between which the soul spends an interval in Hell or "one of the various paradises" (*Interpretation*, pp. 92-93).

Barnard commented: "It is to be noted that no period of human life is regarded as happy"; and as to "Death and Birth" (line 103), the "moment of what we call birth would really be death, and the moment of death for the soul passing forward from a previous life would be that of *birth* for the soul moving backward" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 211). G. W. Knight noted the parallel in "Coleridge's divinity located *behind* the consciousness" (probably a reference to *Biographia Literaria* XII), and suggested that " 'Birth,' 'death,' 'dawn,' 'youth,' 'age,' must in such a poem . . . be felt not as time-links, but qualities: when a new sort of poetic grouping at once takes form" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 209). And F. A. Lea commented: "The millennium Shelley imagines now is not the restoration of mankind to a condition analogous (though superior) to the reign of Saturn . . . but a return to its condition before Saturn's reign began. It is a complete permeation of the world by the Platonic One" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 140).

100. Comparison:

> [A. Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 429)] Alas! How often shall he lament changed faith and gods, and marvel in surprise at waters rough with darkening gales, who now enjoys thee [Horace, *Ode to Pyrrha* I.v].

108-10. Alexander noted the awkwardness of structure and rhythm here (Locock called it a "wretchedly weak conclusion"), and interpreted *rest* as in the same construction as *see*, with *somewhat like thee* belonging to *shapes*. G. H. Clarke gave *shapes* as the antecedent of *which*, and paraphrased: "[The] shapes are so bright—'somewhat like thee'—that one cannot bear to look at them, and yet, once seen, their beauty destroys the beholder's rest." Richard Garnett found in line 110 "a faint echo," rhythmically, of Peacock's *Ahrimanes* vii: "All but the eternal stream, that flows melodiously" (Peacock, *Hookham-Shelley*, p. 104).

Act III

Act III was described by Alexander as on the general theme that "tyranny by the full attainment of its own aims brings ruin upon itself; the fall of evil when it has reached a climax is involved in the very constitution of the universe [Demogorgon]" (Edition, p. 319). The act received an unfavorable response from J. Slater, who held that its parts "are not well

joined together. There is a miserable inadequacy of the means to the ends which they produce. It amounts almost to sheer childishness at times." Demogorgon, he felt, has no hatred for Jupiter and gains nothing by dethroning him; Apollo and Ocean are introduced, talk, and disappear, and what they say is retold more fully later; and "Prometheus had nothing to do either directly or indirectly [with Jupiter's overthrow], he neither incited to it nor was he the motive" (" 'Prometheus,' " pp. 190-91). F. A. Lea, too, felt an incoherence in the act "because the poet does not altogether know what he wants to say" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 144); and C. S. Lewis considered the act the least successful because Shelley did not shorten it after conceiving Act IV ("Shelley, Dryden, Eliot," p. 33).

Rossetti, however, took the opposite view. He noted the dramatic opening, and the "beatific vision" of the close, with the "remarkable" transitional section between the two "rolling with the thunders of the former theme, and laying a foundation of calm for the ecstasies of the latter. It may safely be said that no post-Miltonic English poet except Shelley could have done approximate justice to either of these constituent parts of his third act" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 165). Scudder felt that, lyrically, "Shelley is less fitted to render [the music of peace] than to sing of desire, or even of endurance. . . . Yet the third act has certain passages of tranquil music . . . inspired with the free serenity of joy" (Edition, p. lvi).

SCENE I

Scene i has been recognized generally as the one truly dramatic scene in the poem, even though an early writer contended that "to dramatise gods and goddesses is easy . . . but to unite gods and goddesses . . . with the vague subtleties of metaphysical generalities, is an impossibility which makes what should be the most striking situation of the piece,—the fall of Jupiter,—a failure. He is neither dignified nor subdued" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848[1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV).

Todhunter, however, felt that the "gloomy sublimity of this scene contrasts well with the ethereal loveliness of that with which the second act ends, and with the calm beauty of the next" (*Study*, p. 170); and Rossetti held that it attested, "in its peculiar mode, the faculty of a dramatist, quite as decidedly as any scene in *The Cenci*" ("Prometheus as Poem," pp. 158-59). With this C. M. Bowra would dissent, and he argued that "the greatest failure of the poem" was the undramatic nature of this scene. He suggested that it was "forced on Shelley by his metaphysical plan. Since Jupiter must inevitably succumb to the spirit of life, no real conflict is possible, and his fall must have this undramatic character" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 122). Armin Kroder noted the similarity to Lucian's *Tragic Jupiter* (Loeb Classics: *Zeus Rants*), where the family council and court of the Olympians are gathered about the ruler, who declaims angrily about the revolt of those on earth. In Lucian, as in Shelley, Jupiter's

lightning and thunder do not help him. But Lucian's mood, unlike that of Shelley, is satirical ("Shelleyana," pp. 141-42).

The sudden and unresisting character of Jupiter's fall has been noted frequently. W. F. Revell defended it as "the dramatic summing up in one grand event of a prolonged and continuous process" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 425); and L. Winstanley as "the passing of an obsession from man's mind" ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 89). But to C. H. Herford "the stroke of doom is here so instantaneous and so simple as to be perilously near the grotesque" (*History*, p. 65); and to Crane Brinton Demogorgon conquers "with an ease that leads one to wonder why it was not done much earlier" (*Political Ideas*, p. 169). J. W. Beach, however, defended the scene as "not one event, but the sum and crown of innumerable events; no happening in time, as Shelley takes pains to tell us on every page, but a consummation in eternity—an eternal process or coming-about. But since he is writing poetry, the things must be represented to the eye by the actual descent of Jupiter and the reunion of Prometheus and Asia" ("Latter-Day Critics," p. 724). J. F. C. Gutteling held that the brevity of the scene "may well lend it a significance all its own. The lines are pregnant, full of profound meaning, and the poet, concentrating his attention on the matter, has curbed the romantic exuberance of his style. . . . [It is] one of the noble features of the work" ("Demogorgon," p. 285). To Douglas Bush the scene was "the culmination and the symbol of the process whereby the spirit of love has prevailed [as in 'Yet slow and gradual dawned the morn of love' (*Queen Mab* IX.38)]. . . . The awkwardness results from the exigencies of dramatic foreshortening" (*Mythology*, p. 149); White held that if "the victory seems too easily achieved . . . it is largely the fault of Shelley's original fable and the timelessness and spacelessness of its setting. As far as words may serve, the duration and intensity of Prometheus' sufferings are emphasized" (*Shelley*, II, 124); and Carlos Baker pointed out that "to all intents and purposes the expulsion of Jupiter really took place during Prometheus' first-act recantation. For this play . . . is a drama of the inner mind, and evil is represented as a deformity of the mind. What is extirpated there can survive nowhere else in the universe" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 109). Finally, G. Hough concluded that as for Jupiter "his hour is come, and that is all. Just so in Shelley's political philosophy there is no bridge between the actual state of misery and oppression and the new glad world that is to come. . . . [The] gap in the dramatic action of Prometheus corresponds to an actual gap in Shelley's thinking" (*Romantic Poets*, p. 137).

Carl Grabo commented fully on the Demogorgon-Jupiter symbolism, pointing out that Necessity is twofold: scientific, as in *Queen Mab*, and Platonic, to which Shelley progressed. The weakness of the earlier form, he held, lay in Shelley's desire for free will as well as determinism, and in *Essay on Christianity* the poet confessed the inadequacy of materialism in Plotinian terms: "We live and move and think, but we are not the creators

of our own origin and existence" (Julian, VI, 231). Again, in *Speculation on Morals* he indicated a "wish to insure individual moral freedom in a world which in externals is deterministic": "None is exempt . . . from that species of influence which affects as it were the surface of his being. . . . Internally all is conducted otherwise; the efficiency, the essence, the vitality [of actions] derives its colour from what is in no wise contributed to from any external source" (Julian, VII, 82-83); and in *On Life* he wrote: "Whatever may be [man's] true and final destination, there is a spirit within him at enmity with nothingness and dissolution" (Julian, VI, 194). But in a letter to Horace Smith on April 11, 1822, while characterizing the doctrines of materialism as "as false as they are pernicious," he considered them "better than Christianity, inasmuch as anarchy is better than despotism" (Julian, X, 378). Grabo concluded:

> The conflict between Demogorgon and the "Mighty Spirit" created by Jupiter and Thetis is . . . a conflict between that Necessity which is the creative agent of God, and the scientific Necessity of man's invention with which he is in danger of enslaving himself. . . . The Necessity which Jupiter hopes to fasten upon man and with which he thinks to usurp the might of Demogorgon exists in time. . . . But such an usurpation is impossible unless man enslaves himself to his own thought and denies the freedom of his will. . . . Renunciation of hatred, the growth in Prometheus of the spirit of love, is necessary to the enfranchisement of mind and will. Thenceforth Prometheus can think only good, for he has attained union with the One. In the One, who is timeless, Jupiter, who can exist only in time, has no place. . . . [He is] conquered by Demogorgon, that Necessity which is the agent of the One, of divine love. The necessitarian God (Jupiter) of man's creation, who can exist only in time, is destroyed by the God of Love, who is timeless [*Interpretation*, pp. 96-103].

Louis Cazamian considered the scene worthy of Milton, or of the Keats of *Hyperion*, for Shelley, unhampered by the scruples of Aeschylus, presents his god directly and, "going beyond the Greek myth, makes him a philosophic symbol of universal evil" (Edition, p. 24). Arthur Wormhoudt interpreted the scene psychiatrically as symbolizing "the repression of the positive oedipal relation," while III.ii "symbolizes the pacification, if only temporarily, of the pre-oedipal mother image on whom the infant at the breast projects its own ravenous desires" (*Demon Lover*, p. 104). And Bennett Weaver found a "forecast of the doom of Jupiter" in *Song: Translated from the German* (1809), in which "the poet thinks of giving 'up the oppressor to judgement and Hell,'" and in *To Death* (1810): "Tremble, ye proud . . . You the plainings, faint and low, / From Misery's tortured soul that flow, / Shall usher to your fate" (*To Death* 37-41) ("First Beginnings," p. 193).

For the time scheme of the poem see Appendix G.

1-51. Rossetti felt that this passage had more relation with Greek mythology than with Shelley's myth in the poem, to which its relation was "ambiguous" ("Study," p. 55); and E. Barnard noted that "Jupiter's

exultation and overweening pride, in the moment preceding his downfall, is an example of that special kind of dramatic irony called *hubris* by the Greeks, whose tragedians used it with striking effect."

3. D. Bush compared "Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!" (*Ozymandias*) (*Mythology*, p. 148). Olwen Campbell found the line "quite Shakespearean in its subtle suggestiveness," and thought that it and the opening line of *The Cenci* ("That matter of the murder is hushed up") showed Shelley to be "perhaps not so much incapable of drama as unattracted to it" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 218).

4. Comparison:

> [Hughes] And the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever: and they have no rest day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name [Revelation xiv.11].

5-17. Comparison:

> [D. L. Clark ("Shelley and Shakespeare," p. 275)] when the mind's free / The body's delicate; the tempest in my mind / Doth from my senses take all feeling else / Save what beats there [*King Lear* III.iv.11-14].

E. Barnard found the lines, although hardly in character for Jupiter, "a nobler conception of human life than that pictured at the end of the act, which is a state of seemingly uninterrupted serenity and ease . . . [but] each is the outgrowth of a characteristic mood or attitude in Shelley."

5-8. G. W. Knight held that this passage "recalls both Byron's *Prometheus* and *Manfred*" (*Byron*, p. 257).

5. *soul of man*] Although A. R. Benham used this line to refute Rossetti's identification of Prometheus as the Mind of Man ("Interpretation," p. 112), it should be noted that Rossetti accepted "soul of man" literally ("Study," p. 55), and later identified it with Prometheus ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 159).

8. Hughes compared "Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heav'n" (*Paradise Lost* I.669).

9-10. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] It is not to be believed that Hell or punishment was the conception of this [Christ's] daring mind. . . . Jesus Christ opposed with earnest eloquence the panic fears and hateful superstitions which have enslaved mankind for ages [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 236].

Rossetti interpreted these lines as meaning that "credulity and superstitious terror" form "an unstable foundation, therefore a fleeting empire" ("Study," p. 68); and W. N. Guthrie held that "not in folly, but in wise prevision was the empire of Jupiter founded on 'eldest faith' (tradition) and 'hell's coeval fear' (self-love) . . . by Prometheus himself" who "gave" (I.273) him power (*Poet Prophets*, p. 183). Oliver Elton suggested that "the release of Prometheus is the dethronement of Christianity, but its dethronement by the spirit of Christ; and Jupiter himself is the whole

body of insolent, traditional belief and institution which seeks covert under the falsely-claimed authority of the founder" (*Shelley*, p. 36). Piccoli's comparison was general, with the passage quoted above seemingly pertinent.

11. Locock compared "Now all the plagues that in the pendulous air" (*King Lear* III.iv.66).

13. See Textual Notes.

14-15. Locock compared the letter to Peacock of July 25, 1818, in which Shelley wrote that "when I bathe . . . I clamber up the moist crags with difficulty" (Julian, IX, 314).

18. Todhunter commented: "He has begotten the whole monstrous abortion of dogma and tyranny—the Star Chamber of the king, the Holy Inquisition of the priest. It wants but the authority of Demogorgon—the seal of God set upon the bull of Infallibility" (*Study*, p. 170).

19-24. The relationship between the "fatal child" and Demogorgon (see line 54) has caused much difficulty and speculation. H. Richter held that the "child" receives a bodily sheath from Demogorgon (*Shelley*, p. 419), and that the natural law incorporated in Demogorgon has no power over the personal will to good and evil: Demogorgon did not force the son upon Jupiter. If Jupiter had not conceived him in a wanton union then he would not have been overthrown by this son ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 260). L. Steichen commented: "The Doom of Jupiter is, of course, a manifestation of Destiny; and so in the shape of Demogorgon the fatal child appears to his father. . . . In thus representing Jove as begetting his own ruin, Shelley expresses his belief that evil is self-destructive," and in *Queen Mab* IX.45 he had "described Evil as 'done by her own venomous sting to death' " ("Study," p. 49). Hughes held that "the fatal spirit, then, is the Spirit of the great change or revolution that is close at hand. . . . The Spirit is not only clothed upon with Demogorgon's semblance and force, but it *is* Demogorgon—Eternity possessing the hour and putting itself forth in it" (Edition, p. 176); and Locock felt that "if the passage be compared closely with [lines 42-48] it appears that Jupiter's expectation is that after the deposition (and perhaps spiritual death?) of Demogorgon, a certain Hour is expected to arrive in Heaven, bearing in its car the ever-living limbs of Demogorgon, which are to be united to the spirit of the son of Thetis; whereupon the new combination is to descend to earth and trample out the last vestiges of man's rebellion. . . . A proleptic sense seems to be given to 'vacant' and 'clothed.' " Locock would not make Demogorgon literally the son of Jupiter, the meaning perhaps being: " 'Thou didst look for a child mightier than thyself: behold *me* instead, mightier than thee, as thou wert mightier than thy father Saturn.' Shelley would hardly make 'Eternity' the child of a tyrant whose kingdom was both established and overthrown by Prometheus." Olwen Campbell suggested that he is perhaps the child "in that [Jupiter] has called him forth from a

passive to an active state of being . . . the evil principle is doomed when it attempts to manifest itself in Eternity" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 219).

W. E. Peck, without qualification, called him "the child of Jupiter and Thetis" (*Shelley*, II, 137); but Carl Grabo distinguished the two, holding that "the monster of Jupiter's begetting is to usurp the power of Necessity [Demogorgon]. . . . For the Necessity which is one hypostasis of the Divine and subject only to Love, is to be substituted another Necessity born of Jupiter and [Thetis] . . . [and] for the old form of Necessity, in which a degree of freedom remained to the soul of man, is to be substituted another, one fatal to man" (*Interpretation*, pp. 94-95). E. Ebeling based her interpretation on a possible Paracelsian influence as a result of which "Shelley makes Demogorgon serve a double purpose"—as prophetic Evestrum (see note at II.iv.2-7), and here as "the shadowy, mortal Evestrum of the offspring of Jupiter and Thetis. . . . For Demogorgon is the messenger of ultimate Fate, and the son of Jupiter is the fulfillment of his prophetic message. . . . [With] the birth of Jupiter's son . . . we see [Demogorgon's] bodily incarnation. . . . Shelley wished to show that it is Jupiter's own folly which caused his downfall or at least the moment of it" ("Paracelsian Element," p. 521). Douglas Bush commented: "Shelley may have been influenced by the Christian doctrine of incarnation [as J. F. C. Gutteling suggested] but ancient mythology included the 'popular fancy that some day a new order of things would come into being, with the return of Kronos or the advent of some divine child,' so that Shelley's Demogorgon was [as J. A. K. Thomson said] 'imaginatively right' " (*Mythology*, p. 148). E. B. Hungerford noted that here Shelley tampered with the myth, inasmuch as there was no such child: "Shelley had to find a figure who would be compatible with the mythological terms in which the drama is expressed, preferably a Greek figure. . . . And he must be one whose emergence in modern times would not be ridiculous. . . . He produced Demogorgon" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 176-77). Also, Hungerford suggested, "Jupiter . . . is dimly aware that his son is to be greater than himself, although he does not realize that his son will overthrow him. He imagines his fated child to be one who will be the terror of the earth, acquiring great power by overcoming the primordial Demogorgon. . . . He does not realize that his son is Demogorgon himself"; and the difficulty to be found in the fact that the son "has just been born, but Demogorgon has had a primordial existence" was, according to Hungerford, "merely technical, and Shelley ignores it. There is no difficulty in the moral significance since the power to overcome evil may be represented as having existed from eternity inoperative until love brings its destined hour" (pp. 185-86).

K. N. Cameron brought his political interpretation to bear on the problem. He cited "anarchy which is . . . the child and the chastiser of misrule" (*An Address . . . on the Death of the Princess Charlotte.* Julian, VI,

79), and "Anarchy, to thee we bow, / Be thy name made holy now!" (*The Mask of Anarchy* xviii), and noted that Shelley believed that "the despots of Europe were, by their oppressive policies, driving the people to a revolution which would bring 'anarchy' as the 'last flash' before a new 'despotism' [see *A Philosophical View of Reform.* Julian, VII, 53 ff.]. . . . It was part of [Shelley's] general philosophy . . . that in a state of anarchy Necessity could not operate . . . [and] all efforts to obtain such a state of anarchy fail because Necessity is inherent in the nature of the universe." The "fatal child," then, was defeated "because Necessity has been reinforced by Love (Asia) and the anarchy-despotism cycle thus cancelled" ("Political Symbolism," pp. 749-51). Also, Cameron held, "the despotic state, once established, sets in motion economic and political forces, which will of Necessity, eventually overthrow it. . . . In this sense, then, Necessity, as a force acting in the realm of history . . . was engendered by the despotic state; Demogorgon was the child of Jupiter" (p. 750). E. Barnard's interpretation was less complicated: "It is true that the prophecy was that Jupiter should be overthrown by his own child, but Shelley may have felt that this prophecy is carried out in the sense that Demogorgon's appearance was the result of Jupiter's own misdeeds, in accordance with the poet's theory that evil is ultimately self-destructive. Or it may be that these difficulties and inconsistencies never occurred to Shelley at all." Hughes, in his turn, took the father-son relationship literally: "Jupiter, married to Thetis . . . engenders Demogorgon, his child whom he does not know. That is to say: tyranny can hold on only if it cherishes the fruitful things—if, say, it founds Universities and forwards the arts—but in that way it will let in liberal ideas eventually fatal to it" (*Nascent Mind*, p. 255). Carlos Baker, however, felt that Demogorgon is a "son" of Jupiter "only in the ironic sense that he is the agent who will dethrone him. . . . It is evident that Shelley has completely reoriented the myth as he derived it from Aeschylus" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 283).

C. E. Pulos was less concerned with paternal relationships than with the significance of the "fatal child," which, he held, was a symbol of Malthusianism. He advanced four arguments: (1) Hazlitt, in his *Reply to Malthus* (which may have influenced Shelley), wrote: "His name [Malthus] hangs suspended over their heads, *in terrorem* [cf. 'the terror of the earth'] like some baleful meteor" (*Works*, I, 181); (2) the fatal child as a would-be usurper of Demogorgon's powers (lines 21-24) is reminiscent of the Malthusian concepts ("the God, Nature, and Necessity by whom 'the many to the few belong' ") as developed in *The Revolt of Islam;* (3) "the dramatic circumstances under which the 'fatal child' is mentioned resemble those" in *The Revolt of Islam:* (a) a despot, (b) "when force is impotent," (c) "dispatches the 'grave and hoary' men to disseminate their Malthusian doctrines," (d) "in order to 'confirm his failing sway' "; and (4) "Jupiter's boast that the 'fatal child' will make the tyrant henceforth omnipotent

recalls some of the remarks on Malthus in Shelley's prose," e.g. in the Preface to *The Revolt of Islam, An Address . . . on the Death of the Princess Charlotte*, and *A Philosophical View of Reform* ("Shelley and Malthus," pp. 121-23). With this view Cameron was in general agreement, and he noted that in *A Philosophical View of Reform*, while composing Acts III and IV of *Prometheus Unbound*, Shelley "made an extended attack on Malthusianism . . . as the doctrine by means of which the ruling class in England intended to keep the people forever in subjection. If this interpretation of the passage is correct, the intended seizure of the power and place of Demogorgon by the 'fatal child' means that the rulers of the earth hope that by the theory and practice of Malthusianism they will be able to thwart the workings of historical necessity" (Edition).

19. *terror of the earth*] J. F. C. Gutteling read this as "very much like a rendering of Demogorgon," with "earth" as a derivative of *Demos*, plus *Gorgon:* "The allusion in the second part to the [Gorgon], whose looks struck terror into the gazer, is perhaps found again in the irony of the dethronement-scene" ("Demogorgon," p. 284).

20. Comparison:

> [E. Blunden (*Shelley*, p. 253)] The boast of heraldry, the pomp of pow'r / . . . Awaits alike th' inevitable hour [Gray, *Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard* 33-35].

22. Joseph Barrell pointed out that "in his pitiful lack of philosophic knowledge . . . Jupiter does not imagine what Asia saw, that Demogorgon is formless and without limbs . . . that the Primal Power of the world may be the primal matrix of the world, out of whose nothingness the individualities of the world emerge" (*Shelley and Thought*, pp. 153-54).

23. Locock compared "Which clothed his awful presence unrevealed" (*Adonais*, canceled passage, 31).

24. *redescend*] Locock felt that the word was "used loosely, since the spirit is floating in Heaven, 'waiting the incarnation which ascends' [line 46] to join it." He noted also that the line was at first "He shall descend. . . ."

25. *Idæan Ganymede*] Hughes noted that Idæan was "from Mt. Ida in the Troad. [Ganymede] was the son of the Dardanian King Tros, and was caught up to Olympus by an eagle from Zeus, where he ministered as cup-bearer to the Gods in eternal youth."

26. *Dædal*] Skilfully wrought (Alexander). Alexander compared IV.116, 416, and "The daedal earth" (*Ode to Liberty* ii); and R. Piccoli "daedula tellus" (*De rerum natura* I.228).

28. *harmonies*] The pythagorean celestial harmony (R. Piccoli).

33-34. E. B. Hungerford held that here the moral allegory did not fit well with the fable, for

> . . . there is nothing ridiculous in imagining the Titan Prometheus chained on Mount Caucasus for three thousand years. But it is highly ridiculous to imagine Zeus consummating his amour with Thetis some time after the French Revolution.

> . . . And yet if Shelley was to resolve the drama in modern times but still in terms of the fable, he was limited to this course of action. . . . The speed with which Shelley slides over the crisis in the action—and the vagueness of the language employed—leads to the inference that he was well aware that he was in a weak part of the plot [*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 174-76].

34-55. O. W. Firkins, commenting on the "mixture of matter and spirit" in Shelley, noted

> . . . the peculiar difficulty, the wrench, so to speak, with which the moral and material elements . . . are riven asunder, if we insist on an analysis of the passage. . . . Is the veil here spiritual? Is the light spiritual? Strictly yes, because the veil is woven of the light and the light is moulded of the desire, which is an immaterial object. But do we conceive it in this way? Did Shelley so conceive it? Is not the picture called up that of a corporeal woman hidden from the bodily eye by a veil of material splendor? In other words, did not Shelley in the first place conceive of the light as moral, the light of desire, and afterwards as physical, enveloping and concealing not a mind but a body? No doubt a consistent metaphysical interpretation can be worked out, but would it represent the real thought of Shelley?

Firkins cited, for similar imagery, I.470-72; II.i.71-76; II.v.26-30; III.i. 82-83; III.iii.148-51; IV.327-31 and 363-69 (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 57-58).

36-48. H. Richter held that the forcing of Thetis in the name of love is the most gruesome and ludicrous excess and straying of tyranny (*Shelley*, p. 419); and G. L. Dickinson felt that "this marriage, in fact, in Shelley's drama, is a rather otiose survival of the ancient myth" (Edition, p. x). But F. A. Lea found in it "yet another aspect of the event symbolized in the first Act. It is the same event seen . . . from the standpoint of the understanding. The understanding—what Shelley called the 'calculating faculty'—when it strives to comprehend the intuition of the eternal, ceases to be a tyrant; and when it is united with intuition, becomes imagination itself—the true imagination or Reason, Demogorgon." To amplify, Lea quoted Middleton Murry: "If we identify ourselves with the practical consciousness, then sooner or later we kill the imaginative consciousness, because . . . the practical consciousness *cannot* admit the existence and reality of the imaginative. If it does strive to admit the reality of the imaginative consciousness, then it necessarily dies as practical consciousness, and is reborn as the imaginative" (*Adelphi*, February, 1931) (*Romantic Revolution*, pp. 121-22). And Carlos Baker held that in this passage of sexual imagery "Shelley perhaps has in mind some sort of balance between the Prometheus-Asia relationship and that of Jupiter and Thetis, but he does not develop it. It is in any case an element of Jupiter's *hybris* that he imagines that he has begotten Demogorgon upon Thetis. Actually, of course, Jupiter's whole character is destructive rather than creative, so that the child he thinks he has begotten has no existence except in his prideful imagination" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 109).

36. Comparisons:

[Locock] An image of some bright Eternity [*Epipsychidion* 115].

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 95)] Time is not a piece snipped from eternity, and measured out—it is the image of Eternity; Eternity made visible [Plotinus, quoted in Bigg, *Neo-Platonism*, p. 211].

[K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 748)] [1] He planned to make a moveable image of Eternity . . . moving according to number, even that which we have named Time [*Timaeus* 37d]; [2] Dark—heaving—boundless, endless, and sublime, / The image of eternity, the throne / Of the Invisible [*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* IV.clxxxiii]; [3] [Edition] This gloomy crag of time to which I cling [*Hellas* 926].

Olwen Campbell, without speculation, considered "eternity" to be "a name which, in view of the imminent arrival of the actual eternity, must have some special significance" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 218). Grabo commented: "Jupiter mistakenly believes that time may be prolonged to become, indeed, eternity. . . . [But] time is an unreality, the phantom image of eternity, and must ultimately yield to the necessity of the Eternal One embodied in Demogorgon" (pp. 95-96). Cameron noted, with respect to the Byron lines, that "Thetis was a sea goddess and hence part of this mirror of the sky (Eternity)." On time as the image of eternity he commented: "Shelley means that while Jupiter believes that his union with Thetis will—through their child who is to overthrow Demogorgon—stabilize his rule forever, in reality it will shorten it" (Edition). P. H. Butter could see no reason for equating Thetis with time: "Thetis seems to mean to Jupiter much the same as the Shelleyan heroines do to their lovers [cf. *Epipsychidion* 115, above], a means of touching the eternal, except that Jupiter aims in that contact not to give himself, but to gain control. . . . [The] begetting of a child represents, perhaps, an attempt by evil to extend its dominion over the eternal as well as the temporal" (*Shelley's Idols*, pp. 194-95).

40-41. Comparisons:

[Forman] [1] When a tiny *seps* stuck in the leg of hapless Sabellus and clung there with barbed fang, he tore it off and pinned it to the sand with his javelin. Though this reptile is small in size, no other possesses such deadly powers. For the skin nearest the wound broke and shrank all round, revealing the white bone, until, as the opening widened, there was one gaping wound and no body. . . . It is little to say that the flesh was consumed and dripped away in the form of matter: fire also can do this, but no pyre ever made the bones disappear. They also vanish: following the corrupted marrow, they suffer no traces of the quick death to survive. Among the plagues of Africa [Numidia] the *seps* bears off the palm for destruction: all the rest take life, but it alone carries off the dead body [*Pharsalia* IX.762-88]; [2] Yes, it is Hate . . . [Which] turns with ninefold rage, as with its twine / When Amphisbæna some fair bird has tied, / Soon o'er the putrid mass he threats on every side [*The Revolt of Islam* VIII.xxi].

[Locock] [1] III.iv.19; [2] [*Inferno* XXV, for a "similar story" of the transmutation of two serpents into one (including "Let Lucan now be silent with his tales of wretched Sabellus and Nasidius, and let him wait to hear what now comes forth" [line 94]).

[D. L. Clark ("Shelley and Shakespeare," p. 276)] O! that this too too solid flesh would melt, / Thaw and resolve itself into a dew [*Hamlet* I.ii.129-30].

Forman commented:

It is not strange that Shelley, with his fondness for snakes and his partiality for Lucan should have retained strongly ophidian impressions from his perusals of the *Pharsalia;* but his recollection of the fate of the soldier Sabellus as described in the ninth book of that poem serves to mark a most notable advance in poetic taste and imagination in mere language. The dissolution of Sabellus by the poison of the seps is described in very unpleasant terms in the original: when in 1817 Shelley mixed up the attributes of the seps and the amphisbæna while writing [*The Revolt of Islam*], he not only left a stanza which it would be hard to beat for sheer badness of construction, but retained the hideous thought of Lucan in the words "putrid mass." Here, two years later [in *Prometheus Unbound*], we find him making use of the incident for purposes of the highest poetic imagery, and in verse and language leaving nothing to desire [Edition 1892].

43-46. J. W. Beach noted that Jupiter, the "spirit of selfish evil, is blind; he knows not the secret of the future . . . [and] with dramatic irony he exults in the event that spells his ruin" (*Romantic View*, p. 117).

43. Comparison:

[G. H. Clarke] The Force of Nature could no farther go; / To make a third she join'd the former two [Dryden, *Lines . . . under the . . . Portrait of Milton*].

48. Comparisons:

[Forman (Edition, p. 436)] The griding sword with discontinuous wound [*Paradise Lost* VI.329].

[Hughes] [1] [ME *girden*]; [2] That through his thigh the mortall steele did gryde [*The Faerie Queene* II.viii.36].

[Locock] [*The Shepherd's Calendar, February* 4, *August* 95; *Virgil's Gnat* 254; *The Faerie Queene* III.i.62; III.ii.37; III.ix.29; and IV.vi.1; for other uses by Spenser.]

Griding] Cutting or piercing (Forman); with "gride" originally "grate" or "jar" (Locock).

49. Carlos Baker noted the similarity to Count Cenci's assurance as he takes his family to Castle Petrella where, like Jupiter, he expects to break the stubborn will of Beatrice (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 151).

50-51. Comparison:

[M. R. Thayer (*Influence of Horace*, p. 92)] be it thine to shake Olympus with thy ponderous chariot [Horace, *Odes* I.xii.58].

An early writer felt that "Demogorgon . . . in the car of the Hours, as if it was the six-o'clock stage, lumbering up Olympus, or 'thundering,' as Jupiter says,—a singularly ill-judged epithet in the Thunderer's mouth, is ludicrous" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848[1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). But Woodberry commented: "The chariot bears aloft the new principle of supreme being, a higher and younger-born principle, which exceeds that which Zeus embodied, just as Zeus had in his birth been a higher principle than the old reign contained." Thus Shelley fused "two divergent products

of the human spirit—the Hellenic idea of a higher power superseding the lower, and the Christian idea that this power was one of non-resistance, of forgiveness, of love" ("Titan Myth," pp. 77-78).

51-83. Rossetti, noting the "terrific brevity" of this dialogue, wrote:

> From the entry of Demogorgon, thirty-three lines of blank verse suffice Shelley for exhibiting with the most majestic precision, and the most absolute and instantaneous changes of mood, from the indignation and disdain of the almighty to the despairing appeal of the impotent, this unspeakable downfall. It is in that sudden revulsion of feeling, that suppression of any middle term between the height of power and the abyss of destitution, that the author's dramatic sense appears to me to proclaim itself. This is the one grand way of exhibiting the situation in itself, and of pitching it at the level of these world-transcending personages. The final speech of Jupiter, in the reach of its passion, and the awful reserve of its transitions, appears to me one of the greatest things written by Shelley—one of the great things of all time ["Prometheus as Poem," pp. 159-60].

51. An early writer felt that "the *shape* of Eternity is absurd" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848[1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). James Thomson pointed out that, although Jupiter has described and anticipated the coming of his offspring, he still asks this question. He suggested two justifications for doing so: either he is calling for confirmation of his boasts; or with a sudden presentiment of catastrophe he "cries in real astonishment underheaved by vague terror: the student must decide which by his own dramatic instinct" ("Notes," p. 598).

52-56. Comparison:

> [B. Weaver ("First Beginnings," p. 194)] Yon monarch, in his solitary pomp, / Is but the fungus of a winter day / That thy light footstep presses into dust. / Thou art a conqueror, Time; all things give way / Before thee but the "fixed and virtuous will" [*To Ireland* 22-26].

J. Kooistra found it "very hard to explain why [he and Jupiter] should 'henceforth live together in darkness' " if he is Fate or Necessity; and as a matter of fact he appears at the end of Act IV ("*Prometheus*," p. 217). A. G. Van Kranendonk, however, answered Kooistra by arguing that Demogorgon names himself Eternity because he personifies Shelley's belief that

> . . . the development of the divine instinct in man, the working out of evil, would take a considerable length of time. . . . [Since] the times of misery and hardship for man have come to an end, they are now matters of the past and live only in dim remembrance: D[emogorgon] follows J[upiter] into the abyss and lives henceforth in darkness. Time, however, is eternal: D[emogorgon] reappears in Act IV, but now he is . . . the spirit . . . of life and victory; in other words: the present times bring hardly anything but sorrow, man being tyrannized by J[upiter] or evil, whereas the future holds a rich promise of virtue and bliss ["Demogorgon," p. 60].

B. Rajan added that Jupiter is not destroyed: "He returns to the abyss with Demogorgon, there to be part of the universe's passive content" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 301). Carl Grabo read the lines as mean-

ing that "Time . . . is the issue or shadow of Eternity. But Eternity likewise is the issue of Time, for Time is necessarily succeeded by Eternity in that it is less than Eternity" (*Interpretation*, p. 96). Douglas Bush noted that " 'Necessity' has a part in the overthrow of Jupiter, though that power was more and more being transformed in Shelley's mind into Love" (*Mythology*, p. 148), which is "the one thing not subject to Fate [II.iv.119-20]" (Butter, *Shelley's Idols*, p. 196). Rajan found lines 52 and 54 "quite compatible if it is remembered that the one refers to Demogorgon's active element, the other to his passive totality" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 300); and Joseph Barrell agreed that, Platonically, "there is nothing strange to Demogorgon's declaring himself to be both eternity and the child of Jupiter. In Plato's ethics, Not-Being [eternity and infinity as absolutes] is that into which evil finally breaks down. Thus . . . eternity rises to claim evil for its own" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 154). K. N. Cameron, however, suggesting that "the 'direr' name is, doubtless, 'Necessity,' " argued that "Demogorgon does not mean that he is Eternity [as many believe] . . . but only that he is of an eternal nature. In Boccaccio he is the companion of the goddess Eternity, but is not himself Eternity" ("Political Symbolism," p. 751). J. W. Beach pointed out that "Shelley is not here designating a single historical event, but an eternal process in the struggle between good and evil" (*Romantic View*, p. 117). And Harry Levin, objecting to the "misty dramatis personae," noted that "it takes only a single phrase to dethrone Jupiter and his dynasty. Symbolism carried beyond a certain stage loses all significance. See, then, how easy is it to have a man walk out on the stage and say, 'I am Eternity!' " (*Broken Column*, pp. 59-60).

52. Locock compared II.iii.93-98 (see note at that point).

54. *thy child*] See note at lines 19-24. E. Barnard paraphrased: "I stand in relation to you as you stood in relation to Saturn, in that I am mightier."

55. *dwell together*] K. N. Cameron commented: "According to Plato, when a society based on love was achieved Necessity [Demogorgon] would be banished (for man would then control both society and nature)."

56. Carl Grabo commented: "The lightnings which Jupiter vainly seeks to wield are energy withdrawn from its legitimate and beneficent ends and turned to destructive ends" (*Interpretation*, p. 103).

57-58. Comparison:

> [Van Kranendonk ("Demogorgon," p. 61)] The present is now past, / And those events that desolate the earth / Have faded from the memory of Time, / Who dares not give reality to that / Whose being I annul [*Queen Mab* VIII.44-48].

Van Kranendonk commented: "D[emogorgon] does not make J[upiter] a successor, he cannot continue evil, because mankind has become wise and virtuous." B. Weaver noted that "at last, although only in drama, Shelley has destroyed that tyranny which in his childhood he vowed to crush" (*Understanding of Shelley*, p. 112).

61-83. H. Richter pointed out that "Jupiter who makes slaves is himself a slave to willfulness, etc. With his fall Prometheus' curse is fulfilled [see I.300-1]. The downfall is of greater interest to Shelley than the freeing of Prometheus, the latter being treated with the greatest brevity because it was inevitable anyway: with inner freedom, outer must follow" (*Shelley*, p. 421). E. Barnard noted that the breaks in the speech are "filled with strife (described at the beginning of the next scene) of such vast proportions that the poet does not even try to render it dramatically."

61. G. H. Clarke commented: "Note the wrath and growing fear indicated by Jupiter's change of address as contrasted with [line 51], in which anticipative though as yet undefined dread is suggested."

62. *Titanian prisons*] "Tartarus, where the Titans (except Prometheus, who had helped Jupiter triumph over them) were imprisoned" (Barnard).

63-69. J. M. Brown contrasted the descent of Satan in *Paradise Lost:* "Satan is proud and majestic to the last; Jupiter is despicable in his sudden transition from haughty command and truculent execration to craven appeals for mercy, from contemptuous threat to wild wailings" (*Study*, p. 82).

64. R. Piccoli noted that Jove echoes the lament of Prometheus at I.24.

65-69. G. H. Clarke felt that in this passage " 'the wheel has come full circle.' [Jupiter's] appeal to the name of Prometheus is one of the most impressive dramatic moments in the drama. The Evil that opposed and oppressed the Good recognizes explicitly the superior power of its victim, and implores succor therefrom [cf. I.305]." Douglas Bush, however, held that the tribute to Prometheus was "quite undramatic," but that Shelley could not resist putting it in (*Mythology*, p. 148). E. Barnard, on the other hand, considered that "Jupiter's appeal here is not only a tribute to Prometheus, but good logic as well. But even Prometheus is not greater than the Primal Law."

68-69. Locock compared I.15-17.

71. W. N. Guthrie interpreted this to mean that "the active incarnation of Demogorgon, as child of Jupiter and Thetis ceases, and he is again that impenetrable Gloom, living, omniscient, solicitous for the safety, bliss and perfection of man, who speaks" at the close of the poem (*Poet Prophets*, p. 197). G. W. Knight (who considered Demogorgon the Holy Spirit "when the Father-Son relation is starkly out-of-joint" [see notes on Dramatis Personae]), without reference to the return in Act IV, commented: "Now Demogorgon only exists while Jupiter rules. . . . When Jupiter gives place to 'Almighty God' . . . and Prometheus and the universe are at peace, Demogorgon exists no more, vanished into the abyss" (*Christian Renaissance*, pp. 331-32). And Carlos Baker considered that "in one particular, and probably in one only, the writing of the fourth act was dramatically obligatory, for it satisfies the reader's natural curiosity as to whether Jupiter's threat to drag Demogorgon down with him to the pit was ever carried out. That the threat was empty is indicated by Demogorgon's

reappearance at the close of Act IV" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 110).

72-74. Comparisons:

[Scudder] [*The Revolt of Islam* I.vi-xiv, for the bird-serpent battle.]

[Hughes] [1] II.iii.97; [2] For a bird had come upon them, as they were eager to cross over, an eagle of lofty flight, skirting the host on the left, and in its talons it bore a blood-red, monstrous snake, still alive and struggling, nor was it yet forgetful of combat; for it writhed backward, and smote him that held it on the breast beside the neck, till the eagle, stung with pain, cast it from him to the ground, and let it fall in the midst of the throng, and himself with a loud cry sped away down the blasts of the wind [*Iliad* XII.200-7]; [3] Behold the orphaned brood of an eagle sire that perished in the meshes—aye in the coils—of a fell viper [Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers* 247-49]; [4] As an eagle grasped / In folds of the green serpent, feels her breast / Burn with the poison, and precipitates, / . . . Frantic with dizzying anguish, her blind flight / O'er the wide aëry wilderness [*Alastor* 227-32].

[T. Böhme (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, p. 337)] As when a Gryfon seized of his pray, / A Dragon fiers encountreth in his flight, / . . . With hideous horrour both together smight, / And souce so sore, that they the heavens affray: / . . . So th' one for wrong, the other strives for right, / And each to deadly shame would drive his foe [*The Faerie Queene* I.v.8-9].

[B. Rajan ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 301)] IV.565-67.

It has been noted frequently that Shelley was fascinated by the "image of a vulture or an eagle wheeling in the air in deadly combat with a serpent" (Hughes). Scudder noted that the snake is to Shelley "always the symbol of the good power," but with this judgment all have not agreed. W. N. Guthrie pointed out that the poet used the serpent to represent both good and evil. He cited *The Revolt of Islam* I.xxvii-xxviii, and noted that

> . . . after Prometheus' liberation, his curse on evil has taken effect. Evil is obliged to realize itself to the full, and to *appear itself*. The mutual transformation first effected by the Spirit of Evil is now reversed. Good resumes its "soaring" sunward flight, on eagle-wings, with unblinded eagle-eyes, whilst evil "crawls" on its biblical belly once more, and eats dust and ashes. So intolerable, however, was the temporary disguise of the Spirit of Evil, as the "inspired good," that Shelley changed . . . in [III.i], the "eagle" of [*The Revolt of Islam*] to a "vulture," which might seem an eagle only to a very bad ornithologist [*Poet Prophets*, p. 341].

Hughes noted that the combat in *The Revolt of Islam* I.vi-xiv "is made an allegory of the battle between evil and good," and he considered the Homer passage the probable source of the image. Rajan commented: "The vulture lives on dead flesh—Jupiter on dead ideas. The snake kills. But in killing the superfluous it regenerates. The two drop . . . into the shoreless sea of Demogorgon's passive totality. Jupiter, in the moment of his doom, has subconsciously recognized its nature." And R. H. Fogle held that "the simplest explanation for this reversal [serpent as hero] is Shelley's democratic feelings, which make the lower the good, and upset our usual notions of hierarchy. . . . Since this particular snake is a metaphor for Demogorgon, we may say that here the nature of things itself is demanding and getting back its own. The image, one may remark, is genuinely tragic, for the

struggling bird is a regal creature of dignity and power" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 32).

Herbert Read offered a quite different approach to the image. In attempting to prove Shelley a psychotic and homosexual, he cited this as typical of imagery that "calls for some psychological explanation," finding in it "an archetypal pattern [suggesting] most probably some form of castration complex." He admitted that the image is of frequent occurrence, but argued that "the extraordinary vividness and detail which it assumes in Shelley's relation" (especially in *The Revolt of Islam* I) are significant and have "a powerful subconscious motivation" (*Defence of Shelley*, pp. 44, 46).

78-79. Comparisons:

[Locock] Stand to the match; that when the foe prevails / One spark may mix in reconciling ruin / The conqueror and the conquered [*Hellas* 118-20].

[A. G. Van Kranendonk ("Demogorgon," p. 61)] Even Time, the conqueror [*Queen Mab* IX.23].

Ai! Ai!] Woe! Woe!

80-81. Comparisons:

[W. E. Peck (*Shelley*, II, 138)] [1] Then Thalaba pronounced the name of God, / And leapt into the car. / Down, down, it sunk, . . down, down, / . . . The air that yields beneath the car, / Inflates the wings above. / Down . . down . . a measureless depth! . . down . . down [Southey, *Thalaba* XII.17]; [2] Till, fainting from excess of fear, / My tottering knees refused to bear / My odious weight. I sink—I sink [*The Wandering Jew* 677-79]; [3] But what is sweeter to revenge's ear / Than the fell tyrant's last expiring yell [*Fragment: Supposed to Be an Epithalamium of Francis Ravaillac and Charlotte Corday* 109-10].

Leslie Stephen commented: "A mysterious blind destiny is at the bottom of everything, according to Shelley, and of course it may at any moment crush the whole existing order in utter annihilation. . . . The absolute destruction of all law, and of law not merely in the sense of human law, but of the laws in virtue of which the stars run their course and the frame of the universe is bound together, is the end to which we are to look forward" ("Godwin and Shelley," p. 383). B. Weaver pointed out that the "expiring yell" (in the *Fragment* . . . quoted) enabled Francis and Charlotte to be united, even as Laon and Cythna were united after the tyrant's fall ("First Beginnings," p. 195).

81. G. H. Clarke compared I.23, 30, and 636. J. W. Beach suggested that perhaps by the "ever, for ever, down" Shelley intended to show "humanity, having conceived a moral ideal, as making a perpetual approach to the realization of this ideal, approximating it, in the mathematical sense of the word, by infinite degrees." But, he noted, this does not require "the elaborate apparatus of neoplatonic mysticism, [as it is] perfectly consistent with a thorough-going naturalism" ("Shelley's 'Platonism,' " pp. 270-71).

82-83. Comparison:

[O. Campbell (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 219)] That with reiterated crimes he might / Heap on himself damnation, while he sought / Evil to others, and en-

rag'd might see / How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth / Infinite goodness [*Paradise Lost* I.214-18].

An early writer held that the "anti-sublime" of these lines spoiled the sublimity of the preceding lines of Jupiter (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848 [1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). Campbell commented: "The whole malice of Jove has only served to bring forth infinite goodness." O. W. Firkins pointed out that "the enemy darkens the fall, not with his advanced or projecting body, but with victory; that is, the *moral* cause is productive of the *physical* effect. I believe this confusion or coalescence could hardly arise in the mind of a man in whom the frontiers of the opposing kingdoms of mind and matter were definitely marked" (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 58). See also Firkins' note at III.i.34-35.

82. *above*] Locock cited III.ii.5-6 to show that this means "on the top of me."

SCENE II

Stopford Brooke commented: "Like Turner he painted his impressions, but the impressions are true to law. . . . In splendour, and in truth, it stands alone in the poetry which describes sublime and vast Nature; and the way in which it closes, with a comparison which binds up the whole scene with human history, and which fits like a glove to the matter described and to the subject of the poem, may well be compared with such paltry analogies as Byron's of the rainbow to love and the cataract to madness" ("Inaugural Address," pp. 6-7). Rossetti called the scene "inestimably beautiful" and pointed out that, like II.ii, it forms "an interlude (B. Weaver called it a 'psychic space' ["*Prometheus*," p. 131]) of exquisite simple serenity," in the present instance "between the cataclysm of the opening scene . . . and the development which the triumph of Prometheus receives in all the residue of the poem" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 160). Scudder noted that "Apollo and Ocean are the traditional classic figures, and have no relation with Shelley's peculiar and individual myth." Woodberry added that the scene contains "the first of the millennial descriptions which now recur to the end of the drama."

S. F. Gingerich commented: "As a lyric . . . [*Prometheus Unbound*] falls naturally into two distinct parts, with two emotional centers (The Division occurs between Scenes 1 and 2 of Act III). The first part represents the Mind of Man (Prometheus) as bound and enslaved; the second is absolutely free. There are scarcely any intermediary stages" (*Essays*, p. 220). Olwen Campbell felt that the scene "would have made a calm and beautiful ending to this poem of elemental storm. . . . [The drama] would have contained most of the material needed for the close of a trilogy. We should never have been tempted to seek high and low for probable and improbable allegorical meanings; it would have stood simply on its own merit—a philosophical drama of which Prometheus is the hero and Jupiter the

villain. . . . [But] in the third and fourth scenes of Act III we see [Prometheus] slowly asphyxiated before our eyes in the vapours of a universal carouse" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, pp. 219-20). And E. B. Hungerford held that "one may say of [the remaining scenes and Act IV] that their function in the action is this: they depict the uses to which the Promethean gifts will be put after man has been freed from slavery to evil" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 192).

For the time scheme see Appendix G.

SD. Comparisons:

> [Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 28)] [*Timaeus* 25, where Plato refers to "the island of Atlantis."]
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 253)] [*Critias* 113c ff. ("in the tenth volume of the Bipont edition which Shelley took with him to Italy"), for the story of Poseidon taking "for his allotment the island of Atlantis," and for Plato's description of the island and Poseidon's activities there.]

E. B. Hungerford commented: "Atlantis has no significance except that, as a visionary isle, it is an appropriate place for the ideal conditions of things to be described and, as an island in the ocean, a fitting scene for Ocean to be personified conveniently and classically as reclining on its shore" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 193). To P. H. Butter, Ocean was "the mouthpiece of part of the material universe rejoicing over the passing of evil" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 168).

1. An early writer called this a "wretchedly tame" line (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848[1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV).

4-9. Hughes commented: "There is fitness as well as splendour in this vast image, suitable to the mighty and indeterminate figure of Jupiter."

11-17. Comparisons:

> [Scudder] Wakeful he sits, and lonely, and unmoved, / Beyond the arrows, views, or shouts of men; / As oftentimes an eagle, when the sun / Throws o'er the varying earth his early ray, / Stands solitary, stands immovable / Upon some highest cliff, and rolls his eye, / Clear, constant, unobservant, unabased, / In the cold light above the dews of morn [Landor, *Count Julian* V.ii.17-24].
>
> [R. Piccoli] Then, as a wild swan, when sublimely winging, / . . . Sinks headlong through the aëreal golden light / On the heavy-sounding plain, / When the bolt has pierced its brain [*Ode to Liberty* xix].

Todhunter held that "the comparison of the defeated tyrant to an eagle caught in a thunderstorm [is], as an isolated simile, one of the finest things in our poetry. . . . The vision of it is more real than reality" (*Study*, pp. 170-71). W. E. Peck felt that the manuscript reading (*so,*) "shows that Jove was, even in his fall, glorious as an eagle. The sense is: 'He was, nevertheless, an eagle in his hour of doom' " (*Shelley*, II, 138).

11. See Textual Notes.

17. Locock commented: "The clause might be taken either as depending on 'while' [line 15], or as co-ordinate with 'An eagle so.' Probably, however,

it is logically, though not grammatically, a part of the relative clause. The end of the simile corresponds with the last line of the previous Scene."

18-50. Todhunter found this passage "full of ideal beauty as chaste as that of a Greek statue. It is worthy of a disciple of the great ancient poets and sages; the verse moves with the majesty of that of Sophocles, and with something of the limpid serenity of the prose of Plato. Yet throughout it all there is a delicate play of iridescent colour, and an exquisite melody of sound, which are peculiarly Shelley's own" (*Study*, p. 171).

18-20. K. N. Cameron commented (as also on lines 29-31): "Ocean rejoices that with the overthrow of tyranny the waters will no more be stained with the blood of naval battles—since war will be banished—and despotism aboard ship will be abolished. There was much agitation at the time [of writing] against brutality in the navy."

18. Comparison:

> [C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 103)] Again according to Plato, the deep, the sea, and a tempest are so many symbols of the constitution of matter [Proclus, trans. Taylor, II, 294].

Grabo noted that "the sea . . . symbolizes unity, whether of matter or of being" (p. 104).

21-22. Comparison:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 144)] him who with his sleepless current encircleth the whole earth, children of your father Oceanus [*Prometheus Bound* 138-40].

22-23. Carl Grabo called these "emblems of man's peaceful life under the new order" (*Interpretation*, p. 104).

22. *many-peopled*] Mathilde Blind suggested that, "in consequence of their exemption from war and other calamities, these continents will henceforth be more populous" ("Shelley," p. 84). See also Textual Notes.

24. Comparison:

> [Alexander] In Neptune's Carpathian flood there dwells a seer, Proteus, of sea-green hue. . . . To him we nymphs do reverence . . . for the seer has knowledge of all things—what is, what hath been, what is in train ere long to happen. . . . But when thou holdest him in the grasp of hands and fetters, then will manifold forms baffle thee [etc. Vergil, *Georgics* IV.387-414].

26. Comparisons:

> [Scudder] Leading the infantine moon, / And that one star, which to her / Almost seems to minister / Half the crimson light she brings / From the sunset's radiant springs [*Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 322-26].
>
> [Locock] [1] Hornèd on high, like the young moon supine, / When o'er dim twilight mountains dark with pine, / It floats upon the sunset's sea of beams [*The Revolt of Islam* XII.xxi]; [2] And when the evening star came forth / Above the curve of the new bent moon, / And light and sound ebbed from the earth [*Rosalind and Helen* 968-70].

light-laden] Laden with light (Ellis); or lightly laden, inasmuch as Shelley first wrote "unladen" (Locock).

27. Comparisons:

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 104)] [1] Art thou eyeless like old Destiny? [Prologue to *Hellas* 121]; [2] The world's eyeless charioteer, / Destiny, is hurrying by! [*Hellas* 711-12].

[E. Barnard] Whose sightless speed divides this sullen night [*Alastor* 610].

sightless] Locock defined this as "invisible," as at IV.248, for the star is "burning on the forehead of the moon's invisible pilot." Grabo identified the "pilot" as Destiny and apparently read "sightless" as "blind." He commented: "But man newly liberated is master of material destiny. Law rules the universe of things but man is above the law, for in his knowledge, his science, he turns the laws of matter to his own ends."

29-37. E. B. Hungerford paraphrased: "[The] Promethean gift of sailing ships and the art of navigation will no longer be abused by men, but will be turned to good uses . . . a rebuke for the notorious conditions in the British merchant marine." And he noted that certain other gifts are generalized in Apollo's lines and developed ingeniously in III.iii (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 193).

29-31. See note at lines 18-20.

31-33. W. B. Yeats commented: "This beauty [and that of other things with the disappearance of evil], this divine order, whereof all things shall become a part in a kind of resurrection of the body, is already visible to the dead and to souls in ecstasy, for ecstasy is a kind of death" ("Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," p. 87).

35-39. Comparison:

[W. E. Peck ("Shelley and Barruel," p. 353)] Of these good and evil Genii, some are more perfect spirits and preside over the planets, the rising and setting of the Sun, the increase and decrease of the Moon; others, inferior to the first, but superior to the human soul, exercise their empire over the Stars and Constellations [Abbé Barruel, *Memoirs* (which Shelley owned), II, 335].

37-39. R. Piccoli noted that these verses are similar to the others which served to introduce lyrical parts of the two preceding acts, and he held that possibly Shelley intended to complete this scene with a song of the Spirit of the Morning Star.

39-48. A. Clutton-Brock found in Shelley's treatment of pure beauty, as here, "a tranquility new in his poetry, and not to be found in any other English poet except Milton" (*Man and Poet*, p. 213). Douglas Bush called the lines "a description in mythological terms of the serene joy and peace which follow the overthrow of Jupiter" (*Mythology*, p. 160).

42-43. Comparison:

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 104)] Two urns by Jove's high throne have ever stood / The source of evil one, and one of good [Proclus, trans. Taylor, no locus given by Grabo].

44. *Nereids*] Oceanides (R. Piccoli).

46. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] Her white arms lifted through the shadowy stream / Of her loose hair [*The Revolt of Islam* II.xxix].

[Locock] Down through tress-lifting waves the Nereids fair / Wind into Thetis' bower [Keats, *Lamia* I.207-8].

49. *unpastured*] Locock suggested "unfed" and compared "Dare the unpastured dragon in his den" (*Adonais* xxvii).

SCENE III

An early writer noted that "the actual unbinding of Prometheus, the business of the drama, is so drawn out and so commented on that one hardly knows where it is. His immense long speech after his emancipation . . . is quite revolting . . . [and] the lover-like stuff is . . . a disgusting travestie of the kind, innocent, virgin pity in the attendant nymphs of the real Prometheus" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1848[1823]. See Appendix D, item XIV). Rossetti, too, considered this and the following scene relatively less fine than the other sections of the work, although we are "beset with beauties" in them also ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 160). With respect to the suddenness with which the transformation of the world comes to pass, Richard Garnett noted that "it must be remembered that history could not be detailed in a poem without tedium, and Shelley must be regarded as having conveyed it hieroglyphically in a highly concentrated form" (Comments, p. 118); and W. F. Revell considered the "sudden emancipation" to be necessitated by dramatic construction: "The process is long and gradual. . . . From the dominance of evil in himself, and from the influence of evil in the world, man is able to shake himself free, before he can attain to that measure of the stature of manhood of which he is capable" (" 'Prometheus,' " pp. 422-23). Arthur Symons disliked the fact that "the liberty which comes to Prometheus is a liberty to dream forever with Asia in a cave" ("Shelley," p. 351); A. Clutton-Brock noted that "Shelley has very little notion what mankind will do in their millennium. . . . It is beautiful; but we must assume that ennui had accompanied Jupiter down to the abyss" (*Man and Poet*, pp. 216-17); and S. J. M. Suddard added that "a kind of languor spreads over the ideal. . . . The Titan . . . no longer seeks the salvation of the world. . . . His first care is to retire into a haven where his memory throbbing with past pain may be soothed into oblivion. . . . Only as an after-thought does he bid the Spirit of the Hour blow through the magic conch the strain that shall transform the earth" (*Studies*, p. 97). But G. Slaughter argued: "If there seems to be too much regard for the bliss of lovers in this ideal world, that is because Shelley was always trying to spiritualize what seemed to him the highest impulses of human nature and to seek for the ultimate unity of love and beauty and goodness" ("Shelley," p. 78); White suggested that this "may seem a poor and

dangerously passive way of enjoying, or at least of preserving, freedom . . . [but the] cave, at least, is almost certainly not merely a literal cave. . . . In any case it would have been almost as difficult to imagine a plausible future for Prometheus and Asia as to solve in human language the riddle of good and evil." It is a flaw "of taste and temperament," but a minor one (*Shelley*, II, 578); and E. Barnard agreed that, although "his retirement to a cave with Asia, there to 'sit and talk of time and change,' is an anticlimax, still, in a world become perfect, what else is there for him to do? . . . It may be worth remarking that Godwin's doctrine of 'perfectibility,' as set forth in *Political Justice*, involves 'perpetual improvement' and not attainment of perfection, to which it is expressly opposed" (Edition, p. 88).

Louis Cazamian pointed out that "the denouement does not end the drama, in which the moral suggestion of the events means much more than the events themselves" (Edition, p. 24); and P. H. Butter suggested that, from a dramatic point of view, perhaps the poem should end with the reunion of Prometheus and Asia, but "the title is not the *unbinding of Prometheus*, but *Prometheus Unbound;* its subject is not only the conquest over evil within the soul of man, but also the effects which such a conquest would have upon man's life and upon the universe. The rest of the poem is to show the consequences of Prometheus' victory spreading outwards in widening circles" (*Shelley's Idols*, pp. 196-97). Floyd Stovall cited *Queen Mab* VIII for its similar utopian picture ("Shelley's Doctrine of Love," p. 288), and Carlos Baker noted the parallel in *The Revolt of Islam*, where Laon and Cythna are given "an eternity of shared joy in the Temple of the Spirit, along with their 'winged child.' . . . But in 1817 Shelley was so involved with his intention to write a 'mere human story' that he fought as shy as possible of allegory" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 96).

1-4. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] [Strength] not made to rule, / But to subserve where wisdom bears command [*Samson Agonistes* 56-57].

Scudder noted the slight part played by Hercules, and commented: "Shelley always recognized reluctantly the part which brute force plays in human life." Hughes held that Hercules "appears here because he appeared in like manner in the ancient myth. But in Shelley he can have no dramatic importance, since the chains of Prometheus must fall off in any case. Therefore the incident is kept short." J. W. Beach noted that the lines signify "the subjection of power to the use of man" ("Latter-Day Critics," p. 726); and J. H. Cousins believed that Hercules "puts into a sentence the psychological significance of the drama. . . . And now abideth Wisdom, Courage, Love, but the greatest of these, in the Promethean conception of Shelley, is Love. . . . By allying himself with eternal Love, Prometheus rose above the limitations of temporal Law [Jupiter]" (*Work Promethean*,

p. 37). K. N. Cameron interpreted the lines to mean that "the intellectual leaders of mankind can be freed only by such strong and resolute action as he was advocating about the same time in *A Philosophical View of Reform*" ("Political Symbolism," p. 752). And Joseph Barrell felt that Hercules "addresses [Prometheus] almost as if he were an embodiment of the Platonic philosophy," although Barrell found "a weakening in the grasp of the Platonic ethics" at IV.554 ff. (*Shelley and Thought*, pp. 154-56).

2. Carl Grabo compared II.iv.120 (*Interpretation*, p. 111). Rossetti noted that "all of [these are] attributes of the mind" ("Study," p. 61).

4-68. Comparison:

> [D. Bush (*Mythology*, p. 144)] How sweet a scene will earth become! / . . . When man, with changeless Nature coalescing, / Will undertake regeneration's work [*Queen Mab* VI.39-43].

Todhunter considered this long speech "a little dull" until lines 64-68, when it "glows with new life" (*Study*, p. 172); and Rossetti agreed that "here and there the tone of feeling or mode of presentment in [this speech] approximates rather perilously . . . to an idealized Leigh Hunt" ("Prometheus as Poem," pp. 160-61). But G. W. Knight commented: "The marriage union of Asia and Prometheus is our Paradise. It is not properly eschatological: rather a heaven entwined with earth, an earth irradiated with fire-dew of the divine. It depicts, like Revelations, the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven" (*Christian Renaissance*, p. 331).

6-10. Floyd Stovall felt that "Shelley wished to illustrate his firm belief that man can attain his highest purpose in life only through union with woman, whose gifts are naturally complementary to his own" ("Shelley's Doctrine of Love," p. 291). G. W. Knight pointed out that *Prometheus Unbound* follows "the tradition so exactly laid down by Dante in which the divine is realized through some erotic symbol. . . . Asia corresponds exactly to Beatrice. Like Dante . . . Shelley sees the divine in terms of a reunion, reunion with a lost lover; a lover, however, not time-wearied but more wondrous by far in this second discovery" (*Christian Renaissance*, p. 294). Carl Grabo commented: "The earthly Venus is said by neo-Platonism to be the worldly counterpart of the divine love. . . . All these loves [divine (Asia), sympathy (Panthea), and love of beauty (Ione)] are henceforth to be one in the mind of man" (*Interpretation*, p. 111). And J. A. Notopoulos held that "these women are the abstract symbols of Platonic Love even as the women in his life were the concrete symbols of it" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 21).

6-7. G. H. Clarke compared II.v.48, 54; and R. Piccoli "The awful shadow of some unseen Power" (*Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* i). Rossetti, defending Asia as Nature, read these lines as suggesting "a radiancy and a mystery—a something known to the Mind of Man, and a something obscurely intimating the unknown and unknowable. This again is Nature"

("Study," p. 65). Carlos Baker pointed out that "it is, of course, the beauty itself which is 'unbeheld.' Prometheus was able to see the shadow of that beauty in Panthea's eyes. The phrase should be understood as if written 'shadow of beauty-unbeheld' " (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 114). And J. A. Notopoulos felt that here "Asia marks the fusion in Shelley of the concepts of Intellectual Beauty and Platonic Love. The phrase 'shadow of beauty unbeheld' is one of Shelley's most Platonic lines and forms the basic common denominator between Shelley and Plato" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 254).

6. Locock commented: "It may be presumed that Hercules now quits the stage."

10. James Thomson found it impossible to reconcile the two caves and the two temples (here and at lines 124, 127, 161, 175). He felt that the two temples were intended to be "one and the same," but added: "So astonishing . . . is the irreconcilable duality pervading these last two scenes of Act III . . . the two records of the effects of the proclamation of the triumph of Prometheus, the two caves, and the two temples—that remote commentators may be pardoned if they divine and affirm a double authorship or redaction, such as scholars of our own day [find] in the book of Genesis" ("Notes," p. 465). Rossetti noted a duality similar to that between Asia and Panthea in II.i, but he disagreed with Thomson that it is "irreconcilable." He "inclined" to believe that the two caves were the same (as did Woodberry later) but saw no reason why there could not be two caves. He agreed that the difficulty might be "inartistic, but not necessarily blundering" ("Prometheus as Poem," pp. 162, 177). Rossetti argued specifically for two temples, probably "not far apart," holding that "the first is substantially a temple to Evil, or to Jupiter, and the second is a temple to Prometheus, or to Good"; and he held that the temple of Prometheus is still extant, while the other, insofar as the text shows, may have totally disappeared (p. 162). Further, he saw no reason why the stupendous "change in the disposition and the lot of the human race should not be narrated twice over, from two independent points of view" (p. 178). Scudder felt that the confusion was "hopeless," and Alexander that it was an "inadvertence" on Shelley's part; but W. N. Guthrie argued that Shelley either distinguished between the two caves, or was guilty of "an inexcusable piece of slovenly, senseless duplication." He held that the "cave" of Prometheus was "one of mere contemplation," while the "cavern" of Earth (line 124) was the cavern of "science, where the outer eye shall scan all nature (inclusive of man), and discern in it realized all those ideals which in his own 'cave' he would have drawn from within, but never have felt as *being* in virtue of their own excellence, since they would seem to have been—not recognized, but created by himself" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 185). Similarly, Hughes commented: "It is perhaps possible to smooth the difficulty by understanding that Prometheus is only talking of a cavern of

his imagination, and the Earth then says, 'this which I describe to you is the place you dream of, the destined cave.' " More recently, however, G. W. Knight concluded that "clearly, the cave-temples referred to by the Earth and Prometheus are the same; they stand for that first 'fane' built in 'some untrodden region of the mind' of Keats's *Psyche;* and the dual aspects of (i) nature, and (ii) religion and art reflect the dual partners, Earth and Man, in *Kubla Khan* and Wordsworth: for all this may be said to expand those" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 215).

Rossetti held that the cave represented "the cavern of the human mind—the recesses of creative and contemplative thought, vocal with human sympathy, fertile of human enlightenment and elevation" ("Study," p. 62); but H. Richter, admitting that the inner essence of man was his stage, felt that Shelley sought no detailed allegorical significance, but let the reigns of his imagination go with respect to regions, and that the cave was simply a poetic setting for the millennium, with the high state of nature paralleling the high state of man. Richter also suggested (*Shelley*, p. 424) that the grotto blended his Italian settings, *The Faerie Queene*, and Southey's *Oriental Tales;* and that the life there is, as it must be in Shelley, a revival of the classical life. W. B. Yeats commented:

> It may be that his subconscious life seized upon some passing scene, and moulded it into an ancient symbol without help from anything but that great memory; but so good a Platonist as Shelley could hardly have thought of any cave as a symbol, without thinking of Plato's cave that was the world; and so good a scholar may well have had Porphyry on 'the Cave of the Nymphs' in his mind. . . . It may mean any enclosed life . . . [or] it may have all meanings at once, or it may have as little meaning as some ancient religious symbol enwoven from the habit of centuries with the patterns of a carpet or a tapestry ["Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," pp. 99, 105].

Douglas Bush, however, did not agree on the Platonic parallel, arguing that "the whole passage is a sentimental reverie; Shelley's cave is a world away from Plato's" (*Mythology*, p. 150). Carl Grabo held that the cave represented the subjective life of the Promethean age, with the fountain as source of divine inspiration or spiritual intuition (*Interpretation*, p. 111); and R. H. Fogle that "in the total context of the play this cavern impresses one as being only a resting-place upon a journey, or one element of an archetypal pattern of withdrawal and return" ("Image and Imagelessness," pp. 31-32).[31]

10-63. Comparisons:

> [Alexander] [*Epipsychidion* 422-591, for the description of the isle to which Shelley and Emelia will flee.]

[31]Neville Rogers' *Shelley at Work* appeared too late for detailed inclusion in the present work. It offers many fresh insights for the student of *Prometheus Unbound*, and chapters 8 ("The Veil. Mutability") and 9 ("The Cave") present a full discussion of the veil-cave symbols in Shelley, with particular reference to this drama.

[D. L. Clark ("Shelley and Shakespeare," p. 276)] Come, let's away to prison; / We two alone will sing like birds i' the cage: / When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down, / And ask of thee forgiveness: so we'll live, / And pray, and sing, and tell old tales, and laugh / At gilded butterflies, and hear poor rogues / Talk of court news; and we'll talk with them too, / Who loses and who wins; who's in, who's out; / And take upon's the mystery of things, / As if we were God's spies: and we'll wear out, / In a wall'd prison, packs and sets of great ones / That ebb and flow by the moon [*King Lear* V.iii.8-19].

[E. Barnard] To some calm and blooming cove, / Where for me, and those I love, / May a windless bower be built, / Far from passion, pain, and guilt [etc. *Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 342-73].

W. A. O'Conor objected that Shelley "made the deep mistake . . . that the strongest passion of the soul is philanthropy. . . . He forgot that society is saved, not by the readiness of the multitude to be happy, but by the willingness of each man to surrender his propensity to monopolize happiness, and that this seemingly easy result requires the example of a god suffering for all," which Shelley has removed by unbinding Prometheus ("Prometheus," p. 35). Scudder objected for a different reason, finding the passage "merely pastoral prettiness [which] betrays something of the luscious sentimentality which characterized his first boyish work" such as *Zastrozzi* and *St. Irvyne*. G. H. Clarke disagreed and commented: "Shelley's longing for the crystallization . . . of high moments finds frequent expression in both his life and his poetry. He was always on the verge of discovering a personal as well as a social Eden," as evidenced by the following passage in Dowden: " 'We must stay here,' whispered Shelley—'stay for ever.' This 'for ever' became afterwards a jest between the friends; for all Shelley's movements, sudden and erratic as the starts of a meteor . . . were to conduct him to some resting-place where he should abide 'for ever' " (*Shelley*, I, 127). Carl Grabo interpreted the lines to mean that, after the heart's conversion, knowledge (science) is to be the tool for reshaping nature, i.e., when man ceases to fear, he masters the seemingly evil forces he has created, but it is a continuing, evolutionary process: "Theoretically man has identified himself with the One, with God. But though ethically perfected, men are still creatures of passion and their pleasure lies in the discoveries of the arts" (*Interpretation*, p. 197).

A. Sen commented: "Nor did the poet forget to bestow upon Redeemed Humanity ample leisure wherein he might retire to his cave and develop his personality by coming into intimate contact with nature and art—searching his own unexhausted spirit for hidden thoughts of imperishable beauty" (*Studies*, pp. 151-52); but Sen added that, if the poet sings the "dirge" of political institutions, he could not give his readers equally definite ideas about the future state-organization through which humanity fulfills itself, for "man retires to a pastoral life of prettiness and ease . . . a life of self-isolation, completely separated from his fellow-creatures," with his universe now populated by visions. "In this world of visions and

shadowy creations, Shelley always lived" (pp. 183-87); and he contrasted the more realistic Shelley of *A Philosophical View of Reform*, although he held that in the poet the idealist was more real than the realist (p. 235). And Arthur Wormhoudt found that "their reunion is more like that of brother and sister," and the heterosexual suggestion is abandoned at the end of the speech, where the offspring "are not real children but the sublimated creations of art. The reason why Prometheus' picture of his future happiness seems unsatisfactory is his unsolved conflict with the mother image [Earth]. The attempt to solve this conflict is to occupy the rest of the play" (*Demon Lover*, pp. 104-5).

10-11. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann] the roofe / Of thickest covert was inwoven shade / Laurel and Mirtle, and what higher grew / Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side / *Acanthus*, and each odorous bushie shrub / Fenc'd up the verdant wall [etc. *Paradise Lost* IV.692-704].
>
> [T. Böhme (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, p. 326)] [1] And over him . . . did an Arber greene dispred, / Framed of wanton Yvie, flouring faire, / Through which the fragrant Eglantine did spred / His pricking armes, entrayld with roses red [*The Faerie Queene* II.v.29]; [2] And over all, of purest gold was spred, / A trayle of yvie in his native hew [*ibid.* II.xii.61].
>
> [R. Piccoli] See, how the wild vine with its stray clusters has overrun the cave [Vergil, *Eclogue V* 6-7].

15-17. Comparison:

> [Woodberry] the secret caves / . . . Frequent with crystal column, and clear shrines / Of pearl, and thrones radiant with chrysolite [*Alastor* 87-94].

spires] Stalactites (Alexander).

20. Locock compared "[The table] mossy seats had round" (*Paradise Lost* V.392).

23-25. R. Piccoli interpreted this as meaning that Prometheus and his company will live *sub specie aeternitatis*. E. Barnard noted here and at lines 40-63 the "two tendencies: toward humanitarianism on the one hand, and mysticism on the other; and although in the poet's thought they are never in conflict, yet in this poem they are still unrelated, and consequently are not fused, but confused. . . . The vision [here] is still of the earth, though scarcely earthly. The pain of pity—and, by implication, objects of pity—still lingers . . . [but] the vision is winged" (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 174-75).

24. Scudder commented: "No Victorian poet, writing when science had revealed the secret of development, could have written this line with complacency"; but G. H. Clarke disagreed that the line was out of harmony with the theory of evolution: " 'Ourselves unchanged' expresses a common and here justly dramatic longing for peace and rest after long spiritual toil and suffering." Clarke held that lines 60-62 completed the meaning, and he cited III.iv.193-204 as additional evidence.

25. Comparisons:

[T. Böhme (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, pp. 329-30)] So, in them all raignes *Mutabilitie* [*The Faerie Queene* VII.vii.26].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 254)] We are as clouds that veil the midnight moon; / . . . Night closes round, and they are lost for ever; / Or like forgotten lyres . . . To whose frail frame no second motion brings / One mood or modulation like the last. / . . . Man's yesterday may ne'er be like his morrow; / Nought may endure but Mutability [*Mutability*].

mutability] Woodberry noted that this was "a constant and characteristic word and thought of Shelley." Carl Grabo commented: "The idea, seemingly, is that the social mind, mankind as a whole, is happy and eternal although the individual, the human mortal, is subject to the vicissitudes of change" (*Interpretation*, p. 111). And Notopoulos noted that immutability amidst flux "is a Platonic doctrine applied from the character and nature of Plato's Ideas to Shelley's dramatis personae."

30-63. E. B. Hungerford commented: "Here the words are apposite to a bewildering number of things. They are apposite to Prometheus as the benefactor of man; to Asia both as his wife and in her capacity as Love; to the physical scenery; to the classical descriptions of the place; to the association of Plato with the Academy; to the idea of the Promethean gifts; and to the idea that the Promethean gifts, properly developed, will elevate and ennoble man and society. Only by taking account of all these elements may the reader understand the allegory" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 202).

30-33. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] I watched the dawn of her first smiles, and soon / When zenith-stars were trembling on the wave, / Or when the beams of the invisible moon, / Or sun, from many a prism within the cave / Their gem-born shadows to the water gave, / Her looks would hunt them, and with outspread hand, / From the swift lights which might that fountain pave, / She would mark one, and laugh, when that command / Slighting, it lingered there, and could not understand [*The Revolt of Islam* VII.xx]; [2] [*King Lear* V.iii.9-17 (see note at lines 10-63).]

[R. Piccoli] [*The Witch of Atlas* xiii, where mist, light, and star-beams are woven into a veil, "A shadow for the splendour of her love."]

35-39. L. Vivante commented: "Shelley searchingly points to the first principle of all communion as recognizable in thought's delicate web" ("Shelley," p. 146). With respect to the nature of the thought J. H. Cousins noted that "a pure psychologist would look for clear thoughts or logical thoughts. Shelley looks for *lovely* thoughts. He carries an æsthetical quality over into the mental domain" (*Work Promethean*, p. 78).

36-37. Comparisons:

[Locock] A fragile lute, on whose harmonious strings / The breath of heaven did wander [*Alastor* 667-68].

[E. Barnard] [1] And moveless, as a long-forgotten lyre / Suspended in the solitary dome / Of some mysterious and deserted fane [*Alastor* 42-44]; [2] Make

me thy lyre, even as the forest is [*Ode to the West Wind* v]; [3] There is a Power by which we are surrounded, like the atmosphere in which some motionless lyre is suspended, which visits with its breath our silent chords, at will [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 231].

38-39. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] Such difference without discord [*Epipsychidion* 144]; [2] from sounds which first differed, like the grave and the acute, and which afterwards agreed, harmony was produced according to musical art [*Symposium* 187. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 180].

40-44. Olwen Campbell commented: "To live, blank verse must be created new, and Shelley so created it. He used all the materials, but used them freshly [as here], where the changes are wrung upon aspirated and unaspirated initial vowels" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 246).

41-43. Comparisons:

[Alexander] Not that faire field / Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathring flours / Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie *Dis* / Was gatherd [*Paradise Lost* IV.268-71].

[E. Barnard] And they shall never more sip laudanum, / From Helicon or Himeros [*Letter to Maria Gisborne* 316-17].

Hughes paraphrased: "The bees fetch honey from Enna, a hill and a town in the centre of Sicily, to their island homes on the river Himera [*Himera meridionalis*, the present Salso], which flows northward to the sea." Scudder noted that near Enna "is the flowery vale whence Persephone was carried off by Dis to the under world."

44-62. F. A. Lea commented: "Shelley never pictured reborn humanity more clearly than [here]. But he left it vague, not because he was unable to picture it, but because he was able; not because it was perfect, and therefore impossible, but because it was possible, and therefore imperfect. He knew that wisdom for mankind would not mean perfect happiness" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 135). See also Textual Notes.

44-48. Comparison:

[J. Slater (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 385)] My greatest content would be utterly to desert all human society. I would retire with you and our child to a solitary island in the sea, would build a boat, and shut upon my retreat the floodgates of the world [To Mrs. Shelley, August 16, 1821. Julian, X, 315].

Slater held that Prometheus "cares no more for man, but all his thoughts are bent on the enjoyment of the most effeminate sort of domestic bliss." But Carl Grabo pointed out that Neoplatonically "the end of earthly experience is to provide the soul with the materials for reflection . . . [and it] is this need of experience which, in Plotinus (III, 85), is the necessity which determines the incarnation of souls" (*Interpretation*, p. 112).

45. Barnard compared "And her low voice was heard like love" (*The Witch of Atlas* v).

46. Locock compared "the pain / Of pity" (*Hellas* Prologue 90-91).

dove-eyed] Robert Bridges quoted Dr. Henry Bradley as thinking that the word was invented by "one Elijah Fenton." Bridges traced it to *Oculi tui columbarum* in the Song of Solomon (iv.l), "which our revisers now translate 'Thine eyes are as doves behind thy veil' . . . that is, they are like doves, not like doves' eyes. The unfortunate word can only be defended as meaning 'eyes that express the tenderness of the Dove', which the dove's eyes do not" (*Spirit of Man.* Note to Fourth Impression [n.p.]).

47. Comparison:

[R. Bridges (*ibid.*)] It gives a very echo to the seat / Where love is thron'd [*Twelfth-Night* II.iv.21-22].

49-62. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] Or, what if Art, an ardent intercessor, / Driving on fiery wings to Nature's throne, / Checks the great mother stooping to caress her, / And cries: "Give me, thy child, dominion / Over all height and depth"? [*Ode to Liberty* xvii].

[Locock] [1] On Man, on Nature, and on Human Life, / Musing in solitude, I oft perceive / Fair trains of imagery before me rise, / Accompanied by feelings of delight / Pure, or with no unpleasing sadness mixed; / And I am conscious of affecting thoughts / And dear remembrances, whose presence soothes / Or elevates the Mind, intent to weigh / The good and evil of our mortal state [Wordsworth, Preface to *The Excursion*]; [2] But in his delicate form—a dream of Love, / Shaped by some solitary nymph, whose breast / Long'd for a deathless lover from above, / And madden'd in that vision—are exprest / All that ideal beauty ever bless'd / The mind with in its most unearthly mood, / When each conception was a heavenly guest— / A ray of immortality—and stood / Starlike, around, until they gather'd to a god! [*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* IV.clxii].

[W. E. Peck (*Shelley*, II, 118)] I now understand why the Greeks were such great poets; and, above all, I can account, it seems to me, for the harmony, the unity, the perfection, the uniform excellence, of all their works of art. They lived in a perpetual commerce with external nature, and nourished themselves upon the spirit of its forms [To Peacock, January 24, 1819. Julian, X, 26].

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 106)] [1] Without beauty, what would become of "being"? Without "being," what would become of beauty? [Plotinus V. Guthrie trans., II, 566]; [2] Poetry is ever found to coexist with whatever other arts contribute to the happiness and perfection of man. . . . Poetry, and the principle of Self . . . are the God and Mammon of the world. . . . What were Virtue, Love, Patriotism, Friendship . . . if Poetry did not ascend to bring light and fire from those eternal regions where the owl-winged faculty of calculation dare not ever soar? . . . Poets are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 119, 134-35, 140].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 254] [1] [*Symposium* 210-12 (see note at II.iv.120)]; [2] So that those who are thus [through beauty] united are linked by a nobler community and a firmer love, as being the common parents of a lovelier and more enduring progeny [the arts] than the parents of other children [*Symposium* 209c. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 204-5].

[E. Barnard (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 267)] There is one refuge from the despondency of this contemplation [of the impermanence of paintings]. The material part indeed of their works must perish, but they survive in the mind of man, and the remembrances connected with them are transmitted from generation to generation. The poet embodies them in his creations, the systems of philosophers are modelled

to gentleness by their contemplation, opinion, that legislator, is infected with their influence; men become better and wiser; and the unseen seeds are perhaps thus sown which shall produce a plant more excellent even that [*sic*] that from which they fell [To Peacock, November 9, 1818. Julian, IX, 347].

An early reviewer found this sonorous but meaningless, a "*galimatias* (for it goes beyond simple nonsense)" (*Quarterly Review*, 1821. See Appendix D, item X); and sixty years later J. Slater agreed by asking "what philosopher ever wrote nonsense to be compared with this? . . . We defy the most skilled in finding a meaning in German metaphysics to explain this" (" 'Prometheus,' " pp. 394-95). But Scudder pointed out the Platonic idealism in the lines and commented: "In [Shelley's] philosophy, the only reality is in the mind, and thence proceed, not only all the forms of art, but the whole external world." Alexander paraphrased: "The lovely creations of art shall visit us, less splendid at first, but afterwards radiant, when the mind of the artist, from familiarity with actual beauty, shall be able to give to the phantoms of the imagination the excellences which exist in reality." A. E. Hancock noted the influence of Godwin rather than Rousseau, for "Rousseau's man turns away from civilization with its arts and sciences. . . . [He] would scarcely find himself here in a congenial atmosphere" (*French Revolution*, pp. 75-76).

Hughes commented: "The apparitions are half visualized ideas of the artist, which he clearly visualizes by focusing on them traits of reality. But, whether represented in art, or while yet existing as dim pictures in the brain, they are only shadows of forms of truth—forms conceived in the mind's embrace with beauty ['whence': from the embrace of beauty]. By 'forms' Shelley means the Platonic ideas, the eternal prototypes of all visible existences [see I.748 (Locock)]. The poem or statue will be the shadow, the truth in the artist's mind will be the form" (Edition, p. 202). Locock suggested the following additional definitions: line 50, "as": when; line 53, "gathered": concentrated or focused (as in "was o'er the world its gathered beams to bear" [*The Revolt of Islam* IV.xvi], so that the apparitions become clear).

To J. H. Cousins, these lines formed an unrimed sonnet giving "Shelley's own doctrine (1) of the origin of the arts, (2) their function in the cosmic operation, (3) their relationship with the evolution of humanity, and (4) the conditions of their progress" (*Work Promethean*, pp. 74-75). Cousins paraphrased:

From ultimate powers inherent in the nature of the universe come impulses which, through the mutual co-operation of the intellectual and æsthetical capacities of humanity [see line 35], fulfil themselves in the forms of the arts. These art-forms, partaking at once of the nature of divinity which is their source, and of humanity which is their instrument, are the mediators between both. Their capacity to act as such will increase through both the particular service of an illuminated criticism and the general advance of humanity in wisdom and altruism [pp. 83-84].

Grabo noted that the emphasis on Beauty in art is Neoplatonic (Plotinus) since in Plato the major emphasis is on the Good, and that "Plotinus declares that beauty in an art work is of divine origin, an intuition of the artist," as in Keats's "What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth" (*Letters*, p. 67) (*Interpretation*, pp. 107-8). Notopoulos, however, saw the lines as one of the best examples of direct Platonic influence, and of Shelley's power of transmuting Plato's metaphysics into poetry. The lines, he noted, are a direct transcription of the *Symposium* passages, and the "lovely apparitions" and "phantoms" are the shadows of Ideal Beauty which Shelley here translates literally as "forms." Shelley, Notopoulos held, also enlists the Platonic

> . . . contrast of dimness and light for the degree of reality embodied in physical and ideal Beauty. The mind nurtured on beauty focuses on the dim objects a bright light, and they are seen as the Platonic forms of Reality. The intellectual character of this Beauty is seen in Shelley's emphasis on mind, which grasps the beauty of the forms. In this passage the Platonic metaphysics of appearance and reality is developed through Plato's own imagery. Furthermore, Shelley echoes in these lines Plato's view . . . that the arts are the immortal progeny of Love.

Notopoulos felt that this passage, Robert Bridges' *Testament of Beauty* I.670-91, and Yeats's *Among School Children* vi, constituted the "clearest re-expression of Plato's philosophy in English poetry," and he noted that the following words or phrases are either translations or poetic references to parallel words or phrases in the *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, or *Republic:* "lovely apparitions," "dim at first," "the phantoms," "radiant," "arising bright from the embrace of beauty," "forms," "reality," and "progeny immortal." Notopoulos concluded: "Out of all these phrases and conceptions Shelley has woven a new fabric of his own which is a poetic summary of his reading of the *Symposium*, the *Phaedrus*, and the *Republic*. The passage is one of the best illustrations in English poetry of how Platonism directly affects the poetic mind" (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 254-55).

Barnard paraphrased: "Not what man is, but what he is *to become*, as he moves nearer and nearer to divine perfection, such is the proper subject matter of art" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 267). And O. W. Firkins interpreted the lines to mean that "as beauty produces the forms of the outward world so the mind, fertilized by communion with this beauty, produces the artistic works which are the images or phantoms of the works of nature, and that the matter used in this process, originally phantasmal and unsubstantial like all matter, becomes real only by impregnation from the source of reality, the mind" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 183-84).

49. *lovely apparitions*] J. H. Cousins believed these to be the "progeny immortal" of line 54. Shelley "is not, in these words, speaking of pictures, statues and poems, but of the universal impulse to plastic and rhythmical creation which is the basis of art" (*Work Promethean*, pp. 76-77).

50. *as*] "When," not "like as" (R. Bridges, *Spirit of Man*, Note).

54-56. K. N. Cameron commented: "The main function of these leaders, the 'Poets' in the new order is to be the development of the arts and sciences" ("Political Symbolism," p. 752).

54. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] I.749; [2] For, by the intercourse with, and as it were, the very touch of that which is beautiful, he brings forth and produces what he had formerly conceived; and nourishes and educates that which is this [thus?] produced together with the object of his love, whose image, whether absent or present, is never divided from his mind. So that those who are thus united are linked by a nobler community and a firmer love, as being the common parents of a lovelier and more enduring progeny than the parents of other children [*Symposium* 209. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 204-5].

57-60. Comparisons:

[Locock] Art, an ardent intercessor [*Ode to Liberty* xvii].

[S. Larrabee (*English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, pp. 185-86)] Art . . . is the mediatress between, and reconciler of, nature and man [Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria*, ed. Shawcross, II, 253].

[E. Barnard] But we must look for those craftsmen who by the happy gift of nature are capable of following the trail of true beauty and grace, that our young men, dwelling as it were in a salubrious region, may receive benefit from all things about them, whence the influence that emanates from works of beauty may waft itself to eye or ear like a breeze that brings from wholesome places health, and so from earliest childhood insensibly guide them to likeness, to friendship, to harmony with beautiful reason [*Republic* III.xii.401c].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 255-56)] He [Love] fills up that intermediate space between [divine and human] beings, so as to bind together, by his own power, the whole universe of things [*Symposium* 202e. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 197].

H. Richter identified these with the products of man's mind in the golden age. Locock commented: "The meaning seems to be that loving communication between the inhabitants of the Cave and the outside world will be kept up by means of the wandering echoes and visions of Art. 'Mediators' is simply 'media' or means of communication." J. H. Cousins added that the mediators were also "the transmitters of the love of Man for God and of God for Man. Love . . . is the highest form of worship, and the arts are its channels. Art, therefore, is religion" (*Work Promethean*, p. 79). And Notopoulos held that "in these lines Shelley fuses Art with the conception of Eros as an intermediary spirit. . . . Likewise Shelley alludes to his favorite doctrine, the 'mind becomes that which it contemplates' " (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 255-56).

59. *him and us*] Man and the celestials (J. H. Cousins, *Work Promethean*, p. 80).

60-62. J. H. Cousins commented:

The apparitions of the arts . . . are at first dim; but they become radiant when the mind, vitally associated with beauty, focuses its attention on them, and gives to what is at first a vague emanation the ultimate status of reality, not by im-

partation from without but by evocation from within. This is Shelley's conception of art-criticism, based on reality, associated with beauty, consciously deliberate, aiding the advance of creative art by being itself creative. . . . [But not only are the arts] all that man becomes. In the last two lines of the passage he says that man is all that the arts become; for the arts grow "more fair and soft" just to the extent that man, their channel of expression, "grows more fair and kind, And veil by veil," etc. [*Work Promethean*, pp. 80-81].

E. Barnard noted that "man does not at once become perfect after Jupiter's fall. His will, however, has been purified, and henceforth his progress towards perfection is dependent only on increased knowledge." And J. A. Notopoulos pointed out that the lines illustrate Shelley's ascription of evil to Appearance rather than Reality (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 256).

61. *fair and soft*] J. H. Cousins held that "to Shelley the word *fair* meant all that was admirable . . . [and] *softness* . . . carried for him the meaning of an increased responsiveness to reality through the capacity for love" (*Work Promethean*, p. 82).

62. Comparisons:

[Locock] Strip every impious gawd, rend Error veil by veil [*Ode to Naples* 93].

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 110)] [1] II.v.58-59 and III.iii.113-14; [2] Like Orient mountains lost in day [*Hellas* 85]; [3] To climes where now veiled by the ardour of day / Thou art hidden [*ibid.* 1043-44]; [4] And death is a low mist which cannot blot / The brightness it may veil [*Adonais* xliv].

Scudder commented: "Man being entirely passive during the process." Grabo noted that "evil and pain existed in the reign of Jupiter because man permitted them to be; his thought was evil. When love replaces hate in the thought of Prometheus, the earth and all the forms of life are transformed" (*Interpretation*, p. 168). Grabo also pointed out that "evil and error obscure the divine reality which is at the heart of life . . . [for] earthly life is one of illusion" (p. 110). R. H. Fogle saw in the line an example of "finite-infinite imagery," since "evil and error do not fall instantaneously; there is a suggestion of layer upon layer to be stripped off," in contrast to IV.189-91, "in which reform and revelation are immediate" (*Imagery*, pp. 235-36).

64-68. Comparisons:

[Scudder] Sir Guyon de Shelley, one of the most famous of the Palladins . . . carried about with him at all times three conchs fastened to the inside of his shield, tipt respectively with brass, with silver, and with gold. When he blew the first shell, all giants, however huge, fled before him. When he put the second to his lips, all spells were broken, all enchantments dissolved; and when he made the third conch, the golden one, vocal, the law of God was immediately exalted, and the law of the Devil annulled and abrogated, wherever the potent sound reached [Hogg, *Shelley*, p. 18].

[P. H. Butter (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 198)] The convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell; / . . . and his countenance soon / Brightened with joy; for from within were heard / Murmurings, whereby the monitor expressed / Mysterious union with its native sea. / Even such a shell the universe itself / Is to the ear of Faith; and

there are times, / I doubt not, when to you it doth impart / Authentic tidings of invisible things [Wordsworth, *The Excursion* IV.1135-44].

Todhunter commented: "This trumpet of Proteus [see note at III.ii.24], blown by the Spirit of the Hour, typifies the operation of that plastic force of nature which is the creative or free-will element, added to the sum of existing forces to produce evolution in one out of the infinite number of possible directions—the force which makes blind necessity subject to reason. . . . It is the mythical expression of that tendency to produce beautiful results from apparently unfavourable conditions, which really exists in nature, and acts as a sanative and redeeming force upon the human race, bringing genius out of morbidity, and spiritual graces out of calamity" (*Study*, p. 173). J. Slater considered the shell "a childish device. What subtle magic can be supposed to reside in a tiny sea-shell, that can produce such results as are related by the Spirit of the Hour?" And he held that the device was more appropriate to *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* than to "sober, earnest tragedy" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 191). Scudder quoted Salt as asking: "Was Shelley thinking of [the] golden conch" (see Hogg quotation) in these lines? But she added: "Most interpretations of this shell are painfully arbitrary; and perhaps we may as well enjoy the beauty of the poetry, for once, without worrying out a meaning." H. Richter noted that "the shell which Asia received as bridal gift on her first marriage and which now comes into use on her being married again, forms an external connection of the second golden age with the first. The same cry of jubilation goes through everything." W. N. Guthrie called it the shell "of that liberty which is a condition of true virtue" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 184). Alexander found it appropriate that Proteus, who had prophetic powers, was the "giver of the trumpet which announces the inauguration of a new era"; and Hughes that "Ione (or Hope) should keep it in hiding in the evil days. . . . The shell contains the virtue that proceeds from the marriage, and its music diffuses this virtue through the world." C. Grabo noted that Ione, as herald of the new day, uses the mystic shell which has associations with and echoes of the sea, "symbol sometimes of matter, sometimes of the universal mind from which souls are born and to which they return" (*Interpretation*, p. 113). G. W. Knight held that the shell "symbolizes the oceanic music within the inanimate and solid. So Earth's awaking [lines 85-90] is our central event . . . [and] a new person enters our drama: the lost life, or soul, of the Earth rises as a most attractive child [line 148]" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 213). And P. H. Butter commented: "The shell is, no doubt, prophecy, but also, like Wordsworth's shell in *The Prelude* [V.79-98], poetry" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 181).

71-73. G. H. Clarke compared II.i.156-59. S. J. M. Suddard commented: "The organic unity of life . . . may be first discerned in sensation . . . [and] for Shelley the slightest impression made upon one sense sends an electric shock through all the others." She pointed out that, as here and at IV.81-82,

the sensations "spontaneously suggest each other"; again, as at II.ii.39-40, "at a certain point of intensity, they positively contradict each other"; or, as at II.i.79-81, there is "the final negation of individuality, by which all distinctions whatever are transcended in the act of love" (*Studies*, pp. 101-4). O. W. Firkins cited these lines (as also II.v.60-63; IV.190-93 and 495-98) as an example of sight and sound "so far fused and amalgamated as to be almost deprived of individual distinction" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 136-44). R. H. Fogle described the passage as a synaesthetic example of " 'tonal vision,' or sound portrayed as light or color," as are also IV.534-35 and, for a "rather ambiguous example," II.i.25-27 (*Imagery*, pp. 129-30).

78. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] [1] Fetch me this herb; and be thou here again / Ere the leviathan can swim a league [*A Midsummer-Night's Dream* II.i.173-74]; [2] Before you can say, "Come," and "Go," / And breathe twice; and cry, "so, so," / Each one, tripping on his toe, / Will be here with mop and mow [*The Tempest* IV.i.44-47]; [3] I drink the air before me, and return / Or e'er your pulse twice beat [*ibid.* V.i.102-3].

84-90. Comparison:

> [H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 425)] Every time the mind is invaded with anguish and gloom, the frame becomes disordered. . . . In proportion as we cultivate fortitude and equanimity, our circulations will be cheerful [Godwin, *Political Justice*, II, 526].

Todhunter noted that, "man's spirit being regenerate, Earth herself becomes newborn" (*Study*, p. 173). Scudder called the speech "a fine exercise of the mythic power. If Mother Earth could speak, such language would she use." A. T. Strong commented: "It is noteworthy of the growing tendency of Shelley's mind that the new influence first penetrates Earth and fills her with joy and glory, and then spreads from her to man, whereas the converse had been the case in *The Revolt of Islam*" (*Studies*, p. 47). Strong also noted that "it was an article of [Shelley's] faith that the universe was informed by a single all-pervading spirit and that any change in any part of that spirit must affect the whole" (p. 50). Carl Grabo stressed the scientific significance of the regeneration, pointing out that "this renewal is to be conceived of in the terms of natural science as the consequence of greater heat and electric energy" (*Interpretation*, p. 113). E. Barnard, in turn, noted:

> The responsiveness of nature to the spiritual state of man is an ancient mythological theme. Legends associated with the Christian story, for instance, describe nature as suffering, like man, from the original sin in the Garden of Eden; and as rejoicing at the birth of Christ. Such a belief is in harmony with what seems to be Shelley's characteristic view: that evil comes into existence through the perverted will of conscious beings. Such a view in turn would seem to imply that the physical world exists as a manifestation of mind, or consciousness, which is the only reality [cf. IV.382-84].

R. H. Fogle recognized the unusual tendency here (as also at III.iv and IV.206 ff.), and commented: "Shelley, indeed, is a poet of sympathy rather than of empathy. The sensory elements of the empathic process are lacking in him. He projects himself into the object intellectually and emotionally, but not physically. . . . This lack of feeling for the body manifests itself in his inability to describe complex, organic forms. . . . His figures are generally airy and incorporeal as wind" (*Imagery*, pp. 177-78).

86. Carl Grabo held that this line and IV.333 and 370 suggest that "Shelley subscribed to the theory of a granite core of the earth with pockets or wells of volcanic fire rather than to the theory that the center of the earth was molten" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 192).

90-96. E. B. Hungerford, comparing Sophocles' reference to "Demeter's hill, who waters the green shoots" (*Oedipus at Colonus* 1600), noted that Demeter was another name for Themis, or Earth, and that Shelley here represented her as the guardian of living things: "No longer will she be Earth the destroyer, but . . . an earth which nourishes life" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 204).

91-93. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] [1] III.iv.36; [2] And all killing insects and gnawing worms, / And things of obscene and unlovely forms, / She bore, in a basket of Indian woof, / Into the rough woods far aloof [*The Sensitive Plant* II.41-44].

Woodberry noted that "the sympathy of Shelley with life in its humblest forms was almost Buddhistic in solicitude."

93-95. Comparison:

[C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 49)] Those epidemic complaints, which are generally termed influenza, are believed to arise from vapours thrown out from earthquakes in such abundance as to affect large regions of the atmosphere [E. Darwin, *Temple of Nature*, 1803, Note, p. 140].

96-99. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] And the wild antelope, that starts whene'er / The dry leaf rustles in the brake, suspend / Her timid steps to gaze upon a form / More graceful than her own [*Alastor* 103-6]; [2] An antelope, / In the suspended impulse of its lightness, / Were less aethereally light [*Epipsychidion* 75-77]; [3] from many a dale / The antelopes who flocked for food have spoken / With happy sounds, and motions [*The Revolt of Islam* X.ii].

[A. Braunlich ("Parallels," p. 428)] Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins, which feed among the lilies [*Song of Solomon* iv.5].

Hughes noted that "the antelope is to Shelley the image of gentleness and grace, or of life purified of grossness."

105-7. Comparisons:

[R. Ackermann (*Lucan in Shelley*, p. 24)] Either no feeling remains to the soul after death, or death itself matters not at all [*Pharsalia* III.39-40].

[Alexander] III.iii.25 and III.iv.200-1.

Alexander noted that "the poet considers that men will still be subject to death and mutability." B. P. Kurtz commented: "Death is romanticized, perhaps sentimentalized. But it remains, nevertheless, the one dark and ugly event in this renascence of the Golden Age. Other ugliness, much of what death symbolizes, disappears; but not death itself" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 179).

105. *her*] The Earth (Barnard).

108-10. B. P. Kurtz commented: "At one bound we are back to the old tragic questioning, death having suddenly sloughed the thin veil of beauty" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 179).

111-12. James Thomson ascribed this repetition of I.150-51 to the unconscious "dictation of reminiscence." But he also held that "tongue" here "does not express, though it suggests, the real meaning," and that probably "This *theme* is intelligible" is intended. In I.138 and 150 Thomson felt that the words "language" and "tongue" were used correctly, since Earth was there using her "inorganic voice" while here she is speaking in her natural living voice ("Notes," p. 666). Rossetti read the line to mean: "The dead alone could give tongue to the facts concerning death; but they never do give tongue thereto—they communicate with none" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 161).

113-14. Comparisons: These lines should be compared with III.iv.190-92 and the note thereon. In addition to mutually pertinent comparisons there given, the following are more applicable here:

> [Alexander] [1] Peace, peace! he is not dead, he doth not sleep— / He hath awakened from the dream of life [*Adonais* xxxix]; [2] He lives, he wakes—'tis Death is dead, not he [*ibid.* xli].
>
> [S. Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, pp. 125-27)] [1] The essence of the mind consists in knowledge. . . . The more things, therefore, the mind knows by the second and third kinds of knowledge, the greater is that part which abides. . . . [It] is possible for the human mind to be of such a nature that that part of it which we have shown perishes with its body . . . in comparison with the part of it which remains, is of no consequence [Spinoza, *Ethic*, pp. 278-79]; [2] Hence it follows that no love except intellectual love is eternal [*ibid.*, p. 275].
>
> [G. H. Clarke] [1] *We* decay / Like corpses in a charnel; fear and grief / Convulse us and consume us day by day, / And cold hopes swarm like worms within our living clay [*Adonais* xxxix]; [2] death itself must be, / Like all the rest, a mockery. / . . . For love, and beauty, and delight, / There is no death or change [*The Sensitive Plant* III.128-35].
>
> [Hughes] First of all the deathless gods who dwell on Olympus made a golden race of mortal men who lived in the time of Cronos when he was reigning in heaven. . . . When they died, it was as though they were overcome with sleep [Hesiod, *Works and Days* 109-16].
>
> [B. P. Kurtz (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 180)] [1] I die daily [I Corinthians xv.31]; [2] Who knoweth if to live is to be dead, / And to be dead, to live [*Gorgias* 492e, quoting Euripides].

Todhunter felt that the vague answer with respect to death (cf. II.iv. 115-16) "is probably as good an answer as we can hope for in the present

state of our knowledge. . . . Our present mortal life is the true death. What we call death is the awakening to our spirit's true life in eternity" (*Study*, p. 174). Rossetti amplified this: "Death, she says, is in fact mortal life—mortal life is incipient death: as life closes, the veil which may interchangeably be called life or death, and which hides the ultimate realities, is lifted: the realities, whatever they may be, remain" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 161). Scudder called the lines "the limit at which Shelley gives up the attempt to solve the final enigmas"; and J. Kooistra similarly held that the lines had "an agnostic ring . . . suggesting . . . that the problem [of immortality] is beyond man's power of solution" ("*Prometheus*," p. 219). Hughes, in his note on *The Sensitive Plant* III.124 ff., has an extended comment of importance here:

> Shelley's many utterances about death seem to be self-conflicting; but they may be understood in a consistent way. He was a devout reader of the *Phaedo*, in which Plato argues that the soul is deceived and entombed by the senses and the body, and at death escapes to its home with God, where it receives truth with the mind only, and where the things of sense are not. These thoughts Shelley fortified by the Berkeleyan doctrine that "nothing exists but as it is perceived"—that all existence is really a phantasm . . . and further by the conception of a Universal Soul in which and from which all individual spirits are and to which they are gathered up at death. This Soul is the sustainer of the Universe, and Shelley sometimes speaks of it as visiting all things with refreshment and joy, and sometimes as being itself the principle of life in all things. In so far as it enters into sensuous existence it is mixed with the principle of Evil, the retarding and dimming principle; for Nature, even when it is entirely attuned to the Divine, will still be a clog to it and to the spirits of men in some degree [see III.iv.200-4]. After death the human soul, returning to that fountain of life, may bear its part in animating the world; or else Shelley often speaks as if it might be free altogether from "the eclipsing curse of birth" and might dwell in that transcendental portion of the divine which has nothing to do with sense or time, in the One apart from the Many. He often expresses the unreality of earthly existence by the image of the painted curtain that is lifted at death and leaves us (so we may understand the metaphor) face to face with the real scene [as here]. . . . When therefore . . . Shelley doubts the immortality of the soul, he may be taken to mean the individual personality [see IV.534-38]. . . . We must remember . . . that Shelley believed emotionally. In his emotional states he entertained the idea of personal survival, and probably assented to it; and at other times he listened to the demur of his intellect.

With respect to the present lines Hughes commented: "The metaphor, then, seems to be from a painted or figured curtain before the stage of a theatre. The painted figures are quite different from the scene which is disclosed when the curtain rises; the scene is the reality, and they unreality [cf. IV.57-59]." J. H. Cousins suggested that "life in the human sense is death in the spiritual sense. . . . To Shelley there is no ultimate antithesis of life and death . . . but in the ultimate evaluation, death is an incidental expedient of life" (*Work Promethean*, p. 61). Kurtz noted that Euripides (see comparison above) "seems rather to have meant that the conscious

life of men may be all an illusion; and that meaning of the phrase brings out its relation to Plato's own surmise that all appearances are shadows of Ideas." This, Kurtz felt, was Shelley's meaning, for "the limitations of consciousness, reason, and appearances, in analogy to all practical limitations, suggest a something beyond themselves." Kurtz also held that the present lines marked "a significant advance in [Shelley's] speculation about death," for here *death*, or death-in-life, is called the veil, whereas the sonnet "Lift not the painted veil . . ." calls *life* the veil with a Godwinian rather than a Platonic reference, as does III.iv.190-98. Lifting the Platonic "veil," then, "discloses the immortality of the spirit" rather than a perfected society. Kurtz concluded that "the figuring of the two ideas under the one device of a lifted veil . . . marks the double significance death always had for Shelley: death as a symbol of cruelty and all ugliness, and death as a biological fact. Both deaths release perfection, one of society, the other of spirit" (*Pursuit of Death*, pp. 180-83).[32] Carl Grabo thought that as Shelley permitted intuition a legitimate place in his later thinking he came to believe, in line with Plato and the Neoplatonists, in some form of survival, not necessarily personal, "but the loss of personality in the One. Shelley's conception of this union stresses rather the enrichment of personality, its heightened expression in the arts and sciences" (*Interpretation*, pp. 114-15).

J. W. Beach felt that a "confusion or inconsistency of thought . . . on the subject of immortality, grows out of his attempt to conceive, at times, of death as a state of the soul in which the spiritual meaning of life is to be enjoyed apart from the prime conditions of living. And this results very probably from an incomplete understanding of the platonic theory of the eternal 'forms' under which all things manifest themselves, or from the incomplete assimilation of his naturalistic view of the world with the neoplatonic theory of the descent of the soul into generation" ("Shelley's 'Platonism,'" pp. 273-74). But E. Barnard held the lines to mean that "the conditions of earthly existence simply preclude knowledge of ultimate things" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 162); and F. A. Lea that "in this context it is a confession that wisdom does not mean happiness" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 139).

For other comments on Shelley's attitude toward death see note at III.iv.200-1.

114-23. Francis Palgrave commented: "This passage presents rather a beautiful catalogue of landscape forms than a realized picture; it is an example of Shelley's *Fata Morgana* manner"; and he cited, for "their more definite quality," lines 137-40 (*Landscape in Poetry*, p. 223).

117. A. T. Strong pointed out that, "with Shelley, apparently through a quite conscious reversal of normal values, the meteor is not only beautiful but constantly beneficent" (*Studies*, p. 84).

[32]See footnote, p. 525.

124-75. Carl Grabo held that

> . . . the Earth surrenders this cavern whence her spirit "was panted forth in anguish" and which now is the source of beneficent forces, as a symbol of the surrender to Demogorgon of the forces of nature, of material energy, which he, not Jupiter, henceforth is to wield. . . . The Spirit of the Earth, symbol of energy, is reunited now with Asia, the Spirit of Love in Nature. The Cave of its habitation is surrendered to Prometheus. In all this is symbolized the union of Love, Energy, and the Mind of Man by whose beneficent operations all things, all forms of life, are henceforth to flourish. During the reign of Jupiter, power withdrawn for tyrannical ends and manifested in violence, in lightning, had left the Earth cold. From her bosom her children had drawn disease and pain. Now in the warmth of an immortal youth, with energy restored and turned to beneficent ends, the whole world will rejoice and prosper [*Interpretation*, pp. 116-17].

But Louis Cazamian saw in the lines only that Shelley, as in his own desires, made a large place for friends near the lovers, and wished only the jealous happiness confined in an egoistic isolation (Edition, p. 25). P. H. Butter differed slightly from Grabo: "The underlying meaning is that of old the cave of the mind was possessed by false religious ideas, which caused strife and madness among men; but now false religions have been expelled, and the thoughts of men will be calm and happy" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 199).

124. On the two caves and the two temples see note at III.iii.10.

128. *spoke*] "With tongues," or prophesied (Locock). Locock felt that "this and the next two lines seem to have little point; evidently Shelley had in his mind the temple at Delphi."

133-36. Comparison:

> [C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 189-90)] As woos Azotic Gas the virgin Air, / And veils in *crimson clouds* the yielding Fair [E. Darwin, *The Botanic Garden* II.147-48].

Grabo identified "crimson air" (Darwin's "Azotic Gas") as nitrous gas: "The color is remarked by Priestley, Davy, and all other experimenters . . . and to no other gas commonly discussed in this day does the description apply." Grabo could not identify the source of Shelley's idea that the gas stimulated growth.

135-40. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] The ivy and the wild-vine interknit / The volumes of their many-twining stems [*Epipsychidion* 500-1]; [2] With budding, fading, faded flowers [Wordsworth, *Ruth* 58].
>
> [E. B. Hungerford (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 199)] [1] A wilderness of laurel, olive, vine [Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 17]; [2] the wine-dark ivy that wreathes the vale . . . where the clustering berries nod [*ibid.* 674-76].

136. See note at II.ii.24-29.

139-40. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] it was a feast / Whene'er he found those globes of deep-red gold / Which in the woods the strawberry-tree doth bear, / Suspended in their emerald

atmosphere [*Marenghi* xiii]; [2] an emerald sky of leaves, starred with innumerable globes of their ripening fruit [To Peacock, March 23, 1819. Julian, X, 37]; [3] [*Examination*, p. 73]: A thousand globes of gold suspended in the dome [quoted by Shelley in E.4 as from "Gibbon Vol. 8, p. 228"].

144-47. G. W. Knight compared *The Revolt of Islam* for revolving orbs and for "the dominating part played by a child" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 214).

145. Comparison:

[H. Sweet ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," p. 309)] And the Waters murmuring / . . . Entice the dewy-feather'd Sleep; / And let som strange mysterious dream, / Wave at his Wings in Airy stream, / Of lively portrature display'd, / Softly on my eye-lids laid [*Il Penseroso* 146-50].

148. Like James Thomson, Rossetti at first assumed that this spirit and the Spirit of the Earth were the same, but he finally decided that the function of the winged child was merely to guide the company. The Spirit of the Earth becomes perceptible to the wanderers only in III.iv, and only then does it salute Asia as "Mother." Rossetti felt that the journey it describes (scene iv) could not be that just taken by the winged-child spirit. Yet, he noted, both are described as winged and both at least suggest guides: "torch bearer" for the first and "the delicate spirit which guides" for the second; and he concluded: "I can only conclude by saying that, if the spirits are indeed two, as I think, they have a strange unity in duality: if they are one, they have an unaccountable duality in unity; for their recorded performances in these two scenes appear to be positively at odds *inter se*" ("Prometheus as Poem," pp. 162-64). But to Alexander it seemed "probable that the poet intended one and the same character in the two scenes," although he admitted that it seemed to meet Asia for the first time at III.iv.24. Alexander added:

In the *Spirit of the Earth* the poet represents the natural tendencies of the Earth as a whole (as in common talk we speak of the spirit of an age, of a nation, etc.). These natural tendencies are innocent and good, and had free scope in the early Golden Age [see III.iv.15-16], but were still undeveloped when the reign of evil came to check them. Hence, the Spirit was and still remains a child, but has begun to grow again, and will, by and by, reach man's estate. This natural good tendency of earthly things is a portion of the universal spirit of beauty and love; hence, its embodiment (the child) is closely connected with Asia and calls her "mother."

Hughes, too, held that "it is best to suppose he is the same being as the Spirit of the Earth in the next scene; but Panthea [at III.iv.23] does not know who his parents are." But Locock, in his turn, commented:

This "Spirit" is apparently not the "delicate Spirit" of the next Scene. The latter "glides," or "walks," or, at the most, "floats along the spray," while the Spirit now present is a "wingèd child." Were the two identical, it would not be a stranger to Ione in the next Scene. Both, however, bear lamps or lights, and both are described as getting light or fire from the eyes of Asia. The distinction between the two appears to be that, while one gives light *to* the Earth for its path through space, the other gives light *from* the earth to the sky, and is also the Earth's pilot.

On the relationship between Earth and the Spirit of the Earth see notes on Dramatis Personae.

torch-bearer] Comparison:

> [H. Richter (*Shelley*, p. 424)] The last point remains,—namely the races with burning torches instituted in honour of Prometheus. This again, like that fire in memory and celebration of which these games were instituted, alludes to arts and sciences, and carries in it a very wise admonition, to this effect,—that the perfection of the sciences is to be looked for not from the swiftness or ability of any one inquirer, but from a succession. For the strongest and swiftest runners are perhaps not the best fitted to keep their torch alight; since it may be put out by going too fast as well as too slow. It seems however that these races and games of the torch have long been intermitted. . . . And well were it to be wished that these games in honour of Prometheus, that is of Human Nature, were again revived; that the victory may no longer depend upon the unsteady and wavering torch of each single man; but competition, emulation, and good fortune be brought to aid. Therefore men should be advised to rouse themselves, and try each his own strength and the chance of his own turn, and not to stake the whole venture upon the spirits and brains of a few persons [Bacon, *Wisdom of the Ancients*, trans. Spedding, VI, 753].

Richter identified the fire of the torch here as the fire of art and science.

149-52. Todhunter found this unclear: "It may be a myth of the arrest of progress by the worship of the Spirit of Beauty in its past incarnation—as a child worships a mother, rather than in its eternally renewed essence. . . . [Perhaps] now at the eyes of Asia transfigured he has rekindled his lamp, extinguished during the sufferings of Prometheus, with a deeper passion of more intelligent love" (*Study*, p. 176). Carl Grabo used the passage to illustrate the "identification of love with electricity," and cited I.122-23, 763-68; II.v.26-30; and IV.100-3; in which he found the "identification of life, love, and electricity . . . implicit." Grabo also noted parallel ideas with respect to electricity and life in Newton, E. Darwin, Davy, and Beccaria (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 132-33).

152-75. K. N. Cameron commented: "Prometheus and Asia are to be conducted from the Indian Caucasus (Hindu Kush mountains), north and west through India, beyond the Indus and the fabled city of Nisa, until they come to Greece."

152. G. H. Clarke compared "This was well done, my bird" (*The Tempest* IV.i.184) and "Bravely, my diligence! Thou shalt be free" (*ibid.* V.i.241).

154. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann] I would not care to . . . summon Bacchus from Nysa [Lucan, *Pharsalia* I.65].
>
> [Hughes] nor that *Nyseian* Ile / Girt with the River *Triton*, where old *Cham*, / . . . Hid *Amalthea* and her Florid Son / Young *Bacchus* from his Stepdame *Rhea's* eye [*Paradise Lost* IV.275-79].
>
> [R. Piccoli] Liber, driving his tigers down from Nysa's lofty crest [*Aeneid* VI.805].

Nysa] The "legendary scene of the nurture of Bacchus, whose frenzied

female followers were called Mænads" (Alexander). Louis Cazamian noted that Shelley makes Nysa a mountain (Edition, p. 249).

See also note at II.iii.9.

155. *Indus*] The traditional home of the intellectual Aryan race (Rossetti, "Study," p. 62).

156. Comparison:

[F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Milton," p. 503)] [*Paradise Lost* VII.297-308, for the "torrent rapture" with which the "watery throng" gathered into seas.]

158. E. B. Hungerford compared "covert of green glades" (Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 673, trans. Jebb [Loeb: bower]) (*Shores of Darkness, p. 198*).

159-61. Comparisons:

[Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 67)] Whene'er I looked, thy Image still was there; / It trembled, but it never passed away [Wordsworth, *Elegiac Stanzas* 7-8].

[Locock] And where within the surface of the river / The shadows of the massy temples lie, / And never are erased—but tremble ever / Like things which every cloud can doom to die [*The Witch of Atlas* lix].

[R. Piccoli] We landed to visit Lake Avernus. We passed thro the cavern of the Sybyl (not Virgil's Sybil) which pierces one of the hills which circumscribe the lake, and came to a calm and lovely basin of water, surrounded by dark woody hills, and profoundly solitary. Some vast ruins of the temple of Pluto stand on a lawny hill on one side of it, and are reflected in its windless mirror [To Peacock, December 22, 1818. Julian, X, 16-17].

[E. B. Hungerford (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 198)] [1] stainless tide [Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 689, trans. Jebb (Loeb: their wave hath a crystal gleam)]; [2] [bowers] unvexed by wind of any storm [*ibid.* 677 (Loeb: windless glade)].

159. Comparisons:

[Scudder] Lulled by the coil of his crystàlline streams [*Ode to the West Wind* iii].
[Locock] On the Crystallin Skie, in Saphir Thron'd [*Paradise Lost* VI.772].

crystalline] Forman noted that pronunciation of this "favourite word" was adapted to the needs of scansion, that usually it was *crystàlline* (but not at IV.433), and that the occasional occurrence of *ch* in this and in *chrystal* was probably a momentary confusion of derivations, on Shelley's part, with the root of "another favourite word" of his, *chrysolite* (Edition, pp. 435-36). The accent is given also in Scudder and Alexander.

161. On the question of the two temples see note at line 10. R. Piccoli commented: "This temple is a symbol of religion, not under its superstitious and maleficent aspect, but insofar as it accompanies the creation of art and in general the force of the human spirit towards the good"; and Carl Grabo added that "the Religion of Humanity is to replace the evil religions of the past . . . Prometheus rather than Jupiter is to be worshiped" (*Interpretation*, p. 117). E. B. Hungerford noted that the temple in the grove of the Academy stems from Pausanias who wrote of an altar of Prometheus in the Academy, and that some editors interpreted it as a

temple and Shelley presumably drew from them (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 198-99).

162. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] a pyramid like sculptured flame, / Distinct with circling steps [*The Revolt of Islam* I.lv]; [2] A city of death, distinct with many a tower [*Mont Blanc* 105]; [3] from the fourfold-visag'd Foure, / Distinct with eyes, and from the living Wheels, / Distinct alike with multitude of eyes [*Paradise Lost* VI.845-47]; [4] With divers flowres distinct with rare delight [*The Faerie Queene* VI.iii.23].

Locock noted that the word, meaning "adorned with," qualifies "not the reflection of the temple, but the temple itself."

163. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] All overwrought with branch-like traceries [*The Woodman and the Nightingale* 58]; [2] And white and silver robes, all overwrought / With cunning workmanship [Homer, *Hymn to Mercury* xlii. Shelley's translation]; [3] with brede / Of marble men and maidens overwrought [Keats, *Ode on a Grecian Urn* v].

Locock defined the word as "decorated all over."

165-66. Comparisons:

> [S. Larrabee (*English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, pp. 193-94)] [As Shelley] gazed on the Praxitelean shapes that throng the Vatican, the Capitol, and the palaces of Rome, his soul imbibed forms of loveliness which became a portion of itself. There are many passages in the *Prometheus* which show the intense delight he received from such studies, and give back the impression with a beauty of poetical description peculiarly his own [Mrs. Shelley's Note. See Appendix C].
>
> [Locock] his countenance . . . motionless as some Praxitelean image of the greatest of poets, filled the silent air with smiles [*The Coliseum.* Julian, VI, 299].

Praxitelean shapes] Shapes "possessing the perfection of the statues of Praxiteles [fl. 464 B.C.], one of the greatest of Greek sculptors" (Alexander).

Larrabee commented: "Among the Grecian sculptors Shelley's favorite was Praxiteles. . . . Shelley's characteristic fondness for images of swiftness, airiness, and flight—the sensations of winds and tempests and, in direct contrast, of cloudlike repose and floating dreams—manifested itself in his feeling for sculpture."

166. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] The lamps which, half extinguished in their haste, / Gleamed few and faint o'er the abandoned feast, / Showed as it were within the vaulted room / A cloud of sorrow hanging, as if gloom / Had passed out of men's minds into the air [*Ginevra* 169-73]; [2] Death, Fear, / Love, Beauty, are mixed in the atmosphere, / Which trembles and burns with the fervour of dread / Around her wild eyes, her bright hand, and her head [*A Vision of the Sea* 161-64].

Hughes commented: "Shelley constantly speaks of love, fear, and other emotions radiating from features like essences which 'stain' or 'load' or 'fill' the air. . . . It was the ply of his imagination to isolate an emotion and to make it individual and visible."

168-70. Comparisons:

[Zupitza-Schick] ". . . you haven't heard that there is to be a torchlight race this evening on horseback in honour of the Goddess?" "On horseback?" said I. "That is a new idea. Will they carry torches and pass them along to one another as they race with the horses, or how do you mean?" [*Republic* I.i.328a. See Textual Notes at III.iii.170].

[Locock] the generations of living creatures are changed and like runners pass on the torch of life [*De rerum natura* II.78-79].

[Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 256)] begetting and rearing children, and so handing on life, like a torch, from one generation to another [*Laws* VI.776b].

Locock noted that the *Republic* reference is "to the Lampadephoria—an Athenian festival in honour of the Fire-gods. . . . But the point of the comparison lies in the difference, expressed by the word 'untransmitted' [line 171]; Prometheus and others like him, who bear throughout their lives that light which is the hope of the world, bear it alone, without aid from others." E. B. Hungerford added that the temple must be near Athens, "for there the Attic cult of Prometheus celebrated the worship of the Titan in . . . the Lampadephoria, in which youths raced from the altar of Prometheus in the Academy to the city. They carried lighted torches, and the object of the race was to arrive first at the goal with the torch unextinguished. The temple, then [line 175] must have reference to the Academy, the famous grove outside the walls of Athens." The sacred grove at Colonus, near the Academy, would then be "the destined Cave" as it too was connected with the Attic cult of Prometheus, and contained a chasm or fissure reputed to lead down to the lower world. Hungerford felt that Shelley probably got the idea from Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, many of whose descriptive details he follows; and he noted also the eighteenth-century formation of the great academies and suggested that Shelley makes a "kind of allegorical prophecy of the right uses of the Promethean gifts as those right uses were promised in the spirit of the new academies" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 197-200).

170-74. Comparison:

[Locock] Then I bethought me of the glorious doom / Of those who sternly struggle to relume / The lamp of Hope o'er man's bewildered lot [*The Revolt of Islam* IV.vii].

Woodberry held that, in connection with lines 108-10, this passage "intimates a greater faith in immortality than any previous passage of Shelley, but it is a shadowy intimation [cf. IV.534-37]. The dead, throughout the drama, are described in the pagan spirit, and the lot of man, not exempt even in this millennium from 'chance and death and mutability,' is opposed to the lot of the immortals as at a pagan distance below them—the fate that Lucretius described."

172. G. H. Clarke compared "He hath awakened from the dream of life" (*Adonais* xxxix), which he called "a phrase peculiarly characteristic of Shelley's genius and philosophy."

174. E. Barnard asked: "Does this imply that Time is at an end?" See note at I.809-11.

175. On the question of the two temples see note at line 10.

SCENE IV

Of this scene Helen Angeli wrote: "There is ever a certain lack of energy and sustained power in attainment, and all Utopias which the human mind can conceive have a fatal tendency towards insipidity and stagnation. . . . It required the supreme effort of the supreme mind of Alighieri to conceive a nonstagnant Paradise" (*Shelley and His Friends*, pp. 61-62). L. Winstanley noted the close correspondence to the description of the restoration of order following the dark period after Saturn's reign, in the *Statesman* ("Platonism in Shelley," pp. 99-100). And H. N. Fairchild commented: "Prometheus does not renew the civilizing activities for which he was punished by Jupiter. . . . His reunion with Nature is not only the restoration of man to his just place in the universe, but a 'return to nature' in something like the usual romantic sense" (*Noble Savage*, p. 309).

1-29. Carl Grabo found in Beccaria, Darwin, Cavallo, and Davy support for interpreting the Spirit of the Earth as atmospheric electricity. The star image (line 3) is found in Darwin and Beccaria (or may be from Shelley's familiarity with the Leyden jar and its green starlike light), and lines 10-14 would parallel the scientists' descriptions of the electrical properties of phosphorescence, fog, *ignis fatuus*, and shooting stars or meteors. Lines 16-19 and 24-29 are explained, according to Grabo, by Beccaria's thesis "that atmospheric electricity is drawn from the earth [hence Earth as the mother] by the sun in water vapor and returns to its source in rain, dew, frost, and lightning," while "at noon, according to Beccaria, the atmospheric electricity . . . is quiescent provided the day is serene and windless" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 118-31). P. H. Butter, however, reminded his readers that "the beings in *Prometheus Unbound* are mythical figures, not merely symbols," even though he found, in Adam Walker, additional evidence of possible scientific influence (*Shelley's Idols*, pp. 152-53).

5. Comparison:

> [E. Barnard] And when they reared, the elfish light / Fell off in hoary flakes [*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* 275-76].

6-7. Comparison:

> [L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 87)] And when He had compounded the whole He divided it into souls equal in number to the stars, and each several soul He assigned to one star [*Timaeus* 41e].

Scudder noted a similarity to Goethe's Euphorion (*Faust II*), "although of course it has a wider meaning than the poet-child of Faust and Helena. The old, half inorganic Gaia, the crude material earth, is replaced, now that the harmony of man and nature has been restored, by this dainty and

more rational spirit, who, childish at first, grows into swift maturity of intelligence and love by the end of Act IV." Winstanley suggested that, "as is the case with Plato, Shelley is not quite clear whether the Earth herself is living [as at I.152] or whether she is [as here] inspired by a spirit" (p. 86). E. B. Hungerford pointed out that in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* the cave and grove of Colonus were especially sacred to the Eumenides, and here Shelley seems to say:

> Now that man has been liberated from the evil of his own nature, the necessity for the Eumenides, that is, the avenging ministers, has passed . . . [and] Shelley introduces a figure as opposite as possible to the Eumenides. The Eumenides were the children of Earth. This new child is likewise a child of Earth, the Spirit of Earth, and his appearance in the cave once sacred to the more savage progeny of his mother, marks the alteration in the order of things. . . . Hence the significance of having Earth [in Scene iii] tell of the cave [*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 203-4].

For the Spirit of the Earth see also Critical Notes under Dramatis Personae, and at III.iii.148.

14. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] [1] Of mouldering leaves in the waste wilderness [*Alastor* 54]; [2] And *Eden* rais'd in the wast Wilderness [*Paradise Regained* 7].

15. For the period "Before Jove reigned" see notes at II.iv.32 ff.

19. Comparisons:

> [Forman] [*Pharsalia* IX.737-60, where Aulus suffers a raging and destroying thirst when stung by this serpent.]
> [Locock] And *Dipsas* [*Paradise Lost* X.526].

24. G. W. Knight pointed out that, inasmuch as Asia has called Earth mother (III.iii.108), "the 'spirit' of the earth therefore appears as grandchild to the Earth itself: for the Earth, or nature, needs *the link of human consciousness*, especially the symbol of human beauty and sexual love, to realize its own soul or life. The symbolic meaning is beautifully precise" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 216). Arthur Wormhoudt held that since "no mention is made of Prometheus as father . . . we have further proof for the [psychiatric] view that Asia and Prometheus are mother and son as well as husband and wife" (*Demon Lover*, p. 106).

29. *work is none*] When "the Earth can see its way through space without guidance" (Locock).

33-85. L. Winstanley commented: "Shelley makes man cast a reflex of himself into the great mirror of nature . . . the whole universe changes when man is blest" ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 31). J. W. Beach found a "confusion of Shelley's thought" in the passage, for the assumption that "the physical universe is sensitive to the ethical status of man . . . is in no way congenial to naturalism." Beach also did not agree with Carl Grabo (*Interpretation*, pp. 169, 173) that either the Newtonian concept of energy or the Berkeleyan concept of thought offered an explanation, for in Grabo's

summary of Newton "there is no suggestion . . . that matter is unreal or illusory, or that time is unreal" and "Berkeley never taught that man's thought is the creator of reality; and he would have been surprised, I think, to hear that the physical world may be recreated by the thought of man" ("Shelley's 'Platonism,' " pp. 271-72). E. Barnard held that neither this passage nor that at lines 131-204 was intended "to represent at all literally any factual state of human society . . . [but] is only symbolic of the belief that human life, and indeed all life, will or may achieve some more nearly perfect state of existence"; and he cited Shelley's Preface in support of this view: "Should I live to accomplish what I purpose, that is, produce a systematical history of what appear to me to be the genuine elements of human society, let not the advocates of injustice and superstition flatter themselves that I should take Æschylus rather than Plato as my model" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 176). White agreed, noting that "the changes here described are probably viewed by Shelley from the almost timeless point of view of his characters, for other passages in the poem and in his other works show that his conception of change in the actual world was gradual" (*Shelley*, II, 577). But K. N. Cameron felt that "when, in 1820 and 1821, Shelley saw the revolutions in Spain, Naples, and Greece, he hailed these events as confirmation of his view of the direction of history" as envisaged in *A Philosophical View of Reform*, Godwin, Condorcet, Paine, Volney, and others ("Political Symbolism," p. 752); and C. M. Bowra contended that the change in the earth's condition is not expressed "vaguely, as if it were a hint of a new spirit in man, but with a definiteness of detail which suggests an actual change in physical nature," and that Shelley should have made it clear whether this was to be taken literally or symbolically (*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 121-22).

33-45. Comparison:

> [B. Langston ("Shelley's Use of Shakespeare," pp. 170-71)] Common mother, thou [Earth], / Whose womb unmeasurable, and infinite breast, / Teems, and feeds all; whose self-same mettle, / Whereof thy proud child, arrogant man, is puff'd, / Engenders the black toad and adder blue, / The gilded newt and eyeless venom'd worm, / With all the abhorred births below crisp heaven / Whereon Hyperion's quickening fire doth shine; / Yield him, who all thy human sons doth hate, / From forth thy plenteous bosom, one poor root! / Ensear thy fertile and conceptious womb, / Let it no more bring out ingrateful man! / Go great with tigers, dragons, wolves, and bears; / Teem with new monsters, whom thy upward face / Hath to the marbled mansion all above / Never presented! [*Timon of Athens* IV.iii.178-93].

36-39. Comparison:

> [Hughes] The serpent, too, shall perish, and the false poison-plant shall perish [Vergil, *Eclogue IV* 24-25].

Hughes noted that "the reports of the two Spirits repeat the thought of" *Queen Mab* VIII and IX.40 ff. (the forecast of the changes to take

place when evil is overcome by good); and that the passage is reminiscent of "the wanderings of the Witch of Atlas among the haunts of men."

40-43. Comparison:

> [G. H. Clarke] The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely, / The pangs of dispriz'd love, the law's delay, / The insolence of office, and the spurns / That patient merit of the unworthy takes [*Hamlet* III.i.71-74].

41-45. G. W. Knight pointed out that these are "all mental sins, repeating the Gospel stresses" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 216).

41. Locock commented: "Strictly speaking there is no verb to this subject; for [line] 49 must be taken as applying to women only, the words 'when false or frowning' being evidently (as the brackets show) intended to be taken with 'ugliest of all things evil.' " He noted that Rossetti got rid of the difficulty, but at the cost of a double parenthesis [long dashes].

49. D. L. Clark compared "I am sick at heart" (*Hamlet* I.i.9) ("Shelley and Shakespeare," p. 277). E. Barnard commented: "The style here, and in some succeeding parts of the scene, suggests that of *Queen Mab* (with the last canto of which the present scene may be compared) and gives the impression of having been written hastily, in the absence of genuine inspiration."

51. *Well*] G. H. Clarke held that "the rather abrupt use of this colloquial expletive may be dramatically justified by the Spirit's quick, irrepressible boyishness, his eagerness to speak. Cf. line 32."

54. *sound*] The sound of the "shell" of III.iii.65 (H. Richter). E. Barnard thought that it was "doubtless a remembrance on Shelley's part of that haunting myth of the mysterious and mournful cry which announced the passing of the pagan gods of nature and the triumph of Christianity," as described in "The Powers of earth and air / Fled from the folding-star of Bethlehem: / Apollo, Pan, and Love, / And even Olympian Jove / Grew weak, for killing Truth had glared on them; / Our hills and seas and streams / . . . Wailed for the golden years" (*Hellas* 230-38) (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 176).

55. Scudder noted an apparent anachronism: "The Spirit of the Earth wanders through night and dawn, and returns before the Spirit of the Hour, who yet was to 'outspeed the sun.' "

61-64. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] This lady never slept, but lay in trance / All night within the fountain—as in sleep. / Its emerald crags glowed in her beauty's glance; / Through the green splendour of the water deep / She saw the constellations reel and dance / Like fire-flies [*The Witch of Atlas* xxviii].
>
> [Locock] [1] Near the great fountain in the public square [*The Revolt of Islam* X.xxiii]; [2] Its [St. Peter's] colonnade is wonderfully fine, and there are two fountains, which rise in spire like columns of water to an immense height in the sky, and falling on the porphyry vases from which they spring, fill the whole air with a radiant mist which at noon is thronged with innumerable rainbows. . . . The fountains of Rome are in themselves magnificent combinations of art such as

alone it were worth coming to see. . . . The fountain on the Quirinal, or rather the group formed by the statues, the obelisk, and the fountain is however the most admirable of all . . . a vast basin of porphyry in the midst of which rises a column of the purest water which collects into itself all the overhanging colours of the sky, and breaks them into a thousand prismatic hues and graduated shadows; they fall together with its dashing water drops into the outer basin [To Peacock, March 23, 1819. Julian, X, 41-43].

Carl Grabo found the passage descriptive of phosphorescence (*Newton among Poets*, p. 128). See note at lines 1-29.

64. Locock held that "the resemblance is due to its green light [line 3]."

65-77. Comparisons:

[Todhunter (*Study*, p. 177)] At present, men meet together with the temper, less of friends, than enemies. Every man eyes his neighbour, as if he expected to receive from him a secret wound. . . . How would the whole of this be reversed by the practice of sincerity? We could not be indifferent, to men whose custom it was to tell us the truth. Hatred would perish, from a failure in its principal ingredient, the duplicity and impenetrableness of human actions. No man could acquire a distant and unsympathetic temper. Reserve, deceitfulness, and an artful exhibition of ourselves, take from the human form its soul, and leave us the unanimated semblance of what man might have been; of what he would have been, were not every impulse of the mind thus stunted and destroyed. If our emotions were not checked, we should be truly friends with each other. Our character would expand: the luxury of indulging our feelings, and the exercise of uttering them, would raise us to the stature of men [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, 333, 335].

[E. Barnard] After brief space, / From every form the beauty slowly waned; / From every firmest limb and fairest face / The strength and freshness fell like dust, and left / The action and the shape without the grace / Of life [*The Triumph of Life* 518-23].

Todhunter called the Godwin passage "an interesting comment," and Barnard noted that the *Triumph of Life* lines described the opposite change. See also II.i.63-65.

74-76. Comparison:

[G. H. Clarke] Beyond the shadow of the ship, / I watched the water-snakes: / . . . O happy living things! no tongue / Their beauty might declare: / A spring of love gushed from my heart, / And I blessed them unaware [*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* 272-87].

M. T. Solve commented: "When one by means of the imagination is able to discover the essential harmony in what sensation presents to the mind, he has found the key to beauty . . . and ugliness and evil become indeed a mere garment which covers, but does not conceal" (*Theory of Poetry*, p. 46). G. W. Knight pointed out that, as in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, "the new state [is] not so much a change of objective fact as a new dynamic relation where fact ceases to be wholly objective: that is, a state of artistic insight, the inseeing of love; or again, a speeding level with some swifter reality so that 'fact' is no longer a past participle, a ghostly memory, but something impregnated with still immediacy" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 217).

76-77. Comparison:

[C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 25)] There is no great extravagance in presuming . . . that there should be a perfect identity between the moral and physical improvement of the human species [Note on *Queen Mab* VI.45-46].

W. N. Guthrie noted that "the 'spirit of the earth,' the optimistic child with intuitive mind" suggests a sudden transformation; but at III.iv.128-30 "the 'spirit of the hour' with mature out-looking powers" suggests a much slower change (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 184-85). Woodberry commented: "The ease with which all things 'put their evil nature off,' and the 'little change' the action involved, are both characteristic of Shelley's ethical scheme. Evil was conceived as something that could be laid aside, like a garment, by the will of man. Cf. III.iv.199." Grabo agreed: "The evil and good in nature exist as the will of man is evil or good. So Shelley explicitly declares" (*Interpretation*, p. 119); as did Floyd Stovall: "When perfect wisdom is joined with perfect love, humanity shall have attained the ideal state of which Shelley dreamed [cf. IV.557-61]; and since the Spirit of Love is a universal spirit, it also transforms nature and harmonizes and makes beautiful all forms of life" (*Desire and Restraint*, pp. 244-45). But E. Barnard held the change to be not sudden, but "the result of Prometheus' slow achievement of moral perfection through thousands of years of suffering." And E. Ebeling felt that Shelley "is repeating what he learned a decade before from Godwin" (Sources, p. 13).

79-83. Locock commented: "The point of the picture may be equally in the harmlessness of the deadly nightshade [as in 'Like passion's fruit, the nightshade's tempting bane / Poisons no more the pleasure it bestows' (*Queen Mab* VIII.129-30)], and, as Rossetti suggests, in the fact that 'kingfishers have become vegetarians' ["Study," p. 56]; the reflection in the lake being merely a childish reminiscence." White called the lines a flaw "of taste and temperament" (but a minor one) inasmuch as "the reader may see [in this] no connection with the human will or human vices and virtues" (*Shelley*, II, 578). And F. A. Lea commented: "The resumption by nature of the beauty of her prime means, for Shelley, the end of earthquakes and pestilences, storms and wastes of ice, and all that can impede the perfectibility of man's existence. . . . Even berries must cease to be poisonous, and kingfishers feed upon them" (*Romantic Revolution*, pp. 142-43).

80. *halcyons*] H. Richter noted that the halcyon (or kingfisher) became the symbol of love in Ovid's myth of Ceyx and Alcyone: "And at last, through the pity of the gods, both changed to birds . . . nor were their conjugal bonds loosened because of their feathered shape" (*Metamorphoses* XI.741-44).

82. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] We paused beside the pools that lie / Under the forest bough,— / Each seemed as 'twere a little sky / Gulfed in a world below [*To Jane: The*

Recollection v]; [2] Why is the reflection in that canal more beautiful than the objects it reflects? The colours are more vivid, and yet blended with more harmony; the openings from within into the soft and tender colours of the distant wood, and the intersection of the mountain lines, surpass and misrepresent truth [*Three Fragments on Beauty*, I. Julian, VII, 154].

86-96. Armin Kroder noted the anticipation of the Earth-Moon duet of Act IV ("Shelleyana," pp. 142-43). See also Textual Notes.

86-89. Arthur Wormhoudt argued that, psychiatrically, "she thus points ahead to Act IV where Prometheus is to become, unambiguously, the Earth-mother in masculine form, and Asia his sister the moon," and that this is why the drama could not be concluded with Act III: "It is because Prometheus is not yet wholly metamorphosed into his mother identification and because Asia, as moon-mother, is still cold and denying" (*Demon Lover*, p. 106).

87. D. L. Clark compared "O! swear not by the moon, the inconstant moon" (*Romeo and Juliet* II.ii.109) ("Shelley and Shakespeare," p. 277).

90-96. Armin Kroder disliked the bantering lines and found them reminiscent of Lucian's Twelfth Dialogue of the Gods, where Aphrodite and her son (Eros) converse on love in a similar vein (e.g., "What a dreadful boy you are, and how you tyrannize over all") ("Shelleyana," p. 143). Harry Levin, too, noted that "occasionally the contrast between [Shelley's] characters and the things which they symbolize becomes amusing; thus Asia instructs the Spirit of the Earth in what every young sphere ought to know" (*Broken Column*, p. 60).

94. *interlunar*] The "air from which the moon is absent" (Alexander). Compare II.iv.91.

95-96. H. Richter commented: "The Earth embraces night when the moon is illuminated and vice versa. In the golden age the cold fickle moon will look down upon the warmer, more constant light of the earth. They will give and take light from each other. The millennial dream here as in *Queen Mab* refers to the external changes in nature."

95. *trims her lamp*] During the interlunar night (Locock).

96-97. The last words spoken by Asia and Prometheus in the drama. Of Prometheus' line Rossetti suggested that "perhaps it scarcely ought to be the very last" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 165).

96. G. H. Clarke compared "So out went the candle, and we were left darkling" (*King Lear* I.iv.240).

98-204. Hughes commented: "It has been objected that there is redundance in making two Spirits report the same event. But the event is so great that it will bear narrating twice. The Spirit of the Earth speaks of outward and natural change, the Spirit of the Hour of inward and spiritual."

100-3. Carl Grabo held that "love, energy, electricity, heat are thought of as one, or as but aspects of the ether which, in Newtonian hypothesis, is the source of energy, life, and matter" (*Interpretation*, p. 119).

102-3. Comparisons:

[S. Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, pp. 117-18)] [1] I.704-5; [2] Hence we clearly understand that our salvation, or blessedness, or liberty consists in a constant and eternal love towards God, or in the love of God towards men [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 277].

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," pp. 247-48)] [1] II.v.35-36 and IV.384; [2] All baser things pant with life's sacred thirst; / Diffuse themselves; and spend in love's delight, / The beauty and the joy of their renewèd might [*Adonais* xix].

103. Comparison:

[S. Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, p. 117)] For if he [Love] were otherwise [than liquid], he could not, as he does, fold himself around everything, and secretly flow out and into every soul [*Symposium* 196a. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 190].

104-7. Comparison:

[C. Baker ("Shelley and Milton," p. 587)] From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight, / Starr interpos'd, however small he sees / . . . Earth and the Gard'n of God . . . Down thither prone in flight / He speeds, and through the vast Ethereal Skie / Sailes between worlds & worlds, with steddie wing / Now on the polar windes, then with quick Fann / Winnows the buxom Air [*Paradise Lost* V.257-70].

105. Comparison:

[G. B. Woods] In which the burthen of the mystery, / In which the heavy and the weary weight / Of all this unintelligible world, / Is lightened [etc. Wordsworth, *Lines . . . Tintern Abbey* 38-49].

106-8. Locock noted that inversion is common in Spenser and elsewhere. He cited Shelley's "So as I stood" (*The Revolt of Islam* I.ii) and "a thrilling sound / . . . among the darkness stirs, / Breathed from their wormy beds all living things around" (*A Summer Evening Churchyard* 20-22), as well as Keats's "There as he stood" (*Lamia* I.35). See also Textual Notes.

108-21. Rossetti found these lines "inapposite and forced, and in effect futile," a "digression of fourteen lines, and I am a little surprised that Shelley did not cancel them as neither relevant nor (even on their own showing) good" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 165).

108-10. Carl Grabo commented: "The coursers feed on electric energy, and the source of energy is the sun" (*Interpretation*, p. 120).

110. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] blooming Ambrosial Fruit / Of vegetable Gold [*Paradise Lost* IV.219-20]; [2] Impious! the Trees of vegetable gold [Southey, *Thalaba* I.31].

H. Richter noted the occurrence of plants which glow as if formed of vegetable fire. See also Textual Notes.

112. *Phidian*] Phidias (500?-432? B.C.) was the most important of the Greek sculptors. S. Larrabee noted that this is Shelley's only "mention of Phidias or his works. . . . Phidian suggested greater size and grander shape than Praxitelean" (*English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, p. 195).

116-18. Comparisons:

> [R. Piccoli] Their [the Greeks'] temples were mostly upaithric; and the flying clouds, the stars, or the deep sky, were seen above [To Peacock, January 24, 1819. Julian, X, 26].
>
> [Ingpen-Peck] The Coliseum . . . is of enormous height and circuit, and the arches built of massy stones are piled on one another, and jut into the blue air, shattered into the forms of overhanging rocks. . . . I can scarcely believe that when encrusted with Dorian marble and ornamented by columns of Egyptian granite, its effect could have been so sublime and so impressive as in its present state. It is open to the sky [To Peacock, December 22, 1818. Julian, X, 13].

Carl Grabo noted that "the several descriptions of temples [cf. III.iii.127] . . . are evidence of the great impression which the ruins of Greek temples in southern Italy had made upon Shelley" (*Interpretation*, p. 120).

119-21. T. O. Mabbott interpreted this to mean that when the steeds are replaced by sculptured carvings they will be yoked in the carving by "a yoke in the form of a snake with a head at each end," but he thought that the poet did not refer to the legends in Pliny ("Prometheus," p. 23). L. S. Friedland noted that the amphisbaena, with a head at each end, moves in either direction and thus is

> . . . beautifully suited to the sculpto-pictured image described by the Spirit of the Hour, whose coursers have just returned from their journey into vast spaces; emblematically yoked to the Hour's moon-like car, they convey to the beholders the ineffable effect of "rest in motion" and of motion seemingly approaching but never quite attaining a state of repose. The motion, moreover, is in either direction. . . . How fitting that the Spirit of the Hour . . . should be emblemized under the guise of the fabled "amphisbaenic snake." For the Hour is here—at rest in the now—yet as we gaze upon it, it is moving slowly and inexorably into the past (one motion) and merging at "the other end" into the future ["*Prometheus*," p. 24].

119. Forman noted that "antique chariot-yokes in the form of a snake with a head at each end are extant [Shelley may have seen in Italy an ancient chariot-yoke in this form (F^2)]; but I am inclined to think Shelley's own fancy adapted to this use the prodigy found with the seps and the dipsas in ['the fell *amphisbaena*, that moves towards each of its two heads' (*Pharsalia* IX.719)]." See also note at III.i.40.

120-21. H. Richter interpreted this as meaning that time stands still in this epoch of complete bliss. S. Larrabee noted that Shelley "enjoyed adorning edifices, especially temples, with sculptures, even though he described them in less detail than Keats and Landor," and he found the present temple to be "reminiscent of the Pantheon" (*English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, p. 199).

mock] Locock suggested "imitate" rather than "set at nought" or "render futile" as Ellis had it.

124. *As I have said*] G. H. Clarke found this "a strangely commonplace phrase for so sensitive a master of words as Shelley."

125-26. Comparison:

[Locock] To live, to breathe, to move, was itself a sensation of immeasurable transport [*The Assassins.* Julian, VI, 160].

125. Scudder commented: "This most characteristic line, startling one with sudden brightness in the midst of a dull passage, seems to express the very secret of Shelley's nature."

130-204. Comparisons:

[J. Slater (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 387)] Government is an evil, it is only the thoughtlessness and vices of men that make it a necessary evil. When all men are good and wise, Government will of itself decay [*An Address to the Irish People.* Julian, V, 232].

[H. Richter] [1] Justice is a rule of conduct originating in the connection of one percipient being with another. . . . Society is nothing more than an aggregation of individuals. Its claims and duties must be the aggregate of their claims and duties, the one no more precarious and arbitrary than the other [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, 126, 136]; [2] [*ibid.*, Bk. V, chaps. x-xii, xx, where it is held that hereditary distinction is nonsense, aristocracy is not grounded in nature and is noxious, titles are laughable, truth is the only reward of virtue, the individual is all, society nothing, and the good people of all lands are of equal value]; [3] ["Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 408] Oh Irishmen! I am interested in your cause; and it is not because you are Irishmen or Roman Catholics . . . but because you are men and sufferers [*An Address to the Irish People.* Julian, V, 223]; [4] You ought to love all mankind, nay, every individual of mankind; you ought not to love the individuals of your domestic circle less, but to love those who exist beyond it, more [*Essay on Christianity.* Julian, VI, 245]; [5] ["Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 421] The good which every one who follows after virtue seeks for himself he will desire for other men; and his desire on their behalf will be greater in proportion as he has a greater knowledge of God [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 207]; [6] If men lived according to the guidance of reason, every one would enjoy this right without injuring any one else [*ibid.*, p. 210].

[R. Piccoli] [*Queen Mab* IX.41-56, where "the happy ferment" works and passion loses its wildness.]

[R. Bailey (*Shelley*, p. 96)] I have now . . . in contemplation a Poem [*Queen Mab?*]. I intend it to be by anticipation a picture of the manners, simplicity, and delights of a perfect state of society, tho' still earthly [To Elizabeth Hitchener, December 11, 1811. Julian, VIII, 213].

[K. N. Cameron] The spirit of oppression, the spirit of servility, and the spirit of fraud, these are the immediate growth of the established administration of property. They are alike hostile to intellectual and moral improvement. The other vices of envy, malice and revenge, are their inseparable companions. In a state of society, where men lived in the midst of plenty, and where all shared alike the bounties of nature, these sentiments would inevitably expire. The narrow principle of selfishness, would vanish. No man being obliged to guard his little store, or provide, with anxiety and pain, for his restless wants, each would lose his individual existence, in the thought of the general good. No man would be an enemy to his neighbour, for they would have no subject of contention; and of consequence, philanthropy would resume the empire which reason assigns her. Mind would be delivered from her perpetual anxiety about corporal support, and free to expatiate in the field of thought which is congenial to her. Each would assist the enquiries of all [Godwin, *Political Justice*, II, 463-64].

In Shelley's picture of the ideal state of society, Mathilde Blind regretted that he could not have profited by "those great generalisations of Darwin which have revolutionised the modern conception of life," but she felt that Darwin and Shelley merged "in the glorious vistas they disclose of ever higher types of life replacing those that had gone before" ("Shelley's View of Nature," pp. 44-47). Edward Dowden, however, called Shelley's prophecy "the pseudo-ideal of a Rousseau turned topsy-turvy, or rather of a Rousseau who has turned right-about face, and who sees the fantastic golden age of simplicity, innocence, and freedom not in the past but in the future" ("Last Words," p. 101). To E. Barnard, however, this passage was "perhaps the most explicit and detailed presentation of the democratic ideal that is to be found in Shelley's poetry. . . . Few thinking persons, I imagine, will today be so bold as to assert that Shelley's indictment of existing society goes beyond the facts." And R. H. Fogle noted that "Shelley's poetic world is not a literal transcription of his perceptions of the natural world, but a conscious arrangement and composition of these perceptions. . . . In *Prometheus Unbound*, for example, he is the architect of a universe idealized by Love, in which accident disappears, incongruous and conflicting elements vanish, and all is harmony" (*Imagery*, pp. 215-16).

Todhunter held that the lines show that Shelley's conception, based on Godwin, remained much the same throughout his life, but that Shelley found his motivation in "pure ideal passion" rather than in Godwin's "dry reason": "Both Godwin and Shelley undervalue the enormous power of hereditary evil on the human race; but Shelley's antidote is, at least, infinitely more powerful than Godwin's" (*Study*, p. 179). H. N. Brailsford was more extreme: "One does not feel that Shelley's mind is even yet [since *Queen Mab*] its own master. . . . He is still repeating a lesson, and it calls forth less than the full powers of his imagination. The picture of perfection itself is cold, negative, and mediocre . . . a faithful illustration etched with a skilful needle to adorn the last chapter of *Political Justice*" (*Shelley, Godwin*, pp. 240-42). But A. T. Strong argued that "the fact that Shelley regards life itself, or what is ordinarily understood as life, as an obstacle to man's regeneration, shows how fundamental was the change which he regarded as necessary for the realization of the new order: and it shows also how utterly, toward the end of his life, his faith transcended the trim ratiocination of William Godwin" (*Studies*, p. 74). And Carl Grabo found a great gain in poetic power, due partly to the superiority of blank verse and the facility attained in his use of favorite images (*Interpretation*, pp. 120-21).

The anarchic nature of Shelley's ideal state has been noted frequently. Slater commented, with respect to his Godwin comparison: "As if, forsooth, the function of government were only to repress vice and not to foster progress." R. H. Hutton objected that "Shelley scarcely takes the trouble to sketch even a shadow of government, while he carefully erases all the

distinctive features which give force and reality to the meaning of the word. . . . All that is wanted to his imagination is the rejection of the tyrannical yoke, not the imposition of a just one" ("Shelley," pp. 180-81). Woodberry, however, noted that "the ideal here described is anarchistic, but it is also the ultimate of the ideas of freedom, fraternity, and equality, and of the supremacy of that inward moral order which would dispense with those functions of government in which Shelley believed wrong necessarily resides." But to Leslie Stephen "to be 'unclassed, tribeless, and nationless' [line 195], and we may add, without marriage, is to be in the lowest depths of barbarism. It is so, at least, in the world of realities. But the description will fit that 'state of nature' of which philosophers of the time delighted to talk" ("Godwin and Shelley," p. 380). To this E. Barnard answered: "The phrase 'but man' here [line 194] and three lines below is rather baffling. Possibly Shelley foresaw the objections of 'toughminded' critics like Sir Leslie Stephen. . . . The poet's answer is: 'Regenerate man does not need these artificial social distinctions to prevent him from relapsing into barbarism. He can be his own master and still be reasonable and just.' In the same way, it might be said that to be perfectly 'just, gentle, wise' is a state reserved for angels, not to be expected of men. And Shelley's 'but man' would be the denial of such a contention."

Ernest Barker, in turn, suggested: "It is obvious that what Plato describes under the name of democracy is what we should call by the name of anarchism—the anarchism of Shelley. . . . [Shelley's description] is hardly what democracy meant in ancient Greece, or means to-day. Democracy means the government of a community by the common mind and will of that community expressed in a free and sovereign public opinion. Such government may . . . approach to anarchy; it may also . . . be the opposite of anarchy" (*Greek Political Theory*, p. 255). J. W. Beach answered those who called the poet a visionary anarchist, by pointing out that, "if Shelley is an anarchist, an internationalist, an individualist, his hope may be perverse or futile in its content, but it is hardly 'hope devoid of specific content' " ("Latter-Day Critics," p. 725). And although Crane Brinton wrote that "nearly all [Shelley's] longer poems end with a vision of a golden age, a vision somehow magically become a fact, heaven brought to earth by force of earth-born aspiration," and that "Shelley never quite ceased to look forward to this effortless victory of light within the human spirit . . . he expects immediate perfection through a mysterious moral cataclysm . . . [and Demogorgon] conquers . . . with an ease that leads one to wonder why it was not done much earlier"—Brinton conceded that Shelley "was willing to admit the necessity of making contingent reforms" (*Political Ideas*, pp. 168-69). Carl Grabo noted that "the ideal society, though an anarchy, is achieved, be it observed, only as man has attained moral perfection" (*Interpretation*, p. 121); and he added that Shelley's society is "not the heaven of Buddhistic or Platonic philosophers . . . not one of con-

templation . . . [but] the most intense realization of earthly possibilities" (p. 124). And Edmund Blunden suggested that "it must have been Shelley's opinion as he reconsidered the work that [this speech] inclined too much towards a speech at a reformists' meeting to end such a lyrical drama. The reformed world was certainly outlined there by a decisive mind: not with the extremist impossibility which is imputed to Shelley" (*Shelley*, pp. 254-55).

The absence of evil in the ideal society has also been discussed. G. H. Clarke called the passage a "passionately beautiful prophecy of the triumph of Love over Evil in mankind, the passing of the mechanical and tyrannous in law, religion and custom." But he noted also that "Shelley's theory of evil, admirably hopeful though it is, seeks to abolish its reality rather than to impress that reality into the service of good" (Edition, p. lxvii). A. T. Strong held that the veil image at lines 190-92 "shows that he regards the fabric severing good from evil, error from truth, as of the thinnest, and as destructible in the very moment in which the heart of man should be converted to desire for the change" (*Studies*, p. 75). Carl Grabo, too, noted that "the character of actuality, the product of man's thought, is wholly altered. It was a 'loathsome mask' and when torn aside reality is unveiled" (*Interpretation*, p. 123). E. Barnard found, in lines 198-201 especially, Shelley's "partial answer" to the origin of evil. But he noted that Shelley distinguished "between evil and pain in general." Shelley, unlike Godwin, "holds that pain which is imposed upon man by the external world is not truly evil; it need not affect a man's character. What is really evil is the suffering that arises *within* from the yielding to 'malignant passions'; and this is not evil because it is painful, but painful because it is evil, because it degrades and brutalizes man's nature and enslaves or casts out the Divine Spirit of purity and goodness which is the birthright of the human soul"; and (cf. II.iv.19-26 and III.iv.133-41), in a world ruled by love, labor and pain and grief "will have no power upon the soul, and therefore will not be evil" (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 129-30). Barnard noted also, with reference to the full passage, that

> Shelley did *not* believe that evil is solely, or even primarily, the result of custom, government, and religion, with the abolition of which it would entirely disappear. The evil man is described as "a soul *self-consumed.*" "Thrones, altars," and so on, are "not o'erthrown" [line 179], but merely neglected; that is, social reform must in general follow and not precede the regeneration of individual men. Finally, man is not exempt from *law*, but only from *compulsion:* he is "the King over himself" [lines 196-97], no longer in need of an *external* ruler. Of course . . . Shelley recognized . . . that outward and inward reform must go hand in hand [p. 179].

To White, Shelley in lines 190-92 reasserted "more strongly than ever an optimism based upon a new philosophy of reality that could recognize fully the strength of evil while perceiving that it was not for ever invincible, because it rested upon a distortion of truth" (*Shelley*, II, 136-37); and J. A.

Notopoulos (suggesting Rousseau and Lucretius as possible influences) read the passage as indicating that evil is an accident of the relative world (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 257).

133-37. J. H. Cousins commented: "This is Shelley's enunciation once more of the law that, while all must work out the universal Will, each individual, by virtue of a unique position in time and space, and consequently a unique participation in the qualities and activities of the universe, has a unique way of doing it, and this must not be interfered with by another. To do so is to reverse the psychological evolution of humanity; to turn those who should be masters of their volitional powers into being slaves of its uncontrolled operation" (*Work Promethean*, pp. 104-5).

134. G. H. Clarke compared I.511-13 and II.iv.25.

136. Dante, *Inferno* III.9.

138. Locock compared "And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command" (*Ozymandias*).

140. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] II.iv.104; [2] their own will had become feeble, and yet they were its slaves, and thence the slaves of the will of others [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 126].

abject] Derelict, outcast (Locock); or slave (Ellis).

141. Comparisons:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 144)] [1] but the curb of Zeus constrained him so to act perforce [*Prometheus Bound* 671-72]; [2] while I, still tormented by the gad-fly, am driven on from land to land before the heaven-sent scourge [*ibid.* 682].

144-52. Carl Grabo pointed out that this represents "the perversion of man's nature" rather than "material and economic ills" as emphasized in the old social order, reminiscent of Godwin (*Interpretation*, pp. 121-22).

149-52. Comparison:

> [E. Barnard] The Baths, I think, do me good, but especially solitude, and not seeing polite human faces, and hearing voices [To Claire Clairmont, Spring, 1821. Julian, X, 263].

Alexander commented: "The ordinary hollow talk of society, where one assents from mere complacency to things which the heart denies; yet in this assent there is no definite hypocritical purpose, although such behavior leads to mistrust of our own sincerity." And G. H. Clarke noted that "Shelley's condemnation of social insincerity is a feeling one, as it had cause to be. What success of scheme or manœuvre, he felt, gained at the expense of one's self-respect and moral integrity, can compare with an unstained freedom of soul? For himself, as man and poet, he believed that honesty of speech and deed is the instinctive attitude and expression of the liberal soul."

150. Locock commented:

> Probably "deny the *yes* it breathes" is generally taken as equivalent to "breathe

the *yes* it denies." The passage may then be paraphrased—"There no longer existed those insincere modes of speaking, such for instance as saying 'yes' while secretly meaning 'no,'—an unintentional form of hypocrisy which causes the speaker much subsequent self-questioning and nameless self-mistrust." Or again, the passage may mean—"None talked in that common manner which induces the *hearer* to retract (from a feeling of 'ill-shame') the 'yes' which he or she has just said, and which was really meant," etc. Yet a third interpretation would result from taking "deny" in the sense of "refuse to utter," and "breathes" in the sense of "is on the point of uttering" or "utters under his breath."

G. W. Knight considered the line "a grand simplicity of thought comparable to Pope's 'He can't be wrong whose *life* is in the right' [*Essay on Man* III.306], and paralleled by New Testament wisdom" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 217).

153-63. Comparisons:

[E. Barnard] [1] Thus, Cythna mourned with me the servitude / In which the half of humankind were mewed / . . . Never will peace and human nature meet / Till free and equal men and women greet / Domestic peace [etc. *The Revolt of Islam* II.xxxiv-xlv]; [2] Woman!—she is his slave, she has become / A thing I weep to speak [etc. *ibid.* VIII.xv]; [3] Things whose trade is, over ladies / To lean, and flirt, and stare, and simper, / Till all that is divine in woman / Grows cruel, courteous, smooth, inhuman, / Crucified 'twixt a smile and whimper [*Peter Bell the Third* III.x]; [4] [*A Defence of Poetry* note] The freedom of women produced the poetry of sexual love. Love became a religion, the idols of whose worship were ever present. It was as if the statues of Apollo and the Muses had been endowed with life and motion, and had walked forth among their worshippers; so that earth became peopled by the inhabitants of a diviner world [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 127-28].

An early reviewer commented: "Every modest feeling . . . is to be annihilated—and women are to be—*what God and nature never designed them.*" The passage, he held, illustrated the "lasciviousness of [Shelley's] own heart" (*Lonsdale Magazine*, 1820. See Appendix D, item V). A. T. Strong noted that the passage "doubtless owes something to Godwin's praise of sincerity [*Political Justice*, Bk. IV, chap. vi]; but its general setting . . . is mystical and totally unGodwinian" (*Studies*, p. 49). Carl Grabo noted also Godwin's influence on Shelley's feministic ideas, and added: "Shelley's ideal is one of free love, of a virtuous promiscuity, an ideal realized, to be sure, only as man becomes regenerate and ruled by love not lust" (*Interpretation*, p. 122).

162. Locock compared "Even shame, the last of evils" (*Paradise Lost* IX.1079).

164-79. Comparisons:

[H. Richter] [1] [Godwin, *Political Justice*, Bk. V, chap. iv, for the idea that enlightened despotism is a contradiction, and a despot, no matter how well-minded, cannot better his subjects, for rank is honored instead of merit]; [2] [*ibid.*, Bk. V, chap. xxiv, for the idea that with the doing away of government every evil will cease, and that the government is to be dissolved which, by bad influence, leads astray the man good by nature (in its place let come forth the leadership of reason)]; [3] [*ibid.*, Bk. VII, chap. viii, for the idea that laws limit the freedom of a person,

destroy the principles of reason, and make bold to predict the future, and that a decent lawyer is perhaps an impossibility.]

Bennett Weaver traced the development of this major idea from *To Death* (1810), in which kings, tyrants, and "everything, but Love, destroyed / Must perish with its kindred clay" (lines 18-19); through *Queen Mab* IX.31-32 (1813), where the "monarch, in his solitary pomp" is "but the mushroom of a summer day"; to *To William Shelley* 25-32 (1817), in which tyrants and priests "stand on the brink of that raging river, / Whose waves they have tainted with death" (iv; a stanza used in *Rosalind and Helen* 894-901 [1817-18]). Weaver noted that the concept had already "become the burden of *The Revolt of Islam*" (1817), and found its "massive, concluding reference" at *Prometheus Unbound* IV.300-2 ("First Beginnings," p. 190).

J. H. Cousins commented that, "when man has achieved goodness and happiness, external instruction and rulership will have become unnecessary" (*Work Promethean*, p. 33). See also Textual Notes.

167. *glozed*] Hughes traced the word to ME *glosen*, "to make glosses, hence the secondary meaning, to deceive or flatter."

168-79. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] The vacant rooms of this palace [Versailles] imaged well the hollow show of monarchy [*Journal*, September 3, 1816. Julian, VI, 152]; [2] the gorgeous throne / Shall stand unnoticed in the regal hall [*Queen Mab* III.134-35]; [3] the mighty sound / Of your career shall scatter in its gust / The thrones of the oppressor, and the ground / Hide the last altar's unregarded dust, / Whose Idol has so long betrayed your impious trust! [*The Revolt of Islam* II.xiii]; [4] And when you hear historians talk of thrones, / And those that sate upon them, let it be / As we now gaze upon the mammoth's bones, / And wonder what old world such things could see [Byron, *Don Juan* VIII.cxxxvii].

168. *shapes*] Locock disagreed with Forman that the shapes here and at line 180 are the same (see Textual Notes). He held that in line 168 Shelley is "referring to one particular group of shapes in some definite locality known to him."

174. *faith*] Probably the faith of the Bible (L. Winstanley, "Platonism in Shelley," p. 75).

176-79. B. Rajan commented: "Evil has not perished. It has merely become irrelevant" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 301). E. Barnard held that line 179 "implies that social reform in general is to follow rather than precede the reformation of individuals."

180-83. Olwen Campbell noted that Shelley does not give "a clear account of the origin of evil. . . . He only knows that there is at work in man's universe a force that resists the good—whether in man's character, or in nature" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 205). Carl Grabo called this "a characteristic broadside against all religions and all gods. . . . I cannot see that as regards institutional religion Shelley's beliefs in *Prometheus* are any

different from those expressed in *Queen Mab*, though his conception of Christ is completely altered in the later poem" (*Interpretation*, p. 123).

180. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] [1] the Spirit of evil, / One Power of many shapes which none may know, / One Shape of many names [etc. *The Revolt of Islam* I.xxvii-xxx]; [2] one Power, to which the supreme control / Over their will by their own weakness lent, / Made all its many names omnipotent [etc. *ibid.* II.vi-viii].

shapes] Barnard saw these as "all the evil creations of the human mind; degrading superstitions, senseless and cruel customs, unjust institutions." See also note at line 168.

185-87. *and love . . .*] Executions for adultery (Hughes).

190-204. For this passage as "drivelling prose run mad" and Hunt's answer, see Appendix D, items X and XII.

190-92. Comparisons: See III.iii.113-14 and the notes thereon. In addition to the mutually pertinent comparisons there given, the following are more applicable here:

> [Todhunter (*Study*, pp. 174-75)] Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass, / Stains the white radiance of Eternity [*Adonais* lii].
>
> [James Thomson ("Notes," p. 666)] Lift not the painted veil which those who live / Call Life [*Sonnet* ("Lift not . . .")].
>
> [Hughes] [1] It [Berkeley's doctrine of the subjectivity of phenomena] strips, as it were, the painted curtain from this scene of things [*On Life*. Julian, VI, 194]; [2] And whether it [poetry] spreads its own figured curtain, or withdraws life's dark veil from before the scene of things, it equally creates for us a being within our being [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 137].
>
> [Locock] the supreme beauty itself, simple, pure, uncontaminated with the intermixture of human flesh and colours, and all other idle and unreal shapes attendant on mortality [*Symposium* 211e. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 207].
>
> [L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 82)] [1] it is not easy for all souls to gain from earthly things a recollection of those realities, either for those which had but a brief view of them at that earlier time, or for those which, after falling to earth, were so unfortunate as to be turned toward unrighteousness through some evil communications and to have forgotten the holy sights they once saw [*Phaedrus* 250a]; [2] the colourless, formless, and intangible truly existing essence, with which all true knowledge is concerned, holds this region and is visible only to the mind, the pilot of the soul . . . [knowledge] which abides in the real eternal absolute [*ibid.* 247c, e].
>
> [A. T. Strong (*Studies*, p. 71)] Hope was seen beaming through the mists of fear: / Earth was no longer Hell [*Queen Mab* VIII.13-14].

R. Piccoli called the veil the veil of the false hope and faith substituted for true life. But B. P. Kurtz noted that (unlike III.iii.113-14) here *life* is the veil, in the Godwinian sense that if it is destroyed a perfected society will be disclosed (*Pursuit of Death*, pp. 182-83). E. Barnard, too, found the resemblance to III.iii.113-14 "deceptive," holding that "there the 'veil' seems to mean the whole of physical life. Here it means rather men's false beliefs (embodied in customs, conventions, superstitions, and habits of thought) about life." P. H. Butter commented: "False beliefs, especially

false religious beliefs, prevent man from seeing things as they truly are; what he calls life is not reality, but a painted veil projected from his own mind; but he can, by throwing aside false beliefs, tear the veil, and so free himself and see the truth. By the end of [Act III], man has done this; and so it is no longer 'those who live' [III.iii.113] who call the veil life, but 'those who were' " (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 111). And A. Sen cited the veil image, with its close resemblance to Hindu thought, as further evidence of the influence of Indian thought on Shelley (*Studies*, p. 256).

193-98. See Textual Notes.

193-95. On the assumption that Shelley's thought was actually in harmony with Christianity, Aubrey De Vere held that, in "the Christian Church, man has for ages enjoyed that great Equality & Brotherhood of which the Poet sings" in these lines, but "not through the destruction of all order, Kingdoms & Nationalities, but through the wide-world extension of One Spiritual Family which embraces all Kingdoms & degrees in its vast Brotherhood" (Letter to Lady Jane Shelley, October 11, 1882. Abinger MSS, Reel 15).

193. Notopoulos compared "the mask is torn off, the man remains" (*De rerum natura* III.58) (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 257).

196-201. J. W. Beach felt that this "cannot be reconciled with the notion of a timeless platonic being" ("Shelley's 'Platonism,'" p. 270).

196-97. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] I.492.
> [D. Bush ("Notes," p. 300)] exempt from awe [Homer, *Hymn to Pythian Apollo* 234, trans. Chapman].

Bush commented: "Human nature being what it is in this new world, it is not clear what subjects the king has to rule over. And if Shelley remembered the [Homeric phrase] . . . he may not have cared to remember that Chapman used it of runaway horses" (*Mythology*, p. 150).

198-99. H. Richter noted that for Spinoza "absolute freedom is unattainable, because man as a part of the totality of nature cannot attain to unconditional mastery of reason over emotion. In the case of Shelley, man, by virtue of his noble qualities becomes free as soon as he has overcome the bad qualities," and she held that internal freedom is thus superior to external freedom, for fate can no longer have power over the one who possesses it ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 264). Olwen Campbell pointed out that Shelley attributed human miseries "to man's own folly and weakness; to his both committing and permitting evil—particularly perhaps to the latter" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 206); and H. J. C. Grierson and J. C. Smith commented: "Neither man's free will with its inherent capacity for evil as well as good, nor yet human pain and suffering, are to disappear, but they will be transcended and transmuted by the power of mutual love" (*History*, p. 396).

198. *Passionless*] H. N. Brailsford ended his quotation with a period after this word, and commented: "The story ends there, and if we do not so much as wait for the assurance that man passionless, tribeless, and nationless lived happily ever afterwards, it is because we are unable to feel even this faint interest in his destiny. There is something amiss with an ideal which is constrained to express itself in negatives. . . . To reduce ourselves to this abstract quintessential man might be euthanasia. It would not be paradise" (*Shelley, Godwin*, pp. 241-42). But F. A. Lea answered that Shelley claimed for man "no more than he believed himself to be capable of. . . . What is possible for one man is possible for man" (*Romantic Revolution*, pp. 133-34).

pain] Locock commented: "It is stated in IV.404 that pain is still present, though in a modified and gentler form. The inconsistency may be ascribed to the interval before the composition of Act IV." But E. Barnard suggested: "Perhaps there he is thinking of *physical* pain and here of *spiritual* pain (caused by hate, fear, envy, and so on); and for Shelley the mental world is always much more real than the physical."

199. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] [1] This need not be; ye might arise, and will / That gold should lose its power, and thrones their glory; / That love, which none may bind, be free to fill / The world, like light; and evil faith, grown hoary / With crime, be quenched and die [*The Revolt of Islam* VIII.xvi]; [2] Athens, diviner yet, / Gleamed with its crest of columns, on the will / Of man, as on a mount of diamond, set [*Ode to Liberty* v]; [3] Man who man would be, / Must rule the empire of himself; in it / Must be supreme, establishing his throne / On vanquished will, quelling the anarchy / Of hopes and fears, being himself alone [*Sonnet: Political Greatness*].

[Locock] [1] Before one Power, to which supreme control / Over their will by their own weakness lent, / Made all its many names omnipotent [*The Revolt of Islam* II.viii]; [2] And for its hateful sake their will has wove / The chains which eat their hearts [*ibid.* IV.xxvi].

J. H. Cousins held that, contrary to those who see evil as externally caused, this line (and I.381-82) shows man to be "the responsible origin of his own ills" (*Work Promethean*, p. 32).

200-4. Comparison:

[R. Piccoli] Myself, my Sepulcher, a moving Grave, / Buried, yet not exempt / By priviledge of death and burial / From worst of other evils, pains and wrongs, / But made hereby obnoxious more / To all the miseries of life [*Samson Agonistes* 102-7].

Piccoli noted the similarity of movement in Milton's lines.

200-1. *ruling them*] To H. N. Fairchild "the difference between ruling over these evils and being exempt from them is far from clear" (*Religious Trends*, p. 380). Carlos Baker considered these lines one of two "restraining clauses or qualifications which make it plain that [Shelley's] beatific vision did not blind him to certain exigencies of life on earth," and which represent survival of his "earlier belief in a mechanical necessitarianism." The second "restrictive clause" he found at IV.562-69, which lines suggest "no

absolute guarantee of a permanent expulsion of moral evil" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 115).

death]W. A. O'Conor commented: "His theory is, that man is mortal, and the race immortal. Prometheus represents the race, and cannot die. If we compare Shelley's philosophy . . . with the modern sentiment . . . which feebly shrinks from death, we discern a healthiness in its tone that the other lacks" ("Prometheus," p. 43). To Alexander it was noteworthy that "Shelley's conception of the highest perfection of which the universe is capable admits the existence of defects; these, however, and even death itself, lose their terrors for mankind through the force of the individual will, through assuming the proper attitude of mind with regard to them." Olwen Campbell held that death in this sense is "a thing of fear, and of illusion, in its nature part and parcel of that unreal and unsatisfying life of old, that mere pretence of life which mocked with meaningless shadows the desires of the human soul. It was man's idea of life that was responsible for his idea of death; indeed, that unreal life *was* the only real death" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 221). B. P. Kurtz added that death cannot be overthrown, but "an attitude toward death, the horror and fear of it, will be amended" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 54); and he considered the following lines "a truly sublime conception of death: that were not the spirit rendered human by the circumstance of death it would in its own proper freedom transcend time and space, and become incommensurable by matter" (p. 184). J. H. Cousins called the closing lines "the nearest approach to freedom of Will that Shelley gives expression to; a state of such close affinity between the universal Being and the individual that they are separated only by the thin veil of 'chance, and death,' " etc. (*Work Promethean*, p. 106). To F. A. Lea it appeared that "life, the human life that is inseparable from death, is finally repudiated altogether. Before the spectre of death, Shelley's Godwinism gives way to Platonism. His deep desire is that men *should* oversoar the loftiest star, and in order that it may be fulfilled, chance and death and mutability have to be abolished. In Act IV they *are* abolished" (*Romantic Revolution*, pp. 139-40). And J. A. Notopoulos found many echoes of the *Phaedo*, "where man, though subject to death and mutability, masters them through the philosophic exercise of reason and living on the plane of the pure and divine, as much as is in his power. If it were not for the 'clogs' of the earthly, the philosopher would be next to the gods, a condition which Shelley also ascribes to man" (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 257-58).

For other comments on Shelley's attitude toward death, see notes at III.iii.113-14.

201. Comparison:

> [E. Barnard] Frail spells—whose uttered charm might not avail to sever, / From all we hear and all we see, / Doubt, chance, and mutability [*Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* iii].

Melvin Rader noted that Shelley "distinguishes . . . two types of evil: one sort is ineradicable and objectively grounded [as here (cf. IV.404)]; the other sort is subjective but deeply based" ("Theory of Evil," p. 27).

202. *that*] The human soul (Barnard).

204. W. N. Guthrie commented: " 'The intense inane' . . . designates that which is meaningless to the human mind, because it transcends it, and defies exploration by its powers as at present developed [i.e. 'inane']; yet does subsist in virtue of inner energy [i.e. 'intense'] only too 'real' to get 'reality' from the 'gathered rays' of our present 'thought' [cf. III.iii.50-53]" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 336).

ACT IV

Acts I-III of *Prometheus Unbound* were completed by April, 1819, apparently without any thought of a fourth act at that time. Late in the year, however, the poet decided on the additional material, which was completed by mid-December ("a sublime after-thought," as Dowden described it [*Shelley*, II, 298]).

Opinions with respect to Act IV as a whole have differed widely, as Mrs. Shelley may have anticipated they would, for she wrote Mrs. Gisborne on December 28, 1819: "The last act though very beautiful is certainly the most mystic of the four" (*Letters*, I, 91). A. Delrieu stressed the negative view when he called the dialogue between Moon, Earth, and Panthea a "tour-de-force lyrical invention the most audacious that ever poet has risked" ("Poètes modernes," p. 196). George Gilfillan considered the act "a mere dance of darkness. It has all the sound and semblance of eloquent, musical, and glorying nonsense" ("Prometheus," p. 432). A. E. Hancock objected that it was "but a succession of chorals in praise of anarchy" (*French Revolution*, p. 73). A. A. Jack added that "with a choric song of joy and harmony the world in which we live is so little in touch that so far from the words having interest to human beings, they have scarcely even meaning. . . . It is a poetry in which till all men are happy it is not possible that men can take delight" (*Shelley*, pp. 106, 108). In a letter Edwin Arlington Robinson commented: "I've forgotten pretty much all of [*The Pirates of Penzance*] except the Policeman's Chorus—tarantara—which I like better, in some ways, than the last act of *Prometheus Unbound*, which somehow doesn't quite come off. This makes me think of a friend of Isaacs' who sat behind X on a Fifth Avenue bus and saw this marginal note in a copy of Keats that he (X) was reading: 'Neat, but not as I should have done it' " (*Letters*, p. 86). And to F. A. Lea it was the weakest act: "Many of [the choruses] resemble nothing so much as exercises in *bouts rimés;* some [lines 123-28] are scarcely more than doggerel" (*Romantic Revolution*, p. 145).

Objections to its origin as an afterthought have been voiced by Lanier, who commented: "Act IV is the most amazing piece of surplusage in litera-

ture . . . leaden in action and color alongside of Act III and in which the voices . . . pelt each other with endless speeches that rain like ineffectual comfits in a carnival of silliness" ("English Novel," p. 91); by J. Slater, who held that "the whole act is quite unnecessary, and forms a mere excrescence on the play" ("'Prometheus,'" pp. 192-93); by J. M. Brown, who called it "an accretion; it confuses the idea of Demogorgon, an idea far from clear to begin with; and it leaves out the two main characters of the play" (*Study*, pp. 15-16); by W. P. Ker, who held that, "in prudence, he ought to have stopped when he had finished, at the end of Act III" ("Shelley," p. 47); and by Olwen Campbell, who commented:

> The fourth act . . . was written because he could not remain satisfied with [III.iv.197-204]. After a few months he was impelled to rush on to the end of his tether—towards the ideal, the superhuman, the unrealizable—and so give us a wonderful rhapsody, and so spoil his dramatic poem. . . . A drama must end to some extent in the same key in which it began. What an offence against the inner logic of the three unities is a play which begins with Prometheus and the Furies in Time and Caucasus, and ends with the Sun and Moon in Elysium and Eternity! . . . Till at length Demogorgon restores order—and dramatic harmony—with his sublime peroration, and the curtain falls [*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 202].

Less severe in their criticism were Rossetti, who found no blemish in the fact that the act was lyrical rather than dramatic, but who "[inclined] to think that the dramatic integrity of the whole composition would have been better preserved if Prometheus had been allowed to reappear, to however small an extent, in this concluding act. His entire absence seems not to serve any essential purpose, and it emphasizes the line of severance between this palinodic act and all that precedes it" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 172); Francis Thompson, who held that "the final scenes especially are such a Bacchic reel and rout and revelry of beauty as leaves one staggered and giddy; poetry is spilt like wine, music runs to drunken waste. . . . Yet these scenes . . . [are] nevertheless the artistic error of the poem. . . . It is as if the choral *finale* of an opera were prolonged through two acts" (*Shelley*, pp. 59-60); Scudder, who saw it as "the triumphant pæan of enfranchised Nature, [but] so bewildering in complex structure, so intricate in beauty, so remote from all human interest, that complete sympathy with it is, perhaps, impossible. Yet the act as a whole marks the most sustained effort of English lyrical genius" (Edition, p. lvi,) and "it is to music rather than to literature that we must look for the analogues of poetry such as this" (p. xxxiii).

On the more positive side, comment on the melodic beauty of the act has been frequent. Mrs. Shelley called it "a sort of hymn of rejoicing" (Note. See Appendix C); and G. B. Smith "a marvellous triumph of melody from its opening to its closing line" (*Shelley*, p. 208). R. P. Scott felt that "when we consider that the fourth act of *Prometheus Unbound*, with its exquisite antiphonal music, was an afterthought, we are almost led to acknowledge that sometimes the second inspiration of a bard is more exalted than his

first" (*Place of Shelley*, p. 14). Rossetti saw the act as "a hymn of deliverance and progression, spiritual and physical; with a backward glance at the gloomy past, and a stately and sublime assertion of those great principles of the soul on which alone the deliverance and progression can be used" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 166); and to F. Rabbe it was "the most sublime hymn ever uttered to the glory of the eternal harmony of Nature, as apprehended by the human soul in communion with her" (*Shelley*, II, 193). H. Richter commented: "The senses flow into each other in utter delight. The universe is opened to us with a magic key" (*Shelley*, p. 427). To Alfred Noyes it was "from end to end . . . a poem of light; and the light means to Shelley what the sea has meant to other poets—a symbol of the Eternal" ("Poet of Light," p. 44). W. E. Peck saw in the act a fulfillment of *Queen Mab* VI.41-43, wherein "he describes earth which will yet be a place 'Symphonious with the planetary spheres; / When man, with changeless Nature coalescing, / Will undertake regeneration's work' " (*Shelley*, I, 328). And Edmund Blunden held that "the fourth act appears to have been [Shelley's] equivalent of a ballet, springing from all he had enjoyed of spectacle, dance and music in the two years or more before the play was written. . . . In the final act, masque, dance and air and chorus are created with all delight, to speak for the Promethean plan better than any homily could, however gracious" (*Shelley*, pp. 255-56).

Many writers have not agreed that Act IV is superfluous. Scudder pointed out that "we have had a consciousness throughout that not only the immediate personages but the entire universe of living forces were involved in the issue; and the union of Prometheus and Asia, as well as the general statements of the Third Act, leave us unsatisfied. We demand some expression of rapture from those chorus-voices which have lent so much charm to each stage of the poem. The Fourth Act . . . is thus no arbitrary addition, but an essential fulfilment of the artistic and spiritual unity of the drama." Woodberry amplified this, noting that Prometheus now

> . . . ceases to be of importance, owing to the fact that his symbolic character as mankind is dropped, and liberated and regenerated society is directly described in the millennial passages. In this Act he does not appear at all, though the true significance of his deed closes the drama. Similarly, Asia disappears [J. H. Cousins was to argue later that "Prometheus and Asia are invisible and silent, or, rather, have become merged in nature and humanity whose many voices . . . are their voices, with Panthea and Ione . . . as their hearers" (*Work Promethean*, p. 31)]. Panthea and Ione are the spectators and act as the chorus, in the Greek sense, to the other participants. The part of the chorus has from the beginning of the drama threatened to overwhelm the part of the actors; here it does so to such an extent that the Act presents the anomaly (in form) of lyrical passages as the main interest, with the chorus, properly speaking, in blank verse.

G. H. Clarke answered Lanier (see above) by pointing out that, if the latter's criticism were to stand, "it would become necessary to curtail some of Shakespeare's plays and Thackeray's novels, as concluding with

other than structurally necessary passages"; and he held that, though the action is completed at the end of Act III, the drama is incomplete, "for the movement has been directed toward a catastrophe so stupendous and revolutionary that the reader instinctively feels—as Shelley felt—the need of another act, both to give reality in celebrant music to the central idea of the entire drama, and to relieve overcharged emotions." If ended with Act III "the finale would have been one of ungrateful and almost unconvincing abruptness, and the æsthetic result one of a surprise and joy so unrelieved as to be almost painful." Act IV thus makes the play "more artistically credible," even as does the coming of Fortinbras after the catastrophe in *Hamlet*. Hughes pointed out that there are lyrical elements in Acts I and II:

> But in the third Act the Voices are suspended by the spell of the great catastrophe, and not a lyric note breaks in on the calm joy in which Prometheus and Asia attain to their desire. The fourth Act, therefore, where Nature bursts her silence, was a dramatic need. In this great afterthought Shelley develops the cosmic import of his myth and enlarges the crowning idea of the drama—that all things tend to perfection through Love. . . . The stoical ideal so often preached by Shelley is once more heard in the last verses of the play. Like Ianthe in *Queen Mab*, the poet returns from his fairy visions to the earth and the body and the state of imperfection [Edition, pp. 179-80].

Similarly, Oliver Elton noted the blank verse of Act III and pointed out that "there is a limit to the rush and rapture which blank verse can express continuously" (*Shelley*, p. 38). C. H. Herford admitted that the act was "superfluous in the logic of event," but should be "regarded as the final movement of a symphony; a completion necessary in the logic of emotion" (*History*, p. 66). E. B. Hungerford, too, recognized it as "a kind of epilogue, but entirely *integral*," rather than an "afterthought" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 192). Carlos Baker argued that "those who are less interested in the play as a play than as a vehicle for Shelley's philosophical ideas would be loath to part with the fourth act: it presents several ideas not hitherto made explicit, and it develops and re-emphasizes ideas which receive less extended treatment elsewhere in the drama" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, pp. 110-11). And Bennett Weaver noted that, having "passed the 'far goal of Time' " and "come to eternity . . . plot and deed alike are grotesque. Song only is fitting" ("*Prometheus*," p. 133).

Perhaps the most telling comment relative to this aspect of the problem was that of C. S. Lewis:

> Genetically considered, the fourth act, we know, is an afterthought: teleologically it is that for which the poem exists. I do not mean by this that the three preceding acts are mere means; but that their significance and beauty are determined by what follows, and that what came last in the writing . . . is "naturally prior" in the Aristotelian sense. It does not add to, and therefore corrupt, a completed structure; it gives structure to that which, without it, would be imperfect. The resulting whole is the greatest long poem in the nineteenth century,

> and the only long poem of the highest kind in that century which approaches to perfection. . . . [Act IV] is an intoxication, a riot, a complicated and uncontrollable splendour, long, and yet not too long, sustained on the note of ecstasy such as no other English poet, perhaps no other poet, has given us. It can be achieved by more than one artist in music: to do it in words has been, I think, beyond the reach of nearly all. It has not, and cannot have, the solemnity and overwhelming realism of the *Paradiso*, but it has all its fire and light. It has not the "sober certainty of waking bliss" which makes Milton's paradise so inhabitable—but it sings from regions in our consciousness that Milton never entered ["Shelley, Dryden, Eliot," pp. 29, 33-34].

With respect to the organization of the act, Scudder noted three divisions, with interpretative transitions by Panthea and Ione: (1) the Hours and Spirits of the Human Mind "join in joyful choruses of thankful glee," the "tripping, delicate and light" music of which would be too light except as a prelude to the "graver harmony that follows"; (2) the antiphon of rejoicing between the Spirits of the Earth and Moon; and (3) Demogorgon, "the Power no longer of Destruction but of Life, solemnly invokes dead and living spirits to listen to his words, [and then] utters . . . the final message of Shelley." Hughes's comment was more detailed:

> The Act begins with eight swift and short lines, divided by *caesura*, and sounding like a peal of bugles. . . . At [line 9] we have an interval of "minor music," as Vida Scudder calls it, while the body of Time is carried away, ending at [line 39] with the pause made by the three deep bars. At [line 40] a new division begins with notes as of "a small clear silver lute" (III.ii.38), succeeded presently [line 56] by the dancing or flitting measures of the Hours and Spirits. . . . After the blank verse [lines 180-318] comes the duet of Earth and Moon. The Earth-songs express the masculine energy with a fierce metrical rush and consonantal stress; the Moon answering with a gentle music, with liquid vowel-notes, light verse-filling, and the tender fall of the final strophic line. Save for this line the strophes assigned to both voices are identical in respect of the rhyme-scheme, but the lines given to the Earth are longer by one foot. In the concluding phase of the drama [from line 519] the strophic measure is stately and grave.

And C. M. Garnier felt that the "two long rhymed passages . . . may be considered as two odes. . . . The first presents a twofold composition. Its centre pieces are the Chorus of Hours . . . and the Chorus of Spirits . . . [after which] a brief *decrescendo* takes place . . . and the lyric subsides into the unrhymed recitative which is still music," leading to the "triumphant song of bliss struck up by the Earth and the Moon . . . and to Demogorgon's crowning hymn to the glory of the Titan" ("Metrical Study," pp. 153-54).

Finally, certain miscellaneous comments may be noted. L. Winstanley pointed out that Wordsworth was sure of the spirit behind nature, and that Shelley in this act seems to find it responding to him, "but more often he doubts; to feel the presence behind the veil is not, with him, the same thing as to know it" ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 26). J. M. Brown described the scenery of the act as "autumnal or wintry . . . the ebb and flow of the Arno run through its music, and the shadow of the Apennines

falls again and again upon its spirit"; and he felt that Shelley was here led by Boccaccio and the *Decameron* rather than Dante, although "the literary and nature elements . . . are but small compared with the human" (*Study*, pp. 156-57). To Laura Wylie, the act was "saved from the blight of fatuous satisfaction in achievement by the energy of the spiritual forces that become operative when once humanity is freed from the tyranny of power and of material necessity" ("Shelley's Democracy," p. 197). W. E. Peck believed that Shelley's hopes were "remarkable, seeing that the years 1819 and 1820 were dark with the post-war conflict between the classes of English society and disgraceful revelations of court life connected with the trial of Queen Charlotte," while the Manchester Massacre and the death of freedom of the press (Hone's and Carlile's trials were in 1817 and 1819) also represented tyrannies. But Shelley's "vision pierces through and beyond the heavy fogs that rose from these events" (*Shelley*, II, 141-42). A. Cappon noted that often "Shelley stands wavering between scepticism and an incomplete idealism, the construction of which he anticipates, and the general outline of which at times gives him a sense of hope and even exultation such as that which breathes through" this act (*Shelley's Philosophical Thinking*, p. 140). And Carl Grabo called the act "a philosophical epilogue in which Shelley . . . depicts the joy of the liberated world, and . . . sets forth symbolically his theories of mind and matter" (*Interpretation*, p. 125).[33]

1-179. Comparison:

> [Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 128)] Dost thou not hear? / Strange accents are ringing / Aloft, afar, anear? / The witches are singing! / The torrent of a raging wizard song / Streams the whole mountain along [Goethe, *Faust* sc. ii.140-45. Shelley's translation].

Droop commented: "So sounds the chorus of spirits in the forest of Caucasus." G. B. Smith noted the "ease and lilt of rhythm, as well as . . . that power of haunting the memory when the last cadence has died away, which is so peculiar a characteristic of the lyrics of Shelley" (*Shelley*, p. 209). And Todhunter commented:

> The exquisite choral opening, with its antiphonies between the Spirits of the Human Mind and the Hours, needs little explanatory comment. The Spirits of the Mind are now at last free to soar through all the universe with the frank scepticism of children. . . . The swallow-like flight of these spirits, which seem to pass and repass before the reader's eyes, gleaming, vanishing, and then gleaming again, is subtly suggested by the airy freaks and changes of their songs, as semi-chorus pursues semi-chorus in ethereal glee, snatching the sweet words from each other's mouths in the eager bliss of their new freedom [*Study*, pp. 179-80].

1-29. In these lines, in which the "past is buried" (Alexander), C. M.

[33] I have been unable to obtain the following item, listed in "Current Bibliography," *Keats-Shelley Journal*, V (1956), 132: Akiyama, Takeo. "The Significance of *Prometheus Unbound*, Act IV," Eibeibungaku, Kenkyû, I [in Japanese].

Garnier noted that in lines 1-8 "everything is contrived to suggest remoteness and softness: the rhyme-emphasis is of the weakest sort," alliterations are rare, and feminine endings are prevalent. At lines 9-29, since it is the song of a passing crowd, the "treatment of the stanza is altered accordingly: we find a running treble rhyme . . . the longer verse at every third line falls like the tramp of a marching train; no more feminine endings which toll vaguely in the distance; but sharp repetitions . . . and all manners of simple, double and alternate alliterations" ("Metrical Study," p. 154).

1-7. Henry Sweet called this "one of the most primitively mythological of Shelley's shorter poems" ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," p. 303); and A. Clutton-Brock added that as Shelley "imparts humanity to natural forces in metaphor so instinctive that it seems to be direct statement . . . so also, at his heights of inspiration, he can write of his personifications as if they were natural things like the sun or the clouds" (*Man and Poet*, pp. 214-15).

1-4. *gone . . . dawn*] Locock noted similar rime combinations in *To Night* iii (*dawn-gone*); *Adonais* xli (*Dawn-gone*); and *Hellas* 52-53 (*dawn-shone*).

8. See Textual Notes.

9-14. Scudder commented: "This faint strain of minor music leads exquisitely into the glorious fulness of triumphant song. The literal mind will find it difficult to understand how Time can be 'borne to his tomb in Eternity' while the Earth and Moon yet circle round the Sun; but the poetry is none the less beautiful because the symbols are mixed." O. W. Firkins noted the wide variety of images under which Time is conceived by Shelley: here as corpse; in other poems as stream, flood, storm, night, fire, bird, heaven; as generator, devourer of his offspring, libertine, mediator and redeemer; as scribe or poet, new-born infant, pilgrim, etc. So with Hours, they are tender, animated, or passionate; ghostly, somber, or sad; mysterious, gloomy, weary, oblivion-inducing; and, at IV.73-74, fierce (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 18-21).

13. *dead Hours*] Hungerford called these "the hours of the past in which wretchedness prevailed" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 206).

14. Comparisons:

> [C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 126)] Heaven's sounding gates kept by the winged hours [Proclus, Taylor trans., no locus given by Grabo].
>
> [E. Barnard] [1] Before those cruel Twins, whom at one birth / Incestuous Change bore to her father Time, / Error and Truth [*The Witch of Atlas* i]; [2] talk no more / Of thee and me, the Future and the Past [*Hellas* 766-67]; [3] The Future and the Past are idle shadows [*ibid.* 783]; [4] a diviner clime / . . . Which frowns above the idle foam of Time [*ibid.* 1005-7].

Grabo noted that "the new day of Prometheus is . . . timeless, and in this respect identical with the timeless universe which exists in the mind of the One." Barnard (see also note at I.809) amplified this:

> The poet here implies that Time is at an end, and that the timeless realm spoken of so eloquently by Plato and the neo-Platonists, and, in fact, by mystics of all

> periods and persuasions, has now been realized. A world of time is a world of change and imperfection; and Shelley, the passionate seeker for perfection and permanence, is inclined to regard Time as a condition, if not the cause, of illusion, error, and pain. . . . Such a world, however, cannot be made intelligible in words, and in trying to make it concrete, the poet inevitably runs into contradictions.

But K. N. Cameron held that, "as time still exists in the new order depicted in the act, Shelley must here mean past time only [see line 31]." J. A. Notopoulos called the line "a felicitous rendering of the core of natural and direct Platonism" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 258). Bennett Weaver noted Shelley's early concern with time and eternity in *To Harriet* (1812), *To Ireland* (1812), and the Note to *Queen Mab* VIII.203-7 (1813); as well as the close parallel with this act in *Queen Mab* IX, where the poet "pictures the 'happy Earth' assuming the 'reality of Heaven' after Time has fled" ("First Beginnings," p. 187).

15-16. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] Another clipt her profuse locks, and threw / The wreath upon him, like an anadem, / Which frozen tears instead of pearls begem [*Adonais* xi].
>
> [R. Piccoli] My shroud of white, stuck all with yew [*Twelfth-Night* II.iv.55].

Hughes commented: "They strew hair and not yew in sign of deep mourning."

26. R. Piccoli compared II.v.103.

children] The future Hours (Locock).

28-29. Piccoli compared "Till they die of their own dear loveliness" (*The Sensitive Plant* I.20), and noted the Narcissus suggestion.

30-39. Scudder compared I.314-37 (Edition, p. 148).

30-34. James Thomson wondered at this question and answer, since the dark forms have just said who they are, and Ione and Panthea, by stage direction, have awakened gradually during the first song, "strictly the Voice of Unseen Spirits which precedes the chant of these dark forms and shadows" ("Notes," p. 598).

31-34. H. Richter noted that they are Hours against which only Prometheus ["One"] is armed.

34. Carl Grabo asked: "Is the One Prometheus [see I.1-2] or . . . Eternal Love [see II.iv.120]? . . . Or again, does the One become incarnate in Prometheus? . . . [Or] is Prometheus the incarnation of the second, the intellectual hypostasis of the One? . . . It is sufficient for the moment to think of the One as the ultimate and eternal God who, existing above time, foils the conquest of the hours" (*Interpretation*, pp. 126-27). And again:

> Man, in short, is himself God, or perhaps, more accurately, is on the way to Godhood, the goal symbolically depicted in *Prometheus Unbound* in the overthrow of Jupiter. The four ultimate powers as they appear in the drama are these: the One, the Ineffable, identified as Love in Demogorgon's replies to Asia [II.iv.120], the sole force unconquerable by Jupiter; Demogorgon who, at the fated time, unseats Jupiter; Prometheus, whose self conquest is the signal for Jupiter's fall;

and Jupiter himself. But Jupiter is the creation of Prometheus [I.381]. Jupiter, then, is less than the others and though reigning long is not ultimate and eternal. The forces which rule the world are the One, Demogorgon, and Prometheus. So put, their triune character is suggested. . . . The similarity of the conception to the hypostases of the Platonic trilogy is evident . . . [with Prometheus] the intellectual hypostasis, Demogorgon . . . [the] outgoing hypostasis of deity, that which realizes in the world of outward things the ideas of the second, or intellectual, hypostasis. . . . [Man] is god-like even in his imperfections; and, as he becomes more perfect in the spirit of Christ, is drawn closer to God, attaining that reunion with the One which is the soul's desire [pp. 178-80].

40-80. Alexander noted that "a new spirit rules all things."

47. *ye*] The future Hours (see line 26) who appear after line 56 (Barnard).

49. *new gladness*] L. Vivante noted that "words expressing an intimate value of novelty play in Shelley's poetry a dominant rôle. They are possessed with the highest power" ("Shelley," p. 136). See also Textual Notes.

56. *these*] Those now approaching (Locock). K. N. Cameron saw in them "the hours of the future society, depicted in the following lines as previously having been half-asleep in Eternity but now come to birth."

Locock suggested that "Panthea's strange reply (an afterthought [in the MS]) perhaps merely indicates that the Hours, being on a holiday, have come without their chariots." Olwen Campbell, in turn, suggested that the hours walk now because "they have no need to run" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 221).

57-60. J. A. Notopoulos described this as "another of the many references to the Platonic immortality of the soul in Shelley" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 258).

57-58. *voice . . . Have*] Locock noted that Shelley frequently used the plural verb with a technically singular subject (e.g., *The Revolt of Islam* III.xiv and V.xlviii; *Queen Mab* VIII.232; *Prince Athanase* 287; *Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 43; *Homer's Hymn to Venus* 7; *Adonais* liv; and *The Triumph of Life* 530).

57. Carl Grabo commented:

Earth, Air, and Mind [line 81]—matter, heaven, and being—are thus symbolized and their union celebrated. . . . But I find it not easy to explain the reappearance of the Hours, for Time has been but lately borne "to his tomb in eternity." It does not wholly satisfy to declare that . . . the past [only is interred]. Not only the past but Time itself had supposedly been disposed of. . . . Consistency is here perhaps to be extorted through the fact that all the future Hours come to life at once . . . [and] are awakened to sing as a chorus the delights of a happier day. Time thenceforth ceases to be.

But Grabo noted that in his later picture Shelley premises time for his universe: "Seemingly it is [a paradox] insoluble to the human reason" (*Interpretation*, pp. 127-29).

58. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] And whether it [Poetry] spreads its own figured curtain [*A Defence*

of Poetry. Julian, VII, 137]; [2] From sleep as many-coloured as the snake [*The Revolt of Islam* IV.iv].

[B. Langston ("Shelley's Use of Shakespeare," p. 171)] Now o'er the one half-world / Nature seems dead, and wicked dreams abuse / The curtain'd sleep [*Macbeth* II.i.49-51].

figured] Marked or obscured by visions (Ellis). B. P. Kurtz saw in this "again, the death men call life" as at III.iii.113-14 (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 185); and J. A. Notopoulos held that "the 'figured curtain' is a variant of the 'painted veil' " at III.iv.190 (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 258). See notes at those lines.

60. Scudder felt that "the broken cadences and repercussive notes . . . add much to the wild freedom and charm of the melody." Carl Grabo noted that "the origin of time . . . is beyond the deep of the material universe, and is to be found in the mysterious source of all things, the One" (*Interpretation*, p. 128); or, as E. Barnard would have it, in "the realm of Demogorgon [cf. II.iii.81 and II.iv.130 ff.]."

61. *An hundred ages*] Melvin Rader noted that "the liberation of man does not approach swiftly. . . . The bearing of time to his tomb cannot possibly mean that duration in its literal meaning will perish, for death, chance, and mutability still overarch the life of man [see III.iv.201]. It can only mean that the mind, intoxicated with Eternity [in the Spinozan sense], will bound beyond the 'Category of duration' " ("Theory of Evil," pp. 28, 31).

63. *each one*] Locock suggested "each one who awoke in turn (i.e. came into existence) as his immediate predecessor fell asleep. The Hours are not speaking of themselves (the new series of Hours) but of Hours in general during Prometheus' captivity. It is perhaps merely a coincidence that if 'an hundred ages' be interpreted as a hundred generations or periods of thirty years, the time would correspond exactly with the 'Three thousand years of sleep-unsheltered hours' of I.12."

65-67. Woodberry noted that "these three lines might be taken severally as a summary of the theme of Acts I., II., and III." Locock suggested that "but of late" should be understood.

67. Carl Grabo suggested that "the spirits of Air and Earth . . . personify Power" which awaken the "Hours of the future" (*Interpretation*, pp. 127-28).

69-179. C. M. Garnier commented: "The Hours being in Shelley's fancy more stately characters than the Spirits, he ascribed to the former a statelier stanza . . . and to the latter a more airy and fluttering measure" ("Metrical Study," p. 153).

73-76. See note at I.454-55.

77-78. L. O. Kuhns held that here (and at IV.134) the "very aspect of Dante's Paradise is summed up in such language" ("Dante's Influence," p. 163).

79-80. Carl Grabo noted that "time, energy, and pleasure become one . . . expressed in one of Shelley's favorite figures, the drawing by the sun of water-vapor to form the cloud, symbol of endless change, endless unity, in the round of generation" (*Interpretation*, p. 129). R. H. Fogle added that this takes place when "the grasp of accident and evil is at last relaxed" (*Imagery*, p. 138).

81. Rossetti assumed that these were "the same spirits . . . as those which had consoled Prometheus in the first act after the torturing of the Furies, but glorified and exultant now in proportion to the change which has come over humankind" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 167). K. N. Cameron amplified this: "[They are] emblems of the human mind [line 80], first, under the old order, repressed and tortured [lines 93-98, 117-22], but now, in the new order, free to control not only the earth but the planets beyond the earth [lines 161-62]."

82. Woodberry called this "a singularly felicitous expression to describe the double aspect of language as sound and color"; and Louis Cazamian commented: "English Romanticism had discovered, long before our symbolists, the doctrine of the esthetic correspondences and interchangeable sensations" (Edition, p. 27).

92. J. A. Notopoulos compared II.v.48-71 (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 258).

93-128. Alexander commented: "The Spirits of the Human Mind tell of the pursuits of regenerated humanity." The passage has been adversely criticized. W. P. Trent commented: "This is not only rendered feeble as poetry from its straining at concrete expression, but it is also rendered thin and of false quality as music because the rhythm does not harmonize with its content" ("Apropos of Shelley," p. 86). A. Clutton-Brock agreed: "It is a significant fact that the poorest part of the last act is the chorus of Spirits 'from the mind of human kind.' Their rejoicing seems to be forced, and their music sometimes mechanical" (*Man and Poet*, p. 217). And more recently Stephen Spender has asked: "What could be more exasperating" than to come on this evidence of "sheer bad writing" (*Shelley*, p. 31).

93-98. Comparisons:

> [Scudder (Edition, p. 144)] [1] But hearken to the miseries that beset mankind—how that they were witless erst and I made them to have sense and be endowed with reason. Nor will I speak to upbraid mankind, but to set forth the friendly purpose that inspired my boons. First of all, though they had eyes to see, they saw to no avail; they had ears, but understood not; but, like to shapes in dreams, throughout their length of days, without purpose they wrought all things in confusion. Knowledge had they neither of houses built of bricks and turned to face the sun, nor yet of work in wood [*Prometheus Bound* 442-50]; [2] Tell me, what succour for thee is there, and where, in creatures of a day? What aid? Didst thou not behold the helpless infirmity, no better than a dream, wherein the purblind generation of men is shackled? [*ibid.* 546-50].
>
> [W. F. Revell (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 424)] IV.382-411.

Revell, noting that "the evil represented in these lines is not external,

but spiritual evil," used the passage to refute Dowden's contention that Shelley conceived of evil as external (p. 425).

95. See Textual Notes.

96-98. Carl Grabo commented: "In the Promethean day the stress is no longer upon the individual minds but upon the oneness of all minds: a unity of emotion as well as of thought, and though forever in motion, serene" (*Interpretation*, p. 130).

97-98. Locock noted similar unorthodox rimes in *The Revolt of Islam* XII.xvi (*motion-emotion*); *Mont Blanc* 30-32 (*commotion-motion*); and *Rosalind and Helen* 126-129 (*emotion-motion*).

99-104. E. Barnard took this stanza "to be descriptive of the mind *in general*, whereas the two following stanzas mention *particular activities* of the mind: love, philosophy, art, and science."

99-101. Carl Grabo noted that "in the new age the caverns of individual thought are lucent . . . every mind is open to the light of all other minds" (*Interpretation*, p. 130).

102-4. Grabo saw in this "the outward looking aspects of the mind; they are the seat of the thought which is based upon observation as distinguished from the introspective thought characteristic of the cave" (*Interpretation*, p. 130).

105-7. Grabo noted that "love is conceived of as secret, egocentric" (*Interpretation*, p. 131). P. H. Butter considered the lines "tasteless but unfortunately characteristic" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 203).

106. Locock compared "In the sweet depth of woven caresses" (*Rosalind and Helen* 1031).

108-10. Grabo noted that "the charms of knowledge, as of love, so beguile men from the sense of time [Circe-like] that in their absorption in knowledge, time ceases to be. Love and wisdom are the preoccupations of a world no longer heedful of time" (*Interpretation*, p. 131).

111-13. Grabo commented: "Like the towers of thought and wisdom the temples of ear and eye are outward looking, dealing with sensations necessarily derived from without but which are turned to the inward creations of Sculpture and Poesy" (*Interpretation*, p. 131).

115. Grabo pointed out that "in the pursuit of science, though the emphasis is on the outer universe, the inner inspiration is symbolized by the figure 'springs' " (*Interpretation*, pp. 131-32).

116. *Dædal*] See note at III.i.26. Alexander noted that in addition to "skilfully wrought" *Dædal* here "may perhaps be used with special reference to the wings which Dædalus invented and with which he soared heavenward."

121-22. Comparisons:

> [G. H. Clarke] [1] Many a green isle needs must be / In the deep wide sea of Misery, / Or the mariner, worn and wan, / Never thus could voyage on— / Day and night, and night and day [*Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 1-5]; [2] Aye, many flowering islands lie / In the waters of wide Agony [*ibid.* 66-67].

Grabo took this to mean "a place of rest, of security, in the restless sea of experience" (*Interpretation*, p. 132).

123. Comparisons:

[Locock] [1] wounded the invisible / Palms of her tender feet [*Adonais* xxiv]; [2] with palms so tender, / Their tread broke not the mirror of its billow [*The Triumph of Life* 361-62].

125. Comparisons:

[C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 132)] [1] If nursed by Thy selectest dew of love [*The Cenci* IV.i.123]; [2] sleep, that healing dew of Heaven [*ibid.* IV.i.178]; [3] and the dew of music more divine [*Ginevra* 115]; [4] A dew rained down from God above [*Peter Bell the Third* V.iv]; Fall like a dew of balm upon the world [*Queen Mab* VI.53].

Grabo noted that this is "one of the most frequent of Shelley's symbols . . . [and] is employed with the connotations of gentleness, healing, and divine origin."

126-27. Locock compared I.662, and interpreted: "Beyond the range of actual vision they behold, as in a glass, the dawn of universal love."

133-34. Grabo interpreted "streams" as individual lives, and "ocean" as the sum of being, and noted that "multiplicity in unity is again [as at lines 77-80] the theme" (*Interpretation*, p. 133).

135-79. Grabo held that Shelley, probably unaware of Herschel's renunciation, evidently retained the earlier view of a finite stellar universe doomed to extinction through gravity pulling all matter to one dead center. In this lyric, lines 139-40 "must allude to Herschel's earlier belief," while "hoar deep" (line 143) and "void's loose field" (line 154) must refer to the "nebulous stuff fringing the stellar universe." Lines 169-71 represent one of the stages in the evolution; 161-65 illustrate centrifugal motion, 166-68 centripetal, while 177-79 represent both. "The clouds and the rain [line 179] are symbols of the fertility and life and these are led by the forces of electric attraction whose spiritual counterpart is love" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 165-67); but P. H. Butter doubted so definite a reference: "The 'world' in Shelley practically always refers to the earth, not the universe. The picture, I think, is of the Spirits soaring round the earth, flying in and out of the 'pyramid of night,' the earth's shadow . . . and then passing out beyond the 'starry skies' " (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 160).

135-58. Comparisons:

[J. H. Cousins (*Work Promethean*, p. 44)] [*The Revolt of Islam* V.2182-71, where Shelley "sings of Wisdom as the Mother and Soul, the source and living principle, of the manifested universe. He sees Wisdom . . . re-ascending the human heart, and Her 'irresistible children' chaining both the elements and their own wills in order to swell, not their own glory, but Her's."]

[E. Barnard] [1] Know then, that from the depth of ages old, / Two Powers o'er mortal things dominion hold / Ruling the world with a divided lot, / Immortal, all-pervading, manifold, / Twin Genii, equal Gods—when life and thought/ Sprang forth, they burst the womb of inessential Nought [*The Revolt of Islam*

I.xxv]; [2] From the great morning of the world when first/God dawned on Chaos [*Adonais* xix]; [3] In the great morning of the world, / The Spirit of God with might unfurled / The flag of Freedom over Chaos [*Hellas* 46-48]; [4] This firmament pavilioned upon chaos [*ibid.* 772].

Rossetti interpreted the chorus to mean "that the human faculties of imagination, speculation, and poetic invention, will create an ideal world, corresponding to their own attributes and powers as exalted by the Promethean triumph. This would be the new imagined or typical Olympus, or new heaven, of regenerated man; as the old Olympus, with its supreme Jupiter and subordinate deities, was the heaven conceived by him from a lower plane of thought" (*Prometheus as Poem*," pp. 167-68). Cousins commented: "The Spirits . . . are the living principles of the human mind. . . . This is the chant of the released powers of the human mind. . . . To his age and to ours it is a prophecy . . . whose fulfilment may be essayed with assurance; for in the chant, Shelley . . . provides us with a sure guide to action." Love, Thought, and Breath (line 150) express "his realisation of the triple process in evolution, mental, emotional and actional. . . . [But they] are not simply the normal loving, thinking and breathing of the mass of humanity. They are powers that pre-suppose development and discipline for the attainment of their death-quelling potency" (pp. 40-43). Barnard commented:

> The activity of the Spirits which is described in this chorus seems to be inconsistent with the earlier suggestion of a timeless realm. It is impossible to conceive the building of a new world except in time; and, indeed, the Hours assist in the process [lines 169-71]. Moreover, some of the Hours remain on Earth [line 162] to accompany its operations.—Another interesting fact about this chorus is the light it casts on Shelley's cosmology. Apparently, like Plato and like Milton, Shelley believed that the universe has been created from some primordial flux, or Chaos, by a creative Intelligence. . . . On the other hand, some critics have said that Shelley believes Mind to be the only reality [cf. III.iii.85].

135-40. Comparison:

> [R. P. Scott (*Place of Shelley*, p. 40)] But now my task is smoothly don, / I can fly, or I can run / Quickly to the green earths end, / Where the bow'd welkin slow doth bend, / And from thence can soar as soon / To the corners of the Moon [*Comus* 1012-17].

140. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] Clipped in a floating net [*The Witch of Atlas* xvi]; [2] a wreath / Of moonlight vapour, which the cold night clips [*Adonais* xii].

147-52. Carl Grabo noted that again there is the "association of Love, Energy, Thought, and Life. . . . 'Love which is as fire' is, in Shelley's symbolism, electricity." And he pointed out that, in Shelley's philosophy, "mysticism of neo-Platonic origin, and the Newtonian scientific theory . . . are fused" (*Interpretation*, pp. 134-35). E. Barnard amplified this: " 'Earth' here is evidently one of the four elements of the ancient philosophers. The 'Spirit of Might' in the next line is of course Newton's principle of gravita-

tion. 'Stars' probably means planets [cf. lines 397-99]. The first part of the stanza refers to the physical powers, the second part to the spiritual powers, both of which must be combined in a 'living world.' " And P. H. Butter saw implied in lines 148-49 the "quite up-to-date knowledge that the 'fixed' stars are not really static," an idea advanced by Herschel and cited in a note to Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, I, 105 (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 159).

150-51. B. P. Kurtz saw in this "love's ecstasy defying death, thought's power assimilating it to a higher reality, and breath symbolizing the everlasting renewal of life in successive forms" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 185). J. H. Cousins commented:

> Here . . . Shelley expresses his realisation of the triple process in evolution, mental, emotional and actional—the cognition, affectiveness and conation of the psychologists. . . . Love is the redemptive power in the cosmos and human life. Thought, in its highest aspect as Intellectual Beauty, is to Shelley but a synonym for Love made intelligent, the power that both consecrates and liberates. The Breath of Life-more-abundant blows through every crevice of his brain and heart. . . . [It] is remarkable that he should throw into a single phrase the four Indian ways of power: *bhakti-yoga* or the discipline of devotion, *jnana-yoga* or the discipline of the mind, *pranayama* or the way of bodily control, and *karma-yoga* or the path of action. These in their totality form the royal discipline, *raja-yoga*, the full expression of the Will directed towards the regeneration of the complete individual and of the chaotic world through creative action, and the construction thereby of a realm in which the Spirit of Wisdom may reign [*Work Promethean*, pp. 42-44].

153-74. Hughes commented: "These lines mean that one Semichorus brings a new planet into being 'in the void's loose field beyond heaven'; the planet gathers shape as the Spirits whirl singing around it; it is modelled upon the new world of man. The second Semichorus encircles the Earth and works a happy change there in animate and inanimate Nature."

153-58. H. Richter noted that this is the second golden or Promethean era, the age of a conscious innocence in which men are virtuous from wisdom—following the drive of their ennobled nature—not from duty or fear of punishment as in the bronze age when the concepts virtue and sin were formed. An end was made of the first golden age of untroubled peace of mind by the stolen spark of heaven, the incomplete knowledge; the full light and the clear recognition bring in the second golden age, which is, as it were, a higher power of the first. Carl Grabo commented: "The liberated mind of man becomes the creator of its own universe, bringing love and unity from discord and anarchy. . . . Man . . . has usurped the powers of divinity, has grown into God, identifiable henceforth . . . with the intellectual, or second hypostasis of the One" (*Interpretation*, pp. 133-35).

154. *loose*] Open, unenclosed (Ellis); or nebulous, not yet condensed into solid matter (Locock).

163-74. Scudder noted that "the brief and irregular song-flights which we have had so far now merge into an anapæstic verse-movement, even and smooth from the very intensity of its swiftness."

165. *yet . . . never*] Never yet (Locock). Locock noted a similar use in "Yet never found I one not false to me" (*The Revolt of Islam, Dedication* vi); "Whose limits yet were never memory's theme" (*ibid.* III.i); "I think such hearts yet never came to good" (*The Woodman and the Nightingale* 2); "Where Power's poor dupes and victims yet have never" (*Charles the First* iv.26); "Yet did I never hear except from thee" (*Homer's Hymn to Mercury* lxxv); and, in Spenser, "the stedfast starre, / That was in Ocean waves yet never wet (*The Faerie Queene* I.ii.l).

171. Locock compared IV.380-81.

173. *happy*] Apt, felicitous (Ellis). Locock noted that the word is used proleptically.

177-79. Carl Grabo commented: "The cloud, symbol of fertility and life . . . in its formation and in its function is guided and animated by an energy which is electricity or 'love'. . . . And as the cloud symbolizes also the round of creation, the life cycle of the elements, and, similarly, the life cycle of individual souls, the frequency with which the symbol is employed by Shelley and its all-important place in his mythology is accounted for" (*Interpretation*, p. 136).

180-318. G. H. Clarke pointed out that "Panthea and Ione here serve the function of an interlinking and wonderingly interpretative chorus between the Spirit-songs and the duet of Earth and Moon, and again [lines 503-18] between these and the great injunctions of Demogorgon." And Louis Cazamian suggested that they are needed to describe the visions which his theme would not permit him to present directly to the imagination of the reader. They are like the chorus of the drama, grown purely philosophical (Edition, p. 27).

181-84. Scudder called this "one of the wonderfully lovely nature-vignettes, perfect in a few lines, which abound in the Fourth Act. The sweet little touch of earthly, homely beauty affords rest and relief after the spirit-music to which our ears have become attuned."

183. Henry Sweet compared "Innumerable laughter of ocean" (*Prometheus Bound* 89-90) ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," p. 311).

184. Comparison:

> [Alexander] For after the rain when with never a stain / The pavilion of Heaven is bare [*The Cloud* 77-78].

unpavilioned] The sky from which the pavilion of clouds has vanished (Alexander).

186-93. Scudder chose these lines as typical of the melody of the drama, evidenced in the "difference in tone-color in the two speeches."

186-88. Comparisons:

> [Locock] That seldom-heard mysterious sound / Which . . . Our world enkindles on its way [*With a Guitar: To Jane* 75-78].
>
> [E. Barnard] And sometimes to those streams of upper air / . . . She would

ascend, and win the spirits there / To let her join their chorus [*The Witch of Atlas* lvi].

186. *music*] The harmony of the spheres (Woodberry); Pythagorean (R. Piccoli).

187. Locock commented on the short-*i* assonance, which he found first in "Of desperate hope wrinkled his quivering lips" (*Alastor* 291). He noted that it was afterward used with "extraordinary effect" in *The Daemon of the World* (II.449), *The Revolt of Islam* (XII.xxiv.6), and elsewhere in *Prometheus Unbound* (I.543 and IV.251); and that "it is curious that in all these instances 'kindle' should be the word chosen to produce the effect" (*Alastor* note).

waved air] Carl Grabo pointed out that this "is the expression of a scientific fact. It is not one grasped by the senses" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 199).

189-90. *under-notes*] From the Spirit of the Moon (Locock). Grabo cited II.ii.41-47 also for the use of music as an impelling force, reminiscent of Rosicrucian theory (*Interpretation*, p. 137).

192. Comparison:

[G. H. Clarke] His eyen twinkled in his heed aright, / As doon the sterres in the frosty night [*Canterbury Tales, Prologue* 267-68].

194-318. J. Slater considered the "strange apparition and mutual felicitations of the Earth and Moon" to be "a monstrous instance of bad taste from beginning to end. When it is not childish . . . it is grotesque" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 192). But Rossetti called Ione's speech "a beautiful thing, though rather profuse and formulated in detail. It is far surpassed by Panthea's succeeding speech. . . . As one reads, the words seem to become almost as gigantic as the cycle of animated creation which they commemorate" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 168). Scudder noted that, "through this description, we are in full mysticism. Perhaps the grand duet to follow would be more effective if introduced by less elaborate machinery." W. B. Yeats commented:

Shelley could not help but see [the Moon] with unfriendly eyes. . . . When he describes [her] as part of some beautiful scene he can call her beautiful, but when he personifies . . . he grows unfriendly or not truly friendly or at the most pitiful. . . . It only becomes a thing of delight when Time is being borne to his tomb in eternity, for then the spirit of the Earth, man's procreant mind, fills it with his own joyousness. He describes the spirit of the Earth and of the Moon . . . in a passage which reads like a half-understood vision ["Philosophy of Shelley's Poetry," pp. 112-13].

Forman noted that "these lines form a sort of quasi-scientific, quasi-mythic prologue to the great colloquy between the Earth and the Moon, and give us a somewhat vague and only half humanized conception of the two personalities which must be supposed to be behind that wonderful colloquy" (*Note-Books*, p. 37). And E. B. Hungerford objected that "the

apparatus seems more appropriate to a masque than to a serious drama" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 206).

E. Barnard commented: "The Earth here is probably to be identified with the Spirit of the Earth [in III.iv], since the prophecy of Asia [III.iv. 86-89] concerning the future love between that Spirit and its 'chaste sister Who guides the . . . moon' is fulfilled in the present act. Yet the second and third speeches of the Earth contain many suggestions of the Mother Earth of Act I." Barnard held that Grabo's argument (that Shelley, in the following descriptions, was poeticizing scientific theory derived from Davy, E. Darwin, and others) was unconvincing, for the attraction to scientific experiments in Shelley's youth did not carry through, and the later use of scientific information was probably incidental. He added: "Need we look in the present instance for any deeper motive than the desire to express, through the appearance as well as the speech of the spirits who personify the Earth and the Moon, the intense beauty and exaltation of the spiritual life which waits upon such an achievement as that of Prometheus?—Incidentally, some of the passages which Mr. Grabo traces to Shelley's scientific reading may have been suggested by Plato's *Timaeus*." With this C. M. Bowra would agree. He admitted that "these two visions are certainly mysterious, and it is something of a relief" to have them explained as electricity and dancing matter. "If, however, this is the whole truth, Shelley has wandered far from his ideal subject and involved himself in not very relevant topics. But this is not necessarily the complete answer." Shelley uses scientific speculations, but "he transforms them to suit his own system. They concern, in his view, not matter but spirit. . . . For him even electricity was an activity of the world-soul" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 120). Arthur Wormhoudt interpreted the first vision as "emblematic of Asia as Spirit of the Moon being metamorphosed into the Moon," and the second as "Prometheus as Spirit of the Earth metamorphosed into the Earth" (*Demon Lover*, p. 107).

194-201. Comparisons:

> [Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, pp. 128-29)] Through the mossy sods and stones, / Stream and streamlet hurry down—/ A rushing throng! A sound of song / Beneath the vault of Heaven is blown! / Sweet notes of love [*Faust* sc. ii.51-55. Shelley's translation].
>
> [Locock] 'Mong which it gurgled blythe adieus, to mock / Its own sweet grief at parting [Keats, *Endymion* I.938-39].

194. Carl Grabo noted that "the 'forest' in neo-Platonic imagery is symbolic of matter." So the "two openings in the forest" would be "revelations of the true, the occult, character of the natural forces manifest in the earth and moon" (*Interpretation*, pp. 138-39).

198-201. O. W. Firkins called this "a conceit of an extravagance quite Elizabethan" (*Power and Elusiveness*, p. 44).

202-5. Comparisons:

[R. Piccoli] [*The Revolt of Islam* XII.xli, where the charmed boat approached "on the sound / Which issued" from the Temple of the Spirit.]

[E. Barnard] II.ii.59; II.v.74; and IV.505.

202. *Two visions*] The "chariot of the Earth and the chariot of the Moon" (Alexander).

206-82. Comparisons:

[W. L. Smith ("Overlooked Source," pp. 785-92)]: [1] And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man [Ezekiel i.4-5]; [2] Thus were their faces: and their wings were stretched upward; two wings of every one were joined one to another, and two covered their bodies [*ibid.* i.11]; [3] As for the likeness of the living creatures, their appearance was like burning coals of fire, and like the appearance of lamps: it went up and down among the living creatures; and the fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth lightning. And the living creatures ran and returned as the appearance of a flash of lightning. Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces. The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a beryl: and they four had one likeness: and their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel [*ibid.* i.13-16]; [4] And when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them: and when the living creatures were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up [*ibid.* 19]; [5] When those went, these went; and when those stood, these stood; and when those were lifted up from the earth, the wheels were lifted up over against them: for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels. And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creature was as the colour of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above [*ibid.* i.21-22]; [6] And when they went, I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the voice of the Almighty, the voice of speech, as the noise of an host: when they stood, they let down their wings [*ibid.* i.24].

[A. Oras ("Multitudinous Orb," pp. 248-49)] forth rush'd with whirl-wind sound / The Chariot of Paternal Deitie, / Flashing thick flames, Wheele within Wheele undrawn, / It self instinct with Spirit, but convoyd / By four Cherubic shapes, four Faces each / Had wondrous, as with Starrs thir bodies all / And Wings were set with Eyes, with Eyes the Wheels / Of Beril, and careering Fires between; / Over thir heads a chrystal Firmament, / Whereon a Saphir Throne, inlaid with pure / Amber, and colours of the showrie Arch. / . . . And from about him fierce Effusion rowld / Of smoak and bickering flame, and sparkles dire; / Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints, / He onward came, farr off his coming shon, / And twentie thousand (I thir number heard) / Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen: / Hee on the wings of Cherub rode sublime / On the Crystallin Skie, in Saphir Thron'd. / . . . At once the Four spred out thir Starrie wings / With dreadful shade contiguous, and the Orbes / Of his fierce Chariot rowld, as with the sound / Of torrent Floods, or of a numerous Host. / Hee on his impious Foes right onward drove, / Gloomie as Night; under his burning Wheeles / The stedfast Empyrean shook throughout. / . . . Nor less on either side tempestuous fell / His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Foure, / Distinct with eyes, and from the living Wheels, / Distinct alike with multitude of eyes, / One

Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye / Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire / Among th' accurst, that witherd all thir strength [*Paradise Lost* VI.749-850].

Smith noted many parallel details in the Ezekiel passage. Oras, while acknowledging the Biblical source as common to both Milton and Shelley, felt that Milton's influence was the stronger on Shelley. In addition to the descriptive details anticipated by Milton, Oras noted that "the insistence on the geometrical and mechanical pattern of shape and movement . . . [and] certain similarities of structure, sound, and phrasing place Shelley especially close to Milton [e.g., *P.U.*237, *P.L.*749; *P.U.*243, *P.L.*751, 755-56; *P.U.*242, *P.L.*757-59; etc.]." He also noted that the "rolling spheres strongly recall a universe of cosmic bodies, which associates them more intimately with the numerous eyes in Milton, which are like stars, than with those in Ezekiel, which lack the stellar reference" (p. 250). Oras concluded that "Milton and the Bible seem . . . to have been mingled for Shelley in an inextricable total impression, with the imagery and phraseology of Milton tending to predominate" (p. 256).

Oras also considered that this instance of the imagery of circular movement (see note at II.ii.41 ff.)

. . surpasses [all others in Shelley] as far as the effect of intricately circling speed and inextricable complexity of moving, fused splendour is concerned. . . . This is really the same "wilderness of harmony" as in [*The Daemon of the World* 242-52 and *The Revolt of Islam* I.lii, lvi] but the wilderness is presented as, if possible, even more complex, dynamic and tangled, and the harmony as even more sublime and complete. . . . Shelley takes special care to underline both the unity and the multiplicity, the tumult and the harmony, the solidity and the airiness of his conception. . . . Involution, close contact amounting to interpenetration, furious wheeling speed, tangles of circles [see notes at I.148, 237; II.i.22-23; II.ii.41 ff.] are all shown in one image" [*Shelley's Imagery*, pp. 53-58].

206-68. R. H. Fogle noted that

. . . although these images are obviously not naturalistic, their contours are clear and sharp. . . . [Shelley's] visual sense of design leaves nothing unaccounted for within the framework of the image . . . he combines indefiniteness with exactitude, a deliberate transcendence of sense-perception with the most careful respect for it. . . . When one notices that Shelley has balanced simplicity of visual quality in the Moon against complexity and variety in the Earth, appreciation of his skillful workmanship progresses still further. The Moon is a sharply outlined etching in black and white, the Earth a full painting in which all the colors of the spectrum are utilized, mingled and fused in many forms and shapes [*Imagery*, pp. 51-54].

206-35. Comparisons:

[J. Thomson ("Notes," p. 666)] Like the young moon— / When on the sunlit limits of the night / Her white shell trembles amid crimson air, / And whilst the sleeping tempest gathers might— / Doth, as the herald of its coming, bear / The ghost of its dead mother [*The Triumph of Life* 79-84].

[G. H. Clarke] That orbèd maiden with white fire laden, / Whom mortals call the Moon, / Glides glimmering o'er my fleece-like floor, / By the midnight breezes

strewn; / And wherever the beat of her unseen feet, / Which only the angels hear, / May have broken the woof of my tent's thin roof, / The stars peep behind her and peer; / And I laugh to see them whirl and flee, / Like a swarm of golden bees, / When I widen the rent in my wind-built tent, / Till the calm rivers, lakes, and seas, / Like strips of the sky fallen through me on high, / Are each paved with the moon and these [*The Cloud* 45-58].

Stopford Brooke noted that lines 206-18 represent "not mythical, but physical and metaphysical imagination. But the image of the moon [lines 219-35] is nature-myth; every touch is made out of the doings of nature. . . . This might be written of the moon-god in India" ("Lyrics of Shelley," p. 153).

207. *Mother of the Months*] The disc of the moon (H. Richter); Diana or Artemis (G. Woods).

208. Locock compared III.ii.26-28. James Thomson, assuming the correct reading to be "ebbing night" (see Textual Notes and Variant Readings), pointed out that "light" would be true to the new moon setting with the sun. And Locock, noting the correct reading, suggested that "with Keats, who prayed that he might never know how the moon changed (*On Indolence*), an elementary mistake in astronomy would be more likely to occur than with Shelley, who, as early as 1813, wished to see a collection of 'all possible documents on the Precession of the Equinoxes.' "

209. *interlunar*] See note at II.iv.91. Hughes noted that in the interval between moons, "the moon that has waned and the new moon . . . Shelley fables that the Moon retires to a cave, and is there held in a dreamy sleep."

210. Comparison:

[Hughes] And o'er what seemed the head a cloud-like crape / Was bent, a dun and faint aethereal gloom / Tempering the light [*The Triumph of Life* 91-93].

Woodberry noted that "the image is of 'the new moon with the old moon in her arms.' "

211-12. Comparison:

[E. Barnard] the scene came through / As clear as when a veil of light is drawn / O'er evening hills they glimmer [*The Triumph of Life* 31-33].

213. *regard*] Alexander interpreted this as "look like; an odd use of the word as an intransitive verb."

214-17. Comparisons:

[Woodberry] Like a great ship in the sun's sinking sphere [*The Revolt of Islam* I.vi].

[G. H. Clarke] Over earth and ocean, with gentle motion, / This pilot is guiding me, / Lured by the love of the genii that move / In the depths of the purple sea [*The Cloud* 21-24].

Woodberry noted that "the sunset image accounts for . . . 'ebbing' " in line 208, and suggested that the image might be from *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* III, but that "effects of sunset on the sea are frequent in the early poems and are reminiscences of Shelley's life on the west coast."

218. Comparisons:

[Hughes] [1] The Chariot of Paternal Deitie, / . . . It self instinct with Spirit [*Paradise Lost* VI.750-52]; [2] Celestial Equipage; and now came forth / Spontaneous, for within them Spirit liv'd [*ibid.* VII.203-4].

219-26. Comparisons:

[L. O. Kuhns ("Dante's Influence," p. 165)] [*Purgatorio* II, and "the brilliant whiteness of Dante's angel" who wafts the souls of the saved.]

[Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 15)] [1] The fair-haired Moon, and the immortal Sun [Homer, *Hymn to the Sun* 9. Shelley's translation]; [2] And the light vest with which his limbs are bound, / . . . Glows in the stream of the uplifting wind [*ibid.* 18-20].

[Hughes] His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow [*Revelation* i.14].

Henry Salt interpreted the Spirit of the Moon as "feminine grace" (*Primer*, p. 64). Scudder commented: "The intense shining of these lines is wonderful." L. Winstanley saw in them "an expression of two ideas: the white beauty of the moon's light and the modern belief in the intense cold of its sphere. . . . It is a perfect expression of the effect of the moonlight, no human feeling in spite of the human form, purely a nature divinity," and she compared III.iv.2-5 ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 40). Carl Grabo ascribed the "emphasized whiteness" to the concept, stressed by E. Darwin, that there was no atmosphere on the moon, hence no light refraction. For Shelley's interest in the phenomenon of atmospheric refraction he compared I.64-65, 82-83 and II.iii.72-74; and he noted that Newton's theory of light had impressed Shelley (*Newton among Poets*, p. 152). Lines 224-25, he held, might refer to the radiant light of the moon, to the electric fire emanating from an electrode (possibly with earth and moon as the two electrodes), or to a lunar Aurora Borealis since, without atmosphere, the light would be white (pp. 155-58). Grabo also pointed out that "earth and moon in Shelley's conception are experiencing a new birth in the Promethean day and the description of the child spirits [see also line 263] is symbolic of this rejuvenescence" (*Interpretation*, p. 138). David Davies suggested, as a "transition" to Grabo's reference to the brush on an electrode, that Shelley may have thought of Herschel's "[There were] narrow but much extended lucid nebulae or bright dashes: some of the shape of a fan, resembling an electric brush issuing from a lucid point" (*Works*, I, 160). Davies added: "That in considering the moon Shelley should think of nebulae and of how Herschel had [described them] seems more plausible than that he should be immediately reminded of an electric circuit" ("Herschel and the Poets," p. 28). But P. H. Butter considered Grabo's speculation on lines 224-25 "unnecessary" and held that "the lines are no more than a description of white moonbeams. In old drawings and often in literature the sun is represented with golden hair; so why not the moon with white?" (*Shelley's Idols*, pp. 154).

E. Barnard found the repetition of the word "white" extraordinarily effective: "The Moon has not yet felt the transforming power of love, and hence is represented as a frozen world [cf. line 356]." Edmund Blunden called the images "visions, but not without a place in the waking world, and those who know Blake's drawings will be prepared for them" (*Shelley*, p. 256).

221. Comparison:

> [C. Grabo (*Meaning of the Witch*, p. 64)] All interwoven with fine feathery snow / And moonlight splendour of intensest rime [*The Witch of Atlas* xliv].

224. Locock commented: "The long 'i' assonance conveys admirably the impression of intense brightness."

226. *liquid darkness*] Carl Grabo held that this was probably the "black rays" of Herschel's discovery and Davy's description, heat without light: "That energy from the moon absorbed from the sun can thus emanate in black rays was a speculation advanced by Davy" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 154-55). But E. Barnard countered the Herschel suggestion by citing *Timaeus* 45b: "They contrived that all such fire as had the property not of burning but of giving a mild light should form a body akin to the light of every day. For they caused the pure fire within us, which is akin to that of day, to flow through the eyes in a smooth and dense stream."

236-68. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] That day, as other solem dayes, they spent / In song and dance about the sacred Hill, / Mystical dance, which yonder starrie Spheare / Of Planets and of fixt in all her Wheeles / Resembles nearest, mazes intricate, / Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular / Then most, when most irregular they seem: / And in their motions harmonie Divine / So smooths her charming tones, that Gods own ear / Listens delighted [*Paradise Lost* V.618-27].
>
> [R. Piccoli] [1] [*Paradiso* X.64-78, for the dance of the lovely splendors, the "flashing lights" of the "burning suns"]; [2] I saw the glorious wheel move and render voice to voice with harmony [*ibid.* X.145-47]; [3] [XII.1-24, on the circle within circle of flame and song whirling with motion and song.]
>
> [G. W. Knight (*Starlit Dome*, p. 224)] There the meteor lay, / Panting forth light among the leaves and flowers, / As if it lived, and was outworn with speed; / . . . in the midst of which appeared / A spirit like a child [*Fragment of an Unfinished Drama* 130-38].
>
> [K. N. Cameron] Doubtless no disposition of inert matter, or matter deprived of qualities, could ever have composed an animal, a tree, or even a stone. But matter deprived of qualities, is an abstraction, concerning which it is impossible to form an idea. Matter, such as we behold it is not inert. It is infinitely active and subtile. Light, electricity and magnetism are fluids not surpassed by thought itself in tenuity and activity; like thought they are sometimes the cause and sometimes the effect of motion; and, distinct as they are from every other class of substances . . . seem to possess equal claims with thought to the unmeaning distinction of immateriality. The laws of motion and the properties of matter suffice to account for every phenomenon, or combination of phenomena exhibited in the Universe [*A Refutation of Deism.* Julian, VI, 50].

One early reviewer pointed out that Shelley "doubly distances" Newton in his view of the heavenly bodies: "Did ever the walls of Bedlam display more insane stuff than this?" (*Literary Gazette*, 1820. See Appendix D, item II); and another commented: "We have neither leisure nor room to develope all the absurdities here accumulated, in defiance of common sense, and even of grammar" (*Quarterly Review*, 1821. See Appendix D, item X). J. Slater, too, noted that "here are several contradictions and not a few obscurities. There is a sphere which is yet many thousand spheres . . . through all its mass flows light, yet the ten thousand orbs dwell in the lampless deep; in the next lines they roll on with self-destroying swiftness, yet 'intensely, slowly, solemnly.' We suppose . . . that the subject of 'dwell' is 'ten thousand orbs' " (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 394). And Scudder admitted that "this mythical vision of the Earth, with the Spirit sleeping at its heart, is hard to understand, but marvellous in suggestion." Hughes interpreted the passage as follows:

> The concentric spheres may represent the swift and intricate order of Nature as seen by the scientific imagination. To the eye of this imagination the Spirit exists at the heart of a system which is full of wonder [lines 244-245], of half-caught secrets and wild music [lines 251-252]. The grinding of the brook into a mist, and the kneading of odour and light into one mass may signify the analytic action of science and its power of viewing different things as modifications of one substance. The spokes of light penetrating into the earth's centre come from a star on the Spirit's forehead; that is, perhaps, Science can pierce deepest when it is centred upon a sympathy with the joy of Nature. The figure, then, will represent the Spirit of the Earth now enveloped in strange marvels, and itself supporting the light by which such marvels are seen. Todhunter interprets the grinding of the brook as the biological science of the future, and the kneading of odour and light as its art. We should remember, however, that we are dealing with a myth in which everything need not be reduced to allegory. Probably Shelley imagined this curious sphere just for his own delight.

Alfred Noyes saw in the passage "a perfect 'storied window, richly dight' for the future cathedral of the universe" ("Poet of Light," p. 44). But Carl Grabo found in it a reflection of Erasmus Darwin's "Forms sphered in fire" (I.423) and "Orb within orb" (II.3) in which Darwin was identifying matter with energy, "units of matter which are no more than radiant points of force." Grabo held also that Davy's description of matter as energy, with its particles in "vibratory or undulatory motion, or a motion of the particles around their axes, or a motion of particles round each other" (Davy, *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, p. 95) may have been in Shelley's mind, as, "with a scientist's grasp and the imagery of a poet, [he] describes it in terms of color, sound, and movement." The "unimaginable shapes" (line 244) he attributed to Shelley's interest in Rosicrucian lore, and to Shelley's tendency to animate everything (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 141-44). E. Barnard countered the Darwin and Davy suggestions by citing Plato's description of the cosmos in *Timaeus* 40a-b:

> The form of the divine class [fixed stars] He wrought for the most part out of fire, that this kind might be as bright as possible to behold and as fair; and likening it to the All He made it truly spherical. . . . And each member of this class He endowed with two motions, whereof the one is uniform motion in the same spot . . . and the other is a forward motion . . . but in respect to the other five motions they are at rest and move not, so that each of them may attain the greatest possible perfection.

B. Dobrée, too, objected to Grabo's argument and held that "surely it [the passage] is taking the idea beyond empirical science, as you may say was done by Jeans and Eddington in their idealistic hostility to determinism. . . . Shelley, in fact, would not accept science at all, *as itself.* 'All science,' he claims in *A Defence of Poetry*, 'must be referred to poetry' " (*Broken Cistern*, p. 86. Paraphrase of Julian, VII, 135). J. A. Notopoulos, however, accepted the passage as a blending of Plato's music of the spheres with Shelley's scientific poetry (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 259); and John Laird saw in the lines an attempt to combine the "tranquil, motionless, eternal power on the one hand and, on the other, that which moved swiftly and was gone. . . . It is the attempt to find constancy and dependability *in* change instead of an unchanging constancy side by side *with* change . . . to look with Heracleitus for law, constancy and security in the process of coming-to-be and of passing-away" (*Philosophical Incursions*, pp. 132-34).

Approaching the lines differently, G. W. Knight held that "a perfect *fusion* of the mythopoeic and philosophical faculties is both the subject of the passage and in strong technical evidence while we read"; and that "such etherial imagery, whether of speed, vapour, or light, is in Shelley especially emblematic of human consciousness. So what we are watching is this: the earthy and heavily physical being forced to generate the conscious, which in turn includes and transcends that same solidity into a new 'mass'. The process repeats that already symbolized whereby the Earth needs mankind in order to know its own life, so that its 'spirit' becomes its own grandchild, Asia (an erotic symbol) being the needed link." Knight also felt that in this passage "the rush of excited thought and the repose of myth and symbol, enjoy perfect union" (*Starlit Dome*, pp. 219, 221-23). Still differently, E. B. Hungerford saw the passage as "clearly an image of the universe," and held that since the scene is still in the grove of Colonus Shelley probably followed a scholiast on Aristophanes' *The Birds* who "mentions that Callistratus says that there was at Colonus an astronomical toy set up by Meton. May not Shelley, in reading about Colonus, have noticed that piece of information? . . . The mechanism for introducing the Moon would be merely a parallel invention in order to carry out the device" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 207-8). E. Blunden assumed that here "we have something like 'the circle of the sciences,' the advance of man's knowledge in a vast number of interdependent subjects, enabling him to resolve the material world into its elements"; and he cited Sir William Bragg's lecture on "Craftsmanship and Science": "it is an important fact that science

advances over a wide front, and the various branches of it move on together: not absolutely keeping step with each other, but preserving a general line" (*Shelley*, pp. 257, 360-61).

238. *sphere*] The earth (Woodberry).

241. Todhunter commented: "The orbs within orbs perhaps represent a democratic society of brothers, where each has his own sphere, working in harmony with those of his neighbours" (*Study*, p. 180).

242. Comparisons:

> [E. Barnard] [1] [*Timaeus* 68, where, in a discussion of a theory of sight, these colors, among others, are mentioned. Plato describes the phenomena leading to white, black, red, yellow, purple, violet, chestnut, gray, ocher, blue, and green]; [2] [*Phaedo* 110, where the earth as seen from above is described as patches of colors, brighter and purer than ours—purple, golden, white, and other colors.]

244. Carl Grabo found "unimaginable shapes" reminiscent of "the gnomes and sylphs of Rosicrucian lore," but "beneath the convenient imagery lies [Shelley's] belief in the living quality of matter," which he had held as early as *Queen Mab*. Grabo described it as a form of pantheism, or immaterialism, differing from that of Wordsworth and Spinoza in that its stress is on "multiplicity rather than unity. . . . It is an emphasis consonant with Erasmus Darwin's belief in the evolutionary growth of life through individual adaptation into richer and more varied forms" (*Interpretation*, pp. 140-41).

245. Scudder called this "a fine instance of the tenuity of Shelley's imagination."

247. Woodberry commented: "The intention seems to be to suggest the incessant operation of manifold natural forces and processes in the sphere, each in its own realm."

248. Locock compared IV.281; E. Barnard "O, storm of death! / Whose sightless speed divides this sullen night" (*Alastor* 609-10); and Locock defined *sightless* as "invisible."

249. Locock commented: "The idea [cf. line 259] seems to be that the movement of the component parts of the sphere is so rapid that its speed as a whole is lessened, perhaps by friction."

253-55. William Empson commented: "One might regard as an extreme case of the transitional simile that 'self-inwoven' simile employed by Shelley, when not being able to think of a comparison fast enough he compares the thing to a vaguer or more abstract notion of itself, or points out that it is its own nature, or that it sustains itself by supporting itself. . . . The matter of the vision is so highly informed, so ethereal, that it can be compared to the Pure Form of which it is the matter." Empson compared this with lines 263-68, which passage "is merely a statement of what he is" (*Types of Ambiguity*, pp. 160-61).

256-60. R. H. Fogle called this "a definite statement of the consummation towards which the Shelleyan synaesthesia continually strives: a blend-

ing of all sensation into one mystical, ineffable, supersensuous harmony; a dissolution which involves the spirit itself in willing self-surrender," as at IV.196-98 and 503-5 (*Imagery*, p. 132).

256. E. Barnard compared "And in the soul a wild odour is felt, / Beyond the sense" (*Epipsychidion* 109-10).

258. R. H. Fogle found this "a notable instance of the use of a tactual image to give body and firmness . . . with its suggestion of hardness in 'emerald' and of resistance in 'leaf-entangled' " (*Imagery*, p. 68); as well as an illustration of "synaesthetic 'objectification' " wherein the "rays of light both offer and receive a paradoxical resistance" (pp. 125-26).

261-68. Arthur Wormhoudt felt that "the quaint conception of a child within a globe may be traceable to the illustration for Emblem VI, Book V, of Francis Quarles' poetic emblems" (*Demon Lover*, p. 107). This emblem is described as follows in *The Poetical Works of Richard Crashaw and Quarles' Emblems*, George Gilfillan ed. (Edinburgh, 1857): "Illustration: One sitting on a Globe, and looking up to Heaven, where God sits." R. H. Fogle noted that "the Earth and the Spirit of Earth are joined in a climactic synthesizing image in which the inorganic and organic are fused. Motion and stillness, spirit and matter, unity and complexity, sensation and idea are all compressed in a single amazing whole, whose basic elements are the earth imagined as an orb and as a mythological human figure" ("Image and Imagelessness," p. 31).

261. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] Yett wist no creature, whence that hevenly sweet / Proceeded, yet each one felt secretly / Himselfe thereby reft of his sences meet [*The Faerie Queene* I.xii.39]; [2] Whereof such wondrous pleasures they conceave, / And sweete contentment, that it doth bereave / Their soule of sense, through infinite delight / And them transport from flesh into the spright [Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* 256-59].
>
> [E. Barnard] one / Oblivious melody, confusing sense [*The Triumph of Life* 340-41].

265-68. Comparisons:

> [G. W. Knight (*Starlit Dome*, p. 180)] [1] Her dewy eyes are closed, / And on their lids . . . The baby Sleep is pillowed [*Queen Mab* I.37-40]; [2] [p. 222] Might half slumb'ring on its own right arm [Keats, *Sleep and Poetry* 237]; [3] Adonis something mutter'd / The while one hand, that erst upon his thigh / Lay dormant, mov'd convuls'd and gradually / Up to his forehead [Keats, *Endymion* II.497-500].

265. Knight called this Shelley's "primary figure: for that it certainly is, the focal point of the later action, the magnetic centre which draws to it all other primary significances in person and symbol" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 219).

268. G. H. Clarke compared "a' babbled of green fields" (*Henry V* II.iii.17-18).

269. Knight asked: "Why? We glimpse the purified consciousness, the clairvoyance of Jesus and Blake, mocking . . . all such geometric eternities" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 222).

270 ff. Comparisons:

[Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 129)] A melancholy light, like the red dawn, / Shoots from the lowest gorge of the abyss / Of mountains, lightning hitherward: there rise / Pillars of smoke, here clouds float gently by; / Here the light burns soft as the enkindled air, / Or the illumined dust of golden flowers; / And now it glides like tender colours spreading; / And now bursts forth in fountains from the earth; / And now it winds, one torrent of broad light, / Through the far valley with a hundred veins; / And now once more within that narrow corner / Masses itself into intensest splendour. / And near us, see, sparks spring out of the ground, / Like golden sand scattered upon the darkness [*Faust*, sc. ii.98-111. Shelley's translation].

[Hughes] [*Timaeus* 38-39, where a planetary system is described in which "the stars which revolved most quickly appeared to be overtaken by those which moved most slowly, although in truth they overtook them; for, because of their simultaneous progress in two opposite directions, the motion of the Same, which is the swiftness of all motions, twisted all their circles into spirals and thus caused the body which moves away from it most slowly to appear the nearest."]

270-79. Hughes commented:

Among the Greeks victorious warriors were crowned with myrtle wreaths. There is perhaps a reference here to Harmodius and Aristogeiton who struck down Hipparchus the Tyrant and made Athens free in the year 514 B.C. In the hymn of Callistratus to Harmodius there is a refrain which runs . . . "I'll wreathe the sword in myrtle bough." To Shelley, tyranny and ignorance were consubstantial powers; the rays of knowledge are weapons to strike down tyrants. "Embleming" must belong to "beams"; the light piercing the abyss suggests the union of heaven and earth.

Carl Grabo equated the "azure fire" with blue electric flame, and the whole passage with the Aurora Borealis. He felt that in "tyrant-quelling myrtle" Shelley had confused laurel and myrtle, the former, according to Pliny, being a protection from lightning (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 144-48). To E. B. Hungerford the light was the ray "which the new spirit of inquiry upon the earth will cast upon the universe as man avails himself of the Promethean gifts. . . . [It] reveals the world not as ancient myth conceived it but as the scientific mind conceived it" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 208). And G. W. Knight saw in the passage a suggestion of the child as "Mighty prophet" in Wordsworth's *Ode: Intimations of Immortality*, as well as Keats's "Might half slumb'ring" and "supreme of power" (*Sleep and Poetry* 236-37). Knight commented: "These hammers of flame and fierce gyrations . . . are used to show Keats's 'supreme of power' now piercing, revealing, redeeming, and *annihilating* all past agonies of Man and Earth" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 223).

270. Comparisons:

[E. Barnard] [1] I.765; [2] beneath the planet sate a Form, / . . . The radiance of whose limbs rose-like and warm / Flowed forth, and did with softest light inform / The shadowy dome [*The Revolt of Islam* I.lvii].

272. A. C. Bradley compared "To all that braved the tyrant-quelling

lance" (Coleridge, *France: An Ode* 37) ("Coleridge-Echoes," p. 175).

275. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] Looking askance and winking fast as thought [Homer, *Hymn to Mercury* lxx. Shelley's translation]; [2] Who look'd as though the speed of thought / were in his limbs [Byron, *Mazeppa* ix].

Locock noted that *Mazeppa* was transcribed by Shelley.

278-79. Carl Grabo suggested that Shelley may have meant pierce the soil by "the methods of Davy, electro-chemical analysis"; or that line 279 might suggest that Shelley had read a "theoretical anticipation" of the X-ray (*Interpretation*, p. 143); but P. H. Butter considered this a too "precise reference," and held that "Shelley wanted to bring in pictures of the vanished civilisations and of the whole past history of the earth, and so to stretch our imaginations over large areas of time as well as of space; and he used the beams as a convenient means of transition" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 204).

279-318. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] Far had he roam'd, / With nothing save the hollow vast, that foam'd, / Above, around, and at his feet; save things / More dead than Morpheus's imaginings: / Old rusted anchors, helmets, breast-plates large / Of gone sea-warriors; brazen beaks and targe; / Rudders that for a hundred years had lost / The sway of human hand; gold vase emboss'd / With long-forgotten story, and wherein / No reveller had ever dipp'd a chin / But those of Saturn's vintage; mouldering scrolls, / Writ in the tongue of heaven, by those souls / Who first were on the earth; and sculptures rude / In ponderous stone, developing the mood / Of ancient Nox;—then skeletons of man, / Of beast, behemoth, and leviathan, / And elephant, and eagle, and huge jaw / Of nameless monster [Keats, *Endymion* III.119-36]; [2] Methought I saw a thousand fearful wracks; / A thousand men that fishes gnaw'd upon; / Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl, / Inestimable stones, unvalu'd jewels, / All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea. / Some lay in dead men's skulls; and in those holes / where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept, / As 'twere in scorn of eyes, reflecting gems, / That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep, / And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd by [*Richard III* I.iv.24-33].

Henry Sweet commented: "It is characteristic of the breadth of Shelley's imagination that it is as much at home in the depths of the earth as among the clouds and stars" ("Shelley's Nature Poetry," p. 307). Hughes pointed out that "Shelley had read Keats's *Endymion* a few weeks before writing this Act (Letter to Ollier, September 6, 1819). . . . It is characteristic of Shelley that he is struck, not only by the strangeness and mystery of these things, but by their scientific significance." Locock noted that Shelley had singled out the Keats passage in his letter to the *Quarterly* in November (?), 1820 (Julian, X, 218) as worthy of special admiration.

280-83. Comparison:

> [Locock] Infinite depths of unknown elements / Massed into one impenetrable mask; / Sheets of immeasurable fire, and veins / Of gold and stone, and adamantine iron [*Fragment of an Unfinished Drama* 20-23].

280. Comparison:

[E. Barnard] And the off-shoot of gold, which is very hard because of its density and black in colour, is called "adamant" [*Timaeus* 59b].

281. Comparisons:

[Alexander] Over heaps of unvalued stones [*Arethusa* iv].

[Locock] [1] Inestimable stones, unvalu'd jewels [*Richard III* I.iv.27]; [2] the leaves of thy unvalu'd Book [Milton, *On Shakespear*].

Valueless] Of such great value that it cannot be calculated (Forman); a usage common in Shelley (Scudder). Locock noted that Shelley uses, similarly, *sightless*, *viewless*, *quenchless*, *speechless*, *moveless*, *searchless*, *tameless*, *measureless*, *drainless*, etc., but that in *Queen Mab* V.248 *valueless* has its ordinary meaning.

283. Comparisons:

[Hughes] They have found by experience that the vein of gold is a living tree, and that the same, by all ways that it spreadeth and springeth from the root by the soft pores and passages of the earth, putteth forth branches even unto the uttermost parts of the earth. . . . They have sometimes chanced upon whole caves sustained upon golden pillars, and this in the ways by which the branches ascend [Pietro Martire, quoted by Southey in a note to *Thalaba* I.31].

[Locock] [1] III.iv.110; [2] blooming Ambrosial Fruit / Of vegetable Gold [*Paradise Lost* IV.219-20].

[C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 192-93)]: [1] O'er tottering domes in filmy foliage crawls, / Or frosts with branching plumes the mouldering walls [Darwin, *Botanic Garden* II.145-46]; [2] Branch after branch extend their silver stems [*ibid.* IV.589, describing the dissolving of silver in nitric acid].

286-87. Comparison:

[Locock] Mont Blanc is the monarch of mountains; / They crown'd him long ago / On a throne of rocks, in a robe of clouds, / With a diadem of snow [Byron, *Manfred* I.i.60-63].

287-318. Comparisons:

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 244)] [1] Life may change, but it may fly not [*Hellas* 34]; [2] Worlds on worlds are rolling ever / From creation to decay [*ibid.* 197-98].

[Forman (*Note Books*, p. 36)] And in that deathlike cave / A thousand fading ruins lie / Of men & of the works of men [Shelley's notebook translation of a Calderón passage (unidentified)].

This was one of the few passages in the poem praised by Sidney Lanier, who called it "as modern as geology. . . . The whole treatment is detailed, modern, vivid, powerful" ("English Novel," p. 94). Rossetti attempted to reconcile the geological discrepancies: "It is clear that 'over' is here used [lines 302 and 308] in the sense which we commonly call 'under'; *i.e.*, the speech refers to deeper and deeper substrata reaching down towards the terrestrial centre. There is something impressive, though anomalous, in this use of terms, whereby the centre of the globe is made to figure as its

universal apex, towards which all points converge" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 168). But Scudder held that "Shelley's curious cosmology, in the remainder of this speech, would hardly commend itself to a modern geologist. According to him, the remains of ancient civilizations are seemingly buried in the deepest strata of the earth, while above them lie the fossils of antediluvian monsters, with behemoth and the jagged alligator on top. But let us not be too literal." Woodberry commented: "The speech reveals the history of the earth as the previous speech reveals its physical structure. Shelley does not consider the chronology of the spectacle, but merely presents, first, the antique ruins of humanity, and, second, the fossil primeval world." C. A. Brown believed that James Parkinson's *Organic Remains* (1804-11) offered similarities that may have made it the starting point for the description, with references to petrifaction of wood, and fossil remains of fishes ("Notes," pp. 196-98). Carl Grabo added that Parkinson's book had been brought to Shelley's attention by Elizabeth Hitchener, as evidenced by letters to her on December 26, 1811, and February 4, 1812 (*Newton among Poets*, p. 177). J. W. Beach, however, pointed out that "the notion of prehistoric races destroyed by a cataclysm does not necessarily carry with it the theory of organic evolution" (*Concept of Nature*, p. 592). E. B. Hungerford held that the lines refer "to Cuvier's theory of the successive epochs of the earth," the first three of which "had terminated successively in gigantic catastrophes," the last of which was that of Genesis. "Hence Cuvier had been able to account for the fossil remains . . . and for archaeological vestiges anterior to the period of time compatible with Biblical and other early chronologies. . . . The ray of light from the Spirit of the Earth adduces support for a scientific hypothesis which Shelley believes will overthrow religious superstition and fable" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 209-11). And E. Barnard commented: "This history of the earth is hardly compatible with that given by Asia in [II.iv]; one has its origin in modern science, the other in Greek myth. Either one, however, provides a suitable prologue to the appearance on earth of a regenerate humanity."

292. R. Piccoli compared "The hooked Chariot stood" (Milton, *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* iv).

294. *emblems*] Locock noted that this is a trisyllable, and that Shelley took a similar liberty in "Below, far lands are seen tremblingly" (*On the Medusa* i), where he assumed that Shelley's scansion was "trembl[e]ingly."

295. Comparisons:

> [Locock] When the exulting elements in scorn, / Satiated with destroyed destruction, lay [*Letter to Maria Gisborne* 40-41].
>
> [L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 99)] [Following the reign of Saturn], as the universe was turned back and there came the shock of collision . . . it produced a great earthquake within itself and caused a new destruction of all sorts of living creatures [*Statesman* 273a].

296-98. Carl Grabo wondered if Helvetius' surmise of a superior tribe of monkeys may have given Shelley the suggestion (*Newton among Poets*, p. 180).

297. Comparison:

> [Hughes] [Southey's *The Curse of Kehama* XVI ("The Ancient Sepulchres"), in which the description of the sea-covered city of Baly and the tombs and dead bodies of its ancient kings is similar in details.]

earth grew over] After the deluge mentioned at line 315 (Locock).

300-10. R. H. Fogle commented: "Typical also of Shelley's swift energy [are the] images of gripping, squeezing, splitting, and crushing" (*Imagery*, p. 96).

301. W. N. Guthrie commented on Shelley's "peculiar use of the word *annihilation* and kindred words [cf. line 354 and III.iv.204]," finding it here "equivalent to that confusion which renders things indistinguishable and therefore in their individual character invisible and, so far as our knowledge is concerned, as though they were not." He held that the word to Shelley meant "*relative* annihilation, i.e. existence, intense, vivid, self-conscious, with all limitation and therefore all perceivability . . . abstracted" (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 336-37).

302. Comparison:

> [Locock] a vast stream of hardened lava [from Vesuvius], which is an actual image of the waves of the sea, changed into hard black stone by enchantment [To Peacock, December 22, 1818. Julian, X, 17].

304. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] or that Sea-beast / *Leviathan* . . . The Pilot of some small night-founder'd Skiff, / Deeming some Island, oft, as Sea-men tell, / With fixed Anchor in his skaly rind / Moors by his side [*Paradise Lost* I.200-7]; [2] there Leviathan . . . Stretcht like a Promontorie sleeps or swimmes, / And seems a moving Land [*ibid.* VII.412-15].

305-8. R. H. Fogle noted that "the tactual feeling . . . has an acerbity" duplicated frequently in Shelley (cf. I.31-34) (*Imagery*, p. 69).

308. See Textual Notes.

309. F. L. Jones compared "The River Horse and scalie Crocodile" (*Paradise Lost* VII.474) ("Shelley and Milton," p. 504).

310. Comparisons:

> [R. Ackermann] Behold now behemoth, which I made with thee; he eateth grass as an ox [Job xl.15].
>
> [Hughes] *Behemoth* biggest born of Earth upheav'd [*Paradise Lost* VII.471].

Adolf Droop noted the similarity to "earth-shaking Poseidon" (*Belesenheit*, p. 14), and R. Piccoli suggested the hippopotamus.

314-18. Hughes noted that "the cataclysms of Nature fascinated Shelley," as evidenced elsewhere in *The Revolt of Islam* (V.i; VII.xiii; XII.vi); *Ode to Liberty* (xiii); and *Ginevra* (123-28).

314. *blue globe*] The world of waters (Woodberry); or the earth itself (Locock).

316-18. Carl Grabo suggested as an influence Davy, who, following Leibnitz and Whiston, ascribed the deluge to the "attraction of a comet upon the waters of the ocean" (Davy, *Memoirs*, I, 190) (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 175-76).

317. Comparisons:

[Locock] Passed, like a God throned on a wingèd planet [*Epipsychidion* 226].

[E. Barnard] Thou too, O Comet beautiful and fierce, / Who drew the heart of this frail Universe / Towards thine own [*ibid.* 368-70].

319-502. Comparisons:

[H. Richter ("Shelley's Weltanschauung," p. 244)] [1] The earth doth like a snake renew / Her winter weeds outworn [*Hellas* 1062-63]; [2] A quickening life from the Earth's heart has burst / As it has ever done, with change and motion [*Adonais* xix]; [3] The leprous corpse, touched by this spirit tender, / Exhales itself in flowers of gentle breath [*ibid.* xx].

[Armin Kroder ("Shelleyana," p. 130)] Dance came into being contemporaneously with the primal origin of the universe, making her appearance together with Love—the love that is age-old. In fact, the concord of the heavenly spheres, the interlacing of the errant planets with the fixed stars, their rhythmic agreement and timed harmony, are proofs that Dance was primordial [Lucian, *The Dance* 7].

[Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 128)] The sun makes music as of old / Amid the rival spheres of Heaven, / On its predestined circle rolled / With thunder speed . . . And swift and swift. with rapid lightness, / The adornèd Earth spins silently [*Faust, Prologue* 1-10. Shelley's translation].

[G. H. Clarke] The spacious firmament on high, / With all the blue ethereal sky, / And spangled Heavens, a shining frame, / Their great Original proclaim. / Th' unweary'd Sun, from day to day, / Does his Creator's power display; / And publishes, to every land, / The work of an almighty hand. / Soon as the evening shades prevail, / The Moon takes up the wondrous tale; / And nightly, to the listening Earth, / Repeats the story of her birth: / Whilst all the stars that round her burn, / And all the planets, in their turn, / Confirm the tidings as they roll, / And spread the truth from pole to pole. / What though in solemn silence, all / Move round the dark terrestrial ball; / What though no real voice, nor sound / Amidst their radiant orbs be found: / In reason's ear they all rejoice, / And utter forth a glorious voice; / For ever singing as they shine: / "The hand that made us is divine" [Addison, *An Ode*].

An early reviewer considered the dialogue between Earth and Moon "the most arrant and gravest burlesque that it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive" (*Literary Gazette*, 1820. See Appendix D, item II). But later critics have not agreed. Odysse Barrot called the passage "a marvel of lyricism and poetic boldness" in catching the language of the forces of nature, and he held that only Lucretius approached, in utterance of such eloquence, the highest truths of philosophy and science. Shelley, he felt, was in reality the Lucretius of the nineteenth century; but where Lucretius professed a certain indifference, a skepticism, which gave his verses a touch of coldness and monotony, Barrot saw Shelley filled with faith, enthusi-

asm, feeling, and ardent affection for humanity and for all beings ("Poète philosophe," pp. 454-55). Carl Grabo, too, found "a broad resemblance" between *De rerum natura* and *Prometheus Unbound*: "Both are written in disrespect of the accepted gods. Both seek to enfranchise man through reliance upon his own powers. Both glorify science and belittle conventional theology" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 7). And Swinburne felt that "the song of the delivered earth . . . can hardly be compared with anything outside Æschylus or the Bible" ("Shelley," p. 336).

Todhunter held that "the lovely duet between the Earth and the Moon expresses the harmony between the sexes, no longer at variance through defect of intelligent sympathy, but like brother and sister" (*Study*, p. 181); and Forman's enthusiasm led him to write of "that great colloquy between the Earth and its satellite, from which Panthea rose 'as from a bath of sparkling water, A bath of azure light, among dark rocks.' Ah, how many readers on both sides of the Atlantic have done the same, and how their descendants shall still do so in their millions as this twentieth century and its followers roll on!" (*Note Books*, p. 92). J. A. Notopoulos saw in the songs a possible development of Plato's music of the spheres in the *Republic* 616 ff., and he pointed out that Coleridge in his note to stanza iv of *Ode to the Departing Year*, which influenced Shelley's conception of the Spirit of the Earth, made use of the doctrine: "The first Antistrophe describes the Image of the Departing Year, as in a vision; and concludes with introducing the Planetary Angel of the Earth preparing to address the Supreme Being" (Coleridge's note). Notopoulos also believed that Earth and Moon singing in their respective spheres may have been influenced by the antiphonal structure of Greek choral lyrics (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 259).

Others have commented on the lyrical structure of the passage. Rossetti noted that "the metre assigned to the Earth [is] constantly the longer and more weighty, and that of the Moon the more light and cursive" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 169). Scudder pointed out that the lyrics "correspond closely in form, differ widely in effect. The rhyme-scheme is the same, *aabaab*, except that the Moon gains a tenderer, more lingering cadence by a final line, *aabaabb*. The measure of the Earth-songs is iambic pentameter (*bis*), iambic hexameter: that of the Moon-songs just one foot shorter, e.g. iambic tetrameter (*bis*), iambic pentameter, ending with iambic dimeter. The music of the earth is 'a deep and rolling harmony'; that of the moon, under-notes, 'clear, silver, icy, keen-awakening tones,'—echo-melody in a lighter key"; and she commented: "The Love which is the theme of the drama is here extended from Man to the Universe. The Earth is masculine, the Moon feminine. The Earth expresses a passionate and tumultuous triumph; the Moon a serene yet absorbing joy."

Disagreement with respect to the characters was initiated when Forman suggested that throughout this section *The Earth* and *The Moon* should read *The Spirit of the Earth* and *The Spirit of the Moon* (Edition, p. 264).

James Thomson, too, found some confusion between Earth, Moon, Spirit of the Earth, and Spirit of the Moon (with the Spirit of the Earth not in the Dramatis Personae and with the Spirit of the Moon there only because of Mrs. Shelley). Through Acts I-III, he noted, "the Earth is the great Mother" and is distinguished from the Spirit of the Earth. Then in IV.206-318 Ione and Panthea describe these spirits of Earth and Moon, followed by the "antiphonal chanting, not of the Spirits, but simply of the Earth and the Moon, according to the headings of the alternate strophes. Yet not the Moon but only her Spirit is in the *Dramatis Personae;* and she addresses the Earth not as the great Mother, but as 'Brother mine' and 'Orb most beautiful.' " On the other hand, "the chaste Sister of the Moon expresses to her Brother of the Earth, still a winged child, that very love Asia predicted [III.iv.86-90], but for which she said to him, 'Thou art not yet old enough.' " Passing over the subtle distinction between the Hours and the Spirit of the Hours, Thomson felt that "the chanting Earth of [Act IV] is, in truth, neither the mythological Mother nor the simple Child-Spirit of the preceding acts, but, as was imperative for the full development of the poet's thought, our own natural Earth, the living, enduring root of these and all other conceptions, mythologic, imaginative, rational; the animate World-sphere instinct with Spirit, personified as masculine in relation to the feminine Moon, as it would be no less rightly personified as feminine in relation to the masculine Sun" ("Notes," pp. 597-98).

Rossetti, in turn, held that the speeches of Earth here are not in character with the "tricksy elf-child the Spirit of the Earth; and in like manner the utterances of the Moon may be construed as the voice of the planet Moon, satellite of the planet Earth." But the Spirit of the Earth and the Spirit of the Moon have just been introduced, and "we cannot suppose that these two spirits remain entirely alien to the dialogue. . . . On the whole, we must, I think, assume that Earth and Moon, in their large general character as members of the solar system, are the essential speakers; but represented on the spot, visibly and emotionally, by the Spirit of the Earth, a boy, and the Spirit of the Moon, an infant girl, who are touched into a kind of choral consonance with those more potent entities." Rossetti felt that lines 514-16 confirmed this view ("Prometheus as Poem," pp. 169-70).

Scudder found "better insight" in Thomson's view, and held for Earth here as "a third conception, approaching to the conception held by modern science, exalted by the imagination," inasmuch as there is "a realism about the words of the Earth which we do not find earlier." But G. H. Clarke, noting that "this spiritual coming together of Earth and Moon at once indicates the new and rapid growth of each under the law of love and satisfies the prediction of Asia [III.iv.86-90]," argued that "the speakers are surely the Spirit of the Earth and the Spirit of the Moon. This is the new Earth of [III.iv], the freed and rejuvenated spirit of Scene 3, not the

old Earth of Act I. In this final act it has become 'old enough' in its new life [cf. III.iv.91] for complete delight and triumph." Hughes sided with Rossetti, whose explanation, "subtle as [it] may seem," best meets the difficulty "that the Moon addresses the Earth as 'Brother mine,' and the Earth answers in such verses as [lines 338-49]"; as did Locock; while E. B. Hungerford simply commented: "In this allegory both moon and earth are mere personifications of physical bodies. They are not mythological personages" (*Shores of Darkness*, p. 212).

321. A. N. Whitehead called this "the poetic transcript of 'the expansive force of gases,' as it is termed in books of science" (*Science and the Modern World*, p. 123).

322. L. O. Kuhns, comparing IV.437-39 and II.i.120-21, noted that "in the *Paradiso* this splendor which enwraps the soul of the saints, is constantly changing, and manifests the greater or less joy of the soul, as a smile reveals the joy of the human heart" ("Dante's Influence," p. 164).

324. Locock compared II.iv.136.

325-31. Carlos Baker commented: "Since the praise of love is intended here, the [sexual] equation may be symbolically justified, although the idea that the moon is warmed and fertilized by the proximity of the earth would scarcely gain the assent of astronomers" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 111).

327-31. O. W. Firkins noted Shelley's exceptional interest in the ideas of "penetration, permeation, absorption, and dissolution," which are closely associated with ideas of effluence, "since one object naturally absorbs what another radiates." As other examples in this poem he cited I.122-23, 483-91, 831-33; II.i.52-54, 75-82, 86, 100-2; II.v.54-59; III.i.34-36; IV.79-80, 370-75, 424-36, and 481-82 (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 145-54).

332-55. Carl Grabo commented: "With the Titan's conquest over himself . . . the 'material' forces of nature likewise are transformed to good. Does Shelley imply that this transformation is sympathetic, mystical? Or that human reason, manifested in applied science, effects it?" (*Interpretation*, p. 146). Grabo also ascribed the references to destructive forces in nature to Shelley's visit to Vesuvius in December of 1818. The "hot thunderstones" (line 341) would then be pumice stones of volcanic eruption. But Cavallo or Beccaria, who held that the stones contained an "electric fluid" producing many explosions, possibly accounted for Shelley's suggestion of the electrical nature of the phenomenon. It thus becomes Jupiter's lightning (electrical power in the form of hate as opposed to it as love in Asia) (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 183-85).

338-49. Comparison:

> [P. Elsner (*Shelleys Abhängigkeit*, p. 48)] [The office of kings] has been the bane and the grave of human virtue [Godwin, *Political Justice*, II, 83].

338. *Sceptred curse*] Jupiter (R. Piccoli).

342. Locock compared "Kneading them down with fire and iron rain" (*Hellas* 381).

344. *storied*] Piled up (Ellis).

353-55. Comparison:

> [H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," pp. 420-21)] The world's great age begins anew / . . . Saturn and Love their long repose / Shall burst [*Hellas* 1060, 1090-91].

354. *void annihilation*] W. N. Guthrie called this the "utter vanishing of a thing not merely in its character but in its substance" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 336); and Locock held that it might mean either "the void left by thine own destruction," or "the void caused by thy destructiveness."

355. Comparison:

> [P. H. Butter (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 205)] The internal nature of each being is surrounded by a circle, not to be surmounted by his fellows; and it is this repulsion which constitutes the misfortune of the condition of life [*The Coliseum*. Julian, VI, 303].

Butter commented: "The image of the caves expresses the former separateness of the individual human mind, which Shelley regarded as one of the greatest evils of life."

356-69. See Textual Note on II.v.98-103. Forman held that the Calderón passage there given "mingled subtly with the atmosphere of Shelley's poetry" and influenced these lines also; as, possibly, did the scene of Justina's temptation in *El magico prodigioso*, with its refrain of "Love! O Love!" and "Love! Love! Love!" (*Note Books*, p. 53). Carl Grabo noted that "energy born of love . . . transforms the moon" in the Promethean day. The Newtonian idea of celestial mutual influence is suggested, as well as Darwin's discussion of the moon's sparse atmosphere and frozen ocean (*Newton among Poets*, p. 161); and P. H. Butter added a possible suggestion, from Adam Walker's *A System of Familiar Philosophy*, that "an atmosphere might be produced by an increase in heat coming from the earth" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 161). Grabo noted also that again the cloud symbol of "the new round of existence, of fertility and generation" appears (*Interpretation*, p. 146).

358. E. Barnard pointed out that "it was believed in Shelley's day that there were frozen oceans on the moon."

367-68. Scudder saw in this "the poetry of science."

368. Comparison:

> [Hughes] The torpor of the year when feeble dreams / Visit the hidden buds, or dreamless sleep / Holds every future leaf and flower [*Mont Blanc* 88-90].

370-423. G. H. Clarke commented: "Literature contains no hymn of humanity more inspiring than this"; and Oliver Elton called the lines "Shelley's masterpiece in that difficult kind of poetry which is half-way between the pictorial and the lyrical" (*Shelley*, pp. 38-39).

370-87. Scudder commented: "In [lines 332-55], the Earth has expressed its exultation in the fall of evil; it now proceeds to chant the glory of the new freedom wrought by love. 'Love' is the subject of the sentence to line 380, and again of lines 385-387. The punctuation is seemingly obscure."

370. *It*] Love (Alexander).

interpenetrates] Medwin quoted a conversation of Shelley in which the poet praised the English language for rendering Greek, since it admitted a coinage of compound words: "'That I can hardly admit,' [Medwin] replied, 'when I read your *Prometheus Unbound*. You have there combined and compounded, not two, but frequently more words; and you have fabricated some which I should scarcely hold to be legitimate; for instance, *interpenetrate*.' 'I did not make it,' he rejoined. 'It is used by Coleridge —quite authority enough'" (*Shelley*, p. 349). J. A. Notopoulos pointed out that "the interpenetration of love throughout the earth is consonant with Plato's notion of a spirited universe as set forth in the *Timaeus*, 34 ff. [on the creation of the universe and the interpenetrating soul therein], and in Eryximachus's speech in the *Symposium*, 185e-188e [Julian, VII, 179-82 for Shelley's translation], where the effect of love is visible in every aspect of the universe" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 259). And E. B. Hungerford noted that "Shelley's earth . . . is not far removed from [a] sort of geological pantheism" criticized by Cuvier but popular in Shelley's day. "Within that metaphor earth, represented as an animate body, might move either as a mythological figure in a fable or as a link in the chain of being from God to matter" (*Shores of Darkness*, pp. 213-14).

375. Comparisons:

> [C. Grabo (*Interpretation*, p. 147)] To own that death itself must be, / Like all the rest, a mockery [*The Sensitive Plant* III.128-29].
>
> [E. Barnard] And the dead lulled within their dreamless graves [*The Witch of Atlas* lxiv].

Grabo saw the lines as an implication "that death is not a reality in the sense that it is impermanent" (*Interpretation*, p. 146). Barnard noted that "Shelley's references to the state of the dead are not always consistent. Although he seems to have held fairly steadily to belief in *some* kind of immortality, he refuses to try to *picture* any life after death."

377. *has arisen*] The subject is *It* of line 374 (Barnard).

378. *lampless*] G. H. Clarke compared line 245.

caves] Here "the One, the mysterious source of all" (C. Grabo, *Interpretation*, p. 147).

380. *unremoved*] Unmoved, unstirred, as in "Like *Teneriff* or *Atlas* unremov'd" (*Paradise Lost* IV.987) (Locock). E. Barnard commented: "Shelley's meaning apparently is that Thought (Mind, Intelligence) becomes creative, and brings a cosmos out of chaos, only when impelled by Love."

381. Ingpen-Peck compared "Envy and calumny and hate and pain" (*Adonais* xl).

382-87. Carl Grabo commented: "The material universe . . . is but the reflection of divine love, which, however, man has distorted through the defects of his own mind," with the "many-sided mirror" representing "waves upon the ocean of being, and the distortions . . . due to the separateness of the individual from his kind"; but Love (lines 394-95) makes for unity and harmony (*Interpretation*, pp. 147-48).

384. *sea*] In apposition with *world* (Woodberry); or, more probably, with *Man*, as is *which* in line 385 (Barnard).

388. *Leave*] Woodberry noted that this word, repeating *Leave* in line 382, "takes up the dropped construction."

391-93. Hughes paraphrased: "As a leprous child at the time when (then when) it wanders home, and its mother fears . . . (and) then weeps." Locock commented: "The construction is irregular. The first 'Then' [line 391] means 'And afterwards,' so that the child is still the subject of what was intended to be a relative sentence; but at the end of the stanza the mother's feelings become predominant in the writer's mind, and the relative sentence is left without a verb." For a corresponding incomplete structure, E. Barnard cited II.iv.12-18. Carl Grabo, holding that "leprous" probably implied some general skin disease, cited Rees's *Cyclopedia* (a work referred to by Shelley in the *Queen Mab* notes) on "Water": "Malvern [springs] water is used both externally and internally . . . a most useful application to deep seated ulcerations of a scrofulous nature, and to various cutaneous affections" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 191-92). Carlos Baker felt that in this stanza Shelley's answer to the question of how far man can control his own destiny is suggested, for, "if the mind of man can rid itself of hatred and vengeance, that mind will be cleansed of 'fear and pain,' and consequently receptive to the harmonizing power of love. Supreme mental well-being will then ensue; order will succeed disorder; harmony will inform chaos" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 114).

391. R. Piccoli compared "They left me then, when the gray-hooded Eev'n" (*Comus* 188).

394-99. Comparison:

> [R. Piccoli] The view of life presented by the most refined deductions of the intellectual philosophy, is that of unity. . . . Pursuing the same thread of reasoning, the existence of distinct individual minds, similar to that which is employed in now questioning its own nature, is likewise found to be a delusion [*On Life.* Julian, VI, 196].

Scudder commented: "A curious expression, in which Shelley seems to anticipate the socialistic conception of humanity as a complete organism rather than an aggregate of separate units." Alexander added: "Man [is] considered . . . as a whole united by love, as the solar system is held in unity and order by the sun. The passage is interesting both as exhibiting

Shelley's tendency to abstractions and his yearning for simplicity and unity, and also as a sort of anticipation of the socialistic ideal." And L. J. Wylie commented: "Nor is this a mere rhapsody. The principles which Shelley embodied in his poetry gave him the measure which he consistently applied to the judgment of actual events" ("Shelley's Democracy," p. 196). To A. T. Strong, "this is the consummation toward which all humankind is unconsciously striving" (*Studies*, p. 51). Carl Grabo pointed out that man's mastery, through science, of the forces of nature "comes only as mankind ceases to be a group of warring individuals and shares a common mind and soul. . . . The thought is Platonistic, or expresses . . . the Indian idea of Nirvana" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 196). He noted also that again there is the "conjunction of love, thought, and might which in man, as in God, is both trinity and unity, three aspects of the One. . . . Does man, then, become in Shelley's figure, God? Or, made in the pattern of God, are his powers likewise triune?" At least, Grabo noted, he henceforth rules matter: "Man's mastery of his physical universe is like the sun's mastery of the planets" (*Interpretation*, p. 148).

394. *Man*] Woodberry noted that this word, repeating *Man* in line 388, "introduces a new train of thought."

395. Comparisons:

> [S. Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, p. 114)] The intellectual love of the mind towards God is the very love with which He loves Himself, not in so far as He is infinite, but in so far as He can be manifested through the essence of the human mind, considered under the form of eternity; that is to say, the intellectual love of the mind towards God is part of the infinite love with which God loves Himself [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 276].
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 259)] Do you not desire the closest union and singleness to exist between you, so that you may never be divided night or day? If so, I will melt you together, and make you grow into one, so that both in life and death ye may be undivided [*Symposium* 192d-e. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 186].

396. Comparison:

> [Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 259)] the one Spirit's plastic stress / Sweeps through the dull dense world, compelling there, / All new successions to the forms they wear [*Adonais* xliii].

397-99. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] [1] IV.516; [2] Like a meteor, whose wild way / Is lost over the grave of day [*Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 258-59]; [3] She saw the constellations reel and dance / Like fire-flies [*The Witch of Atlas* xxviii]; [4] Tell me, thou star, whose wings of light / Speed thee in thy fiery flight, / In what cavern of the night / Will thy pinions close now? / Tell me, Moon, thou pale and gray / Pilgrim of Heaven's homeless way, / In what depth of night or day / Seekest thou repose now? [*The World's Wanderers* i-ii].

L. Winstanley noted that "he does not give the calm of the stellar space so well as Wordsworth but he gives even better its tremendous force and

its wonderful life" ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 31). Hughes commented:

> Shelley unites the quickest sense of sudden, free, and vivid life in Nature with a profoundly imaginative conception of Natural law. Hence comes his isolative way of treating Natural things, as though each were a being by itself, with a life and will of its own. Like the unquiet stars, his meteors and mists are untameable herds . . . and his mists, planets, winds, and clouds are always wandering or flying through heaven, free to alight like birds on the wing. . . . And so the normal evolutions are often conceived as culminating in some moment of swift and wilful power; the buds in spring leap from their "detested trance" (*Mt. Blanc* 88-92), or the bees, lizards, and snakes issue like unimprisoned flames (*Adonais* xviii).

Carl Grabo interpreted: "the gravitational pull of the earth keeps the [planets] from flying off into space" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 164); and E. Barnard, comparing lines 463-66 and 479-80, called the passage "a *truly* poetic use of scientific fact." Finally, J. A. Notopoulos suggested that this may refer to "an astronomical centrifugal force or to Plato's *Republic*, transferring from society to cosmology the problem of creating harmony in the maze of spheres" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 260).

400-2. Comparisons:

> [S. Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, pp. 105-6)] [1] A free man, that is to say, a man who lives according to the dictates of reason alone, is not led by the fear of death . . . but directly desires the good [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 235]; [2] If men lived according to the guidance of reason, every one would enjoy this right without injuring any one else [*ibid.*, p. 210].
>
> [H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 264)] None but those who are free are very grateful to one another. . . . A free man never acts deceitfully, but always honourably [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 238].
>
> [P. Elsner (*Shelleys Abhängigkeit*, pp. 30-32)] [1] I.262-65, 492; [2] There is but one power to which I can yield a heart-felt obedience, the decision of my own understanding, the dictate of my own conscience [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, 212].
>
> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 260)] [1] [*Phaedrus* 253-54, in which under the image of the soul as two horses and a charioteer, Plato describes the inner conflict of the soul's parts, and the final control by the charioteer (wisdom) leading to harmony of the soul]; [2] each one man must perform one social service in the state for which his nature was best adapted [*Republic* 433a].

Josiah Royce found in the lines the "true Universal of Hegel's theory" (*Modern Philosophy*, p. 226). Woodberry called it "the most compact statement of Shelley's social ideal, with its spontaneous ethical order of love"; but, as E. Barnard pointed out, "the doctrine of 'natural goodness' here enunciated is qualified in [lines 406-8]." L. O. Kuhns commented: "While to Dante [*Paradiso* III.85-86] God is the measure of all things, to Shelley man is the measure" (*Dante and the Poets*, p. 190). And Hughes paraphrased: "Men will be so harmonious . . . their purposes and powers holding together like a chain [line 394], their efforts flowing to one end as rivers to the sea, that to speak of the transformation as affecting only individual men is to leave half the truth unsaid. In the perfect state this co-operation will come of itself, and still leave men 'free and uncircumscribed.' "

M. T. Solve noted that "the world which is revealed in this drama is the world of mind, the mind of one man as bounded by perception, or universal mind, of which every mind is the whole-containing part" (*Theory of Poetry*, p. 90). J. H. Cousins commented:

> Love allied with Will, volition used as the executive of compassion, leads to Power; and through this Power lifts the whole being of humanity to such affinity with its divine source that the Will of Man becomes in effect the Will of God, and rearranges the externals of life accordingly [as at III.iv.200-4]. . . . The whole of social reconstruction is thrown into [these] lines . . . with the characteristically Shelleyan proviso that the true solution of humanity's economical and other problems will only be found when the services of life are not only free to all, but directed towards "divine" ends; not towards the disruptive gratifications of the flesh, but towards the unifying influences of the spirit [*Work Promethean*, pp. 106, 115-16].

403. Comparisons:

> [Locock] Love became a religion. . . . The familiar appearance and proceedings of life became wonderful and heavenly [*A Defence of Poetry*, Julian, VII, 127-28].
> [E. Barnard] II.v.40-41.

404-5. Comparisons:

> [Woodberry] III.iv.200-1.
> [H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," pp. 424-25)] [1] O happy Earth! reality of Heaven! / . . . Where care and sorrow, impotence and crime, / Languor, disease, and ignorance dare not come [*Queen Mab* IX.1-9]; [2] Is it not then highly probable, in the process of human improvement, that we may finally obtain an empire over every articulation of our frame? [Godwin, *Political Justice*, II, 524].
> [E. Barnard] Labour, and Pain, and Grief, and joyless Age [Wordsworth, *Descriptive Sketches* 639].

Woodberry commented: "The fact that Shelley did not exclude toil and suffering from his millennium of society is a cardinal point." G. W. Knight added that "evils . . . cease to be evil: but troubles persist" (*Starlit Dome*, p. 218). E. Barnard found the statement inconsistent with line 381 and III.iv.198, but suggested that in the earlier lines Shelley may have been thinking of spiritual pain, here of physical pain.

406-11. Comparisons:

> [S. Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, p. 108)] [1] IV.557-61; [2] hatred is to be overcome by love, and . . . every one who is guided by reason desires for others the good which he seeks for himself [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 240].
> [Woodberry] III.iv.199.
> [Adolf Droop (*Belesenheit*, p. 72)] All thoughts, all passions, all delights, / Whatever stirs this mortal frame, / All are but ministers of Love, / And feed his sacred flame [Coleridge, *Love*].
> [T. Böhme (*Spensers literarisches Nachleben*, p. 338)] Huge sea of sorrow . . . / Wherein my feeble barke is tossed long, / . . . Why do thy cruell billows beat so strong / . . . O do thy cruell wrath and spightful wrong / At length allay, and stint thy stormy strife, / . . . For else my feeble vessell crazd, and crackt / . . . Cannot endure, but needs it must be wrackt / On the rough rocks, or on the sandy

shallowes, / The whiles that love it steres, and fortune rowes; / Love my lewd Pilot hath a restless mind / And fortune Boteswaine no assurance knowes, / But saile withouten starres gainst tide and wind: / How can they other do, sith both are bold and blind? [*The Faerie Queene* III.iv.8-9].

408. Alexander paraphrased: "A spirit which it is difficult to guide, but which is strong in exacting obedience." R. Piccoli held that this is not in contradiction to line 401: "Moral liberty consists in the free conformity to law."

obey] Aubrey De Vere pointed out that "in this wonderful Chorus . . . *Obedience* is spoken of as the source of all [man's] exaltation," and he felt that this brought Shelley's basic thought close to the Christianity he had denounced (letter to Lady Jane Shelley, October 11, 1882. Abinger MSS, Reel 15).

409-11. Comparison:

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 260)] [Love is] the abolisher of all evil; our most excellent pilot, defence, saviour and guardian in labour and in fear [*Symposium* 197e. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 192].

409. Comparison:

[S. Bernthsen (*Spinozismus in Shelley*, p. 108)] we are disturbed by external causes in a number of ways, and . . . like the waves of the sea agitated by contrary winds, we fluctuate in our ignorance of our future and destiny [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 159].

410-11. Forman's assumption that the MS reading (*sovereigns*) was intended as a possessive led him to suggest that, if Shelley "had not died so soon, he might have been shocked at the decidedly monarchial tone of the Alexandrine. . . . He might even have shaken a grey head and wrinkled brow at the Curran portrait and said, 'Bysshe, my boy, was not this metaphor of Man's will and remotest shores and a sovereign's sway something like a pure anticipated cognition of perfunctory Imperialism?" (*Note Books*, p. 70).

412-23. Comparisons:

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 416)] [1] He who shall have cultivated his intellectual powers by familiarity with the finest specimens of poetry and philosophy, will usually [sympathize more] than one engaged in the less refined functions of manual labour [*Speculations on Morals*. Julian, VII, 75]; [2] Nothing is more obviously false than that the remedy for the inequality among men consists in their return to the condition of savages and beasts [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 247].

[P. Elsner (*Shelleys Abhängigkeit*, p. 61)] Mind will one day become omnipotent over matter [Godwin, *Political Justice*, II, 520, quoting Franklin].

[Locock] Whose outline is as fair as marble clothed / In light of some sublimest mind [*The Daemon of the World* I.16-17].

[C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 27)] [1] happiness / And science dawn though late upon the earth [*Queen Mab* VIII.227-28]; [2] Whilst every shape and mode of matter lends / Its force to the omnipotence of mind [*ibid.* VIII.235-36].

P. M. Buck commented: "This shall be that age of gold, after much strife and its discipline, when science and art are both perfect and wedded

each to the other. . . . In this splendid belief in the future efficacy of science to secure to man the happiness now denied him Shelley differs by a horizon from the incertitude of Wordsworth and his fear: the fear that the man purely of objective fact would botanize upon his mother's grave; or that the mere accumulation of scientific laws leaves the imagination of man to starve in the wilderness" ("Goethe and Shelley," pp. 88-89). Edmund Blunden noted as fulfillment of this "forecast," while Shelley might have lived, the Stockton and Darlington Railway (1825), the electric telegraph (1838), the "great start" in photography, Faraday's discovery of electromagnetic induction (1831); and later the many advances in which he would have been delighted: telephone, car, plane, gramophone, progress of medical methods and equipment, astronomical instruments and organization, television and meteorology, and release of nuclear energy (*Shelley*, pp. 359-60). Finally, Douglas Bush commented: "Although Shelley had been moving from Godwinism toward a kind of Platonism, the millennium he envisions is still Godwinian. . . . [But his vision] is also Baconian. Perfected man will learn to control the forces of nature" (*English Poetry*, p. 144).

412-17. S. Larrabee, comparing lines 93-94 and 111-15, called this "Shelley's finest poetic statement of his conception of the place of thought in sculpture—as in all the arts and in poetry. . . . [Sculpture becomes] the embodiment of the dreams of the artist, the giving of form to thought . . . [expressing] the indestructible order of the universe, the abstract, intellectual beauty" (*English Bards and Grecian Marbles*, pp. 187-88).

414. Comparisons:

[Alexander] II.iv.83-84.

[C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 194)] [1] The daughter of Hydaspes and Persina, King and Queen of Ethiopia, was born white, her mother at the moment of conception having gazed intently upon a painting of white Andromeda [*Aethiopica* (in Wolff, *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, p. 11)]; [2] [*Interpretation*, p. 149] And what symbol is more proper to souls descending into generation, and the tenacious vestment of body, than as the poet says, "Nymphs weaving on stony beams purple garments wonderful to behold?" [*Proclus*, Taylor trans., II, 284].

H. Richter paraphrased: "the dream-tale-fantasy-world is a golden thread out of which mothers weave robes for the souls of their children." Hughes added that "the robes are the bodies or features." And Grabo commented: "I take this to mean that through art the child is prenatally influenced" (*Interpretation*, p. 149).

415-17. Comparisons:

[R. Piccoli] II.iv.72.

[E. Barnard] In the infancy of society every author is necessarily a poet, because language itself is poetry. . . . Every original language near to its source is in itself the chaos of a cyclic poem: the copiousness of lexicography and the distinctions of grammar are the works of a later age, and are merely the catalogue and the form of the creations of poetry [*A Defence of Poetry*. Julian, VII, 111-12].

J. Slater commented: "Here he seems to reverse the true nature of things. He regards language as domineering over thought, and giving it sense and shape; whereas thought is first, and finds expression only in language" (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 393). But L. Vivante noted that "language is an expression of the same nuclear reality—radically and richly characterized by its very originality—which we call 'spirit' [cf. II.iv.75-76]. . . . Every word, in a living (not conventionally constructed) language, richly, through a kind of 'onomatopoeia'—which is not at all *imitation*—shares in the quality of all other words. Hence its unity is almost that of a work of art" ("Shelley," p. 150).

415. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] Whose Orphic thunder thrilling calls [*Hellas* 704]; [2] I know a famous Orphic incantation [Euripides, *The Cyclops* 650. Shelley's translation]; [3] These hopes found words through which my spirit sought / To weave a bondage of such sympathy [*The Revolt of Islam* II.xvi].

Orphic] Alexander noted that "Orpheus was the father of Greek poetry; but the adjective *Orphic* usually suggests poetry of a sacred or mystic character." However, he felt that the word "perhaps here means no more than 'poetic.' " G. B. Woods defined the word as "entrancing."

416. *Dædal*] Skillfully wrought (Alexander). See note at III.i.26.

418-23. L. Winstanley commented: "He thought that by the aid of science man would become the absolute lord over nature. Something like this millennium by scientific means is [here] pictured" ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 33). Carl Grabo noted the parallel in "the work of Herschel in his star-counts and his explorations into the depths of stellar space" (*Interpretation*, p. 150).

418. *lightning*] K. N. Cameron identified this as "electricity, a reference to Benjamin Franklin's famous experiment."

421. Comparisons:

> [C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 36-37)] [1] Soon shall thy arm, *Unconquer'd Steam!* . . . on wide-waving wings expanded bear / The flying-chariot through the fields of air [etc. E. Darwin, *Botanic Garden* I.289-96]; [2] there seems no probable method of flying conveniently but by the power of steam, or some other explosive material [Darwin's note].

K. N. Cameron noted that "Shelley, as he told his friend Hogg [Hogg, *Shelley*, p. 50] believed that balloons could be used for developing commerce and advancing civilization."

423. Comparisons:

> [Forman (*Note Books*, pp. 74-75]) [1] He telleth the number of the stars; he calleth them all by their names [Psalms cxlvii.4]; [2] then the sailor numbered the stars and called them by name, Pleiades, Hyades, and Arctos, Lycano's gleaming offspring [Vergil, *Georgics* I.137-38].

Woodberry commented: "The prophecy of scientific progress is apocalyptic in visionary energy"; and Forman noted that "this idea of the

numbering of the stars as among the steps in the growth of man hypnotized Shelley into one of those lovely pastoral images in which he was a past master."

428. *paramours*] Lovers in the innocent sense (G. B. Woods); cf. IV.463 (E. Barnard).

431-36. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] II.i.78 and III.iv.103; [2] The unseen clouds of the dew, which lie / Like fire in the flowers till the sun rides high, / Then wander like spirits among the spheres, / Each cloud faint with the fragrance it bears [*The Sensitive Plant* I.86-89]; [3] Most like some radiant cloud of morning dew, / Which wanders through the waste air's pathless blue, / To nourish some far desert [*The Revolt of Islam* II.xxiii].

Stopford Brooke commented: "That is pure science in lovely verse. But Shelley elsewhere [as at II.ii.70-82] takes the same operation of nature and treats it in the mythical way, giving to every globe of vapour its own life. . . . These two powers—the power of making fresh myths out of nature, and that of describing nature imaginatively and yet with scientific truth, are but two examples of separate powers which other poets, more limited by conventions of thought, can scarcely be said to possess, or if they possess, to use" ("Lyrics of Shelley," pp. 158-59). Carl Grabo noted the recurrence of "the phenomena of cloud formation and atmospheric electricity to symbolize the creative round of life. The cloud is the key symbol of *Prometheus Unbound* and the publication [with it of *The Cloud*] was the conscious or unconscious offer of a clue to the arcana of Shelley's thought" (*Interpretation*, p. 151).

See also Textual Notes.

437-56. Edmund Blunden called this "the utmost assertion in all his writings of his creed of love, one and the same whether felt by man and woman or by whatever is . . . [and] we know that human wooing has never been more beautifully remembered" (*Shelley*, pp. 257-58).

437-43. *heaven's smile*] Carl Grabo saw in this the light and heat of the sun, while *thine own joy*, "in the light of which earth lies, is the moon's emanations of the force and light which enfold it [see lines 444-48] like an aura" (*Interpretation*, p. 151). Grabo added: "Apparently in Shelley's belief, or in his actual perception, all objects . . . are in reality alive and their material substance is enveloped as with a shadow by their spiritual bodies" (p. 152).

440-43. Grabo found here the Newtonian idea of mutual gravitational influence of celestial bodies: "The Promethean day seems to premise a fresh liberation of energy born of love, and this energy, emanating from the earth, transforms the moon" (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 160-61).

442. *pourest*] R. Piccoli held that this refers especially to *light*, but also to *life* and *power*.

444-49. A. N. Whitehead commented: "This stanza could only have been

written by someone with a definite geometrical diagram before his inward eye—a diagram which it has often been my business to demonstrate to mathematical classes. As evidence, note especially the last line which gives poetical imagery to the light surrounding night's pyramid. This idea could not occur to anyone without the diagram" (*Science and the Modern World*, pp. 123-24).

444-45. Comparisons:

> [Woodberry] [1] Into the dreary cone of our life's shade [*Epipsychidion* 228]; [2] Perch on the trembling pyramid of night [*Hellas* 943].
>
> [Hughes] Now had night measur'd with her shaddowie Cone [*Paradise Lost* IV.776].
>
> [Locock] [1] The cone of night [*The Triumph of Life* 23]; [2] Every opake body which is lighted up by a larger body necessarily throws on its opposite side a shade terminating in a point; consequently the earth, which is illumined by the sun, a larger body than itself, throws a conical shade into space. But the night is acknowledged to be nothing more than this shade cast by the earth; therefore the night is pointed [Heraclides, quoted in Buttman's *Lexilogus* (1818)].

pyramid of night] The shadow of the earth cast by the sun (Hughes). Locock thought that it might be a translation of Homer's θοὴ νύξ. Carl Grabo suggested that "pyramid," rather than the more accurate "cone," was from Pliny on night as the shade of the earth, which he twice describes (II.7) as a "pyramid" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 168).

445. *dreaming*] O. W. Firkins commented: "Many things dream in Shelley": moon, midnight, earth, sea, woods, plants, flowers, leaves, animals, butterflies, serpent, Art, human beings—and, in *Prometheus Unbound*, heavens (as here), buds (IV.368), and ghosts (IV.245). He added that, "according to the accepted punctuation, it would seem that 'dreaming' qualifies 'heavens' " (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 75-77).

446-49. R. Piccoli compared IV.265-68, and O. W. Firkins, comparing lines 437-39 and II.iv.135-36, noted that the "flat contradiction [between shadow and light] is no bar to their simultaneous harborage in the uncritical mind of Shelley. The boldness of the metaphor in the watch of light and warmth is almost without parallel even in the poet himself" (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 164-65).

448. E. Barnard compared "as she lay enfolden / In the warm shadow of her loveliness" (*The Witch of Atlas* 60-61).

449. Locock compared "That loveliest dreams perpetual watch did keep" (*A Summer Evening Churchyard* 30).

450-51. Comparison:

> [Locock] and our lips / With other eloquence than words, eclipse / The soul that burns between them [*Epipsychidion* 566-68].

453-56. Olwen Campbell called this "as bad a piece of poetry as was ever composed by any man, here produced by one of the greatest of lyric poets" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, p. 221); and E. Barnard agreed that, with

the "singularly infelicitous" rime (*beautiful-full* [cf. *The Sensitive Plant* I.76-77]), this is a "pitiful contrast to the magnificent lyrics that have preceded them."

453. G. H. Clarke compared "Sudden, thy shadow fell on me" (*Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* v).

shadow] Eclipse of the moon (Barnard).

457-92. Scudder commented: "This is the most wonderful instance of that use of scientific fact for imaginative purposes which makes the treatment of nature in this Act of Prometheus Unbound startling in its modernness. . . . [It] almost seems as if a prophetic power had descended on Shelley as he wrote of the future harmony between Man and Nature." Hughes called it "a splendid paraphrase of the moon's revolutions round the earth and of the law of gravitation." J. A. Notopoulos cited the passage as illustrating that aspect of Shelley's imagery in which physical phenomena are presented in terms of the mental: "Shelley pictures astronomical phenomena in terms of Platonic concepts and emotions, such as a spirit governing each planet [*Timaeus* 41. See note at III.iv.6-7]," as well as "male and female parts of the soul trying to merge ['Every one of us is thus the half of what may be properly termed a man, and like a psetta cut in two, is the imperfect portion of an entire whole, perpetually necessitated to seek the half belonging to him' (*Symposium* 191. Shelley's translation. Julian, VII, 185)]" (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 261-62).

457-63. Comparisons:

> [J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 300)] [1] That green and azure sphere, that earth enwrapped / Less in the beauty of its tender light / Than in an atmosphere of living spirit / Which interpenetrating all the . . . [*Hellas, Prologue* (fragment) 20-23]; [2] [*Republic* 616-17, where "Plato speaks of concentric whorls fitted into one another. Of these spherical whorls, one of which is the Earth, Plato says, 'that of the greatest was spangled, that of the seventh, brightest, that of the eighth took its colour from the seventh which shone upon it.' "]

Notopoulos commented: "Shelley . . . may have retained this [*Republic*] conception in his mind and evoked it in fashioning an image for Platonism itself [here]."

465. *polar Paradise*] Carl Grabo suggested that the moon-earth relationship is like that of the poles of a magnetic circuit, the eyes of the lovers being likened to such poles. Or possibly more literally, he thought, it might be an echo of Darwin's picture of the evolving earth in which an equable climate was present (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 163-64).

467-80. L. Winstanley commented: "The complex and seemingly mechanical motions are transformed by Shelley into types of spiritual significance" ("Shelley as Nature Poet," p. 37).

467-69. Comparisons:

> [R. Piccoli] [1] That orbèd maiden with white fire laden, / Whom mortals call the Moon [*The Cloud* 45-46]; [2] Like a high-born maiden / In a palace-tower, /

Soothing her love-laden / Soul in secret hour / With music sweet as love, which overflows her bower [*To a Skylark* 41-45].

470. *Maniac-like*] Carl Grabo saw this as due to the irregularity of the moon's orbit (*Newton among Poets*, pp. 162-63).

471-72. Comparison:

[L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 87)] [*Timaeus* 63, where "the law of gravitation is explained by Plato . . . as having a magnetic power."]

473. *Mænad*] See note at II.iii.9.

474-75. Comparison:

[K. N. Cameron] Their [Maenads on an altar to Bacchus in Italy] hair loose and floating seems caught in the tempest of their own tumultuous motion, their heads are thrown back leaning with a strange inanity upon their necks, and looking up to Heaven, while they totter and stumble even in the energy of their tempestuous dance. One—perhaps Agave with the head of Pentheus, has a human head in one hand and in the other a great knife; another has a spear with its pine cone, which was their thyrsus; another dances with mad voluptuousness; the fourth is dancing to a kind of tambourine [*Notes on the Sculptures of Rome and Florence.* Julian, VI, 323].

Agave] Hughes identified her as the "daughter of Cadmus, King of Thebes [*Cadmean:* Theban]. When her son, Pentheus, became King, he tried to prevent the women of the city from celebrating the festival of Dionysus on Mount Cithaeron. The women, in their madness, tore him to pieces, and his mother took part in the deed, mistaking her son for some animal. The legend is the subject of Euripides' *Bacchae.*" Adolf Droop noted that the story is also given in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (III.708-33).

479. *warm embrace*] Carl Grabo interpreted this to mean that "the gravitational pull of the earth keeps the moon from flying off into space" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 164).

481. Locock paraphrased this as "my sense and sight of thee."

483-84. Comparisons:

[E. Barnard] I.450.

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 261-62)] [1] The mind becomes that which it contemplates [*Prince Athanase* 139]; [2] Poets, the best of them are a very camœleonic race; they take the colour not only of what they feed on, but of the very leaves under which they pass [To the Gisbornes, July 13, 1821. Julian, X, 283]; [3] [*An Exhortation*, on the chameleon-like nature of the poet, and a plea not to stain the poet's mind with wealth and power.]

H. Richter noted that the legend of the chameleon feeding on light and air made it symbolic (for Shelley) of poets, or of the human spirit. Carl Grabo added that "the observer tends to become like what he contemplates, as though the soul were fed through the sense of vision, and its character determined thereby" (*Interpretation*, p. 152). And Notopoulos pointed out that this is a Platonic theme.

489. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] IV.436; [2] Noon descends around me now: / 'Tis the noon of autumn's glow, / When a soft and purple mist / Like a vaporous amethyst [*Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 285-88].

Locock commented: " 'Solid' is the emphatic word: the mist appears to assume the solidity of the mountain."

491. O. W. Firkins noted that "nearly everything sleeps in Shelley"; earth, sea, moonlight, cloud, waves, rivers, winds, trees—and, in *Prometheus Unbound*, flowers (II.i.182-83) and here the sunset (*Power and Elusiveness*, pp. 68-70).

493-94. See Textual Notes.

493. Locock compared "The weak day is dead" (*Hellas* 1034), and R. Piccoli "the bell that seems to mourn the dying day" (*Purgatorio* VIII.6).

495-98. Arthur Clutton-Brock commented: "This is like the music of Mozart, in which the divine beauty of delight is enhanced by remembrance of pain. . . . But the rapture of Shelley does not move us to tears, like the rapture of Mozart, because there seems to be less of human experience in it." He was reminded also of Correggio, whose "rejoicing angels seem to be as much untouched by human experience as Shelley's rejoicing voices" (*Man and Poet*, pp. 217-18).

499-502. J. Slater found this "grotesque," as if "Shelley had in all sincerity" copied "I thank thee, moon, for shining now so bright, / For, by thy gracious, golden, glittering streams, / I trust to taste of truest Thisby's sight" (*A Midsummer-Night's Dream* V.i.280-82) (" 'Prometheus,' " p. 192). Carl Grabo commented: "Heretofore in *Prometheus Unbound* the potent power of sound has been associated with Demogorgon and ultimate realities; congruously it is in these lines [through line 505] prophetic of Demogorgon's reappearance to speak the peroration of the drama" (*Interpretation*, p. 153). P. H. Butter held that "there may be a hint here of the need for both passion and reason in love, a suggestion that passion alone might cause wounds [cf. the 'Twin Spheres of light' of *Epipsychidion* 345]" (*Shelley's Idols*, p. 207).

503-5. Woodberry commented: "The development of the image of the stream of sound could go no further."

506-9. Hughes paraphrased: "The sound has gone, it could only have been your own accents which made you think it was still here."

510-16. Comparison:

> [A. Van Kranendonk ("Demogorgon," p. 61)] Through the wide rent in Time's eternal veil, / Hope was seen beaming through the mists of fear [*Queen Mab* VIII.12-13].

Van Kranendonk noted that "the future is bright and hopeful," and suggested a relationship between "eternal" of the *Queen Mab* passage and Demogorgon in his role as Eternity. K. N. Cameron interpreted the

passage to mean that "Demogorgon, the power of necessity, interpenetrates all nature."

514. Carl Grabo compared "the pores of the ocean and shores" (*The Cloud* 75), and noted that the scientific basis of this stems from Beccaria and E. Darwin, and that again the scientific and emotional are blended: "In this harmony of dual implications lies the subtlety and difficulty of Shelley's verse" (*Interpretation*, p. 153).

519-53. Todhunter commented: "The poem concludes with the rising of Demogorgon, now an incarnation of that 'perfect law of liberty' which is but the practical operation of universal love. [His summons] seems to soar and dive through the ether of the universe to the ends of space, calm, sombre, and colossal as the tones of the High-Priest of Nature in *Die Zauberflöte*" (*Study*, p. 182). Rossetti noted that "from all he receives an answer of submission or expectation—for are they not all creatures phenomenal within the unspeakable compass of Eternity? The Dead alone respond with words which extend and complete, instead of merely deferring to, those in which Demogorgon has addressed them" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 171). And Scudder likened this passage to *Ode to the West Wind* in its "organ-like harmony."

521-22. Carl Grabo held that "the 'love' . . . is, in one sense, electrical energy" (*Newton among Poets*, p. 159).

526-27. E. Barnard compared "the winged kind which traverses the air" (*Timaeus* 40a).

birth] Race or kind (Locock); nativity (Ellis).

528. R. Piccoli compared "If I were a dead leaf thou mightest bear" (*Ode to the West Wind* iv).

529-32. Comparisons:

> [R. Piccoli] [1] In this hierarchy are the next divine orders,—first Dominions, then Virtues, and the third are Powers [*Paradiso* XXVIII.121-23]; [2] Thrones, Dominations, Princedomes, Vertues, Powers [*Paradise Lost* V.769].
>
> [C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 167)] It is possible, that in the remote regions of the fixed stars, or perhaps far beyond them, there may be some body absolutely at rest; but . . . it follows that absolute rest cannot be determined from the position of bodies in our regions [Newton, *Principles*, I, 9].
>
> [E. Barnard] From this cause, then, came into existence all those unwandering stars which are living creatures divine and eternal and abide for ever revolving uniformly in the same spot [*Timaeus* 40b].
>
> [F. L. Jones ("Shelley and Milton," p. 504)] Thrones and imperial Powers, off-spring of heav'n, / Ethereal Vertues [*Paradise Lost* II.310-11].

Jones noted "not a verbal but a stylistic similarity" in the Milton comparison.

534-35. Comparisons:

> [Locock] [1] Let not high verse, mourning the memory [*Alastor* 707]; [2] My thoughts arise and fade in solitude, / The verse that would invest them melts away [*Fragment: Thoughts Come and Go in Solitude*]; [3] And my spirit, which so

long / Darkened this swift stream of song [*Lines Written among the Euganean Hills* 311-12]; [4] Oh, that the words which make the thoughts obscure [*Ode to Liberty* xvi]; [5] Ay, even the dim words which obscure thee now [*Epipsychidion* 33].

[Forman (*Note Books*, pp. 106-7)] the human voice / When at times it lifts itself / Will be charcoal which blots it out, / Not a tint which portrays it [Forman translation of Spanish lines copied by Shelley].

Hughes paraphrased: "Even the brightest beams of verse obscure, instead of revealing, your state."

536-38. Comparisons:

[Rossetti ("Study," p. 59)] [1] Time is our consciousness of the succession of ideas in our mind. Vivid sensation, of either pain or pleasure, makes the time seem long, as the common phrase is, because it renders us more acutely conscious of our ideas. If a mind be conscious of an hundred ideas during one minute, by the clock, and of two hundred during another, the latter of these spaces would actually occupy so much greater extent in the mind as two exceed one in quantity. If, therefore, the human mind, by any future improvement of its sensibility, should become conscious of an infinite number of ideas in a minute, that minute would be eternity. I do not hence infer that the actual space between the birth and death of a man will ever be prolonged; but that his sensibility is perfectible, and that the number of ideas which his mind is capable of receiving is indefinite [Note on *Queen Mab* VIII.203-7] [2] ["Prometheus as Poem," p. 171] III.iii.113-14.

[Alexander] [1] He is made one with Nature: there is heard / His voice in all her music [*Adonais* xlii]; [2] He is a portion of the loveliness / Which once he made more lovely [*ibid.* xliii].

[Woodberry] III.iii.170-72.

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 433)] [1] Let me think thy spirit feeds / . . . The love of living leaves and weeds [*To William Shelley, I*]; [2] Our many thoughts and deeds / . . . Immortally must live, and burn and move [*The Revolt of Islam* IX.xxx]; [3] virtue, though obscured on Earth, not less / Survives all mortal change in lasting loveliness [*ibid.* XII.xxxvii].

[E. Barnard] [1] I.638-39 and IV.374-75; [2] All but the sacred few who could not tame / Their spirits to the conquerors / . . . Were there, of Athens or Jerusalem [*The Triumph of Life* 128-34]; [2] But they are still immortal / Who . . . Clothe their unceasing flight / In the brief dust and light / Gathered around their chariots as they go; / New shapes they still may weave [*Hellas* 201-10]; [3] The first stanza contrasts the immortality of the living and thinking beings which inhabit the planets, and . . . *clothe themselves in matter*, with the transcience of the noblest manifestations of the external world. The concluding verses indicate a progressive state of more or less exalted existence, according to the degree of perfection which every distinct intelligence may have attained. . . . Until better arguments can be produced than sophisms which disgrace the cause, this desire itself [for immortality] must remain the strongest and the only presumption that eternity is the inheritance of every thinking being [Shelley's Note to *Hellas* 197-238].

Rossetti commented:

The terms here are not extremely plain: they are, like the subject, nebulous and obscure. The alternative presented appears to be this: The Dead are either reabsorbed into the universe of spirit, and, as a portion of that universe, they continue to be cognizable by mortal men—or else the state of physical change natural to men while alive is natural to them also when dead, and thus the Dead change, pass away, and, *quâ* men, absolutely cease to exist. The alternative is left wholly un-

solved in Shelley's drama. Yet one may admit that there would be a sort of Irish bull in assuming that the Dead have passed away and ceased, and allowing them nevertheless to formulate this their nullity in a line and a half of verse—and thus far the balance of our poet appears to incline to the theory of some still predictable form of existence ["Prometheus as Poem," p. 171).

Scudder found pathos in this pantheistic faith: "Concerning the future of man on earth, his conviction is ardently clear; concerning that beyond the grave, he can but suggest a dismal and meaningless alternative." Carl Grabo pointed out that the reference is not to all who have died:

> These are the mighty poets, peers of the Ethereal Dominations. The universe which they "once saw and suffered" I take to be the world of the divine, of reality, which they, with the insight of poets, once glimpsed. . . . [They] are either gods or, like those whom they have left, ordinary mortals, that is, subject to change. . . . The implication in view of the neo-Platonic character of the poem throughout and the repeated emphasis upon the round of creation is that the souls which change and pass become again incarnate on earth. Shelley [here] suggests the possibility of the great poet avoiding this incarnation and becoming as a god [as he does in "The soul of Adonais, like a star, / Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are" (*Adonais* lv)] [*Interpretation*, pp. 154-55].

E. Barnard noted that "in his later years . . . the thought and hope o another existence came to fill an ever larger space in the poet's spiritual life. And the doctrine of reincarnation again finds a place in his thoughts. . . . [The] souls of those who have died have only become incarnate in other forms, which in turn will give way to still others. The alternative would then be that between *immediate* union with the 'one Spirit' and a union to be achieved by a long process of evolution through ever higher forms"; but not, Barnard felt, "personal" immortality with remembrance of the past (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 213-14). And J. A. Notopoulos held that "the dead are conceived here in terms of Platonic immortality, and the elemental Genii [line 541] are conceived as portions of the World Soul extending from man's mind down to the lowest grade of physical nature" (*Platonism of Shelley*, p. 262). See also Hughes's note on the Manichean system at II.iv.9-120.

537-38. James Thomson asked if there is any real meaning in this response: "They whom the dead have left are their living fellows, who only change and pass away in becoming also of the dead. Nor can I discern any real disjunctive opposition between the changing and passing away and the being reabsorbed into the universe" ("Notes," p. 666).

539-42. Comparisons:

> [L. Winstanley ("Platonism in Shelley," p. 88)] [*Timaeus*, where Plato similarly represents "the universe as being a congeries of intelligences of all grades."]
>
> [E. Barnard] Throughout this varied and eternal world / Soul is the only element: the block / . . . Is active, living spirit. Every grain / Is sentient both in unity and part [*Queen Mab* IV.140-44].
>
> [L. Vivante ("Shelley," p. 154)] IV.370.

> [C. Grabo (*Newton among Poets*, p. 181)] the same elementary substances, differently arranged, are contained in the inert soil . . . or become in animals the active organs of mind and intelligence [Davy, *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, p. 63].

B. Langston offered a more complex approach to the comparisons. He cited first Hamlet's "this goodly frame, the earth, seems to me a sterile promontory; this most excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to me but a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form, in moving, how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet, to me, what is this quintessence of dust?" (*Hamlet* II.ii.317-29); and, from the same play: "And duller shouldst thou be than the fat weed / That rots itself in ease on Lethe wharf" (I.v.32-33). Then, from Shelley, Langston cited the following: "Heaven's ebon vault, / Studded with stars unutterably bright, / . . . Seems like a canopy which love had spread / To curtain her sleeping world" (*Queen Mab* IV.4-8); and "Thou dirge / Of the dying year, to which this closing night / Will be the dome of a vast sepulchre, / Vaulted with all thy congregated might / Of vapours, from whose solid atmosphere / Black rain, and fire, and hail will burst: oh, hear!" (*Ode to the West Wind* ii). Langston then commented:

> In the *Queen Mab* borrowing Shelley excluded the bitterness of Hamlet's words. . . . But the passage in *Prometheus Unbound* . . . shows Shelley combining this very image with another from the same play to emphasize a contrast between the highest and the lowest, between the best and the worst. And here it is important to recall that the thoughts, the phrases, and even the cadences which appear in the "Ode" were already closely associated in the last portions of *Prometheus Unbound* [lines 505 ff.] with the prose passage from *Hamlet* ["Shelley's Use of Shakespeare," pp. 178-81].

Rossetti agreed with an inquirer that this passage "may perhaps be regarded as having some Darwinian affinity" (Comments, pp. 124-25). Henry Salt commented: "According to Shelley's pantheistic view, all nature . . . is animated by one eternal spirit, which underlies all passing phenomena. Man, himself a portion of nature, turns to her for comfort and guidance, recognising the beauty of her manifestations by the kindred emotion of his own heart; while nature in her turn sympathises with the joys and sorrows of man" (*Shelley Primer*, p. 27). C. A. Brown held that in the passage Shelley "is adapting the Rosicrucian terminology to modern chemistry. The 'elemental Genii' are the elements considered in present day chemistry," in this instance iodine (line 542), the discovery of which was announced in 1814 and written on by Davy and others ("Notes," pp. 195-96). But E. Barnard, citing the Davy comparison by Grabo, argued that the limited number of elements "is not the point. The point is

that even to these elementary substances he attributes life and sentience, by virtue of which, presumably, each element possesses its peculiar properties"; and that "the belief that the stuff of the universe is 'active, living spirit . . . sentient both in unity and part' was one that long held an attraction for him" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 52).

544-45. Comparison:

[E. Barnard] [*Timaeus* 91-92, where "Beasts, birds, worms, and fish are mentioned . . . as comprising the inhabitants of the earth aside from man."]

551. Comparisons:

[Alexander] A Traveller between life and death [Wordsworth, *She Was a Phantom of Delight* 24].

[Locock] [1] Their pathway from the cradle to the tomb [*To the Lord Chancellor* x]; [2] and the beaten road / Which those poor slaves with weary footsteps tread, / Who travel to their home among the dead / By the broad highway of the world [*Epipsychidion* 154-57].

552. *dim night*] R. Piccoli called this "the time which leads to the 'immortal day,' namely Eternity."

554-78. Comparisons:

[P. Elsner (*Shelleys Abhängigkeit*, pp. 38-39)] [1] Sound reasoning and truth . . . must always be victorious over error . . . [and] error contains in it the principle of its own mortality [Godwin, *Political Justice*, I, 86, 89]; [2] Truth will bring down all her forces, mankind will be her army, and oppression, injustice, monarchy and vice, will tumble into a common ruin [*ibid.*, II, 79].

Of the more general comments on this final speech may be noted the following. Swinburne held that "the final chant of Demogorgon, can hardly be compared with anything outside Æschylus or the Bible" ("Shelley," p. 336). Stopford Brooke called it "a declaration, not only of what Shelley thought Man would become, but also of how [Shelley] thought Man should act now in order to arrive at the Golden Age. The two last verses embody the main motives of the *Revolt of Islam*" (Edition, p. 334). Scudder found the lyric surprisingly sober after the "wild rapture of the central lyrics. . . . It is better so. Perhaps the very last stanza, with its suggestion of meekness, constancy, and hope triumphant even in despair, touches the highest spiritual level in the whole great drama." And W. N. Guthrie wrote of the "tremendous self-denying words . . . in which we are given the secret of salvation, as lying in nothing that [Demogorgon] did . . . in nothing that Asia did . . . but simply in the attitude which Prometheus took—all the rest being so to say eternally foreordained upon the supervention of that attitude of soul in Prometheus" (*Poet Prophets*, p. 197). More fully, Woodberry commented:

The sudden and complete subordination of all the beings of the universe to the idea of the Eternal Principle is accomplished with sublime effect. The drama is thus brought to an end, after its lyrical jubilee, by its highest intellectual conception giving utterance to its highest moral command,—Demogorgon, the voice of

> Eternity, phrasing, in the presence of the listening Universe of all being, the encomium of Prometheus as the type of the soul's wisdom in action in an evil world leading to the achievement of such regeneration on earth as is possible to a mortal race.

G. H. Clarke wrote that "Demogorgon's great utterance touches the root serenity that both conditions and is produced by discipline through Evil. The student will compare the Shakespeare of *The Tempest* and *The Winter's Tale* with the Shakespeare of *Hamlet* and *Lear*. Both sorrow and joy are now tempered and controlled to a music undespairing and unexultant, but strong and calm and kind." Olwen Campbell called the lyric "perhaps the finest passage of pure sermonizing, the most successfully audacious moral appeal ever affixed to any poem, didactic or other, and here given by a poet who vowed that didactic poetry was his abhorrence . . . it is one of the few passages in Shelley that have really echoed hitherto with something of a trumpet-call among mankind" (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, pp. 221-22). But Joseph Barrell commented:

> It shows a weakening in the grasp of the Platonic ethics. . . . Virtue, the category of wisdom according to Plato (as love is the desire)— Virtue is ranked with Wisdom, and the roster is completed by the inclusion of Gentleness and Endurance. How far this is from the Platonic tetralogy we need not observe. . . . [And this] weakening grasp . . . can only mean what the whole fourth act means, that it comes from a deeper level of Shelley's personality than the understanding of Plato, and that the essential Shelley was less affected by Plato than the first three acts of *Prometheus Unbound* might imply.

Barrell noted that the conditions for a second victory over evil "are entirely emotional . . . [and thus] the Idea of Good becomes a business of the emotions rather than of the intellect" (*Shelley and Thought*, pp. 156-58).

Technically, C. M. Garnier pointed out, the lyric offers "a mighty strain of rhymed heroics, most effectively prepared by the seven heroic stanzas [lines 519-52] and closed up by the re-inforcing device of three consecutive rhymes and the high-pitched sonority of the last Alexandrine" ("Metrical Study," p. 155).

554. *the day*] Locock commented: "If Forman is right in supposing that some considerable interval of time has elapsed since the events of Act III., the words . . . are not literally correct." See Appendix G for the time scheme.

555. *Earth-born's*] Alexander identified this as Prometheus, " 'earth-born' as being a Titan; the Titans were sons of Heaven and Earth." R. Piccoli compared I.113, and the similar construction in Milton's "the Heav'n-born-childe" (*On the Morning of Christ's Nativity* 30). E. Barnard paraphrased: "following the triumph of Prometheus, awaits the reign of Love."

556. A. Braunlich compared "he led captivity captive" (*Ephesians* iv.8) ("Parallels," p. 428). Locock did not think that the line "was intended to have an independent construction. It may depend on 'on which' (understood)."

Conquest] Jupiter (Barnard).

557. *Love*] Prometheus, in whom it reigned and suffered (Woodberry). H. N. Fairchild commented: "The victory of Prometheus . . . is achieved only within the ideal Platonic realm into which Shelley has projected his imagination. As a romanticist, Shelley cannot be wholly satisfied with this solution," as *Ode to the West Wind*, *To a Skylark*, and *The Cloud* bear witness (*Romantic Quest*, p. 394). And L. Vivante noted that "he foreshadows . . . the eventual triumph of what he feels to be deepest and strongest in freedom's very nature—that is to say, love itself" ("Shelley," pp. 156-57).

558-60. Comparisons:

> [Hughes] And in its depth there is a mighty rock, / Which has, from unimaginable years, / Sustained itself with terror and with toil / Over a gulf, and with the agony / With which it clings seems slowly coming down; / Even as a wretched soul hour after hour, / Clings to the mass of life . . . beneath this crag / Huge as despair, as if in weariness, / The melancholy mountain yawns [*The Cenci* III.i.247-57].
>
> [Locock] III.i.14.

Hughes paraphrased: "A crag on the edge of a precipice keeps its hold in agony and terror," and he noted the *Cenci* source as Calderón's *El Purgatorio de San Patricio* (see Shelley's Preface to *The Cenci*).

558. Locock compared "the giddy, sharp and narrow hour" (*The Cenci* V.iv.100).

562-69. Comparisons:

> [Locock] II.iii.93-98.
>
> [K. N. Cameron ("Political Symbolism," p. 753)] It is better [than sudden change] that they [the people] should be instructed in the whole truth; that they should . . . be impressed with the just persuasion that patience and reason and endurance [are the means of] a calm yet irresistible progress [*A Philosophical View of Reform*. Julian, VII, 41].

Alexander commented: "Demogorgon sums up the moral of the drama. The virtues mentioned in [line 562] are the assurance that the happy era will be maintained," or the means of subduing evil should it return. Carl Grabo added: "Man by self-conquest is his own liberator. And the ethics are those of Christ" (*Interpretation*, p. 156). Cameron amplified the interpretation: "If, in the future, the eternal powers of the new equalitarian society, grow weak ('infirm') and the forces of liberty (the serpent) get so out of control as to threaten 'civil war' ('Destruction's strength')—and, hence, the anarchy-despotism cycle—things can be again brought under control if the people are instructed in 'patience, reason and endurance' ('Gentleness, Virtue, Wisdom and Endurance'). Demogorgon's final speech is thus a repetition of the central message of the whole poem." But C. M. Bowra saw also in the lines the "hint" that "not only is there no end to evil but that evil is even necessary to create goodness, and the highest goodness lies in an unending struggle. . . . [*Prometheus Unbound*] is not a prophecy but a challenge" (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 124).

563-64. *assurance*] Locock defined this as "safe-guard" and disagreed with Ellis that *over* meant "in excess of" or "beyond": "It seems simpler to suppose that Shelley meant to compare the 'assurance' with the stone over the pit in which the destructive Power was imprisoned."

565-69. Carl Grabo commented: "In this doubt cast upon the eternity of the Promethean plan, Shelley reflects the influence both of Indian and Platonic philosophy and of the astronomical theory of his day." Indian and Platonic philosophy, he noted, see the repetition of the cycle; and Newton and Herschel believed in a finite stellar universe, "drawing all matter to a center, an inert and lifeless mass." Erasmus Darwin, in turn, predicted rebirth: "Thus all the suns, and the planets which circle round them, may again sink into one central chaos; and may again by explosions produce a new world; which in process of time may resemble the present one, and at length again undergo the same catastrophe" (*The Temple of Nature* [1803], pp. 166-67) (*Interpretation*, pp. 157-58). Grabo cited Medwin's *Conversations of Lord Byron* (1824, pp. 282-83) for "a theory with which Shelley must have been familiar":

> We are at present in the infancy of science. Do you imagine that, in former stages of this planet, wiser creatures than ourselves did not exist? All our boasted inventions are but the shadows of what has been,—the dim images of the past—the dream of other states of existence. Might not the fable of Prometheus, and his stealing the fire, and of Briareus and his earth-born brothers, be but traditions of steam and its machinery? Who knows whether, when a comet shall approach this globe to destroy it, as it often has been and will be destroyed, men will not tear rocks from their foundations by means of steam, and hurl mountains, as the giants are said to have done, against the flaming mass?—and then we shall have traditions of Titans again, and of wars with Heaven.

Grabo, however, added:

> If, metaphysically, [Shelley] conceives the process as finite and endlessly repeated, the concession is made for philosophic consistency. Emotionally he believes in man's endless advance in science and the arts once he is morally free. . . . [It is] an evolutionary theory whose originality lies in this, that it is mental and moral. The outer changes . . . are but manifestations of inner growth. . . . [Good] becomes rather the goal, the triumphant issue from evil; and evil is such only as it is the past whence good, with difficulty, issues. . . . Shelley's God is, in reality, an imperfect God, a God who strives to become and who wrestles both with his own nature and with the recalcitrant forms of a "material" universe. . . . [The] less perfect thoughts of his past . . . must be relinquished to be replaced . . . forgiven to be destroyed [pp. 181-85].

K. N. Cameron held that "the emphasis here . . . is upon the word *infirm*, i.e. if Necessity is not able to control the forces of liberty there is a danger that they will degenerate into licence and anarchy" ("Major Source of 'Islam,'" p. 205). B. Rajan noted that "the remedy is to love and to endure. This is . . . the emotional faith which integrates *Prometheus*" ("Motivation of Prometheus," p. 301). E. Barnard commented: "It is interesting to find Shelley, at the very end of the poem, venturing on the

speculation that his timeless and perfect paradise may sometime be destroyed. Perhaps he is thinking of a new world-cycle [see note at I.809] when Time shall reassume its tyranny, give birth to a new reign of Evil, and force the winning of Prometheus' victory again." J. Barrell suggested: "Demogorgon, forgetting the negative, terminal quality of his relationship to evil, supposes that he may lose his grasp and allow evil as a positive force to rise again in the world. It is clear that with the abandonment of the philosophic myth has come a weakening of the conception of evil as ignorance" (*Shelley and Thought*, p. 157). And Arthur Wormhoudt's psychiatric interpretation of the lines was: "His final word, significantly, is directed against the oedipal and genital level of experience, for he, or she, says that if the serpent-phallus which is now confined to the pit should ever be permitted by the mother image, Eternity, to clasp her waist, then only certain spells with a very strong taint of masochism (endless suffering and endurance) will be sufficient to reestablish the pregenital and negative oedipal situation which Shelley found the ultimate fate in his own life" (*Demon Lover*, p. 108).

565. Rossetti pointed out that, as Jupiter succeeded Saturn, so Eternity (Demogorgon) succeeds Jupiter. But since Demogorgon is Eternity personified there is no contradiction in his reference here, since he is speaking of "Eternity in its operations, under a different veil of personating words" ("Study," pp. 69-71). And K. N. Cameron noted that "Shelley regarded social evils as transient, belonging to time, while love and beauty and mind were eternal. Thus, in *A Philosophical View of Reform*, when he urged the great poets and writers to fight against social oppression, he concluded: 'it would be Eternity warning Time' [Julian, VII, 52]."

567. Comparisons:

[W. N. Guthrie (*Poet Prophets*, pp. 340-41)] III.i.72-74.

[Hughes] II.iii.96-97.

[H. Lotspeich (" 'Eternity' and Demogorgon," pp. 310-11)] [1] Next of Eternity, whom the ancients supposed to be the companion of Demogorgon. . . . What Claudius Claudianus has written concerning her in his heroic song in praise of Stilicho [2.424-430] may be quoted: "Far off, unknown, inconceivable by our minds, hardly to be approached by the gods themselves, is a cave of immense age, the hoary mother of the years, who gives forth the periods of time and recalls them into her vast bosom. A serpent surrounds the cave, who consumes all things with quiet power; his scales perpetually grow afresh and, with his mouth turned back, he is devouring his own tail, thus in his course tracing his own beginning. . . ." [The poet] speaks of her cave, that is, the unknown profundity of her bosom . . . and with back-turned mouth eating his own tail, we are to know that the cyclic lapse of time is meant. For ever the end of one year is the beginning of the next and will be so while time endures [Boccaccio, *De genealogia deorum* I.i]; [2] From sleep as many-coloured as the snake / That girds eternity [*The Revolt of Islam* IV.iv].

[J. A. Notopoulos (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 186-87)] [1] a great round serpent . . . devouring his tail—that is, folding and unfolding himself eternally, like the revolutions of the spheres [Volney, *The Ruins*, pp. 141-42, describing the view

of the universe held by certain "physical theologians"]; [2] There are many other symbols . . . which we find in other antient authors; such as, a serpent in a circle to denote eternity [Lord Monboddo, *Of the Origin and Progress of Language* (1774-92), II, 249].

[K. N. Cameron] Where the vast snake Eternity / In charmèd sleep doth ever lie [*The Daemon of the World* 100-1].

Hughes commented: "This is possibly a use of the symbolism of the Gnostic Ophites, in which there were two angels in serpent form; (1) the Angel of Darkness, the creeping, cunning Demon who gave men the law which binds and the letter which kills; and (2) the Angel of Knowledge and Light. . . . Shelley also regards the serpent now with horror and now with love. Or, more simply, we have a metaphor—the evil which clasps and paralyses as the serpent did Laocoon." Similarly, E. Barnard noted that "the serpent is in Shelley's early poems very often, although not exclusively, the symbol of good rather than, as here, evil—probably because of the poet's desire to overturn all conventional beliefs. The tendency is less noticeable in the later works." And Cameron suggested that "the two serpents [here and at II.iii.97] are either different or the serpent is regarded as a force, like necessity itself, sometimes used for good, sometimes for evil." Locock assumed that "Jupiter now occupies the position of the 'snake-like doom coiled underneath' Demogorgon's throne [II.iii.97]." Lotspeich held that, in view of the almost certain source in Boccaccio, Shelley is here "saying that Eternity must become disengaged from Time, that which is eternal from that which is temporal." Carl Grabo, however, noted that Egyptian, Coptic, and Norse mythology employ the snake symbol similarly (*Interpretation*, pp. 156-57). And Notopoulos, in turn, held that Neoplatonic demonology was the probable source of the serpent symbolism, with Volney and Lord Monboddo as possible specific sources (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 186-87).

570-78. Comparisons:

[R. Ackermann] And a firm will, and a deep sense, / Which even in torture can descry / Its own concenter'd recompense, / Triumphant where it dares defy, / And making Death a Victory [Byron, *Prometheus* 55-59].

[Woodberry] [1] O Love, who to the hearts of wandering men / Art as the calm to Ocean's weary waves! / Justice, or Truth, or Joy! those only can / From slavery and religion's labyrinth caves / Guide us, as one clear star the seaman saves. / To give to all an equal share of good, / To track the steps of Freedom, though through graves / She pass, to suffer all in patient mood, / To weep for crime though stained with thy friend's dearest blood; / To feel the peace of self-contentment's lot, / To own all sympathies, and outrage none, / And in the inmost bowers of sense and thought, / Until life's sunny day is quite gone down, / To sit and smile with Joy, or, not alone, / To kiss salt tears from the worn cheek of Woe; / To live, as if to love and live were one,— / This is not faith or law, nor those who bow / To thrones on Heaven or Earth, such destiny may know [*The Revolt of Islam* VIII.xi-xii]; [2] Reproach not thine own soul, but know thyself, / Nor hate another's crime, nor loathe thine own. / It is the dark idolatry of self, / Which, when our thoughts and actions once are gone, / Demands that man

should weep, and bleed, and groan; / O vacant expiation! Be at rest.— / The past is Death's, the future is thine own; / And love and joy can make the foulest breast / A paradise of flowers, where peace might build her nest [*ibid.* VIII.xxii].

[H. Richter ("Shelleys Weltanschauung," p. 391)] [1] That those who are pure in heart shall see God, and that virtue is its own reward, may be considered as equivalent assertions [*Essay on Christianity*. Julian, VI, 232]; [2] Blessedness is not the reward of virtue, but is virtue itself [Spinoza, *Ethic*, p. 282]; [3] By good, I understand that which we certainly know is useful to us [*ibid.*, p. 180]; [4] the mind . . . adjudges nothing as profitable to itself excepting that which conduces to understanding [*ibid.*, p. 198]; [5] things are good only in so far as they assist man to enjoy that life of the mind which is determined by intelligence [*ibid.*, p. 242].

[W. E. Peck (*Shelley*, I, 83)] To laugh at sorrow in secure despair, / To mock, with smiles, life's lingering control, / And triumph mid the griefs that round thy fate did roll [*Fragment: . . . of Francis Ravaillac and Charlotte Corday* 57-59].

[M. Mousel ("Falsetto in Shelley," p. 599)] If faith is a virtue in any case it is so in politics rather than religion; as having a power of producing a belief in that which is at once a prophecy and a cause [To Hunt, May 1, 1820. Julian, X, 164].

[D. Bush (*Mythology*, p. 157)] Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best, / And love with feare the onely God, to walk / As in his presence, ever to observe / His providence, and on him sole depend, / Merciful over all his works, with good / Still overcoming evil, and by small / Accomplishing great things, by things deemd weak / Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise / By simply meek; that suffering for Truths sake / Is fortitude to highest victorie, / . . . To whom also th' Angel last repli'd: / This having learnt, thou hast attained the summe / Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the Starrs / Thou knewst by name, and all th' ethereal Powers, / . . . onely add / Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith, / Add Vertue, Patience, Temperence, add Love, / . . . then wilt thou not be loath / To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess / A Paradise within thee, happier farr [*Paradise Lost* XII.561-86].

[White (*Shelley*, I, 211)] [1] Think, read, and talk . . . disclaim all manner of alliance with violence . . . that liberty which we may one day hope for, wisdom and virtue can alone give you a right to enjoy [*An Address to the Irish People*. Julian, V, 229]; [2] [*Shelley*, I, 739] [Nations become liberal-minded only as the result of] resolute perseverance and indefatigable hope, and long-suffering and long-believing courage, and the systematic efforts of generations of men of intellect and virtue [Preface to *The Revolt of Islam*].

[E. Blunden (*Shelley*, p. 259)] I've thought of all this pride, and all this pain, / And all the insolent plenitudes of power, / And I declare, by this most quiet hour, / . . . That Power itself has not one half the might / Of Gentleness [Hunt, *Power and Gentleness* 33-39].

Bush noted that Byron's lines are ironic, and commented that "Byron cannot escape from his realistic dualism to rejoice in the triumphant and harmonious soul of man" (p. 80). He also pointed out, with respect to the Milton lines, that "there is no question which passage is closer to the faith of Christ." For Shelley, "the new God of evolving humanity is humanity itself; this is not quite equivalent to 'The kingdom of God is within you' . . . [for] there is a difference between being the father and being the child of one's deity" (p. 158).

R. P. Scott found these lines typical of "the exquisite finishing touch he puts to his poems; the last stone, as it were, seems to compact and complete

the edifice, the last strain is one of exquisite melody" (*Place of Shelley*, p. 45). And Dowden read the stanza as "declaring in a few lines of high intention the sum of the whole matter" (*Shelley*, II, 298). J. R. Ullman added that "at bottom there is precious little difference between the child who walked alone about the grounds of Eton and swore his solemnly boyish oath of consecration and the somewhat older, somewhat wiser child who concluded the greatest poem in the English language with these words" (*Mad Shelley*, p. 60).

Alexander noted that "the final stanza expresses what, in Shelley's opinion, is the proper attitude, even in our times, of those who desire the renovation of mankind." Woodberry amplified this by pointing out that "these maxims . . . constitute Shelley's persistent ideal, and of them he made Prometheus the type; he here identifies this ideal, which is one of suffering under wrong, with all forms of the good and of power, thereby affirming the supremacy of spiritual moral order at all times and under all circumstances. Neither Platonic nor Christian faith is more absolute." Pelham Edgar held that, although in this poem we might erroneously feel that "laws alone are responsible for the ills of mankind," this last stanza shows that peace comes only through mastery of self ("Shelley's Debt," p. 199). Similarly, B. P. Kurtz described the passage as "a magnificent inventory of the means by which the *individual* gains control over himself . . . [a] self-conquest [which] is alone Utopia! . . . Could there be a clearer paraphrase of the old victory-cry, 'The Kingdom of God is within you'? That cry, too, came after the hope of a new Jerusalem built by hands had gone the way of all Utopian expectations" (*Pursuit of Death*, p. 189). And E. Barnard asked: "How many of the parlor pessimists, and the scholars in their snug libraries, who sneer at Shelley's 'shallow optimism' would care to live up to *this* creed? For the plain implication is that the sufferings and trials of Prometheus are no more severe than those which every man must face and conquer who, in an unregenerate world, seeks to live a truly spiritual life" (*Shelley's Religion*, p. 102); and he found the lines expressive of "the faith in the supreme efficacy of sacrifice for the sake of an ideal . . . [and that] mysterious paradox of self-realization through self-sacrifice which is the core of Christianity. . . . But this is also the death of the personal self, the absolute surrender of all that most men live for, in the service of the highest Good" (pp. 294-95).

Shelley's emphasis on passivity has been noted frequently. R. H. Hutton held that these lines "tell how anxiously Shelley wished to inculcate that the highest virtues of the creature are purely passive" ("Shelley," pp. 183-84). J. De Gruyter found in them "the whole kernel of Dostoievsky's spirit—the challenge to suffering, the unlimited forgiveness" ("Shelley and Dostoievsky," p. 130); C. H. Herford the "faith, hope, and love of the Christian ideal itself" ("Romanticism," p. 132); Bennett Weaver the fusion "with other mighty thoughts from the Bible [of] the victorious beatitude

of forgiveness" (*Understanding of Shelley*, p. 166); and R. Bailey the "remarkable" fact that "in the last stanza of his lyrical drama Shelley leaves the heaven he has created and ends with an exhortation to suffering and endurance" (*Shelley*, p. 105).

But others have noted a qualification of this. E. G. Gardner held that the stanza "combines the passive virtues of Christianity with a perceptible element of the pride of Lucifer" ("Mysticism of Shelley," p. 151). H. N. Brailsford commented: "To suffer, to forgive, to love, but above all, to defy—that was for Shelley the whole duty of man" (*Shelley, Godwin*, p. 235). Marjory Bald, however, played down this defiance. She held that Shelley's "conception of Goodness was increasingly removed from action to emotion. Among the 'spells' [here enumerated] only one—defiance of absolute power—involved any necessary outlet in action" ("Shelley's Mental Progress," p. 116). M. T. Solve commented: "In justice to Godwin it should be added that he himself does not consistently regard the will as passive. In *St. Leon* he says, 'There is nothing which the human mind can conceive, which it may not execute'; and elsewhere, 'Desire never fails to generate capacity.' Shelley quoted these statements in his letters, and the transcendental idea underlying them is reflected in [these] superb closing lines" ("Shelley and Brown," p. 148). Likewise with reference to Godwin, A. E. Rodway noted that "what Shelley has done with Godwin's doctrine of non-violence is typical. . . . [He] infused feeling into the creed, generalized the ideas, and raised them to the plane of poetry, expressing them less as a philosophy, than as a vision, of life as it is and as it might be" (*Godwin*, p. 50).

An anonymous writer in the *Spectator* (1893) held that the stanza was "forced by the very nature of [the poem] to paint Shelley's conception of what such a triumph should be, if it ever came at all." But, he argued, this passage is "dramatic rather than prophetic, and . . . what Shelley really conceived as his own forecast of the future was something like an alternation of good and evil of which he did not venture to face the ultimate issue." This he recorded in "Saturn and Love their long repose / Shall burst, more bright and good / Than all who fell, than One who rose, / Than many unsubdued: / Not gold, not blood, their altar dowers, / But votive tears and symbol flowers. / Oh, cease! must hate and death return? / Cease! must men kill and die? / Cease! drain not to its dregs the urn / Of bitter prophecy. / The world is weary of the past, / Oh, might it die or rest at last!" (*Hellas* 1090-1101). H. N. Fairchild, too, considered the stanza unrealistic. To him it was "the noblest expression of the idealistic aspect of romantic idealism. The French Revolution may have failed; politicians may take bribes; the poor may be starving; but in the realm of Shelley's imagination man is free and love is the law of the world" (*Romantic Quest*, p. 234).

But others have not agreed. Arthur Clutton-Brock commented: "In his

failure [to escape from reality in the drama] he expressed that very conflict which he tried to transcend; and it is curious that in the last stanzas of the poem he seems to recognize this, and to make an exultant submission to the laws of reality" (*Man and Poet*, p. 218). A. E. Powell noted that "gradually Shelley begins to identify with his characters not mere abstract ideas, but moods in his own experience. . . . [Laon and Prometheus] act perhaps in space, rather than in this world; but [as here the characters] utter such words as the struggle of human life creates, their tears are not 'such as angels weep' " (*Romantic Theory*, p. 202). Herbert Read pointed out that Shelley's "universal love is clearly and defiantly humanistic in character; its 'spells' are faculties within the titanic frame of man's imagination. . . . [The virtues here] are Stoic virtues, human aspirations, and I see no evidence anywhere in Shelley's work which would justify any more transcendental faith . . . though he uses words like 'Heaven' and 'Eternity', it is always in a metaphorical sense" ("Optimistic Philosopher," p. 378). And, finally, C. M. Bowra suggested significantly that our answer to the question of whether *Prometheus Unbound* is a "prophecy of something which is likely to happen, or . . . a summons to men to destroy evil by exerting reason and love . . . will determine our view of Shelley's purpose in writing the poem." Bowra felt that the closing scene establishes that

> *Prometheus Unbound* is not a prophecy but a challenge. It is concerned not with events in time but with the eternal situation of man and the universe. . . . [Shelley] was a metaphysician, and that is the secret both of his strength and of his limitations. At times he seems to pass into spheres so rarefied that we cannot follow him. . . . But that is not so much his fault as ours. His triumph is that at other times, through the enchantment which his poetry sets on us, we are able to explore regions of which he is the discoverer and almost the only denizen, and to know in his company the delights of a condition in which the old quarrel of poetry and philosophy is healed and the pallid abstractions of analytical thought take on the glow and the glory of visible things [*Romantic Imagination*, pp. 123-25].

573-74. Comparisons:

> [R. Piccoli] [1] The ruling principle of Hate, / Which for its pleasure doth create / The things it may annihilate [Byron, *Prometheus* 20-22]; [2] The mind becomes that which it contemplates [*Prince Athanase* 139].
>
> [W. E. Peck (*Shelley*, II, 262)] He weaves about himself a world of mirth / Out of the wreck of ours [*Charles the First* ii.107-8].

Piccoli noted that Shelley's lines are "a verbal echo [of Byron] transferred to an opposite sense." R. Lynd commented: "There is no other joy in literature like Shelley's. It is the joy not of one who is blind or untroubled, but of one who, in a midnight of tyranny and suffering of the unselfish, has learned ['to hope,' etc.]. To write like this is to triumph over defeat. It is to cease to be a victim and become creator" ("Aspects of Shelley," p. 117).

575. Comparison:

> [D. Bush (*Mythology*, p. 158)] yet not for those / Nor what the Potent Victor in his rage / Can else inflict do I repent or change [*Paradise Lost* I.94-96].

Appendixes

APPENDIX A

SHELLEY'S DRAFTS OF *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND*

A DESCRIPTION of the MSS containing drafts of material relevant to *Prometheus Unbound* and the difficulties of transcription pertaining thereto will be found in the Introduction, pp. 25-26. Brief notes concerning the specific passages transcribed in this Appendix have been added here to clarify the items. It is impossible to know in what order the drafts were written, and for ease of reference they have therefore been arranged in text sequence. Square brackets within the draft passages indicate deletions by the poet; shaped brackets, editorial comment; and an asterisk indicates an illegible word or letters (except that an asterisk as part of a manuscript page number forms an actual part of such numbering in the manuscript).

In the transcriptions, insertions are spaced as written, but, where end words were crowded into the margin by the poet's doubling above or below the line, such words have been spaced normally. The spelling in the drafts has been followed exactly.

DRAFTS FOR THE PREFACE

Drafts for the Preface of *Prometheus Unbound* have been found in two of the MS collections. In Bodleian MS Shelley adds. e.11 (from the Shelley-Rolls gift) are lines 1-47 as numbered in the present edition, plus a short unused passage. My attention was directed to this draft by the Keeper of Western Manuscripts, and it is now transcribed for the first time. This is evidently an intermediate or late draft, clearly written and with comparatively few changes. Lines 74-178 are in Huntington MS 2177, and here one is faced with a difficult reading problem and must welcome and acknowledge the earlier attempts of Forman (*Note Books*) and Freeman (Text) to transcribe them.

Bodleian MS Shelley adds. e.11:

Unused passage:

49[1] [The story of]
The Greek tragic writers were accustomed
to choose a subject well known to their
auditors & often treated by their
[Contemporaries &] rivals.—

Preface 1-47:

49 The Greek tragic writers [in their
in selecting their
treatment of when they chose,] as[a]
subject any portion of the history or
mythology of their nation, employed
in their treatment of it, a certain
arbitrary discretion. They by no means
felt themselves obliged to adhere to the <5>
common interpretation, or to imitate
in story, as in title their [con][2] rivals
& predecessors. Such a plan would
have been no more than [to s] the
resignation of those claims to [emulation]
58 preference over their competitors which
incited the composition. The Agamen
monian story, was [told] exhibited on
the Greek theatre with as many variations <10>
as dramas.
I have presumed to employ a similar
license[s],—The Prometheus Unbound of
Æschylus, [pre][3] supposed the reconciliation
of Jupiter with his victim as the price
of the disclosure of the danger thre <15>
atned to the Empire of Heaven by [the] his
marriage with Thetis. Thetiis on this
view of the subject, was given in
Pro
marriage to Pelias, & [Hercules] by
the permission of Jupiter delivered

[1]Marginal numbers refer to MS pages. The Keeper of Western MSS listed the pages for this part of the Preface as 56-61, but a clear, if faintly penciled, *49* shows on this page, instead of 56. This part of the draft is in pencil except as noted.

[2]Uncertain; possibly [*rov*] or even [*wu*]

[3]Uncertain; possibly [*from*]

his[4]
[Prometheus from the vulture & the
chains. Hercules] from his Captivity
Had I framed my story on this model <20>
I should have done no more than have
attempted to restore the lost
59 drama of Æschylus, an ambition which,
if my preference to this mode of treating
the subject had incited me to cherish, the
thought high[5]
[consideration] of the [unfavourable] comparison <25>
I [challenged] should so challenge might well
abate. But in truth I was averse from[6]
a [conclusion so unw] a catastrophe so feeble
as that of reconciling the Champion, with
the Oppressor, of mankind [and] Nor can I
scene
imagine how such a [story] could ever have
[been exhibited without] excited any thing[7]
on the st[8]
60 but dissappointment. The moral interest
of the fable so powerful in the sufferings
[of Prometheus] & the endurance of Prometheus, <30>
[is annih] would be annihilated if we
could concieve of him as unsaying his
high language, and quaking[9] before his
perfidious & successful adversary. Prome[10] <35>
theus is I think a more poetical
character than Satan, because in
addition to [h][11] courage, & majesty & firm
& patient[12] opposition to Omnipotent force
he is susceptible of being described as
exempt from the taints of ambition <40>
& revenge & injustice which in the hero
of Paradise Lost perpetually interfere

[4]*his* possibly lightly deleted.

[5]*high* in ink, and [*unfavourable*] deleted in ink.

[6]The penciled lines end here.

[7]The bottom half of the page has a pencil sketch of a tree, and two apparently irrelevant penciled phrases: *do not speak* and *like a death*

[8]The upper part of *Th* in *The* intrudes on this word. *st* is clear. One would assume *stage* but there is no downstroke for *g*

[9]*q* of *quaking* at first *s*

[10]An apparent period may be an intended hyphen.

[11][*h*] plus part of a second letter.

[12]*patient* at first *patiant* *firm* & added by crowding in.

with the interest Satan engenders in
the mind a pernicious casuistry which
weigh
leads us to [excuse] his faults [in
return for his] with his wrongs
61 [&[13] because the] to excuse the former because
the latter exceed all measure. In the minds <45>
of those who read that[14] magnificent
fiction with a religious feeling it
engenders something worse[15]

Huntington MS 2177:

Unused passage:[16]

26v the great w ges
or from the impulses of that
universal nature [which is]
all
the book [of] from which poetry
greatest is only beautiful
is a transcript
inasmuch as it is[17]

Preface 74-93

in candour
26v One word on the manner in
which the study of contemporary <75>
writing[18] may have modified[19]
one[20]
27r It is impossible that any one[21]
[person writer] contemporary
stand in the
with such writers as [L. B. <80>

[13]& probably added after the deletion, and written over the deletion line so it appears deleted.

[14]*that* at first *this*

[15]The remaining three-fourths of the page blank.

[16]The upper two-thirds of the page torn away, and the tear runs into the first line here given.

[17]Freeman read *no* for *is* Forman did not give *greatest is* above. Shelley seems to have changed *from which poetry is a transcript* to *from which all poetry is beautiful inasmuch as it is a transcript*

[18]Forman read *writings*

[19]This sentence, at the bottom of the page, is in different pen and more cramped in style. It appears to have been written at a time different from the other paragraphs.

[20]Forman believed this to be the last word in the sentence ending 28r.

[21]*o* of *one* at first *p*

[(Coleridge] & Coleridge
& Words.] can conscienciously
ru[22] ranks of literature of the present day
assure themselves or others
that their language & tone
of thought[23] may not have
been modified by the study
of the [writings] productions
of these extraordinary intellects
It is true that, [their][24] not
the spirit of
their genius, [but] but the
forms in which it has <85>
are
manifested itself [is] due
less to the peculiarity of
thier[25] own minds than to
27v the peculiarity of the moral
& intellectual [education] condition
of the minds among which
they were produced. Thus
a number of writers have the
form, whilst they want the
it is alledged
spirit of those whom they are <90>
they[26]
supposed to imitate; [and it
is not because] because the former
is the endowment of the age
in which they live, &[27] the latter
the
must be uncommunicated
lightning of their own mind

Unused passage:

27v [In]—[28] how many second rate

[22]Forman read *front* and Freeman *first* Neither can be justified. Possibly what appears to be *ru* may have been a false start on *ranks*

[23]*tone of thought* may be deleted, but I believe the marks are rather the result of a faulty pen or of blotting from the opposite page.

[24]Freeman read [*they*]

[25]Forman read *their*

[26]Not noted by Forman.

[27]Forman, in error, gave *and*

[28]The dash cancels *In*

writers of the age of Queen
Elisabeth[29] do [we find a style
&][30] posss[31] a style & a form
which is in ewery[32] way admir
28r able, who had they lived in the
age of George the 2d might
probably have deserved to figure
among the heroes of the Dunciad.
Still men[33]

Preface 94-97:

pursuaded
28r I am undeniably[34] [*[35]
the of[36]
And that a] peculiar style [has
not been in En] imagery
intense & comprehensive [thought[37] <95>
in poetry] which distinguishes
[England]. modern writers, has not
been, as a general power, the product
of the imitation of any particular[38]

Unused passage:

28v Who wd call Virgil an imitator
of Homer? the [ideal] conceptions
had been now modelled within
his mind, they had been born
again—One [Poets] real Poet
is to another a piece of
Nature, which he studies &
imitates[39]

[29]Forman, in error, gave *Elizabeth*

[30]Freeman read [*p*] but it is clearly an ampersand.

[31]The second *s* is of the *f*-type. Forman, in error, read *possess*

[32]The *w* was probably an anticipation of *way*

[33]The following one-third of the page blank.

[34]Forman read *intimately* If so, the *t*'s are uncrossed, the *i*'s undotted.

[35]Forman and Freeman read *convinced* which I am sure is in error. Shelley may have started to repeat *undeniably* but the word is practically illegible.

[36]Not noted by Freeman.

[37]Not noted by Forman.

[38]See note 20.

[39]Forman read *imitates.* but there is no period. Preface line 98 follows this word. Under these lines on 28v inverted are several penciled words obscured by the ink overwriting.

Preface 98-116:

28v The mass of [genius] capabilities[40]
writing,—I [am unden[41]]
is probably[42] at every period the same,
the circumstances which awaken it
29r to action perpetually change.
32r If England were divided <100>
into forty republics,[43] each
31v equal in extent & population
to Athens, there is no reason
to suppose, but that each under[44]
[similar] institutions similar to
those of Athens, would produce
philosophers & poets equal to <105>
those which have never[45]
if we may except Shakespeare,
been surpassed. So much ex
perience warrants; & theory may[46]
surmise[47] & imagine more
29r We owe, [probably to the Reformation]
the great writers of the [age of]
Elizebethan age to the
32r fervid awakening of the public
mind which [overthrew the
hierarchy of Religion] shook
the most oppressive form of
the Christian Religion to the
dust, we owe Milton to <110>
2 1
the development & progress[48]

[40]Forman read *capability* He also thought Shelley may have meant to alter the word to *capable* to form an adjective for the next word, which he read as *writers* There is no evidence of such alteration, and the next word is almost certainly *writing* or *writings*

[41]This word is practically illegible. Freeman did not note these three words.

[42]Freeman, in error, read *inevitably*

[43]No comma in Forman.

[44]Forman read *with* The word is not clear.

[45]A vertical line follows *never* Forman called it a comma, erroneously, I am sure. Freeman called it a parenthesis and found the closing mark after *Shakespeare* But there was room for *if* after the parenthesis had Shelley so intended it, and I find no justifiable closing parenthesis (rather a comma) after *Shakespeare*

[46]*m* of *may* over an ampersand.

[47]Freeman read *promise* This might be defensible, but there is no downstroke on what he takes for *p* There may be a period at the end of this line, but I believe it is an ink spatter.

[48]*developement* and *progress* are underlined, probably to stress changed order.

of the same spirit. [Chaucer was[49]
contemporary with Wickliff]
The great writers of our own
age are, [the[50] let us believe]
we we[51] have reason to suppose
the forerunners of some uni <115>
magined change in our
Social condition,[52] & in the
opinions which cement it[53]

Unused passage:

*46v Originality does not consist
[in words & names, or stories][54]
or combinations[55] of metre &
language different from those
which have gone before, it
does not consist only in avoiding
a resemblance[56]

Preface 120-27:

30r [A Poet] As to imitation, <120>
[what] Poetry is a mimetic
art; it creates, but it
creates by [im] combination
poetical abstractions
& representation; [its abstractions]
are beautiful & new, not because
the portions of them have
29v no previous existence in the
mind of man or in nature;
but because the whole has <125>
an[57] [sen][58] intelligible analogy
with those sources of emotion
and thought[59]

[49]Freeman read *a* for *was* The deletion line is heavy, but I find evidence of more than a single letter.

[50]Forman did not note [*the*] The word may have been a start on *then*

[51]Forman did not note the reduplication of *we*

[52]Forman read *conditions*, He also gave *and* in error for & Freeman read *social* which is possible.

[53]This line is separated from the next two (text lines 100-1) by interline. Forman gave *it.* in error.

[54]Forman did not note the deletion.

[55]Forman read *combination*

[56]Forman, in error, read *resemblance.* There is no period.

[57]*an* at first *a*

[58]Not noted by Forman. *intelligible* is partly underlined.

[59]The next part of the page is blank.

it abstracts from all that
has been imagined, or is the
that which[60]
[visible] what is most beautiful,[61]
object of sensation[62]

Preface 137-46:

poet joint such[63]
29r A [man] is the product of internal
powers as modify the nature[64] of
others, & of external [ones] which
influences
excite & sustain these powers; <140>
every mans mind is in this respect
modified by [every word] all the obj
ects of nature & of art, by every
word & [tone] sentence which he
ever admitted to act upon his
consciousness. It[65] is the mirror
many[66]
upon which outward forms are <145>
in
reflected,[67] & which they compose
one form.

Unused passage:

28v [Ours[68] in England is proved by
the same vigorous &[69] fervid spirit]
of [language having prevailed
in Germany]. It is with us, as
with our ancestors of[70] the [Elize

[60]Added, apparently later, with finer pen.

[61]Forman read *beautiful—* The dash in error. He was also in error in deleting *what* and he omitted [*visible*]

[62]A line partly circles these three words, probably to indicate the insertion to replace [*visible*] Freeman thought the passage beginning *it abstracts* was intended to replace [*its abstractions*] on 30r, but was rejected when *poetical abstractions* was inserted.

[63]*such* over or under *An* Not noted in Forman or Freeman. This and the following lines on 29r are in pencil except as noted.

[64]Forman read *natures* It may be either.

[65]Freeman, in error, read *consciousness it*

[66]In ink.

[67]The comma and the remainder of the sentence in ink.

[68]Freeman read [*ever*] The word is practically illegible.

[69]Forman, in error, read *vigour and*

[70]*of* is over or under *in*

beth] age of Shakespeare, we
30r have writers, some more or less
powerful, but all modelled
the spirit of on[71]
on [one spirit].

Preface 150-53:

30r They is a <150>
similarity between Homer
& Hesiod, between Æschylus
& Euripides, between Dante
& Petrarch, between Shakespeare
& Fletcher, [between Dryden[72]] all
a con
great writers of [the same age].
temporary epoch.

Unused passage:[73]

31r [There is one mistake
I have heard one mistake]
ex[pressed concerning my
writing[74] It has been alledge[75]
that my writings are
destined consecrated by me
to the working a gre][76]
*25r They are the productions indeed
verily
of a person who believes him
self to posess some thing like
a reasoned system [on the
spirit is so
great ques] (& what [spirit[77]

[71]Freeman read *an* but admitted the possibility of *on* as a start of *one* The next sentence (line 150) follows the period here.

[72]Forman read *Lucan* or *Lucian* Freeman read *Dryden* over *Swift* and felt that "the nature of the series" supported his view. The word is not clear.

[73]Probably preliminary drafts for lines 158-84.

[74]Forman, in error, read *writing*.

[75]*alledge* extends to the edge of the page. Freeman, in error, gave *alledged*

[76]Forman, in error, gave *working of a* He conjectured *a great reform*

[77]Freeman read [*not*] which is possible. He also said *what* was converted to *who* This led to his readings (see next note). What he took for a deletion mark on the *t* of *what* is, I believe, merely the crossing of the *t*

torpid as to have formed to itself no decision
is devoid of such a faith])[78] on
the great question of [morality
of of[79] it is the[80]] the conduct
of men towards[81] each other
in human life

Preface 158-78:

Let me take this opportunity
*47[r] It[82] I [am twitted[83] with]
of acknowledging[84] that I have
what a Scotch Philosopher
characteristically calls a "
Passion for reforming the world"[85] <160>
What passion incited him
to write his book he does not
explain. My comfort is, that
I shall be damned in good company
[Plato, Lord Bacon, Milton.[86]
Rousseau[87]] But it is a mistake <165>
to suppose that I dedicate
my poetical compositions
solely to the direct inforcement[88]
of that reform, or that I con-
sider them in any degree
a reasoned system on theory[89]
forms of human life[90]
*24[v] Didactic Poetry is my abhorrence.

[78]Freeman thought the parenthetical phrase had at least four readings (but see preceding note): (1) *no spirit is devoid of such a faith* (2) *what spirit is devoid of such a faith* (3) *who is devoid of such a faith* (4) *what spirit is so torpid as to have formed to itself no decision*

[79]Freeman read *&*

[80]There is a mark or letter at the base of the initial *t* upstroke. Freeman read it as *&* Forman was not sure, nor am I, but it seems much too small for Shelley's usual ampersand, and resembles more a small *o* (possibly a start on *other*).

[81]Forman, in error, read *toward*

[82]Not noted in Forman. If, as Freeman said, the word is *It* the usual downstroke of the *t* is missing.

[83]Freeman read *troubled* The word is heavily crossed, but I incline to Forman's *twitted*

[84]At first *I acknowledge* as Freeman noted.

[85]Forman, in error, read *World.*

[86]Freeman, in error, read *Milton,*

[87]Forman, in error, read *Rousseau.*

[88]Forman read *enforcement*

[89]Forman read, and supplied in the parenthesis, *system or theory (of the) forms of human life.* Freeman read *on those* The first word may be either *on* or *or* The second I believe was at first *the* (i.e., *on the forms of human life*) which was then changed to *theory* without the addition of another *the* or deletion of *forms*

[90]Forman, in error, read *life.*

Nothing can equally well be
expressed in prose, [ought to be <170>
expressed in verse]. but is tedious
& supererogatory in verse.
*25r They are attempts to
familiarize the imagination
of poetical readers with
[the] beautiful idealisms
of moral excellence. [Of
course if I designed][91]
the mind
*24v Until[92] [a heart] can love & <175>
& endure
admire & trust & hope, to
what end would you propose
principles of moral conduct?[93]
[When[94]] They are seeds thrown
upon the highway of life, &
the [passenger tramples the on to
dust].[95] hungry

Drafts for Act I

Drafts for Act I are meager. To date only the following, from the Shelley-Rolls MSS, have come to light. The passages were published originally by Ingpen-Peck in the Julian Edition of the poet's works, but unfortunately without reference, and the Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library was unable to locate them in the notebooks, which have not yet been indexed. It may be assumed, from comparison with the drafts for which photostats or films have been supplied, that these lines are an abstract only, and do not represent a literal transcript of the draft showing all of the manuscript changes.

I.766-67:

Scattering the liquid joy of life [and thou people
from thine immortal slumber
footsteps pave the world with light.

[91]Forman felt that these canceled words "adumbrate" lines 158-84. Their relationship to lines 179-80 will be evident.

[92]This may be a small *u*

[93]The question mark, low to the word, was missed by Freeman.

[94]Freeman read [*when*]

[95]Forman read [*tramples them to dust*] and Freeman [*tramples the on f dust*] The word is *the* and it is followed by a separated letter or letters which I cannot read as either *m* or *f* I believe *the* to be an incomplete *them* Forman assumed that *hungry* was an adjective intended to go with *passenger*

I.772-79:

Ah desolation is a delicate thing
For it walks not on the Earth, it floats not on the air
But seeks with unfelt footsteps and fans with silent wings
The soft hopes which in their hearts the best and gentlest bear
[and lulled to] false repose by the fanning plumes above
[And the dream inspiring motion] its
And the music stirring [tramping] of [the] soft and busy feet
Dream visions of aereal joy, and call the monster love
[Embrace]
[And wake and dream no more]
[to live the dreamless sleepless death of life]
And wake [to live then dream]
And die like early flowers when the winds that waked them, fleet.

Drafts for Act II

The drafts for Act II are found in the Shelley-Rolls gift (Bodleian MSS Shelley adds. e.12 and c.4) and in Huntington MSS 2176 and 2177. These drafts offer extreme difficulties in transcription, and many of the readings must remain tentative. Some of the passages are in faint or smudged pencil, some overwritten with other lines, and all characterized by the usual problems of Shelley's draft chirography (see Introduction, pp. 25-26). Earlier transcriptions of the Shelley-Rolls material by Ingpen-Peck and by Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen were abstracts only, but through the courtesy of the Keeper of Western Manuscripts the Bodleian Library has furnished me with photostats of as many of the items as have been identified, from which the following complete transcriptions have been made.

II.i.133-40:[96]

Panthea
I had dreams of spring
Last night burst forth on your
methought the flower unfolding buds
Burst on yon lightning blasted almond trees <135>
And then from yon white Scythian wilderness
A wind swept down wrinkling the [Earth] with frost
I looked, and all the blossoms were blown down
And on each leaf, as on the hyacinth's bell
Was written ai ai <140>

[96]As at I.772-79, lack of reference by Ingpen-Peck has precluded independent examination in the present instance. It may be assumed that the following lines are but an abstract of the draft, omitting changes made by the poet. See also footnote 205.

Bodleian MS Shelley adds. e.12

II.ii.[97] Unused lines:

34 The[98] sleepless brooks there ever

And[99] [hundred] [rivers][100]
[And] A [thousand sleepless fountains] run
From their crystalline[101] mines below
And[102] sink before they [the] see the sun
[And Indus feeds them as they flov[103]
Into their fathers]
[Into the Indus] Lahor's[104]
And [In to the[105]] diamond vaulted caves
thro earth's

onward *
To feed great Indus[106] [as they] flow

Then
[Then And] leap like meteor kindled showers
And light the pale & starless[107] flowers

[gleaming][108]
Which overhang their glimmering waves

the [Earths] great Earths entwined[109]
With [their] [unborrowed] * beams

[Their own bright] sands & lucid streams
From their own

[97]Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen felt that the following lines (of which they gave an abstract only) probably belonged to this scene. Identification of these passages has made full transcription possible here. Pages 34-35 are in ink, 41 in pencil.

[98]*The* at first *And*

[99][*And*] and *And* were added in front of the line.

[100]Probably [*rivers*]

[101]Notopoulos traced the "crystalline" idea in *Hellas* (lines 490 and 698) and in *Ode to the West Wind* (line 31) to this line (*Platonism of Shelley*, pp. 305-6).

[102]*A* of *And* at first a false start on something illegible.

[103]*w* of *flow* not completed.

[104]In the margin preceding this line is *India's*

[105]Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen misread *to the* as *Lethe's*

[106]Underlined, which may indicate that the illegible word above *flow* was an alternate. It appears to be *Gurno* or *Garno* One might expect *Ganges* but there is no second *g*

[107]Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen read *starlike* but the double *s* (*fs*) is clear.

[108]Shelley appears to have written *gleaming* and converted it to *glimmering* Then, above it, he wrote and deleted *gleaming* after which, in the margin before the line, he wrote a clear and underlined *glimmering*

[109]Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen read *unfriended* What they took for *f* is the upswing of the lower part of *g* in [*glimmering*] above. [*unborrowed*] is followed by a single illegible letter.

their
The [voice of these[110] immortal springs]
[waters]
[Is heard by shepherds on their hills]
[mountaineers]
[amid by those who dwell in *[111]]
Is [heard like thunder among mountains]
[And]
And [from their caves to Indus brings]
[*][112] earthy
[Earthquake] birp* shakes like [*][113]
[rocky] [place] thunder;
Their [I shakes Tries]
caves
And [from deep to Indus[114] brings
Loud as her his own loud murmurings]
35 A sound like earthquake stifled under
they [flow & breathe & moan]
But here their [flow moans]
[moans] breathes & moans
In soft & melancholy tones
[Slow][115]

41[116] And from [the] those woods forever run
From their chrystàlline[117] mines below

[110]*these* changed to *their* before *their* was written above.

[111]One or two illegible words, probably deleted.

[112]Four or five illegible letters, the last probably *y* Deletions and the crowded words make the draft at this point most difficult. *rocky* may be *rocks* with what appears to be *y* actually the *T* of *Tries* which was at first *Try*), or the latter word may be *cry* converted to *cries* *birp** was, I believe, a miss on *birthplace* with the latter part so unclear that *place* was written immediately underneath (and later accidentally deleted), but no *th* supplied. Shelley apparently ended with: *Their earthy birthplace shakes like thunder;*

[113]Possibly [*thunder*] crowded into the margin.

[114]Apparently *Indies* but the dot over a probable *u* may be accidental.

[115]Below this is a one-inch space with a check at the right as if to indicate the end of this passage. Some irrelevant lines occupy the middle of the page.

[116]The first one-third of this page has an ink draft of *Epipsychidion* lines, beneath which are two penciled lines, one indecipherable. Perhaps it is unrelated to the passage below since the second overwritten line (which forms a part of the passage) is about an inch below the first. This line was not given by Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen. The second third of the page contains the remainder of the penciled passage, without overwriting but badly smudged, and the bottom third has other *Epipsychidion* draft lines. The transcription of the penciled lines must remain tentative.

[117]The accent is in ink.

The streams that never see the sun
these
And then from [* woods]
[And deep thro diamond vaulted caves]
To feed old Indus onward flow
Or leap[ing] like meteor kindled showers
Or [leaping up]
To light the pale & sunless flowers
Which overhang their glimmering waves

II.ii.1-2:

33 In [that wood no tall trees]
Of [That or a We that were woods *]
[T When But a wide wood we *
*[118] trees in this
Of laurel, myrtle, pine & yew[119]

II.ii.5-56:

star
33 5 Nor [wind] nor sun nor wind nor rain[120] <5>
6 Can pierce its interwoven bowers
Nor aught save [trailing] where
7 [Save where[121]] some cloud of [wandering] dew
Drifted along the wandering
8 [Is driven[122] on the earth creeping] breez
Between
9 [Among] the trunks of the hoar[123] trees
10 Hangs each a pearl i the white flowers <10>
11 Of the green laurel blown anew
12 And bends [124] & then fades silently
13 One frail[125] & fair anemone

[118]Possibly *sun &*

[119]An interline separates this inked passage from the next, which is mostly in pencil. Ingpen-Peck gave only this last line, and the remainder of the passage is so confusedly written and crossed that the additional readings here given must be suggestive only.

[120]The line numbers, in pencil, are Shelley's. Lines 5-8 are in ink, with changes and deletions for 7-8 in pencil. The balance of the passage is in pencil. An abstract was given by Ingpen-Peck, but without indication of deletions or changes.

[121]Possibly *when*

[122]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *Slow driven*

[123]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *hoary*

[124]*bends* may be deleted. Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *dies* for *fades*

[125]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *pale*

14 Or[126] when some star of many a one
15 That [walk & * they] steep <15>
climb & wander thro [the] night
16 Has found that spot thro which alone
17 Beams fall from heaven those depths upon[127]
18 Ere it is borne away away
19 By the swift Heavens that cannot stay[128]
lines
20 It scatters [beams] of golden light <20>
like [rain] lines of rain which
[Which fall[129] in lines that] neer unite
For[130] the gloom divine is still around
And underneath is the mossy ground
32 [And] there the voluptuous nightingale[s][131]
Are[132] thro the[133] [all]
[Are aw] awake [in] broad noonday <25>
When one
[And None w] with bliss or sadness fails
thro fboughs[134]
And [in] the windless ivy [leaves]— no
sweet droops dying
Sick as [lost] with deep love [*ing] away
Drops[135] [How the]
On its mates music-panting bosom;
from[136] swinging
Another [on] the [laurel] blossom <30>
ing languid close
Watches[137] to catch the dying [song]

[126]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *As* 14-16 are badly smudged in the middle of the lines.

[127]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *from high their path upon*

[128]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *will not stay*

[129]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *stream that* is underlined, possibly for stet. Shelley discontinued numbering at 20.

[130]Ingpen-Peck, in error, read *And*

[131]The draft for lines 24-40 has not previously been transcribed. It is in ink with penciled changes as noted.

[132]In pencil, correcting *Is* in ink.

[133]*through* was converted to *thro the* by changing *ug* to *t* and adding *e*

[134]*f* or *p* is immediately before *boughs no* below may be *po* or *pa* with a short shank on the *p*

[135]At first Shelley wrote *D* plus something that was then obscured by the heavily overwritten *ops* As the word was now unclear, he wrote *Drops* again in the left margin.

[136]In pencil.

[137]*Watching* changed to *Watches* after which *ing* was written above.

its
Of [the] last strain, [and lifts] on high
wings of the *[138]
The [Heaven-upclimbing] melody
[New Till new delights *] dr
Till some new streams of feeling [bear[s]]
bear
[To *] to the
[Beyond our like like] and all the woods are mute[139] <35>
[To] That song i [mute and it is almost mute]
[And] When [ten][140] there is heard thro[141] the still air
The rush of wings, & rising there [f]
Like many a lake surrounded flute
[Such melody Ten]
[The work of]
Sounds overflow the listeners brain
[Till like that aye renewed strain]
So sweet that joy is almost pain <40>
[He dies away]
[Till chan]
T
those[142] eddies play
42 1 There enchanted [echoes dwell]
Of echoes,
2 [Which draw] music, tongued, which draw
3 [And With] By Demogorgons mighty law
&
4 With melting rapture or strange awe
on that trackless way
5 All spirits [around by the way] <45>
[As are the] swift leaves [swept]
6 [Which to ruin]
[As so[143] light boats are driven t]

[138]Badly blurred, but I question whether it is *weak* as in the text. *wings of* * and the deletion below are in pencil.

[139]*and . . . mute* in pencil.

[140]A start on *tender* (see three lines below)?

[141]*thro* at first *the*

[142]*those* at first *these* or *the* The draft for lines 41-56 was given by Ingpen-Peck. It is in pencil with some of the lines partly obscured by *Epipsychidion* draft lines overwritten in ink. The numbers before the lines are Shelley's.

[143]Possibly *To* but the words are crowded, lined out, and almost illegible at the start of this line.

inland
43 As [the woodmen's] boats are driven to Ocean[144]

Down
42 7 [By] streams made strong with mountain thaw
[8 And first the sound is like the truths]
[8 Left[145] melancholy]

faint s low sound[147]
8 And first there comes[146] a [sound so low]
9 Which [like[148]] the twilight shade around

Is
[Was]
10 [Is] sad yet sweet, and[149] [when oer it seeps[150]]

[and] for
11 [Pursues on beyond * we saw][151]

rad [for] I saw
12 [The Those radiant sisters sisters art]

[shakes]
13 [When] In [light which] whose bright
Grow * * [Vanish as it past]
[With soft emotion] <50>

43 With soft emotion

*

[Than] The [wanderers] follow—[with soft Emotion]
those who saw

Say from [152] the *[153] earth behind
breathing

[144]This line, partly obscured by the *Epipsychidion* draft, was written opposite, on p. 43.

[145]The word is extremely faint, but *ft* is clear.

[146]*comes* at first *came*

[147]Ingpen-Peck gave *wind* The *nd* is clear, the rest obscured, but I believe the word is *sound*

[148]Deleted and then underlined for stet.

[149]An underline for *and* may have been an intended deletion.

[150]Ingpen-Peck gave *sweeps* but there is no *w*

[151]11-13 (he continues his numbers to 16 but writes no lines opposite 14-16) are almost impossible to read. The phrases are fragmentary, crossed out, and overwritten in pencil that is none too legible at best. Opposite, on 43, Shelley drew a bracket, apparently to indicate that the lines there written were to be substituted for the incoherent 11-13.

[152]*Say from* obscures probably two words, the first starting with *P* or *B* These words were deleted. A bracket before this and the next line directs them to the opposite page (see preceding note).

[153]Ingpen-Peck read *raptuous* but the *t* if such is not crossed, the upstroke of *b* in *behind* may have been taken for the *p* downstroke, and there is more than one letter before *a*

steams
There [*] a plume uplifting wind[154]

sweeps
Which [drives[155]] them on their path while they

their own wings
Believe [in * fleet] with [feet] feet[156] <55>
swift [& f*]

[Their own desires]
The sweet desires within obey

Huntington MS 2176:
Unused lines[157]:

6r And who are they

deep
Bathed in [sweet] luxury of each others looks
Which flows forth like the inmost light of being
Making the [day] noon obscure? unforeseeing[158]
Of

5r Splintering[159]

hear
I [heard] ye hear[160]

rising [form]
The sudden whirlwind of [her dread uprise]

destined that
Gathering before her [path] path [most] like
[The] tempestuous tumult of a thousand streams[161]

[154]This and the next line are covered by the *Epipsychidion* draft, but fragments of letters permit reconstruction of the reading with reasonable certainty.

[155]Or *moves*

[156]I believe the received reading may be present. Ingpen-Peck gave *swift feet* but there are probably three ghosts of words which may be as indicated.

[157]Forman thought that the following lines may have been intended for the Faun asking about Panthea and Asia (*Note Books*, pp. 11-12).

[158]Forman, in error, read an ampersand before *unforseeing* There is a false start on a single letter.

[159]Forman felt that the following passage (of which he did not give a complete transcription) probably belonged at about II.iii.20-40. That he was correct will be evident when the passage is compared with the next following, from the Shelley-Rolls gift, now transcribed for the first time.

[160]Underlined, possibly an intended deletion. Forman pointed out that Rossetti had misread the opening line as *I pray ye hear* and had so announced the fragment in the catalogue at the time of sale (*Note Books*, p. 14).

[161]Possibly *storms* The word is crowded into the margin.

Splintering the mountainous [palaces & towers]
[temples of]
fanes, & rocky towers

[And temples]
[Until] their heaven cleaving wedges, & split domes
Till

[Stand] desolate & [shattered]
[Pierce] jagged & topling, pierce

The thin realms of the uninhabited air
And earthquakes cracking from the centre up
And splitting the great globe like ice
brittle

Bodleian MS Shelley adds. c.4:
II.iii.28-42[162]:

6 Asia

[A mighty a]
[Is this H]ow [horrible] . . [tis noonday], but the stars
ghost
keen[ly], as if the [dead]
Are [g shining] glittering [overhead], as if [deep] night
her
[its]
Had risen at noon from [her] untimely[163] grave
Where she keeps watch [a spir] oer peace & sleep & death
[With all the lanp] And [lit] these lamps within their sepulcher[164]
cleaving
And far on high the [heaven] keen heaven [peir] mountains
From pyramids of sunlike radiance, fling
The daylight, as the Ocean's dazzling spray <30>
Atlantic islet scattered up
[Is] From some [way] windless [reef is scattered hurled thro the
clear] air

[162]This important draft, called to my attention by the Keeper of Western Manuscripts and not previously transcribed, is in ink (see illustration, facing p. 172). At the top of the page are a few unconnected and irrelevant words and letters, and a sketch of a tree. In the top right corner is the statement: *This was suggested by the* and one or probably two words that remain untranscribed despite the best efforts of many minds.

[163]*un* deleted, and then the word underlined for stet.

[164]This line was crowded in after the next lines were written.

Spangles the [stormless air] atmos[165]
chasm
Ye Girdles this[166] [mighty chasm . . then a howl][167]
grave how with a roar
thaw riven ravines
Of waterfalls, from [many] the [frost cloven chasms]
listening air
Satiates the[168] Is [filling the calm air] continuous, [wide] vast <35>
Awful as silence—hark [the s] tis the driven snow
slow gathering [fel] there
Which the [keen] clear north thrice sifted[169] [fe and which fell]
[fell]
[d] Heaven defying minds
[B] Flake after flake, [as an] in[170] [heaven chosen]
As thought by thought is piled, till some great truth <40>
Is loosened and the nations echo round
And shake even to thier roots—as ye do now
[Bare skinless bones of this outwearing world!]

To your own voice
[To your own voice awful voices]

Huntington MS 2177:
II.iii.54-98[171]:

6r To the deep to the deep
Down, Down! <55>
Through the shade[172] of sleep
Thro the cloudy strife

[165] *s* looks like *n* because, I believe, Shelley started *p* for *atmosphere* after it. The preceding line is not broken in the draft.

[166] *Girdles* at first *Girdling* and *this* at first *that* *Ye* is in the left margin.

[167] The received version is five lines below, separated from the other lines by interlining, and reads:

wind
Spangles the [air] with lamplike waterdrops

[168] Added in left margin. At this point in the margin also is written vertically: *An avelanche of ages* in which *An* was at first *The* After *continuous*, there is the shaft of an otherwise unformed letter.

[169] *sifted* at first *sifts*

[170] *in* at first *on*

[171] Previously transcribed by Forman and Freeman. The notebook order of the stanzas (in terms of the printed text) is iii, ii, i, iv, v, but, since there can be no certainty as to the order in which they were written (they were put in where space permitted, regardless of other lines irrelevant to *Prometheus Unbound* which might be on the same page), they have been grouped to correspond to the received order.

[172] *shade* at first *shadow*

of
Of death &[173] life
Thro the viel, within the bar
Of [the] things which seem & are <60>
footstep [step] [the]
Even to the [ch*][174] of the Eternal throne
Down Down

[Tra][175] Track the, sound, which

5v I [am]
[As the]
whirls around
While[176] the sound, [eddies] round
Down Down!
As the the hound <65>
[As * * stag *][177]
As [the] lightning a[178] vapour
As a[179] weak moth the taper
Death despair, Love sorrow
Time both, to day tomorrow
the
As steel [180] obeys the spirit of a stone <70>
Down, Down!

3v [There][181]
Where[182] [these] these Depths are unveiled
Down Down
[Where]

[173]*&* at first *of* not noted by Forman.

[174]Forman conjectured *chair* and read *portals* instead of *footstep* Freeman was, I believe, correct in feeling that Shelley wrote *ch** and then canceled it and wrote *step* which he also canceled and wrote *footstep*

[175]Freeman read [*Fro*] This line is in finer pen, and I question whether it is relevant to the lyric.

[176]*W* of *While* faintly over *As*

[177]Here most of two lines are superimposed. Forman guessed *As the pack the stag* and Freeman tried:

As the bugle the sound
As And As a stag draws

and noted that *bugle* might be *eagle* and *sound* something else, while *As And* and *draws* are written over other illegible words. Actually only *As* and *stag* can be identified with confidence.

[178]*a* at first *the*

[179]Over something illegible, or possibly a weak *a* was strengthened.

[180]The second *e* is actually *l* but there is no dot to indicate *still* Forman admitted that sense, "though not very good sense," could be made with *still* if Shelley intended the word. *of* was at first *in* (not noted by Forman, and Freeman thought *an*).

[181]Forman read [*These*] It may be either.

[182]Forman read both occurrences as *When* It may be either, but the context

4ᵛ [Deep] thro the grey Abysm
Down, Down
Thro the grey void Abysm[183]
Down Down

Where
[There[184]] the air is no prism
And The moon & stars are not <75>

[And where[185]] wear not
And the cavern crags
The radiance of Heaven
Nor the [darkness] is[186]
gloom to Earth given . .

Where there is one pervading, one alone
Down, Down <80>

6ᵛ In the depth of the deep
Down Down
[Like a fire the lightning[187] chains keep]
[grey death]
Like[188] [a dew mist] asleep
[Which the winds might embolden
To climb bright & golden
pale
[Up] the vault of the[189] dawn
Till the sun ride[s] thereon
[Around rests surround]
[*][190]

---

would support *Where these* is heavily deleted, and omitted by Forman, who also read *unveiled* as *unvisited* The ink is smudged, but there is only one *i* His assumed *t* is *l* crossed by the backstroke of *d* Possibly the lines on 3ᵛ should be a part of stanza iv.

[183]*Abysm* at first *abysm* Forman noted that Shelley hesitated between *Abyss* and *Abysm* since he used the *f*-like *s* habitually used only when doubling. Freeman noted that the first evidence of this stanza is on 36ᵛ:

Thro the void of the Abyss
Down Down!

[184]Forman read *Then no* at first something else.

[185]Forman read *When*

[186]Forman conjectured *riven* after *is*

[187]Written heavily over some word beginning with *w*

[188]*L* of *Like* over *i* of *Li* a false start with a dry pen. A vertical line from below [*mist*] cancels everything down to *Like that spark*

[189]*t* of *the* at first *d*

[190]Freeman read [*unknown*]

[Up]on [the brink, your limbs sink]
[Down, Down][191]
A spell is muffled]

that
Like [a *[192]] spark [in embers]
nursed [ashes]
in embers

last look
Like the [word] love remembers <85>

Like a [clear lamp] that
Like [a snake coiled in slumber]
[dreams]
[Like a * diamond[193]] which
star

[Like]
Over sepulchral wealth, a

25r It seizes it bears [thee] ye
Down, Down

we
We [it] guides thee <90>
[It] have[194] bound[s] thee, [its bear]
Down, Down
With thy bright form beside thee
Resist not the weakness—
[For] strength is in meekness
Such[195]

[191]The comma, not read by Forman or Freeman, is partly obscured by the deletion mark. From this page, down to this point, Forman extracted (without regard for deletions) the following, which he described as "a thinner, less relevant, but delightfully Turneresque draft of the whole stanza" (*Note Books*, p. 21):

In the depth of the deep
Down Down

the dew mist
Like a death mist asleep
Which the winds might embolden
To climb bright and golden
Up the
The pale vault of the dawn
Till the sun ride thereon
On the brink, your limbs sink
Down Down

[192]Freeman read *fs* An *s* is clear, but not an *f*

[193]Forman was not sure of *diamond* I read it, and it is preceded by an illegible letter or letters. *star* omitted by Forman.

[194]*have* at first *has*

[195]Freeman read deletion, but the apparent deletion is part of the downstroke of *F* above.

[Though Thoug[196] the graves rocky portal]
[The Eternal the]
The [serpent spell coiled] for thy alone
Down, Down
24v[197] Such strength is in weakness
[Thro]
That the Eternal thé[198] Immortal <95>
[Thro the graves crag portal]
The key of Death's portal
[Will] T [wake] loose
Will [send] the Serpent coiled under his throne
[For] that alone
Through

Bodleian MS Shelley E.4:[199]
II.v.72-84:
34 My spirit like a charmed [boat] bark doth [float] swim
liquid
Upon the [lulling] waves of thy sweet singing
into
[Sped] Far far away [amid] the regions dim
Of rapture, as
[As Even as a rapid] boat with swift sails winging
Its way adown some many-winding river
Speeds thro dark forests oer the waters swinging

Huntington MS 2176:
II.v.98-103:[200]
*26r We have past Ages icy caves
And Manhoods dak & tossing waves
And youth's delusive sea which smiles but to betray <100>
[Into] Beyond the sunny we flee
glassy[201]
Of Infancy

[196]Forman gave *Though* and was followed by Freeman. But the second word has no final *h* I think Shelley wrote *Though* and canceled it, started a second time (*Thoug* with *g* only a downstroke), finished the line, then canceled all after [*Though*] with a single horizontal stroke.

[197]The lines are opposite the corresponding lines on 25r.

[198]Forman felt that Shelley intended the mark above *e* to be an apostrophe for elision, and then failed to delete the *e*

[199]See Textual Notes.

[200]Previously transcribed by Forman and Freeman. The passage on *26r is in pencil, that on *25v in ink.

[201]*glassy* is close to *Infancy* in the MS, and Freeman read *busy infancy* But the word is clear.

*25v We have past Ages icy caves
And manhoods dark & tossing waves
false waters
And youths [false sea which] smiling[202] [but] to betray
gleaming
Beyond the [sunny isl]es we flee[203]
Of [mist] shadow-peopled infancy
[Beyond And beyond]
[And] through death & birth to a serener[204] day
[And The lightnin]
[And][205]

Drafts for Act IV

The drafts for Act IV are found in the Shelley-Rolls gift (Bodleian MS Shelley adds. e.12), in Huntington MS 2176, and in *The Mask of Anarchy* MS. As with most of the draft material, readings must remain tentative.

[202]*smiling* at first *smiles*

[203]Of these drafts Forman wrote: "The point of strong interest . . . is that the imagery for infancy and its dreams had not been settled—sunny what? . . . *sunny isles* is, for Shelley, bordering on the commonplace. Whether we assume or not that the doubt, at that point, had been between land and water to figure the region of infancy, the fact remains that at some time or other the decision was in favour of water; for in the established text we have *the glassy gulphs*. Now *sunny gulphs* would have been remoter from the commonplace than *sunny isles*, whereas *glassy gulphs* seems to strain a point a little mechanically to get away from the commonplace: *gleaming gulphs* would have been fine but not nearly so fine as *gleaming isles;* and, with due deference to all the glass-blowers in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, I am quite unprepared to believe that Shelley's infallible sense of beauty and fitness would ever have condescended deliberately to later from *gleaming isles, gleaming gulphs*, or even *sunny gulphs*, to *glassy gulphs*. But in these six lines the established text shows no fewer than three variations from our text, namely *youth's smooth ocean*, the aforesaid *glassy gulphs*, and *a diviner day;* and all three are distinctly inferior to the epithets of our [draft] text," although the established version still shows the "gift of authentic song" (*Note Books*, pp. 28-30). Forman thought that this notebook was not at hand when Shelley worked out the final version, or that other drafts might account for it.

[204]As to *diviner day* in E.3, Forman conjectured that Shelley, in copying the draft, probably saw *serene dominions* of line 86, and so changed *serener day* to *diviner day* (*Note Books*, pp. 30-31).

[205]Neville Rogers found, in the recent Shelley-Rolls gift to the Bodleian Library, lines II.i.171-76 "roughly scribbled in pencil" (*Shelley at Work*, p. 66). In the same notebook (Shelley adds. e.11, pp. 114 rev.-113 rev.) Rogers found "a good deal of the speech of the Spirit of the Hour which ends Act III . . . faintly pencilled" (*ibid.*). This is the first draft passage for Act III to be reported (no transcription was given) and corrects the note above, p. 226. Rogers' book appeared too late for investigation of the references by the present editor.

Added to the usual chirographical difficulties is the fact that the Huntington notebook has been water-stained. As Forman wrote of one page: "[Only] by much patience and waiting for peculiarly favourable light can many of the phantasms of words near the end of the page be discerned" (*Note Books*, p. 103). Nor do the draft lines follow any order that corresponds to that of the printed lines. For ease of reference they have been grouped in their proper sequence in this appendix.

Bodleian MS Shelley adds. e.12:
IV.159-68:[206]

101 [Some remain, some]
2
[t]
Break the dance, & scatter the song
Let some [remain] depart & some remain <160>
2 D*[207]

[haste]
[We with the spirits will along]
Us [the desart will]
2 un
[We will encompass] the
[We will]

beyond Heaven 2
[Genii]
[In] We [with the Spirits] are driven along
Us the enchantments of Earth retain
2
[We will]

fierce
[Ceaseless] & rapid, & [wild] & free
With the spirits that build a new earth & sea

one
And a Heaven where till now [it] could never be. <165>
s.
Solemn & slow & serene & bright
Leading the day & outspeeding the night
With the Powers of a world of perfect light—

[206]These lines have not been transcribed previously.

[207]*D* plus two letters, apparently *Dap* or *Dup* The word is below [*remain*] and is possibly a false start on *Depart* although the second letter is not *e*

IV.181-84.[208] Unused passage:

[Some remain, &]

As rem[209]
[Like] one[210] swarm of populous bees
violet
In a mossy inlet [flower]-paven
Sick on the breeze
[Some] with sweetness, [to the breeze]
[Wandering,] seek another haven
[Gi*s[211] their s dew wings]
[Some rove[212] and w]alk to seek
[Wandering on the plains][213]
sea
[Whilst another] under bells[214]
[starry]
Others meanwhile, [golden stars]
Of the downward[215]
[In a heaven of leaves] & flowers
[Build] their waxen cittadels

[208]Of the following, the first stanza only was given in abstract by Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen. The second has not been transcribed previously. Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen stated that the fragment "begins with lines 123-5, Act IV, Sc. 4 <*sic*>" and was, therefore, probably intended to follow these lines (*Verse and Prose*, p. 143). But the fragment "begins with" lines 123-25 of no scene or act in the play (cf., however, "Like a swarm of golden bees" [*The Cloud* 54], and "By anemone and violet / Like mosaic, paven" [*The Isle* 2-3]); rather, a canceled *Some remain, &* (evidently written at the same time as the inked portion of the fragment) opens it. I have accepted *Some remain* as the clue to its intended location, and have placed it here for the following additional reasons: (1) the first occurrence of the phrase (line 160) forms a transition to the different stanza structure used for the Semichoruses (the drafts for which are on the page opposite the item here under discussion); (2) the second occurrence (line 176) again leads to a changed rime scheme (175-79) and then into blank verse; (3) Ione refers to "past sweetness" and Panthea answers with a simile (in blank verse); (4) the present fragment is also a simile, an extended one dealing with bees "Sick with sweetness," entirely in key with Panthea's answer. I believe that Shelley at first intended this to be Panthea's answer, but recognized that he had extended and elaborated the figure more than was appropriate for the context, and so substituted the more effectively condensed simile of the final text.

[209]This may be merely irrelevant pen marks.

[210]*one* at first *a*

[211]This may be *Gives* or *Gilds* or *Girds* *G* and *i* and *s* are clear, but the other letters are obscured by the upstroke of *S* below.

[212]Possibly, but confusingly crossed.

[213]This line and *sea* in pencil.

[214]*under bells* and the deletion of *starry* in pencil.

[215]In pencil, as is the deletion of the next line. Shelley-Rolls-Ingpen, in error, read *downy*

[those]
Among [Under their] ancestral bowers
In the [base stump] of the old [tree][216]
heart * pine tree
Which [murmu]
sings them

Huntington MS 2176:
IV.185-93:

*17r 1
awful sweetness of that sound <185>
Hark to the[217] [awf]
deep 2
[It] Tis[218] the music of the rolling world
Fathomless
[Made Living[219]]
Kindling within the strings of the waved air
Æolian modulations—
1
[Ione]
Listen too
filled with under
How every pause is [broken into] notes
Clear silver, icy; keen awakening tones <190>
[even to the inmost]
[Such as] the sense, & live within
Which [And] pierce [into the spirit], the soul
sharp chrystal
As the [clear] starb[eams][220] pierce [the wintry air]
winters sky
And gaze upon themselves within the sea

IV.319-27:

*18v The joy the triumph the delight the madness

[216]This line, and the deletion of *base* in pencil. *stump* (the *s* over the *e* of *base*) and *tree* deleted in ink, and *heart* (followed by a false start on a single letter), *pine tree* and the two phrases below also in ink.

[217]*the* at first *that*

[218]*Tis* at first *is*

[219]Forman read [*Mark Living*] or [*Mock Stiring*]

[220]Shelley canceled only part of the *b* and, as Freeman suggested, apparently left the first part to stand for *s*

The boundless overflowing bursting gladness[221]

fire [joy]
The [*[222]] of [bursting not to be] confined <320>

[The]
Ha! ha! the animation of delight
Which wraps me like[223] an atmosphere of light
And bears me as a cloud is borne by its own wind
[Among][224]
A

*26v Green & azure wanderer <325>
Happy globe of land & air

[A[225] Spirit]
[Glide] A Spirit is

The Mask of Anarchy MS:
IV.325-31:[226]

16v [Grea] Sister mine[227] calm
[Green & azure Wanderer
Happy globe of land & air
B Who latest born of all the]
Thou[gh youngest]
[my]
[me]
[What is this awakens][228]

[221]On *18r appears the phrase *The boundless* and on *17v *Boundless overflowing bursting gladness* Of the latter Forman wrote: "[A] metre unknown, I believe, to the classics of antiquity, but describable, properly enough, as trochaic pentameter acatalectic. It is a metre of . . . high poetic possibilities" (*Note Books*, p. 38). *not* below *bursting* on *17v (cf. text line 321).

[222]Probably two deleted penciled letters. Freeman read [*se*] but I am sure it is not this. I believe it may be [*an*] in anticipation of *animation fire of* [*bursting joy*] in pencil.

[223]*like* at first *as*

[224][*Among*] and *A* may have been intended for the passage at about line 470. I have given them in both places.

[225]There is a false start on an undeleted letter before [*A*] but not, I believe, an *I* as Forman thought.

[226]This passage (see Introduction, p. 27), in addition to individual deletions, has been canceled by a single vertical line, evidently to dissociate it from *The Mask of Anarchy*. Forman did not give a complete transcript of this, omitting certain fragments of words.

[227]Freeman, in error, read *more*

[228][*me*] and [*my*] are quite uncertain, and were unnoted by Forman. Freeman read [*in*] above [*me*] *awakens* is followed by two short vertical marks, probably part of a syllable count. Slightly to the right are ten such marks, the syllable count for the next line. Shelley occasionally indicated his scansion in this way. As Kroder remarked, Shelley was not ashamed at times to listen with his fingertips ("Shelleyana," p. 127).

[As Which stain thy sea, like an embowered well][229]
[Beyond] Some Spirit wraps thine atmosphere & thee
Which penetrates [mine icy axis]
my frozen [breast] frame

And passes, with the warmth of flame
[And] With love, & odour[230] & strange melody <330>
Thro me, through me

Huntington MS 2176:
IV.332-55:

*20[r] My cloud of wrath[231]
My cloven fire-crags

fire-hills [thunder]
My mouthed , sound-exulting fountains
Ha ha the caverns of my hollow mountains

fire hills,
The [breathless][232] mouth of my [volcanoes],
[thu]

[loud] vast & vast[233]
Laugh with an inextinguishable laughter

[My Caverns]
[My Oceans]
[Splintering & kneading down my]
[The wildernesses of]

The Oceans & the Deserts[234] & the abysses <335>
Of the deep Air's unmeased wildernesses
From[235] all their clouds & billows echoing after
Answer from

Ha ha
[What didst thou do]

curse
[Though[236] drea] Where is he now the

[229]In this line Freeman read *An* for *As* and *son* for *sea* the latter surely in error. *well* may not be deleted. The word is below the line and seems to be canceled, possibly in pencil, but not with the definite ink deletion of the rest of the passage.

[230]Possibly *odours*

[231]This phrase is in pencil.

[232]Freeman read [*toothless*] but another letter is present.

[233]The first *vast* was written over *loud* and is practically illegible. Hence the repetition of the word.

[234]Freeman, in error, read *Desarts*

[235]Forman could not decipher this word. I agree with Freeman's *From*

[236]Forman read *Through* The passage at this point is extremely difficult.

[Jupiter hear],[237] thou sceptre bearing
all
Who oer [this] green & azure Universe
our
*19v [Where art thou], as I do—Sceptred
They cry aloud [where art thou]
to muffle round with
Threatenedst [to out of the sky][238] <340>
black destruction sending[239]
to
A solid cloud raining[240] hot thunder stones
And [To] splinter & knead down my childrens bones[241]
[Battering into one dark[242]]
All I bring forth in[243] one dark mass
battering & blending
craglike
*21r[244] Until each [mountainous tower],
tower & [spiry][245]
storied column
And [sculptured]
Palace & obelisk & temple solemn— <345>
[With My fire[246]]
[each] dome
[And old heaven-cleaving [fane], each pyramid]

[237]Forman, "unwillingly," read *I mutter, hear,* The first word is very uncertain, but may be, as Freeman suggested, *Jupiter*

[238]Freeman's reading. Forman read [*cut off the with*] *to* appears to have been deleted first, and *the* may, as Freeman thought, be written over *his* In any event, better sense is on the side of Freeman.

[239]This word is opposite, on *20r.

[240]I cannot agree with Freeman that Shelley "started to cancel" the last two letters of *raining* (the *ng* blotted slightly). I think the intent was clear when *to* was inserted, but that he neglected the deletion. At the bottom of *18v Shelley wrote:

[in]
A solid cloud raining hot thunder stones
And

[241]On *20r, lower on the page, Shelley wrote (see note 240 also):

[Splintering & kneading down my]

[242]Forman, in error, read *black*

[243]*in* at first *to*

[244]*21r and *20v appear to have been worked on at three different times: once with a heavy pen, later with a finer pen, and probably in between with pencil.

[245]*spiry* at first *spirelike* rather than the reverse as in Freeman. *like* deleted in ink when *y* was written. *spiry* deleted and *storied* written in pencil.

[246]Forman read *pin* and conjectured a start on *pinnacle* It may be either, with line 346 inclining me toward *fire*

imperial[247]
My [monarch] mountains crowed with light
& snow & stilness[248]

sea like[249] every blade & blossom
My [mighty] forests . . . [every blossom]
[and]

Of [life that feeds from my fond bosom]
That finds a grave & cradle on my bosom
[Should]

by thy strong wrath into a
Were stamped [into a mire of lifeless] mire
[blank][250] & lifeless

[c co] covered,
withdrawn,
How art[251] thou sunk, [covered]—drunken up <350>
brackish
By thirsty[252] Nothing, as the [half drained] cup
[unreplenished]

[A[253] little drop] an desart tribe a little drop for all
Drained by a [thirsty]
Drained by * desart wandering Band

caves
*20v Burst in, like light[254] on [prisons] cloven <355>
[Fills it, as light]

by the thunderball
As [lightning fills] a [caver[255] cloven]
[prison]

[247]In pencil, as is the deletion of *monarch*

[248]Opposite, on *20v, is the conclusion finally adopted for this line: *cloud & snow & fire*

[249]*sea like* and the deletion of *mighty* in pencil.

[250]The deletion is very light, but I believe it is present.

[251]*art* at first *are* The change actually gives *artt* This and the next two lines appear to have been written first in pencil, then in ink, with no attempt made to trace the penciled words, many of which appear through the lines.

[252]*thirsty* was deleted, then reinstated by underline.

[253]*A* or *One* The *D* upstroke of *Drained* below intrudes on the word. Before *desart* in this line Forman read *one* (but no *e* is present). *a* before [*thirsty*] at first *by* Before the next *desart* there is certainly more present than Forman's *a* Possibly, as Freeman suggested, *a* is over *the* The last line is in pencil.

[254]*l* of *light* at first *cl*

[255]Possibly *caves* All of this line except [*prison*] is in pencil, with deletions in ink. The remaining lines on the page are also in pencil.

above
And from beneath within, around
Filling thy void annihilation, Love
[Like sunlight fills]
As sunlight on a prison which sudden earthquake rend[256]

IV.370-423:[257]

*19[r] It interpenetrates my granite mass <370>
tangled trodden
[And] through hard[258] roots & lifeless clay doth pass
Into the utmost leaves & delicatest flowers
Upon the winds, among the clouds tis spread
It gives a life to the forgotten dead
They breathe[259] a spirit up from their obscurest bowers <375>
[swift] storm cloudy[260]
*18[r] [And] like a [whirlwind] bursting its [craggy] prison
[Under the] lightning thunder
With earth[quake] & with whirlwind, it has risen
secret caves of mans imagined being
Out of the [caverns of the *[261] of thought]
[It] With earthquake shock & swiftness making shiver
Thoughts stagnant chaos unremoved forever <380>
[The base] [chaos]
[Thoughts *like basis[262]]
base, immoveable forever
The [worlds deep base]
Till, like[263]

[256]This line extends across the bottom of both *20[v] and *21[r]. The *s* of Forman's *rends* is not clear, and the spacing is such that Shelley may even have intended *earthquakes rend*

[257]Lines 370-75 are in pencil at the bottom of the page, 376-81 in ink at the top, with another draft of the latter lines on *18[r] as indicated.

[258]Freeman, in error, read [*hard*]

[259]Forman, in error, read *It breathes*

[260]Forman's note is of interest: "At what point *craggy* gave place to *cloudy*, it is not evident,—presumably whenever it occurred to Shelley that a 'craggy prison' in which to keep storms, whirlwinds, &c., was too much like a reminiscence of the cave of Æolus in the First Book of the Æneid" (*Note Books*, p. 58).

[261]Illegible, although Forman made an uncertain guess of *depths*

[262]Forman read *stagnant base* here, Freeman *rocklike basis* The *like* may be present, but the first part of the word is uncertain. The other word looks more like *basis* than *base* but may even be *bases*

[263]Forman suggested that this might be a substitute for the opening words of the stanza, or a start on line 381, found on *25[r] (see below).

*19r Which[264]
Like a storm bursting its cloudy prison
With thunder & with whirlwind, [it] has arisen[265]
lampless un[266]
Out of the [secret] caves of mans imagined being
With earthquake shock & swiftness making quiver
Thoughts stagnant chaos unremoved forever
[And its] like
[Dull] Hate,[267] & Ignorance like

*25r Till ignorance & hate, like shades[268]
from [the morning planets]
sunrise fleeing
w
[w]
Leaves man, who was a manysided mirror
Which imaged
[Reflecting] many a monstrous shape of error
a sea sky
[Like] As [the] calm [lake] the [Heavens], reflecting[269]
[thee great Titan]
could
*26r Which did[270] distort to many a shape of error
fair
This true [& lovely] world of things, a Sea reflecting Love.

*25r [And] Which like a cloud melodious sounds embolden
Dawn
To scale [the] steep with wings purple &[271]

*24v Which like a cloud[s] melodious winds embolden
the shadow
To scale [steep] Dawn with wings [azure & white] & [purple] golden
[obscure]

[264]Written large, in pencil.

[265]*arisen* at first *risen*

[266]Inserted in pencil.

[267]*Dull* and *Hate*, are written, and *And its* canceled, in pencil. *Dull* canceled in ink.

[268]This line and the changes are in finer pen than that used on the rest of the page.

[269]*Love, bright love* is opposite, on *24v. Forman commented on the original lines: "The passing thought here must have been that man was left reflecting Prometheus instead of many a shape of error; but, apart from the faulty construction involved, it is difficult to conceive what sort of a rime would have been found for *Titan*" (*Note Books*, p. 62).

[270]*did* is over something illegible.

[271]Forman read *golden* after *&* but it does not appear on this page. Possibly he carried it across from *24v opposite.

a Sun's
Which over all his kind, [like] the [great] Heaven <385>

er[272] ocean glides
O[ver the sea, of e] with pace serene & even
[Radiance & light & life]

[Shooting[273]]
[Darting from its lampy dept]

[From sphere] move[274]
Darting from starry depths radiance & life, doth
*25r Leave man my latest born [my most beloved][275]

[my gar][276]
The image of [the Power by] which is moved
Leaves man, even as leprous child is left

a
Who [gatzes[277]] follows [some] sick [chil][278]
beast, to some warm cleft
Of rocks, through which the might of healing springs is poured <390>

Then,
[*[279]] wanders
[She went And] when it [returns] home with rosy smile
&
Unconsciously, its mother fears awhile
It is a spirit,—then[280] weeps on her child restored

Man, oh [not thought][281]
*24v [Leaves man], not men, [an union]
a chain of of linked thought

[272]The *O* of *O[ver]* is high enough to serve both words.

[273]Freeman read *sheeting* but the *o*'s are clear.

[274]*move* is well above *doth* although there was room in the margin to complete the line. The order of the lines is quite irregular in this passage.

[275]This and the next line are in a pen different from that used on the rest of the page, which appears to have been worked on at three different times.

[276]Forman's note is of interest: "Between the lines, *my gar* is written and cancelled. Was Shelley going to write *garment* or *gardner*, or was he jeering at himself in the words of Dr. Caius of the *Merry Wives* [III.iii.183]—. My gar! 'tis no the fashion of France—'My gar,' or 'By gar'—what matter which?" (*Note Books*, pp. 64-65).

[277]Forman read [*gather*] Probably, as Freeman suggested, Shelley started *gathers* and then decided on *gazes* with the result shown.

[278]Forman read *child* but the *d* is at best incomplete.

[279]Three words are deleted here. Forman read [* *hear it*] and Freeman [*At * it*] Only *it* is reasonably clear.

[280]Below this, in a different pen, is the possibly irrelevant [*Then*] or [*There*]

[281]Forman commented: "It may be that, not liking *an union of linked thought* as a phrase, he recorded a verdict against *thought* for future guidance, and that when

Of love[282] & might to be divided not, <395>

[Which this re[283] this]
[By which the rebellious shapes of this] stress
[Binding] Compelling the elements with adamantine[284] [sway]
As the Sun rules even with a tyrants gaze
The unquiet Republic of the maze
worlds
Of [ever[285] wandering] keepless wilderness
[strug Planets], struggling
*[286] Heaven
struggling to seek

[So] even
*22[r] As the Sun rules, [as] with a tyrants gaze
The unquiet republic of the maze
Of even wandering Planets, [round] revolving
in their spheres[287]

*27[r] [And his own heart is]

[The earth] Man harmonious
[My sons are as] one soul of many a soul <400>

[Subject to one] one controul[288]
[Conscious] its law &
Whose love is [thier] own

To which all things[289] flow
[And all the forms of life]
[things flow to] all as Rivers to the sea

---

the future arrived, he found it was *an union* that was to blame, and having abolished that by writing *a chain of of*, he cancelled his former verdict" (*Note Books*, p. 65).

[282]Freeman read *live* but the word is clear.

[283]Forman, in error, read *is* The following *this* may have been *the* at first.

[284]The word is divided, with what appears to be *adama-* above *tine* It is either this, with the first *n* omitted, or, as I believe, the pen missed, and what appears to be a hyphen is an imperfect *n*

[285]Forman read *wan* The word looks like *everw* with the *w* a possible false start on *wandering* Another draft for this passage is found in Huntington MS 2177, p. *21[r]:

gaze
Yon sun who rules as with a tyrants frown
The unquiet republic of the spheres
Of ever wandering planets
comets are his
ministers

[286]Forman read *whilst worl* for two illegible words here, and Freeman *which woul* The first word appears to be *whilch* and the second either [*worl*] or [*woul*]

[287]Forman noted that *even* should be *ever* and also thought that Shelley tried two separate five-foot lines rather than an Alexandrine (*Note Books*, p. 67):
Of ever wandering Planets round revolving
Of ever wandering Planets in their spheres

[288]Forman, in error, read *control*

[289]The word looks more like *brings*

[Sweet] acts
Familiar [things] are beautiful thro love

[And Toil, & Thought] thro life's green grove
Labour & Pain, & grief [with solemn]

[Like beasts that once were wild]
[Wander like[290] beasts made] tame—how gentle <405>
knew[291] they could be
Walk like tame beasts—none

bad
*24r His will, with all mean[s] passions, [ill[292]] delights
[With Low cares, its terror mailed] satellites
And sceptred cares, its trembling

rule
[Is a spirit as a] spirit ill to [serve] but mighty to obey

ship
[A tempest winged [boat,] a chariot speeding

With winds for steeds]
Is as a tempest winged ship whose helm

guides[293]
Love [rules], thro waves which dare not overwhelm <410>
Forcing remotest shores to own its sovereign's sway

[And from the mass] confess strength
[And] all things [own] his [power], from the cold mass

& of colour
Of [white & silent] marble, [such forms pass]
his dreams pass

[At his command]

gazing
And mothers gaze [& love] & children
Whence [wove] weave the robes
And mothers [gazing] [the light [294]] their children wear

[Language] is [a music]
as An [Orphic] [strong] <415>
perpetual[ly] Orphic song

[290]Above *like* is an illegible word which Freeman read as possibly *fear*

[291]*knew* at first *know* and *could* at first *can* Probably, as Forman suggested, the line was originally:
Wander like beasts made tame—how gentle they could be

[292][*ill*] (probably) over & but the word is not clear.

[293]Added later, and *rules* deleted, in lighter ink.

[294]Forman read *bright*

Ruling
[Which builds] rules[295] with mighty harmony, the throng
thoughts
Of [feelings &] of forms, which else senseless & shapeless were
ma[296] utmost deep
*23v The lightning is [his] slave, Heavens [blue Abyssm[297]]
Gives up her stars, & like a flock of sheep
They pass before his eye, are numbered & roll on <420>
The Wor[ld within the World tears] off its veil
The [elem is laid all bare]
The tempest is his steed,—he strides[298] the air
[The World within] shouts from her depth[299]
And[300] The Abyss [the Abyss] laid bare
To Heaven
[Shouts what are now thy secrets]
What are thy secrets,? [Heaven]? I have none
man unveils me,

IV.431-36:

light
*22v[301] As the dissolving [warmth]
the light [warmth]
As the dissolving
And as the [spirit] of [the] Dawn, may fold
A half unfrozen dew-globe green & gold
And chrystalline, till it becomes a winged[302] mist
[purple wandering]
[beamy]
And wanders up the vault of the blue Day
suns last
Outlives the noon, & on the [evenings] ray <435>
Hangs oer the sea, a fleece of [gold] & amethyst
fire

[295]*rules* at first *rulin* with *es* over *in*
[296]Almost certainly *man's* was intended.
[297]*Abyssm* at first *Abyss*
[298]*strides* at first *rides*
[299]*her depth* was noted by Forman but denied by Freeman. The words, small, indistinct, and crowded in, probably did not show in Freeman's photostat. *laid* below is crowded and poorly written, but I think not deleted. The deletion for *the Abyss* runs below the words, but I believe the intent was clear.
[300]Possibly deleted.
[301]This passage is in pencil.
[302]What Freeman took to be a misplaced accent on the first syllable is, I believe, a slightly lengthened dot for the *i*

IV.444-48:

[spin] roll[303]
*23r I [lay] ∧ beneath my pyramid of night
Which points into the Heavens, dreaming delight <445>
harmonious
sleep[304] [melodious] exultation
And [murmuring in my dreams wild notes of joy & exultation]
to the fond
[sweet wild exultation]
And
[Like] a nympth[305] & [lying]
[Even like a love] lulled in love dreams, faintly sighing
[Wrapt] Under the shadow of her beauty lying
[Mingling]

IV.457-70:

*17v The Moon
Thou art speeding round the sun
[Fairest]
[Thou green] world[306] of many a one
Brightest
[Swifter calmer is[307] thy motion]
[Finless cleaver of the an Ocean]
[Green & azure],

[303][*spin*] and *roll* and deletion of *lay* as well as the caret in pencil, as are the next two lines.

[304]*sleep* at first something else, Freeman thought possibly *self* Except for *sleep* the changes in this line are in ink, with a blot on *fond* possibly a deletion. The end words of this and the line above were written down the right margin in such a way that they overlap each other.

[305]Forman either read *nymph* or normalized the spelling. He suggested that "this unfinished draft of a stanza was abandoned, in all likelihood, the moment it occurred to Shelley that his male impersonation of the Earth, in colloquy with his 'crystal paramour' the Moon, would be better suited with a youth than with a nymph to furnish his simile." He noted that there was no trace of the youth in the notebooks, and commented: "It would indeed be interesting to learn how, in his mind, he kept his nymph image duly delicate, building from his pet verb *to mingle* up to a noun rhyming with *exultation*. The result could scarcely have been as exquisitely chaste as the treatment of the youth image [of the established text], where the nature of the love dreams is less specific. On the other hand, our nymph stanza would probably have been of higher poetic value, and at all events would not have ended with an Alexandrine composed of twelve monosyllables, some of which (as *warmth doth*) certainly damage it from a quantitative point of view" (*Note Books*, pp. 79-80).

[306]Freeman thought *w* was over *g* but I cannot see this.

[307]*is* at first *in* or the reverse.

orb[308]
Green & azure moon, which shinest
With a light which is divinest
Among all the lamps of Heaven
To whom life[309] & light is given

icy[310]
I thy [chrystal] paramour
Borne beside thee by a power

polar
Like the [magnet] Paradise
[Which there is in] lovers eyes
Magnet like [of] in

as
*18r [I th like] an
And I, [an]
[Like a most[311]] enamoured maiden

brain
Whose weak is overladen
With the pleasure of her love
LManiac like around thee moving

[Among]
*18v A [Green world[312] and many a star]
[None of which more happy] are
[Th I am spinning round]

IV.481-92:
*16v Drinking from thy sense & sight
Beauty majesty & might
As a lover, or [a] cameleon
Grows like[313] [with] what he gazes on

like

[308]In pencil.

[309]*life* at first *love*

[310]*icy* in fainter ink and possibly, as Forman suggested, written in place of a smeared word.

[311]Forman, in error, read *maid* and added that Shelley "never got to the charming line of the 1820 text" (*Note Books*, p. 86). Actually he "got to" it and canceled *most* which he later restored. Below *enamoured maiden* is a word that Forman read as [*ante*] and he noted other words obscured by *enamoured maiden* The word is not [*ante*] but the Italian word [Canti] which was deleted and underlined. The obscured words are also, I believe, Italian, the first illegible, the second possibly *al* and the third a false start on *Canti* with only *Cant* (the *t* uncrossed and the *n* more like *m*) given. These words are deleted.

[312]*r* of *world* at first *l* These lines would fit at about line 470.

[313]Freeman did not note the changes in

*27v As a violet's gentle eye[314] <485>
Gazes on the azure sky
Until its hue grows like what it beholds,
As a grey & empty mist
Lies like solid amethyst
Over the western mountain it enfolds <490>
When[315] the sunset sleeps
Upon its snow—

[As [the] a strain]
As a a strain of sweetest sound
Wraps itself the wind around

itself grow
[Un] Til[316] the void[less] wind [be] music too—
As aught dark & vain dull

[*317]
[Movi] Basking in what is beautiful
Is full of light & love

IV.500-16:

*17r [The solid heart of my glad universe][318]
The caverns of my Pride's deep universe <500>

---

this line. Forman wrote that "between *grows* and *what* a word which I have not yet deciphered, and the two prepositions *in* and *with*, are cancelled in favour of *like*" (*Note Books*, p. 88). What he took for an undecipherable word was an illegible false start with *like* over it. What he took for [*in*] is the *ke* of this overwritten *like* and it is not deleted, the cancellation of *with* running below the *ke* Shelley then seems to have noted the illegibility of *like* and to have repeated the word below, in light ink.

[314]485-92, not found in E.1, were printed by Mrs. Shelley as *A Fragment* in 1839. Freeman suggested that the lines were, presumably, a part of the corrections sent late to the Gisbornes. On p. 7v of Huntington MS 2176 is the following start on these lines:

As the violets gentle eye
Gazes on the azure sky
Till [Till he it]

In these lines *he* was deleted first, *it* added, and then the three words cancelled. *T* of the undeleted *Till* at first *A*

[315]*W* of *When* at first *O* or *A*

[316]*T* at first *t* and *voidless* at first *voiceless*

[317]An illegible word. Freeman, I think questionably, read [*near*] From *what* through the next line in faint pencil.

[318]Forman called this line one "no poet less opulent than Shelley could have afforded to reject," and he thought it nobler than that which replaced it. He pointed out that Shelley deleted the line with six decreasing strokes, "as though to indicate that he appreciated its beauty" (*Note Books*, pp. 93, 95). This and the following line are at the top of the page, the next two at the bottom.

tyger
Soothing the [eagle] joy, [which *[319]]
whose *
trampling fierce
Makes[320] wounds which need thy balm
[balm]

*32v[321] I rise, as from a bath of [mi] sparkling water
[Among] In the deep hollow of the sunless rocks[322]
Out of the stream of sound—
Ione
Ah, me![323]
[Ha ha] sweet sister <505>
The stream of sound has ebbed away from you
And you pretend to rise out[324] of its wave
Panthea
Peace Peace a mighty Power which is a Darkness <510>
out o'[325]
Is rising [from] the Earth, & from the sky
Is showered like Night, & from within the air
Bursts, like eclispse which had been gathered up
Into the pores of light—and the bright visions
Gleam like two meteors

Unused passage:[326]

wist
*15v [Ye Hours, that speed or linger as ye [will]
bright as
Chainless as winds, [*[327] as] illumined bees
Which flee from flower to flower to seek their fill]
Whose life is

[319]Forman hazarded *of* or *doth* after [*which*] and possibly [*talons*] below it, but agreed that the words are almost illegible. *Soothing* possibly *Sooth*[*ing*]

[320]Forman thought the word was altered to *Make* but I see no evidence of this.

[321]This page appears to have been written with two pens, but I believe the effect resulted rather from a defective pen.

[322]Forman thought Shelley must have "lost or mislaid" this line when he wrote the "vivid, sparkling, Turneresque line in the established text" (*Note Books*, p. 97).

[323]Forman commented: "The keen sense of the difficulty of making *Ha ha* sound free from modern levity is of that delicacy in which Shelley is unapproachable" (*Note Books*, p. 96).

[324]Below *out* a poorly written *Ah* resulted, I believe, from Shelley's clearing his pen.

[325]Forman felt that "The phrase *out o' the Earth* savoured too much of the Elizabethan semi-barbaric to be the ultimate choice of a Shelley" (*Note Books*, pp. 96-97).

[326]The lines in this passage were unused but clearly belong to the Demogorgon apostrophes. The first three lines, in addition to the individual deletions, were cancelled by three slanting strokes.

[327]Forman suggested *rich* or *thick* or

*16r [Whose flight]
Is a lon[g dreams of] sw
dream
Whose life is one long [dreams] of
beside
*15v Ye spirits who kept watch [within that deep[328]]
Of human prison
[The] human[329] heart, until its [bars] frozen [bars]
[gates[330]]
Were
Who make [thier][331] life, with the instinct of their[332]

IV.519-23:

*16r Thou Earth calm Empire of a happy Soul
Sphere
[Of me Home] of divinest shapes & harmonies <520>
[World] Beautiful orb,
Attractive[333] Gathering as thou dost roll
[along]
The Love which paves thy path skies
thro the Void[334]
Earth
I am a dew drop, trembling ere it dies!
[To thy strong]

IV.529-38:

*16r [O G Demons & elemental Spirits,]
[&]
Ye Kings of Suns & Stars, Demons & Gods

---

such for this quite illegible word. Freeman chose *rich* Following [*as*] is a start on an uncompleted letter.

[328]Forman read [*within the keep*] but, as Freeman noted, *that* has been written over *the* and the *d* of *deep* is clear.

[329]Shelley's intent is not clear. The cancel stroke crosses *The* and passes just under the superscribed *human*

[330]Forman read *gate* The *s* is under the deletion stroke.

[331]For *thier* Forman read *thin* or *their*

[332]Forman read *thin* or possibly *their* followed by an "almost blind" *sleep* The *i* of the first word is not dotted, and there is the merest suggestion of the following word. This line is in finer pen than the rest of the page.

[333]*Attractive* at first *Attraction* [*World*] is almost illegible, and may be overwritten with *orb*

[334]Forman considered this line obviously superior to the published line (*Note Books*, p. 102).

[Powers of those Elysian windless]
Ætherial Dominations who possess <530>

Thou Poeple [of] the
[The World beyond]
Elysian windless fortunate abodes
Beyond * *[335] wilderness
Heavens constellated[336]

*16v [On In]
We hear, [thine[337] We] we are blest & bless[338]
—kingless

*15v [Ghosts]
[*ts][339]

[O unimagined People of the dead][340]
Dreams

*16v beams of
happy dead, whom brightest verse
whom [even my words]
Ye [People of the dead], on [even my words]
Are clouds to hide, not colours to pourtray <535>

[are] is that
Whether your nation[341] [fills] the Universe
Which [living ye beheld & felt]—as they[342]
once ye saw & [felt]
suffered—or

Voice
Whom we have left we change & pass away

[335]Forman conjectured [*the hollow*] for these two illegible words.

[336]The bottom of this page was badly water-soaked. I agree, however, with Forman's contention that the "phantasms of words" do give the entire stanza.

[337]Forman wondered if *thine* had been changed to *thee* I think not.

[338]Forman found this "characteristically Shelleyan in sense" (he compared III.iv. 131 ff.), but "uncharacteristic from a metrical point of view" (*Note Books*, p. 104).

[339]The letters leading up to *ts* are so faint as to be illegible. Freeman conjectured [*Spirits*] or a repeated [*Ghosts*]

[340]Probably deleted, although the cancellation is a free stroke that does not hold to the line. There is possibly a deleted illegible word or letters below *unimagined*

[341]Freeman read *nature* which is possible, and above it *awes* for [*are*] without noting the deletion, which is a blot. Forman's suggestion that *are* was replaced by *is* is reasonable.

[342]Forman thought this argued against the printed version in assigning *Or as they* to *A Voice from beneath* But he overlooked the confirmation of the printed version in E.1.

APPENDIX B

SHELLEY'S ITALIAN TRANSLATIONS OF *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND* PASSAGES

Shelley's translations of two passages from *Prometheus Unbound* (II.v. 48-71 and IV.1-82) into Italian are found in Bodleian MS D.1. It is probable that the translations represent practice in writing the language. Shelley's spellings have been followed, but chirography, especially involving case endings in *e* and *i*, makes some of the readings highly debatable.

II.v.48-71:

109r Una voce nel aere
Vita della Vita! tui labbri accendano
Il fiato fra di loro, col suo amore;
si
E tuoi sorrisi innanzi che dileguano
Infocano il freddo aere, allora si nascondano
In quei sguardi, dove nessuno guata
Che non svenni, intrecciato fra[1] lora labirinti.

Figlia della Luce! tue membra ordono
Per la veste che le celasse
Come [g]le radianti striscie della [ma] alba
A traverso delle nuvole, prima che le[2] spezzano
E questa atmosfera divinissima
Ti involge, dovunque tu risplendi

108v Altre sieno belle—nessun ti può vedere—
Ma tua voce e tenera e dolce
inviluppa
Come quella della piu bella—perchè, t'[invill]

[1] *fra* over something illegible. [2] *le* over *gl*

Dalla[3] vista, quel [*4] aerio splendore
E tutti sentono, [come io sento ora]
senza mai vederti
Come io sento ora, perduto per giammai

Lampa della Terra! dovunque tu ti movi
Tue oscure forme son vestite da[i] raggi;
Le anime di loro che tu ami
Camminano sopra al vento, con legereza[5];
Finche cadono, come io cado
Vertiginoso, perduto,—ma senza guai.

Asia

IV.1-55, 57-82:

107v Le pallide stelle sono sfuggite—
Perche il Sole, loro rapido Pastore,
Costringendole a loro mandre
Nel[6] abisso dell[a] Alba
S'affretta in vesti meteore[7]-eclissanti,—e [s]fuggono
Oltre suo[8] azzuro regno
Come cerve fuggono la pantera.—
Ma dove siete voi?

Qui, oh qui
Portiamo la bara
Del Padre dei molti cancellati anni
Spettri noi
Del[l] ore morte
Portiamo Tempo alla sua tomba in Eternità

107r Spargete spargete
Non tasso, ma chioma

[Umidate la polverosa , le]
Sia la polverosa umida, da lagrime non rugiada
Sieno le marchite fiori
Delle s
Sparse sul cadavere del Rè delle ore.

[3]*D* of *Dalla* at first something else, illegible.

[4]Freeman read [*liq*] *le* or *li* (with the *i* undotted) is followed by either *s* or, more probably, a partly formed letter, but not *q*

[5]Above *legereza* in small letters is written what appears to be *one* with the *e* poorly formed or some other letter.

[6]*Nel* at first *Nell*

[7]First *e* of *meteore* originally *i*

[8]*suo* at first *sua*

Affretta, affretta

tremolonti

Come ombre [sono cacciate]
Sono cacciate dal Aurora dal purpereo[9] solitudine del cielo.
Noi ci diliguano
Come spuma che dissolve

Innanzi a
[Per] gli eredi di uno di piu divino
Alla sinfonia[10]
Dei venti che mouiono
Sullo seno di loro stessa[11] armonia.

Ione

Che forme oscure sono questi?

106v Panthea

[Co] Le passate ore, deboli[12] e canute
Col spogli che loro lavoro
Ammuchiava insieme
Dalle vittorie, che Uno sola poteva rispingere

Ione

partite
Sono [passate[13]]?

P[14]

Passate Partite
Il vento era tardo a loro prova[15]
Mentre parliamo, sono sfuggite[?]—

Ione

Dove, o, dove?

P.

Alla tenebroso, al passate, al morte.—

Voci dei Spiriti invisible.
Bianche nuvole [in] ondeggiano in cielo

sopra
Stelle di rugiada ardono [sulla] terra

[9]Possibly *purpureo*
[10]Deleted and then reinstated by underline.
[11]Possibly *a* over *i*
[12]Possibly *doboli*
[13]*e* over *i* as in the same word below.
[14]*P* over *Io* of *Ione*
[15]Not clear. Freeman conjectured *prova*

Flutti si sull[a] Oceano
Sono raccolti, e cacciati
Dal turbine di gioia, dal panico di diletto
106r [Sono] Tremano col emozione
Ballono in allegreza—
Ma dove siete voi?

I rani dei pini cantono
Vecchi canti con nuova gioja
Le onde e le fontane
[Innalza] Svegliano una nuova armonia
Come le note d'uno Spirito,[16] per terra e mare
[e ciele][17]
Le tempeste rispondono alle montagni
Col tuono di suo[18] diletto—
Ma dove siete voi?

Semichoro delle Ore
La voce degli Spiriti del aere e della terra
Ha la cortina figurata di sonno
Che copriva nostro essere, e oscurava nostro parto
Nel abisso

Una voce
Nel abisso?

Semicor.
[O] sotto al abisso

105v Per cento secoli noi eravamo tenute[19]
Cullate nelle visioni del odio, e del afanno
E ciascudeno, che svegliava, mentre il fratello dormiva
Trovava la verita—

Semic. 2.
Peggiore dei sue visioni

Semichorus 1
uditi
Abbiamo [sentiti] la harpa di Speranza in sonno,

[16]Second *i* over *a*
[17][*e ciele*] may have been a contemplated substitute for *e mare*
[18]*o* at first *a*
[19]Final *e* over *o*

Abbiamo riconesciuto la voce del Amore[20] in visioni
Abbiamo sentiti la virga di Potere, e c'innalziano

[Una voce] Semi. 2.
Come i flutti s'inalzono sotto ai mattutini raggi.

Intessate la danza sul suolo del aura
Penetrate la silente luce del cielo col canto
Incantate il di, che troppo veloce fugge
Di frenare il suo corso innanzi la caverna della Notte.

105r Una volta, le bramose ore, erano cani
Che cacciavano il di, come una ferita cerva
Ed essa, titubava e zoppicava, con molte piage
Per le notturne valli del eremo anno

Ma ora—oh[21] intrecciate la mistica misura
luminose
Del canto, e danza, e forme [della luce]
Che le ore, ed i spiriti del Piacere e del Potere
Come nuvole e raggi, s'uniscono—

Una
[U un] Unite!

P. Vedi dove, gli Spiriti del[l]' umana mente
Involute in suave suoni, [c he] come in veli
luminosi,[22] s'appressano

Coro dei S[23]

[20]*m* at first *b* (possibly a false start on *Abbiamo*).

[21]*oh* at first *in*

[22]Below *luminosi* is a deleted illegible word (possibly [*tracks*]) and *tact* and lower on the page [*headache*] and *ache* These last words led Freeman to suggest a reason why Shelley discontinued the translation, although he admitted the possibility, suggested to him, that Shelley might be showing the spelling to some Italian. Had Freeman glanced across to the opposite page he would have seen some half a hundred English words listed as possibilities for rime combinations, among them [*act*] and *acts* (which would account for *tact*), and *aches* [*tracks*] and *arc* I am quite sure the headache, but undeleted, should be reserved for transcribers of Shelley's handwriting.

[23]This SD added later, in finer pen.

APPENDIX C

MRS. SHELLEY'S NOTE ON *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND* WRITTEN FOR HER EDITION OF 1839

On the 12th March, 1818, Shelley quitted England, never to return. His principal motive was the hope that his health would be improved by a milder climate; he suffered very much during the winter previous to his emigration, and this decided his vacillating purpose. In December 1817, he had written from Marlow to a friend, saying:—

"My health has been materially worse. My feelings at intervals are of a deadly and torpid kind, or awakened to such a state of unnatural and keen excitement, that only to instance the organ of sight, I find the very blades of grass and the boughs of distant trees present themselves to me with microscopic distinctness. Towards evening I sink into a state of lethargy and inanimation, and often remain for hours on the sofa between sleep and waking, a prey to the most painful irritability of thought. Such, with little intermission, is my condition. The hours devoted to study are selected with vigilant caution from among these periods of endurance. It is not for this that I think of travelling to Italy, even if I knew that Italy would relieve me. But I have experienced a decisive pulmonary attack, and although at present it has passed away without any considerable vestige of its existence, yet this symptom sufficiently shows the true nature of my disease to be consumptive. It is to my advantage that this malady is in its nature slow, and, if one is sufficiently alive to its advances, is susceptible of cure from a warm climate. In the event of its assuming any decided shape, *it would be my duty* to go to Italy without delay. It is not mere health, but life, that I should seek, and that not for my own sake; I feel I am capable of trampling on all such weakness—but for the sake of those to whom my life may be a source of happiness, utility, security, and honour—and to some of whom my death might be all that is the reverse" [To William Godwin, December 7, 1817. Julian, IX, 258-59].

In almost every respect his journey to Italy was advantageous. He left behind friends to whom he was attached, but cares of a thousand kinds, many springing from his lavish generosity, crowded round him in his native country: and, except the society of one or two friends, he had no

compensation. The climate caused him to consume half his existence in helpless suffering. His dearest pleasure, the free enjoyment of the scenes of nature, was marred by the same circumstance.

He went direct to Italy, avoiding even Paris, and did not make any pause till he arrived at Milan. The first aspect of Italy enchanted Shelley; it seemed a garden of delight placed beneath a clearer and brighter heaven than any he had lived under before. He wrote long descriptive letters during the first year of his residence in Italy, which, as compositions, are the most beautiful in the world, and show how truly he appreciated and studied the wonders of nature and art in that divine land.

The poetical spirit within him speedily revived with all the power and with more than all the beauty of his first attempts. He meditated three subjects as the groundwork for lyrical Dramas. One was the story of Tasso; of this a slight fragment of a song of Tasso remains.[1] The other was one founded on the book of Job, which he never abandoned in idea, but of which no trace remains among his papers. The third was the "Prometheus Unbound." The Greek tragedians were now his most familiar companions in his wanderings, and the sublime majesty of Æschylus filled him with wonder and delight. The father of Greek tragedy does not possess the pathos of Sophocles, nor the variety and tenderness of Euripides; the interest on which he founds his Dramas is often elevated above human vicissitudes into the mighty passions and throes of gods and demigods—such fascinated the abstract imagination of Shelley.

We spent a month at Milan, visiting the Lake of Como during that interval. Thence we passed in succession to Pisa, Leghorn, the Baths of Lucca, Venice, Este, Rome, Naples, and back again to Rome, whither we returned early in March 1819. During all this time Shelley meditated the subject of his drama, and wrote portions of it. Other poems were composed during this interval, and while at the Bagni di Lucca he translated Plato's Symposium. But though he diversified his studies, his thoughts centred in the "Prometheus." At last, when at Rome, during a bright and beautiful spring, he gave up his whole time to the composition. The spot selected for his study was, as he mentions in his preface, the mountainous ruins of the Baths of Caracalla. These are little known to the ordinary visitor at Rome. He describes them in a letter, with that poetry, and delicacy, and truth of description, which render his narrated impressions of scenery of unequalled beauty and interest.

At first he completed the drama in three acts. It was not till several months after, when at Florence, that he conceived that a fourth act, a sort of hymn of rejoicing in the fulfilment of the prophecies with regard to Prometheus, ought to be added to complete the composition.

[1]See *Song for "Tasso"* ("I loved—alas! our life is love") and *Scene from "Tasso"*—the latter, as Rossetti noted, "recovered since Mrs. Shelley wrote" (Edition, I, 501).

The prominent feature of Shelley's theory of the destiny of the human species was, that evil is not inherent in the system of the creation, but an accident that might be expelled. This also forms a portion of Christianity; God made earth and man perfect, till he, by his fall,

"Brought death into the world and all our woe."

Shelley believed that mankind had only to will that there should be no evil, and there would be none.[2] It is not my part in these notes to notice the arguments that have been urged against this opinion, but to mention the fact that he entertained it, and was indeed attached to it with fervent enthusiasm. That man could be so perfectionized as to be able to expel evil from his own nature, and from the greater part of the creation, was the cardinal point of his system. And the subject he loved best to dwell on, was the image of One warring with the Evil Principle, oppressed not only by it, but by all, even the good, who were deluded into considering evil a necessary portion of humanity. A victim full of fortitude and hope, and the spirit of triumph emanating from a reliance in the ultimate omnipotence of good. Such he had depicted in his last poem, when he made Laon the enemy and the victim of tyrants. He now took a more idealized image of the same subject. He followed certain classical authorities in figuring Saturn as the good principle, Jupiter the usurping evil one, and Prometheus as the regenerator, who, unable to bring mankind back to primitive innocence, used knowledge as a weapon to defeat evil, by leading mankind beyond the state wherein they are sinless through ignorance, to

[2]Medwin suggested Schiller as the source of this idea (*Shelley*, p. 213); Rossetti thought it also the basis of *Queen Mab*, *Julian and Maddalo*, and *The Revolt of Islam* ("Study," p. 59); D. MacDonald compared the note on *Queen Mab* VI.198: "But we are taught, by the doctrine of Necessity, that there is neither good nor evil in the universe, otherwise than as the events to which we apply these epithets have relation to our own peculiar mode of being" (*Radicalism of Shelley*, p. 104); M. T. Solve compared *Paradise Lost* I.254-55: "The mind is its own place, and in it self / Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n" (*Theory of Poetry*, p. 40); and D. Bush compared *Julian and Maddalo* 170 ff.: "it is our will / That thus enchains us to permitted ill," etc. (*Mythology*, p. 154). But others have felt that Mrs. Shelley probably "unconsciously warped his opinions in restating them twenty years afterwards. Nowhere in his published works or in his letters do we find any similar statement, and it is certainly not true of *Prometheus Unbound*" (White, *Shelley*, II, 123); and White cited I.293-94 and IV.565-67 as contradiction of the note. E. Barnard argued that, "even in what it says, this statement is not altogether accurate; and in what it omits to say, it positively falsifies Shelley's whole philosophy . . . [for] the picture of actual human existence which we find in his poetry from *Queen Mab* to *The Triumph of Life* is one of the most painful to be found in English literature outside of Swift"—and he compared I.594-96, 625-28; II.iv.19-27, 101-5; IV.570-78 (*Shelley's Religion*, pp. 99-102). And H. N. Fairchild pointed out that "the word 'only' is rather misleading, but it is balanced by 'could be so perfectionized'" (*Religious Trends*, p. 361). See also Introduction, p. 100.

that in which they are virtuous through wisdom.[3] Jupiter punished the temerity of the Titan by chaining him to a rock of Caucasus, and causing a vulture to devour his still renewed heart. There was a prophecy afloat in heaven portending the fall of Jove, the secret of averting which was known only to Prometheus; and the god offered freedom from torture on condition of its being communicated to him. According to the mythological story, this referred to the offspring of Thetis, who was destined to be greater than his father. Prometheus at last bought pardon for his crime of enriching mankind with his gifts, by revealing the prophecy. Hercules killed the vulture and set him free, and Thetis was married to Peleus, the father of Achilles.

Shelley adapted the catastrophe of this story to his peculiar views. The son, greater than his father, born of the nuptials of Jupiter and Thetis, was to dethrone Evil, and bring back a happier reign than that of Saturn. Prometheus defies the power of his enemy, and endures centuries of torture, till the hour arrives when Jove, blind to the real event, but darkly guessing that some great good to himself will flow, espouses Thetis. At the moment, the Primal Power of the world drives him from his usurped throne, and Strength, in the person of Hercules, liberates Humanity, typified in Prometheus, from the tortures generated by evil done or suffered. Asia, one of the Oceanides, is the wife of Prometheus—she was, according to other mythological interpretations, the same as Venus and Nature. When the Benefactor of Mankind is liberated, Nature resumes the beauty of her prime, and is united to her husband, the emblem of the human race, in perfect and happy union. In the Fourth Act, the Poet gives further scope to his imagination, and idealizes the forms of creation, such as we know them, instead of such as they appeared to the Greeks. Maternal Earth, the mighty Parent, is superseded by the Spirit of the Earth—the guide of our Planet through the realms of sky—while his fair and weaker companion and attendant, the Spirit of the Moon, receives bliss from the annihilation of Evil in the superior sphere.[4]

Shelley develops, more particularly in the lyrics of this drama, his abstruse and imaginative theories with regard to the Creation. It requires a mind as subtle and penetrating as his own to understand the mystic meanings scattered throughout the poem. They elude the ordinary reader by their abstraction and delicacy of distinction, but they are far from

[3]Fairchild noted that Prometheus "supplies the one deficiency of the Golden Age—knowledge, and the fruits of knowledge. . . . And yet, on completing this poem, one may question whether man has now become 'virtuous through wisdom.' The world after the fall of Jupiter is more like the Golden Age than like the age of creative intelligence of which Prometheus has been made the symbol" (*Noble Savage*, pp. 308-9); and again: "This noble remark could equally well be applied to the final aims of Rousseau" (*Romantic Quest*, p. 29).

[4]Rossetti thought that this indicated Shelley's intention to give a "new and diverse symbol" to Earth ("Study," p. 57).

vague. It was his design to write prose metaphysical essays on the nature of Man, which would have served to explain much of what is obscure in his poetry; a few scattered fragments of observations and remarks alone remain. He considered these philosophical views of mind and nature to be instinct with the intensest spirit of poetry.

More popular poets clothe the ideal with familiar and sensible imagery. Shelley loved to idealize the real—to gift the mechanism of the material universe with a soul and a voice, and to bestow such also on the most delicate and abstract emotions and thoughts of the mind. Sophocles was his great master in this species of imagery.

I find in one of his manuscript books some remarks on a line in the Œdipus Tyrannus, which shows at once the critical subtlety of Shelley's mind, and explains his apprehension of those "minute and remote distinctions of feeling, whether relative to external nature or the living beings which surround us," which he pronounces, in the letter quoted in the note to the Revolt of Islam, to comprehend all that is sublime in man.

"In the Greek Shakespeare, Sophocles, we find the image,

Πολλὰς δ' ὁδοὺς ἐλθόντα φροντίδος πλάνοις [line 67].

A line of almost unfathomable depth of poetry, yet how simple are the images in which it is arrayed,

Coming to many ways in the wanderings of careful thought.[5]

If the words ὁδοὺς and πλάνοις had not been used, the line might have been explained in a metaphorical, instead of an absolute sense, as we say 'ways and means,' and wanderings for error and confusion; but they meant literally paths or roads, such as we tread with our feet; and wanderings, such as a man makes when he loses himself in a desert, or roams from city to city, as Œdipus, the speaker of this verse, was destined to wander, blind and asking charity. What a picture does this line suggest of the mind as a wilderness of intricate paths, wide as the universe, which is here made its symbol, a world within a world, which he, who seeks some knowledge with respect to what he ought to do, searches throughout, as he would search the external universe for some valued thing which was hidden from him upon its surface."

In reading Shelley's poetry, we often find similar verses, resembling, but not imitating, the Greek in this species of imagery; for though he adopted the style, he gifted it with that originality of form and colouring which sprung from his own genius.[6]

[5]Francis Storr's translation in the Loeb Classics is "And threaded many a maze of weary thought." C. M. Bowra thought it should read: "Having come by many ways" etc. (*Romantic Imagination*, p. 297). The notebook from which Mrs. Shelley quoted is Huntington MS 2177, *18r, where the passage appears as a footnote to the draft of *The Cenci* Preface.

[6]Mrs. Shelley's note apparently led the *Edinburgh Review* to comment that "In the 'Prometheus Unbound,' he adopts an

In the Prometheus Unbound, Shelley fulfils the promise quoted from a letter in the Note on the "Revolt of Islam."[7] The tone of the composition is calmer and more majestic, the poetry more perfect as a whole, and the imagination displayed at once more pleasingly beautiful and more varied and daring. The description of the Hours, as they are seen in the cave of Demorgorgon, is an instance of this—it fills the mind as the most charming picture—we long to see an artist at work to bring to our view the

> cars drawn by rainbow-winged steeds,
> Which trample the dim winds: in each there stands
> A wild-eyed charioteer, urging their flight.
> Some look behind, as fiends pursued them there,
> And yet I see no shapes but the keen stars:
> Others, with burning eyes, lean forth, and drink
> With eager lips the wind of their own speed,
> As if the thing they loved fled on before,
> And now, even now, they clasped it. Their bright locks
> Stream like a comet's flashing hair: they all
> Sweep onward [II.iv.130-40].

Through the whole Poem there reigns a sort of calm and holy spirit of love; it soothes the tortured, and is hope to the expectant, till the prophecy is fulfilled, and Love, untainted by any evil, becomes the law of the world.

England had been rendered a painful residence to Shelley, as much by the sort of persecution with which in those days all men of liberal opinions were visited, and by the injustice he had lately endured in the Court of Chancery, as by the symptoms of disease which made him regard a visit to Italy as necessary to prolong his life. An exile, and strongly impressed

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Æschylean framework; but it is Sophocles who comes to light here and there in the choruses and other characteristic parts of the drama" (1839, p. 522); and Parke Godwin to write that "indeed, the lyrical parts of the drama are only surpassed in graceful ease and harmony by Sophocles" ("Shelley," p. 127). Later, however, Arthur Keith felt that "Sophocles could not have been his master to any great extent" because in the Greek there was evenness of style and the thought was supreme, whereas in Shelley the style was anything but subdued and calm, and imagery was his main concern. He admitted, however, that Shelley may have been influenced by the Greek poet's apostrophes and his sympathy with external nature, although in Sophocles there was "no response from the object addressed," whereas, in Shelley, Earth, Moon, and Echoes speak and feel ("Imagery," p. 66). See also Critical Note at I.659.

[7]Mrs. Shelley added the following note: "While correcting the proof-sheets of that Poem, it struck me that the Poet had indulged in an exaggerated view of the evils of restored despotism, which, however injurious and degrading, were less openly sanguinary than the triumph of anarchy, such as it appeared in France at the close of the last century. But at this time a book, 'Scenes of Spanish Life,' translated by Lieutenant Crawford from the German of Dr. Huber, of Rostock, fell into my hands. The account of the triumph of the priests and the serviles, after the French invasion of Spain in 1823, bears a strong and frightful resemblance to some of the descriptions of the massacre of the patriots in the 'Revolt of Islam.' "

with the feeling that the majority of his countrymen regarded him with sentiments of aversion, such as his own heart could experience towards none, he sheltered himself from such disgusting and painful thoughts in the calm retreats of poetry, and built up a world of his own, with the more pleasure, since he hoped to induce some one or two to believe that the earth might become such, did mankind themselves consent. The charm of the Roman climate helped to clothe his thoughts in greater beauty than they had ever worn before. And as he wandered among the ruins, made one with nature in their decay, or gazed on the Praxitelean shapes that throng the Vatican, the Capitol, and the palaces of Rome, his soul imbibed forms of loveliness which became a portion of itself.[8] There are many passages in the "Prometheus" which show the intense delight he received from such studies, and give back the impression with a beauty of poetical description peculiarly his own. He felt this, as a poet must feel when he satisfies himself by the result of his labours, and he wrote from Rome, "My Prometheus Unbound is just finished, and in a month or two I shall send it. It is a drama, with characters and mechanism of a kind yet unattempted, and I think the execution is better than any of my former attempts" [Julian, X, 48].

I may mention, for the information of the more critical reader, that the verbal alterations in this edition of Prometheus are made from a list of errata, written by Shelley himself.[9]

[8]Under date of October 6, 1821, Edward Williams wrote in his journal: "S—— says 'he always writes best in the air'—under a tree, in a garden or on the bank of a river, there is an undivided spirit reigns abroad, a mutual harmony among the works of nature, that makes him better acquainted with himself and them" (Abinger MSS, Reel 10).

[9]Rossetti acknowledged this sentence, despite his restoration of one or two readings of the original edition: "I quite assume, and act upon the assumption, that some things wrong in the first edition are set right in the collected editions. But, unfortunately for himself, an editor cannot know how far this is the case in particular instances: he cannot know that what seems to him a misprint is in fact an emendation. The arbiter must at last be his own judgment, guided by scrupulous reluctance to alter, unless alteration seems strictly necessary. I hope to have acted within this rule" (Edition, I, 501).

APPENDIX D

CONTEMPORARY REVIEWS

The following reviews and notices (except for item XIV which is not included in White) are based in the main on Newman Ivey White's *The Unextinguished Hearth*, but are limited to those passages pertinent to *Prometheus Unbound*. They offer the principal evidence of the reaction to the poem at the time of, and during the first three years following, its original publication.

In addition to the items here given, White noted that the poem was listed among the new publications by the following: *The Literary and Scientific Repository and Critical Review* (New York), I (July, 1820), 270; *The London Magazine*, II (September, 1820), 349; *The British Review and London Critical Journal*, XVI (September, 1820), 246; *The European Magazine and London Review*, LXXVIII (September, 1820), 255; and *The Monthly Magazine and British Register*, L (November, 1820), 365. White noted: "We must suppose that [the] July number [of the first item] appeared several months late, which would not be extraordinary. No English notices appeared [after publication of the volume] before September, and the September issue of *The London Magazine* postpones full consideration of the book until October because it had "just come out that month' " (*Unextinguished Hearth*, p. 366). Actually, the book appeared probably not later than August (see above, p. 7).

In this appendix, obvious typographical errors have been corrected silently, and, since the frequently quoted text of the poem is immediately available, line references have been substituted for quotations where feasible. In the headnotes, material supplementary to bibliographic identification has been supplied by the present editor.

I

The following prepublication notice appeared under "Literary and Scientific Intelligence" in *The London Magazine*, I (June, 1820), 706. On the basis of parallels in expression in William Hazlitt's *On Paradox and Commonplace*, E. L. Brooks has suggested Hazlitt as the author (*Hazlitt, passim*):

Mr. Shelley's announced dramatic poem, entitled *Prometheus Unbound*, will be found to be a very noble effort of a high and commanding imagina-

tion: it is not yet published, but we have seen some parts of it which have struck us very forcibly. The poet may perhaps be accused of taking a wild view of the latent powers and future fortunes of the human race; but its tendency is one of a far more inspiriting and magnanimous nature than that of the Cenci. The soul of man, instead of being degraded by the supposition of improbable and impossible vice, is elevated to the highest point of the poetical Pisgah, from whence a land of promise, rich with blessings of every kind, is pointed out to its delighted contemplation. This poem is more completely the child of the *Time* than almost any other modern production: it seems immediately sprung from the throes of the great intellectual, political, and moral *labour* of nations. Like the Time, its parent, too, it is unsettled, irregular, but magnificent. The following extract from Mr. Shelley's Preface, is, we think, a fine specimen of the power of his prose writings [Preface 109-19, with the last sentence in italics].

II

The Literary Gazette, and Journal of the Belles Lettres, #190 (September 9, 1820), 580-82:

It has been said, that none ought to attempt to criticise that which they do not understand; and we beg to be considered as the acknowledged transgressors of this rule, in the observations which we venture to offer on Prometheus Unbound. After a very diligent and careful perusal, reading many passages over and over again, in the hopes that the reward of our perseverance would be to comprehend what the writer meant, we are compelled to confess, that they remained to us inflexibly unintelligible, and are so to the present hour, when it is our duty to explain them *pro bono publico*. This is a perplexed state for reviewers to be placed in; and all we can do is to extract some of these refractory combinations of words, the most of which are known to the English language, and submit them to the ingenuity of our readers, especially of such as are conversant with those interesting compositions which grace certain periodicals, under the titles of enigmas, rebuses, charades, and riddles. To them Mr. Shelley's poem may be what it is not to us (*Davus sum non Œdipus*)—explicable; and their solutions shall, as is usual, be thankfully received. To our apprehensions, Prometheus is little else but absolute raving; and were we not assured to the contrary, we should take it for granted that the author was lunatic—as his principles are ludicrously wicked, and his poetry a melange of nonsense, cockneyism, poverty, and pedantry.

These may seem harsh terms; but it is our bounden duty rather to stem such a tide of literary folly and corruption, than to promote its flooding over the country. It is for the advantage of sterling productions, to discountenance counterfeits; and moral feeling, as well as taste, inexorably condemns the stupid trash of this delirious dreamer. But, in justice to him, and to ourselves, we shall cite his performance.

There is a preface, nearly as mystical and mysterious as the drama, which states Mr. Shelley's ideas in bad prose, and prepares us, by its unintelligibility, for the aggravated absurdity which follows. Speaking of his obligation to contemporary writings, he says, "It is impossible that any one who *inhabits* the same *age*, with such writers as those who stand in the foremost ranks of our own, can conscientiously assure himself, that his language and tone of thought may not have been modified by the study of the productions of those extraordinary intellects" [Preface 78-83]. (Mr. S. may rest assured, that neither his language, nor tone of thought, is modified by the study of productions of extraordinary intellects, in the *age* which he *inhabits*, or in any other.) He adds, [Preface 83-93]. We have, upon honour, quoted verbatim: and though we have tried to construe these two periods at least seven times, we avow that we cannot discern their drift. Neither can we collect the import of the following general axiom, or paradox.—"As to imitation, poetry is a mimetic art. It creates, but it *creates* by combination and *representation* [*ibid.* 120-21]." What kind of creation the creation by representation is, puzzles us grievously. But Mr. Shelley, no doubt, knows his own meaning; and, according to honest Sancho Panza, "that is enough." In his next edition, therefore, we shall be glad of a more distinct definition than this—"*A poet is the combined product of such internal powers as modify the nature of others;* and of such external influences as excite and sustain these powers; he is not one but both [*ibid.* 137-41]." We fear our readers will imagine we are vulgarly quizzing; but we assure them, that these identical words are to be found at page xiii. In the next page, Mr. S. speaks more plainly of himself; and plumply, though profanely, declares, "For my part, I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon, than go to heaven with Paley and Malthus [*ibid.* 162-64]."—Poor man! how he moves concern and pity, to supersede the feelings of contempt and disgust. But such as he is, his "object has hitherto been *simply* to familiarise the highly refined imagination of the more select classes of poetical readers with beautiful idealisms of moral excellence [*ibid.* 171-74]"—such, to wit, as the preference of damnation with certain beings, to beatitude with others!

But of this preface, more than enough:—we turn to *Prometheus Unbound;* humbly conceiving that this punning title-page is the soothest in the book—as no one can ever think him worth binding.

The *dramatis impersonae* are Prometheus, Jupiter, Demogorgon, the Earth, the Ocean, Apollo, Mercury, Hercules, Asia, Panthea, Ione, the phantasm of Jupiter, the Spirit of the Earth, Spirits of the Hours, other Spirits of all sorts and sizes, Echoes, substantial and spiritual, Fawns, Furies, Voices, and other monstrous personifications. The plot is, that Prometheus, after being three thousand years tormented by Jupiter, obtains the ascendancy, and restores happiness to the earth—*redeunt Saturnia regna.* We shall not follow the long accounts of the hero's tortures,

nor the longer rhapsodies about the blissful effects of his restoration; but produce a few of the brilliant emanations of the mind modified on the study of *extraordinary* intellects. The play opens with a speech of several pages, very argutely delivered by Signior Prometheus, from an icy rock in the Indian Caucasus, to which he is "*nailed*" by *chains* of "*burning cold* [I.20, 32-33]." He invokes all the elements, *seriatim*, to inform him what it was he originally said against Jupiter to provoke his ire; and, among the rest—[I.62-69].

This first extract will let our readers into the chief secret of Mr. Shelley's poetry; which is merely opposition of words, phrases, and sentiments, so violent as to be utter nonsense: *ex. gr.* the vibration of stagnant springs, and their creeping shuddering;—the swift moveless (*i.e.* motionless) whirlwinds, on poised wings, which hung mute over a hushed abyss as thunder louder than their own!! In the same strain, Prometheus, who ought to have been called Sphynx, when answered in a *whisper*, says,

> Tis scarce like sound: it tingles thro' the frame
> As lightning tingles, *hovering ere it strike* [I.133-34].

Common bards would have thought the tingling was felt when it struck, and not before,—when it was hovering too, of all things for lightning to be guilty of! A "melancholy voice" now enters into the dialogue, and turns out to be "the Earth." "Melancholy Voice" tells a melancholy story, about the time—

> When plague had fallen on man, and beast, and worm
> And Famine [I.172-73];

She also advises her son Prometheus to use a spell,—

> .....So the revenge
> Of the Supreme may sweep thro' vacant shades,
> As rainy wind thro' the abandoned *gate*
> Of a fallen *palace* [I.215-18].

Mr. Shelley's buildings, having still gates to them! Then the Furies are sent to give the sturdy Titan a taste of their office; and they hold as odd a colloquy with him, as ever we read.

The first tells him,

> Thou thinkest we will rend thee bone from bone,
> And nerve from nerve, working like fire within [I.475-76]:

The second,

> Dost imagine
> We will but laugh into thy lidless eyes [I.478-79]?

And *the third*, more funnily inclined than her worthy sisters—[I.483-487].

This is a pozer! and only paralleled by the speech of the "Sixth Spirit," of a lot of these beings, which arrive after the Furies. She, for these spirits are feminine, says, [I.772-79].

The glimpses of meaning which we have here, are soon smothered by contradictory terms and metaphor carried to excess. There is another part of Mr. Shelley's art of poetry, which deserves notice; it is his fancy, that by bestowing *colouring* epithets on every thing he mentions, he thereby renders his diction and descriptions vividly poetical. Some of this will appear hereafter; but we shall select one passage, as illustrative of the ridiculous extent to which the folly is wrought.

Asia is longing for her sister's annual visit; and after talking of Spring clothing with *golden* clouds the desert of life, she goes on: [II.i.13-27].

Here in seventeen lines, we have no fewer than seven positive colours, and nearly as many shades; not to insist upon the everlasting confusion of this rainbow landscape, with *white* stars quivering in the *orange* light, beyond *purple* mountains; of *fading waves*, and clouds made of *burning threads*, which *unravel* in the *pale* air; of cloudlike snow through which *roseate* sunlight also quivers, and *sea-green* plumes winnowing *crimson* dawn. Surely, the author looks at nature through a prism instead of spectacles. Next to his colorific powers, we may rank the author's talent for manufacturing "villainous compounds." *Ecce signum*, of a Mist [II.iii.19-36].

This is really like Sir Sidney Smith's plan to teach morality to Musselmans by scraps of the Koran in kaleidoscopes—only that each scrap has a meaning; Mr. Shelley's lines none.

We now come to a part which quite throws Milton into the shade, with his "darkness visible"; and as Mr. Shelley professes to admire that poet, we cannot but suspect that he prides himself on having out-done him. Only listen to Panthea's description of Demogorgon. This lady, whose mind is evidently unsettled, exclaims, [II.iv.2-5].

We yield ourselves, miserable hum-drum devils that we are, to this high imaginative faculty of the modern muse. We acknowledge that hyperbola, extravagance, and irreconcileable terms, may be poetry. We admit that common sense has nothing to do with "the beautiful idealisms" of Mr. Shelley. And we only add, that if this be genuine inspiration, and not the grossest absurdity, then is farce sublime, and maniacal raving the perfection of reasoning: then were all the bards of other times, Homer, Virgil, Horace, drivellers; for their foundations were laid no lower than the capacities of the herd of mankind; and even their noblest elevations were susceptible of appreciation by the very multitude among the Greeks and Romans.

We shall be very concise with what remains: Prometheus, according to Mr. Percy Bysshe Shelley—

Gave man speech, and *speech created thought* [II.iv.72]—which is exactly, in our opinion, the cart creating the horse; the sign creating the inn; the effect creating the cause. No wonder that when such a master gave lessons in *astronomy*, he did it thus—[II.iv.87-91].

This, Promethean, beats all the systems of astronomy with which we are acquainted: Shakespeare, it was said, "exhausted worlds and then imagined new"; but he never imagined aught so new as this. Newton was a wonderful philosopher; but, for the view of the heavenly bodies, Shelley doubly distances him. And not merely in the preceding, but in the following improved edition of his astronomical notions, he describes—[IV.238-61]. Did ever the walls of Bedlam display more insane stuff than this?

When our worthy old pagan acquaintance, Jupiter, is disposed of, his sinking to the "void abyss," is thus pourtrayed by his son Apollo—

> An eagle so caught in some bursting cloud
> On Caucasus, his *thunder-baffled wings*
> *Entangled in the whirlwind! &c.* [III.ii.11-13].

An' these extracts do not entitle the author to a cell, clean straw, bread and water, a strait waistcoat, and phlebotomy, there is no madness in scribbling. It is hardly requisite to adduce a sample of the adjectives in this poem to prove the writer's condign abhorrence of any relation between that part of speech and substantives: sleep-unsheltered hours; gentle darkness; horny eyes; keen faint eyes; faint wings; fading waves; crawling glaciers, toads, agony, time, &c; belated and noontide plumes; milky arms; many-folded mountains; a lake-surrounding flute; veiled lightning asleep (as well as hovering); unbewailing flowers; odour-faded blooms; semi-vital worms; windless pools, windless abodes, and windless air; unerasing waves; unpavilioned skies; rivetted wounds; and void abysms, are parcel of the Babylonish jargon which is found in every wearisome page of this tissue of insufferable buffoonery. After our quotations, we need not say that the verse is without measure, proportions, or elegance; that the similes are numberless and utterly inapplicable; and that the instances of ludicrous nonsense are not fewer than the pages of the Drama. Should examples be demanded, the following, additional, are brief. Of the heroic line:—[I.23]. Of the simile:—[III.iii.30-33].

Of the pure nonsensical:—[IV.123-28, 141-58].

Alas, gentle reader! for poor Tom, whom the foul fiend hath (thus) led o'er bog and quagmire; and blisse thee from whirle-windes, starre-blasting, and taking. Would that Mr. Shelley made it his study, like this his prototype.

> How to prevent the fiend, and to kill vermin.

Poor Tom's affected want of wits is inferior to Shelley's genuine wandering with his "father of the hours" and "mother of the months"; and his dialogue of ten pages between *The Earth* and *The Moon*, assuredly the most arrant and gravest burlesque that it ever entered into the heart of man to conceive. We cannot resist its opening [IV.319-37].

This is but the first of the ten pages: the sequel, though it may seem impossible to sustain such "exquisite fooling," does not fall off. But we

shall waste our own and our readers' time no longer. We have but to repeat, that when the finest specimens of inspired composition may be derived from the white-washed walls of St. Lukes or Hoxton, the author of *Prometheus Unbound*, being himself among these bound writers, and chained like his subject, will have a chance of classing with foremost poets of the place.

III

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, VII (September, 1820), 679-87; by John Wilson or W. S. Lockhart, or more probably both:

Whatever may be the difference of men's opinions concerning the measure of Mr. Shelley's poetical power, there is one point in regard to which all must be agreed, and that is his Audacity. In the old days of the exulting genius of Greece, Aeschylus dared two things which astonished all men, and which still astonish them—to exalt contemporary men into the personages of majestic tragedies—and to call down and embody into tragedy, without degradation, the elemental spirits of nature and the deeper essences of Divinity. We scarcely know whether to consider the *Persians* or the *Prometheus Bound* as the most extraordinary display of what has always been esteemed the most audacious spirit that ever expressed its workings in poetry. But what shall we say of the young English poet who has now attempted, not only a flight as high as the highest of Aeschylus, but the very flight of that father of tragedy—who has dared once more to dramatise Prometheus—and, most wonderful of all, to dramatise the *deliverance* of Prometheus—which is known to have formed the subject of a lost tragedy of Aeschylus no ways inferior in mystic elevation to that of the Δεσμώτης.

Although a fragment of that perished master-piece be still extant in the Latin version of Attius—it is quite impossible to conjecture what were the personages introduced in the tragedy of Aeschylus, or by what train of passions and events he was able to sustain himself on the height of that awful scene with which his surviving *Prometheus* terminates. It is impossible, after reading what is left of that famous trilogy,[1] to suspect that the Greek poet symbolized any thing whatever by the person of Prometheus, except the native strength of human intellect itself—its strength of endurance above all others—its sublime power of patience. STRENGTH and FORCE are the two agents who appear on this darkened theatre to bind the too benevolent Titan—*Wit* and *Treachery*, under the forms of Mercury and Oceanus, endeavor to prevail upon him to make himself free by giving up his dreadful secret;—but *Strength* and *Force*, and *Wit* and *Treason*, are

[1]There was another and an earlier play of Aeschylus, Prometheus the Fire-Stealer, which is commonly supposed to have made part of the series; but the best critics, we think, are of opinion, that that was entirely a satirical piece [reviewer's footnote].

all alike powerless to overcome the resolution of that suffering divinity, or to win from him any acknowledgement of the new tyrant of the skies. Such was this simple and sublime allegory in the hands of Aeschylus. As to what had been the original purpose of the framers of the allegory, that is a very different question, and would carry us back into the most hidden places of the history of mythology. No one, however, who compares the mythological systems of different races and countries, can fail to observe the frequent occurrence of certain great leading Ideas and leading Symbolisations of ideas too—which Christians are taught to contemplate with a knowledge that is the knowledge of reverence. Such, among others, are unquestionably the ideas of an Incarnate Divinity suffering on account of mankind—conferring benefits on mankind at the expense of his own suffering;—the general idea of vicarious atonement itself—and the idea of the dignity of suffering as an exertion of intellectual might—all of which may be found, more or less obscurely shadowed forth, in the original Μῦθος of Prometheus the Titan, the enemy of the successful rebel and usurper Jove. We might have also mentioned the idea of a *deliverer*, waited for patiently through ages of darkness, and at last arriving in the person of the child of Io—but, in truth, there is no pleasure, and would be little propriety, in seeking to explain all this at greater length, considering, what we cannot consider without deepest pain, the very different views which have been taken of the original allegory by Mr. Percy Bysshe Shelley.

It would be highly absurd to deny, that this gentleman has manifested very extraordinary powers of language and imagination in his treatment of the allegory, however grossly and miserably he may have tried to pervert its purpose and meaning. But of this more anon. In the meantime, what can be more deserving of reprobation than the course which he is allowing his intellect to take, and that too at the very time when he ought to be laying the foundations of a lasting and honourable name. There is no occasion for going round about the bush to hint what the poet himself so unblushingly and sinfully blazoned forth in every part of his production. With him, it is quite evident that the Jupiter whose downfall has been predicted by Prometheus, means nothing more than Religion in general, that is, every human system of religious belief; and that, with the fall of this, he considers it perfectly necessary (as indeed we also believe, though with far different feelings) that every system of human government also should give way and perish. The patience of the contemplative spirit in Prometheus is to be followed by the daring of the active Demogorgon, at whose touch all "old thrones" are at once and for ever to be cast down into the dust. It appears too plainly, from the luscious pictures with which his play terminates, that Mr. Shelley looks forward to an unusual relaxation of all moral *rules*—or rather, indeed, to the extinction of all moral feelings, except that of a certain mysterious indefinable *kindliness*, as the natural and necessary result of the overthrow of all civil government and

religious belief. It appears, still more wonderfully, that he contemplates this state of things as the ideal SUMMUM BONUM. In short it is quite impossible that there should exist a more pestiferous mixture of blasphemy, sedition, and sensuality, than is visible in the whole structure and strain of this poem—which, nevertheless, and not withstanding all the detestation its principles excite, must and will be considered by all that read it attentively, as abounding in poetical beauties of the highest order—as presenting many specimens not easily to be surpassed, of the moral sublime of eloquence—as overflowing with pathos, and most magnificent in description. Where can be found a spectacle more worthy of sorrow than such a man performing and glorying in the performance of such things? His evil ambition,—from all he has yet written, but most of all, from what he has last and best written, his *Prometheus*,—appears to be no other, than that of obtaining the highest place among those poets,—enemies, not friends, of their species,—who, as a great and virtuous poet has well said (putting evil consequence close after evil cause).

> Profane the God-given strength, and *mar the lofty line.*

We should hold ourselves very ill employed, however, were we to enter at any length into the reprehensible parts of this remarkable production. It is sufficient to shew, that we have not been misrepresenting the purpose of the poet's mind, when we mention, that the whole tragedy ends with a mysterious sort of dance, and chorus of elemental spirits, and other indefinable beings, and that the SPIRIT OF THE HOUR, one of the most singular of these choral personages tells us: [III.iv.126-32 "&c."].

Again—[III.iv.164-97].

Last of all, and to complete the picture:—[III.iv.153-63].

It is delightful to turn from the audacious spleen and ill-veiled abominations of such passages as these, to those parts of the production, in which it is possible to separate the poet from the allegorist—where the modern is content to write in the spirit of the ancient—and one might almost fancy that we had recovered some of the lost sublimities of Aeschylus. Such is the magnificent opening scene, which presents a ravine of icy rocks in the Indian Caucasus—Prometheus bound to the precipice—Panthea and Ione seated at his feet. The time is night; but, during the scene, morning slowly breaks upon the bleak and desolate majesty of the region. [I.1-210.] Or the following beautiful chorus, which has all the soft and tender gracefulness of Euripedes, and breathes, at the same time, the very spirit of one of the grandest odes of Pindar. [II.ii.1-40.]

We could easily select from the Prometheus Unbound, many pages of as fine poetry as this; but we are sure our readers will be better pleased with a few specimens of Mr. Shelley's style in his miscellaneous pieces, several of which are comprised in the volume. . . .

IV

The London Magazine and Monthly Critical and Dramatic Review, II (September and October, 1820), 306-8, 382-91:

This book has made its appearance so extremely late in the month, that, although we profess to give as early and as satisfactory notices of new works as are any where to be met with, it has fairly puzzled even our most consummate ingenuity. "Something must be done, and that right quickly, friend Bardolph"; this is our opinion as well as honest Jack Falstaff's; and with this quotation we buckle to our task. Of "Prometheus Unbound," the principal poem in this beautiful collection, we profess to give no account. It must be reserved for our second series, as it requires more than ordinary attention. . . .

This [*Prometheus Unbound*] is one of the most stupendous of those works which the daring and vigorous spirit of modern poetry and thought has created. We despair of conveying to our readers, either by analysis or description, any idea of its gigantic outlines, or of its innumerable sweetnesses. It is a vast wilderness of beauty which at first seems stretching out on all sides into infinitude, yet the boundaries of which are all cast by the poet; in which the wildest paths have a certain and noble direction; and the strangest shapes that haunt its recesses, voices of gentleness and wisdom. It presents us with the oldest forms of Greek mythology, informed with the spirit of fresh enthusiasm and youngest hope; and mingles with these the creatures of a new mythology, in which earth and the hosts of heaven, spirits of time and eternity, are embodied and vivified, to unite in the rapturous celebration of the reign of Love over the universe.

This work is not, as the title would lead us to anticipate, a mere attempt to imitate the old tragedy of the Greeks. In language, indeed, there is often a profusion of felicitously compounded epithets, and in the imagery there are many of those clear and lucid shapes, which distinguish the works of Aeschylus and Sophocles. But the subject is so treated that we lose sight of persons in principles, and soon feel that all the splendid machinery around us is but the shadow of things unseen, the outward panoply of bright expectations and theories, which appear to the author's mind instinct with eternal and eternally progressive blessings. The fate of Prometheus probably suggested, even to the heroic bard by whom it was celebrated in older time, the temporary predominance of brute force over intellect; the oppression of right by might; and the final deliverance of the spirit of humanity from the iron grasp of its foes. But, insofar as we can judge from the mighty fragment that time has spared, he was contented with exhibiting the visible picture of the magnanimous victim, and with representing his deliverance by means of Hercules as a mere personal event, having no symbolical meaning. In Mr. Shelley's piece, the deliverance of Prometheus, which is attended by the dethroning of Jupiter, is

scarcely other than a symbol of the peaceful triumph of goodness over power; of the subjection of might to right, and the restoration of love to the full exercise of its benign and all-penetrating sympathies. To represent vividly and poetically this vast moral change is, we conceive, the design of this drama, with all its inward depths of mystical gloom, its pregnant clouds of imagination, its spiry eminences of icy splendours, and its fair regions overspread by a light "which never was by [*sic*] sea or land," which consecrates and harmonizes all things.

To the ultimate prospect exhibited by that philosophical system which Mr. Shelley's piece embodies, we have no objection. There is nothing pernicious in the belief that, even on earth, man is destined to attain a high degree of happiness and virtue. The greatest and wisest have ever trusted with the most confiding faith to that nature, with whose best qualities they were so richly gifted. They have felt that in man were undeveloped capabilities of excellence; stores of greatness suffered to lie hidden beneath basest lumber; sealed-up fountains, whence a brighter day might loosen streams of fresh and ever-living joys. In the worst and most degraded minds, vestiges of goodness are not wanting; some old recollections of early virtue; some feeling of wild generosity or unconquerable love; some divine instinct; some fragments of lofty principle; some unextinguishable longings after nobleness and peace, indicate that there is good in mar which can never yield to the storms of passion or the decays of time. On these divine instances of pure and holy virtue; on history; on science; on imagination; on essences of love and hope; we may safely rest in the expectation that a softer and tenderer light will ultimately dawn on our species. We further agree with Mr. Shelley, that Revenge is not the weapon with which man should oppose the erring and the guilty. He only speaks in accordance with every wise writer on legislation, when he deprecates the infliction of one vibration of unnecessary pain on the most criminal. He only echoes the feeling of every genuine Christian, when he contends for looking with deep-thoughted pity on the vicious, or regarding them tenderly as the unfortunate, and for striving "not to be overcome of evil, but to overcome evil with good." He only coincides with every friend of his species, when he deplores the obstacles which individuals and systems have too often opposed to human progress. But when he would attempt to realize in an instant his glorious visions; when he would treat men as though they were now fit inhabitants of an earthly paradise; when he would cast down all restraint and authority as enormous evils; and would leave mankind to the guidance of passions as yet unsubdued, and of desires as yet unregulated, we must protest against his wishes, as tending fearfully to retard the good which he would precipitate. Happy, indeed, will be that time, of which our great philosophical poet, Wordsworth, speaks, when love shall be an "unclouded [*sic*] light and joy its own security." But we shall not hasten this glorious era by destroying those forms and

dignities of the social state which are essential to the restraint of the worst passions, and serviceable to the nurture of the kindliest affections. The stream of human energy is gathering strength; but it would only be scattered in vain, were we rashly to destroy the boundaries which now confine it to its deep channel; and it can only be impeded by the impatient attempt to strike the shores with its agitated waters.

Although there are some things in Mr. Shelley's philosophy against which we feel it a duty thus to protest, we must not suffer our difference of opinion to make us insensible to his genius. As a poem, the work before us is replete with clear, pure, and majestical imagery, accompanied by a harmony as rich and various as that of the loftiest of our English poets. The piece first exhibits a ravine of icy rocks in the Indian Caucasus, where Prometheus is bound to the precipice, and Panthea and Ione sit at his feet to soothe his agonies. He thus energetically describes his miseries and calls on the mountains, springs, and winds to repeat to him the curse which he once pronounced on his foe, whom he now regards only with pity. [I.31-73.]

The voices reply only in vague terms, and the Earth answers that they dare not tell it; when the following tremendous dialogue follows. [I.131-86.]

At length his mother advises him to call on some phantasm, or shade of a living being, who will be compelled to repeat his curse. He invokes the shade of Jupiter, who delivers his intense execration in the following terms. [I.262-301.]

Mercury next enters with the Furies sent by Jupiter to inflict new pangs on his victim. This they effect by placing before his soul pictures of the agonies to be borne by that race for whom he is suffering. The Earth afterwards consoles him, by calling up forms who are rather dimly described as [I.658-61].

We give part of their lovely chaunt in preference to the ravings of the Furies, though these last are intensely terrible. [I.694-751.]

The second Act introduces the glorious indications throughout nature of the deliverance of Prometheus from his sufferings. Panthea visits her sister Asia in a lonely vale of the Indian Caucasus, where they relate to each other sweet and mystic dreams betokening the approaching change. When they have ceased Echo calls on them to follow: [II.i.177-87].

The two sisters link their hands and follow the dying voices. They pass into a forest, at the entrance of which two young Fauns are sitting listening, while the Spirits of the Wood in a choral song thus magnificently describe its recesses: [II.ii.1-63].

Asia and Panthea follow the sounds into the realm of Demogorgon, into whose cave they descend from a pinnacle among the mountains. Here Asia, after an obscure metaphysical dialogue, sets forth the blessing bestowed by Prometheus on the world in the richest colouring, and asks the hour of his freedom. On this question the rocks are cloven and the Hours are seen flying in the heavens. With one of these the sisters ascend in the

radiant car; and Asia becomes encircled with lustre, which inspires Panthea thus rapturously to address her. [II.v.16-47.]

Another voice is heard in the air, and Asia bursts into the following strain, which is more liquidly harmonious, and of a beauty more ravishing and paradisaical, than any passage which we can remember in modern poetry. [II.v.73-110.]

In the third act, Jupiter is dethroned by Demogorgon, and Prometheus is unchained by Hercules. The rest of the drama is a celebration of the joyous results of this triumph, and anticipations of the reign of Love. Our readers will probably prefer reposing on the exquisite description given by Prometheus of the cave which he designs for his dwelling, to expatiating on the wide and brilliant prospects which the poet discloses. [III.iii.10-56.] . . .

V

The Lonsdale Magazine or Provincial Repository, I (November, 1820), 498-501:

Among all the fictions of early poetry, there was not perhaps a more expressive one than that of the Syrens—they assailed the eye by their beauty, and the ear by the sweetness of their music. But the heedless voyager who was captivated by these allurements, found, when too late, that the most melodious tongue might be connected with the most rapacious heart. As it was in the days of Eneas, it is in our own—those whom Heaven has formed to "wake the living lyre," are too often found to pervert the celestial bounty, and endeavor to allure others by the flowers of rhetoric and music of oratory—to wander from the paths of virtue and innocence—to pursue the bubble, happiness, through the gratifications of sense—to feed on the fancied visions of an ideal perfection, which is to result from an unrestrained indulgence of all our baser passions and propensities—to revel in a prospective state of human felicity, which is to crown the subversion of all social order—and to figure to themselves an earthly paradise, which is to be planted among the ashes of that pure and holy religion which the Deity himself has revealed to his creatures.

Among the pestiferous herd of those who have essayed to destroy man's last and highest hope, some, like Paine, have been so exceedingly low and scurrilous, that even the illiterate could not be induced to drink the filthy poison. Others, like the Edinburgh Reviewers, have been so *exquisitely* absurd, that nothing but the ignorant could possibly be misled by their flimsy sophistry. Others again, like Godwin, have been so metaphysical, that those who were capable of comprehending their sophisms, and developing their complicated hypotheses, were well qualified to confute their logical nonsense, and expose their preposterous philosophy.

But, when writers, like Byron and Shelley, envelope their destructive theories in language, both intended and calculated to entrance the soul by its melodious richness, to act upon the passions without consulting the

reason, and to soothe and overwhelm the finest feelings of our nature;—then it is that the unwary are in danger of being misled, the indifferent of being surprised, and the innocent of being seduced.

Mr. Shelley is a man of such poetic powers, as, if he had employed them in the cause of virtue, honour, and truth, would have entitled him to a distinguished niche in the temple of fame. And painful it must be for every admirer of genius and talent, to see one, whose fingers can so sweetly touch the poetic lyre, prostituting his abilities in a manner which must at some future period, embitter the important moment, and throw an awful shade over the gloomy retrospect.

That we may stand justified in the opinion we have given of Mr. Shelley's superior talents as an author, we will quote a few lines from one of his fugitive pieces, entitled "A Vision of the Sea."

> 'Tis the terror of tempest. The rags of the sail
> Are flickering in ribbons within the fierce gale:
> From the stark night of vapours the dim rain is driven,
> And when lightning is loosed, like a deluge from Heaven,
> She sees the black trunks of the waterspouts spin
> And bend, as if Heaven was ruining in . . .
> With their hammocks for coffins the seamen aghast
> Like dead men the dead limbs of their comrades cast
> Down the deep, which closed on them above and around,
> And the sharks and the dogfish their grave-clothes unbound,
> And were glutted like Jews with this manna rained down
> From God on their wilderness [etc. Lines 1-33, 46-57].

Had all the productions of our author been, like the above, calculated only to "soften and soothe the soul," we should have rejoiced in adding our humble tribute of applause to the numerous encomiums which have greeted him. But alas! he has drunk deeply of the two poisonous and kindred streams—infidelity and sedition. We shall not enter into an analysis of his great work, "Prometheus Unbound," as our principal intention is to *recommend* it to the *neglect* of our readers.—The chief design of the piece, which is a dramatic poem after the manner of the old school, is to charm the unsuspecting heart of youth and innocence, with a luscious picture of the felicities which would succeed the subversion of social, religious, and political order—and which he denominates LIBERTY.

At this happy period when

> Thrones were kingless, and men walked
> One with the other, even as spirits do . . . [III.iv.131-32].

After, "Thrones, altars, judgment-seats, and prisons" shall have been destroyed, men shall

> Look forth
> In triumph o'er the palaces and tombs
> Of those who were their conquerors, mouldering around [*ibid.* 170-72].

Religion, too, will then have vanished, which he characterizes,

> A dark yet mighty faith, a power as wide
> *As is the world it wasted . . .* [*ibid.* 174-75].

In his ardour to anticipate the joyous period, he breaks out in an exclamation, as though he beheld it present. [III.iv.190, 192-96.]

But this is not all, the very decencies of our nature are to vanish beneath the magic wand of this licentious REFORMER. Every modest feeling, which now constitutes the sweetest charm of society is to be annihilated—and women are to be—*what God and nature never designed them.* But his own description alone can point the lasciviousness of his own heart:—[III.iv.153-63].

After having excited his own vicious imagination with this luscious picture of fancied bliss, he seems to have lost all patience with the tardy disciples of this *precious philosophy;* and feels indignant that they do not remove by force the kings and priests and other *trifling* obstacles to the completion of his burning wishes. He thirsts to be transported at once to this ecstatic *Utopia.* For in the same volume, we find an "Ode to Liberty," where he exclaims;—

> O, that the free would stamp the impious name
> Of———into the dust! Or write it there;
> So that this blot upon the page of fame,
> Were as a serpent's path, which the light air
> Erases—
> O, that the wise for their bright minds would kindle
> Such lamps within the dome of the wide world,
> That the pale name of PRIEST might shrink and dwindle,
> Into the HELL from which it first was hurl'd [lines 211-15, 226-29].

Further remarks on sentiments like these, are unnecessary. The beast requires only to be dragged into public light, to meet its merited contempt. We can only express our pity for the author, and regret that so fine a poet should have espoused so detestable a cause.

VI

"Critical Remarks on Shelley's Poetry," *The Dublin Magazine or General Repertory of Philosophy, Belles Lettres, and Miscellaneous Information,* I (November, 1820), 393-400:

We have been deterred from before noticing Mr. Shelly's [*sic*] poems by the obvious difficulty of the task, and it is not without some feelings of dread that we now approach them. Some credit has, we hope, been given us for the manner in which we have generally spoken of young poets: we have done the little we could to encourage and animate them to exertion. We have ventured to speak of more than one of the number, as if he had already attained that fame, which it is idle to suppose can be won without

earnest and continual labour; but if our praises have, at times, been exaggerated, they have always been suggested and justified by circumstances of high promise—by something in the character of the poet or the poem that claimed affectionate sympathy. Young critics, we declined assuming the fastidious tone which characterizes, and renders contemptible, most of the periodical criticism of our day, and which must prevent its becoming valuable even as a register of contemporary opinion. It is, indeed, painful to us to speak otherwise than in the language of encouragement: we know as well as Coleridge the value of literary praise, and agree with him that suppressing one favourable opinion of a work is an act of positive injustice. Now the fact is, we think unfavourably of Mr. Shelly; we think his talents unworthily devoted to evil purposes in his imitations;—and, let him account for the fact as he will, all his poetry is imitative. We see little else than an eloquent use of language, wild and rhapsodical declamation: this very common accomplishment is, no doubt, a valuable one, but while we are listening to this orator, we are often tempted to enquire what is the subject of his discourse. We feel that he has told us nothing, and has nothing to tell us: we would rest the decision of the question—is Mr. Shelly a poet, on the circumstance that, whatever excitement may be felt during the perusal of his works, not one line of them remains on the ear when we have closed the volume; and of all the gorgeous images with which they are loaded, scarcely one is retained in the memory.

It does not strike us as a task by any means difficult to colour the cold speculations of Godwin with the language of poetry, though we think such subjects would be avoided by a poetical mind. That a state of society may be imagined in which men will be "kingless, and tribeless, and nationless," we admit; and even feel that the conception has an imposing and sublime appearance in the same way that the idea of utter desolation is sublime; but we must remember that these notions are put forward by Mr. Shelly, with avowed admiration of the consequences he expects to result from their being applied to the test of experience. Now we must continue to believe that such views are likely to lessen the exercise of the domestic charities; that, when no adequate object is offered to the affections, they will, being left without a support, droop and die in the heart. We believe that man's duty here is something different from comparing phantoms with phantoms: and that whatever his talents, or whatever his professed object may be, no man is justified in giving to the world wild and crude notions, the first effect of which, if reduced to practice, would be the overthrow of all existing institutions, and the substitution of a waste and howling wilderness—the revolutionary Eden, of which the uncontrolled passions of men are to be protecting angels. The facility with which this new philosophy removes the possibility of crime, is one of the most admirable parts of the theory. Murder, as we still call it, is innocent, for it is but diverting a few ounces of blood from their proper channel, and the dead body is soon converted

into living beings many times happier than man. Adultery, as Leigh Hunt proved, is founded only on the custom of marriage; and who is there that does not see that we will get rid of it at once by abolishing that odious tyranny. Incest is but a name; we suppose it a crime merely from vulgar prejudices, which, in the new order of things, cannot exist, as when marriage is removed, the degrees of relationship will seldom be strictly ascertained. All those duties, the neglect of which sometimes occasions a little uneasiness to us at present, will no longer be required of a man: prayer is done away with, for we are to live without a God in the world: and repentance is quite idle, for there will be no longer any sin, or if evil is supposed to continue, how can repentance alter the past? and of the future we know nothing. Such is the creed of the enlightened friends of humanity; such are the opinions on man's nature and destiny, which form the groundwork of the "Prometheus Unbound"—the dreams of this enthusiast.

The fact is, however we may wish to conceal it, that infidelity has long been striking its roots deep and wide—that its buds and blossoms are now shining out in rich luxuriance. A few years ago we could have pointed with pride to the poetical literature of England:—voluminous as are the works of Scott, Wordsworth, and Southey, and all the other great men worthy to be named with them, there was not a single line in their writings which could have wounded the chastest ear: but read, as they of course have been by every one, they have taught the world their language; and the manufacture of poetry has become a trade,—a poor and dishonest one. The admirers even of Lord Byron seem to be well aware that he is very indifferent to anything but the sale of his works. The poison he now sells is prepared for the same purposes as that of most other quacks—with him religion is a joke: with Shelley, atheism is a principle. We are afraid to pursue our remarks further, as we cannot, of course, consent to make our pages instrumental in the circulation of the passages which justify these remarks. . . .

VII

The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal, XCIV (February, 1821), 168-73:

There is an excess of fancy which rapidly degenerates into nonsense: if the *sublime* be closely allied to the ridiculous, the *fanciful* is twin-sister to the *foolish;* and really Mr. Shelley has worthily maintained the relationship. What, in the name of wonder on one side, and of common sense on the other, is the meaning of this metaphysical rhapsody about the unbinding of Prometheus? Greek plays, Mr. Shelley tells us in his preface, have been his study; and from them he has caught—what?—any thing but the tone and character of his story; which as little exhibits the distinct imaginations of the heathen mythology as it resembles the virtuous realities of the Christian faith. It is only *nonsense*, pure unmixed *nonsense*, that Mr.

Shelley has derived from his various lucubrations, and combined in the laudable work before us.

We are so far from denying, that we are most ready to acknowledge, the great merit of detached passages in the *Prometheus Unbound:* but this sort of praise, we fear from expressions in his prose advertisements, the poet before us will be most unwilling to receive; for he says on one occasion, (preface to the Cenci,) 'I have avoided, *with great care*, in writing this play, the introduction of what is commonly called *mere poetry;* and I imagine there will scarcely be found *a detached simile, or a single isolated description,*' *!!* &c. Charming prospect, indeed! "I could find it in my heart," says Dogberry, "to bestow all my tediousness upon your Worship"; and so his anti-type, the author of *Prometheus Unbound*, (which, a punster might say, will always remain *unbound,*) studiously excludes from his play everything like 'mere poetry,' (*merum sal,*) or a 'single isolated description.' This speaks for itself; and we should have thought that we had been reading a burlesque preface of Fielding to one of his *mock tragedies*, rather than a real introduction by a serious dramatist to one of his *tragic plays.* We may be told, however, that we must consider the Prometheus Unbound as a philosophical work. "We cry you mercy, cousin Richard!" Where are the things, then, "not dreamt of in *our* philosophy?" The '*Prometheus Unbound*' is amply stored with such things. First, there is a *wicked supreme deity.*—Secondly, there is a Demogorgon; superior, in process of time, to that *supreme wickedness.*—Thirdly, there are nymphs, naids, nereids, spirits of flood and fell, depth and height, the four elements, and fifty-four imaginary places of creation and residence.—Now, to what does all this tend? To nothing, positively to nothing. Like Dandie Dinmont's unproduceable child, the author cannot, in any part of his work, "*behave distinctly.*" How should he? His Manichean absurdities, his eternally indwelling notion of a good and an evil principle fighting like furies on all occasions with their whole *posse comitatus* together, cross his clearer fancy, and lay the buildings of his better mind in glittering gorgeous ruins. Let his readers observe the manner in which he talks of death, and hope, and all the thrilling interests of man; and let us also attend to what follows:—'For my part I had rather be damned with Plato and Lord Bacon than go to Heaven with Paley and Malthus.' Preface to Prometheus, p. 14. This appears to us to be nothing but hatred of contemporaries; not admiration of the antients. *This* "offence is rank;—it smells to Heaven."

The benevolent opposition of Prometheus to the oppressive and atrocious rule of Jupiter forms the main object, as far as it can be understood, of this generally unintelligible work; though some of it can be understood too plainly; and the passage [I.584-604] beginning, 'A woful sight,' at page 49, and ending, 'It hath become a curse,' must be most offensive, as it too evidently seems to have been intended to be, to every sect of Christians.

We must cease, however, to expostulate with Mr. Shelley, if we may

hope to render him or his admirers any service; and most assuredly we have a sincere desire to be thus serviceable, for he has power to do good, or evil, on an extensive scale;—and whether from admiration of genius, or from a prudent wish to conciliate its efforts, we are disposed to welcome all that is good and useful in him, as well as prepared to condemn all that is the contrary. We turn, then, to other matters, and point out what we think is unexceptionably, or fairly, poetical in the strange book before us. [II.iv.7-86.]

The most imaginative of our readers must, we think, be disposed to allow that there is much *nonsense* in all this, however fanciful: yet there is much poetry also,—much benevolent feeling, beautiful language, and powerful versification.

We will take one other extract; and it shall be from the lyric portion of the drama. [IV.1-55.]

Such a quotation as this affords ample opportunity for fair judgment; and what is the verdict? With a great portion of uncommon merit, much more absurdity is mixed; and, how great soever the author's genius may be, it is not great enough to bear him out, when he so plainly and heartily laughs in his reader's face as so clever a writer *must do* in this and many other passages. . . .

VIII

"On the Philosophy and Poetry of Shelley," *The London Magazine, and Theatrical Inquisitor*, III (February, 1821), 122-27:

. . . In his dramatic poem of "Prometheus Unbound" Mr. Shelley has given us, in the portraiture of the noble-minded victim, a most "beautiful idealism of moral excellence [Preface 173-74]." He has drawn us Virtue, not as she is, but as she should be,—magnanimous in affliction, and impatient of unauthorized tyranny. Prometheus, the friend and the champion of mankind, may be considered as a type of religion oppressed by the united powers of superstition and tyranny. He is for a time enchained, though not enfeebled, by the pressure of his misfortunes, but is finally triumphant; and by the manful exertions of his own lawful claims frees himself from his ignominious thraldom; and proves the truth of that axiom which is engraved in undying characters on the "fair front of nature"—that right shall always overcome might. This is the leading principle in Mr. Shelley; in its more trifling bearings it is occasionally inconsistent, but exhibits a noble illustration of the intuitive powers and virtues of the human mind. This is the system that he is anxious to disseminate, and a more sublime one was never yet invented. It appeals at once from nature to God, discards the petty bickerings of different creeds and soars upward to the throne of grace as the lark that sings "at heaven's gate" her matin song of thanksgiving. There may be different opinions respecting matters

of taste, feeling, and metaphysics, but there can be but one respecting the holiness of benevolence, and universal philanthropy. Before this great, this important truth, all minor creeds sink into their native insignificance. It is the ladder by which man mounts to Heaven,—the faith which enables him to hear the voice of the Deity welcoming him as he ascends. . . .

Having advanced thus much on the philosophical opinions of Shelley, it remains to say a few words respecting his poetical qualifications. He is perhaps the most intensely sublime writer of his day, and, with the exception of Wordsworth, is more highly imaginative, than any other living poet. There is an air of earnestness, a tone of deep sincerity in all his productions, that give them an electrical effect. No one can read his "Prometheus Unbound" or the magnificent "Ode to Liberty" without a sensation of the deepest astonishment at [the] stupendous mind of their author. The mental visions of philosophy contained in them are the most gorgeous that can be conceived, and expressed in language well suited to the sentiment. They soar with an eagle's flight to the heaven of heavens, and come back laden with the treasures of humanity. But with all the combined attractions of mind and verse, we feel that Mr. Shelley can never become a popular poet. He does not sufficiently link himself with man; he is too visionary for the intellect of the generality of his readers, and is ever immersed in the clouds of religious and metaphysical speculations. His opinions are but skeletons, and he does not sufficiently embody them to render them intelligible. They are magnificent abstractions of mind,—the outpourings of a spirit "steeped to the very full" in humanity and religious enthusiasm. . . .

IX

"Table Talk," *The London Magazine*, III (April, 1821), 370. The article was by William Hazlitt, and appeared as "Essay XXII. On People of Sense" in his *The Plain Speaker: Opinions on Books, Men, and Things*, published anonymously in 1826 (*Works*, VII, 245-46):

. . . No one (that I know of) is the happier, better, or wiser for reading Mr. Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound.* One thing is that nobody reads it. And the reason for one or both is the same, that he is not a poet, but a sophist, a theorist, a controversial writer in verse. He gives us for representations of things, rhapsodies of words. He does not lend the colours of imagination and the ornaments of style to the objects of nature, but paints gaudy, flimsy, allegorical pictures on gauze, on the cobwebs of his own brain, "Gorgons, Hydras, and Chimaeras dire." He assumed certain doubtful speculative notions, and proceeds to prove their truth by describing them in detail as matters of fact. This mixture of fanatic zeal and poetical licentiousness is not quite the thing. . . .

X

The Quarterly Review, XXVI (October, 1821), 168-80; probably by W. S. Walker. Mrs. Shelley wrote to Maria Gisborne on February 9, 1822: "Shelley w[ould] like to see the review of the Prometheus in the Quarterly" (*Letters*, I, 156):

A great lawyer of the present day is said to boast of practising three different modes of writing: one which any body can read; another which only himself can read; and a third, which neither he nor any body else can read. So Mr. Shelley may plume himself upon writing in three different styles: one which can be generally understood; another which can be understood only by the author; and a third which is absolutely and intrinsically unintelligible. Whatever his command may be of the first and second of these styles, this volume is a most satisfactory testimonial of his proficiency in the last.

If we might venture to express a general opinion of what far surpasses our comprehension, we should compare the poems contained in this volume to the visions of gay colours mingled with darkness, which often in childhood, when we shut our eyes, seem to revolve at an immense distance around us. In Mr. Shelley's poetry all is brilliance, vacuity, and confusion. We are dazzled by the multitude of words which sound as if they denoted something very grand or splendid: fragments of images pass in crowds before us; but when the procession has gone by, and the tumult of it is over, not a trace of it remains upon the memory. The mind, fatigued and perplexed, is mortified by the consciousness that its labour has not been rewarded by the acquisition of a single distinct conception; the ear, too, is dissatisfied: for the rhythm of the verse is often harsh and unmusical; and both the ear and the understanding are disgusted by new and uncouth words, and by the awkward, and intricate construction of the sentences.

The predominating characteristic of Mr. Shelley's poetry, however, is its frequent and total want of meaning. Far be it from us to call for strict reasoning, or the precision of logical deductions, in poetry; but we have a right to demand clear, distinct conceptions. The colouring of the pictures may be brighter or more variegated than that of reality; elements may be combined which do not in fact exist in a state of union; but there must be no confusion in the forms presented to us. Upon a question of mere beauty, there may be a difference of taste. That may be deemed energetic or sublime, which is in fact unnatural or bombastic; and yet there may be much difficulty in making the difference sensible to those who do not preserve an habitual and exclusive intimacy with the best models of composition. But the question of meaning, or no meaning, is a matter of fact on which common sense, with common attention, is adequate to decide; and the decision to which we may come will not be impugned, whatever be the want of taste, or insensibility to poetical excellence, which it may please Mr. Shelley, or any of his coterie, to impute to us. We permit them to assume, that they alone possess all sound taste and all genuine feeling of the beauties of nature and art: still they must grant that it belongs only to the judgment to determine, whether certain passages convey any signification or none; and that, if we are in error ourselves, at least we can mislead nobody else, since the very quotations which we must adduce as

examples of nonsense, will, if our charges be not well founded, prove the futility of our accusation at the very time that it is made. If, however, we should completely establish this charge, we look upon the question of Mr. Shelley's poetical merits as at an end; for he who has the trick of writing very showy verses without ideas, or without coherent ideas, can contribute to the instruction of none, and can please only those who have learned to read without having ever learned to think.

The want of meaning in Mr. Shelley's poetry takes different shapes. Sometimes it is impossible to attach any signification to his words; sometimes they hover on the verge between meaning and nomeaning, so that a meaning may be obscurely conjectured by the reader, though none is expressed by the writer; and sometimes they convey ideas, which, taken separately, are sufficiently clear, but, when connected, are altogether incongruous. We shall begin with a passage which exhibits in some parts the first species of nonsense, and in others the third. [III.iii.49-56.] The verses are very sonorous; and so many fine words are played off upon us, such as, *painting*, *sculpture*, *poesy*, *phantoms*, *radiance*, *the embrace of beauty*, *immortal progeny*, &c. that a careless reader, influenced by his habit of associating such phrases with lofty or agreeable ideas, may possibly have his fancy tickled into a transient feeling of satisfaction. But let any man try to ascertain what is really said, and he will immediately discover the imposition that has been practised. From beauty, or the embrace of beauty, (we know not which, for ambiguity of phrase is a very frequent companion of nonsense,) certain forms proceed: of these forms there are phantoms; these phantoms are dim; but the mind arises from the embrace of beauty, and casts on them the gathered rays which are reality; they are then baptized by the name of the immortal progeny of the arts, and in that character proceed to visit Prometheus. This *galimatias* (for it goes beyond simple nonsense) is rivalled by the following description of something that is done by a cloud.

> I am the daughter of earth and water,
> And the nursling of the sky;
> I pass through the pores of the oceans and shores,
> I change, but I cannot die.
> For after the rain, when with never a stain
> The pavilion of heaven is bare,
> And the winds and sunbeams with their convex gleams,
> Build up the blue dome of air,
> I silently laugh at my own cenotaph,
> And out of the caverns of rain,
> Like a child from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb,
> I arise and unbuild it again [*The Cloud* 73-84].

There is a love-sick lady who "dwells under the glaucous caverns of ocean," and "*wears the shadow of Prometheus' soul*," without which (she declares) she cannot *go to sleep* [II.i.38 ff.]. The rest of her story is utterly

incomprehensible; we therefore pass on to the *debut* of the Spirit of earth. [IV.236-61.] We have neither leisure nor room to develope all the absurdities here accumulated, in defiance of common sense, and even of grammar; whirlwind harmony, a solid sphere which is as many thousand spheres, and contains ten thousand orbs or spheres, with inter-transpicuous spaces between them, whirling over each other on a thousand sightless (alias invisible) axles; self-destroying swiftness; intelligible words and wild music, kindled by the said sphere, which also grinds a bright brook into an azure mist of elemental subtlety; odour, music, and light, kneaded into one aerial mass, and the sense drowned by it!

Oh quanta species! et cerebrum non habet.

One of the personages in the Prometheus is Demogorgon. As he is the only agent in the whole drama, and effects the only change of situation and feeling which befalls the other personages, and as he is likewise employed to sing or say divers hymns, we have endeavored to find some intelligible account of him. The following is the most perspicuous which we have been able to discover:—[IV.510-14].

Love, as might be expected, is made to perform a variety of very extraordinary functions. It fills "the void annihilation of a sceptred curse" (p. 140); and, not to mention the other purposes to which it is applied, it is in the following lines dissolved in air and sun-light, and then folded around the world. [III.iv.100-3.]

Metaphors and similes can scarcely be regarded as ornaments of Mr. Shelley's compositions; for his poetry is in general a mere jumble of words and heterogeneous ideas, connected by slight and accidental associations, among which it is impossible to distinguish the principal object from the accessory. In illustrating the incoherency which prevails in his metaphors, as well as in the other ingredients of his verses, we shall take our first example, not from that great storehouse of the obscure and the unintelligible—the Prometheus, but from the opening of a poem, entitled, "A Vision of the Sea" . . . [selections, with comments].

Asia turns her soul into an enchanted boat, in which she performs a wonderful voyage. [II.v.73-94.] . . .

Sometimes to the charms of nonsense those of doggerel are added. This is the conclusion of a song of certain beings, who are called "Spirits of the human minds": [IV.147-58].

Another characteristic trait of Mr. Shelley's poetry is, that in his descriptions he never describes the thing directly, but transfers it to the properties of something which he conceives to resemble it by language which is to be taken partly in a metaphorical meaning, and partly in no meaning at all. The whole of a long poem, in three parts, called "The Sensitive Plant," the object of which we cannot discover, is an instance of this. . . . [Selections, with comments.] In short, it is not too much to affirm,

that in the whole volume there is not one original image of nature, one simple expression of human feeling, or one new association of the appearances of the moral with those of the material world.

As Mr. Shelley disdains to draw his materials from nature, it is not wonderful that his subjects should in general be widely remote from every thing that is level with the comprehension, or interesting to the heart of man. He has been pleased to call "Prometheus Unbound" a lyrical drama, though it has neither action nor dramatic dialogue. The subject of it is the transition of Prometheus from a state of suffering to the state of happiness; together with a corresponding change in the situation of mankind. But no distinct account is given of either of these states, nor of the means by which Prometheus and the world pass from one to the other. The Prometheus of Mr. Shelley is not the Prometheus of ancient mythology. He is a being who is neither a God nor a man, who has conferred supreme power on Jupiter. Jupiter torments him; and Demogorgon, by annihilating Jupiter's power, restores him to happiness. Asia, Panthea, and Ione, are female beings of a nature similar to that of Prometheus. Apollo, Mercury, the Furies, and a faun, make their appearance; but have not much to do in the piece. To fill up the *personae dramatis*, we have voices of the mountains, voices of the air, voices of the springs, voices of the whirlwinds, together with several echoes. Then come spirits without end: spirits of the moon, spirits of the earth, spirits of the human mind, spirits of the hours; who all attest their super-human nature by singing and saying things which no human being can comprehend. We do not find fault with this poem, because it is built on notions which no longer possess any influence over the mind, but because its basis and its materials are mere dreaming, shadowy, incoherent abstractions. It would have been quite as absurd and extravagant in the time of Aeschylus, as it is now.

It may seem strange that such a volume should find readers, and still more strange that it should meet with admirers. We were ourselves surprised by the phenomenon: nothing similar to it occurred to us, till we recollected the numerous congregations which the incoherences of an itinerant Methodist preacher attract. These preachers, without any connected train of thought, and without attempting to reason, or to attach any definite meaning to the terms which they use, pour out a deluge of sonorous words that relate to sacred objects and devout feelings. These words, connected as they are with all that is most venerable in the eyes of man, excite a multitude of pious associations in the hearer, and produce in him a species of mental intoxication. His feelings are awakened, and his heart touched, while his imagination and understanding are bewildered; and he receives temporary pleasure, sometimes even temporary improvement, at the expense of the essential and even permanent depravation of his character. In the same way, poetry like that of Mr. Shelley presents everywhere glittering constellations of words, which taken separately have

a meaning, and either communicate some activity to the imagination, or dazzle it by their brilliance. Many of them relate to beautiful or interesting objects, and are therefore capable of imparting pleasure to us by the associations attached to them. The reader is conscious that his mind is raised from a state of stagnation, and he is willing to believe, that he is astounded and bewildered, not by the absurdity, but by the originality and sublimity of the author.

It appears to us much more surprizing, that any man of education should write such poetry as that of "Prometheus Unbound," than that when written, it should find admirers. It is easy to read without attention; but it is difficult to conceive how an author, unless his intellectual habits are thoroughly depraved, should not take the trouble to observe whether his imagination has definite forms before it, or is gazing in stupid wonder on assemblages of brilliant words. Mr. Shelley tells us, that he imitates the Greek tragic poets: can he be so blinded by self-love, as not to be aware that his productions have not one feature of likeness to what have been deemed classical works, in any country or in any age? He, no doubt, possesses considerable mental activity; for without industry he could never have attained to so much facility in the art of throwing words into fantastical combinations: is it not strange that he should never have turned his attention from his verses to that which his verses are meant to express? We fear that his notions of poetry are fundamentally erroneous. It seems to be his maxim, that reason and sound thinking are aliens in the dominions of the Muses, and that, should they ever be found wandering about the foot of Parnassus, they ought to be chased away as spies sent to discover the nakedness of the land. We would wish to persuade him, if possible, that the poet is distinguished from the rest of his species, not by wanting what other men have, but by having what other men want. The reason of the poet ought to be cultivated with as much care as that of the philosopher, though the former chooses a peculiar field for its exercise, and associates with it in its labours other facilities that are not called forth in the mere investigation of truth.

But it is often said, that though the poems are bad, they at least show poetical power. Poetical power can be shown only by writing good poetry, and this Mr. Shelley has not yet done. The proofs of Mr. Shelley's genius, which his admirers allege, are the very exaggeration, copiousness of verbiage, and incoherence of ideas which we complain of as intolerable. They argue in criticism, as those men do in morals, who think debauchery and dissipation an excellent proof of a good heart. The want of meaning is called sublimity, absurdity becomes venerable under the name of originality, the jumble of metaphor is the richness of imagination, and even the rough, clumsy, confused structure of the style, with not unfrequent violations of the rules of grammar, is, forsooth, the sign and effect of a bold overflowing genius, that disdains to walk in common trammels. If the poet

is one who whirls round his reader's brain, till it becomes dizzy and confused; if it is his office to envelop he knows not what in huge folds of a clumsy drapery of splendid words and showy metaphors, then, without doubt, may Mr. Shelley place the Delphic laurel on his head. But take away from him the unintelligible, the confused, the incoherent, the bombastic, the affected, the extravagant, the hideously gorgeous, and 'Prometheus,' and the poems which accompany it, will sink at once into nothing.

But great as are Mr. Shelley's sins against sense and taste, would that we had nothing more to complain of! Unfortunately, to his long list of demerits he has added the most flagrant offences against morality and religion. We should abstain from quoting instances, were it not that we think his language too gross and too disgusting to be dangerous to any but those who are corrupted beyond the hope of amendment. After a revolting description of the death of our Saviour, introduced merely for the sake of intimating, that *the religion he preached is the great source of human misery and vice*, he adds,

> —Thy name I will not speak,
> It hath become a curse [I.603-4].

Will Mr. Shelley, to excuse this blasphemy against the name "*in which all nations of the earth shall be made blessed*," pretend, that these are the words of Prometheus, not of the poet? But the poet himself hath told us, that his Prometheus is meant to be "the type of the highest perfection of moral and intellectual excellence." There are other passages, in which Mr. Shelley speaks directly in his own person. . . . [Selections from *Ode to Liberty*, with comment.]

The real cause of his aversion to Christianity is easily discovered. Christianity is the great prop of the social order of the civilized world; this social order is the object of Mr. Shelley's hatred; and, therefore, the pillar must be demolished, that the building may tumble down. His views of the nature of men and of society are expressed, we dare not say explained, in some of those "*beautiful idealisms of moral excellence* [Preface 173-74]," (we use his own words,) in which the "Prometheus" abounds. [III.iv.190-204, printed as a prose paragraph.]

Our readers may be puzzled to find out the meaning of this paragraph; we must, therefore, inform them that it is not prose, but the conclusion of the third act of Prometheus verbatim et literatim. With this information they will cease to wonder at the absence of sense and grammar; and will probably perceive, that Mr. Shelley's poetry is, in sober sadness, *drivelling prose run mad.*

With the prophetic voice of a misgiving conscience, Mr. Shelley objects to criticism. "If my attempt be ineffectual, (he says) let the punishment of an unaccomplished purpose have been sufficient; let none trouble themselves to heap the dust of oblivion upon my efforts [Preface 191-94]." Is there no respect due to common sense, to sound taste, to morality, to

religion? Are evil spirits to be allowed to work mischief with impunity, because, forsooth, the instruments with which they work are contemptible? Mr. Shelley says, that his intentions are pure. Pure! They may have been so in his vocabulary; for, (to say nothing of his having mistaken nonsense for poetry, and blasphemy for an imperious duty,) vice and irreligion, and the subversion of society are, according to his system, pure and holy things; Christianity, and moral virtue, and social order, are alone impure. But we care not about his intentions, or by what epithet he may choose to characterize them, so long as his words exhale contagious mischief. On his own principles he must admit, that, in exposing to the public what we believe to be the character and tendency of his writings, we discharge a sacred duty. He professes to write in order to reform the world. The essence of the proposed reformation is the destruction of religion and government. Such a reformation is not to our taste; and he must, therefore, applaud us for scrutinizing the merits of works which are intended to promote so detestable a purpose. Of Mr. Shelley himself we know nothing, and desire to know nothing. Be his private qualities what they may, his poems (and it is only with his poems that we have any concern) are at war with reason, with taste, with virtue, in short, with all that dignifies man, or that man reveres.

XI

"On Mr. Shelly's [*sic*] Poem, 'Prometheus Unbound,' " *John Bull*, February 4, 1822, p. 477:

> Shelly styles his new poem *Prometheus Unbound*,
> And 'tis like to remain so while time circles round:
> For surely an age would be spent in the finding
> A reader so weak as to *pay for the binding*.

XII

The Examiner, #751 (June 16, 1822), 370-71, and #752 (June 23, 1822), 389-90. In these "Letters to the Readers of the Examiner—*Prometheus Unbound*," Leigh Hunt answered the criticism of the *Quarterly Review* article (see item X above). Although Hunt had seen the poem by August 23, 1820 (*Correspondence*, I, 158), he delayed writing his review. On March 1, 1821, he wrote to Shelley: "Not a word of review have I written yet upon *Prometheus Unbound*, but I must say for myself that it was out of a consciousness that I should have to go at length into it, and so a fear to begin, that I delayed so long . . . it ought to have had my homage" (*ibid.*, I, 163). Again, on August 28, 1821, he wrote: "Sickness, and the consciousness of being unable to let the reader into your *Prometheus* without saying a good deal, has hitherto prevented my noticing that at all; for which I feel due remorse. . . . I shall make up for [this neglect] in my *Sketches of the Living Poets*, which I am now writing in the *Examiner*" (*ibid.*, I, 169). The *Quarterly Review* article appeared in October. In the following March (1822) Hunt was delayed in his departure for Italy and used the opportunity to write, after more than a year and a half of delay, the review below. With respect to it he wrote to Shelley on March 26, 1822: "I take the opportunity of showing the public

the reason why Gifford's review spoke so bitterly of *Prometheus*, and why it pretends that the most metaphysical passage of your most metaphysical poem is a specimen of the clearness of your general style. The wretched priest-like cunning and undertoned malignity of that review of *Prometheus* is indeed a homage paid to qualities which can so provoke it. . . . One circumstance which helps to reconcile me to having been detained [in England] is the opportunity it has given me to make your works speak for themselves wherever I could. . . . I have, indeed, been astonished to find how well prepared people of intelligence are to fall in with your aspirations, and despise the mistakes and rascally instincts of your calumniators" (*ibid.*, I, 178):

The article in the *Quarterly* alluded to in my last letter, is a pretended review of Mr. Shelley's poem, entitled *Prometheus Unbound.* It does not enter into any discussion of the doctrines contained in that poem. It does not pretend to refute them. It knows very well that it does not dare to enter into the merit of Mr. Shelley's propositions, and answer them as it would answer a treatise by a theological sectarian. And the reason is obvious. I do not mean to say that all those propositions are unanswerable; but I say the Quarterly Reviewers, by the very nature of their office, as civil and religious State-hirelings, are not the men to answer them fairly; and accordingly their criticism has all the malice of conscious inability to reply, and eagerness to put down. I am very sincere when I say that I have no knowledge of the writer of the article in question; but if I were asked to guess who it was, I should say it was neither Mr. Gifford with all his bitter common-place, nor Mr. Croker with all his pettifogging, nor Mr. Southey with all his cant; but some assistant clergyman, who is accustomed to beg the question in the pulpit, and who thinks that his undertoned breath of malignity will be mistaken for Christian decorum. What renders this the more probable (though, to be sure, the ordinary readers of the *Quarterly Review* are as much prepared to take things on trust as if they were sitting in pews) is, that the critic thinks it sufficient to quote a passage against priests, in order to have proved its erroneousness. The amount of his reasoning is this:—Here is a rascal! He wishes there were no such things as priests! Upon which all the priests and pluralists shake their well-fed cheeks in a shudder of reprobation, and the poet is confuted. Observe too a little genuine *Quarterly* touch lurking by the way. [He cites and refutes a misquotation of *Ode to Liberty.*] Take another description of similar pettiness. The Reviewer, speaking of one of the most striking passages of the poem, says, "After a revolting description of the death of our Saviour, introduced *merely* for the sake of intimating that *the religion he preached is the great source of human misery and vice*, Mr. Shelley adds,

> Thy name I will not speak,
> It hath become a curse [I.603-4].

Will Mr. Shelley," continues the indignant moralist, "to excuse this blasphemy against the name *in which all the nations of the earth shall be made blessed*, pretend that these are the words of Prometheus, not of the poet?"

—No; Mr. Shelley will pretend nothing. He leaves it to the Quarterly Reviewers to pretend, and cant, and commit "pious frauds," in order to make out their case, and act in an unchristian manner in order to prove their Christianity. It is the critic who pretends in this case. He pretends that Mr. Shelley has "added" nothing further; that he has not explained *how* the name in question has become a curse;—and that he has not "intimated," that the religion he preached has been turned against its very essence by those who pretend to preach it in modern times. Who would suppose, from the Reviewer's quotation, that Mr. Shelley, in this very passage, is instancing Christ as a specimen of the fate of benevolent reformers? Yet nothing is more true. Who would suppose, that in this very passage, which they pretend to have quoted entirely, Mr. Shelley puts the consequences which they make him deduce as the only result of the Christian religion, into the mouth of one of the Furies,—not indeed as untrue to a certain extent, but as the only lasting result which she can perceive, and delights to perceive: for in any other sense the whole tenor of Mr. Shelley's poem and speculation is quite the reverse of any such deduction, with reference to what must always *continue* to be. All that he meant in short is this,—that as Christ's benevolence subjected him to the torments he endured, so the uncharitable dogmas produced by those who make a *sine qua non* of the Christian *faith*, have hitherto done more harm than good to mankind; and all the rest of his poem may be said to be occupied in shewing, that it is benevolence, as opposed to faith, which will survive these horrible consequences of its associate, and make more than amends for them. I will quote the whole of the passage in question, that the reader may see what the Reviewer, cunning in his "sins of omission," chose to leave out. Besides, it is very grand and full of matter. Prometheus, —(who is a personification of the Benevolent Principle, subjected for a time to the Phantasm Jupiter, or in other words to that False Idea of the great and beneficent First Cause, which men create out of their own follies and tyrannies)—is lying under the infliction of his torments, patient and inflexible, when two of the Ocean Nymphs, who have come to comfort him, hear a terrible groan, and look out to see what has caused it. [I.578-634.]

This is a terrible picture, and doubtless exaggerated, if the latter part is to be taken as a picture of all the good as well as ill which the world contains; but the painter uses his sombre colours to cast a corresponding gravity of reflection on people's minds. I will concede to anybody who requires it, that Mr. Shelley, from the excess of his wishes on this point, is too apt to draw descriptions of the state of mankind without sufficient light on his canvas; but in the lesser extent to which they do apply—(and Heaven knows it is wide enough)—let the reader judge for himself how applicable they are. I will also concede to the Quarterly Reviewer, that Mr. Shelley's poetry is often of too abstract and metaphysical a cast; that it is apt to be too wilful and gratuitous in its metaphors; and that it would

be better if he did not write metaphysics and polemics in verse, but kept his poetry for more fitting subjects. But let the reader judge, by this passage out of one of his poems least calculated to be popular, whether "all" his poetry is the nonsense the Reviewer pretends it to be. The Reviewer says that the above picture of the death of Christ is "revolting." The power of exciting pity and terror may perhaps be revolting to the mind of one who cannot "go and do so likewise"; but I will tell him what is a great deal more revolting to the minds of mankind in general, however priest-ridden or pension-ridden,—the feelings that induced the Reviewer to omit the passage which I have marked.

So much for the charges of nonsense and want of decency. In my next, I shall have something edifying to shew you in answer to the charge of nonsense and obscurity, and more assumptions of honesty and candour on the part of the Quarterly critics. Adieu.

As a conclusive proof of Mr. Shelley's nonsense, the Reviewer selects one of his passages which most require attention, separates it from its proper context, and turns it into prose: after which he triumphantly informs the reader that this prose is not prose, but "the conclusion of the third act of *Prometheus verbatim et literatim.*" Now poetry has often a language as well as music of its own, so distinct from prose, and so universally allowed a right to the distinction (which none are better aware of than the versifiers in the *Quarterly Review*), that secretly to decompose a poetical passage into prose, and then call for a criticism of a reader upon it, is like depriving a body of its distinguishing properties, or confounding their rights and necessities, and then asking where they are. Again, to take a passage abruptly from its context, especially when a context is more than usually necessary to its illustration, is like cutting out a piece of shade from a picture, and reproaching it for want of light. And finally, to select an obscure passage or two from an author, or even to shew that he is often obscure, and then to pretend from these specimens, that he is nothing but obscurity and nonsense, is mere dishonesty.

For instance, Dante is a great genius who is often obscure; but suppose a critic were to pick out one of his obscurest passages, and assert that Dante was a mere writer of jargon. Suppose he were to select one of the metaphysical odes from his *Amoroso Convivio;* or to take a passage from Mr. Cary's translation of his great poem, and turn it into prose for the better mystification of the reader. Here is a specimen:—

Every orb, corporeal, doth proportion its extent unto the virtue through its parts diffused. The greater blessedness preserves the more. The greater is the body (if all parts share equally) the more is to preserve. Therefore the circle, whose swift course enwheels the universal frame, answers to that, which is supreme in knowledge and in love. Thus by the virtue, not the seeming breadth of substance, measuring,

thou shalt see the heavens, each to the intelligence that ruleth it, greater to more, and smaller unto less, suited in strict and wondrous harmony. (*Paradise*, Canto 28.)

The lines in question from Mr. Shelley's poem are as follows. A spirit is describing a mighty change that has just taken place on earth. It is the consummation of a state of things for which all the preceding part of the poem has been yearning:—[III.iv.190-204]. That is to say,—The veil, or superficial state of things, which was called life by those who lived before us, and which had nothing but an idle resemblance to that proper state of things, which we would fain have thought it, is no longer existing. The loathsome mask is fallen; and the being who was compelled to wear it, is now what he ought to be, one of a great family who are their own rulers, just, gentle, wise, and passionless; no, not passionless, though free from guilt or pain, which were only the consequences of their former wilful mistakes; nor are they exempt, though they turn them to the best and most philosophical account, from chance, and death, and mutability; things, which are the clogs of that lofty spirit of humanity, which else might rise beyond all that we can conceive of the highest and happiest star of heaven, pinnacled, like an almost viewless atom, in the space of the universe:—*The intense inane* implies excess of emptiness, and is a phrase of Miltonian construction, like "the palpable obscure" and "the vast abrupt." Where is the unintelligible nonsense of all this? and where is the want of "grammar," with which the "pride" of the Reviewer, as *Mr. Looney M'Twoulter* says, would "come over" him? [He then considers other poems in the 1820 volume.]

XIII

"The Augustan Age in England," *The Album*, I (July, 1822), 222-23:

. . . Besides this host of poets whose names are in everybody's mouth, there are many others of very great—some of the greatest merit, who are, from various causes, less celebrated. There is Mr. Shelley; who possesses the powers of poetry to a degree, perhaps, superior to any of his distinguished contemporaries. The mixing his unhappy philosophical tenets in his writings has prevented, and will prevent, their becoming popular. His powers of thought, too, equally subtle and profound, occasionally lead him beyond the capability of expression, and in those passages he, of course, becomes unintelligible. The recurrence of these has led some readers to stigmatize his works generally as incomprehensible, whereas they are only blemishes which disfigure them, and which are far more than repaid by countless and exquisite beauties. Can any one, indeed, read the Prometheus Unbound with a candid spirit, and not admit it to be a splendid production? We condemn, most unreservedly—for in these days it is necessary to speak with perfect clearness on these subjects—the introduction of his offensive philosophy. We admit the occasional obscurity, sometimes amounting to

unintelligibility, of his expression; but we do say that, in despite of these faults, and we fully admit their magnitude, Prometheus Unbound is a production of magnificent poetical power. Did our limits permit us to give extracts, we would place this on indisputable ground. The length, however, to which this paper has already run obliges us to content ourselves with referring our readers to the poem. Nor does Mr. Shelley want sweetness and tenderness when he chooses to display them. The Sensitive Plant is as beautiful a specimen of playful yet melancholy fancy as we remember to have seen. If Mr. Shelley would write a poem in which he would introduce more tenderness and less gloom; never permit his subtlety of thought to run into obscurity; and, above all, totally omit all allusion to his philosophical opinions, we are very sure that it would become universally and deservedly popular. This, to be sure, is asking him to cure himself of all his faults; but where they are those of *com*mission not of *o*mission—where they arise from the misapplication of genius, not from want of it—we always look upon it to be within the power of volition to get rid of them—at least, in a very great degree.

XIV

The following selection, dated June 5, 1823, and not given by White, was published in the anonymous "Portfolio of a Man of the World," in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, CLXXXIII [N.S. 2, XXIX] (February, 1848), 150-52. On the possibility that it may have been written at the earlier date it is included here:

Having seen advertised "Prometheus Unbound," by Shelley, it reminded me of Professor * * * * 's theory of the Prometheus Chained, and I sent for the book to see what could be made of it by Shelley, who is pretty sure not to take the prophetic view of it that my German does. Read it through without stopping, and then re-read various passages, and admired and wondered at the performance. It strikes me as very odd that such a reader of the classic drama should have divided his play into acts and scenes: Goethe certainly does so in his Iphigenia, but it is not antique. The splendid imitation of Æschylus in the monologues of Prometheus are perfection: one could hardly think English could have fallen into such a Grecian harmony and force; the stately melancholy cadence in the words is worthy of the sentiments, which are as grand as the subject. It is not properly though an imitation, still less a copy or a paraphrase; it is not Æeschylus of Athens, but it is what, had Æschylus lived in the nineteenth century, and been an Englishman, he might have written. This seems exaggerated, too, and yet it is not; there cannot be finer poetry than the opening soliloquy; it wants the sublime simplicity of—

ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαί [*Prometheus Bound* 88];

but after three thousand years' experience of his mountain residence Prometheus may be permitted to tell his observations during that time,

and to take in a wider range of meteorological and geological phenomena than he could at the beginning. Although talking of "the genii of the storm" is very questionable taste, yet what noble lines succeed:—[I.44-48].

What grace there is in the flow of these words! what perfection of rhythm! Singular, too, how individual it is; being in the same measure as Milton, and on a subject so Miltonic—that of a solitary God-like sufferer. It is as totally different in rhythm as it is in ideas. It is so opposite that one almost supposes it must have been formed in a spirit of opposition. The number of one-syllabled lines [*sic*] seem constructed in contradistinction to Milton's studied polysyllabic resonance. One cannot say it is like any other English metre of English blank verse; it is, as I say, individual—Shelleyic one may say, I suppose, as well as Miltonic. One imitation or borrowed idea strikes me, which the author would, I suppose, indignantly deny: the conversation between the spirits of the mountain and the spirit of the springs is taken from the mountain and river in the Lay of the Last Minstrel. But how wild and wonderful are these scattered voices! these echo-choruses sounding through space! How sublime the rock-chained hero, alone, apart in the wide universe, and voices between heaven and earth, asking, and answering, and re-echoing his fate! Mercury is made rather sentimental; he is not the messenger of upstart Jove: he speaks more as Vulcan is made to speak by Æschylus, as a power that could feel for the sufferings he was obliged to inflict; and the introduction of Demogorgon is neither classic nor sense. Jupiter's address,—

> Awful *shape*, what art thou? Speak [III.i.51]!

answered by Demogorgon, "Eternity," is anything but the sublime it was intended to be; the *shape* of Eternity is absurd. This is the unconquerable difficulty of the writer's theory, or, at least, of his attempt to write the Pagan Mythology with his own system. To dramatise gods and goddesses is easy, and to embody spirits common; but to unite gods and goddesses, especially those that we have been familiar with from boyhood, and talking, singing, visible, audible spirits, with the vague subtleties of metaphysic generalities, is an impossibility which makes what should be the most striking situation of the piece,—the fall of Jupiter,—a failure. He is neither dignified nor subdued. Demogorgon, or Eternity, in the car of the Hours, as if it was the six-o'clock stage, lumbering up Olympus, or "thundering," as Jupiter says,—a singularly ill-judged epithet in the Thunderer's mouth, is ludicrous. Some of the last words of Jupiter, however, are very sublime:—

> The elements obey me not. I sink
> Dizzily down, ever, for ever, down [III.i.80-81].

The sense that his power is gone—"the elements obey me not"—is simple, and grand, and touching, and the sensation of interminable fall, sinking

away into boundless, bottomless, abyss, is truly sublime indeed; but how spoiled by the two next:—

> And, like a cloud, mine enemy above
> Darkens my fall with victory. Ai! Ai [III.i.82-83]!

This conceit of darkening his fall with a cloud of victory is perfect anti-sublime; while the next line, the opening of the succeeding scene, where Ocean says,—

> He fell, thou say'st, beneath his conqueror's frown [III.ii.2],

is wretchedly tame; and the actual unbinding of Prometheus, the business of the drama, is so drawn out and so commented on that one hardly knows where it is. His immense long speech after his emancipation, so very civil to the young ladies, is quite revolting; and all the beautiful poetry, and lovely imagery, and exquisite versification, cannot make personified Asia bearable. She and her friends, Ione and Panthea, talk beautiful nonsense and sing beautiful songs; but the lover-like stuff is such a disgusting travestie of the kind, innocent, virgin pity in the attendant nymphs of the real Prometheus, one is confounded at the author's mixture of bad and good taste. His perfect appreciation of the noble antique is so evident, it seems impossible that he could so mar and destroy by his unspiritual spiritualities what he might have made so worthy of his own better judgment and his own boundless genius. The extraordinary profanity with which he introduces the most sacred subject has at once and completely annihilated the poem, so far as the public generally are concerned. The author has himself branded it as blasphemous, and has gone out of his way to do so; for, unless he wanted to oppose Professor * * * * 's theory, that the prophecy of Jupiter's overthrow meant the destruction of Paganism and the establishment of Christianity, there was no occasion for thus outraging decency. If he does not care about its being read, why publish it? But, in an antique subject like this he need not have gone out of Paganism. However, he has admirers very likely who admire him most for this; while those who admire him so fervently for what is so admirable—his genius, his learning, his gifted mind, his inexhaustible poetic power—must always do so with a "but."

APPENDIX E

THE PROMETHEUS STORY BEFORE SHELLEY

In seeking the origin of the Prometheus story we turn first to the findings of comparative mythology for the derivation of the name, and in particular to the writings of Ad. Kuhn as interpreted by H. Steinthal. It is possible, as Helen Clarke has suggested, that Kuhn "has let his imagination run riot in framing a hypothesis in which nature and philology are made to dovetail in so seemingly solid a manner that if it is not true, it is even better than true, and might be called a scientific fairy tale" ("Prometheus Myth," p. 29). Andrew Lang and Herbert Rose also cautioned against "the hasty analogical method of reasoning too common among mythologists" such as Kuhn, for "the myth of the stealing of fire and of the fire stealer is current among races which are not Aryan"; but they found Kuhn's etymology "ingenious and plausible" ("Prometheus," p. 577), and it has an interesting bearing on the present outline.

Briefly, the argument held that primitive man learned to keep natural fire, and eventually to produce it by boring a stick of wood into another piece of wood. This fire they related to the fire of the sky in the sun and lightning, the latter being recognized as a divine bird. But life, too, was thought of as a fire, produced in the womb as literal fire was kindled by boring with a stick in the hole of a plate of wood.

Later, fire became the god Agni (L. *igni-s*), who lived in the wood and was brought forth by the turning of the stick. God and bird (lightning) then blended, and in the Peloponnesian story a Lightning-Bird and not Prometheus gave fire to men, and was regarded as the father of the human race.

Since fire must be constantly rekindled, it was assumed that Agni was away or hidden, to be brought back by the Borer, either the lightning which bores into the cloud or the stick which bores into the wooden disc. This boring was called *manthana*, from the root *math* meaning "I shake, rub, or produce by rubbing," and the boring stick was called *matha*. But *matha* soon became restricted to mean the penis, and a prefix gave *pramantha* as the term for the boring stick. The verb *mathnâmi*, especially with the prefix *pra*, gained the meaning "to tear off, snatch to oneself, rob."

Thus the fetching of Agni became a robbery of the fire, and the *pramantha* became a fire-robber.

When the gods withheld fire from man, then, the robbery of this fire was *pramâtha*, with *pramâthyu-s* ("he who loves boring or robbery") being a Borer or a Robber. And from *pramâthyu-s*, through the peculiarities of Greek phonology, was formed *Prometheus*, the fire-generator and (by association of the boring stick and the penis) the creator of the human race. Later, in Greece, the story was related to other stories by Hesiod and Aeschylus. The higher mental significance of Prometheus resulted from the fact that the Greek verb *μανθάν-ω*, with which the name of the Titan was associated, had taken on a more mental meaning than the Sanskrit *mathnâ-mi* or *manthâ-mi*. The Greeks changed the character of Prometheus accordingly (with "to take" being related to the taking of knowledge or learning), and the preposition *προ* (implying "beforehand") was added to *μανθάνω*, giving the meaning "the Fore-learner, the Provident" (Steinthal, "Legend of Prometheus," pp. 367-75).

The first connected account of the Prometheus story was given by Hesiod (eighth century B.C.) in two versions. The earlier, found in the *Works and Days*, follows:

> But Zeus in the anger of his heart hid [the means of life], because Prometheus the crafty deceived him; therefore he planned sorrow and mischief against men. He hid fire; but that the noble son of Iapetus stole again for men from Zeus the counsellor in a hollow fennel-stalk, so that Zeus who delights in thunder did not see it. But afterwards Zeus who gathers the clouds said to him in anger:
>
> "Son of Iapetus, surpassing all in cunning, you are glad that you have outwitted me and stolen fire—a great plague to you yourself and to men that shall be. But I will give men as the price for fire an evil thing in which they may all be glad of heart while they embrace their own destruction."
>
> So said the father of men and gods, and laughed aloud. [And Pandora was made to bring a bane upon mankind (*Works and Days* 45-59)].

The more extended version of Hesiod is found in the *Theogony:*

> [Iapetus weds Clymene, who bears him the] clever Prometheus, full of various wiles. . . . And ready-witted Prometheus [was bound by Zeus] with inextricable bonds, cruel chains, and [he] drove a shaft through his middle, and set on him a long-winged eagle, which used to eat his immortal liver; but by night the liver grew as much again everyway as the long-winged bird devoured in the whole day. That bird Heracles . . . slew; and delivered the son of Iapetus from the cruel plague, and released him from his affliction—not without the will of Olympian Zeus who reigns on high, that the glory of Heracles the Theban-born might be yet greater than it was before over the plenteous earth. This, then, he regarded, and honoured his famous son; though he was angry, he ceased from the wrath which he had before because Prometheus matched himself in wit with the almighty son of Cronos. For when the gods and mortal men were divided at Mecone, even then Prometheus was forward to cut up a great ox and set portions before them, trying to befool the mind of Zeus. Before the rest he set flesh and the inner parts thick with fat upon the hide, covering them with an ox paunch; but for Zeus he put the

white bones dressed up with cunning art and covered with shining fat. Then the father of men and of gods said to him:

"Son of Iapetus, most glorious of all lords, good sir, how unfairly you have divided the portions!"

So said Zeus whose wisdom is everlasting, rebuking him. But wily Prometheus answered him, smiling softly and not forgetting his cunning trick:

"Zeus, most glorious and greatest of the eternal gods, take which ever of these portions your heart within you bids." So he said, thinking trickery. But Zeus, whose wisdom is everlasting, saw and failed not to perceive the trick, and in his heart he thought mischief against mortal men which also was to be fulfilled.

With both hands he took up the white fat and was angry at heart, and wrath came to his spirit when he saw the white ox-bones craftily tricked out: and because of this the tribes of men upon earth burn white bones to the deathless gods upon fragrant altars. But Zeus who drives the clouds was greatly vexed and said to him:

"Son of Iapetus, clever above all! So, sir, you have not yet forgotten your cunning arts!"

So spake Zeus in anger, whose wisdom is everlasting; and from that time he was always mindful of the trick, and would not give the power of unwearying fire to the Melian race of mortal men who live on the earth. But the noble son of Iapetus outwitted him and stole the far-seen gleam of unwearying fire in a hollow fennel stalk. And Zeus who thunders on high was stung in spirit, and his dear heart was angered when he saw amongst men the far-seen ray of fire. Forthwith he made an evil thing for men as the price of fire; for the very famous Limping God formed of earth the likeness of a shy maiden as the son of Cronos willed. . . . For from her is the race of women and female kind: of her is the deadly race and tribe of women who live amongst mortal men to their great trouble, no helpmeets in hateful poverty, but only in wealth. . . . And he gave them a second evil to be the price for the good they had: whoever avoids marriage and the sorrows that women cause, and will not wed, reaches deadly old age without anyone to tend his years. . . .

So it is not possible to deceive or go beyond the will of Zeus; for not even the son of Iapetus, kindly Prometheus, escaped his heavy anger, but of necessity strong bands confined him, although he knew many a wile [*Theogony* 507-616].

With the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.) a more significant philosophical meaning entered the story. Because of its length, and because many parallel quotations are given in the Critical Notes of the present edition of Shelley's poem, a summary of the Aeschylus version will suffice here:

Power and Force bring Prometheus to the Scythian tract, where he is to be bound for stealing fire. Power orders Hephaestus to proceed, but the latter hesitates to bind a kindred god, although he knows he must do so. He tells Prometheus, "Thy deliverer is not yet born . . . the heart of Zeus is obdurate, and everyone is harsh whose power is new." Under the proddings of Power, Hephaestus performs his task, riveting arms and legs, and, with groans, driving the wedge through his chest. Prometheus is left alone and, speaking for the first time, appeals to all nature to hear his suffering cry, bound because he has loved mankind too much and given them arts.

The daughters of Oceanus, as Chorus, enter on a winged car, having come to console Prometheus, who is especially disturbed that he must

hang where his foes may see and exult. But he knows the secret of which child will overthrow Zeus, a secret he will not divulge. Chorus fears for what Zeus will do to him, but Prometheus looks forward to the overthrow that will once more join Zeus and him amicably. At Chorus' request he recites the story of Cronos' overthrow by Zeus, who followed Prometheus' counsel, but after victory would crush mortals and create a new race. Only Prometheus dared stand against this purpose, and he gave man hope, fire (and through it arts), and for this he must suffer so long as Zeus pleases. But he erred of his own will. Chorus takes its place at his feet.

Oceanus enters on a winged steed, and suggests that Prometheus adapt himself, learn humility, and speak more softly. He will appeal to Zeus to free Prometheus. The latter thanks him, but warns him that he will only draw the wrath of Zeus on himself. Oceanus, easily convinced, leaves, and Chorus renews its lament, echoing the sorrow of man and nature.

Prometheus reviews the plight of men, ignorant before he taught them astronomy, mathematics, letters, transportation, navigation, medicine, augury, smelting—indeed, all the arts. But "Art is feebler far than Necessity," under which he suffers and which is even above Zeus. The secret of Zeus's fall Prometheus will not discuss with Chorus. Chorus feels that Prometheus reverences mortals overmuch, and that his boon was bootless. The fate of Prometheus has taught Chorus that "never shall the counsels of mortal men transgress the ordering of Zeus."

Io enters, a mortal whose sufferings seem to her unparalleled. Prometheus tells her why he is chained here, and he is about to foretell her future when Chorus asks for her story. She tells of Zeus's passion for her, and of his changing her to a heifer (to deceive Hera). Now she must wander interminably over the earth, plagued by the gadfly Hera has set upon her. Prometheus then describes the wanderings she must still undergo at Hera's command, until Zeus is hurled from his sovereignty. He tells her of the marriage that shall one day lead to Zeus's downfall, through the birth of a son mightier than Zeus. He tells her also that her own descendant ("the third in descent after ten generations") shall release him, Prometheus. He continues with the description of her wanderings yet to come, until she shall arrive at Nilotis by the Nile, where she and her children will found a colony. To justify his prophecy he describes the wanderings she has already taken, and then tells how Zeus will finally restore her to human form and she shall bear his child Epaphus, one of whose descendants shall be Hercules, who will free Prometheus. Such is the oracle learned from his mother Themis.

Io leaves, frenzied by the gadfly's barb. Chorus laments her fate and asks only marriage with an equal. Again Prometheus prophesies the fall of Zeus through marriage, and hurls defiance at the god, whereupon Hermes enters and scornfully demands the secret of the marriage. Prometheus boastfully refuses, declaring he would not trade his lot for Hermes' servi-

tude, for he hates all the gods that requite him wrongfully. Hermes urges him to bend his will and, at his refusal, describes the tortures to be heaped upon him: thunder, lightning, entombment, return to light, the eagle rending his liver.[1] And there is to be no end until some god assumes his place.[2] Chorus urges Prometheus to listen to Hermes, but he invites the force of Zeus. Chorus determines to suffer with him, and, with a cry to earth and firmament to see the wrongs he suffers, Prometheus and the daughters of Oceanus vanish amid thunder and lightning.

Following Aeschylus, there was a reference by Herodotus (484-425 B.C.) which is pertinent: "For Libya is said by most Greeks to be called after a native woman of that name, and Asia after the wife of Prometheus" (*Histories* IV.45.); and Apollodorus (fl. 140 B.C.) retold the story briefly:

> Prometheus moulded men out of water and earth and gave them also fire, which, unknown to Zeus, he had hidden in a stalk of fennel. But when Zeus learned of it, he ordered Hephaestus to nail his body to Mount Caucasus, which is a Scythian mountain. On it Prometheus was nailed and kept bound for many years. Every day an eagle swooped on him and devoured the lobes of his liver, which grew by night. That was the penalty that Prometheus paid for the theft of fire until Hercules afterwards released him [*The Library* I.vii.1].

The passage in Cicero (106-43 B.C.), about which Shelley inquired in a letter to Peacock (see Introduction, p. 29), includes matter "which is regularly quoted among the fragments of Aeschylus" (Bush, *Mythology*, pp. 143-44):

> Let Aeschylus come forward, not merely a poet but a Pythagorean as well, for so we are told he was; how does Prometheus in Aeschylus' play bear the pain which he suffers for the theft of Lemnos! / Whence it is said that in secret to mortals / Fire was allotted; it cunning Prometheus / Stole by his craft and the punishment rendered / By fate overruling to Jove.
>
> Paying this punishment therefore when nailed to the Caucasus he speaks as follows: / Offspring of Titans, linked in blood to ours, / Children of Heaven, see bound to rugged cliffs / A prisoner, like a ship on roaring seas / Which timid sailors anchor, fearing night. / Jupiter, Saturn's son, thus nailed me here, / Jove's power claimed the hands of Mulciber; / These wedges he by cruel art pinned in / And burst my limbs, and by his skill, poor wretch, / Pierced through, I make this Furies' fort my home. / More, each third fatal day Jove's minister, / In gloomy flight swoops here with talons bent, / And tears me piecemeal for a savage feast. / Then crammed with liver fat and gorged in full / Pours forth an echoing scream and soaring up / With feathered tail he wipes away my blood. / When liver gnawn is swollen and grown afresh, / Greedy he then comes back to hideous meal. / Thus nourish I this guard of my sad torture / Which mars my living frame with endless woe. / For, as ye see, bound hand and foot in chains / I cannot keep Jove's fell bird from my breast. / Reft of myself I wait the torturing hour / Looking for end of ill in hoping death. / But far from death Jove's power repulses me. / For age-long centuries massed in stern array / This dolorous doom is fastened on my body /

[1]In a fragment of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound* Hercules aims his arrow against this eagle.

[2]The centaur Chiron, accidentally wounded by Hercules, did so, thus fulfilling the prophecy.

From which distilled by heat of sun there rain / Drops which aye wet the rocks of Caucasus [*Tusculan Disputations* II.x].

The brief summary by Horace (65-8 B.C.) was quoted in Latin by Shelley as part of his note to *Queen Mab* VIII.211-12: "Iapetus' daring son by impious craft brought fire to the tribes of men. After fire was stolen from its home in heaven, wasting disease and a new throng of fevers fell upon the earth, and the doom of death, that before had been slow and distant, quickened its pace" (*Odes and Epodes* I.iii.25-33). Hyginus (ca. 50 B.C.) also included a brief retelling of the story (as well as references to the secret, the Thetis-Peleus marriage, and the Pandora development) in his *Fabulae:*

Men formerly sought fire from the immortals, and they did not know how to keep it perpetually; but later Prometheus brought it to earth in a fennel stalk, and showed men how to preserve and cover the ashes. Because of this Mercury, at Jove's command, bound him to a rock in Mount Caucasus with an iron nail, and sent an eagle which ate his heart; as much as he devoured by day, so much grew again by night. After thirty thousand years Hercules slew the eagle and freed him [*Fabulae* CXLIV].

And Pliny (A.D. 23-79) noted that "the storing of fire in a fennel-stalk [was invented] by Prometheus" (*Natural History* VII.lvi.199). But it was not until Lucian (A.D. 125-90) that another extended telling of the story was offered. Lucian treated the theme in the form of a mock plea. Because of its length, his *Prometheus* will be given in summary here:

Hermes and Hephaestus bind Prometheus, who protests his innocence. A mock trial is held, and Prometheus is charged with cheating when the meat was divided, with creating men, and with stealing fire. Prometheus answers that the meat episode was merely to enliven the feast, and certainly nothing for which he should be punished as he is, for even humans pardon such tricks. As to making men, it has done no harm, and has actually been advantageous to the gods, since divinity is not quite complete without its counterpart. Moreover, men have beautified earth and built temples to the gods, and the gods have been made to realize their happiness by observing others who do not have what the gods have. As to rascals among men, there are also rascals among the gods; and as to taking care of men, what also would the gods do if they did not have men to provide for? Prometheus argues that although he is censured, especially for creating the women, the gods fall in love with them and visit them in the form of bulls, satyrs, or swans, and deign to beget gods upon them! Moreover, had he made men in different form they would not have sacrificed to the gods, sacrifices that are most welcome.

And as to fire, the gods have lost none though men possess it, and the gods should be generous; the gods have no need of fire anyway, since they do not get cold, do not need to cook their ambrosia, and do not need artificial light. Also, the gods enjoy greatly the smoke and incense from

the altars built by men. And if fire is objected to, why permit the sun to shine on men? Do they find fault with him for dissipating their property?

Finally, Prometheus admits that he knew in advance that he would be punished, and also that he will be set free; and he hints at the secret which will lead to his release.

In Lucian's Fifth (formerly First) of the *Dialogues of the Gods* Prometheus asks Zeus for freedom, but the latter says that for all his tricks, stealing, and making men and women he should suffer even greater punishment. Prometheus offers to exchange a secret for freedom and convinces Zeus of his knowledge by telling him that he is at that moment on his way to Thetis. Zeus asks what more he knows and is told that if he marries Thetis their progeny will threaten Zeus's throne. Zeus promptly abandons his plan to marry her and announces that Hephaestus will set Prometheus free.

Finally, Pausanius (second century) made a few miscellaneous references to Prometheus, including a description of the custom of running with burning torches from the Acadamy altar to the Titan, but did not retell the myth (*Description of Greece* I.xxx.2).

The foregoing represent the principal classical uses of the Prometheus story. The next item of interest, although Shelley did not see the work, was the *Prometheus* of Goethe, published in 1830. It is included in summary here because of the known influence of the German poet's *Faust* on the English writer, and because of comparisons frequently made between it and Shelley's poem:

Prometheus declines the offers which Mercury brings from Zeus (Prometheus' father), and says that Time, not his parents, has given him his power to defy the Titans. He questions the power of the gods (with whom he claims no kinship) and holds that Fate is superior to all. Prometheus is left with the clay figures he has made and for whom he wishes life and feeling. Epimetheus then enters and urges Prometheus to accept the offers of power from the gods, but again he refuses, and says he will not surrender his own sphere. Minerva next comes to urge him to accept, but as he declares his independence she offers to show him the fountain of life held by Fate, not Jupiter.

In the second act Mercury tells Jupiter what has happened, and Jupiter, undisturbed, assumes that the creatures of Prometheus will but add to his servants. But we are shown Prometheus and his created human beings, like him unafraid of Jupiter. He teaches them the arts, arbitrates their human quarrels, and finally, to Pandora, he teaches the lesson of death, which he calls the fulfillment of life.

The last act of Goethe's fragment was published in 1789 and is sometimes considered not to be a part of the drama, since it is quite different in spirit from what has gone before. It is a soliloquy in which Prometheus, continuing his creation of independent men, scorns and defies Jupiter.

The final item of importance in the development of the story before Shelley[3] is to be found in Byron's *Prometheus*, composed in 1816 (see Introduction, p. 78):

I.

Titan! to whose immortal eyes
  The sufferings of mortality,
  Seen in their sad reality,
Were not as things that gods despise;
What was thy pity's recompense?
A silent suffering, and intense;
The rock, the vulture, and the chain,
All that the proud can feel of pain,
The agony they do not show,
The suffocating sense of woe,
  Which speaks but in its loneliness,
And then is jealous lest the sky
Should have a listener, nor will sigh
  Until its voice is echoless.

II.

Titan! to thee the strife was given
  Between the suffering and the will,
  Which torture where they cannot kill;
And the inexorable Heaven,
And the deaf tyranny of Fate,
The ruling principle of Hate,
Which for its pleasure doth create
The things it may annihilate,
Refused thee even the boon to die:
The wretched gift eternity
Was thine—and thou hast borne it well.
All that the Thunderer wrung from thee
  Was but the menace which flung back
  On him the torments of thy rack;
  The fate thou didst so well foresee,
  But would not to appease him tell;
  And in thy Silence was his Sentence,
  And in his Soul a vain repentance,
  And evil dread so ill dissembled,
  That in his hand the lightnings trembled.

[3]Among other writers who have touched upon the Prometheus myth as the subject matter of a poem or drama the most distinguished have been the Spanish poet, Calderón (there is no evidence that Shelley read his play on this theme); the Italian, Monti; the Germans, Herder and Schlegel; the Frenchmen, Voltaire, Victor Hugo, and Edgar Quinet; Browning; and Longfellow and Lowell. Julia Power felt that Lowell's poem was directly inspired by Shelley's drama (*Shelley in America*, p. 39).

III.

Thy Godlike crime was to be kind,
To render with thy precepts less
The sum of human wretchedness,
And strengthen Man with his own mind;
But baffled as thou wert from high,
Still in thy patient energy,
In the endurance, and repulse
Of thine impenetrable Spirit,
Which Earth and Heaven could not convulse,
A mighty lesson we inherit:
Thou art a symbol and a sign
To Mortals of their fate and force;
Like thee, Man is in part divine,
A troubled stream from a pure source;
And Man in portions can foresee
His own funereal destiny;
His wretchedness, and his resistance,
And his sad unallied existence:
To which his Spirit may oppose
Itself—and equal to all woes,
And a firm will, and a deep sense,
Which even in torture can descry
Its own concenter'd recompense,
Triumphant where it dares defy,
And making Death a Victory.

APPENDIX F

A BASIC APPROACH TO THE "REPRESENTATIVE VALUES" IN *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND*

Newman Ivey White attributed the allegorical guesswork relative to *Prometheus Unbound* to the "recognized and indisputable fact that the poem as a whole does represent the struggle of humanity against oppression. . . . There is no confusion here; the confusion appears only when subsequent critics have tried to elaborate the meaning of the poem by working out an allegorical mechanism for it" ("Every Man His Own Allegorist," pp. 179-80). One may accept this position readily and still wish to inquire more exactly into what White called "the general representative value of all great art" which he found in the poem (p. 175).

The present approach to the poem thus seeks to go behind the many and frequently contradictory interpretations and to ask, not what Shelley *meant by*, but what he actually *wrote about*, the different characters. Too often interpretations of the poem have been based on key passages, or on the actions and speeches of characters in isolated situations, rather than on an over-all view of the drama. Shelley does not give us neatly compacted summaries of the characteristics of his dramatis personae—he makes direct statements or drops indirect hints (frequently widely separated) that gradually accumulate in the reader's mind. Only by gathering these statements together and arranging them in meaningful sequences can the rounded picture be achieved. And when this is done it becomes impressively clear that his conception of each character was steadily and consistently maintained, and that the interrelationships of characters were equally firm in conception and execution.

In the following listings the characteristics are given either in Shelley's own words or in the closest possible summarizing paraphrase. Every detail of each characterizing statement will be found in one or more of the line references following the statement. In addition to the characteristics of the dramatis personae it has seemed advisable also to indicate the status of the relationships before the action of the play opens, and to add characteristics of Good and Evil as such:

THE STATUS BEFORE THE OPENING OF *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND*

1. Under Saturn, mankind was in a state of primitive innocence, and was refused knowledge by Saturn. II.iv.32-39.

2. With the assistance of Prometheus, and with the agreement that man was to be free, Jupiter overthrew Saturn. But to reign implies evil, and the agreement was not kept. II.iv.43-58.

3. Prometheus gave mankind beauty, love, and culture with which to withstand evil and tyranny, and for this he was chained. II.iv.59-100.

PROMETHEUS

PROMETHEAN QUALITIES

1. He is described as immortal, wise, subtle, good, just, kind, loving, gentle, forgiving, repentant of bitterness, pitying, calm, dreadless, firm, courageous, unsubmitting to Jupiter. I.52-53, 56-58, 70-71, 143, 247, 303-5, 356, 360, 395, 430; III.i.68-69; III.iii.1-4.

2. Wisdom, kindness, and immortality make him superior to Jupiter,[1] and meekness is the key to his overthrow of Jupiter, whose tyranny he could have shared had he deigned to do so. I.18, 144-45, 150, 425-27; II.iii.94-98; III.i.65-69.

3. He recognizes that his earlier character has changed, resulting in earlier hatred being turned to pity (especially for those who are not tortured by evil), and he would recall the curse, which must be repeated only by the spirit of his enemy, and which moves him deeply as it is repeated. I.53, 70-71, 218-20, 303-15, 429, 632-33.

4. His smile, the mark of his calm and the promise of his reunion with Asia, changes ill to good for those who see it. I.359-60, 771; II.i.121-26.

5. His spirit, which is the spirit of immortal youth, makes the heaven of Jupiter seem like hell by contrast. I.358; III.iii.89-90.

6. His spirit blends with that of Panthea. II.i.80-82.

PROMETHEUS BOUND

7. His voice terrified all who heard the curse when it was uttered, for he alone was not under Jupiter's domination (having given him limited power that mankind might be free); but all who heard took hope, for he breathed calm, firm hatred and defiance that made even Jupiter pale. I.1-2, 91-92, 159-62, 184-85, 258-301, 381-82; II.iv.43-45.

8. When Jupiter failed to free men, Prometheus awakened them and gave them arts and culture to alleviate their sufferings, and for this he was chained and all nature became blighted or distorted. I.165-79; II.i.38-40, 59-100; III.iii.124-30.

[1]Although the word "God" is used in some of the following references the context clearly indicates that the god is Jupiter. There is none of the Asia-Demogorgon quibbling on the word as in the opening of II.iv.

9. He is not actually being punished for what he has done, but for the evil made of good by Jupiter. I.380, 389-92.

PROMETHEUS RESISTANT

10. Under Jupiter he, like all who would save mankind, must suffer deeply lest Jupiter bring universal destruction, but despite seeming hopelessness he endures. I.12, 24, 114-19, 125-29, 352, 395-400, 578-79, 594-96.

11. Since he knows the secret of Jupiter's fall he refuses freedom at the price of sharing tyranny or submitting to Jupiter, scorns tortures above which he rises through self-control, and passively awaits his hour of release, which will see the fall of Jupiter, but the time of which he does not know. I.18-20, 44-50, 371-74, 395, 405-6, 414-15, 473-74, 492-93.

PROMETHEUS' PHILOSOPHY

12. He knows that the shadow of the true ideal may appear evil, but in visions of evil (the most torturing of which are those of Christ betrayed and a nation disenchanted) he finds strength for the time when evil will be no more. I.546-77, 643-55.

13. He senses the magnetic force of evil but scorns its power, sorrows for its nature, and considers his empire of suffering superior to the unenvied empire of Jupiter. I.12-17, 450-81.

14. He knows that all hope is vain but love; that evil is balanced by good in the form of courage, sacrifice, wisdom, and imagination; and that physical strength is subservient to wisdom (which is true strength), courage, and long-suffering love (all of which he values above freedom). I.694-751, 807-8, 824; II.iv.43-44; III.iii.1-5.

PROMETHEUS' DESTINY

15. He is destined to be the savior and strength of suffering man, for he will quell death and ruin (which are the shadows of love), and he alone can forestall the conquest by the darkness of a dead past. I.780-88, 816-18; IV.31-34.

16. His union with Asia (who represents love to him, in whose eyes he finds life, and in union with whom lies his only hope) and his freedom are prophesied. I.123, 807-9, 824; II.i.124-26, 196-206; II.ii.89-95.

17. He (with Asia, Panthea, and Ione) will be immutable in the face of change, and he and Asia will find peace and will rejoice in mankind's new-found love and in new arts to come as man grows wise and kind and evil and error disappear; for his kiss will reanimate earth and through her all living things as the change in the world follows his release. III.iii.23-62, 85-90; III.iv.97.

THE PROMETHEAN SYMBOL

18. He is the symbol of the spirit of wisdom which will govern the new world of men, and his emblem is the lamp of hope even beyond the grave. III.iii.170-73; IV.153-58.

19. His character is typical of the means to world victory: to be good, great, joyous, beautiful, free; to suffer, forgive, defy, love, bear, hope; neither to change, falter, nor repent. IV.570-78.

20. Jupiter regards him as the soul of man. III.i.5-17.[2]

Jupiter

JUPITER'S QUALITIES

1. He, Saturn's child, is described as being sleeplessly vigilant,[3] the source of pollution and poison, many forms of evil in the world of men, fiercely omnipotent, heaven's fell king, the supreme and foul tyrant (whose position makes it impossible to be omnipotent and friendly at the same time), possessed of the cruel calmness and strength of one who does, but does not suffer, wrong (hence kindness to him is as punishment to others), with an all-miscreative but subtle brain. I.4, 34, 115, 140, 208, 238-39, 264, 344, 393-94, 448, 638; II.iv.47-48; III.i.54; III.iv.180-83.

2. He is responsible for evil or is the spirit of evil, hence good cannot be done unto him (since evil changes good to evil); and, since evil is its own source of suffering, he is himself a slave to evil and subject finally to eternal love. I.380-89, 480-82; II.iv.19-31, 106-20.

PROMETHEUS VS. JUPITER

3. Prometheus (who has refused to share his unenvied throne) has given Jupiter limited power and such strength, wisdom, and dominion as he possesses; but Jupiter has failed to keep his pact and has become monarch over all living things except Prometheus, on whom his seeming revenge is vain (and is actually defeat instead of victory) so long as Prometheus remains his superior through knowledge of the feared secret of Jupiter's overthrow. I.1-19, 272-74, 371-74, 381-82, 641-42; II.iv.43-46, 113; III.iii.130.

4. Jupiter paled and trembled like a slave at the curse in which Prometheus decreed Jupiter should be damned beholding good, that he should in time be seen for what he is, that his crimes should be false and fruitless, and that he should be pursued by scorn. I.162, 292-301; II.iv.106-8.

5. Yet he is confident that, aided by his son, he will overcome Prometheus. III.i.18-24.

[2]I believe the context justifies this ascription. The argument against it lies in the phrase: "It climbs the crags of life, step after step" (III.i.14). Only figuratively can Prometheus (who is still bound) be thought of as doing this. Surely, however, everything else in the passage can apply only to Prometheus, not to mankind (see Mankind, below). Shelley, who elsewhere in the poem carefully distinguishes between Prometheus and mankind, here appears to permit the two to blend in Jupiter's mind.

[3]See the canceled fragment, ". . . for a tyrant seldom sleeps / Thou never" (Textual Notes at I.37).

JUPITER ASCENDANT

6. From his empire, built on eldest faith and fear (where he rules by falsehood, force, and fear), he rewards those who offer him knee-worship, and shares his glory with them; yet even the furies, whom he arms with their tortures, cannot please him long. I.6, 127, 130, 343-44, 365-67, 409, 435, 494; III.i.1-2, 9-10.

JUPITER DEFEATED

7. Meekness is the weapon which will in time bring ruin and overthrow to Jupiter, and with his fall the elements will refuse to obey him, his throne will be wrapped in lasting night, he will sink to the dark void and abyss, and he will have no successor to the tyranny of his heaven as love fills the void left by the disappearance of evil and sorrow. I.48-54; II.iii.94-98; II.iv.148-49; III.i.57-58, 80; III.ii.10, 18-34; IV.338-55.

8. Should he again return to power the means of his overthrow will be clear. IV.565-69.

ASIA

1. She is one of the Oceanides and immutable in a changing world. II.i.170, 187, 194, 206; II.iv.168, 174; III.iii.23-24, 111.

2. She is described as the shadow of beauty unbeheld, and under many images of brightness, a brightness that increases in intensity as reunion with Prometheus nears, a brightness that illuminates the shapes of earth (for her very footsteps pave the world with loveliness, and the spirit of earth looks to her as to a mother) and transforms the desolation of her exile to beauty. I.826-32; II.i.68-69; II.v.11-14, 48, 54, 60, 66-69; III.iii.6-7; III.iv.19-24.

3. She is also described as the spirit of love[4] which the world asks to share, but of love tempered by suffering; and in her absence many things (even ruins) are mistaken for love. I.763-80, 807-9; II.i.42-43; II.v.34; III.iii.151-52.

4. Even with Prometheus bound she shares his spirit through Panthea and draws life from him even as she gives life and hope to him. I.123, 808; II.i.31, 108-10; II.v.72-76.

5. She foresees reunion and harmony with Prometheus (although she does not know the hour of his release), and, as the time of reunion draws near, she is called by spirits and echoes to follow them to him. During the journey the eclipse of grief under which she has dwelt passes from her and she becomes transcendentally beautiful. II.i.131-63, 196-206; II.iv.124-28, 155; II.v.16-32, 85-97; III.ii.48.

6. Although she alone can awaken Demogorgon, and does so, she realizes that the deep truth is imageless and hence he cannot fully answer her questions. II.i.190-94; II.iv.116, 121-23.

[4]Shelley does not keep her entirely on a Platonic level, however (see III.iv.86-94).

Panthea

1. She is Asia's sister and companions Prometheus in the spirit of love, being so closely one with them that she becomes the shadow of each for the other (like the wind, bearing their messages); she dreams of the inner beauty of Prometheus which permeates her soul and which speaks of Asia; and, though hers is not an audible voice, her spirit speaks through her eyes and she is able to fill the gaps in Asia's dream. I.821-24; II.i.15, 30-31, 50-52, 62-91, 108-13, 119-20, 141-43.

2. With Prometheus chained and Asia exiled, she lost the peace she once knew. II.i.38-41.

Demogorgon

1. He is all-knowing; a veiled, shapeless spirit; a mighty darkness who names himself Eternity and who, responding to the strength of meekness, is awakened to action by Asia seeking reunion with Prometheus, and ascends in the chariot of an immortal hour to overthrow Jupiter by giving form to Jupiter's child. II.i.190-94; II.iii.94-98; II.iv.1-8, 148-55; III.i.18-24, 43-48, 52, 55; IV.510.

2. His is the law that draws all spirits on their way, the oracular voice that, like the wine of life, urges youth onward. II.ii.41-45; II.iii.4-10.

Mankind

1. Mankind, originally happy but denied the birthright of knowledge and culture, found that under Jupiter knowledge gave desires beyond attainment, which consume men and give slaves and tyrants their power. For his attempts to alleviate the situation Prometheus is bound. I.543-45, 575-77; II.iv.34-43, 59-100.

2. Mankind, dominated by fear, trampled down and blasted by Jupiter after Prometheus is bound, a slave to Jupiter, subject to his tyrannies and not daring to oppose him,[5] is misled (since the good lack wisdom and the wise lack love) by appearances in the absence of true love, becomes a many-sided mirror distorting the truth, and tortures those most Christ-like. I.4-5, 128-30, 274-75, 386, 604-20, 627, 776-79; II.iv.49-58; III.iii.126-30; III.iv.40-50; IV.382-84.

3. Though heaven-oppressed, mankind found hope in Prometheus, has been saved from the death seal of captivity by his resistance, and is guided and guarded by the spirits of good. I.159-60, 396-97, 672-74; II.v.34.

4. With Prometheus freed to join Asia, evil and error will fall like the

[5]At III.i.5-16 Jupiter himself says that, though enslaved, the soul of man sets itself against him and remains supreme over misery. In the light of the characteristics elsewhere ascribed to mankind, I believe that III.i.5-16 refers to Prometheus (see note 2).

veils or foul disguises they are, and a transformed mankind, capable of world-shaking thought, will become one brotherhood, will find the fullness of love and the enrichment of culture, and can carry the light of hope beyond the grave, for death will be seen truly as only a veil which those who live call life. II.ii.94-95; II.iii.39-42; III.iii.40-62, 76-82, 93-96, 113, 170-74; III.iv.65-73, 100-204; IV.93-98.

5. Mankind's new world, led by the spirit of wisdom, will be a model for other worlds, and with hate, fear, and pain gone man will be loving, strong, wise, harmonious, self-controlled, and creative; and, though finally not exempt from chance, death, and mutability (which make him human), he will rule them. III.iii.25; III.iv.193-201; IV.156-58, 381-423, 549-69.

Earth

1. She is a living spirit (lovely, but shadowing a spirit lovelier still whose work has been stained by evil), the mother of Prometheus. I.137-39, 153-54; II.iii.12-14.

2. Her light waned and she suffered spasms when Prometheus was chained and separated from Asia, but she calls the good spirits to comfort him when he is tortured, and when he is freed his kiss revives her, she rejoices, gives up her secrets to mankind, and becomes the calm empire of a happy soul. I.162, 656-63; II.i.203-5; III.iii.84-90; IV.319-523.

Spirit of the Earth

1. Before Jupiter reigned it loved Asia (as it does after his fall), calling her "mother" because it did not know its origin. III.iv.15-24.

2. It guides Earth through heaven and has grown wiser and happier through the experience of Jupiter's reign and his overthrow. III.iv.6-7, 34-85.

Mercury

1. He is Jove's world-wandering herald, but pities Prometheus, is forced to oppose him, and urges him to submit to Jupiter and dwell among the gods. I.325, 354-435.

Evil

1. It works through men, is subtle, takes many forms (being encouraged by—among other things—thrones, altars, judgment seats, and prisons), exults in its own deformity, and stains the work of lovely spirits; but with the fall of Jupiter (who is responsible for much of it but is himself a slave to it) it and error will fall like veils; and should it reappear men will know how to overcome it with gentleness, wisdom, virtue, and endurance. I.458, 464, 586-92; II.iii.14; II.iv.19-31, 110-11; III.i.57-58; III.ii.29-31; III.iii.62; III.iv.164-83; IV.562-69.

GOOD

1. God is its source, human thought its home, and courage, sacrifice, wisdom, and imagination among its forms; while wisdom, justice, love, and peace are its prophecy, and gentleness, wisdom, endurance, and assurance its strength in opposing evil. I.659, 694-751, 796-800; II.iv.9-19; IV.562-64.

2. It is founded on suffering, forgiveness, love, and defiance of power. In the form of love it is the final, eternal one. II.iv.119-20; IV.570-78.

These, then, are the characteristics of those persons of the play sufficiently distinguished to admit of detailed analysis. It should be clear from the evidence that Prometheus is not mankind, and that what he does for mankind is in every detail consistent with what the human mind (or soul) does, or is capable of doing, for humanity. This tends to confirm such critics as Rossetti, Todhunter, Symonds, Salt, and others, as against Mrs. Shelley, Vida Scudder, and their followers. Jupiter is clearly equated in Shelley's mind with evil or tyranny and is characterized as such. Asia is stated to be the spirit of love and beauty in close association with the world of nature. Demogorgon names himself Eternity.

Of these four we can be reasonably confident. But to describe Prometheus as "Humanity" or "Satan"; Jupiter as "Fortune," "Custom," or "God"; Asia as "Emotion"; Panthea as "Faith" or "Intuition"; Ione as "Hope"; Demogorgon as "Divine Justice," the "Ancient Principle of Reason," or "Revolution"; Hercules as "the power of divine reason"; Thetis as "false ideals" or "sham love"; and the Phantasm of Jupiter as "a young Prometheus"—as has been done, goes beyond the evidence in the text and makes, indeed, "every man his own allegorist."

If, however, attention is focused on the four principal characters, a defensible statement (supported by the foregoing detailed analysis) of the representational intent of the poet can be made. The following references are to the points of summary under each character as given above,[6] and no effort has been made to include all details, since many are but shadings of the basic ideas and it is the purpose here, even at the risk of oversimplification, to hold to the central line of thought.

THE "REPRESENTATIVE VALUES" OF *PROMETHEUS UNBOUND* AS REVEALED IN SHELLEY'S TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The mind (or soul [P.20]) of man—basically ideal and loving in its qualities (P.1, 5, 18, 19)—accepts temporarily (P.9, 11) a condition of servitude to an evil (J.1) in which it refused to share (P.2, 11), to which it is superior (P.2, 11), of which it is accidentally the author (J.3), and

[6]The following abbreviations have been used: P. for Prometheus; J. for Jupiter; A. for Asia; M. for Mankind; D. for Demogorgon; G. for Good; E. for Evil.

whose tyranny it alleviated by its courage and creative power (P.4, 7, 8). This evil is not supreme (J.3, 4, 7, 8), though confident (J.5, 6) and evidenced in many forms among men (J.1), but is itself a slave and subject finally to eternal love (J.2).

Realizing through suffering (P.3, 10) that forces of permanent good (G.1, 2) balance those of transient if attractive evil (E.1; P.13, 14), the mind of man is satisfied to wait passively for the hour (D.1, 2) of its release from the tortures of evil—whose power it scorns (P.11, 12, 13)—when it will be the savior and strength of suffering men (P.15). When that time arrives, the mind of man will be free in its earthly immortality, and its creative spirit will animate all nature (P.17).

But the mind of man needs for its fulfillment an interplay with the spirit of immortal love and beauty, which is bold enough to ask questions not even eternity can answer satisfactorily (P.16; A.1, 2, 3, 6). Even when separated from this love by evil, man's mind has evidence of love's power (P.6; A.4), but in an imperfect or veiled form, which grows gloriously bright as the time of union nears (A.2, 5). The world shares this revived brightness (A.2), and mankind—formerly confused, oppressed, and dominated by fear (M.1, 2, 3)—with the wisdom resulting from his freed mind (M.5) and the beauty of love seen at last in approximately full brilliance, watches evil and error fall like veils or foul disguises, and is kept from being one with the gods themselves only by the human qualities of chance, death, and mutability, which mankind rules henceforward (M.4).

APPENDIX G

THE TIME SCHEME OF THE POEM

The first attempt to work out the time scheme of *Prometheus Unbound* was made by James Thomson, who found evidence of confusion (*Notes*, 370-371, 400, 464). His suggestions may be schematized as follows:

I.825 ("the eastern star looks white"). The act closes with dawn, following a night in which Panthea and Ione were awake and watching, although in II.i. Panthea tells of her and Ione's sleep and dreams during the period of Act I.

II.i.131 ("Whose stars the noon has quenched not"),[1] 181 ("Through the noontide darkness deep"), and 199 ("By the woodland noontide dew"). These lines suggest that it is past noon. However,

II.ii.89 ("But should we stay to speak, noontide would come") would leave us still in the morning.[2]

II.iii.28-30 ("the keen sky-cleaving mountains / . . . fling / The dawn"). Possibly Asia and Panthea have traveled through the day and night to a second dawn.[3] They now go down to the cave of Demogorgon.

[1]Rossetti disagreed that this contradicts II.ii.89, holding that the words might just as well mean, "The noon has not yet come so as to quench them," as, "The noon has actually come and nevertheless has not quenched them" ("Prometheus as Poem," p. 177).

[2]Piccoli cited II.i.17 ("The point of one white star is quivering still") in comparison with I.825 ("the eastern star looks white") as evidence that this is the same morning as at the end of Act I. But Campbell argued that it could not be the same morning, but a few days later when winter has suddenly changed to spring. She found no evidence that Panthea left in Act I as soon as the eastern star grew pale, and pointed out that Prometheus speaks of "this quiet morning" (I.813) while Asia speaks of a windy morning (II.i.1-7); he of a wintry morning, she of spring (*Shelley and the Unromantics*, pp. 213-14).

[3]Scudder answered: "Perhaps the journey of Asia and Panthea has lasted through twenty-four (dramatic) hours; perhaps it has taken place in a moment of time. . . . There may be one sunrise, or two, or three. The first, in the Indian vale; the second [in II.iii]; the third, replaced by Asia's transfiguration [II.v]. But the position taken by the present writer is that, whatever obscure time-intimations may be found, Shelley's intention was to fix the mind on central points in the sequence of the one great cosmic day" (Edition, p. 152).

II.iv.129 ("through the purple night"). After talking with Demogorgon it is night, the night of Jupiter's fall (II.iv.146-49). This would be the night of the second day if the conjecture above respecting II.iii.28-30 is correct, otherwise of the first day.

II.v.1 ("On the brink of the night and the morning"). This would be the morning of the third day if the conjecture respecting II.iv.129 is correct, otherwise of the second day. In either case, we have apparently advanced beyond the time of Jupiter's fall (III.i), since he was to fall during the preceding night (II.iv.146-49), and did so (III.ii.37-40). Also, II.v.10 ("The sun will rise not until noon") is a phenomenon not referred to in Apollo's speech (III.ii.35-39) or in Ocean's answer (III.ii.39-48).

IV.554 ("This is the day, which down the void abysm"). This would be the same day as that of Jupiter's fall. But II.iv.173 ("We shall rest from long labours at noon") would point to the noon of III.iii when Prometheus is freed. And the spirit speaking at II.iv.173 is sent by Prometheus at III.iii.64 to announce the victory to the universe. At III.iv.96 she returns, but before she does so the Spirit of the Earth relates transformations "within this day" (III.iv.34) and "lately" (III.iv.51) through night (III.iv.55) and into a dawn (III.iv.73) which must have been both before the Spirit of the Hour could proclaim the restoration and even before the freeing of Prometheus, if we are to judge by Demogorgon's "This is the day" (IV.554).

Rossetti saw no confusion except for the proceedings of Panthea at the end of Act I and her narrative at II.i ("Prometheus as Poem," pp. 175-77). His scheme would give the following:

I. Night to morning.

II.i-II.iii. Later the same morning.

II.iv. Afternoon to night.

II.v. Early morning.

III.i-III.ii. Before noon. Thus about thirty-six hours elapse from the opening of the play to the final triumph of Prometheus.

III.iii.64–III.iv. After Prometheus gives the shell to the Spirit of the Hour it is sounded during the hours of moonlight and on to sunlight, and the Spirit returns to Prometheus in the course of the day following the unbinding of Prometheus.

Woodberry, in turn, held:

> The scheme which regards the time as twelve hours, from midnight to high noon, is perhaps most satisfactory. The inconsistencies which conflict with such a theory are no greater than are usually to be found in Shelley's work; and it is not probable that he considered the matter carefully. "Morning" at the beginning of [II.i] is the same as the dawn at the end of the preceding Act; and the journey of Asia and Panthea to the cave of Demogorgon is timeless; it is dawn when they arrive. The phrase [II.v.10], "The sun will rise not until noon" is not to be taken liter-

ally,[4] but only as an image of the amazement in heaven at the fall of Jupiter. Beyond that point the drama has no relation with time whatsoever [Cambridge Edition, p. 623].

Finally, Hughes suggested:

If we wish to make rhyme of the indications, Asia and Panthea are summoned by the Voices soon after daybreak ["The crags, this clear spring morning, mock our voices" (II.i.163)], enter the forest just before noon ["But, should we stay to speak, noontide would come" (II.ii.89)], and come to the mountain at daybreak again—the dawn, therefore, of a second day ["sky-cleaving mountains / . . . fling / The dawn" (II.iii.28-30)]. Demogorgon ascends to Heaven in the night before a third dawn ["Blackening the night" (II.iv.154); "On the brink of the night and the morning" (II.v.i)]; Jupiter falls before the dawn comes ["I hear / . . . the young Spirit / That sits i' the morning star" (III.ii.37-39); "The towers amid the moonlight" (III.iv.55)]; and the dawn is delayed until noon ["The sun will rise not until noon" (II.v.10)]. The fourth Act opens, then, as soon as the sun asserts itself over the stars.

After which Hughes added wisely: "A time-table is hardly apposite to the case" (Edition, p. 204).

[4]Baker disagreed: "Since, however, the noon hour is so close at hand that Asia's transfiguration has already come, it would appear to be Shelley's intention that on this day of days the sun is to be stationary at the dawn position until the great noon hour arrives" (*Shelley's Major Poetry*, p. 108).

APPENDIX H

SHELLEY'S LYRIC INDENTION IN THE E MANUSCRIPT

In the absence of Mrs. Shelley's copy of the E manuscript, made for the printer, it cannot be known whether she or one of the friends entrusted with matters of the press determined the final pattern of lyric indentions to appear in 1820.[1] In any event there are many discrepancies between E and the published poem, as the following tabulation will make clear.[2] (For draft spacing see Appendix A.)

Act I

74-106 As in 1820.
222-39 Each stanza: lines 1-4 margin; 5-7 indented; 8-9 margin. Text line 227 extra indention.
262-301 Each stanza: lines 1-4 margin; 5-8 indented; 9-10 margin. Text lines 263 and 265 extra indention.
302-5 As in 1820. (See Textual Notes.)
306-13 Lines 306-9 indented; 310-11 margin; 312-13 to right margin of page.
314-24 Indented at lines 322 and 324 only.
326-36 Indented at lines 334 and (slightly) 336 only.
495-503 As in 1820.
504-20 Indented at lines 516-17 only, with slight extra indention at 517.
525-39 Indented at line 539 only, with the line successively indented as divided.
540-45 As in 1820.
546-60 Entire passage indented with respect to preceding and following lines, but otherwise at 559-60 only, the latter more than 559.
561-77 As in 1820.

[1] In her 1839 edition Mrs. Shelley followed the 1820 lyric indention except in Act IV as follows: lines 35 and 39 slightly to the left; 443 slightly to the right; 523, 528, 533, 538, 543, 548, and 553 to left margin of the page.

[2] In the tabulation I have used the word "margin" to refer to the left margin of the lyric itself rather than that of the page, unless the latter is specifically indicated. Shelley frequently centers the short-line passages.

672-91 No indention.
694-751 As in 1820.
763-71 Lines 766, 768, and 770 indented.
772-79 As in 1820.
780-88 Lines 782-84 indented.
789-800 No indention.
801-806 No indention, and at left margin of page.

Act II

i.166-70 Lines 166-68 margin; 169-70 as in 1820.
173-87 Lines 173-75 margin; 176-78 indented evenly; 179-87 as in 1820.
190-94 Indented at line 194 only.
196-206 As in 1820.
ii.1-63 No indention.
iii.54-98 As in 1820 except that next to last line of each stanza is carried to left of stanza margin.
iv.163-74 Each stanza: lines 1-3 margin; 4-5 indented; 6 extra indention.
v.1-5 No indention.
48-71 No indention.
72-110 As in 1820 except that lines 82 and 95 are also indented.

Act IV

1-68 As in 1820 except that lines 35, 38, and 39 are not indented; 60 to right margin of page; 68 indented.
69-80 No indention.
83-128 As in 1820.
129-34 No indention.
135-74 As in 1820 except that line 162 is not indented.
175-79 No indention.
319-502 As in 1820 except that lines 331, 443, and 456 are given extra indention, and 444-45 are (clearly accidentally) not indented.
519-48 As in 1820 except that lines 523, 528, 533, 538, 543, and 548 are not indented.
549-78 No indention.

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CR	*Contemporary Review*
EC	*Essays in Criticism*
ES	*English Studies*
HLQ	*Huntington Library Quarterly*
JA	*Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*
JSP	*Journal of Speculative Philosophy*
KSJ	*Keats-Shelley Journal*
MLN	*Modern Language Notes*
MLQ	*Modern Language Quarterly*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MP	*Modern Philology*
NPR	*New Princeton Review*
NQ	*Notes and Queries*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
SP	*Studies in Philology*
SR	*Sewanee Review*
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement* (London)
UTQ	*University of Toronto Quarterly*
YR	*Yale Review*

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