

BROWNING

BROWNING SELECTED POEMS

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The Times Literary Supplement

EDITED BY JOHN WOOLFORD,
DANIEL KARLIN
AND JOSEPH PHELAN



ROUTLEDGE

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Note by the General Editors

Longman Annotated English Poets was launched in 1965 with the publication of Kenneth Allott's edition of *The Poems of Matthew Arnold*. F. W. Bateson wrote that the 'new series is the first designed to provide university students and teachers, and the general reader with complete and fully annotated editions of the major English poets'. That remains the aim of the series, and Bateson's original vision of its policy remains essentially the same. Its 'concern is primarily with the *meaning* of the extant texts in their various contexts'. The two other main principles of the series were that the text should be modernized and the poems printed 'as far as possible in the order in which they were composed'.

These broad principles still govern the series. Its primary purpose is to provide an annotated text giving the reader any necessary contextual information. However, flexibility in the detailed application has proved necessary in the light of experience and the needs of a particular case (and each poet is, by definition, a particular case).

First, proper glossing of a poet's vocabulary has proved essential and not something which can be taken for granted. Second, modernization has presented difficulties, which have been resolved pragmatically, trying to reach a balance between sensitivity to the text in question and attention to the needs of a modern reader. Thus, to modernize Browning's text has a double redundancy: Victorian conventions are very close to modern conventions, and Browning had firm ideas on punctuation. Equally, to impose modern pointing on the ambiguities of Marvell would create a misleading clarity. Third, in the very early days of the series Bateson hoped that editors would be able in many cases to annotate a *textus receptus*. That has not always been possible, and where no accepted text exists or where the text is controversial, editors have been obliged to go back to the originals and create their own text. The series has taken, and will continue to take, the opportunity not only of providing thorough annotations not available elsewhere, but also of making important scholarly textual contributions where necessary. A case in point is the edition of *The Poems of Tennyson* by Christopher Ricks, the Second Edition of which (1987) takes into account a full collation of the Trinity College Manuscripts, not previously available for an edition of this kind. Yet the series' primary purpose remains annotation.

The requirements of a particular author take precedence over principle. It would make little sense to print Herbert's *Temple* in the order of composition even if it could be established. Where Ricks rightly decided that Tennyson's reader needs to be given the circumstances of composition, the attitude to Tennyson and his circle, allusions, and important variants, a necessary consequence was the exclusion of twentieth-century critical responses. Milton, however, is a very different case. John Carey

and Alastair Fowler, looking to the needs of their readers, undertook synopses of the main lines of the critical debate over Milton's poetry. Finally, chronological ordering by date of composition will almost always have a greater or lesser degree of speculation or arbitrariness. The evidence is usually partial, and is confused further by the fact that poets do not always write one poem at a time and frequently revise at a later period than that of composition.

John Barnard
Paul Hammond

Introduction

This selection from the poems of Robert Browning is drawn from the Longman *Annotated English Poets* edition, of which three volumes have appeared: vol. I (1826–1840), vol. II (1841–1846) and vol. III (1847–1861). Errors and misprints have been corrected, and there are some new and revised notes. It also includes some items from the forthcoming vol. IV (1862–1871). This selection therefore presents work from the period when nearly all of Browning's best-known poetry was published. This introduction draws in part upon the introduction to the first volume of our edition.

I Principles of this Selection

Of Browning's longer single-volume poems we include *Pauline* (1833) and *Pippa Passes* (1842). *Pauline* was his first published poem, and is of interest not only for its curious publication history—it appeared anonymously, only to be immediately withdrawn, reappearing, revised, thirty-five years later in 1868—but also for its place in Browning's poetic development. It constitutes a crucial act of poetic self-definition, in which Browning reflects on and transforms his Romantic inheritance. It is thus, in more than one sense, a manifesto, representing the fraught transition from Romantic to Victorian poetics, a process continued, with some popular success, in *Paracelsus* (1835), but disastrously in *Sordello* (1840), the most catastrophic poetic failure of the nineteenth century. *Pippa Passes* was the first poem published after this *débâcle*, and represents in this selection Browning's early love-affair with the drama. In the period 1837–1855 he published nine plays, of which two—*Strafford* (1837) and *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* (1843)—were produced, without much success, at Drury Lane Theatre by the actor-manager William Macready; two, *King Victor and King Charles* (1842) and *The Return of the Druses* (1843), were rejected by Macready; one, *Colombe's Birthday* (1843), was accepted by Macready's rival Charles Kean, but not produced by him (though it was eventually staged in 1853); the others, *Pippa Passes*, *Luria* (1846), *A Soul's Tragedy* (1846) and *In a Balcony* (1855), were not offered to any theatre and were probably not intended to be (though some, notably *In a Balcony*, have been produced subsequently). With *Paracelsus* they therefore form contributions to the genre of the unacted drama, founded by Goethe's *Faust* and continued in such English Romantic contributions as Byron's *Manfred* and Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*. The LAEP policy is to include unacted dramas, but exclude plays written for the stage.

All Browning's plays (except *Strafford*, which was published separately in 1837, and *In a Balcony*, which appeared in *Men and Women*) were published in a series of pamphlets entitled *Bells and Pomegranates* (1841–1846), a venture designed to re-establish Browning's popular standing after *Sordello*. This series also contained Browning's first collections of shorter poems,

Dramatic Lyrics (1842) and *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* (1845). *Dramatic Lyrics* included the earlier *Porphyria* and *Johannes Agricola* (both published in the *Monthly Repository* in 1836); dramatic lyrics similar to these (such as *Soliloquy of the Spanish Cloister*); and the earliest examples of the genre with which Browning is peculiarly associated, the dramatic monologue (distinguished from the dramatic lyric by the implied presence of a listener or interlocutor). Browning's earliest dramatic monologue, *My Last Duchess* (1842), remains his most celebrated poem, though *The Tomb at St. Praxed's* (*Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*) was the first to be written in blank verse, possibly influenced by Tennyson's *St. Simeon Stylites*, published in 1842. Most of the long or medium-length dramatic monologues that dominate Browning's best-known collections, *Men and Women* (1855) and *Dramatis Personae* (1864), are in blank verse, e.g. *Fra Lippo Lippi*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, *Cleon* (all 1855); *Caliban upon Setebos*, *A Death in the Desert* and *Mr. Sludge, "the Medium"* (all 1864). However, there are notable monologues in various rhyme schemes, e.g. *Two in the Campagna* (1855) and *Dŕs Aliter Visum* (1864).

Both *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personae* also include poems in other genres. These are mainly dramatic lyrics, such as *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower came* (1855) and *Abt Vogler* (1864); but *Men and Women* also includes a one-act play (*In a Balcony*), and other, less easily classifiable works such as the pseudo-medieval 'interlude' *The Heretic's Tragedy*, while *Dramatis Personae* has Browning's only 'sequence' poem, *James Lee*.

Our policy in this selection has been to include works in all the genres to which Browning contributed, and works generally regarded as his most significant and successful. In addition we provide, in appendices, other helpful material: his principal prose work and major aesthetic manifesto, known as the 'Essay on Shelley' (1852); his correspondence with John Ruskin concerning *Men and Women* (1856); and accounts of the collections represented in this volume, *Bells and Pomegranates*, *Men and Women* and *Dramatis Personae*.

II Editorial Policy

Our editorial policy follows that of the *LAEP* edition as a whole. We print the poems in their order of composition, as far as that can be determined, using the texts of their first published editions (obvious misprints are corrected). The following rationale for our choice of the first-edition texts is taken from vol. I:

It is arguable . . . that an author's earlier intentions may have as great a claim on a modern reader's attention as his final ones. A poem, or any other literary work, on its first publication emerges from, and enters into, a particular historical and biographical context which determines important elements of its identity. This frame of reference is progressively attenuated in subsequent republications, since the historical and biographical context necessarily changes, and while it is clear that alterations to the text may be designed precisely to adapt it to this

changing context, that very process creates a fresh historical identity for the poem and to that extent marks a change in the writer's intention. The context of the publication of *Pauline* in 1833—a young writer's anonymous first attempt—differs sharply from that of its republication, over fifty years later, in the *Poetical Works* of 1888–9—an established public figure's valediction. There can, then, be no 'best text', since each text, as the representative of a different intention, possesses a differing rather than a cumulative value; and if the final text has, as this argument implies, no greater claim to authority than any other, the question becomes, which text presents the most interesting and important realization of its historical contingency? In our view, the answer in Browning's case is the first edition text. A suggestive example is *The Lost Leader*, originally a satire inspired by Wordsworth's assumption of the Poet Laureateship in 1843, but increasingly at odds, as Browning himself clearly felt, with his own growing respect for Wordsworth, especially in the years after the poet's death. Accordingly, the language of the poem modulates from 'Strike our face hard ere we shatter his own' (1845: l. 30) to 'Aim at our heart ere we pierce through his own' (1849) to 'Menace our heart ere we master his own' (1863–88)—moving away from direct physical aggression . . . The rationale of the LAEP series, which aims to present a poet's work in the chronological order of its *composition*, makes our choice of the first published text as copy-text especially appropriate. (I xiii–xiv).

It should be added that across time this policy makes a steadily decreasing amount of difference: Browning revised his early poetry quite heavily in his first collected edition (1849), and while he withdrew many of these changes in 1863, many were allowed to stand. Subsequent poems are much less heavily revised, though exceptions exist (see, for instance, section viii of *James Lee*, pp. 680–4). In most instances, the first edition is fairly close to the final text; and Browning himself, in a comment on Wordsworth's practice, expressed a preference for the originally published text.

III Annotation

a) *The headnote*

The primary rationale of this selection, like that of the complete edition from which it derives, is annotation, and this volume can reasonably claim to be the only fully annotated selection of the poems of Browning yet published. For each poem we give in a headnote:

- a) its publication history;
- b) its date, where ascertainable, and an account of its process of composition, if obtainable;
- c) sources and influences (biographical and historical contexts, the history of ideas, literary sources and parallels)
- d) parallels in other Browning poems.

Where necessary, categories are added, as for instance for *Pauline*, which has a section on *Story and structure*. Where we give an account of a poem's critical reception, this is normally restricted (as in the LAEP *Tennyson*) to comments by contemporaries or near-contemporaries: considerations of space make extensive citation of modern criticism impracticable.

b) *Textual notes*

Textual notes are indicated by a square bracket after the word or phrase, as in *The Tomb at St. Praxed's*:

73. *I shall have*] have I not (1845–88).

or after the line number if the whole line is concerned, as in *England in Italy*:

11.] All the memories plucked at Sorrento (1849).

The dates in brackets indicate the edition or editions where the variant reading appears. When a variant appears in a succession of editions, we specify the first and last: (1849–88) means that the variant in question appeared in every edition published between 1849 and 1888, whereas (1849, 1888) would indicate that the variant appears in these two editions only, and that other editions between these dates correspond to the first-edition reading (or offer different readings, which we record separately). In general, where volumes of selections bear the same date as those of collected editions, the date of the latter is deemed to include that of the former, so that (1849–63) indicates a variant found in both the *Poetical Works* and, where applicable, the *Selections from the Poetical Works* of 1863.

The addition in later texts of one or more whole lines is indicated by the caret mark (^), as in this example from *Andrea del Sarto*:

199^200.] B. added a line in a copy of his 6-vol. *Poetical Works*, now at the Pierpont Morgan Library . . . The line reads: 'Yes, all I care for if he spoke the truth'.

Where Browning revised a line and then added one or more lines, the original line number is used with no caret mark (the example is from *Bishop Blougram's Apology*):

978.] While the great Bishop rolled him out a mind / Long rumped,
till creased consciousness lay smooth. (1880–88, except 1888 has 'crumpled').

Besides MSS, proofs, individual volumes, separate editions of poems and volumes annotated by Browning, we have used the following collected and selected editions in our collation (unrevised reprints of these editions are not listed):

Poems, 2 vols, London, Chapman & Hall 1849 ('New Edition')

Poetical Works, 3 vols, London: Chapman & Hall 1863 ('Third Edition')

Selections from Poetical Works, London: Chapman & Hall 1863

Poetical Works, 3 vols, London: Chapman & Hall 1865 ('Fourth Edition')*

- A Selection from the Works*, London: Edward Moxon 1865 ('Moxon's Miniature Poets')
Poetical Works, 6 vols, London: Smith, Elder 1868
Poetical Works, 6 vols, London: Smith, Elder 1870*
Selections from Poetical Works, London: Smith, Elder 1872 (after the publication of 1880, re-titled *Selections . . . First Series*)
Poetical Works, 6 vols, London: Smith, Elder 1875*
Selections from Poetical Works, Second Series, London: Smith, Elder 1880
Selections from Poetical Works, 2 vols, London: Smith, Elder 1884 ('New Edition')*
Poetical Works, 16 vols, London: Smith, Elder 1888–9
Poetical Works, 16 vols, London: Smith Elder 1889*

*1865 is a revised reissue of 1863; 1870 and 1875 are revised reissues of 1868; 1884 is a revised reissue of the combined 1872 and 1880 volumes of selections; 1889 is a re-issue of 1888 with revisions to vols i–ix. Since their contents remained unchanged, these reissues are not listed in the textual histories of the poems they contain, though their significant textual variants are, of course, included in those poems' collations. Michael Meredith, following a suggestion by Warner Barnes, has definitively established that the 1870 and 1875 'reissues' of 1868 were actually revised texts: see 'Learning's Crabbed Text: a Reconsideration of the 1868 edition of Browning's *Poetical Works*', *SBHC* xiii (1985) 97–107.

Volumes of selections which Browning is known to have supervised, and which show significant revision, we count as substantive texts. In a number of instances, their revision anticipates that of subsequent collected editions; occasionally, they appear to have afforded Browning the opportunity to try out a variation, as with *England in Italy*, which in the 1872 *Selections* (and subsequent reissues) was printed in long rather than short lines (see p. 254), a change never implemented in a collected edition. It should be noted that corrected reissues of Browning's 1872 and 1880 volumes of selections have a separate textual history from that of the collected editions, since Browning entered revisions for these reissues on a copy of the preceding selected edition.

In textual notes, short titles for all editions are by date. Short titles for particular poems and individual poems are also by date, indicated in the headnote: thus, in *Pippa Passes*, 1841 refers to the first edition of the poem, and, in *My Last Duchess*, 1842 refers to the date of *Dramatic Lyrics*, the collection in which the poem first appeared. For convenience' sake the edition of 1888–9 is referred to in the notes as 1888; we take this to be the final collected edition, agreeing with P. Kelley and W. S. Peterson ('Browning's Final Revisions', *BIS* i [1973] 87–118) that the reprinted text of this edition issued as 1889 is not reliable; we have recorded its very few substantive readings, but used it otherwise, along with Browning's own lists of corrections, only as a guide to misprints in 1888. An exception to the use of dates as short titles relates to periodical publication, where the short title derives from the periodical: thus in *The Tomb at St. Praxed's*, *Hood's* refers to the issue of *Hood's Magazine* in which

the poem first appeared. The date of the periodical publication is recorded in the headnote.

In accordance with the policy of LAEP, our edition does not offer a complete textual apparatus. Information about the scale and general character of revisions to particular poems is given in the headnotes; the notes provide a substantial selection of variants from other texts. We record all substantive verbal changes in editions published in Browning's lifetime and which he is known to have supervised. Other variants (e.g. punctuation, minor changes of form or spelling, variation between upper and lower case, misprints in later editions) are not normally recorded, except where there is a significant alteration or clarification of meaning, or where a point of additional interest arises. Where further changes were made to a substantive variant in subsequent editions, we record all such changes, including minor ones, in order to avoid giving an incorrect or misleading history. For reasons of clarity, however, we have not recorded changes in the use of quotation marks before each line in passages of direct or reported speech.

Titles are those under which a poem was first published, except in the case of poems published under collective titles which were subsequently dropped. *My Last Duchess*, for example, was originally published under the title *Italy* in a pair with *Count Gismond*, which appeared as *France*. Since there is no evidence that such pairs were composed together, or in the order in which they appeared, we abandon the collective titles and use the poems' later titles, but print these with an asterisk to indicate that they were not part of the first-edition text. In cases where the first published title differs from the later and more familiar one, we print the original title followed by the later one in square brackets:

The Tomb at St. Praxed's

[The Bishop Orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church]

We give all versions of titles in the Contents and the Index of Titles and First Lines.

c) Explanatory notes

Explanatory notes are indicated by a colon after the word or phrase to be glossed; where the whole line is glossed, the notes directly follows the line number. Thus, in *The Tomb at St. Praxed's*:

71. *block*: this is part of the tomb, not the bath.

or, in *Waring*:

77. Either 'accepting, swallowing our contempt for her' or 'espousing, adopting her attitude of contempt for us'.

Where a long passage involves complex narrative or argument, we have supplied a general note giving an overview, followed by more detailed notes to particular lines or groups of lines.

We annotate the following:

- a) proper names;
- b) difficult or archaic words, or words used in an unusual or obsolete sense;
- c) difficult or convoluted syntax;
- d) historical context, biographical or general;
- e) comments of contemporaries (such as Elizabeth Barrett's on the poems of *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics*).

d) *Short titles and cross-references*

Short titles are used for poems included in this volume, in a form which should make them readily identifiable: *Andrea* for *Andrea del Sarto*, *Fra Lippo* for *Fra Lippo Lippi*, etc. Some short titles drop the apostrophe: *Bishop Blougram* for *Bishop Blougram's Apology*, *A Grammarian* for *A Grammarian's Funeral*. The definite article is always dropped, but the treatment of the indefinite article varies: *Patriot* for *The Patriot*, *Lovers' Quarrel* for *A Lovers' Quarrel*, but *An Epistle* for *An Epistle Containing the Strange Medical Experience of Karshish, the Arab Physician*. References to poems in this volume are by simple page number, e.g. 'see *Youth and Art* (p. 700)' or 'see *Apparent Failure* 7–8n. (p. 710)'.

Titles of poems published in vols. I – III of our edition, but not included in this volume, are given in full, except that definite and indefinite articles are omitted: *Flight of the Duchess* for *The Flight of the Duchess*, *Soul's Tragedy* for *A Soul's Tragedy*, etc. References to such poems give their volume and page number, e.g. 'see headnote to *Flight of the Duchess* (II 295)' or 'see *Paracelsus* iii 557n. (I 216)'.

Titles of poems not published in vols. I – III are given in full, with some exceptions (see below). Titles of poems which are also the title of the volume are followed by the date, e.g. *Fifine at the Fair* (1872); titles of individual poems are followed by the title and date of the volume in which they appeared, e.g. *Cherries* (*Ferishtah's Fancies*, 1883). The exceptions are *Ring*, the short title for *The Ring and the Book*, *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau* for *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*; and *Parleyings* for *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day*. In addition, *Ring* is not followed by a date. The individual poems in *Parleyings* appear in the contents page of that volume as 'With Bernard de Mandeville', 'With Christopher Smart', etc., but the preposition is dropped here, as in 'see the opening lines of *Christopher Smart* (*Parleyings*, 1887)'.

Our aim is to provide the modern reader with a route to understanding what a Victorian reader would have brought to poems then as now considered difficult, thereby opening up to the light a remarkable, highly complex and strenuously rewarding body of work.

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Chronological Table of Robert Browning's Life and Chief Publications

- 1812 (7 May) Born Camberwell, south-east London, son of Robert Browning, clerk in the Bank of England, and Sarah Anna Browning (née Wiedemann). Father, a kindly and eccentric bibliophile, owns large library from which much of B.'s heterogeneous learning derives. Mother a devout Nonconformist, lover of music and gardens.
- 1814 Birth of sister, Sarianna.
- c. 1820 Pupil at the Reverend Thomas Ready's school, Peckham, near Camberwell.
- 1826 Leaves Ready's school; educated at home for two years. Discovers the work of Shelley, and under his influence becomes for a brief period atheist and vegetarian. Writes a volume of poems (*Incondita*) but subsequently destroys them; two survive in a friend's copy (vol. I, nos. 1 and 2). Makes the acquaintance of his 'literary father', W. J. Fox, Unitarian and Radical, editor of *Monthly Repository*, in which some of B.'s early poems will be published.
- 1828 (October) Enrols in newly founded London University (later University College London) for classes in Latin, Greek, and German.
- 1829 (May) Leaves London University.
- c. 1830 Member of 'The Set' or 'The Colloquials', informal literary and debating society; contact with individual members (Alfred Domett, Joseph Arnould) continues until marriage.
- 1833 (March) Publishes *Pauline* anonymously. The poem sells no copies and passes virtually unnoticed; B. conceals his authorship of it from all but close friends until forced by threat of pirated publication to include it in *Poetical Works* of 1868.
- 1834 (March-June) Travels overland to St Petersburg in company of Russian Consul-General.
(August) Meets young French aristocrat, Amédée de Ripert-Monclar, who becomes close friend and stimulates interest in French literature and history; B. and Monclar join newly formed Institut Historique of Paris.
- 1835 (August) Publishes *Paracelsus*, which has critical success and brings B. to notice of London literary society. Important friendships follow with John Forster, editor of the *Examiner*, and with the actor-manager William Charles Macready.
- 1836 (January) *Porphyria* and *Johannes Agricola*, B.'s first dramatic lyrics, published in *Monthly Repository*.

- (*April*) First meeting with Thomas Carlyle already a strong influence through his writings.
- (*May*) Forster's *Life of Strafford* published; B. had helped Forster to complete the writing of the book. Attends dinner to celebrate success of T. N. Talfourd's tragedy *Ion*, where Wordsworth drinks his health; also meets Walter Savage Landor, a strong contemporary influence. Macready asks B. to 'write him a play'.
- 1837 (*May*) Publishes first play, *Strafford*, simultaneously produced at Covent Garden with Macready in title role; performed five times.
- 1838 (*April–July*) Travels to Italy by sea, exploring Venice and the Trevisan region, including 'delicious Asolo', a lifelong love; returns to England overland.
- 1840 (*March*) Publishes *Sordello*, received with near-universal incomprehension and derision.
- 1841 (*April*) Publishes *Pippa Passes*, first number of series called *Bells and Pomegranates* (*B & P*), issued in the form of cheap paper-bound pamphlets.
- 1842 (*March*) Publishes play, *King Victor and King Charles* (*B & P* ii), previously rejected for production by Macready. B.'s friend and subsequent benefactor John Kenyon offers to introduce him to Elizabeth Barrett, but she declines for reasons of ill health.
- (*July*) Publishes anonymous essay on 18th-century poet and forger Thomas Chatterton in *Foreign Quarterly Review* (see Appendix C, vol. II, p. 475).
- (*November*) Publishes *Dramatic Lyrics* (*B & P* iii).
- 1843 (*January*) Publishes play, *The Return of the Druses* (*B & P* iv), previously rejected for production by Macready.
- (*February*) Publishes play, *A Blot in the 'Scutcheon* (*B & P* v), which Macready had reluctantly agreed to produce, and over which he and B. quarrelled; the play is performed without Macready and runs for three nights at Drury Lane to diminishing audiences and enthusiasm.
- 1844 (*April*) Publishes play, *Colombe's Birthday* (*B & P* vi), previously rejected for production by Charles Kean. B. never again wrote for the stage.
- (*July–December*) Travels by sea to Italy (Naples, Rome, Tuscany), returning overland. While B. is abroad, EBB.'s *Poems* published, one of which, *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, contains flattering allusion to B., who reads it on his return and, with Kenyon's encouragement, determines to write to her.
- 1845 (*10 January*) Writes first letter to EBB.: beginning of correspondence and, eventually, courtship (clandestine because EBB.'s father opposed any of his children marrying).
- (*20 May*) First visit to EBB. in Wimpole Street.
- (*November*) Publishes *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* (*B & P* vii).
- 1846 (*April*) Publishes two plays, *Luria* and *A Soul's Tragedy* (*B & P* viii, the final number); neither intended for performance.

- (12 September) Secret marriage to EBB.; a week later they leave England, travel through France to Pisa.
- 1847 (April) B. and EBB. move to Florence, eventually settling in 'Casa Guidi', which became their permanent residence.
- 1848-9 Rebellions in several Italian states against Austrian rule; B. and EBB. support Italian nationalism.
- 1849 (January) Publishes *Poems* (2 vols.), changing publisher from Moxon to Chapman & Hall; first collection of previously published work (excluding *Sordello*), with considerable though unevenly distributed revision.
(March) Birth of son, Robert Wiedemann Barrett Browning (nicknamed 'Penini' or 'Pen'). Death of B.'s mother.
(Summer) At Bagni di Lucca, EBB. shows B. her sonnets on their courtship, which he persuades her to publish under the title *Sonnets from the Portuguese*.
- 1850 (April) Publishes *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day*. EBB. publishes *Poems*, including *Sonnets from the Portuguese*.
- 1851 EBB. publishes *Casa Guidi Windows*.
(June) B. and EBB. travel to Paris.
(July-September) First visit to England since marriage.
- 1851-2 (Winter) In Paris, B. and EBB. witness Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* and accession to power, which EBB. supports but B. opposes.
- 1852 Publishes *Essay on Shelley* as introduction to collection of Shelley's letters; volume withdrawn soon after publication when all but two of the letters turn out to be forgeries.
(January) First meeting with French critic Joseph Milsand; close friendship till Milsand's death in 1886.
(July) Trip to England; B.'s father sued for breach of promise of marriage; after judgment against him, flees to Paris accompanied by B. and settles there with Sarianna. B. revisits England; returns to Italy with EBB. in October.
- 1855 (July) During a visit to London, B. and EBB. attend séance conducted by American medium D. D. Home, which highlights difference of opinion about spiritualism (EBB. a believer, B. a sceptic).
(November) Publishes *Men and Women*; hopes of its being more popular with critics and public are disappointed.
- 1856 EBB. publishes *Aurora Leigh* to critical and popular acclaim. Death of John Kenyon, whose bequest of £11,000 leaves B. and EBB. financially secure.
- 1859 Gives refuge to Walter Savage Landor after Landor quarrels with family; looks after Landor until his death in 1864.
- 1860 EBB. publishes *Poems Before Congress*.
(June) Finds 'Old Yellow Book', basis of *The Ring and the Book*, on market-stall in Florence.
- 1861 (29 June) EBB. dies at Casa Guidi; buried in Protestant cemetery, Florence. A month later, B. leaves Florence with Pen and

- settles in London. His usual pattern from now is to spend the 'season' in London, taking long summer holidays in Scotland or abroad (France, Switzerland, and, towards the end of his life, Italy once more, though never Florence).
- 1862 Publishes EBB.'s *Last Poems*.
- 1863 Publishes *Poetical Works* (3 vols) including *Sordello*; a revised reissue published in 1865. (*Winter*) Meets Julia Wedgwood; their close friendship broken off by her in 1865.
- 1864 (*May*) Publishes *Dramatis Personae*; later in the year a second edition is required, for the first time in B.'s career. From this time, B.'s reputation improves steadily after years of comparative neglect and obscurity.
- 1865 Publishes *A Selection from the Works* ('Moxon's Miniature Poets' series).
- 1866 (*June*) Death of B.'s father in Paris. Sarianna moves to London and lives with B. until his death.
- 1867 (*June*) Oxford University awards B. honorary MA; shortly afterwards Balliol College (the Master, Benjamin Jowett, is a friend) makes him an honorary Fellow (B.'s attempt to enter Pen at Balliol is however unsuccessful; he is obliged to go to Christ Church instead).
- 1868 Publishes *Poetical Works* (6 vols., including *Pauline*), changing publisher from Chapman & Hall to Smith, Elder. Revised reissues published 1870, 1875. Refuses Rectorship of St Andrews University (and again in 1877 and 1884).
- 1868–9 (*November–February*) Publishes *The Ring and the Book* in four monthly volumes, each containing three books of the poem; widespread critical acclaim. A second edition was published in 1872.
- 1869 (*March*) Presented, with Carlyle, to Queen Victoria.
(*September*) Refuses proposal of marriage from Louisa, Lady Ashburton.
- 1871 (*August*) Publishes *Balaustion's Adventure*, a narrative poem incorporating a 'transcript' (translation) of Euripides' play *Alcestitis*; it proves one of his most popular poems, reaching several editions.
(*December*) Publishes *Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau, Saviour of Society*, based on the career of Napoleon III.
- 1872 Publishes *Selections from the Poetical Works*: after the publication of a second volume in 1880, re-titled *Selections . . . First Series*. Both volumes were many times reissued; a 'New Edition' in 1884 contains some revisions.
(*June*) Publishes *Fifine at the Fair*. The poem is a failure, and causes a breach with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who is convinced it contains an attack upon him.
- 1873 (*May*) Publishes *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*.
- 1874 Pen begins career as artist under Jean Arnould Heyermans in Antwerp; later studies sculpture in Rodin's studio in Paris; B.

- assiduously promotes his son's work, but Pen's career lapses after marriage (1887).
- 1875 (April) Publishes *Aristophanes' Apology*, which like *Balaustion's Adventure* contains a 'transcript' of a play by Euripides, the *Heracles*. (November) Publishes *The Inn Album*.
- 1876 (July) Publishes *Pacchiarotto and How He Worked in Distemper: with Other Poems*.
- 1877 (September) Sudden death of his friend Annie Egerton Smith, on holiday with B. and Sarianna; commemorated in *La Saisiaz*. (October) Publishes *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (translation).
- 1878 (May) Publishes (in one volume) *La Saisiaz* and *The Two Poets of Croisic*. (September) Revisits Asolo for first time since 1838.
- 1879 (April) Publishes *Dramatic Idyls*. (June) Cambridge University awards B. the degree of LL.D.
- 1880 Publishes *Selections from the Poetical Works, Second Series*: see entry for 1872. (June) Publishes *Dramatic Idyls, Second Series*.
- 1881 (October) First meeting of Browning Society, founded by F. J. Furnivall and Emily Hickey.
- 1882 (June) Oxford University awards B. the degree of DCL.
- 1883 (March) Publishes *Jocoseria*, which sells well and reaches several editions.
- 1884 (April) Edinburgh University awards B. the degree of LL.D. (November) Publishes *Ferishtah's Fancies*, one of the most popular of his later works, reaching several editions.
- 1885 Declines Presidency of newly formed Shelley Society.
- 1887 (January) Publishes *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day*. (October) Marriage of Pen Browning and Fannie Coddington (the couple eventually separated; there were no children).
- 1888-9 Publishes *Poetical Works* (16 vols.).
- 1889 (12 December) Dies in Venice on day of publication of last volume, *Asolando*. (31 December) Buried in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey.

Abbreviations

B. Robert Browning

EBB. Elizabeth Barrett Browning

For books, the place of publication is London unless otherwise specified.

I *Browning's works*

Sections 1, 2 and 3 list only those short titles which consist of dates or initials. References to individual poems included in this volume are either complete (e.g. *My Star, Love in a Life*) or use the first word or phrase of the title, omitting definite articles and apostrophes (e.g. *Pippa* for *Pippa Passes*, *Patriot* for *The Patriot*, *Bishop Blougram* for *Bishop Blougram's Apology*). The full titles of these works can be identified from the Index of Titles and First Lines. References to individual poems not included in this volume, and to titles of books, are usually complete (*Aristophanes' Apology*, *Halbert and Hob*), with the exception of one major work, *The Ring and the Book*, which is referred to as *Ring*; a few poems with very long titles are likewise referred to by their first word or phrase (e.g. *Very Original Poem* for *Very Original Poem, Written with Even a Greater Endeavour Than Ordinary After Intelligibility, and Hitherto Only Published on the First Leaf of the Author's Son's Account-Book*). The full titles of these works may be found in the alphabetical list of Browning's works published as Appendix B in vol. I.

One case in particular requires mentioning. Browning's 1887 collection *Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in Their Day* contains a number of poems which are headed 'With', the word 'Parleying' being understood: *With Bernard de Mandeville*, *With George Bubbs Dodington*, *With Christopher Smart*, and so on. We use the short title *Parleyings* for the volume, and the names alone for the individual poems: *Christopher Smart* (*Parleyings*, 1887).

1 *Collected works issued in Browning's lifetime*

1849 *Poems*, 2 vols (Chapman and Hall 1849)

1863 *Poetical Works*, 3 vols (Chapman and Hall 1863) [on title page: 'Third Edition']

1865 *Poetical Works*, 3 vols (Chapman and Hall 1865) [on title page: 'Fourth Edition']

1868 *Poetical Works*, 6 vols (Smith, Elder 1868)

1870 *Poetical Works*, 6 vols (Smith, Elder 1870)

1875 *Poetical Works*, 6 vols (Smith, Elder 1875)

1888 *Poetical Works*, 16 vols (Smith, Elder 1888–9)

1889 *Poetical Works*, 16 vols (Smith, Elder 1889)

Note: 1865 is a revised reissue of 1863; 1870 and 1875 are revised reissues of 1868. 1889 is a partially revised reprint of 1888: before his death B. made corrections to the first ten volumes of 1888 as they appeared. Since

their contents remained unchanged, these reissues are not separately listed in the textual history of each poem as it is given in the headnote, though significant variants are included in the notes.

2 *Selections issued in Browning's lifetime*

- 1863² *Selections from the Poetical Works* (Chapman and Hall 1863)
 1865² *Selections from the Poetical Works* (Moxon, 1865) ['Moxon's Miniature Poets']
 1872 *Selections from the Poetical Works* (Smith, Elder 1872)
 1880 *Selections from the Poetical Works*, Second Series (Smith, Elder 1880)
 1884 *Selections from the Poetical Works*, 2 vols (Smith, Elder 1884) [on title page of vol. i, 'First Series', on title page of vol. ii, 'Second series']

Note: 1884 is a revised reissue of 1872 and 1880. As with the reissues of 1863 and 1868, we do not list 1884 separately in the textual history given in the headnote, but do record its significant variants.

3 *Single volumes and collections of shorter poems issued in Browning's lifetime*

- B & P *Bells and Pomegranates* (see Appendix C., p. 883)
 B & P BYU B.'s copy of the one-volume *Bells and Pomegranates* (Brigham Young University)
 B & P Domett Alfred Domett's copy of *Bells and Pomegranates*, with some MS corrections by B. (Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin)
 CE & ED *Christmas-Eve and Easter-Day* (Chapman and Hall 1850)
 DI¹ *Dramatic Idyls* (Smith, Elder 1879)
 DI² *Dramatic Idyls*, Second Series (Smith, Elder 1880)
 DL *Dramatic Lyrics* (Moxon, 1842) [*Bells and Pomegranates* iii]
 DL 1st Proof Corrected proof sheets of *Dramatic Lyrics* (Widener Library, Harvard)
 DL 2nd Proof Corrected proof sheets of *Dramatic Lyrics* (Widener Library, Harvard)
 DP *Dramatis Personae* (Chapman and Hall 1864)
 DP² *Dramatis Personae*, 2nd edition (Chapman and Hall 1864)
 DR & L *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* (Moxon, 1845) [*Bells and Pomegranates* vii]
 H proof Proof copy of *Men and Women*, at Huntington Library
 H proof² Copy of first edition of *Men and Women* with proof-readings, at Huntington Library
 L & AST *Luria and A Soul's Tragedy* (1846) [*Bells and Pomegranates* viii]
 LS & TPC *La Saisiaz and The Two Poets of Croisic* (Smith, Elder 1878)
 M & W *Men and Women*, 2 vols (Chapman and Hall 1855); in textual notes 1855
 1856 *Men and Women* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields 1856) [1st American edition; in one vol.]

Note: for a description of *H proof* and *H proof*², and a discussion of their significance in the textual history of *M & W*, (see Appendix C, III p. 742-3).

4 *Subsequent editions*

- 1894 Vol. xvii of 1889, consisting of *Asolando* and notes to the poems, ed. E. Berdoe
- Centenary *The Works of Robert Browning*, ed. F. G. Kenyon, 10 vols (Smith, Elder 1912)
- Florentine *The Complete Works of Robert Browning*, ed. C. Porter and H. A. Clarke, 12 vols (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell 1898)
- New Poems *New Poems by Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, ed. F. G. Kenyon (Smith, Elder, 1914)
- Ohio *The Complete Works of Robert Browning*, gen. ed. Roma A. King Jr., Ohio University Press 1969–
- Oxford *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning*, gen. eds I. Jack, M. Meredith, Oxford University Press 1983– [Oxford English Texts]
- Penguin *Robert Browning: The Poems*, ed. John Pettigrew and Thomas J. Collins, 2 vols, Harmondsworth 1981 [Penguin English Poets; in USA, publ. by Yale University Press]
- Turner *Men and Women*, ed. Paul Turner (Oxford University Press 1972)

5 *Browning's Prose Writings*

- Chatterton Review of R. H. Wilde, *Conjectures and Researches Concerning the Love Madness and Imprisonment of Torquato Tasso*, 2 vols (New York 1842), in *Foreign Quarterly Review* xxxix (July 1842) 465–83. [Usually referred to as the 'Essay on Chatterton'; see Appendix C in vol. II of the Longman Annotated English Poets *Poems of Browning*, p. 475]
- Shelley Introductory Essay in *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley*, Moxon 1852
[Usually referred to as the 'Essay on Shelley'; see Appendix A in this volume, p. 851]

6 *Letters (incl. those of Elizabeth Barrett Browning)*

- American Friends *Browning to his American Friends: Letters between the Brownings, the Storys and James Russell Lowell 1841–1890*, ed. G. R. Hudson (1965)
- B. to Fields I. Jack, 'Browning on *Sordello* and *Men and Women*: Unpublished Letters to James T. Fields', *HLQ* xlv, no. 3 (Summer 1982) 185–99
- B. to Ruskin Letter from Browning to Ruskin, in W. G. Collingwood, *Life and Work of John Ruskin* (1893) i 193–202
- Correspondence *The Brownings' Correspondence*, ed. P. Kelley, R. Hudson, S. Lewis and E. Hagan (Winfield, KS 1984–)
- Dearest Isa *Dearest Isa: Robert Browning's Letters to Isabella Blagden*, ed. E. C. McAleer (Austin, TX and Edinburgh 1951)

<i>EBB to Arabella</i>	<i>The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Her Sister Arabella</i> , 2 vols, ed. S. Lewis (Winfield, KS 2002)
<i>EBB to Boyd</i>	<i>Elizabeth Barrett to Mr Boyd</i> , ed. B. P. McCarthy (New Haven 1955)
<i>EBB to Henrietta</i>	<i>Elizabeth Barrett Browning: Letters to her Sister</i> , ed. L. Huxley (1929)
<i>EBB to Horne</i>	<i>Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning Addressed to Richard Hengist Horne</i> , ed. S. R. Townshend Mayer, 2 vols (1877)
<i>EBB to MRM</i>	<i>The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Mary Russell Mitford 1835–1854</i> , ed. M. B. Raymond and M. R. Sullivan, 3 vols (Winfield, KS 1983)
<i>EBB to Ogilvy</i>	<i>Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Letters to Mrs David Ogilvy 1849–1861</i> , ed. P. N. Heydon and P. Kelley (New York 1973)
<i>George Barrett</i>	<i>Letters of the Brownings to George Barrett</i> , ed. P. Landis and R. E. Freeman (Urbana, IL 1958)
<i>Invisible Friends</i>	<i>Invisible Friends: The Correspondence of Elizabeth Barrett Barrett and Benjamin Robert Haydon 1842–1845</i> , ed. W. B. Pope (Cambridge, MA 1972)
<i>LH</i>	<i>Letters of Robert Browning collected by Thomas J. Wise</i> , ed. T. L. Hood (1933)
<i>LK</i>	<i>The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett 1845–1846</i> , ed. E. Kintner, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA 1969). The volumes are paginated continuously.
<i>Learned Lady</i>	<i>Learned Lady: Letters from Robert Browning to Mrs Thomas Fitzgerald 1876–1889</i> , ed. E. C. McAleer (Cambridge, MA 1966)
<i>Letters of EBB</i>	<i>The Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning</i> , ed. F. G. Kenyon, 2 vols (1897)
<i>Letters of RB and EBB</i>	<i>The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett 1845–1846</i> [ed. R. W. B. Browning], 2 vols (1899)
<i>More Than Friend</i>	<i>More Than Friend: The Letters of Robert Browning to Katharine de Kay Bronson</i> , ed. M. Meredith (Waco, TX and Winfield, KS 1985)
<i>New Letters</i>	<i>New Letters of Robert Browning</i> , ed. W. C. DeVane and K. L. Knickerbocker (1951)
<i>RB & AD</i>	F. G. Kenyon, <i>Robert Browning and Alfred Domett</i> (1906)
<i>RB & JW</i>	<i>Robert Browning and Julia Wedgwood: A Broken Friendship as Revealed in their Letters</i> , ed. R. Curle (1937)
<i>Rossetti</i>	A. A. Adrian, 'The Browning–Rossetti Friendship: Some Unpublished Letters', <i>PMLA</i> lxxiii (1958) 538–44

<i>Ruskin</i>	D. J. DeLaura, 'Ruskin and the Brownings: Twenty-Five Unpublished Letters', <i>BJRL</i> liv (1972) 314–56
<i>Ruskin</i> ¹	Letter from John Ruskin to Browning of 2 Dec. 1855, and Browning's reply of 10 Dec. 1855: see Appendix B in this volume, p. 878
<i>Tennyson</i>	<i>The Brownings to the Tennysons: Letters from Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning to Alfred, Emily, and Hallam Tennyson 1852–1889</i> , ed. T. J. Collins (Waco, TX 1971)
<i>Trumpeter</i>	<i>Browning's Trumpeter: The Correspondence of Robert Browning and Frederick J. Furnivall 1872–1889</i> , ed. W. S. Peterson (Washington, DC 1979)
<i>Twenty-two Letters</i>	<i>Twenty-two Unpublished Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning Addressed to Henrietta and Arabella Moulton Barrett</i> [ed. W. R. Benet], New York 1935

Note: the text of letters in *Correspondence* and *EBB to Arabella* has been very lightly normalized: EBB's habitual superscript for titles ('M^r.', 'M^{rs}.', 'D^r.') and for contractions ('c^d.', 'sh^d.') etc.) has been standardized as 'Mr.', 'Mrs.', 'Dr.', 'cd.', 'shd.', etc.

II Periodicals

BBU	Baylor University Browning Interests
BIS	Browning Institute Studies [see also <i>VLC</i>]
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BNL	Browning Newsletter
BNYPL	Bulletin of the New York Public Library
BSN	Browning Society Notes
EC	Essays in Criticism
ELN	English Language Notes
ER	Edinburgh Review
Hood's	Hood's Magazine and Comic Miscellany
HLQ	Huntington Library Quarterly
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
MR	Monthly Repository
N & Q	Notes and Queries
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
QR	Quarterly Review
RES	Review of English Studies
SB	Studies in Bibliography
SBC	Studies in Browning and His Circle
SEL	Studies in English Literature 1500–1900

SP	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
SR	<i>Studies in Romanticism</i>
TLS	<i>Times Literary Supplement</i>
UTQ	<i>University of Toronto Quarterly</i>
VLC	<i>Victorian Literature and Culture</i> [continuation of BIS]
VNL	<i>Victorian Newsletter</i>
VP	<i>Victorian Poetry</i>
VS	<i>Victorian Studies</i>

III Miscellaneous

ABL	Armstrong Browning Library, Baylor University
ABL/JMA	Armstrong Browning Library, Baylor University: Joseph Milsand Archive
Allingham	<i>William Allingham's Diary</i> , ed. G. Grigson (Fontwell 1967)
Baldinucci	Filippo Baldinucci. <i>Notizie de' Professori del Disegno da Cimabue in quà</i> , ed. Giuseppe Piacenza, 21 vols (Torino: Stamperia Reale 1770)
Berg	Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, New York Public Library
Bettenson	H. Bettenson (ed.), <i>Documents of the Christian Church</i> (Oxford 1943, rpt. 1946)
Bibliography	L. N. Broughton, C. S. Northrup, and R. B. Pearsall, <i>Robert Browning: A Bibliography 1830– 1950</i> (Ithaca 1953) [Cornell Studies in English xxxix]
Bibliography ²	W. S. Peterson, <i>Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning: An Annotated Bibliography 1951–1970</i> (New York 1974)
Biographie	<i>Biographie Universelle</i> , 50 vols (Paris 1811–22)
BL	British Library
Bronson ¹	K. de Kay Bronson, 'Browning in Asolo', <i>Century Magazine</i> lix (Apr. 1900), 920–31; repr. <i>More Than Friend</i> 127–45
Bronson ²	K. de Kay Bronson, 'Browning in Venice', <i>Century Magazine</i> lxii (Feb. 1902); repr. <i>More Than Friend</i> 147–65
BSP	<i>Browning Society Papers</i> , 3 vols (1881–90) [vol. i 1881–4, vol. ii 1885–89, vol. iii 1889–90]
CH	<i>Browning: the Critical Heritage</i> , ed. B. Litzinger and D. Smalley (1970)
Checklist	P. Kelley and R. Hudson, <i>The Brownings' Correspondence: A Checklist</i> (Arkansas City, KS and New York 1978)
Collections	P. Kelley and B. A. Coley, <i>The Browning Collections: A Reconstruction with Other Memorabilia</i> (Winfield, KS 1984)

Cooke	G. W. Cooke, <i>A Guidebook to the Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning</i> (Boston and New York 1894)
Cruden's Concordance	Alexander Cruden, <i>Cruden's Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testaments</i> (1736; rpt. Lutterworth Press 1930)
Cyclopædia	E. Berdoe, <i>The Browning Cyclopædia</i> (Swan Sonnenschein 1892)
DeVane Handbook	W. C. DeVane, <i>A Browning Handbook</i> , 2nd edn (New York: Appleton, Century and Croft 1955)
DeVane Parleyings	W. C. DeVane, <i>Browning's Parleyings: The Autobiography of a Mind</i> (New Haven 1927)
Domett Diary	<i>The Diary of Alfred Domett</i> , ed. E. A. Horsman (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1953)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (2nd edn)
EB	<i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i> (1911 edn)
English Poetry	<i>English Poetry 600–1900 Full-Text Database</i> , 2nd edn, Chadwyck-Healey 2000
Fantozzi	Federigo Fantozzi, <i>Nuova Guida ovvero Descrizione Storico-Artistico-Critica della Città e Contorni di Firenze</i> (Firenze [Florence] 1852).
Foster	Giorgio Vasari, <i>Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects</i> , tr. Mrs. J. Foster, 6 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn 1850–85)
Gaye	Johan Gaye, <i>Carteggio inedito d'Artisti dei Secoli XIV, XV, XVI</i> , 3 vols (Florence: Presso Giuseppe Molini 1839–40)
Griffin and Minchin	W. H. Griffin and H. C. Minchin, <i>The Life of Robert Browning</i> , 3rd edn (Methuen 1938)
Huntington	Huntington Library, Pasadena
J.	Samuel Johnson, <i>A Dictionary of the English Language</i> , 1755
Jameson	Mrs [Anna Brownell] Jameson, <i>Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters and of the Progress of Painting in Italy</i> , 2 vols (Charles Knight and Co. 1845)
Le Monnier	Giorgio Vasari, <i>Le Vite de' Più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architetti</i> , 13 vols, Firenze: Felice Le Monnier 1846–1857
Lemprière	J. Lemprière, <i>A Classical Dictionary</i> , 12th edn (T. Cadell and W. Davies 1823)
Maynard	J. Maynard, <i>Browning's Youth</i> (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1977)
Melchiori	B. Melchiori, <i>Browning's Poetry of Reticence</i> (Edinburgh 1968)
Miller	B. Miller, <i>Robert Browning: A Portrait</i> (John Murray 1952)

<i>Morgan</i>	Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
<i>Murray</i>	Murray's <i>Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy</i> (1842)
<i>Murray</i> ²	Murray's <i>Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy</i> (1843)
NT	New Testament
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
Orr <i>Handbook</i>	Mrs [Alexandra Sutherland] Orr, <i>A Handbook to the Works of Robert Browning</i> , 7th edn (G. Bell 1896)
Orr <i>Life</i>	Mrs [Alexandra Sutherland] Orr, <i>Life and Letters of Robert Browning</i> (Smith, Elder, 1891; rev. repr. 1908)
OT	Old Testament
PL	John Milton, <i>Paradise Lost</i>
Ruskin <i>Works</i>	A. Cook and E. C. Wedderburn, <i>The Library Edition of the Works of John Ruskin</i> , 39 vols, (London 1903–13).
Sharp	William Sharp, <i>Life of Robert Browning</i> (Walter Scott 1890)
Texas	Harry Ransom Humanities research center, University of Texas at Austin
Thomas	Charles Flint Thomas, <i>Art and Architecture in the Poetry of Robert Browning</i> (Troy, NY 1991)
Wanley	Nathaniel Wanley, <i>The Wonders of the Little World</i> (1667)
Wellesley MS	Critical notes by EBB. on B.'s poems and plays, 1845–6, in the Special Poetry Collection, Wellesley College Library, Wellesley, Massachusetts
Williams	Raymond Williams, <i>Keywords</i> (1976)
Note: Shakespeare's plays and poems are cited from the Riverside Edition, 2nd edn, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (New York 1997). <i>Paradise Lost</i> is cited from the Longman Annotated English Poets edition, 2nd edn, ed. Alastair Fowler (Harlow 1998).	

I Pauline: A Fragment of a Confession

Plus ne suis ce que j'ai été,
Et ne le sçaurais jamais être.
Marot

Text and publication

First publ. March 1833, B.'s first publ. poem, but issued anonymously: 'a loop-hole I have kept for backing out of the thing if necessary', B. wrote to W. J. Fox (*Correspondence* iii 74; for B.'s acquaintance with Fox, see below, p. 21). According to Mrs Orr, B.'s sister Sarianna was in the secret, but not his parents: 'This is why his aunt [Mrs Christiana Silverthorne], hearing that "Robert" had "written a poem," volunteered the sum requisite for its publication' (Orr *Life* 54). In a letter of 15 Jan. 1846, B. told EBB. that even the publishers, Saunders and Otley, did not know his identity (*LK* 389). In a letter to Fanny Haworth of May 1842, B. referred disparagingly to Saunders and Otley: 'they would print Montgomery's execrabilities' (*Correspondence* v 328; i.e. they would print anything for money; however, they later rejected *Paracelsus*). Not repr. separately; not 1849, 1863. Repr. 1868 (when B. first publicly acknowledged his authorship), 1888. There is no extant MS. Our text is 1833.

Several copies of 1833 with B.'s comments exist or have been described, the most important being a copy which was annotated by J. S. Mill (who planned a review which never appeared); B. wrote replies to Mill in the same copy, which he subsequently gave to John Forster; it is now in the Forster-Dyce Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum. We refer to this copy as *Mill*. Early commentators assumed that the 'preface' which B. attached to *Mill* (see below) was addressed to Forster, and was therefore composed later than the replies to Mill's annotations; the latter are presumed to date from 30 Oct. 1833, the date B. entered on the first page of the copy. However, Michael A. Burr ('Browning's Note to Forster', *VP* xii [Winter 1974] 343-9) points out that B.'s final reply to Mill refers to the 'preface', making it unlikely that the latter was written for Forster. In R. H. Shepherd's copy of 1833 (formerly in the Turnbull Library but now missing), B. commented on the number of printer's errors, some of which can be deduced from his corrections in *Mill*; however, since in many cases it is impossible to distinguish between correction and revision, we have emended 1833 only

Motto. 'I am no more that which I have been, and shall never be able to be it'. From Clément Marot (1496-1544), *Epigrammes Diverses* ccxix. Maynard 436 points out the parallel with Byron, *Childe Harold* IV clxxv: 'I am not now / That which I have been'. This passage strongly influenced the closing movement of *Pauline*: see ll. 831-1031n. Marot's poem continues: 'Mon beau printemps & mon esté / Ont fait le sault par la fenestre, / Amour, tu as esté mon maistre / Je t'ay servy sur toutes les Dieux; / O si ie pouvois deux fois naistre, / Comme ie te serviroyz mieux' [My fair spring and my summer have gone out of the window. Love, you have been my master; I have served you above all gods; Oh, if I could be born a second time, how much better would I serve you!].

where it is obviously defective. It is unlikely that B. borrowed back *Mill* from Forster to use as copy for 1868: although some of the *Mill* readings appear in 1868–88, many more do not, incl. the majority of substantive changes (see e.g. ll. 171, 361, 686). A revised copy of 1833 (hereafter *Rylands*) is in the John Rylands Library in Manchester. It cannot be accurately dated, but its systematic substitution of ‘thou wast’ for ‘thou wert’ suggests a date in the 1860s, since it was in 1863 that B. regularly introduced this rev. into other works (see e.g. *Paracelsus* v 13n.). Its revs. are mainly of punctuation: many dashes are emended to commas, semi-colons or periods, and commas are usually introduced after ‘so’ when this word begins a clause, perhaps, as *Oxford* suggests, in response to *Mill* (see l. 392n.). We have recorded the few substantive variants in *Rylands*, and changes in punctuation which affect the sense. Another copy of 1833, presented to Frederick Locker [Locker-Lampson] and inscribed ‘Corrections made at London, 1867’, is in the Lowell Collection of the Library of Harvard University (*Lowell*). These corrections, like those in *Berg* (also presented to Locker-Lampson: see p. 99), are clearly a preliminary draft of revs. for a printed ed. (1868): there are directions to the printer such as ‘run on to next paragraph’; the changes correspond closely, but not uniformly, to 1868. The amount of revision in 1868 was relatively light, as B. himself indicated in the preface, though it went on occasion beyond the mere correction of misprints. The revision undertaken for 1888 was more substantial, and much in excess of B.’s own account in the supplementary preface to 1888 (for this, and the 1868 preface, see below, *Contemporary criticism and revision*).

Composition and date

The poem was written some time after 22 Oct. 1832, the date which appears at the end of the poem. According to B., he saw Edmund Kean acting in *Richard III* on that date and ‘conceived the childish scheme’ of which *Pauline* was the first (and only) product (*Mill*, p. 71; see our final note, p. 69). B. also explained this ‘childish scheme’ in a handwritten preface (*Mill*, p. 4):

The following Poem was written in pursuance of a foolish plan which occupied me mightily for a time, and which had for its object the enabling me to assume & realize I know not how many different characters;—meanwhile the world was never to guess that “Brown, Smith, Jones, & Robinson” (as the Spelling-books have it) the respective Authors of this poem, the other novel, such an opera, such a speech &c &c were no other than one and the same individual. The present abortion was the first work of the *Poet* of the batch, who would have been more legitimately *myself* than most of the others; but I surrounded him with all manner of (to my then notion) poetical accessories, and had planned quite a delightful life for him:

Only this crab remains of the shapely Tree of Life in this Fools paradise of mine.

RB

A version of this note, using very similar terms, appears in a letter of 9 Aug. 1837 to B.’s friend Amédée de Ripert-Monclar (*Correspondence* iii 265; for Ripert-Monclar see headnote to *Paracelsus*, I 101); it adds the information that after his disillusionment B. ‘destroyed “Pauline, Part 2”’, and some other works written in pursuance of it, and set about a genuine work of my own’ (*Paracelsus* or *Sordello*). A version dated 14 Dec. 1838 is rec. in R. H. Shepherd’s copy of 1833 (see above; repr. *Trumpeter* 26, *Collections* 217). Maynard challenges B.’s account, arguing: ‘What seems actually to have happened is that Kean’s acting in Shakespeare began to suggest to him a different kind of art as he was in the midst of writing *Pauline*.

Sarianna [B.'s sister] . . . recalled quite explicitly that it was while he was finishing the poem, not—as he implies—while he was conceiving it, that he was seeing Kean. In her remembrance, he composed the end of the poem in his head on one of several trips he made to Richmond around October 1832' (*Maynard* 222; see also Edmund Gosse, *Robert Browning: Personalalia* [1890] 27). In addition to the suggestion that Browning misrepresented the chronology of his composition of the poem, Sarianna's account implies that Browning saw Kean in other roles than that of *Richard III*. Maynard notes that 'In the Harvard Theatre Collection there is a playbill for *Othello* for Oct. 29, 1832. The season ended Nov. 9; along with *Richard III*, *King Lear* and *Macbeth* had also been acted (Sept. 26 and Oct. 3)' (p. 436 n.73). However, Sarianna's account, given in 1902, may not be reliable. The poem was presumably finished by Jan. 1833, the date given at the end of the epigraph (see below, p. 28), and confirmed by B.'s statement, in a letter to W. J. Fox shortly before the poem was publ. in Mar. 1833, that it was written 'some months ago' (*Correspondence* iii 73).

Contemporary criticism and revision

B.'s letter to Fox was intended to secure notice for the poem. Fox replied favourably, and B. sent him twelve copies for distribution to potential reviewers (*Correspondence* iii 74–5). Fox himself reviewed the book warmly (*MR* n.s. vii [Apr. 1833] 252–62), noting B.'s debt to Shelley, comparing him as a young and promising writer with Tennyson, and praising the composition's 'deep stamp of reality': 'though evidently a hasty and imperfect sketch, [it] has truth and life in it, which gave us the thrill, and laid hold of us with the power, the sensation of which has never yet failed us as a test of genius'. Fox's efforts bore fruit in short but generally favourable notices in the *Athenaeum* (6 Apr. 1833, p. 216) and the *Atlas* (14 Apr. 1833, p. 228); three other notices (*Literary Gazette*, 23 March 1833, p. 183, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* iii [Aug. 1833] 668, and *Fraser's Magazine* xlii [Dec. 1833] 699–70) were contemptuously dismissive. (The review in *Fraser's* called the author of *Pauline* 'The Mad Poet of the Batch', a phrase which B. may echo in his 'preface' in *Mill*: see above.)

Fox sent a copy of the poem to J. S. Mill; Mill's offer to review it was turned down first by the *Examiner* and then by *Tait's*, whose one-line review had already appeared: '*Paulina* [sic], a piece of pure bewilderment'. Mill thereupon returned his copy to Fox: 'I send *Pauline* having done all I could, which was to annotate copiously in the margin and sum up on the fly-leaf. On the whole the observations are not flattering to the author—perhaps too strong in the expression to be shown him' (cited in Mary D. Reneau, 'First Editions of Browning's *Pauline*', *BBI*, Second Series [July 1931] 45). Mill's comment implies that his annotations were not intended as the basis for a review, but were made as a substitute for it. His marginal comments are rec. in our notes to the lines to which they refer; his 'summing-up' (not on the flyleaf, as stated, but on the recto and verso of a blank leaf at the end of the book) reads as follows:

With considerable poetic powers, this writer seems to me possessed with a more intense and morbid self-consciousness than I ever knew in any sane human being—I should think it a *sincere confession* though of a most unloveable state, if the '*Pauline*' were not evidently a mere phantom. All about *her* is full of inconsistency—he neither loves her nor fancies he loves her, yet insists upon *talking* love to her—if she *existed* and loved him, he treats her most ungenerously and unfeelingly. All his aspirings and yearnings and regrets point to other things, never to her—then, he *pays her off* towards the end by a piece of flummery,

amounting to the modest request that she will love him and live with him and give herself up to him *without* his loving *her*, *moyennant quoi* he will think her and call her everything that is handsome and he promises her that she shall find it mighty pleasant. Then he leaves off by saying he knows he shall have changed his mind by tomorrow, & despise 'these intents which seem so fair', but that having been 'thus visited' once no doubt he will again—& is therefore 'in perfect joy' bad luck to him! as the Irish say.

A cento of most beautiful passages might be made from this poem—and the psychological history of himself is powerful and truthful, *truth-like* certainly all but the last stage. *That* he evidently has not yet got into. The self-seeking & self-worshipping state is well described—beyond that, I should think the writer had made, as yet, only the next step; viz. into despising his own state. I even question whether part even of that self-disdain is not *assumed*. He is evidently *dissatisfied*, and feels part of the badness of his state, but he does not write as if it were purged out of him—if he once could muster a hearty hatred of his selfishness, it would *go*—as it is he feels only the *lack of good*, not the positive *evil*. He feels not remorse, but only disappointment. A mind in that state can only be regenerated by some new passion, and I know not what to wish for him but that he may meet with a *real* Pauline.

Meanwhile he should not attempt to shew how a person may be *recovered* from this morbid state—for *he* is hardly convalescent, and 'what should we speak of but that which we know?'

Fox did return *Mill* to B., whose reactions to some of Mill's comments are rec. in our notes. He did not respond directly to the 'summing-up', but his comments in later years suggest that he misconstrued Mill's remarks—whether by error or design, and whether at the time or retrospectively, is impossible to determine. He wrote to EBB. in an early letter: 'I know myself—surely—and always have done so—for is there not somewhere the little book I first printed when a boy, with John Mill, the metaphysical head, *his* marginal note that "the writer possesses a deeper self-consciousness than I ever knew in a sane human being"' (26 Feb. 1845, *LK* 28; note the replacement of 'possessed with a more intense and morbid' by 'possesses a deeper'; there is another, similar ref., in a letter of 24 May 1845: see below). According to F. W. Farrar (*Men I Have Known* [New York 1897] 65), B. also claimed that the non-appearance of 'an appreciative review from the pen of the first literary and philosophic critic of his day', and its replacement by 'one insolent epithet from some nameless nobody' in *Tait's*, 'retarded any recognition of me by twenty years' delay'; a claim which, as Lewis F. Haines argues ('*Mill and Pauline: The "Review" that "Retarded" Browning's Fame*', *MLN* lix [June 1944] 410–12), was based on an exaggerated estimate of Mill's status and influence as a critic at that period, as well as some distortion of his opinion of the poem. In later life, B. habitually blamed his slow progress towards public acceptance on the non-appearance of certain reviews or documents (such as Dickens's appreciative letter on *A Blot*, 'suppressed', as B. saw it, by Forster), or the public reticence of influential friends, such as Carlyle, who praised him in private.

'To the best of my belief', B. wrote to T. J. Wise in 1886, 'no single copy of the original edition of *Pauline* found a buyer; the book was undoubtedly "stillborn,"—and that despite the kindly offices of many friends, who did their best to bring about a successful birth' (*LH* 251). In a letter of 27 Mar. 1835 to W. J. Fox, B. blamed this failure on the publishers, Saunders and Otley: 'so much money was paid, so many copies stipulated for,—& from that time to this I have been unable to ascertain whether a dozen have been disposed of or two dozen

really printed—but *this I did* ascertain, from more quarters than one, that several well-disposed folks actually sought copies & found none—and that so exorbitant a price was affixed to a trifle of a few pages, as to keep it out of the hands of everybody but a critic intending to “show it up” (*Correspondence* iii 130; the ‘exorbitant’ price of the first edition, which numbered 67 pages, is not known). B. eventually retrieved the unbound sheets from the publishers (letter to EBB., 15 Jan. 1846, *ibid.* xi 317), and suppressed all trace of his authorship, except among close friends such as Forster and Joseph Arnould (he did not however destroy the copies he retrieved, and several were presented to friends after the appearance of the poem in 1868: see *Collections* 427). Arnould wrote of it to Alfred Domett in 1847, in terms which may derive from B. himself, as ‘a strange, wild (in parts singularly magnificent) poet-biography: his own early life as it presented itself to his own soul viewed poetically: in fact, psychologically speaking, his “Sartor Resartus”’: it was written and published three years before “Paracelsus,” when Shelley was his God’ (*RB & AD* 141). However, the poem was mentioned in an article in the *New Quarterly Review* in Jan. 1846 as an example of B.’s precocity in versification, the person who supplied knowledge of its existence being perhaps Thomas Powell, a former friend of B.’s (letter to EBB., 11 Jan. 1846, *Correspondence* xi 308). The article drew the poem to the attention of EBB., who asked to see it; B., however, successfully evaded her request: ‘Will you, and must you have “Pauline”? If I could pray you to revoke that decision! For it is altogether foolish and *not* boylike—and I shall, I confess, hate the notion of running over it—yet commented it must be; more than mere correction! I was unluckily *precocious*—but I had rather you saw real infantine efforts . . . (verses at six years old,—and drawings still earlier)—than this ambiguous, feverish—Why not wait?’ (15 Jan. 1846, *ibid.* 317). EBB. agreed, on condition that she saw the poem ‘*some day*’ (15 Jan. 1846, *ibid.* 319); it is not known whether she did in fact ever see *Pauline*, since it was not included in 1849, but it is probable that B. did show it to her after their marriage. In 1847, Dante Gabriel Rossetti read the poem ‘with warm admiration’ in the British Museum and, remarking the ‘noticeable analogy in style and feeling to . . . *Paracelsus*’, guessed that B. was the author; he wrote to him at Florence asking him to confirm the fact (*Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, ed. O. Doughty and J. R. Wahl [Oxford 1965] i 32; for B.’s account of this episode, see his letter of c. Aug. 1882 to William Sharp, *LH* 220 [wrongly dated c. 1883]). B. also mentioned the existence of the poem in a letter of 1848 to R. H. Horne (see I. 4).

There is no indication that B. revised the poem after his alterations in *Mill*, or that he would ever have considered republishing it voluntarily. But in Feb. 1867 he received a letter from R. H. Shepherd requesting permission to publish extracts from the poem, and replied, giving his permission ‘if you will strictly confine yourself to “a few extracts”’—and will preface these with mention of the fact that the poem was purely dramatic and intended to head a series of “Men & Women” such as I have afterwards introduced to the world under somewhat better auspices,—mentioning this on your own authority, and not in any way alluding to this of mine—and, further, if you will subject the whole of the extracts to my approval—(*not* a single remark upon them,—only the extracts themselves)—in this case, and not otherwise, I give the leave you desire’ (cited in William L. Phelps, ‘Notes on Browning’s *Pauline*’, *MLN* xlvii [May 1932] 292–9). Though Shepherd did not go ahead with his project, B. clearly became alarmed at the possibility of an unauthorized edition of the poem appearing, and decided to include it in his forthcoming collection (1868). He did so with the following preface:

The poems that follow are printed in the order of their publication. The first piece in the series, I acknowledge and retain with extreme repugnance, indeed purely of necessity; for not long ago I inspected one, and am certain of the existence of other transcripts, intended sooner or later to be published abroad: by forestalling these, I can at least correct some misprints (no syllable is changed) and introduce a boyish work by an exculpatory word. The thing was my earliest attempt at “poetry always dramatic in principle, and so many utterances of so many imaginary persons, not mine,” which I have since written according to a scheme less extravagant and scale less impracticable than were ventured upon in this crude preliminary sketch—a sketch that, on review, appears not altogether wide of some hint of the characteristic features of that particular *dramatis persona* it would fain have reproduced: good draughtsman-ship, however, and right handling were far beyond the artist at that time.

R.B.

London, December 25, 1867.

The phrase ‘poetry always dramatic in principle [etc.]’ comes from the supplementary ‘Advertisement’ to *DL*: see Appendix B, II 471. B.’s claim that ‘no syllable is changed’ is not strictly accurate—and the asterisks which emphasized the status of the text as a ‘fragment’ in 1833, disappear in 1868—but B. made no attempt to revise the poem as a whole. In 1888 B. repr. this preface and then added:

I preserve, in order to supplement it, the foregoing preface. I had thought, when compelled to include in my collected works the poem to which it refers, that the honest course would be to reprint, and leave mere literary errors unaltered. Twenty years’ endurance of an eyesore seems more than sufficient: my faults remain duly recorded against me, and I claim permission to somewhat diminish these, so far as style is concerned, in the present and final edition where “Pauline” must needs, first of my performances, confront the reader. I have simply removed solecisms, mended the metre a little, and endeavoured to strengthen the phraseology—experience helping, in some degree, the helplessness of juvenile haste and heat in their untried adventure long ago.

...

R.B.

London: February 27, 1888.

The implication that the revs. are merely matters of style is misleading: many of them embarrass the writer of the ‘juvenile haste and heat’ of his opinions and feelings, as well as his way of expressing them: see e.g. ll. 193–7n., 387–90n., 410–13n.

Biographical background

The vehemence of B.’s protestations that *Pauline* was a ‘dramatic’ poem has helped convince most biographers that it is actually autobiographical. However, the hero’s situation and personal (as opposed to intellectual) history are evidently imagined. Joseph Arnould may well have been echoing B. himself in calling the poem the story of B.’s ‘own early life as it presented itself to his own soul viewed poetically’; the details about the writer’s reading, and about the development of his religious and aesthetic ideas, are probably authentic (see below, *Sources*). Vivienne Browning (*My Browning Family Album* [1979] 39f.) argues that B.’s paternal aunt Jemima, who was only two years older than he, is the original of Pauline; there is however no hard evidence for this view, and the figure of Pauline is almost

certainly, as Mill said, 'a mere phantom', at any rate as regards her sexual relationship with the writer. In other respects, there may well be, as Mrs Orr suggests, a recollection of Eliza Flower, whom B. knew with her sister Sarah when they were the wards of W. J. Fox in the late 1820s. At that time, Fox was a well-known Unitarian minister and a leading member of the liberal and Nonconformist intelligentsia. He later edited the *Monthly Repository*, in which, after the favourable review of *Pauline*, B. published five early poems; B. wrote to Fanny Haworth of his 'magnificent and poetical nature' and called him 'my literary father' (*Correspondence* iii 256). Eliza Flower (1803–46) was a talented musician and composer (B. later asked her to supply music for the songs in *Pippa*: see headnote, p. 82). Mrs Orr states that B. 'conceived a warm admiration for Miss Flower's talents, and a boyish love for herself. She was nine years his senior; her own affections became probably engaged, and, as time advanced, his feeling seems to have subsided into one of warm and very loyal friendship . . . he never even in latest life mentioned her name with indifference' (Orr *Life* 37). B.'s own account of the relationship is contained in a letter to R. H. Horne of 3 Dec. 1848 requesting Horne's help in retrieving his letters and copies of early poems from Eliza Flower's executors (*LH* 19–22; see headnote to *The Dance of Death*, I 3–4).

Sources and Influences

In its form, *Pauline* combines the *confession* and the *fragment*. The confession was originally a religious genre, stemming from the conversion of St Paul (see *Acts* ix 1–25), in which the autobiographer narrates the life he led previous to his conversion to the religious security he now enjoys. That life is marked as unregenerate by sinful conduct and thoughts or by religious doubt, as originally in St Augustine's *Confessions*, and later in the seventeenth century 'Puritan confession', the most famous example of which, Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*, was in Browning's father's library (*Collections* A527–9, p. 47). Eighteenth-century and Romantic 'confessions' commonly omit or obscure the motif of religious conversion, as e.g. Rousseau's *Confessions* (1781–8) and De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1822), where the interest is more purely autobiographical, though the emphasis upon morally dubious conduct persists. Rousseau may be of particular significance because of Hazlitt's admiration for the *Confessions* as an epic of egotism and sensibility; cp. his essay *On the Character of Rousseau* (1817): 'His speculations are the obvious exaggerations of a mind, giving a loose to its habitual impulses, and moulding all nature to its own purposes . . . Hence his excessive egotism, which filled all objects with himself, and would have occupied the universe with his smallest interest . . . Hence his dissatisfaction with himself and with all around him; for nothing could satisfy his ardent longings after good, his restless appetite of being. Hence his feelings, overstrained and exhausted, recoiled upon themselves, and produced his love of silence and repose, his feverish aspirations after the quiet and solitude of nature'. In other examples, such as Hazlitt's own *Liber Amoris* and Shelley's *Epipsychidion*, the story is of a clandestine love-affair, in which the woman may be the addressee. Elements of all these varieties may be found in *Pauline*, though conversion is present only as a wish (see ll. 986–94); in this respect, and in several others, *Pauline* clearly owes much to Tennyson's *Supposed Confessions of a Second-Rate Sensitive Mind not in Unity with Itself* (1830). This poem is however a soliloquy, and rhetorically much simpler than *Pauline*. B.'s placing of his writer in the middle of a shifting flux of moods and attitudes, rather than at a stable point of retrospection, together with the use of an addressee, suggests the influence of the Romantic 'conversation poem', e.g. Coleridge's *Aeolian Harp* and

Dejection: An Ode; cp. also *The Picture*, which contains a woodland description having features in common with ll. 732–80. Another source for this style could be the ‘chants de Corinne’ with which Mme de Staël’s *Corinne* (1809) is interspersed, and which Corinne herself describes thus: ‘I should say that improvisation is to me like animated conversation. I do not restrict myself to such and such subjects; I abandon myself to the impression produced by the interest of those who listen to me’.

The fragment had become a major literary genre during the Romantic period. Many examples are to be found in Wordsworth and Coleridge, such as Coleridge’s *Kubla Khan* and *Christabel* and Wordsworth’s *Nutting* and *A Night-Piece*; Keats’s *Hyperion* is probably the longest. In these poems, however, the fragmenting involves breaking off (Coleridge, Keats) or starting abruptly (Wordsworth); the *internal* fragmenting used in *Pauline* is most notably anticipated in Byron’s *The Giaour*, a narrative poem which concludes with a long confessional passage. The posthumous publication of many of Shelley’s fragments by Mary Shelley in 1824, and of some Byron fragments in 1830, may also have influenced this motif. B.’s first volume of Shelley (a pirated edition of 1826, publ. by William Benbow) contains, like Mary Shelley’s, a whole section entitled ‘Fragments’, as well as the fragmentary *Triumph of Life*. The pretence that a work is a fragmented manuscript was a common 18th-century device, e.g. Swift’s *Tale of a Tub* and Mandeville’s *Fable of the Bees* (presented to B. by his father in Feb. 1833). These, and Pope’s *Dunciad*, also have pseudo-editorial footnotes which may have influenced B.’s attribution of a footnote to *Pauline* (see l. 811n.). In the Romantic period, the technique of a fictitious textual apparatus was used by Shelley (*Epipsychidion*, *Julian and Maddalo*) and Scott (*Tales of My Landlord*). With a few exceptions, B. eschewed both confession and fragment in later works, though the form of the dramatic monologue owes something to both. B. continued on occasion to play on the ‘documentary’ status of his texts: see below, *Parallels in B*. Later editions of *Pauline* considerably tone down the fragmentariness of 1833, e.g. in the elimination of asterisks and incomplete lines.

B.’s note at the end of the poem in *Mill* suggests the importance of *Richard III* in the conception of *Pauline*, though B. implies that Kean himself rather than Shakespeare was the main influence. The play itself, with its themes of usurpation and despotism, and perhaps the sexual exploitation involved in Richard’s seduction of Lady Anne (I ii), may have influenced some aspects of the writer’s psychomachia. Richard’s defiant self-assertion in the face of guilt and defeat had already made him a proto-Romantic hero in the eyes of Byron and other writers; B.’s self-identification with him continued at least until his letter to Fox about *Paracelsus*:

therefore a certain writer who meditated a notice (it matters not laudatory or otherwise) on “Pauline” in the “Examiner,” must be benignant or supercilious as he may choose, but in no case an idle spectator of my first appearance on any stage (having previously only dabbled in private theatricals) and bawl “Hats off!” “Down in front!” &c., as soon as I get to the proscenium; and he may depend that tho’ my “Now is the winter of our discontent” be rather awkward, yet there shall be occasional outbreaks of good stuff—that I shall warm as I get on, and finally wish “Richmond at the bottom of the seas,” &c. in the best style imaginable. (*Correspondence* iii 135: B. quotes *Richard III* I i 1 and misquotes IV iv 463–4)

Equally, the performance imagined in this passage closely resembles B.’s description of the dying Kean’s (ll. 669–75), a description corroborated by other

commentators. Thomas Talfourd wrote: 'He whispers when he should shout; creeps and totters when he should spring or rush forward; and is even palpably assisted by his adversary to fight or fall. Yet his last look at Richmond as he stands is fearful'. John Doran, referring to a performance of 1832, commented: 'The sight was pitiable. Genius was not traceable in that bloated face; intellect was all but quenched in those once matchless eyes; and the power seemed gone, despite the will that would recall it. I noted in a diary, that night, the above facts, and, in addition, that by bursts he was as grand as he had ever been' (quoted H. N. Hillebrand, *Life of Edmund Kean* [New York 1933] 320). Richard III had been, in Kean's own words, 'that character which has been the foundation of my fame and fortune', and B. could have read in Thomas Moore's *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron* (2 vols., 1830) Byron's comment on Kean's performance of it in his prime: 'Just returned from seeing Kean in Richard. By Jove, he is a soul! Life—nature—truth—without exaggeration or diminution. Kemble's Hamlet is perfect;—but Hamlet is not Nature. Richard is a man; and Kean is Richard' (i 500). B. almost certainly knew Hazlitt's numerous reviews of performances by Kean (collected in *A View of the English Stage*, 1818), and some details seem to show Hazlitt's influence, in particular the emphasis on power and manipulation: 'Richard should woo, not as a lover, but as an actor—to shew his mental superiority, and power to make others the playthings of his will' was Hazlitt's comment: see e.g. ll. 340–3, 469–88. B.'s opinion of Kean included however an element of revulsion, presumably inspired by Kean's notorious love-affair with one Mrs Cox, which had led to a lawsuit and Kean's public disgrace and private decline; he wrote to EBB. on 24 May 1845: '[I] have known good & wicked men and women, gentle & simple, shaking hands with Edmund Kean and Father Mathew, you and—Ottima!' (*Correspondence* x 234; Ottima's crimes are adultery and murder: see *Pippa* i. Since Father Mathew was a well-known temperance reformer, B. may also have had Kean's alcoholism in mind). B. went on: 'Then, I had a certain faculty of self-consciousness, years, years ago, at which John Mill wondered, and which ought to be improved by this time, if constant use helps at all'—suggesting a continued association between Kean and *Pauline*.

Shelley is invoked in several passages (see ll. 142f., 404f. 1020f.); his poet-biography *Alastor* was clearly important in the formation of B.'s protagonist, and the poem's vocabulary is frequently Shelleyan. However, Shelley's influence should not be overestimated at the expense of other Romantic writers, notably Byron and Coleridge.

Various classical writers are cited, the most important of whom is Plato (see ll. 405–6): the story of a person driven through successive grades of experience by love, or the desire for love, clearly owes something to the *Symposium*. The Swiss nationality of Pauline herself points again to Rousseau's *Confessions*, or more generally to the stress on erotic sensibility in Rousseau's work, as e.g. *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, where the relation between St Preux and Julie has affinities with that between the writer and Pauline. A number of French sources have been suggested by H.-L. Hovelacque (*La Jeunesse de Robert Browning* [Paris 1932]) and reviewed by R. E. Gridley (*The Brownings and France* [1982]). Most involve no more than generalized affinities of character and situation; more useful is Gridley's citation of Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin* (1831), 'with its romantic egoist Raphael de Valentin seeking redemption through love for his Pauline [and] a long Alpine sojourn and a closing scene with Pauline cradling the head of the hero in his arms' (p. 17). The supernatural powers associated with the ass's skin link Balzac's novel, like *Pauline*, to the Faustianism fashionable in this period. Balzac's specific variation on this theme is to make it a critique of the Will: Valentin's

every wish is granted, but each consumes more of the substance of the wild ass's skin whose disappearance will be the moment of his death. The speaker of *Pauline* (not to mention Kean) appears similarly consumed and prematurely aged by his desires. Gridley also draws attention to a possible affinity between B.'s anxiety in the successive prefaces to the poem to distinguish himself from its speaker and the preface to the first edition of *La Peau de Chagrin* in which Balzac discusses the relations between authors and their works, suggesting that there are those, such as himself, 'whose spirit and manner strongly contrast with the form and depth of their works'. Gridley also suggests that Pauline's monitory role owes something to the heroine of Mme de Staël's *Corinne* (1809); for a verbal echo see p. 59.

Parallels in B.

The development of a poet, and his failure in his mission, are themes which dominate B.'s early work, esp. *Paracelsus* (I 98), with the poet Aprile, and *Sordello* (I 350); later figures are painters (Andrea del Sarto [p. 385] and Fra Lippo Lippi [p. 477]), or failures in life rather than art (Childe Roland [p. 384], Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau [1871]); Cleon (p. 563) is an exception to this pattern. Pauline, the maternal mistress, begins a gallery of similar figures: Michal in *Paracelsus*, Lady Carlisle in *Strafford* (1837), Palma in *Sordello*, Polyxena in *King Victor and King Charles* (1842), and Eulalia in *A Soul's Tragedy* (II 180). The confessional motif reappears in B.'s autobiographical intervention in *Sordello* (iii 577f., I 562–3), where he also addresses a beloved female figure and relates the history of his poetic and moral development. The confession is later refracted into dramatic monologue, in the apologetics of such figures as Bishop Blougram (p. 279), Mr Sludge (p. 771), and Juan in *Fifine at the Fair* (1872). Note also *Confessional* (II 337), *Confessions* (DP, 1864), and *A Forgiveness* (Pacchiarotto, 1876). Similarly, the 'physical' fragmenting of the text was replaced by dramatic cuttings into and out of a spoken discourse addressed to an interlocutor (see e.g. *My Last Duchess* [p. 197] and *Mr Sludge*, though in *Heretic's Tragedy* [III 219] and *A Death* [p. 714] it is again the poem-as-document which is emphasized). The external commentary introduced by Pauline's note reappears as B.'s introduction to *Holy-Cross Day* (p. 540), in the end-comments in *Bishop Blougram* and *The Statue and the Bust* (III 342), and in later poems as prologues and epilogues which enter into complex relations with the main poem. The kind of elaborate descriptive 'panel' of ll. 732–810 does not reappear until *Gerard de Lairese* (*Parleyings*, 1887), where it likewise takes the form of a conducted landscape tour, this time with the reader as companion.

Story and structure

The protagonist of *Pauline* is a young poet. He describes his early life as solitary and bookish (ll. 318–35). He was ambitious, though he had not yet found his vocation (ll. 339–43). In his adolescence he underwent a mental crisis, which his solitary life helped him to come through (ll. 344–56). In the aftermath of this crisis, he turned to writing poetry, as one of a number of possible modes of artistic expression (ll. 357–76). His first crude efforts were followed by imitations of 'mighty bards' (ll. 377–93). He then searched for a particular model, and found one in a writer he calls 'sun-treader' (i.e. Shelley: the term 'sun-treader' appears in an earlier invocation, l. 151). In a frenzy of enthusiasm, he adopted Shelley's most radical political programmes: 'Men were to be as gods, and earth as heaven' (ll. 394–428). The disappointment of these visionary hopes (ll. 429–39) was followed by a decision to 'look on real life' (ll. 440–6). However, this too proved disappointing, and he ended by abandoning his faith in, and sympathy with, mankind (ll. 447–61). He now entered a phase of narcissism and cynical detachment, which militated

even against his poetic ambitions (ll. 462–544). At the end of this period he experienced some renewal of interest in ‘old delights’ such as music, and he describes himself as having been ‘most happy’, although it is clear that his creative faculty was still in abeyance (ll. 563–7). It was at this point that he first met Pauline (ll. 560–3). When he discovered that her love for him was of a higher kind than his for her, he realized the extent of his egotism and the damage it had done to his soul (ll. 577–85). He revealed his state of mind to Pauline, who encouraged him to hope for recovery (ll. 55–75). To help him resume his vocation as a poet, Pauline urged him to write an account of his development up to this point.

Pauline therefore purports to be the fragmentary text of the young man’s written confession to Pauline, which she has read and, as she explains in a footnote to l. 811, reluctantly allows to be published. In addition to the narrative passages which have been cited, the young man engages in abstract self-analysis (e.g. ll. 260–317) and invokes and addresses Pauline, the ‘sun-treader’, and God (e.g. the opening lines, ll. 151–229, 243–51, 729–810, 822–54). The addresses to Pauline are to her as reader and are not to be thought of as the text of a spoken utterance. Mill’s objection to the end of the poem (see final note) reflects a misunderstanding of this point.

[Epigraph]

- Non dubito, quin titulus libri nostri raritate suâ quamplurimos alliciat ad legendum: inter quos nonnulli obliquae opinionis, mente languidi, multi etiam maligni, et in ingenium nostrum ingrati accedent, qui temerariâ suâ ignorantîâ, [5] vix conspecto titulo clamabunt: Nos vetita docere, haeresium semina jacere: piis auribus offendiculo, praeclaris ingeniis scandalo esse: . . . adeò conscientiae suae consulentes, ut nec Apollo, nec Musae omnes, neque Angelus de coelo

Epigraph. Taken from the preface to Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa’s *De Occulta Philosophia*, first publ. 1531, included in an anthology which was, with other of Agrippa’s works, in Browning’s father’s library (*Maynard* 210, 434–5; *Collections* A27, p. 5). Agrippa was the most famous alchemist and occultist before Paracelsus. F. A. Pottle (*Shelley and Browning: A Myth and Some Facts* [1923 repr. 1965] 84–90) notes the following omissions:

- [1]. *nostri raritate*] nostri de Occulta Philosophia, sive de Magia, raritate
[4–5]. *ignorantiâ, vix*] ignorantia, Magiae nomen in deteriore partem accipientes, vix
[5]. *vetita docere*] vetitas artes docere
[7]. *esse: . . . adeo*] esse: maleficum esse, superstitiosum esse, daemoniacum esse, Magus qui sim. Quibus si respondeam, Magum apud literatos viros, non maleficum, non superstitiosum, non daemoniacum sonare: sed sapientem, sed sacerdotem, sed prophetam: Sibyllas magas fuisse, proinde de Christo tam apertissime prophetasse: iam vero et Magos ex mirabilibus mundi arcanis, ipsius mundi autorem Christum cognovisse natum, omniumque primos venisse ad illum adorandum, ipsumque Magiae nomen acceptum Philosophis, laudatum a Theologis, etiam ipsi Evangelio non ingratum. Credo ego istos tam pertinacis supercilii censores Sibyllis et sanctis Magis, et vel ipso Evangelio prius sibi interdicturos, quam ipsum magiae nomen recepturi sint in gratiam: adeo

- me ab illorum execratione vindicare queant: quibus et ego
 [10] nunc consulo, ne scripta nostra legant, nec intelligant, nec
 meminerint: nam noxia sunt, venenosa sunt: Acherontis
 ostium est in hoc libro, lapides loquitur, caveant, ne
 cerebrum illis excutiat. Vos autem, qui aequâ mente ad
 [15] legendum venitis, si tantam prudentiae discretionem
 adhibueritis, quantam in melle legendo apes, jam securi legite.
 Puto namque vos et utilitatis haud parûm et voluptatis
 plurimûm accepturos. Quod si qua repperitis, quae vobis
 non placeant, mittite illa, nec utimini. NAM ET EGO VOBIS
 ILLA NON PROBO, SED NARRO. Caetera tamen propterea non
 [20] respuite. Ideo, si quid liberius dictum sit, ignoscite
 adolescentiae nostrae, qui minor quam adolescens hoc
 opus composui.—*H. Cor. Agrippa, De Occult. Phil.*

London, January, 1833.
V.A. XX.

[20]. *respuite*. *Ideo*] respuite. Nam et medicorum volumina insipientibus contingit, cum antidotis et pharmacis simul etiam venena legere. Fateor praeterea magiam ipsam multa supervcua, et ad ostentationem curiosa docere prodigia: simul haec ut vana relinquit, causas tamen illorum ne ignorete. Quae vero ad hominum utilitatem, ad advertendos malos eventus, ad destruendum maleficia, ad curandos morbos, ad exterminanda phantasmata, ad conservandam vitae, honoris, fortunae dexteritatem, sine Dei offensa, sine religionis iniuria fieri possunt: quis illa non tam utilia censeat, quam etiam necessaria? Sed quia admonui vos, multa me narrando potius quam affirmando scripsisse: sic enim opus esse visum fuerat, quo pauciora praeteriremus: multa insuper Platoniorum caeterorumque gentilium Philosophorum placita secuti sumus, ubi instituto nostro scribendi suggerebant argumentum: ideo *si quid*] si alicubi erratum sit, sive quid

We use the 17th-century translation of the whole passage (repr. Pottle, pp. 87–8), bracketing B.'s omissions; it will be seen that he has chosen to omit all direct refs. to magic. Pottle notes that B.'s 'vetita' (l. [6]), revised from 'vetitas artes', changes 'forbidden arts' to 'forbidden things'.

I do not doubt but the title of our book [of Occult Philosophy, or of Magic,] may by the rarity of it allure many to read it, amongst which, some of a disordered judgment and some that are perverse will come to hear what I have to say, who, by their rash ignorance, may [take the name of Magic in the worse sense and], though scarce having seen the title, cry out that I teach forbidden [Arts], sow the seeds of heresies, offend the pious, and scandalize excellent wits; [that I am a sorcerer, and superstitious and devilish, who indeed am a Magician: to whom I answer, that a Magician doth not, amongst learned men, signify a sorcerer or one that is superstitious or devilish; but a wise man, a priest, a prophet; and that the Sibyls were Magicianesses, and therefore prophecied most clearly of Christ; and that Magicians, as wise men, by the wonderful secrets of the world, knew Christ, the author of the world, to be born, and came first of all to worship him; and that the name of Magic was received by philosophers, commended by divines, and is not unacceptable to the Gospel. I believe that the supercilious censors will object against the Sibyls, holy Magicians and the Gospel itself sooner

- Pauline, mine own, bend o'er me—thy soft breast
 Shall pant to mine—bend o'er me—thy sweet eyes,
 And loosened hair, and breathing lips, and arms
 Drawing me to thee—these build up a screen
 5 To shut me in with thee, and from all fear,
 So that I might unlock the sleepless brood
 Of fancies from my soul, their lurking place,

than receive the name of Magic into favor.] So conscientious are they that neither Apollo nor all the Muses, nor an angel from heaven can redeem me from their curse. Whom therefore I advise that they read not our writings, nor understand them, nor remember them. For they are pernicious and full of poison; the gate of Acheron is in this book; it speaks stones—let them take heed that it beat not out their brains. But you that come without prejudice to read it, if you have so much discretion of prudence as bees have in gathering honey, read securely, and believe that you shall receive no little profit, and much pleasure; but if you shall find any things that may not please you, let them alone and make no use of them, for I do not approve of them, but declare them to you. But do not refuse other things, [for they that look into the books of physicians do, together with antidotes and medicines, read also of poisons. I confess that Magic teacheth many superfluous things, and curious prodigies for ostentation; leave them as empty things, yet be not ignorant of their causes. But those things which are for the profit of men—for the turning away of evil intents, for the destroying of sorceries, for the curing of diseases, for the exterminating of phantasms, for the preserving of life, honour, or fortune—may be done without offense to God or injury to religion, because they are, as profitable, so necessary. But I have admonished you that I have writ many things rather narratively than affirmatively; for so it seemed needful that we should pass over fewer things, following the judgments of Platonists and other Gentile Philosophers when they did suggest an argument of writing to our purpose.] Therefore if [any error have been committed, or] anything hath been spoken more freely, pardon my youth, for I wrote this being scarce a young man.

Mill wrote above the passage: 'too much pretension in this motto'; he also underlined 'vix conspecto titulo' (l. [5–6]) and wrote in the margin 'why?' (since the phrase applies to Agrippa's title, not B.'s). In 1888 B. added a note in square brackets beneath the passage. 'This introduction would appear less absurdly pretentious did it apply, as was intended, to a completed structure of which the poem was meant for only a beginning and remains a fragment'. For the 'completed structure', see B.'s 'preface' in *Mill* (headnote, p. 2). For other comments added to the printed text in 1868 and 1888, see headnote, pp. 19–20. B.'s use of 'pretentious' suggests that he was recalling Mill's comment, even at this late date. 5. *fear*,] fear; (*Mill, Lowell-1888*).

6–7. *the sleepless brood / Of fancies*: the writer compares his 'fancies' to the Furies who, in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, torment Orestes after he murders his mother Clytemnestra. There is an explicit ref. to the Furies at ll. 573–6 and see also l. 624. Another source may be Milton's *Samson Agonistes* 19–22: 'restless thoughts, that like a deadly swarm / Of hornets armed, no sooner found alone. / But rush upon me thronging, and present / Times past, what once I was, and what am now'; cp. also the Marot motto, p. 1.

- Nor doubt that each would pass, ne'er to return
 To one so watched, so loved, and so secured.
 10 But what can guard thee but thy naked love?
 Ah, dearest! whoso sucks a poisoned wound
 Envenoms his own veins,—thou art so good,
 So calm—if thou should'st wear a brow less light
 For some wild thought which, but for me, were kept
 15 From out thy soul, as from a sacred star.
 Yet till I have unlocked them it were vain
 To hope to sing; some woe would light on me;
 Nature would point at one, whose quivering lip
 Was bathed in her enchantments—whose brow burned
 20 Beneath the crown, to which her secrets knelt;
 Who learned the spell which can call up the dead,
 And then departed, smiling like a fiend
 Who has deceived God. If such one should seek
 Again her altars, and stand robed and crowned
 25 Amid the faithful: sad confession first,
 Remorse and pardon, and old claims renewed,
 Ere I can be—as I shall be no more.

- I had been spared this shame, if I had state
 By thee for ever, from the first, in place
 30 Of my wild dreams of beauty and of good,
 Or with them, as an earnest of their truth.
 No thought nor hope, having been shut from thee,
 No vague wish unexplained—no wandering aim

10. 'Naked' can mean 'simple', 'unconcealed', 'unadorned', but also 'vulnerable, defenceless' (*OED*); the nature of Pauline's love for the speaker may both expose her to, and protect her from, contamination (see next lines). Cp. *Sordello* ii 211 (l. 746) where the phrase 'naked love' refers to a physical body.

17. to sing: i.e. compose poetry; *OED*'s earliest citation is Milton, *Lycidas* (1637) 10–11: 'Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew / Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme'; this sense is common throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

18. *Nature would point at one*: Mill underlined this phrase and put a cross in the margin, keyed to a note at the bottom of the page: 'not I think an appropriate image—and it throws considerable obscurity over the meaning of the passage'. *whose quivering lip*: *Oxford* compares Shelley, *Alastor* 291: 'his quivering lips'.

21. *Oxford* compares *Sordello* i 7f. (l. 394); cp. also *Ring* i 745–59.

27. as I shall be no more: Mill underlined this phrase and put a cross in the margin, with the comment: 'same remark'. *Oxford* takes this to be a repetition of Mill's previous note (see l. 18n.): the (less likely) alternative is that Mill had noticed the similarity between this phrase and the Marot motto.

31. *Or with them*: 'or if you had been with them [the "wild dreams"]'.

32. *nor*] or (1868–88).

- Sent back to bind on Fancy's wings, and seek
 35 Some strange fair world, where it might be a law;
 But doubting nothing, had been led by thee,
 Thro' youth, and saved, as one at length awaked,
 Who has slept thro' a peril. Ah! vain, vain!
- Thou lovest me—the past is in its grave,
 40 Tho' its ghost haunts us—still this much is ours,
 To cast away restraint, lest a worse thing
 Wait for us in the darkness. Thou lovest me,
 And thou art to receive not love, but faith,
 For which thou wilt be mine, and smile, and take
 45 All shapes, and shames, and veil without a fear
 That form which music follows like a slave;
 And I look to thee, and I trust in thee,
 As in a Northern night one looks alway
 Unto the East for morn, and spring and joy.
 50 Thou seest then my aimless, hopeless state,
 And resting on some few old feelings, won

34. *Fancy's wings*] fancy's wings (Lowell-1888). See l. 368n.

36. *But doubting nothing*: Mill underlined this phrase and wrote in the margin: 'not even poetically grammatical'. B. added a comma after 'But' in 1888. Cp. l. 338n.
 42. *the darkness*] the dark (1888).

44–6. *take . . . slave*: the sense of this difficult passage seems to be that Pauline is to embody the writer's innermost fantasies, which would otherwise prey on him. The 'form' of l. 46, might be hers (her body, or, more broadly, her self), which will disappear in these masquerades; alternatively, it is the creative imagination itself, which Pauline's physical presence will 'veil', i.e. both conceal and suggest. Cp. Jonson's *Epigramme* xxv, *On Sir Voluptuous Beast*, in which 'Beast' degrades 'his faire, and innocent wife': see esp. ll. 5–6: 'And now her (houerly) her owne cucqueane makes, / In varied shapes, which for his lust shee takes'. Cp. also Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin*, where Valentin transforms in fantasy the humble Pauline into something more desirable: 'Combien de fois n'ai-je pas vêtu de satin les pieds mignons de Pauline, emprisonné sa taille svelte comme un jeune peuplier dans une robe de gaze, jeté sur son sein une légère écharpe en lui faisant fouler les tapis de son hôtel et la conduisant à une voiture élégante; je l'eusse adorée ainsi, je lui donnais une fierté qu'elle n'avait pas, je la dépouillais de toutes ses vertus, de ses grâces naïves, de son délicieux naturel, de son sourire pour la plonger dans le Styx de nos vices' [How often have I clothed Pauline's dainty feet in satin, confined her form, slender as a young poplar, in a robe of gauze, and thrown a light scarf over her breast while making her tread the carpets of her mansion and conducting her to a splendid carriage; I would have adored her so, I gave her a pride she lacked, I stripped her of all her virtues, her naïve charms, her delightful naturalness, of her smile, in order to plunge her in the Styx of our vices]. Mill put a note in the margin opposite ll. 45–6: 'qu. meaning?'

50. Cp. *Epilogue* (*Asolando*, 1889) 9: 'Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless, did I drivel[?]' B. was revising *Pauline* for 1888 at the time this poem was written.

Back by thy beauty, would'st that I essay
 The task, which was to me what now thou art:
 And why should I conceal one weakness more?

- 55 Thou wilt remember one warm morn, when Winter
 Crept aged from the earth, and Spring's first breath
 Blew soft from the moist hills—the black-thorn boughs,
 So dark in the bare wood, when glistening
 In the sunshine were white with coming buds,
 60 Like the bright side of a sorrow—and the banks
 Had violets opening from sleep like eyes—
 I walked with thee, who knew not a deep shame
 Lurked beneath smiles and careless words, which sought
 To hide it—till they wandered and were mute;
 65 As we stood listening on a sunny mound
 To the wind murmuring in the damp copse,
 Like heavy breathings of some hidden thing
 Betrayed by sleep—until the feeling rushed
 That I was low indeed, yet not so low
 70 As to endure the calmness of thine eyes;
 And so I told thee all, while the cool breast
 I leaned on altered not its quiet beating;
 And long ere words, like a hurt bird's complaint,
 Bade me look up and be what I had been,
 75 I felt despair could never live by thee.
 Thou wilt remember:—thou art not more dear
 Than song was once to me; and I ne'er sung
 But as one entering bright halls, where all
 Will rise and shout for him. Sure I must own
 80 That I am fallen—having chosen gifts
 Distinct from theirs—that I am sad—and fain

53. *The task*: i.e. of 'singing', as opposed to uttering the 'confession'.

56–7. Cp. Shelley, *Alastor* 11–12: 'spring's voluptuous pantings when she breathes / Her first sweet kisses'.

58. *wood*,] emended from 'wood;' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in *Lowell*-1888.

61. Cp. *Winter's Tale* IV iv 120–1: 'violets, dim, / But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes'.

62. *knew*] *knew'st* (1870–88).

73. *words, like*] words like (*Lowell*-1888). *words*: i.e. Pauline's words.

74. *be what I had been*: cp. l. 27n.

78–9. In the light of the following lines, presumably a ref. to the various appearances of Satan amongst his followers: see e.g. *PL* i 541–3, x 441–59.

- Would give up all to be but where I was;
 Not high as I had been, if faithful found—
 But low and weak, yet full of hope, and sure
 85 Of goodness as of life—that I would lose
 All this gay mastery of mind, to sit
 Once more with them, trusting in truth and love,
 And with an aim—not being what I am.
 Oh, Pauline! I am ruined! who believed
 90 That tho' my soul had floated from its sphere
 Of wide dominion into the dim orb
 Of self—that it was strong and free as ever:—
 It has conformed itself to that dim orb,
 Reflecting all its shades and shapes, and now
 95 Must stay where it alone can be adored.
 I have felt this in dreams—in dreams in which
 I seemed the fate from which I fled; I felt
 A strange delight in causing my decay;
 I was a fiend, in darkness chained for ever
 100 Within some ocean-cave; and ages rolled,
 Till thro' the cleft rock, like a moonbeam, came
 A white swan to remain with me; and ages
 Rolled, yet I tired not of my first joy
 In gazing on the peace of its pure wings.

83. *faithful found*: cp. *PL* v 896–7: 'So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found, / Among the faithless, faithful only he'. Cp. ll. 168–9n.

86. *gay mastery of mind*: cp. 'gai saber' ('the gay science'), a Provençal name for the art of poetry.

88.] In 1833 this line ends the page; there is no line-space after it in 1868–75, but there is in 1888. The likelihood that B. intended a line-space in 1833 is diminished by the fact that at ll. 267, 393, and 619 the page was left a line short to indicate a space before the next line.

91. *wide*] wild (1868–88); *Oxford* suggests a mispr., pointing out that it is not in *Lowell*. Cp. l. 612n, and see also l. 238n.

92. *that*] yet (*Mill*).

99–123. The fiend visited by the white swan and the young witch drawing down a god are inversions of the Andromeda myth: see ll. 656–67.

99–111. Cp. Shelley, *The Revolt of Islam* VII xiif., in which Cythna is imprisoned in a sea cave and visited by an eagle and a 'Nautilus'; an inverse source might be the swan which in *Alastor* rises up as the Poet approaches and departs towards its home (ll. 272–95). Shelley's emphasis on transformations of identity, and on the passage of time, may have influenced B.'s treatment.

102. *Oxford* points out that the swan is sacred to Apollo; it was a traditional emblem of poetry from classical times.

103. *my first joy*] my first free joy (1888). 'Tired' in 1833 is a dissyllable.

- 105 And then I said, "It is most fair to me,
 "Yet its soft wings must sure have suffered change
 "From the thick darkness—sure its eyes are dim—
 "Its silver pinions must be cramped and numbed
 "With sleeping ages here; it cannot leave me,
 110 "For it would seem, in light, beside its kind,
 "Withered—tho' here to me most beautiful."
 And then I was a young witch, whose blue eyes,
 As she stood naked by the river springs,
 Drew down a god—I watched his radiant form
 115 Growing less radiant—and it gladdened me;
 Till one morn, as he sat in the sunshine
 Upon my knees, singing to me of heaven,
 He turned to look at me, ere I could lose
 The grin with which I viewed his perishing.
 120 And he shrieked and departed, and sat long
 By his deserted throne—but sunk at last,
 Murmuring, as I kissed his lips and curled
 Around him, "I am still a god—to thee."
 Still I can lay my soul bare in its fall,

112–23. This passage combines several classical and post-classical motifs. There is a clear allusion to stories in Greek mythology about love between gods and mortals; but B. alters the usual balance of power in such relationships in a way which recalls the tradition, in occult literature, that mortals can summon and control spirits. The dethronement of B.'s 'god' echoes that of Hyperion, and inverts the deification of Apollo, in Keats's *Hyperion* (see ll. 114–15n. and l. 120n.); there are several myths involving Apollo's pursuit of river-nymphs (Daphne, Cyrene), and the association is strengthened by B.'s lifelong interest in the figure of Apollo as god of poetry (e.g. *Sordello* i 893–7, I 454). In addition, the 'young witch' who ruins a god or godlike hero recalls other temptresses, e.g. the Sirens, Circe, Eve, Delilah. Cp. also *Fifine at the Fair* (1872) 218–26, referring to Cleopatra, and suggesting that the decline of the 'god-like' Antony under her influence may have been in B.'s mind here, particularly in view of Antony's reconciliation with her after her apparent betrayal of him at Actium (*Antony and Cleopatra* III ix).
 114–15. *I watched his radiant form / Growing less radiant*: cp. Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* III iv 155–6: 'gentle radiant forms, / From custom's evil taint exempt and pure'; and Keats, *Hyperion* ii 343–5: 'And be ye mindful that Hyperion, / Our brightest brother, still is undisgraced— / Hyperion, lo! his radiance is here!'
 120. *he shrieked and departed*: contrast the (fragmented) end of Keats's *Hyperion* iii 134–6: 'At length / Apollo shriek'd;—and lo! from all his limbs / Celestial'. See ll. 112–23n.

122. Mill wrote underneath this line, which ends the page in 1833: 'a curious idealisation of self-worship, very fine, though'. The note presumably refers to the whole passage, not just this line.

123.] B. drew a line below this line in *Mill*; there is no line-space in 1868–75, but there is in 1888.

- 125 For all the wandering and all the weakness
 Will be a saddest comment on the song.
 And if, that done, I can be young again,
 I will give up all gained as willingly
 As one gives up a charm which shuts him out
 130 From hope, or part, or care, in human kind.
 As life wanes, all its cares, and strife, and toil,
 Seem strangely valueless, while the old trees
 Which grew by our youth's home—the waving mass
 Of climbing plants, heavy with bloom and dew—
 135 The morning swallows with their songs like words,—
 All these seem clear and only worth our thoughts.
 So aught connected with my early life—
 My rude songs or my wild imaginings,
 How I look on them—most distinct amid
 140 The fever and the stir of after years!

I ne'er had ventured e'en to hope for this,
 Had not the glow I felt at His award,
 Assured me all was not extinct within.
 HIM whom all honor—whose renown springs up

125. For] Since (1888).

129–30. Cp. Shelley, preface to *Alastor*, condemning those who 'keep aloof from sympathies with their kind, rejoicing neither in human joy nor mourning with human grief'. This idea is taken up in *Paracelsus* (see esp. pt. ii) and in *Sordello*.

133. *our youth's home*: the 'our' is general, and does not refer exclusively to the writer's experience.

135. Cp. *Pippa* iv 214–16 (p. 167).

136. *clear*: underlined by Mill.

137. So] So, (Lowell-1888).

138. *rude*: primitive; see also ll. 258–9.

140. *The fever and the stir*: cp. Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey* 52–3: 'the fretful stir / Unprofitable, and the fever of the world', and Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale* 23: 'the weariness, the fever, and the fret'.

141–229. B. here pays homage to Shelley: cp. Arnould's comment that the poem was written 'when Shelley was his God' (see headnote, pp. 5, 9).

142. *His award*: Mill underlined the phrase, adding in l. margin: 'what does this mean? His opinion of yourself?', and in r. margin: 'only at the fourth reading of the poem I found out what this meant'. B. asterisked the phrase and put a note at the bottom of the page: 'The award of fame to Him. The late acknowledgment of Shelley's genius'. Maynard 209f. argues convincingly that B. had in mind a series of articles in the *Athenaeum* during July and Aug. 1832 by Shelley's friend Thomas Medwin, in which Medwin affirmed Shelley's status as a major poet, and gave a description of his character and opinions which in some respects anticipates B.'s account in *Shelley* (Appendix A, p. 851).

144. *HIM*] His (Lowell-1888).

- 145 Like sunlight which will visit all the world;
 So that e'en they who sneered at him at first,
 Come out to it, as some dark spider crawls
 From his foul nets, which some lit torch invades,
 Yet spinning still new films for his retreat.—
 150 Thou didst smile, poet,—but, can *we* forgive?

- Sun-treader—life and light be thine for ever;
 Thou art gone from us—years go by—and spring
 Gladdens, and the young earth is beautiful,
 Yet thy songs come not—other bards arise,
 155 But none like thee—they stand—thy majesties,
 Like mighty works which tell some Spirit there
 Hath sat regardless of neglect and scorn,
 Till, its long task completed, it hath risen
 And left us, never to return: and all

145. Cp. *Psalms* xix 6: 'His [the sun's] going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it: and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof'.

147–9. *as some dark spider . . . his retreat*: Mill noted: 'a bad simile the spider does not detest or scorn the light'. The comparison of critics or writers to spiders is common in the 18th century; see e.g. Swift's *Battle of the Books*.

150. *Thou didst smile, poet*: cp. Shelley, *Lines to a Reviewer* 4–5: 'in vain would you assuage / Your frowns upon an unresisting smile'. Cp. also Shelley's preface to *The Revolt of Islam*: 'calumny and misrepresentation, though it may move me to compassion, cannot disturb my peace . . . If certain Critics were as clear-sighted as they are malignant, how great would be the benefit to be derived from their virulent writings! As it is, I fear I shall be malicious enough to be amused with their paltry tricks and lame invectives'. The italics in 'we' and the line-space after the line were removed in *Lowell-1868*.

151. *Sun-treader*: *Oxford* cites Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 151: 'toward the flaming dawn, sun-trodden', but mistakenly adds: 'Shelley thus becomes the dawn': the image would be of Shelley as the sun treading on the dawn. Alternatively, the image might be of Shelley treading on, i.e. triumphing over, the sun; 'tread' in Shelley frequently has the sense of 'trample, extinguish', e.g. *Triumph of Life* 382–90. B. may also be recalling Keats's *Hyperion*, in which Apollo supersedes Hyperion as the sun-god and god of poetry, and *Revelation* xix 17: 'And I saw an angel standing in the sun'.

152–71. B. distinguishes between Shelley's real existence, which has terminated with his death (ll. 152–60), and his life in his works, which still continues for B. The phrase 'thou art still for me' (ll. 162, 168) means 'you still really exist', the emphasis falling on 'art'. Cp. ll. 239–41 of Christopher Smart's *Song to David*, a favourite poem of Browning's: 'All nature, without voice or sound, / Replied, O Lord, THOU ART. // Thou art, to give and to confirm [etc.]'.

152–5. Cp. *Sordello* iii 93–102 (I 530).

156–60. Cp. the description of the poet's deathbed in *How It Strikes* (ll. 99–109, p. 444), which in turn echoes Shelley's *Adonais* 262f.

156. *Spirit* spirit (*Lowell-1888*).

- 160 Rush in to peer and praise when all in vain.
The air seems bright with thy past presence yet,
But thou art still for me, as thou hast been
When I have stood with thee, as on a throne
With all thy dim creations gathered round
- 165 Like mountains,—and I felt of mould like them,
And creatures of my own were mixed with them,
Like things half-lived, catching and giving life.
But thou art still for me, who have adored,
Tho' single, panting but to hear thy name,
- 170 Which I believed a spell to me alone,
Scarce deeming thou wert as a star to men—
As one should worship long a sacred spring
Scarce worth a moth's flitting, which long grasses cross,
And one small tree embowers droopingly,
- 175 Joying to see some wandering insect won,
To live in its few rushes—or some locust
To pasture on its boughs—or some wild bird
Stoop for its freshness from the trackless air,
And then should find it but the fountain-head,
- 180 Long lost, of some great river—washing towns
And towers, and seeing old woods which will live
But by its banks, untrod of human foot,

162–7. Cp. ll. 383–93n.

163–6. Mill wrote 'beautiful' vertically in the margin opposite these lines (possibly with ref. also to ll. 161–2).

165. *I felt of mould like them*: combining two senses of 'mould': (a) earth regarded as the material of the human body; (b) a pattern by which something is shaped. 166.] And with them creatures of my own were mixed, (1888).

168–9. *who have adored, / Tho' single*: cp. *PL* v 901–3: 'Nor number nor example with him wrought / To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind, / Though single'. The ref. is again to Abdiel, as at l. 83.

171. *Scarce*] Not (Mill). *wert*] wast (Rylands, Lowell-1888). *a star to men*: cp. the closing lines of Shelley's *Adonais*: 'The soul of Adonais, like a star / Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are'. Note that for Shelley, Keats is a star, not to men generally, but to the voyager who is 'borne darkly, fearfully afar', i.e. Shelley himself. The phrase is applied to Paracelsus in *Paracelsus* i 534 (l. 137). The image of the poet as a star is a commonplace of elegy: see e.g. Dryden, *To the Pious Memory of . . . Mrs Anne Killigrew* 165–77. Cp. also B.'s *Popularity* 1–10 (pp. 450–1). 173–80. Mill wrote vertically in the margin: 'most beautiful'.

177–8. *some wild bird . . . the trackless air*: the phrase 'trackless air' occurs in Shelley, *The Witch of Atlas* 115; cp. also *Paracelsus* i 567 (l. 139): 'I see my way as birds their trackless way'.

180–9. *some great river . . . some great country*: cp. the description of the Arve in Shelley's *Mont Blanc* 120–6, and Wordsworth, *The River Duddon* (1820) sonnet xxxiii: 'Beneath an ampler sky a region wide / Is opened round him [the Duddon]:—hamlets, towers, and towns, / And blue-topped hills behold him from afar' (ll. 9–11).

- Which, when the great sun sinks, lie quivering
 In light as some thing lieth half of life
 185 Before God's foot—waiting a wondrous change
 —Then girt with rocks which seek to turn or stay
 Its course in vain, for it does ever spread
 Like a sea's arm as it goes rolling on,
 Being the pulse of some great country—so
 190 Wert thou to me—and art thou to the world.
 And I, perchance, half feel a strange regret,
 That I am not what I have been to thee:
 Like a girl one has loved long silently,
 In her first loveliness, in some retreat,
 195 When first emerged, all gaze and glow to view
 Her fresh eyes, and soft hair, and lips which bleed
 Like a mountain berry. Doubtless it is sweet
 To see her thus adored—but there have been
 Moments, when all the world was in his praise,

184–5. *as some thing . . . wondrous change*: 'as some thing lies half-way between life and death, waiting for God to bring about the change from mortality to immortality'.

187. Mill underlined 'ever'.

190. *Wert*] *Wast* (Rylands, Lowell-1888).

192. *I am not what I have been to thee*: 'I can no longer consider myself your sole admirer'. Cp. the Marot motto, p. 14.

193–200. This simile can apply either to Shelley or to the speaker. The sense is that one or the other has left the retreat in which they were all-sufficient to each other; either Shelley, by being discovered to be worshipped in the outside world, or the speaker, in producing this poem.

193–7.] Like a girl one has silently loved long

In her first loneliness in some retreat,

When, late emerged, all gaze and glow to view

Her fresh eyes and soft hair and lips which bloom

Like a mountain berry: doubtless it is sweet (1888)

193–4. Cp. (noting 'star' and 'spring', ll. 171–2, and 'untrod of human foot', l. 182) Wordsworth, *She dwelt among the untrodden ways*, esp. ll. 1–8: 'She dwelt among the untrodden ways / Beside the springs of Dove, / A Maid whom there were none to praise / And very few to love: // A violet by a mossy stone / Half hidden from the eye! / —Fair as a star, when only one / Is shining in the sky'.

196–7. *lips which bleed / Like a mountain berry*: OED defines 'bleed' as 'to be red as blood', but cites only this passage; if 'bleed' is taken in its otherwise universal sense, as meaning 'to emit blood', the image here has an unusual rhetorical structure, in which a simile linking two noun-phrases (red lips / red berries) is mediated by a verb, 'bleed', which derives *metonymically* from the first noun-phrase (since lips are filled with blood), but applies *metaphorically* to the second (since berries are filled with red juice).

199. Mill underlined the clause 'when all the world was in his praise' and wrote in the margin 'obscurely expressed'. The sense is 'when his [the lover's] praise meant the whole world to her'. In 1888, B. revised to 'our praise'.

- 200 Sweeter than all the pride of after hours.
 Yet, Sun-treader, all hail!—from my heart's heart
 I bid thee hail!—e'en in my wildest dreams,
 I am proud to feel I would have thrown up all
 The wreathes of fame which seemed o'erhanging me,
 205 To have seen thee, for a moment, as thou art.

- And if thou livest—if thou lovest, spirit!
 Remember me, who set this final seal
 To wandering thought—that one so pure as thou
 Could never die. Remember me, who flung
 210 All honor from my soul—yet paused and said,
 “There is one spark of love remaining yet,
 “For I have nought in common with him—shapes
 “Which followed him avoid me, and foul forms
 “Seek me, which ne'er could fasten on his mind;
 215 “And tho' I feel how low I am to him,
 “Yet I aim not even to catch a tone
 “Of all the harmonies which he called up,
 “So one gleam still remains, altho' the last.”
 Remember me—who praise thee e'en with tears,
 220 For never more shall I walk calm with thee;
 Thy sweet imaginings are as an air,
 A melody, some wond'rous singer sings,

200. *all the pride*] any pride (1888).

203.] I proudly feel I would have thrown to dust (1888).

205. *To have seen*] To see (*Lowell*, 1888). There is no line-space after this line in 1868–75. Cp. *Memorabilia* (p. 553).

207–19. The threefold repetition of ‘Remember me’ (ll. 207, 209, 219) recalls the ghost’s injunction to Hamlet in *Hamlet* I v: see esp. ll. 91–112. Note the inversion by which the writer here asks a ‘spirit’ to ‘remember’ him.

207–8. *set this final seal* / *To wandering thought*: underlined by Mill, who put a cross in the margin; he wrote at the top of the page: ‘The passages where the meaning is so imperfectly expressed as not to be easily understood, will be marked X’. The sense is ‘came to this final conclusion’.

211–18. Cp. the similar abnegation of Shelley in *Sordello* i 60–73 (I 398). Mill put a cross against ll. 213–14 and wrote vertically in the margin (probably referring to the whole passage): ‘the obscurity of this is the greater fault as the meaning if I can guess it right is really poetical’.

217.] “Of harmonies he called profusely up; (1888).

218. So] So, (*Lowell*-1888).

220–9. Mill wrote vertically in the margin: ‘beautiful’. Cp. his own simile for the poet in *What is Poetry?* (1833): ‘Who can hear the affecting words . . . and fancy that he sees the singer? That song has always seemed to us like the lament of a prisoner in a solitary cell, ourselves listening, unseen, in the next’.

- Which, though it haunt men oft in the still eve,
 They dream not to essay; yet it no less,
 225 But more is honored. I was thine in shame,
 And now when all thy proud renown is out,
 I am a watcher, whose eyes have grown dim
 With looking for some star—which breaks on him,
 Altered, and worn, and weak, and full of tears.
- 230 Autumn has come—like Spring returned to us,
 Won from her girlishness—like one returned
 A friend that was a lover—nor forgets
 The first warm love, but full of sober thoughts
 Of fading years; whose soft mouth quivers yet
 235 With the old smile—but yet so changed and still!
 And here am I the scoffer, who have probed
 Life's vanity, won by a word again
 Into my old life—for one little word
 Of this sweet friend, who lives in loving me,
 240 Lives strangely on my thoughts, and looks, and words,
 As fathoms down some nameless ocean thing
 Its silent course of quietness and joy.
 O dearest, if, indeed, I tell the past,
 May'st thou forget it as a sad sick dream;
 245 Or if it linger—my lost soul too soon
 Sinks to itself, and whispers, we shall be
 But closer linked—two creatures whom the earth
 Bears singly—with strange feelings, unrevealed

225. *in shame*: in the period when Shelley's genius was not recognized, and he was attacked for atheism and immorality.

227–9. Contrast Keats, *On First Looking into Chapman's Homer*: 'Then felt I like some watcher of the skies / When a new planet swims into his ken'.

236–7. *I the scoffer, who have probed / Life's vanity*: conflating a number of biblical texts, notably *Ecclesiastes* i 12–14: 'I . . . gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven . . . and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit'; and *2 Peter* iii 3: 'there shall come in the last days scoffers, walking after their own lusts'. Cp. also *Proverbs* xiv 6: 'A scorner seeketh wisdom and findeth it not'.

238. *old*] *own* (1868–88); *Oxford* suggests that this is a mispr., pointing out that it is not in *Lowell*. B. however, after 1849, frequently revises by replacing a word with another of similar sound: see e.g. ll. 91n., 351–5n., 501n. There are many similar examples in *Paracelsus*. *for*] by (1888).

241–2. Cp. Tennyson, *The Kraken* (publ. 1830); B. read Tennyson's early poems as they appeared, and with great enthusiasm.

245–51. Possibly referring to Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, where Prometheus and Asia, created during the reign of Saturn, resist and reject the world ruled by Jupiter.

247–8. *two creatures whom the earth / Bears singly*: i.e. each is the only one of its kind.

- But to each other; or two lonely things
 250 Created by some Power, whose reign is done,
 Having no part in God, or his bright world.
 I am to sing; whilst ebbing day dies soft,
 As a lean scholar dies, worn o'er his book,
 And in the heaven stars steal out one by one,
 255 As hunted men steal to their mountain watch.
 I must not think—lest this new impulse die
 In which I trust. I have no confidence,
 So I will sing on—fast as fancies come
 Rudely—the verse being as the mood it paints.
- 260 I strip my mind bare—whose first elements
 I shall unveil—not as they struggled forth
 In infancy, nor as they now exist,
 That I am grown above them, and can rule them,
 But in that middle stage, when they were full,
 265 Yet ere I had disposed them to my will;
 And then I shall show how these elements
 Produced my present state, and what it is.

I am made up of an intensest life,
 Of a most clear idea of consciousness

249. *But*] *Save* (1888).

251. *world.*] emended from 'world,' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in 1868–88.

250. *Power*] *power* (Lowell-1888).

252. *whilst ebbing day dies soft*: cp. Keats, *Ode to Autumn* 25: 'While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day'.

259. *Rudely*: 'in a rough-and-ready manner'; cp. l. 138n.

260–7. Mill drew a line through this passage, commenting at the bottom of the page: 'this only says "you shall see what you shall see" & is more prose than poetry'. The scheme proposed here modifies the traditional confessional stance of, e.g., Rousseau, who traces his identity back to its beginnings (see l. 260.), but does not amount to a self-analysis in structural terms of the writer's psychology. 260. *first elements*: 'primary constituents' (not 'earliest in time'). The 'elements' referred to are not the four traditional elements (air, earth, fire, water) of which all matter was held to be composed; note also that the word does not occur at all in *Paracelsus*, and Paracelsus himself was opposed to the theory of the elements. *OED* cites this passage as the first clear application of the word to human psychology.

263. *rule them,*] *rule*—(Lowell-1888).

268–80. This formulation clearly owes a good deal to Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* (1817), in which Coleridge, following Schelling, argued that self-consciousness is the leading principle or absolute ground of all knowledge. The qualification in ll. 272–6 probably reflects Coleridge's distinction between the 'primary imagination', which is common to all men as their essential self-consciousness, and the 'secondary imagination', which is self-consciousness in action, and exclusive to the poet.

- 270 Of self—distinct from all its qualities,
 From all affections, passions, feelings, powers;
 And thus far it exists, if tracked, in all,
 But linked in me, to self-supremacy,
 Existing as a centre to all things,
 275 Most potent to create, and rule, and call
 Upon all things to minister to it;
 And to a principle of restlessness
 Which would be all, have, see, know, taste, feel, all—
 This is myself; and I should thus have been,
 280 Though gifted lower than the meanest soul.

- And of my powers, one springs up to save
 From utter death a soul with such desires
 Confined to clay—which is the only one
 Which marks me—an imagination which
 285 Has been an angel to me—coming not
 In fitful visions, but beside me ever,

272. *tracked*,] emended from 'tracked' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in *Lowell*, 1888 (though not 1868–75). *in all*: 'in all men'.

277–8. The first occurrence of an idea to which B. returns in other (esp. early) poems, e.g. *Paracelsus* ii 199f. (I 165), *Sordello* i 541f. (I 430), and *Cleon* (p. 563); cp. also B. to EBB., 3 May 1845, where he speaks of a 'primitive folly of mine, which I shall never wholly get rid of, of desiring to do nothing when I cannot do all,—seeing nothing, getting, enjoying nothing, where there is no seeing & getting & enjoying wholly' (*Correspondence* x 199–200).

280. *meanest*: 'most poorly endowed', or, possibly, 'humblest in station'.

282. *desires*] desire (*Lowell*-1888).

282–3. a *soul* . . . *clay*: the imprisonment of the soul in the body, a stock idea in Christian thinking, is central in B.'s thought. The particular source here may be Dryden, *Absalom and Adithophel* 156–8: 'A fiery soul, which, working out its way, / Fretted the pigmy body to decay, / And o'er-informed the tenement of clay'. See also ll. 547, 593–4, and *Sordello* iii 27–9 (I 526). It may be significant that Hazlitt used the same quotation to describe Kean's acting (*A View of the English Stage* [1818] 380: see headnote, p. 23). After *Sordello*, B. uses 'clay' in the literal sense of the material for sculpture as well as in the figurative sense of 'flesh', possibly reflecting his own growing interest in clay modelling; there are frequent refs. to the metaphor of the potter (deriving ultimately from *Job* x 9) in the poems of DP (e.g. *James Lee* [p. 665] and *Rabbi Ben Ezra* [p. 649]).

283. *which is*] of powers (1888).

284. Mill underlined 'imagination' and wrote in the margin: 'not imagination but Imagination[.] The absence of that capital letter obscures the meaning'. B. made the change in *Mill*, but it was not followed in 1868–88. B. very rarely uses 'imagination' in the sense of 'the faculty responsible for poetry'; he had probably recently read *Biographia Literaria* (see ll. 268–80n.).

285. *an angel to me*] a very angel (1888).

- And never failing me; so tho' my mind
 Forgets not—not a shred of life forgets—
 Yet I can take a secret pride in calling
 290 The dark past up—to quell it regally.
- A mind like this must dissipate itself,
 But I have always had one lode-star; now,
 As I look back, I see that I have wasted,
 Or progressed as I looked toward that star—
 295 A need, a trust, a yearning after God,
 A feeling I have analysed but late,
 But it existed, and was reconciled
 With a neglect of all I deemed his laws,
 Which yet, when seen in others, I abhorred.
- 300 I felt as one beloved, and so shut in
 From fear—and thence I date my trust in signs
 And omens—for I saw God every where;
 And I can only lay it to the fruit
 Of a sad after-time that I could doubt
 305 Even his being—having always felt
 His presence—never acting from myself,
 Still trusting in a hand that leads me through
 All danger; and this feeling still has fought

290. *up—to quell*] up to quell (*Lowell-1888*). Note the slight change of meaning.

292. A recurring image in B.: see e.g. *Sordello* iii 309f. (I 544), *Two in the Campagna* 55 (p. 548), *My Star* (III 386); see esp. *Fifine at the Fair* (1872) 900–3: 'each soul lives, longs and works / For itself, by itself, because a lodestar lurks, / An other than itself,—in whatsoe'er the niche / Of mistiest heaven it hide'.

293–4. *wasted*, / *Or progressed*] halted / Or hastened (1888). 'Halted' means 'limped'.

295–9. The idea here is akin to the Calvinist doctrine of 'assurance'; see headnote to *Johannes Agricola*, pp. 74–5.

300–2. Cp. the elaboration of this theme in *Mr. Sludge* 914–85 (pp. 823–6).

303–4. *And I . . . after-time*: 'I can only attribute it to the events of a sad later period'.

305–8.] Even his being—e'en the while I felt
 His presence, never acted from myself,
 Still trusted in a hand to lead me through
 All danger; and this feeling ever fought (1888)

307–8. *a hand that leads me through* / *All danger*: the images of the hand of God, and of God leading the righteous man, are biblical commonplaces. Cp. *Paracelsus* v 52 (I 275): 'So doth thy right hand guide us through the world'; B.'s letter to EBB. of 24 May 1845: 'my own way of worldly life is marked out long ago . . . and I am set going with a hand, winker-wise, on each side of my head, and a directing finger before my eyes' (*Correspondence* x 235); *Popularity* 7 (p. 451): 'That loving hand of His which leads you'; and *Ring* i 38–41: 'I found this book . . . when a Hand, / Always above my shoulder, pushed me once'.

Against my weakest reason and resolves.

- 310 And I can love nothing—and this dull truth
Has come the last—but sense supplies a love
Encircling me and mingling with my life.

- These make myself—for I have sought in vain
To trace how they were formed by circumstance,
315 For I still find them—turning my wild youth
Where they alone displayed themselves, converting
All objects to their use—now see their course!

- They came to me in my first dawn of life,
Which passed alone with wisest ancient books,
320 All halo-girt with fancies of my own,
And I myself went with the tale—a god,

309. *resolves*] resolve (1888).

310–12. Mill wrote in the margin: ‘explain better what this means’. It means that sensual love, i.e. lust, performs the role which ought to belong to (spiritual) love.

311. *sense*: sensuality; cp. *Measure for Measure* I iv 59: ‘The wanton stings and motions of the sense’.

312. Cp. Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* I i 79–81: ‘I saw not, heard not, moved not, only felt / His presence flow and mingle through my blood / Till it became his life’.

313–14. The speaker is seeking to identify the essentials of his nature, as distinct from qualities which are the product of experience. He implicitly rejects, like Coleridge, the Locke–Hartley *tabula rasa* theory, in which the mind was assumed to have been born without innate characteristics.

313. *myself*] underlined by B. in *Mill*, but not *Lowell*–1888. *for I have sought*] I have long sought (1888).

315–16.] Yet ever found them mould my wildest youth / Where they alone displayed themselves, converted (1888).

315. *For*] And (*Mill*). *turning*: in the double sense of ‘changing the course of’ and ‘forming the shape of’ (i.e. ‘turning’ as on a lathe). Or possibly, ‘turning over [in my mind] my wild youth etc.’.

318–35. B. draws here on his own childhood experience, though as with *Development* (*Asolando*, 1889) we need not interpret this passage as strictly autobiographical. B.’s father was a bibliophile whose library (of over 6,000 volumes) contained many rare and curious items. B. received comparatively little formal education. On this subject see *Maynard* 85–91, 241–86.

321–2. *a god*, / *Wandering after beauty*: the use of the word ‘wandering’ makes a ref. to myths such as those of Apollo and Daphne, or Pan and Syrinx, implausible, since these involve pursuit rather than quest. However, there may be an echo of Keats’s *Hyperion*, in which Apollo (not yet a god) ‘wandered forth’ towards his encounter with Mnemosyne.

- Wandering after beauty—or a giant,
 Standing vast in the sunset—an old hunter,
 Talking with gods—or a high-crested chief,
 325 Sailing with troops of friends to Tenedos;—
 I tell you, nought has ever been so clear
 As the place, the time, the fashion of those lives.
 I had not seen a work of lofty art,
 Nor woman's beauty, nor sweet nature's face,
 330 Yet, I say, never morn broke clear as those
 On the dim clustered isles in the blue sea:
 The deep groves, and white temples, and wet caves—
 And nothing ever will surprise me now—
 Who stood beside the naked Swift-footed,

322–4. *a giant*, / *Standing vast in the sunset*: almost certainly referring to the myth of Atlas, one of the Titans, who, after the Titans' unsuccessful attempt to conquer Olympus, was banished by Zeus to the far west (hence 'in the sunset') where he was condemned to support the heavens on his shoulders.

323–4. *an old hunter*, / *Talking with gods*: Penguin suggests Peleus, who took part in the famous hunt for the Calydonian boar, and was favoured, as the most virtuous of mankind, by the gods, who gave him the nereid Thetis in marriage and attended the wedding with gifts. In the context of the following refs. to the Trojan war (ll. 324–5) and, possibly, to Achilles (l. 334), it is suggestive that this wedding was the occasion for the quarrel between Hera, Aphrodite, and Athene which led to the Trojan war, and that Achilles was the son of Peleus and Thetis. Oxford's suggestion of Orion as the 'old hunter' rests on the parallel with *Paracelsus* ii 370–1 (l. 176–7), but is otherwise unsupported.

324–5. *a high-crested chief*. . . *Tenedos*: one of the leaders of the Greek expedition against Troy, possibly Agamemnon, whose fate in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* is alluded to later (ll. 567–71); Tenedos, 'a small and fertile island of the Aegean sea, opposite Troy, . . . became famous during the Trojan war, as it was there that the Greeks concealed themselves the more effectually to make the Trojans believe that they were returned home, without finishing the siege' (*Lemprière*). The epithet 'high-crested' is however particularly associated with the Trojan hero, Hector; cp. e.g. Pope's *Iliad* ii: 'The godlike Hector, high above the rest, / Shakes his huge spear, and nods his plumed crest: / In throngs around his native bands appear'.

331. I.e. the islands of the Aegean; cp. Byron's lyric 'The isles of Greece', in *Don Juan* iii, and *Cleon* 1–3 (pp. 565–6): 'the sprinkled isles, / Lily on lily, that o'erlace the sea, / And laugh their pride when the light wave lisps "Greece"'.

334. *the naked Swift-footed*: the allusion may be to Achilles, the Greek hero in the Trojan war (see above, ll. 323–4n.), to whom Homer applies the epithet 'swift', or Hermes, the messenger of the gods, who, as Oxford points out, was sent to fetch Proserpine from the Underworld (see next note). But 'swift-footed' was a cult epithet of Artemis (cp. Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis*); if the ref. is to her, then her being seen 'naked' carries the connotations of a proscribed act, as in the story of her transformation of Actaeon into a stag for slaughter by his own hounds in retribution for his having glimpsed her bathing.

335 Who bound my forehead with Proserpine's hair.

And strange it is, that I who could so dream,
Should e'er have stooped to aim at aught beneath—
Aught low, or painful, but I never doubted;
So as I grew, I rudely shaped my life

340 To my immediate wants, yet strong beneath
Was a vague sense of powers folded up—
A sense that tho' those shadowy times were past,
Their spirit dwelt in me, and I should rule.

Then came a pause, and long restraint chained down

345 My soul, till it was changed. I lost myself,

335. *Proserpine's*] B. put an accent on the first 'e' in *Mill* to indicate the metrical stress. Proserpine (Persephone, or Koré) was the daughter of Demeter, the goddess of fertility; she was abducted by Hades, the god of the Underworld, and was restored to her mother at the instigation of Zeus, though only for half of each year. Proserpine therefore represents a combination of the erotic and the fatal; but the precise application of the image here is uncertain. Cp. *Balaustion's Adventure* (1871) 2618–47; note esp. ll. 2618–21: 'Koré,—throned and crowned / The pensive queen o' the twilight, where she dwells / Forever in a muse, but half away / From flowery earth she lost and hankers for', and ll. 2623–8: 'the softened eyes / Of the lost maidenhood that lingered still / Straying among the flowers in Sicily'.

336. *And*] emended from 'An' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in *Rylands*, *Lowell-1888*. The contraction appears nowhere else in his work.
338. *but I never doubted*: *Mill* underlined this clause and put a cross in the margin to indicate obscurity; the sense is that the writer, although he has 'stooped' to inferior aims, 'never doubted' the true nature of his vocation. B. frequently used 'doubt' in this intransitive way. Cp. l. 36n.

339–40. *So . . . wants*: B.'s choice of phrasing here may echo Richard's first soliloquy in *Richard III* I i 14–16: 'But I, that am not shap'd for sportive tricks . . . I, that am rudely stamp'd'. See headnote, pp. 8–9, for the influence of *Richard III* on the poem. Contrast also *Hamlet* V ii 10–11: 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends, / Rough-hew them how we will'. 'Rudely' means 'roughly, unevenly, unskillfully'. See ll. 138, 259, 382.

341. *powers*] power though (1888), making a monosyllable of 1833's 'powers'.

342. *those shadowy times*: *Mill* underlined this phrase and wrote in the margin: 'what times? your own imaginative times? or the antique times themselves?' The fact that B. made no immediate response perhaps indicates that he intended either reading, or both; in 1888 he revised the phrase to 'those shades and times', which inclines slightly towards *Mill*'s second reading, though not decisively.

343. *Oxford* compares *Romans* viii 9: 'But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you'. *and I should rule*] with them should rule (1868–88).

344–56. There may be a ref. to a period of B.'s own youth during which he quarrelled with his family over his Shelleyan ideas. However, the theme of guilt and remorse was a commonplace of Romantic writing (e.g. Byron). See also ll. 398–9.

344–5. *chained down* / *My soul*: cp. ll. 504–5, 593.

- And were it not that I so loathe that time,
 I could recall how first I learned to turn
 My mind against itself; and the effects,
 In deeds for which remorse were vain, as for
 350 The wanderings of delirious dream; yet thence
 Came cunning, envy, falsehood, which so long
 Have spotted me—at length I was restored,
 Yet long the influence remained; and nought
 But the still life I led, apart from all,
 355 Which left my soul to seek its old delights,
 Could e'er have brought me thus far back to peace.
 As peace returned, I sought out some pursuit:
 And song rose—no new impulse—but the one
 With which all others best could be combined.
 360 My life has not been that of those whose heaven
 Was lampless, save where poesy shone out;
 But as a clime, where glittering mountain-tops,
 And glancing sea, and forests steeped in light,
 Give back reflected the far-flashing sun;
 365 For music, (which is earnest of a heaven,

346. *that time*] that loss (1888).

351–5.] Came cunning, envy, falsehood, all world's wrong
 That spotted me: at length I cleansed my soul.
 Yet long world's influence remained; and nought
 But the still life I led, apart once more,
 Which left me free to seek soul's old delights, (1888)

352. *spotted*: tainted (as with marks of the plague); this sense is common in B.'s early work. Cp. *Sordello* v 992–51 (I 715).

358–76. In this passage, the writer considers and compares the various arts in which his imagination might express itself. Poetry (or 'song') is chosen as uniting the qualities of music and painting. Painting is represented as the less significant form (cp. *Old Pictures* 49–56, p. 413).

358–9. *the one . . . combined*. cp. *Sordello* ii 440–51 (I 490).

361. *Was . . . shone*] *Is . . . shines* (Mill).

365–7. *For music . . . revealed*: B. is here close to one of the main tenets of German (as opposed to English) Romantic aesthetics; M. H. Abrams (*The Mirror and the Lamp* [New York 1958] 93) cites Wackenroder: 'So is it with the mysterious stream in the depths of the human spirit—speech reckons and names and describes its changes in a foreign material; music streams it out before us as it is in itself. . . In the mirror of tones the human heart learns to know itself'. Cp. also Mme de Staël's *Corinne*: 'when listening to pure and lovely melody we seem nearly to penetrate the secret of creation, the mystery of life. No words can express this' (p. 163). B.'s own love of music rivalled that of poetry in his youth (see *Maynard* 140–1) and continued throughout his life. Cp. *Abt Vogler* (p. 759).

365. *earnest of a heaven*: 'earnest' in the sense of 'pledge'; cp. *Ephesians* i 14: 'ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is an earnest of our inheritance, unto the redemption of God's own possession, unto the praise of his glory'.

- Seeing we know emotions strange by it,
 Not else to be revealed,) is as a voice,
 A low voice calling Fancy, as a friend,
 To the green woods in the gay summer time.
 370 And she fills all the way with dancing shapes,
 Which have made painters pale; and they go on
 While stars look at them, and winds call to them,
 As they leave life's path for the twilight world,
 Where the dead gather. This was not at first,
 375 For I scarce knew what I would do. I had
 No wish to paint, no yearning—but I sang.

- And first I sang, as I in dream have seen
 Music wait on a lyrist for some thought,
 Yet singing to herself until it came.
 380 I turned to those old times and scenes, where all
 That's beautiful had birth for me, and made
 Rude verses on them all; and then I paused—
 I had done nothing, so I sought to know

367. *is as a voice*] is like a voice (1888). Mill put a cross in the margin and wrote: 'do you mean is to *you* as a voice &c.?'

368. *Fancy*] fancy (Lowell-1888); as usually in B., a synonym for imagination.

370. *she*: Mill underlined this word and wrote in the margin: 'who? Fancy or Music?' Again, the lack of revision, either in Mill's copy or in later eds., may imply that B. was prepared to allow the ambiguity.

371. *pale*: i.e. envious. *they*: the 'dancing shapes' of l. 370.

372. *While*] Till (1888).

373-4. Mill put a cross in the margin opposite these lines, indicating obscurity, but did not underline the particular phrase he had in mind. Possibly he found the phrase 'This was not at first' puzzling; it refers to the writer's active choice of 'song' over the other arts; he is repeating what he said above (ll. 360-4), that this choice was not immediately obvious.

376.] An impulse but no yearning—only sang. (1888).

377-9. B. may have in mind W. J. Fox's criticism of his early poems: 'Their faults seem to have lain in the direction of too great splendour of language and too little wealth of thought; and Mr. Fox . . . confessed afterwards to Mr. Browning that he had feared these tendencies as his future snare' (Orr *Life* 36-7).

377. *seen*] emended from 'seen,' in 1833, a correction made in Mill and Lowell-1888.

382. *Rude*: crude, inexperienced: see above, ll. 339-40n.

383-93. This passage expresses a recurrent preoccupation in B.'s early work with imitation as the necessary first stage of a young poet's career. Imitation is rejected by Paracelsus (see *Paracelsus* i 581f. [I 139f.]), but embraced by Sordello (see *Sordello* ii 71-84 [I 466-9]); both positions are articulated by the sculptor Jules in *Pippa* (see ii 68-98, and iv 37-47, pp. 128-9, 159-60). The principle is most clearly set out in *Chatterton* (see Appendix C, II 476). The passage may be related to B.'s early collection, *Incondita* (see headnote to *The Dance of Death*, II 3-4).

- What mind had yet achieved. No fear was mine
 385 As I gazed on the works of mighty bards,
 In the first joy at finding my own thoughts
 Recorded, and my powers exemplified,
 And feeling their aspirings were my own.
 And then I first explored passion and mind;
 390 And I began afresh; I rather sought
 To rival what I wondered at, than form
 Creations of my own; so much was light
 Lent back by others, yet much was my own.

- I paused again—a change was coming on,
 395 I was no more a boy—the past was breaking

384–5.] What other minds achieved. No fear outbroke / As on the works of mighty bards I gazed, (1888).

387–90.] Recorded, my own fancies justified,
 And their aspirings but my very own.
 With them I first explored passion and mind,—
 All to begin afresh! I rather sought (1888)

388. *And*] at (*Mill*; *sic* lower case).

392–4.] Creations of my own; if much was light
 Lent by the others, much was yet my own.

I paused again: a change was coming—came: (1888)

392. *so*: Mill underlined this word and put a cross in the margin; at the bottom of the page he wrote: 'this writer seems to use "so", according to the colloquial vulgarism, in the sense of "therefore" or "accordingly"—from which occasionally comes great obscurity & ambiguity—as here'. B. in turn put a cross above the word 'vulgarism', drew a line from it to another cross in the r. margin, and wrote: 'The recurrence of "so" thus employed is as vulgar as you please: but the usage itself of "so in the sense of accordingly" is perfectly authorized,—take an instance or two, from Milton. So farewell Hope, & with Hope farewell Fear! P[aradise]. L[ost]. 4.108[.] So on he fares, and to the border comes Of Eden, d[itt]o. 132. So down they sat and to their viands fell. 5.433. So both ascend In the visions of God 11.376. So death becomes his final remedy 11.60. So in his seed all nations shall be blest 12.450. So law appears imperfect 12.300[.] So all shall turn degenerate 11.806. So violence proceeded, and oppression 11 671 [.] So send them forth, tho sorrowing yet in peace 11.117'. (B.'s quotations are substantially correct; in the third, 'And to their viands fell' is a new line; in the fifth, the line ref. should be 61; in the ninth, 'Proceeded, and oppression' is a new line.) Despite this comprehensive rebuttal, B. added a comma after 'so' in *Mill*, and *Rylands*, *Lowell* and 1868–75 (1888 has a different reading: see next note). Mill's comment seems to have had a listing impact on him, as a reviser if not a composer, for there are many examples of commas added to 'so' in revs. of later poems. (The reader is spared 'an instance or two'.)

395–6. *the past . . . worked*: Mill underlined the first clause, and put a cross in the margin indicating obscurity. The sense is that the writer's past identity was giving way to the change which was coming, and that this process resembled a fever (which would 'break' from sickness to health).

Before the coming, and like fever worked.
 I first thought on myself—and here my powers
 Burst out. I dreamed not of restraint, but gazed
 On all things: schemes and systems went and came,
 400 And I was proud (being vainest of the weak),
 In wandering o'er them, to seek out some one
 To be my own; as one should wander o'er
 The white way for a star.

★ ★ ★ ★

On one, whom praise of mine would not offend,
 405 Who was as calm as beauty—being such
 Unto mankind as thou to me, Pauline,
 Believing in them, and devoting all
 His soul's strength to their winning back to peace;
 Who sent forth hopes and longings for their sake,
 410 Clothed in all passion's melodies, which first
 Caught me, and set me, as to a sweet task,
 To gather every breathing of his songs.
 And woven with them there were words,
 which seemed
 A key to a new world; the muttering

396–7.] Before the future and like fever worked. / I thought on my new self, and all my powers (1888).

398–9. See ll. 344–56n.

401–2.] In wandering o'er thought's world to seek some one / To be my prize, as if you wandered o'er (1888).

403.] The white way for a star.

And my choice fell

Not so much on a system as a man—(Lowell-1888; 1888 has 'White Way'). For this and all subsequent occurrences, the 1833 asterisks were eliminated in 1868–88.

403. *The white way*: the Milky Way.

404–28. Penguin cites Orr *Handbook* 21, where the 'one' is identified as Plato, but phrases such as 'passion's melodies' (l. 410) favour a renewed allusion to Shelley, whose works B. assiduously collected (see l. 412). That B. was aware of Shelley's interest in Plato is indicated by the parallel between l. 414 and l. 435; and note Shelley's contention in the *Defence of Poetry* that 'Plato was essentially a poet—the truth and splendour of his imagery, and the melody of his language, are the most intense that it is possible to conceive'.

404. *one*] One (Mill). *would not*] shall not (1888).

410–13.] Clothed in all passion's melodies: such first

Caught me and set me, slave of a sweet task,

To disentangle, gather sense from song;

Since, song-inwoven, lurked there words which seemed (1888)

- 415 Of angels, of some thing unguessed by man.
 How my heart beat, as I went on, and found
 Much there I felt my own mind had conceived,
 But there living and burning; soon the whole
 Of his conceptions dawned on me; their praise
 420 Is in the tongues of men; men's brows are high
 When his name means a triumph and a pride;
 So my weak hands may well forbear to dim
 What then seemed my bright fate: I threw myself
 To meet it. I was vowed to liberty,
 425 Men were to be as gods, and earth as heaven.
 And I—ah! what a life was mine to be,
 My whole soul rose to meet it. Now, Pauline,
 I shall go mad, if I recall that time.

★ ★ ★ ★

- O let me look back, ere I leave for ever
- 430 The time, which was an hour, that one waits

415–20.] Of angels, something yet unguessed by man.

How my heart leapt as still I sought and found
 Much there, I felt my own soul had conceived,
 But there living and burning! Soon the orb
 Of his conceptions dawned on me; its praise
 Lives in the tongues of men, men's brows are high (1888)

417. *there*] emended from 'there!' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill*; *Lowell*-1888 have 'there,'.

419–23. *their praise . . . bright fate*: the writer argues that since Shelley's ideas are now known and admired, he need not describe his earlier absorption of them. The 1833 reading contrasts 'tongues' and 'brows' (l. 420), i.e. homage which is spoken or conceived, with the writer's 'weak hands', an image which combines the feebleness of a gesture with the ineffectiveness of writing as a means of expression. The 1888 reading (see next note) eliminates this contrast.

422–3.] So, my weak voice may well forbear to shame / What seemed decreed my fate: I threw myself (1888).

425. Recalling both the serpent's temptation of Eve in *Genesis* iii 5 ('ye shall be as gods') and the traditional idea of the millennium as heaven on earth. Cp. Pope, *Essay on Man* iv 131–66, in which the idea of a 'kingdom of the Just' (l. 133) is ridiculed: "No—shall the good want Health, the good want Pow'r?" / Add Health and Pow'r, and ev'ry earthly thing; / "Why bounded Pow'r? why private? why no king?" / Nay, why external for internal giv'n? / Why is not Man a God, and Earth a Heav'n?" (ll. 158–62).

426. *to be*] to prove (1888).

429–31. Mill drew a vertical line in the margin by the first two of these lines and wrote 'fine'. The comment probably applies to the whole sentence, and not, as *Oxford* suggests, only up to the word 'time' in the second line.

429. *ere*] emended to agree with 1888 from 'e'er' (1833–75); an obvious mispr.

430. *that one waits*] one fondly waits (1888).

- For a fair girl, that comes a withered hag,
 And I was lonely,—far from woods and fields,
 And amid dullest sights, who should be loose
 As a stag—yet I was full of joy—who lived
 435 With Plato—and who had the key to life.
 And I had dimly shaped my first attempt,
 And many a thought did I build up on thought,
 As the wild bee hangs cell to cell—in vain;
 For I must still go on: my mind rests not.
- 440 'Twas in my plan to look on real life,
 Which was all new to me; my theories
 Were firm, so I left them, to look upon
 Men, and their cares, and hopes, and fears, and joys;
 And, as I pondered on them all, I sought
 445 How best life's end might be attained—an end
 Comprising every joy. I deeply mused.
- And suddenly, without heart-wreck, I awoke
 As from a dream—I said, 'twas beautiful,
 Yet but a dream; and so adieu to it.

432–5. Possibly, as *Maynard* 268 suggests, referring to B.'s own brief and unsatisfactory period of study at the new London University (now University College London), Oct. 1828–May 1829. Cp. Coleridge, *Frost at Midnight* 51–5: 'For I was reared / In the great city, pent 'mid cloisters dim, / And saw nought lovely but the sky and stars. / But thou, my babe! shalt wander like a breeze / By lakes and sandy shores', and Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey* 67–8: 'when like a roe / I bounded o'er the mountains'.

434. joy] bliss (1888).

435. See ll. 404–28n.

439.] For I must still advance, no rest for mind. (1888).

440–3. This movement from theoretical to practical knowledge reappears in *Paracelsus*, with Paracelsus' determination to leave Würzburg for a life of travel and discovery (pt. i), and in *Sordello*, in the transition from Sordello's fantasy life at Goito to the 'veritable business of mankind' (i 1000 [I 460]) at Mantua.

441–4.] The life all new to me; my theories

Were firm, so them I left, to look and learn

Mankind, its cares, hopes, fears, its woes and joys;

And, as I pondered on their ways, I sought (1888)

444–5. an end / Comprising every joy: see ll. 277–8n, 601–19.

447. Mill wrote in the margin: 'This, to page 36, is finely painted, & evidently from experience'. Page 36 in 1833 consists of ll. 490–506; there is a full stop in l. 506, though no clear break in the argument.

- 450 As some world-wanderer sees in a far meadow
 Strange towers, and walled gardens, thick with trees,
 Where singing goes on, and delicious mirth,
 And laughing fairy creatures peeping over,
 And on the morrow, when he comes to live
 455 For ever by those springs, and trees, fruit-flushed,
 And fairy bowers—all his search is vain.
 Well I remember ★ ★ ★ ★
 First went my hopes of perfecting mankind,
 And faith in them—then freedom in itself,
 460 And virtue in itself—and then my motives' ends,
 And powers and loves; and human love went last.
 I felt this no decay, because new powers
 Rose as old feelings left—wit, mockery,
 And happiness; for I had oft been sad,
 465 Mistrusting my resolves: but now I cast
 Hope joyously away—I laughed and said,
 “No more of this”—I must not think; at length
 I look'd again to see how all went on.

- My powers were greater—as some temple seemed
 470 My soul, where nought is changed, and incense rolls
 Around the altar—only God is gone,
 And some dark spirit sitteth in his seat!
 So I passed through the temple; and to me
 Knelt troops of shadows; and they cried, “Hail, king!

451–6.] Strange towers and high-walled gardens thick with trees,
 Where song takes shelter and delicious mirth
 From laughing fairy creatures peeping over,
 And on the morrow when he comes to lie
 For ever 'neath those garden-trees fruit-flushed
 Sung round by fairies, all his search is vain. (1888). We supply a comma
 after 1835 'fruit-flushed'.

457.] Not *Lowell*-1888.

459–61.] Next—faith in them, and then in freedom's self
 And virtue's self, then my own motives, ends
 And aims and loves, and human loves went last. (1888)

464. *And happiness*] Light-heartedness (1888).

467. B. extended the speech to 'think' in *Mill*.

468. *how all went on*] if all went well (1888).

471–2. Cp. Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound* II iv 2–3: 'I see a mighty darkness / Filling the seat of power', referring to Demogorgon, who is about to overthrow Jupiter.

473. So] So, (*Lowell*-1888).

- 475 "We serve thee now, and thou shalt serve no more!
 "Call on us, prove us, let us worship thee!"
 And I said, "Are ye strong—let fancy bear me
 "Far from the past."—And I was borne away
 As Arab birds float sleeping in the wind,
 480 O'er deserts, towers, and forests, I being calm;
 And I said, "I have nursed up energies,
 "They will prey on me." And a band knelt low,
 And cried, "Lord, we are here, and we will make
 "A way for thee in thine appointed life,—
 485 "O look on us!" And I said, "Ye will worship
 "Me; but my heart must worship too." They shouted,
 "Thyself—thou art our king!" So I stood there
 Smiling ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

- And buoyant and rejoicing was the spirit
 490 With which I looked out how to end my days;
 I felt once more myself—my powers were mine;
 I found that youth or health so lifted me,
 That, spite of all life's vanity, no grief
 Came nigh me—I must ever be light-hearted;

477. *strong*—] strong? (1868–88). The alteration changes the meaning from 'if you are strong . . .' to a straight question.

479. Cp. Shelley, *Lines Written in the Bay of Lerici* 4–6: 'Like an albatross asleep, / Balanced on her wings of light, / Hovered in the purple night'.

481–2. Under 'nurse' (sense 5), J. cites Locke: 'By what fate has vice so thriven amongst us, and by what hands been nurs'd up into so uncontroul'd dominion?' The idea, and the use of 'energies' here, recalls Blake, but it is not certain that B. had encountered his work at this period.

483–4. *we will make / A way for thee*: cp. *Isaiah* xl 3: 'Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a high way for our God'. See also *Mark* i 3.

484–6.] "Safe way for thee in thine appointed life!

But look on us!" And I said "Ye will worship

Me; should my heart not worship too?" They shouted (1888)

484. *thee in . . . life*,—] emended from 'thee—in . . . life' in 1833, a correction made in *Mill*; 1868–75 have 'life!'. For the 1888 reading, see prec. note.

488.] Smiling. . . . (1868–75); Smiling—oh, vanity of vanities! (1888). There is no line-space after this line in 1868–88; in 1868–75 the line comes at the bottom of a page.

489–93.] For buoyant and rejoicing was the spirit

With which I looked out how to end my course;

I felt once more myself, my powers—all mine;

I knew while youth and health so lifted me

That, spite of all life's nothingness, no grief (1888)

490. *looked out*: inquired.

- 495 And that this feeling was the only veil
 Betwixt me and despair: so if age came,
 I should be as a wreck linked to a soul
 Yet fluttering, or mind-broken, and aware
 Of my decay. So a long summer morn
 500 Found me; and ere noon came, I had resolved
 No age should come on me, ere youth's hopes went,
 For I would wear myself out—like that morn
 Which wasted not a sunbeam—every joy
 I would make mine, and die; and thus I sought
 505 To chain my spirit down, which I had fed
 With thoughts of fame. I said, the troubled life
 Of genius seen so bright when working forth
 Some trusted end, seems sad, when all in vain—
 Most sad, when men have parted with all joy
 510 For their wild fancy's sake, which waited first,
 As an obedient spirit, when delight

495–7.] And that this knowledge was the only veil
 Betwixt joy and despair: so, if age came,
 I should be left—a wreck linked to a soul (1888)

496. *so*] so, (Lowell-1888).

497. *be as a*] be a mere (Mill).

497–8. *a soul* / *Yet fluttering*: 'yet' means 'still'. The Greek word for soul, 'psyche', also means 'butterfly', as *Oxford* notes; the butterfly became a traditional emblem for the soul. Cp. *Pippa* ii 216 ^217n. (p. 137).

501. *youth's hopes went*] youth was spent (1888).

500–4. *I had resolved . . . and die*: see ll. 601–19.

503–10.] Which wasted not a sunbeam; every hour
 I would make mine, and die.
 And thus I sought
 To chain my spirit down which erst I freed
 For flights to fame: I said "The troubled life
 Of genius, seen so gay when working forth
 Some trusted end, grows sad when all proves vain—
 How sad when men have parted with truth's peace
 For falsest fancy's sake, which waited first (1888)

506–59. *the troubled life . . . still*] in quotation marks, Lowell-1888, with the exception of the parenthesis in ll. 523–8.

506–10. *I said . . . fancy's sake*: the sense is that the trials of 'genius' only seem worthwhile when some concrete end is in view, and are otherwise futile, most of all when actual pleasures have been sacrificed in the process, since the 'wild fancy', which at first served its possessor like an obedient spirit, degenerates as soon as it becomes the sole means of securing pleasure. The tone here, and the use of the terms 'joy' and 'fancy', may owe something to Coleridge's *Dejection: An Ode*.

506–7. *the troubled life* / *Of genius*: cp. Naddo in *Sordello* i 692–9 (I 440–2).

510. *waited*: served, attended.

Came not with her alone, but alters soon,
 Coming darkened, seldom, hasting to depart,
 Leaving a heavy darkness and warm tears.

- 515 But I shall never lose her; she will live
 Brighter for such seclusion—I but catch
 A hue, a glance of what I sing, so pain
 Is linked with pleasure, for I ne'er may tell
 The radiant sights which dazzle me; but now
 520 They shall be all my own, and let them fade
 Untold—others shall rise as fair, as fast.
 And when all's done, the few dim gleams transferred,—
 (For a new thought sprung up—that it were well

512. *not with her alone*] without fancy's call (1888).

513. *Coming*] Comes (*Lowell*-1888). *hasting*] hastening (1868–75); hastens (1888).

514.] 1868–88 leave no space after this line.

515–21. Mill marked this passage with a cross, indicating obscurity. The sense is: 'But I shall never lose my "fancy"; it will be all the more powerful for operating in a fitful and fragmentary way. I only catch isolated glimpses of my subject, and therefore pleasure [at its glory] is linked with pain [at the impossibility of expressing it adequately], because I am unable to represent the splendour of my visions. But this very incapacity means that I alone possess my visions, and can keep them to myself; it does not matter if they remain unexpressed, since others just as splendid will rapidly replace them'. The thought here anticipates the analysis of *Sordello*'s creativity in terms of the relation between vision and poetic expression; see e.g. *Sordello* ii 137ff., 601–5 (I 470ff., 500): also below, l. 811n.

515. *her*: the 'wild fancy' of l. 510; and see l. 284n.

516. *Brighter*] Dearer (1888). *such seclusion*: referring to the fact that 'fancy', when 'secluded' from other sources of delight, becomes intermittent and transient (see ll. 506–14).

517. *what I sing*: my subject (not 'my singing'). *so*] so, (*Lowell*-1888).

519–20.] Half the bright sights which dazzle me; but now / Mine shall be all the radiance: let them fade (1888).

521–2.] B. drew a line between these two lines in *Mill*, but there is no line-space in 1868–88.

522–30. The sense is that the writer, under the influence of the 'new thought' that writing actual poems would bring him fame and thereby guarantee the survival of some authentic token of his vision (the 'branch from the gold forest'), attempts to write, but only manages to convey a 'few dim gleams' of that vision; this, which constitutes 'success' in the eyes of the world, seems futile to him, either in comparison with the original and inexpressible vision or because of the essential hollowness (or insincerity: see l. 539) of contemporary acclaim.

523–6.] (For a new thought sprang up how well it were,

Discarding shadowy hope, to weave such lays

As straight encircle men with praise and love,

So, I should not die utterly,—should bring (1888; 'hope' is a reading which dates from *Lowell*).

- To leave all shadowy hopes, and weave such lays
 525 As would encircle me with praise and love;
 So I should not die utterly—I should bring
 One branch from the gold forest, like the knight
 Of old tales, witnessing I had been there,)—
 And when all's done, how vain seems e'en success,
 530 And all the influence poets have o'er men!
 'Tis a fine thing that one, weak as myself,
 Should sit in his lone room, knowing the words
 He utters in his solitude shall move
 Men like a swift wind—that tho' he be forgotten,
 535 Fair eyes shall glisten when his beauteous dreams
 Of love come true in happier frames than his.
 Ay, the still night brought thoughts like these, but morn
 Came, and the mockery again laughed out
 At hollow praises, and smiles, almost sneers;

524. *lays*: the 'lay' was originally a short poem set to music, associated with the work of the medieval minstrels (cp. its use in *Sordello*, e.g. ii 82, I 468); 'from the 16th to the 18th centuries the word was a mere poetical synonym for "song"' (OED), but Romantic writers such as Scott (*Lay of the Last Minstrel*) popularized the term as an archaism for a lyric poem or ballad. Note the satiric use in *Flight of the Duchess* 104 (II 302).

526–8. *I should bring . . . there*: B. combines two classical stories: that of the golden apples of the Hesperides, which Heracles obtained as one of his twelve labours, and the golden bough in Virgil's *Aeneid* vi 136ff., which gives entry to the Underworld. The word 'knight' suggests that B. is also thinking of later fairy-tales in which a hero is required to bring back proof that he has been to some magical place.

526. *I should not die utterly*: Horace *Odes* III xxx 6: 'non omnis moriar'.

530. *And all the influence*] The vaunted influence (1888).

531–44. The first sentence (ll. 531–6) corresponds to the 'new thought' of ll. 523–8, about the value of fame; the remainder (ll. 537–44) corresponds to the realization (in ll. 522, 529–30) that vision cannot be represented in writing.

534–5. *he be forgotten*, / *Fair eyes*] dead and gone, / New eyes (1888).

537–8. *brought . . . Came . . . laughed*] brings . . . Comes . . . laughs (1888).

539–44.] At hollow praises, smiles allied to sneers;

And my soul's idol ever whispers me
 To dwell with him and his unhonoured song:
 And I foreknow my spirit, that would press
 First in the struggle, fail again to make
 All bow enslaved, and I again should sink. (1888)

539. Praise is 'hollow' when directed at the imperfect work rather than its more perfect conception. See *Sordello* iii 599–614 (I 564–6).

- 540 And my soul's idol seemed to whisper me
 To dwell with him and his unhonoured name—
 And I well knew my spirit, that would be
 First in the struggle, and again would make
 All bow to it; and I would sink again.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

- 545 And then know that this curse will come on us,
 To see our idols perish—we may wither,
 Nor marvel—we are clay; but our low fate
 Should not extend to them, whom trustingly
 We sent before into Time's yawning gulf,
 550 To face what e'er may lurk in darkness there—
 To see the painters' glory pass, and feel
 Sweet music move us not as once, or worst,
 To see decaying wits ere the frail body

540–1. 'It seemed better to me to abjure actual writing, which attracted "hollow praises", in favour of the pure imagination which was "unhonoured" [not recognized]' (but note 1888 'unhonoured song'). Cp. *Sordello* iii 32–3 (I 526): 'Better sure be unrevealed / Than part-revealed'; and B. to EBB., 11 Feb. 1845: 'I never wanted a real set of good hearty praisers—and no bad reviewers . . . I am quite content with my share. No—what I laughed at in my "gentle audience" is a sad trick the real admirers have of admiring at the wrong place—enough to make an apostle swear!' (*Correspondence* x 71).

542–4. The sense is that the writer knows that his imagination would not yield first place to the inferior faculty which was necessary to the production of poetry, but would insist on its own primacy, and thus cause his efforts to fail—there would therefore be no point in making such efforts.

544. *would sink again*] should sink again (*Mill*, *Lowell*-1875); again should sink (1888).

546–54. *we may wither* . . . *Decays*: i.e. 'it is fitting that we inferior beings should perish, since we are merely mortal; but not that this fate should extend to our admired forbears, whose physical death we had not expected to compromise their works' immortality. It is painful to see a painter's reputation fade, to lose sympathy with a piece of music, or worst of all, to see an artist destroy his reputation by the works of his dotage'. *Maynard* compares *Childe Harold* IV cxxii–cxxiv: 'cure / Is bitterer still, as charm by charm unwinds / Which robed our idols . . . / So we are doubly cursed'. With l. 546 cp. also cxxiv: 'We wither from our youth'. B. has altered Byron's argument, which is that both love and art are futile attempts to express an ideal which cannot exist outside the mind itself.

547. *Nor marvel—we*] *Nor marvel, we* (*Lowell*); *Nor marvel we* (1868–75; probably a mispr.); *No marvel, we* (1888).

548. *extend to*] emended from 'extend' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* (but not in *Lowell*) and followed in 1868–88. *them*,] *those* (1888).

549–50. Cp. the writer's description of himself at ll. 1026–7.

549. *Time's yawning gulf*: cp. *Richard III* III vii 128–9: 'the swallowing gulf / Of dark forgetfulness and deep oblivion'.

550. *what e'er may*] *whate'er might* (*Lowell*-1875); *what dread may* (1888).

551. *see*] *find* (1888). *painters'*] *painter's* (1870–88).

Decays. Nought makes me trust in love so really,
 555 As the delight of the contented lowness
 With which I gaze on souls I'd keep for ever
 In beauty—I'd be sad to equal them;
 I'd feed their fame e'en from my heart's best blood,
 Withering unseen, that they might flourish still.

★ ★ ★ ★

560 Pauline, my sweet friend, thou dost not forget
 How this mood swayed me, when thou first wert mine,
 When I had set myself to live this life,
 Defying all opinion. Ere thou camest
 I was most happy, sweet, for old delights
 565 Had come like birds again; music, my life,
 I nourished more than ever, and old lore
 Loved for itself, and all it shows—the king

554–61.] Decays! Nought makes me trust some love is true,
 But the delight of the contented lowness
 With which I gaze on him I keep for ever
 Above me; I to rise and rival him?

Feed his fame rather from my heart's best blood,
 Wither unseen that he may flourish still."

Pauline, my soul's friend, thou dost pity yet

How this mood swayed me when that soul found thine, (1888)

554–9. *Nought . . . still*: the idea that the true love is that of the inferior for the superior is a common one in B. Cp., e.g., *Sordello* iii 304ff., vi 41–3 (I 544, 718) and B. to EBB., 10 Aug. 1846: 'There is no love but from beneath, far beneath,—that is the law of its nature' (*Correspondence* xiii 242).

557. *I'd be sad to equal them*: Mill underlined this clause and put a cross in the margin, indicating obscurity. The meaning is that if the writer were to 'equal' his predecessors he would no longer admire them, since he would no longer be in an inferior position (see prec. note).

561. *wert*] *wast* (*Rylands, Lowell-1888*)

563–6.] Defying all past glory. Ere thou camest

I seemed defiant, sweet, for old delights

Had flocked like birds again; music, my life,

Nourished me more than ever; then the lore (1888)

567–71. *the king . . . doom*: in a letter to T. J. Wise of 5 Nov. 1886 B. explained: 'The "King" is Agamemnon, in the Tragedy of that name by Aeschylus, whose treading the purple carpets spread before him by his wife, preparatory to his murder, is a notable passage' (*LH* 256; see also ll. 573–6n.). The *Agamemnon* is the first play in Aeschylus's trilogy, the *Oresteia*. In Mill, B. transcribed in the margin two lines in Greek from the *Agamemnon*, which he was later to render in his version of the play (1877): 'So,—since to hear thee, I am brought about thus,— / I go into the palace—purples treading' (ll. 956–7 in original, ll. 962–3 in B.'s transl.). B. seems to have supplied this gloss, and the two following, on his own initiative, and not in response to a query by Mill: see also ll. 963–5n.

567. *the king*] the King (*Mill*); that king (1888).

- Treading the purple calmly to his death,
 —While round him, like the clouds of eve, all dusk,
 570 The giant shades of fate, silently flitting,
 Pile the dim outline of the coming doom,
 —And him sitting alone in blood, while friends
 Are hunting far in the sunshine; and the boy,
 With his white breast and brow and clustering curls
 575 Streaked with his mother's blood, and striving hard
 To tell his story ere his reason goes.
 And when I loved thee, as I've loved so oft,
 Thou lovedst me, and I wondered, and looked in
 My heart to find some feeling like such love,

572–3. *And him . . . sunshine*: the ref. is to Ajax, the Greek hero of the Trojan war. 'After the death of Achilles, Ajax and Ulysses disputed their claim to the arms of the dead hero. When they were given to the latter, Ajax was so enraged that he slaughtered a whole flock of sheep, supposing them to be the sons of Atreus, who had given the preference to Ulysses, and stabbed himself with his sword' (*Lemprière*). The 'madness of Ajax' was a traditional subject for Greek tragedy. B. drew a line from 'And' in l. 572, which forms the second line of p. 41 (a right-hand page) of 1833, downwards and over the facing page (p. 40), at the bottom of which he transcribed in Greek five lines from the *Ajax* of Sophocles, three depicting Ajax' dejection when he realizes what he has done: 'But now, confounded in his abject woe, / Refusing food or drink, he sits there still, / Just where he fell amid the carcasses / Of the slain sheep and cattle' (ll. 323–5 in the original), and two his abandonment by his friends: 'Ho Teucer! where is Teucer? Will his raid / End never? And the while I am undone!' (ll. 342–3 in the original).

572. *him*] Him (*Mill*).

573–6. *and the boy . . . reason goes*: B. wrote to Wise (see ll. 567–71n.): "'The boy" is Orestes, as described at the end of the *Choephoroi* by the same Author'. The *Choephoroi* ('Libation Bearers'), the second play in Aeschylus's *Oresteia* trilogy, concerns the return of Orestes to Argos and his murder of his mother, Clytemnestra, in revenge for her murder of Agamemnon. As a punishment for his crime, Orestes is tormented by the Furies, who appear at the end of the play and drive him away. See ll. 6–7n. In *Mill*, B. put a cross in the margin, keyed to a note at the bottom of the page, where he transcribed in Greek two short passages from the play: 'But—since I would have you know—for I know not how 'twill end—methinks I am a charioteer driving my team far outside the course' (ll. 1021–3 in the original); 'But while I still keep my senses, I proclaim to those who hold me dear and declare that not without justice did I slay my mother' (ll. 1026–7 in the original). Mill wrote in the margin opposite these lines: 'striking'; this comment is wrongly ascribed by *Oxford* to the image of Ajax in the prec. lines.

573. *boy*] Boy (*Mill*).

575. *and striving*] but striving (1888).

577. *as I've loved so oft*: i.e. lightly, superficially, in contrast to her love for him: see following lines. *I've loved*] love seemed (1888).

578.] Thou lovedst me indeed: I wondering searched (1888).

- 580 Believing I was still what I had been;
 And soon I found all faith had gone from me,
 And the late glow of life—changing like clouds,
 'Twas not the morn-blush widening into day,
 But evening, coloured by the dying sun
 585 While darkness is quick hastening:—I will tell
 My state as though 'twere none of mine—despair
 Cannot come near me—thus it is with me.
 Souls alter not, and mine must progress still;
 And this I knew not when I flung away
 590 My youth's chief aims. I ne'er supposed the loss
 Of what few I retained; for no resource
 Awaits me—now behold the change of all.
 I cannot chain my soul, it will not rest
 In its clay prison, this most narrow sphere—
 595 It has strange powers, and feelings, and desires,

580. *what*] much (1888). See the Marot motto and note, p. 1.

581–5.] Too soon I found all faith had gone from me,
 And the late glow of life, like change on clouds,
 Proved not the morn-blush widening into day,
 But eve faint-coloured by the dying sun
 While darkness hastens quickly. I will tell (1888)

583. *morn-blush*: underlined by Mill, though there is no cross in the margin to indicate obscurity; the image is traditional.

585–7. *I will tell . . . with me*: Mill put a cross in the margin opposite this passage, indicating obscurity, probably in the interpretation of the last clause, which could be (fairly nonsensically) read, 'thus despair is with me'. B.'s addition of a comma after 'near me' (l. 587) in *Mill* may have been intended to ward off this interpretation, but the clause remains ambiguous between 'this [i.e. what follows] is how I am' and 'it is my nature not to despair': hence the 1888 rev. (see next note).

587–92.] Cannot come near us—this it is, my state.
 Souls alter not, and mine must still advance;
 Strange that I knew not, when I flung away
 My youth's chief aims, their loss might lead to loss
 Of what few I retained, and no resource
 Be left me: for behold how changed is all! (1888)

588. Cp. l. 439.

593–4. Cp. ll. 282–3n.

594. *prison*,] emended from 'prison;' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in *Lowell*-1888.

595–600.] It has strange impulse, tendency, desire,
 Which nowise I account for nor explain,
 But cannot stifle, being bound to trust
 All feelings equally, to hear all sides:
 How can my life indulge them? yet they live,
 Referring to some state of life unknown. (1888)

Which I cannot account for, nor explain,
 But which I stifle not, being bound to trust
 All feelings equally—to hear all sides:
 Yet I cannot indulge them, and they live,
 600 Referring to some state or life unknown. . . .

My selfishness is satiated not,
 It wears me like a flame; my hunger for
 All pleasure, howsoever minute, is pain;
 I envy—how I envy him whose mind
 605 Turns with its energies to some one end!
 To elevate a sect, or a pursuit,
 However mean—so my still baffled hopes
 Seek out abstractions; I would have but one
 Delight on earth, so it were wholly mine;
 610 One rapture all my soul could fill—and this
 Wild feeling places me in dream afar,
 In some wide country, where the eye can see
 No end to the far hills and dales bestrewn
 With shining towers and dwellings. I grow mad
 615 Well-nigh, to know not one abode but holds
 Some pleasure—for my soul could grasp them all,
 But must remain with this vile form. I look
 With hope to age at last, which quenching much,
 May let me concentrate the sparks it spares.

599–600. Mill put a cross in the margin opposite this passage, indicating obscurity. The sense is that the writer cannot surrender to his impulses, and therefore they exist in him as anticipations or hints of an unexperienced mode of existence.

603. *is pain*] grows pain (1888).

604. *mind*] soul (1888).

605. *with its energies*] its whole energies (1888).

606.] To elevate an aim, pursue success (1888).

607–8. *hopes / Seek out*] hope / Seeks out (1888).

608–9. *but one / Delight on earth*] one joy, / But one in life (1888).

612. *wide country*] wild country (1868–75); vast country (1888). *Oxford* suggests that the 1868–75 reading was a mispr., since it is not in *Lowell*. Cp. l. 91n, and see also l. 238n.

614.] With shining towers and towns, till I grow mad (1888).

616–17.] Some pleasure, while my soul could grasp the world, / But must remain this vile form's slave. I look (1888).

619. *the sparks*] what sparks (1888).

- 620 This restlessness of passion meets in me
 A craving after knowledge: the sole proof
 Of a commanding will is in that power
 Repressed; for I beheld it in its dawn,
 That sleepless harpy, with its budding wings,
 625 And I considered whether I should yield
 All hopes and fears, to live alone with it,
 Finding a recompence in its wild eyes;
 And when I found that I should perish so,
 I bade its wild eyes close from me for ever;—
 630 And I am left alone with my delights,—
 So it lies in me a chained thing—still ready
 To serve me, if I loose its slightest bond—
 I cannot but be proud of my bright slave.

620–33. Remodelling—inverting—the argument put forward by the old man in ch. ix of Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin*: 'L'homme s'épuise par deux actes instinctivement accomplis qui tarissent les sources de son existence. Deux verbes expriment toutes les formes que prennent ces deux causes de la mort: VOULOIR et POUVOIR. Entre ces deux termes de l'action humaine, il est une autre formule dont s'emparent les sages, et je lui dois le bonheur et ma longévité. *Vouloir* nous brûle et *Pouvoir* nous détruit; mais SAVOIR laisse notre faible organisation dans un perpétuel état de calme. Ainsi le désir ou le vouloir est mort en moi, tué par la pensée; le mouvement ou le pouvoir s'est résolu par le jeu naturel de mes organes' [Man exhausts himself by two actions, instinctively performed, which dry up the springs of his being. Two verbs express all the forms taken by these two causes of death: TO WILL and TO HAVE POWER. Between these two extremes of human action there is another mode which the wise have seized upon, and I owe to it my happiness and my longevity. *To will* consumes us, and *To have power* destroys us; but TO KNOW leaves our feeble organism in a perpetual state of calm. Thus desire or the will is dead in me, killed by thought; motion or power has been dissolved by the natural working of my organs (i.e. ageing)].

622. *Of a*] Of yet (1888). Mill underlined 'that power', put a cross in the margin, indicating obscurity, and commented: 'you should make clearer *what* power'. The ref. is to the 'craving after knowledge' of the prec. line.

624.] The sleepless harpy with just-budding wings (1888). The harpies were 'winged monsters, who had the face of a woman, with the body of a vulture, and had their feet and fingers armed with sharp claws. . . . They emitted an infectious smell, and spoiled whatever they touched by their filth and excrements' (*Lemprière*). The harpies traditionally represented rapacious and destructive appetite, and were associated with divine retribution.

625–6.] And I considered whether to forego / All happy ignorant hopes and fears, to live, (1888).

630. *my delights*] old delights (1888).

631. *So . . . ready*] See! . . . prompt (1888).

- And thus I know this earth is not my sphere,
 635 For I cannot so narrow me, but that
 I still exceed it; in their elements
 My love would pass my reason—but since here
 Love must receive its objects from this earth,
 While reason will be chainless, the few truths
 640 Caught from its wanderings have sufficed to quell
 All love below;—then what must be that love
 Which, with the object it demands, would quell
 Reason, tho' it soared with the seraphim?
 No—what I feel may pass all human love,
 645 Yet fall far short of what my love should be;
 And yet I seem more warped in this than aught,
 For here myself stands out more hideously.
 I can forget myself in friendship, fame,

634–9.] How should this earth's life prove my only sphere?

Can I so narrow sense but that in life
 Soul still exceeds it? In their elements
 My love outsoars my reason; but since love
 Perforce receives its object from this earth
 While reason wanders chainless, the few truths (1888)

636. *in their elements*: Mill underlined this phrase and put a cross in the margin, indicating obscurity; the sense is: 'in their first principles' (referring to 'love' and 'reason' in the next line) as distinct from 'in their manifestation' (on 'this earth', l. 638); see l. 260.

637–45. In *Mill*, the words 'love' and 'reason' were altered to 'Love' and 'Reason' in ll. 637, 639, 641, and 645; note that 'love' in l. 644 was unchanged. These revs. were not followed in 1868–88.

637–43. *but since here . . . seraphim?*: 'but since, in this life, love is tied to earthly objects, whereas reason transcends this limitation, the few truths discovered by my reason have made earthly love impossible; how glorious then must be that love which, in company with the object of its devotion, would in turn transcend even the highest flight of reason?' The argument is that, since love is inherently superior to reason, reason's dominance in earthly life reflects the inadequacy of the objects life offers for love, not of love itself. The idea of a hierarchy of objects for love is Platonic (e.g. *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*); for an analogous Platonic hierarchy, see l. 811n. (Pauline's footnote). The argument that the power to conceive something greater than what is already known argues the existence of that greater thing derives from Descartes, who uses it to 'prove' the existence of God (the 'Ontological Proof'). Mill wrote 'self-flattery' vertically in the margin opposite ll. 639–43.

641–3.] Love chained below; then what were love, set free,

Which, with the object it demands, would pass
 Reason companioning the seraphim? (1888)

647–9.] Myself stands out more hideously: of old

I could forget myself in friendship, fame,

Liberty, nay, in love of mightier souls; (1888; there is no space after

l. 649 in *Lowell*-1888).

648–9. Mill wrote in the margin: 'inconsistent with what precedes'.

Or liberty, or love of mighty souls.

★ ★ ★ ★

- 650 But I begin to know what thing hate is—
 To sicken, and to quiver, and grow white,
 And I myself have furnished its first prey.
 All my sad weaknesses, this wavering will,
 This selfishness, this still decaying frame . . .
 655 But I must never grieve while I can pass
 Far from such thoughts—as now—Andromeda!

653–5.] Hate of the weak and ever-wavering will,
 The selfishness, the still-decaying frame . . .

But I must never grieve whom wing can waft (1888)

654. *this still decaying frame*: 'this ever-decaying body'.

656–67. *Andromeda . . . save her*: Andromeda was the daughter of Cepheus, king of Ethiopia, and Cassiope; the latter 'boasted herself to be fairer than the Nereides; upon which, Neptune, at the request of these despised nymphs . . . sent a huge sea monster to ravage Ethiopia. The wrath of Neptune could be appeased only by exposing Andromeda, whom Cassiope tenderly loved, to the fury of this sea monster; and just as she was going to be devoured, Perseus delivered her' (*Lemprière*). The painting of Andromeda 'is that of Polidoro di [*sic*, for 'da'] Caravaggio [c. 1500–1543], of which Mr. Browning possesses an engraving, which was always before his eyes as he wrote his earlier poems' (Orr *Handbook* 211n.). The painting, originally a fresco panel, is now in the Museo di Roma; *Maynard* 150–1 argues that B.'s print was the 'eighteenth-century engraving by Volpato in the Piranesi series', an identification perhaps strengthened by the specific mention of Volpato as a master of engraving in *A Likeness* 61 (p. 647). B. states his admiration for Caravaggio in a letter to Fanny Haworth of 1841 (*Correspondence* v 188), and mentions the Andromeda print twice in letters to EBB.: on 26 Feb. 1845: 'my Polidoro's perfect Andromeda' (*Correspondence* x 99) and 15 May 1846: 'my noble Polidoro' (*ibid.* xii 329). See also *A Likeness* 42–3 (pp. 646–7). B. alludes to the myth in *Sordello* (see ii 211–12n, I 477) and, in *Francis Furini* (*Parleyings*, 1887), he alludes both to the myth and to a painting of it by Francisco Furini (c. 1600–1649), in a defence of the nude in art, and of art itself: 'Outlining, orb by orb, Andromeda— / God's best of beauteous and magnificent / Revealed to earth—the naked female form' (141–3); 'Who proffers help of hand / To weak Andromeda exposed on strand / At mercy of the monster? Were all true, / Help were not wanting: "But 'tis false," cry you, / "Mere fancy-work of paint and brush!" No less, / Were mine the skill, the magic, to impress / Beholders with a confidence they saw / Life,—veritable flesh and blood in awe / Of just as true a sea-beast,—would they stare / Simply as now, or cry out, curse and swear, / Or call the gods to help, or catch up stick / And stone, according as their hearts were quick / Or sluggish?' (478–90); 'Acquaint you with the body ere your eyes / Look upward: this Andromeda of mine— / Gaze on the beauty, Art hangs out for sign / There's finer entertainment underneath' (517–20). Cp. also the adaptations of the myth in *Ring*, discussed by W. C. DeVane, 'The Virgin and the Dragon', *Yale Review* xxxvii (1947) 33–46, repr. P. Drew (ed.), *Robert Browning: A Collection of Critical Essays* (1966) 96–109, which traces the Andromeda-motif in B.'s poetry, and its application to his relationship with Elizabeth Barrett. See also ll. 99–123n.

- And she is with me—years roll, I shall change,
 But change can touch her not—so beautiful
 With her dark eyes, earnest and still, and hair
 660 Lifted and spread by the salt-sweeping breeze;
 And one red beam, all the storm leaves in heaven,
 Resting upon her eyes and face and hair,
 As she awaits the snake on the wet beach,
 By the dark rock, and the white wave just breaking
 665 At her feet; quite naked and alone,—a thing
 You doubt not, nor fear for, secure that God
 Will come in thunder from the stars to save her.
 Let it pass—I will call another change.
 I will be gifted with a wondrous soul,
 670 Yet sunk by error to men's sympathy,
 And in the wane of life; yet only so
 As to call up their fears, and there shall come
 A time requiring youth's best energies;
 And strait I fling age, sorrow, sickness off,
 675 And I rise triumphing over my decay.

★ ★ ★ ★

659. *dark eyes*] fixed eyes (1888).

661. *red beam*] emended from 'red-beam' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in *Lowell*-1888.

662. *face and hair*] hair, such hair (1888).

666-9.] I doubt not, nor fear for, secure some god
 To save will come in thunder from the stars.
 Let it pass! Soul requires another change.

I will be gifted with a wondrous mind, (1888)

668. *I will call another change*: 'I will summon up another image'.

669-75. Referring to the actor Edmund Kean, whose performance in *Richard III* at the end of his career, when he was ravaged by alcoholism and disease, powerfully affected B. See headnote, pp. 8-9.

670. Mill marked this line as obscure; the sense is either 'Yet so degraded by my faults as to excite people's pity', or 'Yet degraded by people's misapprehension of me as pitiable' (not 'mistakenly sympathizing with mankind').

672. *As to call up their fears*: Mill underlined this phrase and put a cross in the margin, indicating obscurity; the sense is that the anxiety aroused by the writer's apparent senility will prove unfounded.

674. *strait*] straight (1868-75; for the 1888 reading, see next note.) 'Strait' is a possible, though rare, spelling for 'straight' in the sense of 'straightaway, at once', and no correction is made in either *Mill* or *Lowell*; B. uses it to mean 'narrow, confined' everywhere else in his work except *Sordello* i 915 (I 454) and ii 720 (I 508); in the former case he overrode the printer's correction of 'strait' to 'straight' in proof.
 674-5.] And lo, I fling age, sorrow, sickness off, / And rise triumphant, triumph through decay. (1888).

And thus it is that I supply the chasm
 'Twixt what I am and all that I would be.
 But then to know nothing—to hope for nothing—
 To seize on life's dull joys from a strange fear,
 680 Lest, losing them, all's lost, and nought remains.

★ ★ ★ ★

There's some vile juggle with my reason here—
 I feel I but explain to my own loss
 These impulses—they live no less the same.
 Liberty! what though I despair—my blood
 685 Rose not at a slave's name prouder than now,
 And sympathy obscured by sophistries.
 Why have not I sought refuge in myself,
 But for the woes I saw and could not stay—
 And love!—do I not love thee, my Pauline?

★ ★ ★ ★

676–7. Mill marked these lines as obscure; it is hard to see why. B. revised l. 677, but only in 1888, and his rev. does not seem to be in response to a sense of obscurity (see next note).

677. *that I would be*] I fain would be (1888).

678–80. Mill commented in the margin: 'deeply true'. Mill's own nervous breakdown in 1826, described in his *Autobiography* (1873), gives this note a special poignancy.

681. 'Something is playing wicked tricks with my powers of reasoning'. Cp. *Macbeth* V viii 19–20: 'And be these juggling fiends no more believed / That palter with us in a double sense'. B. uses the word 'juggle' three times in *Paracelsus* (ii 8, 174 and v 177; I 155, 164, 280) and once in *Flute-Music* (*Asolando*, 1889) 152, but nowhere else; *Oxford* therefore exaggerates in calling it 'a favourite word'.

684–9. A degree of incoherence is clearly intended here, but the general sense is that, despite his 'despair', the writer still responds to 'impulses' (l. 683) such as the love of liberty: he has never felt so outraged as now by the idea of slavery, or by the thought that human sympathy could be rationalized away by specious arguments. It is this perception of suffering, and of his own inability to prevent it, that has kept him from self-absorption. As for the love which this human impulse implies, does he not feel it for Pauline? Note the 1888 revs.

685–8.] Rose never at a slave's name proud as now.

Oh sympathies, obscured by sophistries!—

Why else have I sought refuge in myself,

But from the woes I saw and could not stay? (1888)

686. Mill marked this line as obscure; B. first changed the punctuation, putting three dots at the end in order to suggest the disconnection in the writer's train of thought (see ll. 684–9n.), and then deleted the whole line, putting a semi-colon at the end of the prec. line; however, the line was retained in 1868–75 (note also the 1888 rev.).

689.] No space after this line in *Lowell*-1888. The asterisks would in any case have disappeared: see l. 403n. and cp. l. 715n.

- 690 I cherish prejudice, lest I be left
 Utterly loveless—witness this belief
 In poets, tho' sad change has come there too;
 No more I leave myself to follow them:
 Unconsciously I measure me by them.
- 695 Let me forget it; and I cherish most
 My love of England—how her name—a word
 Of hers in a strange tongue makes my heart beat! . .

★ ★ ★ ★

- Pauline, I could do any thing—not now—
 All's fever—but when calm shall come again—
- 700 I am prepared—I have made life my own—
 I would not be content with all the change
 One frame should feel—but I have gone in thought
 Thro' all conjuncture—I have lived all life
 When it is most alive—where strangest fate
- 705 New shapes it past surmise—the tales of men
 Bit by some curse—or in the grasps of doom
 Half-visible and still increasing round,
 Or crowning their wide being's general aim. . . .

★ ★ ★ ★

- These are wild fancies, but I feel, sweet friend,
- 710 As one breathing his weakness to the ear
 Of pitying angel—dear as a winter flower;
 A slight flower growing alone, and offering

690. *prejudice*: 'prepossession; judgment formed beforehand without examination' (J.)—the sense is weaker than that of 'unfair bias'.

691. *this belief*] my belief (1888).

692. *too*;) emended in agreement with 1868–88 from 'too' in 1833. Mill has 'too—'.

697. *hers*] emended in agreement with 1888 from 'her's' in 1833–75.

698–708. Mill drew a line through this passage to indicate that it should be deleted (it was retained in later eds., however). See also ll. 810–21n.

698.] Pauline, could I but break the spell! Not now—(1888).

703. *conjuncture*: 'combination of many circumstances or causes'; 'occasion, critical time' (J.). B. is fond of this word in his early work (five occurrences before 1844, one thereafter). Cp. esp. *Paracelsus* i 778 (I 148).

705.] New-shapes it past surmise—the throes of men (1888).

708. *general aim*. . . .] general aim. (1888, which has no space or asterisks after the line).

712–15. Oxford compares *Sordello* ii 290 (I 480); cp. also the Pope's description of Pompilia, *Ring* x 1003–46.

Its frail cup of three leaves to the cold sun,
 Yet joyous and confiding, like the triumph
 715 Of a child—and why am I not worthy thee?

★ ★ ★ ★

I can live all the life of plants, and gaze
 Drowsily on the bees that flit and play,
 Or bare my breast for sunbeams which will kill,
 Or open in the night of sounds, to look
 720 For the dim stars; I can mount with the bird,
 Leaping airily his pyramid of leaves
 And twisted boughs of some tall mountain tree,
 Or rise cheerfully springing to the heavens—
 Or like a fish breathe in the morning air
 725 In the misty sun-warm water—or with flowers
 And trees can smile in light at the sinking sun,
 Just as the storm comes—as a girl would look
 On a departing lover—most serene.

Pauline, come with me—see how I could build

715.] No space after this line in *Lowell-1888*. Cp. l. 689n.

716–28. Anticipating the account of Sordello's childhood at Goito, *Sordello* i 626ff (I 436ff.). Cp. Balzac's *La Peau de Chagrin*, ch. li, where Raphaël, in refuge from his premature old age and imminent death, is described 'restant des journées entières comme une plante au soleil, comme un lièvre au gîte . . . Ou bien, il se familiarisait avec les phénomènes de la végétation, avec les vicissitudes du ciel, épiait le progrès de toutes les oeuvres, sur la terre, dans les eaux ou les airs . . . Il tenta de s'associer au mouvement intime de cette nature, et de s'identifier assez complètement à sa passive obéissance, pour tomber sous la loi despotique et conservatrice qui régit les existences instinctives' [spending whole days like a plant in the sun, or a hare in its form . . . Or he would familiarise himself with the phenomena of the vegetation, with the changes in the sky, noting the progress of all things, on earth, in the water, or in the air . . . He tried to associate himself with the secret working of this natural world, and to identify so completely with its passive obedience, as to fall under the despotic and preserving law which governs instinctive beings].

724. *breathe in*] breathe deep (1888).

725–6. *flowers / And trees*] flower / And tree (1888).

729–810. This descriptive exploration seems to owe something to Coleridge's *The Picture* (1802), in which a lover similarly descends into a dark, tangled wood, finds a river and a waterfall, and emerges into light again. Like this passage, Coleridge's poem is narrated in the present tense, developing the manner of the 'conversation poems'. Similar passages occur in *Sordello* ii 13–33 (I 462) and *By the Fire-Side* (p. 456). Cp. the analogous account of the progress of a day in terms of landscape 'panels', *Gerard de Lairese* (*Parleyings*, 1887) 181–362. See also l. 773n.

- 730 A home for us, out of the world, in thought—
I am inspired—come with me, Pauline!
- Night, and one single ridge of narrow path
Between the sullen river and the woods
Waving and muttering—for the moonless night
735 Has shaped them into images of life,
Like the upraising of the giant-ghosts,
Looking on earth to know how their sons fare.
Thou art so close by me, the roughest swell
Of wind in the tree-tops hides not the panting
740 Of thy soft breasts; no—we will pass to morning—
Morning—the rocks, and vallies, and old woods.
How the sun brightens in the mist, and here,—
Half in the air, like creatures of the place,
Trusting the element—living on high boughs
745 That swing in the wind—look at the golden spray,
Flung from the foam-sheet of the cataract,
Amid the broken rocks—shall we stay here

729–31. Cp. (noting the landscape descriptions that follow) Keats, *Ode to Psyche* 50–62: ‘Yes, I will be thy priest, and build a fane / In some untrodden region of my mind, / Where branched thoughts, new grown with pleasant pain, / Instead of pines shall murmur in the wind: / Far, far around shall those dark-clustered trees / Fledge the wild-ridged mountains steep by steep; / And there by zephyrs, streams, and birds, and bees, / The moss-lain Dryads shall be lulled to sleep; / And in the midst of this wide quietness / A rosy sanctuary will I dress / With the wreathed trellis of a working brain, / With buds, and bells, and stars without a name, / With all the gardener Fancy e’er could feign’. Cp. also Coleridge. *The Picture* 45–54: ‘This is my hour of triumph! I can now / With my own fancies play the merry fool . . . here will I couch my limbs, / Close by this river, in this silent shade, / As safe and sacred from the step of man / As in invisible world—unheard, unseen’.

730. *world*,] emended from ‘world;’ in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in *Lowell*-1888.

731.] I am uplifted: fly with me, Pauline! (1888).

736. *giant-ghosts*] *giant ghosts* (1888).

737. *know*] see (1868–75). A rare example of both innovation in 1868 and reversion to 1833 in 1888.

738–40. Cp. *The Picture* 58–64: ‘The breeze, that visits me, / Was never Love’s accomplice . . . never half disclosed / The maiden’s snowy bosom, scattering thence / Eye-poisons for some love-distempered youth’.

745. *golden spray*] *silver spray* (1888).

746–7. *the cataract*, / *Amid the broken rocks*: cp. *The Picture* 138–9: ‘a tall weedy rock / That overbrows the cataract’. *Oxford* compares Shelley, *Alastor* 345–6: ‘fled, like foam / Down the steep cataract of a wintry river’.

- With the wild hawks?—no, ere the hot noon come
 Dive we down—safe;—see this our new retreat
 750 Walled in with a sloped mound of matted shrubs,
 Dark, tangled, old and green—still sloping down
 To a small pool whose waters lie asleep
 Amid the trailing boughs turned water-plants
 And tall trees over-arch to keep us in,
 755 Breaking the sunbeams into emerald shafts,
 And in the dreamy water one small group
 Of two or three strange trees are got together,
 Wondering at all around—as strange beasts herd
 Together far from their own land—all wildness—
 760 No turf nor moss, for boughs and plants pave all,
 And tongues of bank go shelving in the waters,
 Where the pale-throated snake reclines his head,
 And old grey stones lie making eddies there;
 The wild mice cross them dry-shod—deeper in—
 765 Shut thy soft eyes—now look—still deeper in:
 This is the very heart of the woods—all round,
 Mountain-like, heaped above us; yet even here
 One pond of water gleams—far off the river
 Sweeps like a sea, barred out from land; but one—
 770 One thin clear sheet has over-leaped and wound
 Into this silent depth, which gained, it lies
 Still, as but let by sufferance; the trees bend
 O'er it as wild men watch a sleeping girl,
 And thro' their roots long creeping plants stretch out
 775 Their twined hair, steeped and sparkling; farther on,
 Tall rushes and thick flag-knots have combined
 To narrow it; so, at length, a silver thread

761. *waters*] *lymph* (1888). *Oxford* compares Shelley, *The Question* 5: 'Along a shelving bank of turf'; and the whole poem, which B. certainly knew, has affinities with the landscape descriptions here.

764–5. Cp. *The Picture* 120–1: 'O lead, / Lead me to deeper shades and lonelier glooms'.

766–71. *This is . . . silent depth*: cp. *By the Fire-Side* 36–40 (p. 462): 'A turn, and we stand in the heart of things; / The woods are round us, heaped and dim; / From slab to slab how it slips and springs, / The thread of water single and slim, / Thro' the ravage some torrent brings!'

768–77. Mill wrote vertically in the margin: 'good descriptive writing'.

773. *as wild men watch a sleeping girl*: cp. *Gerard de Lairese* (*Parleyings*, 1887) 262–307.

774. *stretch out*] *out-stretch* (1888).

776. *flag-knots*: clumps of flag, 'a water-plant with bladed leaf and yellow flower' (J.).

- It winds, all noiselessly, thro' the deep wood,
 Till thro' a cleft way, thro' the moss and stone,
 780 It joins its parent-river with a shout.
 Up for the glowing day—leave the old woods:
 See, they part, like a ruined arch,—the sky!
 Nothing but sky appears, so close the roots
 And grass of the hill-top level with the air—
 785 Blue sunny air, where a great cloud floats, laden
 With light, like a dead whale that white birds pick,
 Floating away in the sun in some north sea.
 Air, air—fresh life-blood—thin and searching air—
 The clear, dear breath of God, that loveth us:
 790 Where small birds reel and winds take their delight.
 Water is beautiful, but not like air.
 See, where the solid azure waters lie,
 Made as of thickened air, and down below,
 The fern-ranks, like a forest spread themselves,
 795 As tho' each pore could feel the element;
 Where the quick glancing serpent winds his way—
 Float with me there, Pauline, but not like air.
 Down the hill—stop—a clump of trees, see, set
 On a heap of rocks, which look o'er the far plains,
 800 And envious climbing shrubs would mount to rest,
 And peer from their spread boughs. There they wave,
 looking

780.] There is a space after this line in 1888.

781–2. Cp. *The Picture* 135–40: 'I pass forth into light . . . How bursts / The landscape on my sight'.

782. *arch,—*] emended from 1833 'arch,': the correction is in *Mill. Lowell-1888* have 'arch:'.

783. *roots*] emended from 'root' in 1833, a correction made by B. in both *Mill* and *Lowell-1888*.

784. *level with the air*. cp. *Paracelsus* ii 232n. (I 167); 'level' here is a verb, not an adjective.

785–6. *a great cloud . . . like a dead whale*: adapting *Hamlet* III ii 376–82: '[Hamlet] Do you see yonder cloud . . . like a whale. [Polonius] Very like a whale'.

792–3. Cp. Shelley, *Ode to Naples* 10–11: 'The isle-sustaining ocean-flood, / A plain of light between two heavens of azure'.

796. *quick glancing*] quick-glancing (1888). Milton has 'sporting with quick glance' (referring to fish), *PL* vii 405.

797.] (Float with me there, Pauline), but not like air. (*Rylands*); Float with me there, Pauline!—but not like air. (*Lowell-1888*). There is a space after this line in 1888.

799. *rocks*] rock (1888). *plains*] plain (1868–88).

800. *And*] So, (1888).

801. *boughs. There*] boughs; wide (1888).

At the muleteers, who whistle as they go
 To the merry chime of their morning bells, and all
 The little smoking cots, and fields, and banks,
 805 And copses, bright in the sun; my spirit wanders.
 Hedge-rows for me—still, living, hedge-rows, where
 The bushes close, and clasp above, and keep
 Thought in—I am concentrated—I feel;—
 But my soul saddens when it looks beyond;
 810 I cannot be immortal, nor taste all.
 O God! where does this tend—these struggling aims!*

* Je crains bien que mon pauvre ami ne soit pas toujours parfaitement compris dans ce qui reste à lire de cet étrange fragment—mais il est moins propre que tout autre à éclaircir ce qui de sa nature ne peut jamais être que songe et confusion. D'ailleurs je ne sais trop si en cherchant à mieux
 [5] co-ordonner certaines parties l'on ne courrait pas le risque de nuire au seul mérite auquel une production si singulière peut prétendre—celui de donner une idée assez précise du genre qu'elle n'a fait qu'ébaucher.— Ce début sans prétention, ce remuement des passions qui va d'abord en accroissant et puis s'apaise par degrés, ces élans de l'âme, ce retour soudain
 [10] sur soi-même, et par dessus tout, la tournure d'esprit toute particulière de mon ami rendent les changemens presque impossibles. Les raisons qu'il fait valoir ailleurs, et d'autres encore plus puissantes, ont fait trouver grâce à mes yeux pour cet écrit qu'autrement je lui eusse conseillé de jeter au feu—Je n'en crois pas moins au grand principe de toute composition—
 [15] à ce principe de Shakspeare, de Raffaëlle, de Beethoven, d'où il suit que la concentration des idées est due bien plus à leur conception, qu'à leur exécution . . . j'ai tout lieu de craindre que la première de ces qualités ne soit encore étrangère à mon ami—et je doute fort qu'un redoublement de travail lui fasse acquérir la seconde. Le mieux serait de brûler ceci; mais que faire?

Je crois que dans ce qui suit il fait allusion à un certain examen qu'il fit autrefois de l'âme ou plutôt de son âme, pour découvrir la suite des objets auxquels il lui serait possible d'attendre, et dont chacun une fois obtenu devait former une espèce de plateau d'où l'on pouvait
 [25] apercevoir d'autres buts, d'autres projets, d'autres jouissances qui, à leur tour, devaient être surmontés. Il en résultait que l'oubli et le sommeil devaient tout terminer. Cette idée que je ne saisis pas parfaitement lui est peut-être aussi inintelligible qu'à moi.

PAULINE.

802. *as they go*] on their way (1888).

803-4.] To the merry chime of morning bells, past all / The little smoking cots, mid fields and banks (1888).

804-6. Cp. Wordsworth, *Tintern Abbey* 11-18: 'These plots of cottage-ground, these orchard-tufts, / Which at this season, with their unripe fruits, / Are clad in one green hue, and lose themselves / 'Mid groves and copses. Once again I see / These hedge-rows, hardly hedge-rows, little lines / Of sportive wood run

wild: these pastoral farms, / Green to the very door; and wreaths of smoke / Sent up, in silence, from among the trees!’

805. *wanders*.] B. added four dots after the full stop in *Mill*.

806.] Hedgerows for me—those living hedgerows where (1888).

808. *concentrated*: the metre demands a stress on the second syllable—the pronunciation given in *J.*, as *Oxford* notes. The only other examples in B.’s work where this pronunciation is indicated occur in *Prince Hohenstiel* (1871) 785, 815, 1061; early uses favour the modern pronunciation.

809–10. See ll. 277–8n., and cp. *Cleon* 239–50 (p. 580) for a development of the idea that ‘life’s inadequate to joy’.

810. *nor taste all*] taste all joy (1888, which leaves a space after this line).

810–21. Mill drew a line through this passage and the accompanying note, indicating that he thought they should be deleted (they are retained in later eds., however). See also ll. 698–708n.

811. *does this tend*] do they tend (1888).

811. *footnote*: (i) [translation]. ‘I very much fear that my poor friend will not always be perfectly understood in what remains to be read of this strange fragment—but he is less fitted than anyone else to make clear what of its very nature can never be other than dream and confusion. Besides, I am not sure that in seeking to improve the co-ordination of certain parts one would not run the risk of damaging the only merit to which so peculiar a production can lay claim—that of giving a fairly exact idea of the kind of work of which it is only a sketch.—This unpretentious opening, this stirring of passions which at first increases and then gradually dies down, these motions of the soul, this sudden return upon himself, and, above all, my friend’s idiosyncratic cast of mind, make changes virtually impossible. The reasons which he puts forward elsewhere, and others even more compelling, have persuaded me to look favourably on this writing which I would otherwise have advised him to throw in the fire—Not that I believe any the less in the great principle of all composition—the principle of Shakespeare, of Raphael, of Beethoven, according to which concentration of ideas owes a good deal more to their conception than to their execution . . . I have every reason to fear that my friend is a stranger to the first of these qualities—and I strongly doubt whether he could acquire the second even by a redoubling of effort. It would be best to burn this; but what is to be done?’

I think that in what follows he alludes to a certain study of the soul, or rather of his own soul, which he made some time ago in order to discover the series of aims which it would be possible for him to accomplish, each one of which, once obtained, was to form a kind of plateau from which other goals, other enterprises, other joys might be perceived, to be surmounted in their turn. The result was that oblivion and sleep were to end all. This idea, which I do not altogether grasp, is perhaps equally unintelligible to him’.

811. *footnote* (ii) [textual notes]. B. had a good knowledge of French (see *Maynard* 250, 254ff., 302ff.), but there are several grammatical and orthographical errors in the 1833 footnote. Some may be the printer’s (though B. made only one grammatical correction in *Mill*, at l. [8], and got it wrong); most were corr. in *Lowell*-1875 (one further error was introduced, at l. [10]), and the others in 1888. There were two misprs. of substance, at ll. [10] and [29]. We have emended the text as follows: [5]. *au* an (1833); [6] *singulière* singuliere (1833); [8]. *qu’ébaucher* que’ébaucher (1833; ‘que d’ébaucher’, *Mill*); [9]. *s’apaise* s’appaise (1833–75); [9]. *âme* ame (1833); [10] *soi-même, et* soi-même.—Et (1833; *particulière* particulière] (1833; 1868–88 mistakenly correct the prec. word ‘toute’ to ‘tout’); [16]. *due*

dûe (1833–75); [17]. *exécution*] execution (1833–75); [19]. *brûler*] bruler (1833); [22]. *plutôt*] plutot (1833); *suite*] suité (1833); [28]. *inintelligible*] intelligible (1833; B. made the correction in *Mill*, *Rylands* and *Lowell*). The forms ‘changemens’ (l. [12], for ‘changements’) and ‘attendre’ (l. [23], for ‘atteindre’) are correct, though now archaic.

811. *footnote* (iii) [annotation]. For possible sources of the technique of ‘editorial’ intervention here, see headnote, p. 22. The relation of ‘conception’ to ‘execution’ is one of B.’s most constant preoccupations. The argument here, that primacy in composition belongs to imagination rather than knowledge of rules, may owe something to the heroine’s praise of Raphael in *Mme de Staël’s Corinne*: ‘She admired the simple composition of Raphael’s pictures . . . All the figures are turned towards one central object, without the artist’s dreaming of grouping them in attitudes to produce an effect. She considered that this sincerity in imagination . . . is a characteristic of genius, and that any prearrangement for effect is almost always fatal to enthusiasm’ (*Corinne* [Paris 1809] i 144). This argument differs in emphasis from B.’s later belief that the greatest artists are those whose ideas are the most powerful, though their actual work may be technically defective, since the context requires that there should be a *contrast* between the work of the three artists cited by Pauline and the poem itself. The contrast is between their achieving ‘la concentration des idées’ by virtue of their imaginative power, and his failing to do so, not between their conception and their execution. For B.’s later position, cp. *Andrea* 103–16, 193–6 (pp. 395–6, 400) where Andrea imagines Raphael, ‘Reaching, that Heaven might so replenish him, / Above and through his art—for it gives way’; there may be a technical defect in Raphael’s draughtsmanship, but ‘its soul is right’. Cp. also *Shelley* 299–312 (Appendix A, p. 865), where B. speaks of ‘an embodiment of verse more closely answering to and indicative of the process of the informing spirit, (failing as it occasionally does, in art, only to succeed in highest art)’ and praises the ‘spheric poetical faculty of Shelley, as its own self-sufficing central light, radiating equally through immaturity and accomplishment, through many fragments and occasional completion, reveals it to a competent judgment’; and note that B.’s allusion to Kean’s acting in *Richard III* (see headnote and ll. 669–75, and the subscription which follows the last line of the poem) involves a parallel contrast between the ‘wondrous soul’ of the performer and his physical imperfection. The passage is an early example of B.’s lifelong admiration for Beethoven; in a letter to EBB. of 15 Aug. 1845 he recalls attending a performance of *Fidelio* ‘in the first season of German Opera’, i.e. May 1832 (*Correspondence* xi 29, 31 n. 1), and repeats his admiration in a letter of 15 May 1846 (*ibid.* xii 329). *Fidelio* is alluded to in *By the Fire-Side* 101 (p. 466), and Beethoven figures again in *Ring* (1888 text, xii 862–7). [9] *élans de l’âme*: the phrase occurs in *Corinne*: ‘un sacrifice, quel qu’il soit, est plus beau, plus difficile, que tous les élans de l’âme et de la pensée’ [a sacrifice, of whatever kind, is more beautiful, more difficult, than any motion of the soul or the intellect] (i 195). [16]. *la concentration des idées*: the sense is ambiguous between ‘the intensity of an idea’ and ‘the distillation of the elements of artistic conception’; cp. ll. 619, 808 for other occurrences of ‘concentrate’. [22–8]. *la suite des objets* . . . *terminer*: the hierarchy of perception alluded to here is Platonic in origin (as suggested by the subliminal pun on ‘plateau’). Cp. *Sordello* iii 141–5 (I 532); also *Shelley* 197–200: ‘that mighty ladder, of which . . . the world dares no longer doubt that its gradations ascend’ and 257–8: ‘Did the poet ever attain to a higher platform than where he rested and exhibited a result?’ (Appendix A, pp. 862–3).

- What would I have? what is this "sleep," which seems
 To bound all? can there be a "waking" point
 Of crowning life? The soul would never rule—
 815 It would be first in all things—it would have
 Its utmost pleasure filled,—but that complete
 Commanding for commanding sickens it.
 The last point I can trace is, rest beneath
 Some better essence than itself—in weakness;
 820 This is "myself"—not what I think should be,
 And what is that I hunger for but God?
 My God, my God! let me for once look on thee
 As tho' nought else existed: we alone.
 And as creation crumbles, my soul's spark
 825 Expands till I can say, "Even from myself
 "I need thee, and I feel thee, and I love thee;
 "I do not plead my rapture in thy works
 "For love of thee—or that I feel as one
 "Who cannot die—but there is that in me

812–14. *what is . . . crowning life*: cp. *Tempest* IV i 156–8: 'We are such stuff / As dreams are made on; and our little life / Is rounded with a sleep'; and Donne, *Divine Meditations* x 13–14: 'One short sleep past, we wake eternally, / And death shall be no more, Death thou shalt die'. Cp. also *Flight of the Duchess* 686–8 (II 326), noting 'crowning' in l. 676.

814. *crowning life*: consummate life, i.e. life after death; cp. *Revelation* ii 10: 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life'.

814–19. *The soul . . . weakness*: cp. *Sordello* iii 302–9 (I 544).

816. *but that complete*: 'but once that is accomplished'.

818–21. Cp. *Sordello* vi 588ff (I 750).

818. *point I*] emended from 'point that I' in 1833, a correction made by B. in *Mill* and followed in *Lowell-1888*. B. is rarely unmetrical without strong reason; the emphasis in this line seems designed to fall on 'last' rather than 'point'. 'That' may have strayed from l. 816 or more likely l. 821, which has 'that I'.

821.] There is a space after this line in 1888.

822. *My God, my God*: cp. (noting l. 853) *Mark* xv 34: 'And at the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice . . . My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'

824. *as creation crumbles*: cp. *In a Year* 77–80 (p. 273): 'Well, this cold clay clod / Was man's heart. / Crumble it—and what comes next? / Is it God?'

824–5. *my soul's spark / Expands*: cp. *Ring* xi 2370–2: 'The soul's condensed and, twice itself, expands / To burst thro' life, in alternation due, / Into the other state whate'er it prove'. 'Spark of soul' occurs in *Fifine at the Fair* (1872) 674.

828. or] nor (*Lowell-1888*).

830 "Which turns to thee, which loves, or which should love."

Why have I girt myself with this hell-dress?

Why have I laboured to put out my life?

Is it not in my nature to adore,

And e'en for all my reason do I not

835 Feel him, and thank him, and pray to him?—*Now*.

Can I forego the trust that he loves me?

Do I not feel a love which only ONE. . . .

O thou pale form, so dimly seen, deep-eyed,

I have denied thee calmly—do I not

840 Pant when I read of thy consummate deeds,

And burn to see thy calm, pure truths out-flash

The brightest gleams of earth's philosophy?

Do I not shake to hear aught question thee?

If I am erring save me, madden me,

845 Take from me powers, and pleasures—let me die

Ages, so I see thee: I am knit round

As with a charm, by sin and lust and pride,

Yet tho' my wandering dreams have seen all shapes

Of strange delight, oft have I stood by thee—

830.] There is no space after this line in *Lowell-1875*. To 'turn to the Lord' is a biblical commonplace, e.g. *Lamentations* iii 40, *Joel* ii 13, 2 *Corinthians* iii 16.

831–1031. With this closing movement of the poem cp. Byron, *Childe Harold* IV clxxxv–clxxxvi: 'My task is done, my song hath ceased, my theme / Has died into an echo; it is fit / The spell should break of this protracted dream. / The torch shall be extinguish'd which hath lit / My midnight lamp—and what is writ, is writ; / Would it were worthier! But I am not now / That which I have been—and my visions flit / Less palpably before me—and the glow / Which in my spirit dwelt, is fluttering, faint, and low. // Farewell! a word that must be, and hath been— / A sound which makes us linger;—yet—farewell! / Ye! who have traced the Pilgrim to the scene / Which is his last, if in your memories dwell / A thought which once was his, if on ye swell / A single recollection, not in vain / He wore his sandal-shoon and scallop-shell; / Farewell! with *him* alone may rest the pain, / If such there were—with you the moral of his strain'. Note the echo of the motto to *Pauline* from Clément Marot: see note, p. 14. This passage may also have influenced the ending of *Sordello* (I 768).

831–6. Mill wrote vertically in the margin: 'why should this follow the description of scenery?'

835. *him?—Now.*] *him—now?* (*Lowell*, 1888).

837. *which only ONE:* 'which only one [i.e. Christ] can inspire'.

840. *deeds*] *power* (1888).

843.] No space after this line in 1888.

845–6. *let me die / Ages, so I see thee:* cp. Marlowe, *Dr Faustus* V ii 179–80: 'Let Faustus live in hell a thousand years, / A hundred thousand, and at last be saved'.

- 850 Have I been keeping lonely watch with thee,
 In the damp night by weeping Olivet,
 Or leaning on thy bosom, proudly less—
 Or dying with thee on the lonely cross—
 Or witnessing thy bursting from the tomb!
- 855 A mortal, sin's familiar friend, doth here
 Avow that he will give all earth's reward,
 But to believe and humbly teach the faith,
 In suffering, and poverty, and shame,
 Only believing he is not unloved. . . .
- 860 And now, my Pauline, I am thine for ever!
 I feel the spirit which has buoyed me up
 Deserting me: and old shades gathering on;
 Yet while its last light waits, I would say much,
 And chiefly, I am glad that I have said
- 865 That love which I have ever felt for thee,
 But seldom told; our hearts so beat together,
 That speech is mockery, but when dark hours come;
 And I feel sad; and thou, sweet, deem'st it strange
 A sorrow moves me, thou canst not remove,

850–1. See *Mark* xiv 26–42, Christ's vigil before his arrest in the garden of Gethsemane, near Mount Olivet (or the Mount of Olives), during which he rebukes the disciples for falling asleep and being unable to 'watch' with him, and prays to the Father to be spared his coming ordeal.

852. See *John* xiii 23, the Last Supper: 'Now there was leaning on Jesus' bosom one of his disciples, whom Jesus loved'.

854. *thy bursting*] *thine outburst* (1888). No direct witness to the Resurrection is recorded in the Gospels.

855. *friend*,] emended in agreement with 1868–88 from 'friend' in 1833.

859–60. In the space between these lines, Mill wrote: 'strange transition'.

862–5.] Desert me, and old shades are gathering fast;
 Yet while the last light waits, I would say much,
 This chiefly, it is gain that I have said
 Somewhat of love I ever felt for thee (1888)

863. *while its last light waits*: the first appearance in B. of a recurrent motif, the delay of sunset to allow a final revelation: e.g. *Sordello* v 305–12, *Childe Roland* 187–8 (p. 365), *Gerard de Lairesse* (*Parleyings*, 1887) 308–15.

867. *is mockery*] seemed mockery (1888).

868. *I feel sad*] joy departs (1888).

868–9. *strange . . . remove*,] emended from 'strange; . . . remove.' in 1833. Neither correction was made by B. in *Mill*, but both appear in *Lowell*–1888, and fit the syntax of ll. 867–70 ('when dark hours come . . . Look on this lay') better than the 1833 punctuation, which, though not nonsensical, destroys the development of the passage.

- 870 Look on this lay I dedicate to thee,
Which thro' thee I began, and which I end,
Collecting the last gleams to strive to tell
That I am thine, and more than ever now—
That I am sinking fast—yet tho' I sink,
875 No less I feel that thou hast brought me bliss,
And that I still may hope to win it back.
Thou know'st, dear friend, I could not think all calm,
For wild dreams followed me, and bore me off,
And all was indistinct. Ere one was caught
880 Another glanced: so dazzled by my wealth,
Knowing not which to leave nor which to choose,
For all my thoughts so floated, nought was fixed—
And then thou said'st a perfect bard was one
Who shadowed out the stages of all life,
885 And so thou badest me tell this my first stage;—
'Tis done: and even now I feel all dim the shift
Of thought. These are my last thoughts; I discern
Faintly immortal life, and truth, and good.
And why thou must be mine is, that e'en now,
890 In the dim hush of night—that I have done—
With fears and sad forebodings: I look thro'

871. *and which I end*] which thus I end (1888).

872-3. Cp. ll. 575-6.

873-9.] How I am thine, and more than ever now
That I sink fast: yet though I deeper sink,
No less song proves one word has brought me bliss,
Another still may win bliss surely back.
Thou knowest, dear, I could not think all calm,
For fancies followed thought and bore me off,
And left all indistinct; ere one was caught (1888)

877-82. Cp. *Paracelsus* ii 522-41 (I 215), and *Two in the Campagna* 52-5 (p. 562):
'Must I go / Still like the thistle-ball, no bar, / Onward, whenever light winds
blow, / Fixed by no friendly star?'

880. *glanced*: 'appeared briefly'; cp. *Sordello* ii 25-6 (I 462). *so*] so, (*Lowell*-1888).

881-2.] I knew not which to leave nor which to choose, / For all so floated,
nought was fixed and firm. (1888).

883-4. Cp. the development of this idea in Aprile's speeches in *Paracelsus* ii.

884-8.] Who chronicled the stages of all life,
And so thou bad'st me shadow this first stage.
'T is done, and even now I recognize
The shift, the change from last to past—discern
Faintly how life is truth and truth is good. (1888)

885. *first stage*] First Stage (*Mill*).

891.] With fears and sad forebodings,—I look through (*Lowell*); With fears and
sad forebodings, I look through (1868-75); Despite the sad forebodings, love looks
through— (1888). Note the slight change of meaning in 1868-75.