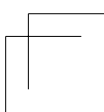
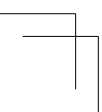
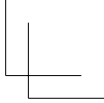
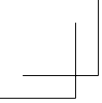


**Variations on the Dying Gladiator
and
Other Essays on Byron**



**Variations on the Dying Gladiator
and
Other Essays on Byron**

Kasahara Yorimichi

**Osaka Kyoiku Tosho
2023**

**Variations on the Dying Gladiator
and
Other Essays on Byron**

KASAHARA Yorimichi

Osaka Kyoiku Toshō
1-25, Nozaki-cho, Kita-ku, Osaka 530-0055, Japan
email daikyopb@osk4.3web.ne.jp

© KASAHARA Yorimichi 2023

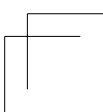
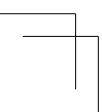
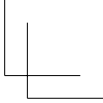
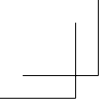
First published 2023

Printed in Japan at Osaka Kyoiku Toshō, Osaka

ISBN 978-4-271-21082-5 C3098

CONTENTS

Prefatory Note and Acknowledgements	vii
PART I Variations on the Dying Gladiator	1
Introduction to Part I	3
Chapter 1 The Discovery of <i>The Statue of the Dying Gladiator</i>	7
Chapter 2 Intertextual Context: The Late Eighteenth Century	13
Chapter 3 Social Context: Early Years of the Nineteenth Century	25
Chapter 4 Chinnery and Hemans on <i>The Statue of the Dying Gladiator</i>	37
Chapter 5 Croly's Dying Warrior: The Virtue of an Ancient Germanic Hero	53
Chapter 6 Sotheby's Coliseum and the Menades: The Contemplation of the Grand	71
PART II Close Readings on Byron:	
Expansion and/or Contraction of the Psyche	95
Chapter 7 Mis-correspondence of Pronouns in Byron	97
Chapter 8 Byronic Ruins and the Psychic Expansion and/or Contraction	113
Bibliography	143
Index	151



PREFATORY NOTE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This small booklet contains my past English writings on Byron's poems or those relating to *The Statue of the Dying Gladiator*, with the addition of newly written chapters and an adapted translation from the original Japanese version. Its publication is made possible with the research grant from Meisei University, which generously supported the author's research with its abundant research materials during the past twenty-four years.

Part I is primarily intended as an anthology of poems and prose writings relating to *The Statue of the Dying Gladiator*, rather than a collection of articles with an emphasis on the theses they are supposed to convey. Whatever theses these articles may appear to present will best be understood as an annotative footnote for a better appreciation of the quoted lines or passages in question. Readers, therefore, are recommended to pay less attention on the theses, if any, and more on enjoying poems and prose writings amply quoted in them. In fact, I took the liberty of quoting too copiously in Introduction to Part I and Chapters 1 and 2 (all newly written for the present booklet), but I believe this will serve the purpose of Part I just mentioned.

The original dates of composition of the articles in Part II predate those of Part I, but will serve as elucidating yet broader literary backgrounds to the poems in Part I. Those articles in Part II are more or less concerned with the theme of psychic expansion and/or contraction, which I hope will be made clear in the close reading of the poems or prose writings in question, and which I believe is what makes Byron's poems appealing.

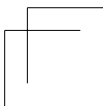
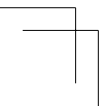
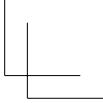
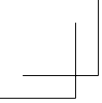
Some of the chapters in this booklet started as oral presentations. And I am pleased to extend my heartfelt thanks to all those who either accepted my paper proposals, offered me lectureships at various occasions, or invited me to contribute to journals or books. My earliest talk, "Byronic Ruins", given as a lecture at the 1998 Wordsworth Summer Conference, turned into Chapter 8 of this booklet with some revisions, and I am grateful to Jonathan Wordsworth, the Conference Director as of 1998, for his kind invitation. I am also indebted to local directors and organizers of various International Byron Conferences: first to M. B. Raizis for accepting my proposal "Meditations

on the Acropolis” (Section 9, Chapter 8 of this booklet) to be given at Messolonghi in 1999, thus allowing me a chance to pay homage to the *genius loci* of Greece to whom Byron devoted his last nine months of his life; next to Christiane Vigouroux of the French Byron Society for the Sorbonne Conference of 2006 where I presented a paper entitled “Mis-correspondence of Pronouns in Byron” (Chapter 7 of this booklet) under the conference theme of “Correspondence(s)”. My most recent attendance at an International Byron Conference, or to be more precise, the Joint Conference of the International Association of Byron Societies (IABS) and German Society for English Romanticism (GER), gave birth to “Croly’s Dying Warrior” (Chapter 5 of this booklet). I am pleased to offer my sincerest gratitude to Norbert Lennartz of Vechta, for giving me a chance to present a paper on a poem that celebrates an ancient Germanic hero on the German soil, and later for inviting me to contribute to *Boundaries, Limits, Taboos: Transgression in Romanticism* (Trier: WVT, 2021) under his editorship. Chapter 4 of the present booklet has its origin, although heavily revised, in “The Conflict between Nature and Art: An Annotation to Felicia Hemans’s ‘The Statue of the Dying Gladiator’”, written in Japanese and contributed to *A Firm Perswasion: Essays in British Romanticism* (Tokyo: Sairyu-sha, 2012), co-edited by Hatsuko NIIMI and Masashi SUZUKI, for whose excellent editorship I wish to convey my special thanks. No less gratitude is due to Nicholas Roe, the present Director of the Wordsworth Summer Conference, who invited me to give lectures at Grasmere, first in 2008, and then in 2017. The former lecture was invited by Marilyn Gaull for inclusion in *The Wordsworth Circle*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Winter 2009), to which was contributed “Byron’s Dying Gladiator in Context” (Chapter 3 of this booklet) with revisions reflecting research results conducted at the University Library of St Andrews. The 2017 WSC lecture “Sotheby’s Coliseum and the Menades: What Drunken Madness!?” (Chapter 6 of this booklet) underwent some revisions towards the end in order to save Sotheby from unjust criticisms against his alleged “imitation”, and was transformed into Chapter 6 with the new subtitle “The Contemplation of the Grand”, thus exploring the true meaning of Byron’s often misinterpreted statement on Sotheby.



PART I

Variations on the Dying Gladiator



Introduction to Part I

[...] a party of English or Americans, paying the inevitable visit [to the Coliseum] by moonlight, and exalting themselves with raptures that were Byron's, not their own.

(From Hawthorne, *The Marble Faun*)

1 Byron

At the centre of the Hall of the Galatian in Musei Capitolini, Rome, stands the celebrated statue, so called *The Dying Gaul*, or *The Dying Gladiator*.

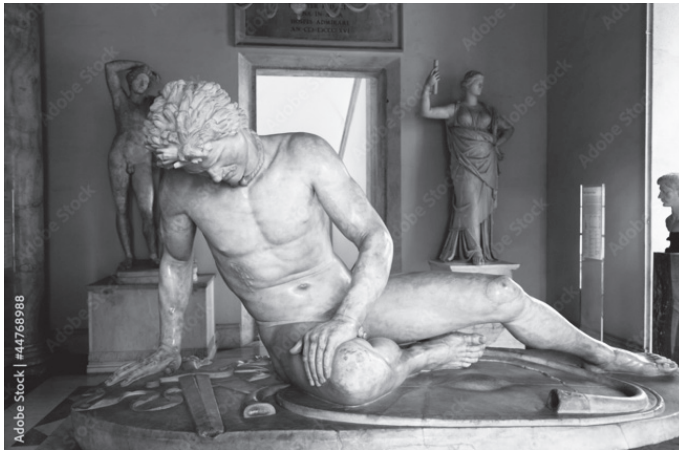


Fig. 1 *The Statue of the Dying Gaul, or Dying Gladiator*

Adobe Stock

This is the statue that inspired Lord Byron to pen some of the most famous stanzas in his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, which in turn has made the statue even more famous as exemplified in the following quotes on either side of the Atlantic. First, Byron's *Dying Gladiator* stanzas from *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto IV, published in 1818:

139

And here the buzz of eager nations ran,
 In murmur'd pity, or loud-roared applause,
 As man was slaughtered by his fellow-man.
 And wherefore slaughtered? wherefore, but because
 Such were the bloody Circus' genial laws,
 And the imperial pleasure.— Wherefore not?
 What matters where we fall to fill the maws
 Of worms — on battle-plains or listed spot?
 Both are but theatres where the chief actors rot.

140

I see before me the Gladiator lie:
 He leans upon his hand — his manly brow
 Consents to death, but conquers agony,
 And his drooped head sinks gradually low —
 And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
 From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
 Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
 The arena swims around him — he is gone,
 Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the wretch who won.

141

He heard it, but he heeded not — his eyes
 Were with his heart, and that was far away:
 He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,
 But where his rude hut by the Danube lay,
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother — he, their sire,
 Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday —
 All this rush'd with his blood — Shall he expire
 And unavenged? — Arise! ye Goths, and glut your ire!

(CHP, IV. sts. 139-41)

2 Hawthorne

Forty-two years after the publication of Byron's *Dying Gladiator* stanzas, Nathaniel Hawthorne, in the guise of the narrator of *The Marble Faun*, depicts the moonlit Coliseum and contemplates upon the barbarity of "the

Roman populace of yore” against the background of English or American tourists “exalting themselves with raptures that were Byron’s, not their own”.

Within [the Coliseum], the moonlight filled and flooded the great empty space; it glowed upon tier above tier of ruined, grass-grown arches, and made them even too distinctly visible. The splendour of the revelation took away that inestimable effect of dimness and mystery, by which the imagination might be assisted to build a grander structure than the Coliseum, and to shatter it with a more picturesque decay. Byron’s celebrated description is better than the reality. He beheld the scene in his mind’s eye, through the witchery of many intervening years, and faintly illuminated it, as if with starlight, instead of this broad glow of moonshine.

The party of our friends sat down, three or four of them on a prostrate column; another, on a shapeless lump of marble, once a Roman altar; others, on the steps of one of the Christian shrines. Goths and barbarians though they were, they chatted as gaily together as if they belonged to the gentle and pleasant race of people who now inherit Italy. There was much pastime and gaiety, just then, in the area of the Coliseum, where so many gladiators and wild beasts had fought and died, and where so much blood of Christian martyrs had been lapt up by that fiercest of wild beasts, the Roman populace of yore. Some youths and maidens were running merry races across the open space, and playing at hide-and-seek a little way within the duskiness of the ground-tier of arches; whence now and then, you could hear the half-shriek, half-laugh of a frolicsome girl, whom the shadow had betrayed into a young man’s arms. Elder groups were seated on the fragments of pillars and blocks of marble, that lie round the verge of the area, talking in the quick, short ripple of the Italian tongue. On the steps of the great black cross, in the centre of the Coliseum, sat a party, singing scraps of song, with much laughter and merriment between the stanzas.

[...] To make an end of our description, a red twinkle of light was visible amid the breadth of shadow, that fell across the upper part of the Coliseum. Now it glimmered through a line of arches, or threw a broader gleam, as it rose out of some profound abyss of ruin; now it was muffled by a heap of shrubbery, which had adventurously clambered to that dizzy height; and so the red light kept ascending to loftier and loftier ranges of the structure, until it stood like a star, where the blue

sky rested against the Coliseum's topmost wall. It indicated a party of English or Americans, paying the inevitable visit by moonlight, and exalting themselves with raptures that were Byron's, not their own.

(*The Marble Faun*, ch.17)

3 Dickens

Charles Dickens, writing almost at the same time with Hawthorne, has one of his characters, Pip, narrate the posture of his friend Herbert Pocket in *Great Expectations* as follows:

There was a sofa where Mr. Pocket stood, and he dropped upon it in the attitude of the Dying Gladiator. Still in that attitude he said, with a hollow voice, "Good night, Mr. Pip," when I deemed it advisable to go to bed and leave him.

(*Great Expectations*, ch.23)

It is doubtful whether the narrator of the novel, a young blacksmith who had newly come to London from Kent in the early nineteenth century, had ever seen a copy of *The Statue of the Dying Gladiator* or was able to recognise its posture as such. If, however, Dickens meant Pip the narrator to have seen a copy of the statue, it was surely at Miss Havisham's. Whichever the case, Herbert Pocket must surely have seen one during his gallant visits to various places in London, and Dickens certainly does write the novel on such assumptions.

Chapter 4
Chinnery and Hemans
on
*The Statue of the Dying Gladiator*¹

Think not with terror heaves that sinewy breast, —
 'Tis vengeance visible, and pain suppress;
 Calm in despair, in agony sedate,
 (*From Chinnery, "The Statue of the Dying Gladiator"*)

And Art, rejoicing in the work sublime,
 Unhurt by all the sacrilege of time,
 Smiles o'er the marble, her divine control
 Moulded to symmetry, and fir'd with soul!
 (*From Hemans, "The Statue of the Dying Gladiator"*)

1 Robert Chinnery's Newdigate prize poem (1810)

George Robert Chinnery, a student at Christ Church College, Oxford won the 1810 Newdigate Prize, and was given the honour of reciting his prize-winning poem "The Statue of the Dying Gladiator" at the Encaenia of the University of Oxford on the 3rd and 4th of July 1810. The poem was later published in the July Issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and separately by Collingwood, the Oxford publisher. Here is the poem in its entirety:

1 This chapter is an adapted translation of my article "The Conflict between Nature and Art: An Annotation to Felicia Hemans's "The Statue of the Dying Gladiator"" first appeared in *A Firm Persuasion: Essays in British Romanticism* (Tokyo: Sairyu-sha, 2012), pp. 47-65, originally written in Japanese. © 2012. Reprinted by permission of Sairyu-sha.

The Statue of the Dying Gladiator

Will then no pitying sword its succour lend
 The Gladiator's mortal throes to end,
 To free the unconquer'd mind, whose generous pow'r
 Triumphs o'er nature in her saddest hour?

Bow'd low, and full of death, his head declines, *
 Yet o'er his brow indignant Valour shines,
 Still glares his closing eye with angry light,
 Now glares, now darkens with approaching night.
 Think not with terror heaves that sinewy breast, —
 'Tis vengeance visible, and pain suppress; 10
 Calm in despair, in agony sedate,
 His proud soul wrestles with o'ermastering fate;
That pang the conflict ends — he falls not yet,
 Seems every nerve for one last effort set,
 At once by death, death's lingering pow'r to brave — *
 He will not sink, but plunge into the grave,
 Exhaust his mighty heart in one last sigh,
 And rally life's whole energy — to die!

Unfear'd is now that cord, which oft ensnar'd
 The baffled rival whom his falchion spar'd 20
 Those clarions mute, which on the murd'rous stage
 Rous'd him to deeds of more than martial rage;
 Once poised by peerless might, once dear to fame,
 The shield which could not guard, supports his frame;
 His fixed eye dwells upon the faithless blade, *
 As if in silent agony he prayed,
 "Oh might I yet, by one avenging blow,
 "Not shun my fate, but share it with my foe!"
 Vain hope! — the streams of life-blood fast descend;
 That giant-arm's upbearing strength must bend; 30
 Yet shall he scorn, procumbent, to betray
 One dastard sign of anguish or dismay,
 With one weak plaint to shame his parting breath,
 In pangs sublime, magnificent in death!

But *his* were deeds unchronicled; *his* tomb *
 No patriot wreaths adorn; to cheer his doom,
 No soothing thoughts arise of duties done,
 Of trophied conquests for his country won;
 And he, whose sculptur'd form gave deathless fame
 To Ctesilas — he dies without a name! 40

Haply to grace some Cæsar's pageant pride
 The hero-slave or hireling-champion died,
 When Rome, degenerate Rome, for barbarous shows,
 Barter'd her virtue, glory, and repose,
 Sold all that Freemen prize as great and good, *
 For pomp of death, and theatres of blood!

(Chinnery, "The Statue of the Dying Gladiator", 1-46)

The author was not responsible for the choice of the theme. It was the University that set the theme for each year's prize. The theme of *The Statue of the Dying Gladiator* was announced perhaps in December 1809, according to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January 1810.



Chinnery's poem begins with an apostrophic address of the narrating poet to those gathered round the statue (and by extension, the gladiator in flesh) asking for a coup de grâce to end the "mortal throes" of this man.

Will then no pitying sword its succour lend
 The Gladiator's mortal throes to end,
 To free the unconquer'd mind, whose generous pow'r
 Triumphs o'er nature in her saddest hour? (1-4)

The use of the word "then" at the beginning helps the reader to plunge right into the middle of the fictional reality. Although the gladiator is in mortal throes, his mind is not conquered and it triumphs over (=endures) the actual pain his physical reality feels.

Bow'd low, and full of death, his head declines, *
 Yet o'er his brow indignant Valour shines,
 Still glares his closing eye with angry light,
 Now glares, now darkens with approaching night.

(5-8)

Descriptions of the countenance follow in the next four lines, where the gladiator's indignation is stressed with the double syntactic function of "indignant": retroactively modifying "brow" as well as proactively modifying "Valour"; with "glares" used twice in as many lines; and with the reference to the "angry light" the gladiator's "closing eye" emits.

The narrator's attention then moves to the "sinewy breast" that (he thinks) heaves, and tells that it's not "terror" that causes its heaving motion, "Tis vengeance visible, and pain supprest"

Think not with terror heaves that sinewy breast, —
 'Tis vengeance visible, and pain supprest; 10
 Calm in despair, in agony sedate,
 His proud soul wrestles with o'ermastering fate;

(9-12)

The vengeance in the breast, according to Chinnery, is materialized to an extent that it obtains visibility: clearly an echo of Milton's "darkness visible" (*Paradise Lost*, I.63), thus comparing it to the vengeance Satan feels. Yet the dying man is unmoved. The choice of the word "sedate" takes us back to Fusseli's translation of Winckelmann's *Reflections on the Paintings and Sculpture of the Greeks* in his exposition of Laocoön: "noble simplicity and sedate grandure" (*Reflections*, 34). Chinnery's *Statue of the Dying Gladiator* thus achieves the sublimity equal to that of Laocoön's.

The poet narrator next extolls the resolute will to die.

That pang the conflict ends — he falls not yet,
 Seems every nerve for one last effort set,

At once by death, death's lingering pow'r to brave — *
 He will not sink, but plunge into the grave,
 Exhaust his mighty heart in one last sigh,
 And rally life's whole energy — to die!

(13-18)

The man does not “fall” or “sink”, but chooses to “plunge into the grave”, and will “rally life’s whole energy — to die”.

References to the gladiator’s belongings carved on the plinth ensue: cord, falchion, clarion, shield, and the blade [of the falchion], which the gladiator used.

Unfear'd is now that cord, which oft ensnar'd
 The baffled rival whom his falchion spar'd 20
 Those clarions mute, which on the murd'rous stage
 Rous'd him to deeds of more than martial rage;
 Once poised by peerless might, once dear to fame,
 The shield which could not guard, supports his frame;
 His fixed eye dwells upon the faithless blade, *
 As if in silent agony he prayed,
 “Oh might I yet, by one avenging blow,
 “Not shun my fate, but share it with my foe!”

(19-28)

They are not, however, a mere enumeration of things he used. In fact, he did use the cord to bind his rival with, but he did not use the falchion for its rightful purpose, i.e., the purpose of inflicting injuries. On the contrary the “falchion spar'd” the rival whom he ensnared with the cord. This rhyming couplet “ensna'd — spar'd” works all the more effectively for their opposing meanings. When later the blade [of the falchion] is called “faithless” (25), the poet’s eye has become almost one with that of the gladiator. Thus his prayer comes quite naturally in the form of a direct quotation, which reveals the indecision of the gladiator: vacillating between his desire to give an “avenging blow” on one side, and to “share [his fate] with [his] foe” on the other. This indecision, however, may not necessarily be a one-or-the-other alternative.

His show of sympathy may have some avenging desire underneath, or vice versa, possibly without himself being aware of it at all.

The narrating poet, on the other hand, is very realistic and decisive.

Vain hope! — the streams of life-blood fast descend;
 That giant-arm's upbearing strength must bend; 30
 Yet shall he scorn, procumbent, to betray
 One dastard sign of anguish or dismay,
 With one weak plaint to shame his parting breath,
 In pangs sublime, magnificent in death!

(29-34)

The narrator, who is too well aware that the final moment of the gladiator is quite near, apostrophically calls out “Vain hope!”, yet cannot help expressing his hope of the gladiator not “betray[ing o]ne dastard sign of anguish or dismay” being “magnificent in death”.

The poet next mentions the anonymity of the gladiator with “No patriot wreaths adorn[ing his tomb]”, and “No soothing thoughts” arising.

But *his* were deeds unchronicled; *his* tomb *
 No patriot wreaths adorn; to cheer his doom,
 No soothing thoughts arise of duties done,
 Of trophied conquests for his country won;
 And he, whose sculptur'd form gave deathless fame
 To Ctesilas — he dies without a name! 40

(35-40)

Ironically enough, this anonymous gladiator “gave deathless fame / To Ctesilas”, by whom it was believed by Pliny to have been sculpted.

The final six lines are devoted to narrator's indignant condemnation of the people of “degenerate Rome” —

Haply to grace some Cæsar's pageant pride
 The hero-slave or hireling-champion died,
 When Rome, degenerate Rome, for barbarous shows,
 Barter'd her virtue, glory, and repose,
 Sold all that Freeman prize as great and good, *
 For pomp of death, and theatres of blood!

(41-46)

The repetition of the word “Rome” with the addition of “degenerate” is very effective, especially when in the next line Chinnery speaks of merits of the Romans “virtue, glory, and repose, [...] all that Freeman prize as great and good” being relinquished, and then adds in the final line what the Romans obtained in their places: “pomp of death, and theatres of blood”. Chinnery’s poem thus ends with indignation against the institutionalized barbarous shows.

2 Felicia Hemans, “The Statue of the Dying Gladiator”: Nature *vs.* Art

Felicia Hemans, née Felicia Dorothea Brown in 1793, was a precocious child. At an early age, she learned French, Portuguese, Spanish, Latin, and German. Details of her early attempts at publishing poetry books were not known, but Liverpool’s literary leader William Roscoe seems to have been very pleased with her poetry and it was through his mediation that her *Poems* was published in 1808 from Cadell and Davies, Roscoe’s publisher. Her next book *Domestic Affections, and Other Poems*, with the author’s name appearing on the title page as “Felicia Dorothea Brown” came out in 1812, the year of her marriage with Captain Alfred Hemans, published also from Cadell and Davies. It is in this book that “The Statue of the Dying Gladiator” appears on pp. 136-38.

If there is anything in Hemans’s life that may shed some light on the date of composition, it is her interest in art in general as testified in her letter to Matthew Nicholson, dated 17 July 1811, in which Hemans confesses herself as “an admirer of the beauties of painting” and says that she “derived both pleasure and instruction from the perusal [of Reynolds’s Discourse to

the Royal Academy]” (Wolfson, 476).²

The Statue of the Dying Gladiator

Commanding pow’r! whose hand with plastic art
 Bids the rude stone to grace and being start;
 Swell to the waving line the polish’d form,
 And only want Promethean fire to warm; —
 Sculpture, exult! thy triumph proudly see, *
 The Roman slave immortalized by thee!
 No suppliant sighs, no terrors round him wait,
 But vanquish’d valor soars above his fate!
 In that fix’d eye still proud defiance low’rs,
 In that stern look indignant grandeur tow’rs! 10
 He sees e’en death, with javelin barb’d in pain,
 A foe *but* worthy of sublime disdain!
 Too firm, too lofty, for one parting tear,
 A quiv’ring pulse, a struggle, or a fear!
 Oh! fire of soul! by servitude disgrac’d, *
 Perverted courage! energy debas’d!
 Lost Rome! thy slave, expiring in the dust,
 Tow’rs far above Patrician rank, august!
 While that proud rank, insatiate, could survey
 Pageants that stain’d with blood each festal day! 20

Oh! had that arm, which grac’d thy deathful show,
 With many a daring feat and nervous blow,
 Wav’d the keen sword and rear’d the patriot-shield,
 Firm in thy cause, on Glory’s laureate field;
 Then, like the marble form, from age to age, *
 His *name* had liv’d in history’s brightest page;
 While death had but secur’d the victor’s crown,

2 The date of composition given in Wolfson’s book is July 1810 (Wolfson, 4n). This happens to be the month when Chinnery’s Newdigate Prize poem was published (see the previous section), though she makes no reference to it in her edition of Hemans’s *Poems*. I am rather sceptical about the validity of relating Chinnery’s poem with Hemans’s.

And seal'd the suffrage of deserv'd renown!
 That gen'rous pride, that spirit unsubdu'd,
 That soul, with honor's high-wrought sense imbu'd, 30
 Had shone, recorded in the song of fame,
 A *beam*, as now, a *blemish*, on thy name!
 Yet here, so well has art majestic wrought,
 Sublimed expression, and ennobled thought;
 A dying *Hero* we behold, alone, *
 And *Mind's bright grandeur* animates the stone!
 'Tis not th'Arena's venal champion bleeds,
 No! 'tis some warrior, fam'd for matchless deeds!
 Admiring rapture kindles into flame,
 Nature and art the palm divided claim! 40
 Nature (exulting in her spirit's pow'r,
 To rise victorious in the dreaded hour,
 Triumphs, that death and all his shadowy train,
 Assail a mortal's constancy — in vain!
 And Art, rejoicing in the work sublime, *
 Unhurt by all the sacrilege of time,
 Smiles o'er the marble, her divine control
 Moulded to symmetry, and fir'd with soul!
 (Hemans, "The Statue of the Dying Gladiator", 1-48)



The narrating poet begins the poem by addressing to the deity that presides over the art of sculpture as "Commanding power":

Commanding pow'r! whose hand with plastic art
 Bids the rude stone to grace and being start;
 Swell to the waving line the polish'd form,
 And only want Promethean fire to warm; —
 Sculpture, exult! thy triumph proudly see, *
 The Roman slave immortalized by thee!
 (1-6)

This deity, according to the poet, bids the rude stone start a graceful being,

and bids the polished form swell to the waving line. Thus the statue is crated, or rather almost complete except for the finishing touch, Promethean fire. (5-6) The poet once again calls upon the deity to look triumphantly upon its work “the Roman slave immortalized by” the deity.

The poet then goes on to describe the statue as if it were a living, or rather dying, human gladiator:

No suppliant sighs, no terrors round him wait,
 But vanquish'd valor soars above his fate!
 In that fix'd eye still proud defiance low'rs,
 In that stern look indignant grandeur tow'rs! 10

(7-10)

The man neither implores for mercy nor utters terrified shrieks, but instead courageously accepts his fate. True, he is vanquished, but he has valor, which soars above his fate. His eye is fixed, and in that look he casts a proudly defiant glance towards his enemy, with indignation towering high above.

There are two words in Lines 9 and 10 each that perform double syntactic functions. First, the word “still” retroactively modifying “eye” as an adjective stresses the fixedness of the look, and working at the same time as an adverb means “even now” suggesting that the gladiator in flesh in the ancient times continues its being as statue which the poet now sees in front of her. The adjective “indignant” in the next line retroactively modifies “look” from behind, as well as modifies the next word “grandeur”. Hemans in this way succeeds in enhancing sublimity of the indignation which the gladiator in flesh must have felt, and which the statue expresses at the same time.

Descriptions of the man in flesh continues:

He sees e'en death, with javelin barb'd in pain,
 A foe *but* worthy of sublime disdain!
 Too firm, too lofty, for one parting tear,
 A quiv'ring pulse, a struggle, or a fear! 10

(11-14)

He is well aware, injured with a javelin and being in great pain, that death is

imminent. And he looks upon it as a foe who is worthy of sublime disdain. He lies there too firm and too lofty, so that he sheds not one drop of tear. He lies there without a quivering pulse, a struggle, or a movement of fear.

There follow in Lines 15-20 poet-narrator's apostrophic utterances:

Oh! fire of soul! by servitude disgrac'd, *
 Perverted courage! energy debas'd!
 Lost Rome! thy slave, expiring in the dust,
 Tow'rs far above Patrician rank, august!
 While that proud rank, insatiate, could survey
 Pageants that stain'd with blood each festal day! 20
 (15-20)

Here the poet compares the gladiator's soul to fire. The man was disgraced to serve his master. The man had courage and energy, which however were misdirected and debased to the purpose of fighting his opponent in a sham fight to please spectators in the Coliseum. Whoever won or lost, it was surely the Roman Empire that was ultimately defeated, not those gladiators. For your [Rome's] slave expiring in the dust of the arena stood morally upright far above those patrician spectators, that proud greedy rank who institutionalised the butchery show, and who shamelessly delighted in watching the blood-stained pageants on every festal day.

The poet-narrator next works her imagination and describes the gladiator in flesh in the ancient times.

Oh! had that arm, which grac'd thy deathful show,
 With many a daring feat and nervous blow,
 Wav'd the keen sword and rear'd the patriot-shield,
 Firm in thy cause, on Glory's laureate field;
 Then, like the marble form, from age to age, *
 His *name* had liv'd in history's brightest page;
 While death had but secur'd the victor's crown,
 And seal'd the suffrage of deserv'd renown!
 (21-28)

The poet fixes her attention on his arm and makes a supposition: if that arm, which adorned your [Roman] combat shows with the display of many courageous skills and strong blows, had brandished, in the actual fighting, a keen sword and raised a shield in your [Rome's] patriotic cause in fields where the Romans gloriously won, then the name of the gladiator would have survived from age to age and glittered in history books, just like the marble statue that has survived for a long period of time. The gladiator certainly met his death, but his death would only temporarily have served to honour the winner and assured his deserved renown.

That gen'rous pride, that spirit unsubdu'd,
 That soul, with honor's high-wrought sense imbu'd, 30
 Had shone, recorded in the song of fame,
 A *beam*, as now, a *blemish* , on thy name!

(29-32)

The gladiator in flesh had generous pride, his spirit remained unsubdued, his soul is deeply imbued with high sense of honour — all those counts of his moral excellence would have shone as a beam on your [Rome's] name if recorded in songs of fame, and not as a blemish (as gladiatorial shows are now considered as a morally debased institution).

The poet makes a supposition in Lines 21-24: what would have happened if the man in flesh had not been a gladiator. The answer is given in Lines 25-32: his sturdy physique would have earned him an everlasting fame, and his moral magnanimity would have been handed down as a beam in songs. Yet the poet is not completely immersed in the imaginative dimension in her description of the gladiator in flesh. She, from time to time, stresses the sense of here-and-now, saying, “like the marble form” (25) reminding us of the marble statue in front of her, or “as now” (32) again reminding us of the moment of composition of the poem.

Line 33 “Yet here [...]”, which needs must bring readers' attention to the statue in front of the narrating-poet (not the imagined gladiator in flesh).

Yet here, so well has art majestic wrought,
 Sublimed expression, and ennobled thought;
 A dying *Hero* we behold, alone, *
 And *Mind's bright grandeur* animates the stone!
 'Tis not th'Arena's venal champion bleeds,
 No! 'tis some warrior, fam'd for matchless deeds!
 Admiring rapture kindles into flame,
 Nature and art the palm divided claim! 40
 (33-40)

Here “art” appears as a semi-personified agent who is capable of artistic creation. And this “art” has created the sublime expression on the face, which in turn points within to the existence of an ennobled thought, so that what we behold is a dying hero in flesh alone, and not a piece of sculpted marble. The stone is thus animated by the noble spirituality we find in its expression.

Although the “ennobled thought” in Line 34 does not have a physical reality as stone, it is syntactically expressed as the object of the verb “has [...] wrought”, that is, as being created by “art”. This marble statue is invested with the power of allowing viewers to see what does not physically exist. This is how in Line 36 “the stone” becomes animated by “*Mind's bright grandeur*”. This is what Jonathan Wordsworth calls the celebration of “Wordsworthian power of mind”.³

With the stone thus animated, the poet then challenges the identity of the man who is now bleeding, and asserts that he is not a gladiator who fights for money, and that he is some warrior famed for his incomparable deeds. The poet-viewer, elated at the realisation of the man being a famous warrior, finds her heart enflamed to find nature and art competing each other in their skill realised in the statue.

The nine concluding lines are devoted to the competition of nature and art:

Nature and art the palm divided claim! 40

3 Jonathan Wordsworth, “Introduction” to Hemans, *The Domestic Affections* (Poole: Woodstock, 1995), n.p.

Nature (exulting in her spirit's pow'r,
 To rise victorious in the dreaded hour,
 Triumphs, that death and all his shadowy train,
 Assail a mortal's constancy — in vain!
 And Art, rejoicing in the work sublime, *
 Unhurt by all the sacrilege of time,
 Smiles o'er the marble, her divine control
 Moulded to symmetry, and fir'd with soul!⁴

(40-48)

First, the narrating poet sees that Nature, semi-personified deity capable of presiding over all living beings, exulting in her power over human spirits, standing upright in elation at her victory over art. The poet further sees that the dying gladiator in flesh whom she created is being assailed by death and all his shadowy train, but that though they [death and his train] tried hard to defeat the gladiator's moral constancy, they failed in this attempt.

Then, art, semi-personified deity capable of artistic creation, is seen by the narrating poet rejoicing at the sublimity of her creature [i.e., the statue] that remains unhurt by ravages of time. Art exercises her divine control over the marble, and helped it shape (=mould) into a symmetrical form, and fired it with soul. Thus the artistic creation mentioned at the beginning of the poem as being almost complete except for the "Promethean fire" is now complete when the statue is "fir'd with soul". The word "mould" (48) suggests soft material such as clay taking shape. What is noteworthy here is that the chiselling action on the part of the sculptor is totally absent. The statue is moulded into symmetry as a result of "art" smiling her divine control over the marble. (This in fact is already hinted at in Lines 3-4, where the polished form is bidden by the Commanding power to "swell" to the waving line.) With the absence of the artist, and with the movement of spontaneous

4 Only in Line 45 is "Art" capitalized, while all other "arts" are in the lower case. Of all the two instances of "Nature" (40, 41), the one in Line 40 is in the upper case simply because it occurs at the head a line. As for the other one at the head of Line 41, I am unable to determine whether it would also be capitalized if it comes in the middle of a line.

growth emphasized, “art” moves closer to “nature”.

The theme of nature and art competing each other in their skill may have been inspired by Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*, 289-300.

Look, when a painter would surpass the life,
 In limning out a well-proportion’d steed, 290
 His art with nature’s workmanship at strife,
 As if the dead the living should exceed;
 So did this horse excel a common one,
 In shape, in courage, colour, pace and bone.

Round-hoof’d, short-jointed, fetlocks shag and long, *
 Broad breast, full eye, small head, and nostril wide,
 High crest, short ears, straight legs and passing strong,
 Thin mane, thick tail, broad buttock, tender hide:
 Look, what a horse should have he did not lack,
 Save a proud rider on so proud a back. 300
 (*Venus and Adonis*, 289-300)

Here the poet reflects upon his description of Adonis’s horse when he spies a mare spring out of a neighbouring copse. But Hemans’s pen goes deeper than Shakespeare’s in several points, resulting mainly from the nature of the art work and its corresponding life: i.e., painting and horse in Shakespeare, and sculpture and human being in Hemans. Hemans goes from the expressions on the countenance into the thought behind, praising the moral integrity of the dying man struggling against his fate, while all Shakespeare does is enumerating physical details of the horse with an additional comment on the lack of “a proud rider on so proud a back” (300). Shakespeare’s reference to art goes no more than “a painter would surpass the life, / In limning out a well-proportion’d steed”. Hemans, on the other hand, pays attention to the process of artistic creation in her use of the word “swell” (3) and “mould” (39), which strikes at the very heart of sculptural creation as once pointed out by Michelangelo in one of his poems:

Just as by taking away, Lady, one places in hard, alpine stone / a living

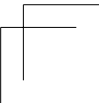
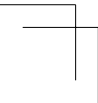
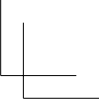
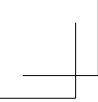
figure, / that grows the more, the more the stone diminishes: / so some good works are hidden / for the soul, that still trembles, / by the excess of its own flesh / with its rude, hard, and tough skin. / You alone can take away / from my outermost parts, / for in me there is no will nor strength of myself.⁵

The sculptor, says Michelangelo, feels the hidden figure with a trembling soul growing larger and larger, as the large mass of stone gets chiseled away into a smaller piece. This is an essential contradiction involved in the process of creating carved statues (as opposed to moulded statues). There is no doubt that Hemans was clearly aware of this creative process when she said that “the polish’d form” is bidden to “Swell to the waving line” (2-3). Later in the poem when she said “Art [...] Smiled o’re the marble, her divine control / Moulded to symmetry, and fir’d with soul”, it is quite natural to think that she used “mould” to mean “to mix or knead (dough, bread)” (*OED v*² 1. trans), and by extension “to shape as a sculptor or modeler” (*OED v*² 3.). We can safely exclude another meaning “to shape (fluid or plastic matter) in or as in a mould” (*OED v*² 4.)⁶, since the statue in question is not a moulded statue, but a carved one. The syntax also plays an important part here. The sense-subject of the verbs “moulded” and “fir’d” is “the marble”, and not “Art”. “Art” simply smiled. All this contributes to the sense that the statue was shaped to symmetry of itself, not by Art’s direct agent.

This is how Hemans’s “art” obtains spontaneity and achieves a nature-like status. Hemans, in nominally depicting art competing against nature, in truth, draws art closer to nature.

5 Joseph J. S. Peake’s translation in Panofsky, *Idea* (Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1968), 116-17. The original goes as follows: Si come per levar, Donna, si pone / In pietra alpestra e dura / Una viva figure, / Che là pi ù cresce, u’più la pietra scema: / Tal alcun’opre buone, / Per l’alma, he pur trema, / Cela il soverchio della propria carne / Con l’inculta sua cruda e dura scorza. / Tu pur dalle mie streme / Parti puo’ sol levarne, / Ch’in me non è di me voler n è forza.

6 The meaning of “mould” as a noun is: “a hollow form or matrix into which fluid or plastic material is cast or pressed and allowed to cool or harden so as to form an object of a particular shape or pattern” (*OED sb*² 2.a.).



Bibliography

- “Ancient Authors on the Issue of the Varus Battle.” *Varusschlacht im Osnabrücker Land: Museum und Park Kalkriese*. <https://www.kalkriese-varusschlacht.de> (Accessed 13 January 2021).
- Baillie, Joanna. *The Collected Letters of Joanna Baillie*. Ed. Judith Bailey Slagle. 2 vols. Vancouver: Fairleigh Dickenson UP, 1999.
- Baillie, John. *An Essay on the Sublime*. 1747; rpt. Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, U of California, 1953.
- Bainbridge, Simon. *Napoleon and English Romanticism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.
- Barbauld, Anna Laetitia. “On the Pleasure Derived from Objects of Terror.” *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose*. 3rd ed. London: J. Johnson, 1792.
- Barretti, Joseph (Giuseppe). *A Guide through the Royal Academy*. London: T. Cadell, 1781.
- Barry Cornwall. See Proctor, Bryan Waller.
- Bate, Walter Jackson. *John Keats*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1963.
- Benario, Herbert W. “Arminius into Hermann: History into Legend.” *Greece & Rome*, 51.1 (2004): 83-94.
- British Museum, *The. A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum*. 11 vols. 1812-61.
- Burwick, Fred, ed. *The Encyclopaedia of Romantic Literature*. 3 vols. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Byron, George Gordon. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*. Ed. Thomas Moore. 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1831.
- . *The Complete Works of Lord Byron*. Ed. John Galt, prefixed with John Galt’s Life of the Author. Paris: Baudry’s European Library, 1835.
- . *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*. Ed. James Darmesteter. Paris: Librairie ch. Delagrave, 1882.
- . *Childe Harold*. Ed. H. F. Tozer. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1885.
- . *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage: A Romaunt*. Ed. William J. Rolfe. Boston: Houghton, 1885.

- . *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage: A Romaunt by Lord Byron, Cantos I and II*. Ed. Edward E. Morris. London: Macmillan, 1889.
- . *Byron's Childe Harold*. Ed. H. G. Keene. London: George Bell & Sons, 1893.
- . *The Works of Lord Byron*. Ed. Ernest Hartley Coleridge. 7 vols. London: John Murray, 1899.
- . *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Ed. A. Hamilton Thompson. Cambridge: University P, 1913.
- . *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage by Lord Byron*. Ed. Yoshisaburo OKAKURA. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1922.
- . *Byron's Letters and Journals*. Ed. Leslie A. Marchand. 12 vols. Cambridge, MA; Harvard UP, 1973-82.
- . *The Complete Poetical Works*. Ed. Jerome J. McGann. 7 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1980-93.
- . *Byron's Letters and Journals*. Ed. Leslie Marchand. 12 vols. Cambridge, MA: Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1973-82.
- Chenedolle, Charles de. *Études poétiques*. 2nd ed. Paris: Charles Gosselin, 1822.
- Chew, Samuel. "Byron and Croly." *Modern Language Notes* 28.7 (1913): 201-03.
- Chinnery, Robert. *The Statue of the Dying Gladiator: A Prize Poem, Recited in the Theatre, Oxford July 3*. Oxford: Collingwood, 1810.
- Chorley, Henry F. *Memorials of Mrs. Hemans*. 2 vols. London: Saunders and Otley, 1836.
- Clarke, Edward. *A Letter to a Friend in Italy*. London: Baldwin, 1755.
- Clayden, P. W. *Rogers and His Contemporaries*. 2 vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1889.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Vol. 5: Lectures 1808-1819 on Literature*. Ed. R. A. Foakes. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1987.
- Cornwall, Barry. See Proctor, Bryan Waller.
- [Croly, George] Anonymous. *Paris in 1815: A Poem*. London: John Murray, 1817.
- Croly, George. *Paris in 1815, with Other Poems*. London: J. Warren, 1821.
- . *The Poetical Works*. 2 vols. London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley, 1830.
- Cunningham, John. *Poems, Chiefly Pastoral*. 2 ed. New Castle: T. Slack, 1771.
- Dickens, Charles. *Great Expectations, Hard Times*. London: Nonesuch, 1937.
- Dilettanti, The Society of. *Specimens of Antient Sculpture, Ægyptian, Etruscan, Greek, and Roman*. 2 vols. London: Payne, 1809.

- Dryden, John. *The Works of John Dryden*. Ed. Walter Scott. 18 vols. London: William Miller, 1808.
- Dyer, John. *The Poems of John Dyer*. Ed. Edward Thomas. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903.
- English Poetry 2. English Poetry 2*. 5 disks. Chadwyck-Healey, 1989.
- Evelyn, John. *The Diary of John Evelyn*. Ed. E. S. de Beer. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1955.
- Everest, Kelvin, ed. *Shelley Revalued: Essays from the Gregynog Conference*. Leicester: Leicester UP, 1983.
- Farington, Joseph. *The Diary of Joseph Farington*. Ed. Kenneth Garlick and Angus Macintyre. 7 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1979.
- Galt, John. See Byron.
- Garden, Francis. *Travelling Memorandums Made in a Tour upon the Continent of Europe in the Years 1786, 1787, and 1788*. 3 vols. Vol. 3. Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute, 1795.
- Gerard, Alexander. *An Essay on Taste*. London: Millar, 1759.
- Gould, Cecil. *Trophy of Conquest: The Musee Napoleon and the Creation of the Louvre*. London: Faber, 1965.
- Gray, Thomas. *The Complete Poems of Thomas Gray: English, Latin, and Greek*. Ed. H. W. Starr and J. R. Hendrickson. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1966.
- Hagstrum, Jean H. *The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray*. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1958.
- Hanson, David C. "George Croly." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004.
- Harnecker, Joachim. *Arminius, Varus and the Battlefield at Kalkriese*. Trans. Erika Strenski. Bramsche: Rasch, 2004.
- Hartswick, Kim J. *The Gardens of Sallust: A Changing Landscape*. Austin, TX: U of Texas P, 2004.
- Haskell, Francis and Nicholas Penny. *Taste and the Antique*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1981.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. *The Marble Faun: or The Romance of Monte Beni*. Ed. William Charvat, et al. 1860; Ohio State UP, 1968.
- Hayley, William. *An Essay on Sculpture: In a Series of Epistles to John Flaxman*. London: Cadell & Davies, 1800.

- Hazlitt, William. *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt*. Ed. P. P. Howe. 21 vols. London: Dent, 1930-34.
- Helbig, Wolfgang. *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*. Tr. James F. and Findlay Muirhead. 2 vols. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1895. Web. 31 Oct. 2022.
- Hemans, Felicia. *Selected Poems, Letters, Reception Materials*. Ed. Susan J. Wolfson. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.
- . *The Domestic Affections*. Ed. with an Introduction by Jonathan Wordsworth. Poole: Woodstock, 1995.
- Jack, Ian. *Keats and the Mirror of Art*. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1967.
- Johnson, Samuel. *The Works of Samuel Johnson*. 11 vols. 1825; New York: AMS, 1970.
- KASAHARA Yorimichi. "Byron's Dying Gladiator: Its Source and Tradition." *Meisei International Studies* 1 (2009): 1-20.
- Keats, John. *The Poems of John Keats*. Ed. Jack Stillinger. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap P of Harvard UP, 1978.
- Langhorne, John. *The Poetical Works of John Langhorne*. 2 vols. London: Mawman, 1804.
- Larrabee, Stephen A. *English Bards and Grecian Marbles: The Relationship between Sculpture and Poetry Especially in the Romantic Period*. New York: Columbia UP, 1943.
- Lee, Sidney. "William Sotheby." *Dictionary of National Biography*.
- Lendering, Jona. "The Battle in the Teutoburg Forest." Livius.org: Articles on Ancient History. Livius.org (Accessed 13 January 2021).
- . "Paterculus on the Battle in the Teutoburg Forest." Livius.org: Articles on Ancient History. Livius.org (Accessed 13 January 2021).
- Marchand, Leslie A. *Byron: A Portrait*. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 1970.
- Marchand, Leslie A., ed. *Byron's Letters and Journals*. 12 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1973-82.
- Merryman, John Henry, ed. *Imperialism, Art and Restitution*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Merryman, John Henry. "Whither the Elgin Marbles?" John Henry Merryman, ed., *Imperialism, Art and Restitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 98-103.
- Miller, Lady, Anna. *Letters from Italy, Describing the Manners, Customs, Antiquities,*

- Paintings [...] by an English Woman*. 3 vols. Vol. 2. Dublin: Watson, 1776.
- [Milman, Henry Hart] Anonymous. *The Belvidere Apollo: A Prize Poem, Recited in the Theatre, Oxford, in the Year MDCCC-XII*. Oxford: Collingwood, 1812.
- Milman, Henry Hart. *The Poetical Works*. 3 vols. London: John Murray, 1839.
- Milton, John. *The Works of John Milton*. Ed. Frank Allen Patterson, et al. 18 vols. New York: Columbia UP. 1931-38.
- Mitford, William. *The History of Greece*. 3rd ed. 6 vols. London: T. Cadell, 1821.
- Moore, Thomas. *Letters and Journals of Lord Byron*. 2 vols. New York: Harper, 1831. *The Morning Chronicle*.
- “The Myth Arminius — Hermann.” *Varusschlacht im Osnabrücker Land: Museum und Park Kalkriese*. <https://www.kalkriese-varusschlacht.de> (Accessed 13 January 2021).
- The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1983.
- Oxford, University of. *Information for Candidates for the Chancellor's Prizes, and Later also for Sir Roger Newdigate's Prize: 1768-1821*.
- . *The Christ Church Newdigate Prize Poems Recited in the Theatre, Oxford in the Years 1810-1821*. Oxford: R. Pearson, 1823.
- Panofsky, Erwin. *Idea: A Concept in Art Theory*. Tr. Joseph J. S. Peake. Columbia, SC: U of South Carolina P, 1968.
- Paterculus, Velleius. *Compendium of Roman History / Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. Trans. Frederick W. Shipley. London: Heinemann, 1924.
- The Philanthrope: After the Manner of a Periodical*. London: T. Cadell, Jr., 1797.
- Pliny the Elder (Gaius Plinius Secundus). *Natural History*. 10 vols. Vol. 9. Trans. H. Rackham. London: Heinemann / Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1938-62.
- [Proctor, Bryan Waller] ‘Barry Cornwall’. *The Flood of Thessaly, The Girl of Provence, and Other Poems*. London: Henry Colburn, 1823.
- Raban, Joseph. “Shelley the Dionysian.” Kelvin Everest, ed., *Shelley Revalued: Essays from the Gregynog Conference* (Leicester UP, 1983): 21-36.
- Radcliffe, Ann. “On the Supernatural in Poetry.” *The New Monthly Magazine*, 16. 1 (1826): 149.
- Ramsay, James. *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies*. Dublin: T. Walker, 1784.
- Reiman, Donald H. “Introduction.” George Croly, *Paris in 1815 [...] Paris in 1815, Second Part [...]*. Ed. Donald H. Reiman. New York: Garland, 1977.

- Reiman, Donald. "Introduction" to William Sotheby, *Poems, The Battle of the Nile, A Song of Triumph, Farewell to Italy*. Romantic Context: Poetry Series. New York: Garland, 1978. Reiman contributes the identical introductions to the remaining two volumes of Sotheby in this series: i.e., *Saul and Constance de Castille*, and *Oberon*.
- Reynolds, Joshua. *A Discourse Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy*. London: T. Davies, 1771.
- Richardson, Jonathan, the Elder & Younger. *An Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings, and Pictures in Italy, etc., with Remarks*. London: J. Knapton, 1722.
- Roe, Nicholas. *Fiery Heart: The First Life of Leigh Hunt*. London: Pimlico, 2005.
- Rothenberg, Jacob. "Descensus Ad Terram": *The Acquisition and Reception of the Elgin Marbles*. New York: Garland, 1978.
- The Scots Magazine*.
- Scott, Grant F. "The Fragile Image: Felicia Hemans and Romantic Ekphrasis." Nanora Sweet and Julie Melnyk, eds., *Felicia Hemans: Reimagining Poetry in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 36-54.
- Shakespeare, William. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Ed. Stephen Booth. New Haven: Yale UP, 1977.
- . *The Poems*. Ed. John Roe. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.
- Sharp, Samuel. *Letters from Italy, Describing the Customs and Manners of that Country, in the Years 1765, and 1766*. Dublin: P. Wilson, 1767.
- Sharp, William. *The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, 1892.
- Shaw, J.T. "Byron, Chenedolle, and Lermontov's 'Dying Gladiator'". *Studies in Honor of John C. Hodges and Alwin Thaler*, ed. by Richard Beale Davis and John Leon Lievsay. The U of Tennessee P, 1961.
- Shee, Martin Archer. *Elements of Art*. London: W. Miller, 1809.
- Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *The Complete Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. Ed. Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck. 10 vols. 1926-30; New York: Gordian P, 1965.
- . *Shelley's Prose and Poetry*. Ed. Donald H. Reiman and Neil Fraistat. 2nd ed. New York: Norton, 2002.
- . *The Complete Poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley*. Ed. Donald H. Reiman, Neil Fraistat, and Nora Crook. 3 vols. to date. Vol. 3. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins

- UP, 2012.
- Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. London: A. Millar, 1759.
- Sotheby, William, tr. *The Georgics of Virgil*. London: J. Wright, 1800.
- Sotheby, William. *Farewell to Italy, and Occasional Poems*. London: W. Bulmer, 1818.
- . *Farewell to Italy, and Other Poems*. London: J. Murray, 1828.
- . *Poems, The Battle of the Nile, A Song of Triumph, Farewell to Italy*. Ed. with an Introduction by Donald Reiman. New York: Garland, 1978.
- . *Saul and Constance de Castille*. Ed. with an Introduction by Donald Reiman. New York: Garland, 1978.
- . *Oberon*. Ed. with an Introduction by Donald Reiman. New York: Garland, 1978.
- Spence, Joseph. *Polymetis*. 2 ed. 10 vols. London: Dodsley, 1755.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Works of Edmund Spenser*. Ed. Edwin Greenlaw, et al. 11 vols. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1932-45.
- St. Clair, William. "Imperial Appropriations of the Parthenon." John Henry Merryman, ed., *Imperialism, Art and Restitution* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), 65-97.
- Tacitus. *The Annals. The Histories, IV-V & The Annals, I-III*. Trans. Clifford H. Moore and John Jackson. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard UP; London: Heinemann, 1931.
- Thomson, James. *The Seasons*. Ed. James Sambrook. Oxford: Clarendon P, 1981.
- Treue, Wilhelm. *Art Plunder: The Fate of Works of Art in War, Revolution and Peace*. Tr. Basil Creighton. London: Methuen, 1960.
- The Universal Magazine*.
- Varusschlacht im Osnabrücker Land: Museum und Park Kalkriese*. <https://www.kalkriese-varusschlacht.de> (Accessed 13 January 2021).
- Wasserman, Earl R. *Shelley: A Critical Reading*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1977.
- Watkins, Thomas. *Travels through Switzerland, Italy, Sicily, the Greek Islands to Constantinople*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. London: J. Owen, 1794.
- Webb, Timothy. *Shelley: A Voice Not Understood*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1977.
- Wescher, Paul. *Kunstraub unter Napoleon*. Berlin: Mann, 1976.
- Wesley, John. *A Survey of the Wisdom of God in the Creation: or a Compendium of Natural Philosophy*. 4th ed. 5 vols. London: J. Paramore, 1784.
- Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. *Reflection on the Paintings and Sculpture of the Greeks*.

- Tr. Henry Fusseli. London: A. Millar, 1767.
- Wittkower, Rudolf. *Sculpture*. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.
- Wolfson, Susan J., ed. *Felicia Hemans: Selected Poems, Letters, Reception Materials*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2000.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary. *Mary, A Fiction*. 1788; rpt, London: Routledge / Thoemmes, 1995.
- . *The Works of Mary Wollstonecraft*. Ed. Janet M. Todd, & Marilyn Butler. 7 vols. London: Pickering, 1989.
- Wordsworth, Jonathan. “Introduction” to Felicia Hemans, *The Domestic Affections*, 1812. Poole: Woodstock, 1995.
- Wordsworth, William. *The Ruined Cottage and the Pedlar*. Ed. James Butler. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1979.
- . *Poems, in Two Volumes, and Other Poems, 1800-1807*. Ed. Jared Curtis. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1983.
- Young, Edward. *Young’s Night Thoughts*. Ed. George Gilfillan. Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1853.