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# The Alchemy of Art: A Study in the Evolution of the Creative Mind of John Keats

G. Brian Sullivan

*University of Nebraska-Lincoln*

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**THE ALCHEMY OF ART  
A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE  
CREATIVE MIND OF JOHN KEATS**

by

**G. Brian Sullivan**

**A THESIS**

**Presented to the Faculty of  
The Graduate College in the University of Nebraska  
In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements  
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of English**

**Under the Supervision of Professor Bernice Slote**

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**July 9, 1967**

TITLE

THE ALCHEMY OF ART: A STUDY IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE

CREATIVE MIND OF JOHN KEATS

BY

G. Brian Sullivan, Ph.D.

APPROVED

DATE

Bernice Slote

July 31, 1967

Lee T. Lemon

July 31, 1967

Hugh Luke

July 31, 1967

Robert L. Hough

July 31, 1967

Robert M. Beadell

July 31, 1967

SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE

GRADUATE COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA

It is obvious enough that psychology, being the study of psychic processes, can be brought to bear upon the study of literature, for the human psyche is the womb of all the sciences and arts.

-C. G. Jung



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My deepest thanks go to my wife, Barbara, whose love and inspiration made these six years a happy voyage; her kindness, faith, and perseverance spared me from forever journeying upon strange seas of thought alone.

## PREFACE

From the time John Keats began Endymion (March 1817) until his abandonment of the second version of Hyperion (September 1819), we have thirty vital months comprising a span of development unparalleled in English literature. This dissertation focuses upon the central feature of that development--the evolution of the creative mind of the poet. I do not purpose another factual biography of Keats, but rather an exploration of the internal autobiography of the poet in self-genesis as this evolvment is impressed upon the symbolic structures of his works.

In artistic vitality, incisiveness of thought, and individual sublimity, Keats achieved a ripeness that stylistically, philosophically, and psychologically borders upon the miraculous, if the circumstances under which he labored and the short time allotted to him are considered. The areas of style and philosophy have been exhaustively explored in the past fifty years of Keats scholarship, and I will only touch upon these subjects. Walter Jackson Bate's The Stylistic Development of Keats (1945) and Clarence Thorpe's The Mind of John Keats (1926) already offer authoritative stands in these areas. Bate's study of the prosody and rhetoric of Keats is the best book on the poet's stylistic development, and it clearly reveals a notable progress in his work from early lassitude and weakness to discipline and restraint in the later writing. The trend is toward fewer adjectives and more verbs as seen in the great odes and poems, and a better sense of structure complemented by finer precision of language and form, as is evident in Hyperion, which he finished in

April 1819, and in The Fall of Hyperion, which was nearly the last thing he ever wrote, completed September 21, 1819. Rather than these issues involving Keats' stylistic growth, my concern is with the question of what activated his intellectual and emotional crystallization during the thirty productive months from the start of Endymion to the end of Hyperion.

Of these thirty months, the period of one year, marked by the start of Hyperion in the fall of 1818 and by the end of The Fall of Hyperion in the fall of 1819, creates the greatest interest, because during that time Keats produced practically every poem that ranks him among the greatest poets of the world. In Robert Gittings' study of this important phase in the poet's career, John Keats: The Living Year (1954), the author lists the three principal explanations of this remarkable phenomenon:

It is said that he wrote with the desperate energy of one already diseased, already attacked by the consumption which carried off his brother; that he met at this time a Hampstead neighbor, Fanny Brawne, to whom he soon became engaged, and the most of his work in this year is connected with his love for her; thirdly, that he was working out in this year some coherent scheme of poetry and philosophy, of which his works are the signs and symbols.<sup>1</sup>

Gittings does not feel that any one of these is the complete explanation. My own view is closer to the third, which concentrates on the poetry for a clue to the internal changes taking place in Keats. The main proponents of this third explanation are J. Middleton Murry in Keats and Shakespeare (1925) and Claude Lee Finney in The Evolution of Keats's Poetry (1936), who both discuss this year in their full-length studies of Keats. In his sensitive and close reading of the major poems, Murry finds a subtle and pervasive influence penetrating Keats' thought and work. This is the

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<sup>1</sup>(Cambridge, Mass., 1954), p. 4.

influence of Wordsworth, who becomes particularly evident in Hyperion and The Fall of Hyperion. Murry sees Hyperion caught between the drive for Miltonic objectivity and a desire for Wordsworthian subjectivity. In his consideration of Keats Murry's main concern is for Keats' life-long development into the "complete man:"

"The complete man" is a vague phrase. I hope that by the end of this book a real, if not a definable, significance will have been poured into it, and that I shall have been able to show that the pure poet deserves the name of "the complete man" in a special and peculiar sense, that<sup>2</sup> the name belongs really to him pre-eminently among men.

My own view is much closer to Murry's sometimes-oracular, sometimes-mystical approach to Keats than to Finney's minute study of the poet's poetic theory and the philosophic bases for it.

The source for all the considerations of Keats as a thinker is Thorpe's book The Mind of John Keats, a book which actually produced a revolution in Keatsian studies by shifting emphasis from the sensuous and purely poetic side of the man to an interest in him as a thinker. However, Thorpe says that Keats is first a poet, not a systematic philosopher. He sees in Keats a schema of conflicts, "as between an impulse toward dream and the claims of the actual, between a leaning toward the merely sensuous in art and life and a craving for knowledge and understanding."<sup>3</sup> Thorpe makes no claim, as did Hugh I' A. Fausset in Keats: A Study in Development (1922), of final reconciliations, but more conservatively points out the important progress toward solutions, as art and the actualities of his existence were seen in their true relationship. Keats' maturity brought with it the awareness that great

<sup>2</sup>Murry, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>Raysor, p. 217.

poetry is created only by discipline, thought, and hard work.

In his review of the criticism of Keats, Clarence Thorpe says that there is virtual agreement on one point among commentators: "Keats was a great poet, whose unique genius has never yet been successfully plumbed."<sup>4</sup> It was the intention of John Middleton Murry in his Keats and Shakespeare "to elucidate the deep and natural movement of the poet's soul which underlies the poetry."<sup>5</sup> In more recent criticism Aileen Ward in John Keats: The Making of a Poet (1963) has tried to show some of the inner drama of Keats' creative life as it is recorded in his poems and letters. She, like Murry, is interested in that miraculous unfolding by which Keats' goal in poetry became clear to him--the mystery of Keats. Walter Jackson Bate's John Keats (1963) which is a valuable new research companion to Keats' letters, blends biographical and critical material masterfully into an important study of the poet's technical craftsmanship as it developed simultaneously with his larger, more broadly humane development.

The feature that all of these books share is that in one way or another they are all concerned with some feature of the development of Keats. My own study does not differ from them in this respect. But it is different in its attempt to observe what is at the root of all Keats' developments, whether stylistic, philosophical, or humane. It attempts to observe and describe the appearances and evolution of the poet's creative self as manifested in the work that spans the period from the beginning of Endymion to when he finished The Fall of Hyperion. My focus is almost

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<sup>4</sup>"Keats," The English Romantic Poets A Review of Research, ed. Thomas M. Raysor (New York, 1956), p.206.

<sup>5</sup>(London, New York, Toronto, reprinted 1964), p. 129.

exclusively on the mythological pieces where I see a connected progress in the direction of self-realization. I have coined the term "individuation myth" to describe what to me is the real nature of the hero's quest, which is taken in two senses: the quest within the poet for ultimate selfhood and the mythological projection of this personal development upon the protagonists of the poems. It is also part of my intention to show the likelihood of a single quest with one hero in varying guises, creating the impression of a continuous heroic figure whose epic embraces Endymion and the two Hyperions. In my view there is an ultimate unification in the poet's identification of himself with the protagonist of Hyperion, when the Poet becomes Apollo's representative in the revised Hyperion.

The theoretic basis of the concept of individuation stems from the depth psychology of Carl Gustav Jung (1875-1961). The idea of an individuation myth derives from the mythological researches of Erich Neumann (1905-1960), Jung's most brilliant disciple, the author of The Origins and History of Consciousness (1954).<sup>6</sup> I am deeply indebted to these two important twentieth-century thinkers; from them I drew my first knowledge of the all-important idea that in art, as in religion, folklore and mythology of all times and in all nations, occur symbols of an archetypal character, consisting of images and perceptible patterns, which have taken on innumerable forms as recurrent motifs, ranging from the most remote

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<sup>6</sup>Originally published in German as Ursprungsgeschichte des Bewusstseins in 1949. References to The Origins and History of Consciousness (New York, 1954) will be abbreviated Nohc followed by page number, appearing in parentheses in the text. Also references to The Collected Works of C. G. Jung, ed. Sir Herbert Read, et al., trans. R.F.C. Hull (New York, 1953-) will be abbreviated CW followed by the volume number in upper case Roman numerals and page number.

conceptions of the primitive to the religious concepts of all civilizations and cultures and including even the dreams, visions, and art production of modern man. These projections invariably depict the centralizing process or creative production of the new center of the personality that Jung calls the self, the psychic totality that is the goal of life.

I should mention here that five years ago, when I began to study the applications of Jungian psychology to the poetry of Keats, there were no other full-length Jungian studies of Keats. At the time of my Master's thesis (1963) Katharine M. Wilson had not published her monograph, The Nightingale and the Hawk: A Psychological Study of Keats' Ode (1964). Her work runs parallel but does not coincide with the present dissertation. I welcomed her book when it appeared because she does provide some excellent arguments for the application of Jungian findings to the study of Keats' poetry:

To look through the eyes of anyone unlike ourselves is impossible without a very special key, and until now the key to Keats has not existed. But after more than a century that key has come to light in the psychology of Jung. A fantastic correspondence exists between Keats and aspects of Jung's psychology. Jung can be elucidated in terms of Keats, and Keats in terms of Jung. As my interest is primarily literary, I hope to use Jung to elucidate Keats.<sup>7</sup>

Jung can provide us with a more effective vocabulary for discussing what earlier writers had to be content with calling the "mystery" of Keats. Such terms as "archetype," "shadow," "anima," "ego" and "collective unconscious" are only used to provide a key to unlock that mystery.

I have seen that Endymion, Hyperion, and The Fall of Hyperion, besides adhering to the individuation myth, can also be discussed in the context of the process of alchemy. Within these poems there are a number of significant alchemical parallels, which help us to understand their

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<sup>7</sup>Wilson, (London, 1964), p. 9.

unity, which becomes manifest when it is seen that they progress according to the stages of the opus alchemicum. Alchemy is an untapped reservoir of truth about the human soul, containing seventeen centuries of study and speculation. The rich symbolic patterns of alchemy can be employed to bring the hidden truth of Keats' poetry to full flowering. Jung has shown (CW, XIII, passim.) that alchemical symbols may be considered as a kind of code which translates into the individuation process. In the technique I apply, I make use of a number of alchemical and anthropological findings for the sake of the elucidation provided towards discussing the pattern of individuation that unifies Keats' poems.

I intend to show that Endymion and the two Hyperions are linked in a single progressive and continuous mythological pattern, leading through the stages of egohood in Endymion, and climaxing in selfhood in the final two poems. After Keats had written Endymion he made an important distinction between it and his proposed Hyperion in a letter to Benjamin Haydon (23 January 1818): ". . . one great contrast between them will be--that the Hero of the written tale being mortal is led on, like Bonaparte, by circumstance; whereas the Apollo in Hyperion being a fore-seeing God will shape his actions like one."<sup>8</sup> Endymion is a mortal, and Hyperion is a God. This is important to the distinction outlined in my first sentence, because the goal of the mortal hero is ego consciousness: "mortal" because egohood involves man's role in this world, his position as Bricklayer, Teacher, or Poet. The goal of the immortal hero is consciousness of the self: "immortal" because the self is the totality

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<sup>8</sup>The Letters of John Keats, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), I, 207. References by volume and page number to Rollins are hereafter included directly after each citation in parentheses. To avoid confusion, upper case Roman numerals are used to designate volumes of the Letters and lower case Roman numerals in references to the poetry.



of the personality, and selfhood the interior realization of the whole man, comprehending both the conscious and unconscious worlds ("human" and "divine") in the fully realized individual.

In Part One of this study, my main concern is with Endymion and ego consciousness, I will only be making tangential references to Hyperion and the concept of the self; therefore, specific statements about the self will be reserved until Part Two.

By concentrating on the hero of Endymion, I hope to establish the nature of the evolutionary happening by which the unconscious poet of Endymion became the great poet capable of writing Hyperion. Murry writes, "If we could know the process by which that inward victory was accomplished, a great secret would be ours."<sup>9</sup> Murry is right, and I feel that the solution to Keats' secret lies in the realm of creative transformation and the successive changes within the poet that have left their traces in Endymion, to be studied here, and in Hyperion and The Fall of Hyperion, treated later. In these poems we can witness the regeneration of the poet through his art by the heroic pattern this achievement followed.

In the most general sense, this study concerns the poet's salvation through his work. It involves tracing in the poetry the process by which the whole man, the totality of the conscious and the unconscious personalities, is created. That is to say, this is a study of the self-creation of Keats, whose own commentary on the writing of Endymion commends this manner of inquiry to us:

It is as good as I had power to make it--by myself--had I been nervous about its being a perfect piece, & with that view asked advice, & trembled over every page, it would not have been written; for it is not in my nature to fumble--I will write

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<sup>9</sup>Murry, p. 126.

independently.--I have written independently without Judgment--I may write independently & with judgment hereafter.--The Genius of Poetry must work out its own salvation in a man: It cannot be matured by law & precept, but by sensation & watchfulness in itself--That which is creative must create itself--In *Endymion*, I leaped headlong into the Sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the Soundings, the quicksands, & the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea & comfortable advice.--I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest--(I, 377)

The writing of *Endymion* was indeed bound up with the young poet's zeal to grow. It is the beginning of his continual endeavor to allow the realization within himself of what he calls here the "Genius of Poetry." This Genius must work out its own salvation in a man independently of law and precept, requiring only the sensation and watchfulness, or openness of the creative man to the transpersonal, that is to say he characteristically experiences the eternal presence of the archetypal world. The poet says: ". . . that which is creative must create itself." This remark is of paramount importance. It is really the core of this dissertation, because I attempt to show that the creative in Keats, that which creates itself, is his self, his psychic totality as an individual. The salvation of the Genius of Poetry in Keats was, as I see it, the creation of his creative self.

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PART ONE

ENDYMION

## CHAPTER I

### PROLOGUE TO ENDYMION

#### 1. The Idea of a Hero

The discussion in Part One of this dissertation is patterned according to the stages of the hero myth: the eternal quest that leads the protagonist along his path of adventures and glorious feats toward the fulfillment of his goal. Erich Neumann (Nohc, *passim*.) relates the story of the hero to the development of human consciousness. Joseph Campbell is another who has contributed greatly to our understanding of the hero in The Hero with a Thousand Faces (1949), but his findings relate only tangentially to my dissertation. Primarily, I follow Neumann who shows that the myth of the hero proceeds through a series of stages that represent first the symbolic differentiation of the ego and ultimately symbolize the realization of the self.

The cosmic characteristics of the hero story derived from its similarities to the path of the sun, which now stands high at the zenith and then is plunged into deepest night, to rise again in new splendor. The hero's wandering, always a typical characteristic, symbolizes the primordial urge for return to the lost mother, a drama reenacted in the sun's unerring return to the womb of night at the end of every day.

It was Jung who was first to identify the hero with the psychological life-force called libido. Because of the hero's connection with psychic energy, his development or progress symbolizes the growth and progress of human personality. In general it can be said that the hero

represents consciousness. Art exteriorizes the goals of the personality which are, first, consciousness of the ego and, second, consciousness of the self. This exteriorization takes the form of the hero myth and is grounded fundamentally upon the heroism of the artist himself.

Neumann has distinguished three distinct classes of heroism by which different kinds of individual developments can be classified (Nohc, p. 220). First, there is the extraverted type whose aim is action: he is the founder, leader, and liberator who changes the world he is in. Second, the introverted type who is the culture-bringer, the redeemer and savior who explores the inner values of the world that is in him, thereby discovering the source of knowledge and wisdom, law and faith, revealing their eternal pattern as a work to be accomplished and an example to be followed. The creative act of raising the secret treasure is common to both types of hero, and the prerequisite for this is union with the liberated captive--archetypal motifs repeated again and again in the hero sagas of the world.

The third class of hero, and the most important to the student of the nineteenth century is the centrovverted type who does not intend to change the world through his conflict with inside or outside, but seeks instead to transform the personality. Self-transformation is his true and distinguishing aim, and the liberating effect this may have upon the world is only secondary. While his self transformation may be held up as a human ideal, the exemplar, the Great Individual, the model of all individual developments, his will is not directed to the collective; for in him centrovversion expresses a natural trend of the human psyche, which is operative from the very start and forms the basis not only for self preservation, but of self-formation as well.

The course Keats had decided upon was a heroic one, the long and arduous way to knowledge of the self, the way of the third type of hero who does not seek to change the world, as such, but by going beyond the struggle with inside or outside, to transform the personality. To do some good for the world was really only secondary in Keats' mind. Moneta pronounces at the end of his quest in The Fall of Hyperion: "What benefit canst thou do, or all thy tribe,/To the great world? Thou art a dreaming thing;/ A fever of thyself" (i, 167-169). The real subject and purpose of Keats' myth of individuation is the self-transformation of Keats, who was a fever of himself.



## 2. The Individuation Myth

Jung defines "individuation" as the "process by which a person becomes a psychological 'in-dividual,' that is, a separate, indivisible unity or 'whole.'"<sup>10</sup> Strictly speaking, individuation refers only to the formation of the self, so that it is often called "coming to self-hood" or "self-realization," but the ego's coming into consciousness is interconnected to such a degree with self-formation that they can be regarded as the one continuous life-process of individuation. Neumann's "centroversion" is a more general term, comprehending both the ego and the self. He defines it as the "innate tendency of a whole to create unity within its parts and to synthesize their differences in unified systems" (*Nohc*, p. 286), which is the integrative trend of all life, present at all stages of ego-and self-formation.<sup>11</sup>

The term "individuation" and the idea of centroversion were not foreign to Keats' time. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, whom Keats knew and talked with on familiar terms, came quite close to duplicating Jung and Neumann in his philosophical writings where he employs the term "individuation." In his essay "Formation of a More Comprehensive Theory of Life" (1849), Coleridge defined life as the "principle of individuation." Anticipating Neumann's concept of centroversion, Coleridge writes,

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<sup>10</sup> *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, recorded and ed. Aniela Jaffé, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York, 1965), p. 385.

<sup>11</sup> "Centroversion is the innate tendency of a whole to create unity within its parts and to synthesize their differences in unified systems. The unity of the whole is maintained by compensatory processes controlled by centroversion, with whose help the whole becomes a self-creative, expanding system. At a later stage centroversion manifests itself as a directive center, with the ego as the center of consciousness and the self

In the lowest forms of the vegetable and animal world we perceive totality dawning into individuation, while in man, as the highest of the class, the individuality is not only perfected in its corporeal sense, but begins a new series beyond the appropriate limits of physiology. The tendency to individuation, more or less obscure, more or less obvious, constitutes the common character of all classes, as far as they maintain for themselves a distinction from the universal life of the planet; while the degrees, both of intensity and extension, to which this tendency is realized, form the species, and their ranks in the great scale of ascent and expansion.<sup>12</sup>

Like the analytical psychologists, Coleridge saw the tendency in all life that unites the all into the whole. Neumann (see note 11), writing just one hundred years later also sees this principle operative in the vegetable and animal world as well as in man where it receives its highest refinement. Coleridge's talk of a "new series beyond the appropriate limits of physiology" is an anticipation of Jung's hypothesis, placing Coleridge directly on the verge of theories that were not to become fully systematized for another century. He even said, paralleling Jung, that individuation itself was the "tendency to the ultimate production of the highest and most comprehensive individuality"<sup>13</sup>—a statement which could be mistaken for a direct quotation from The Collected Works of C. G. Jung.

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as the psychic center. During the prepsychic stage it functions as the entelechy principle in biology, and at this stage it would perhaps be better to call it the integrative tendency. The specific trend of centroversion only asserts itself during the formative stage, when a visible center appears in the ego or has to be postulated in the self. It operates unconsciously, as the integrating function of wholeness, in all organisms from the amoeba to man. For simplicity's sake we shall keep the term "centroversion" even when dealing with the early stages, because integration itself proceeds from the totality of a centered, but invisible, system" (Nohc, pp. 286f.).

<sup>12</sup> Miscellaneous Aesthetic and Literary: to which is added the theory of life. Collected and arr. T. Ashe (London, 1885), p. 390.

<sup>13</sup> P. 391.

Coleridge was so emphatic about his theory of life that he spoke of it as the "one great end of Nature, her ultimate object."<sup>14</sup> It is conceivable and quite probable that Coleridge would have talked to Keats about his ideas on individuation. What he has written shows at least that men in Keats' time were thinking this way. We might even say that Jung's ideas were, in a sense, born in the early part of the nineteenth century by the poets and creative thinkers who were involved in the dawning interest in the human mind that makes that historical period a psychological renaissance, or to give it a name, the Age of Psyche.

My term "individuation myth" is used in this dissertation to describe the mythological projection of the stages in the formation of the ego and the self. That is to say, it is a kind of psychological allegory of the development of personality. In the individuation myth it is possible to witness the self-genesis of the artist by his evocation of the time-honored symbols of the evolution of human wholeness. These symbols have been exhaustively indicated by Jung and his colleagues in their research on the unconscious mind.<sup>15</sup> It is Erich Neumann who has shown how the successive phases of the growth of personality are manifested in myths and folk epics found all over the world, providing the theoretical basis of my concept of the individuation myth. The demonstrability of Jung's or Neumann's hypotheses need not concern us at this point. What does concern us is how they have pertinence to Keats' poetry, how they help us understand. If I can show this, then the method will be sufficiently justified.

The individuation myth concentrates on the heroic quest. The hero's goal in the first half of his adventures is the mastery of the forces of

<sup>14</sup> P. 391

<sup>15</sup> See Carl G. Jung, Man and His Symbols (London, 1964), passim.

darkness, which is taken to symbolize the separation of ego consciousness from the threatening embrace of the dragon of the unconscious. In this first phase the hero has to battle against huge powers that strive to prevent his successes. The unmistakable pattern is the descent of the heroic champion of light into the underworld where he conquers the forces of death and returns triumphantly to the real world to find his reward. His conquest and return is taken to symbolize the heroic birth of the ego.

The corresponding heroic birth of the self is at the end of the second phase of the individuation myth. But the second phase is not characterized by the same typicality as can be universally detected in the structure of the first phase where the pattern of descent and return makes it easy to identify the stages. The explanation for this is that the final phase is no longer archetypal but individual. This is because self-experience is a unique and idiosyncratic union with the transpersonal world within and without. It is not the unconscious, purely collective world of the archetypes now dominating the ego, nor is it the conscious, purely collective world of the community; instead both are combined and assimilated in a unique way. Whereas the fragmentary ego finds itself a tiny atom jostled between the vast collective worlds of objective psyche and objective physis, the ego united with the self is experienced as the center of the universe. The primary identifying feature of the second half of the individuation myth is the hero's entry into the patriarchal realm. The central focus now becomes the father god whereas the initial phase was matriarchically oriented. Then it was the goddess who dominated the hero's attention; now his objective is to be able to state, "I and the Father are one."

For the time being we will leave the remarks about the second phase of the myth general because it is the first phase that concerns Endymion.

It is my hope to show that Endymion mythicizes the emergence of the ego as an independent system, and that its hero passes through each stage in the evolution of the ego complex. The path the hero follows leads from darkness to light, a course modelled on the journey of the sun. There is a correspondence between the stages the heroic espouser of light passes through on his dark adventure and the universal motifs and patterns in many of the world's solar and lunar myths. By showing that these connections exist, it will be possible to read Endymion as the development of the ego.

All of the basic postulates in this argument are grounded on the proposition that the poet who uses mythology will give voice to an archetypal world. The archetypes are spontaneous images which are common to all mankind. They are the contents of the collective unconscious and can occur autonomously at any time. The myths of all peoples bear a common resemblance which would seem to indicate that myths are archetypal in nature and spring from the collective memory of the race. It is also true that modern dreams present motifs that are the same as mythological themes. And it can be shown that these motifs have the same meaning, or indicate similar psychological states, whether they appear in dreams or in mythology. Thus any understandings we have of situations in myths can illuminate the meaning of modern dreams. The relevance of all this to archetypal imagery in poetry, that is, to images which come from the deeper layers of the poet's psyche, rather than from physical observation, is that their meaning can be determined by their fundamental resemblance to mythological analogues.

The unconscious is the immense region of the psyche that contains all these psychic attributes that one time were or have not yet become conscious. It is by far the most extensive portion of the psyche and functions as a formative principle as well as a determinant of human

behavior. It broods over the mind of the poet, no less than over the mind of each one of us. But the poet seems more acutely aware of the activities of the unconscious mind. Poetry is one kind of response to the archetypal world, because it is one way of capturing its fleeting reality. In an early poem, "Sleep and Poetry" (1816), Keats shows his openness to the archetypal world. His mind is like a projection screen across which mysterious archetypal images pass:

and there soon appear  
Shapes of delight, of mystery, and fear,  
Passing along before a dusky space  
Made by some mighty oaks. (ll. 137-140)<sup>16</sup>

An experience between consciousness and the unconscious is "dusky" and indeterminate. The archetypal is also felt as "mighty" and dominating. It is the otherworldly, that which is apart from the daylight world, but these forces have a formative and controlling effect on man's mind. This is the region where God and Satan are powers, where the gods of Endymion exist. In the hymn to Pan of Book I of Endymion the chorus sings:

'Be still the unimaginable lodge  
For solitary thinkings; such as dodge  
Conception to the very bourne of heaven,  
Then leave the naked brain: be still the leaven  
That spreading in this dull and clodded earth  
Gives it a touch ethereal--a new birth:  
Be still a symbol of immensity;  
A firmament reflected in a sea;  
An element filling the space between;  
An unknown--but no more.' (i. 293-302)

The poet travels to unknown regions to bring shapes from the invisible world. Keats shows that he is aware of poetry's potential to express another realm beyond mortal bars. This reality is the collective unconscious. It seems to me that Keats' poetry expresses the collective

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<sup>16</sup> Citations from Keats in my text are to The Poetical Works, ed. H. W. Garrod (Oxford, 1958). Hereafter cited as Works.

unconscious through symbols and motifs that dramatize the successive transformations which culminate in the teleios anthropos, the whole man. The self-generative power of the unconscious makes it all in all to man. It is the source of everything that man does, and through the unconscious man is fashioned in the image and likeness of God and set above all living things. The limitless images, ideas, values, and potentialities of the treasure hidden in the unconscious are brought to actuality by the hero in his numerous guises--messiah and leader, prophet and savant, builder and artist, genius and discoverer, technologist and saint.

### 3. Endymion and the Critics

Even before the appearance of the first printed edition of Endymion (May 19, 1818), this poem was a subject of controversy. Both Keats' close friend and his publisher, Benjamin Bailey and John Taylor, argued the merits and deficiencies of the poet's first major publication in the letters they exchanged while it was being read for the press in the winter and spring of 1818. Bailey twice betrayed his fears that Endymion would be attacked by the Scottish reviewers.<sup>17</sup> The expected assault--clever, contemptuous, and unscrupulous--did appear in the August issue of Blackwood's, probably by John Lockhart or John Wilson.<sup>18</sup> It amounted to a scathing denunciation of Keats' failings in versification, and it was followed a month later by a review written by John Wilson Croker, equally caustic, attacking the poem for its incoherence and lack of meaning.<sup>19</sup> Keats had his supporters and these reviews were answered by critics more friendly to Endymion, but the young poet had already suffered a severe setback and the rumor that this was a mortal hurt had its beginning.

The opponents of the Scottish company were just as extreme in the other direction, and the judgment of time has been shown that the extremism of Richard Woodhouse for one was more nearly accurate. He compared Endymion to Shakespeare's earliest work, and expressed his conviction that Keats, "during his life . . . will rank on a level with the best of the last or of the present generation: and after his death will take his place

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<sup>17</sup>The Keats Circle, ed. Hyder E. Rollins (2nd ed. rev.: Cambridge, Mass., 1965), I. 20, 34. Hereafter cited as KC.

<sup>18</sup>"Cockney School of Poetry." Blackwood's Magazine, III (August 1818), 519-524.

<sup>19</sup>"Endymion: A Poetic Romance." The Quarterly Review, No. 37 (April 1818), 204-208. This did not appear until September 1818.



at their head."<sup>20</sup> This was predicted before the composition of the great Odes and before Keats had established a name for himself as a poet. Yet the confusion about Endymion continued. As late as 1853 we find such an able critic and admirer of Keats as Matthew Arnold writing, "Endymion, although undoubtedly there blows through it the breath of genius, is yet as a whole so utterly incoherent, as not strictly to merit the name of a poem at all."<sup>21</sup>

A modern summary of critical opinion reveals that, though many have lent their energies to disprove the charge of incoherence, the perplexity has stubbornly remained: "The poem as a whole has proved baffling, and critics have invariably dismissed it as an inferior youthful product."<sup>22</sup> In general two lines of criticism have developed, one arguing that Endymion is a Neoplatonic or transcendental allegory, the other treating the poem as an erotic romance, compounded of little more than naively delicious imagery. In the 1920's the allegorical readings of Sir Sidney Colvin, Ernest de Selincourt, and Robert Bridges became the standard line: "a vital, subtly involved and passionately tentative spiritual parable of the poetic soul in man seeking communion with the spirit of essential Beauty in the world."<sup>23</sup> The first rejection of this fashionable allegorical

<sup>20</sup>KC. I, 56.

<sup>21</sup>"Preface" [1853] to Poems [of Matthew Arnold] (Boston, 1856), p.20.

<sup>22</sup>M. A. Goldberg, "Keats' Endymion, I, 1-35." The Explicator, XV (May 1957), No. 49.

<sup>23</sup>Sir Sidney Colvin, John Keats: His Life and Poetry, His Friends, Critics, and After-Fame (London, 1926), p. 205; The Poems of John Keats, ed. Ernest de Selincourt (London, 1926), pp. xl-xli, 428, 443-445; Robert Bridges, "A Critical Introduction to Keats," Collected Essays Papers &c. of Robert Bridges (London, 1929), IV, 85-93. This view received a Neoplatonic bent through Claude Lee Finney who declared that "the theme . . . is the neo-Platonic quest of immortality." (The Evolution of Keats's Poetry

interpretation was made by Amy Lowell in her influential biography of Keats; she was to be joined by E. C. Pettet and Newell Ford in a three-pronged attack against the whole allegorical approach. The three were in basic agreement that *Endymion's* quest represents only an "idealization of sexual love."<sup>24</sup>

Neither the allegorical nor the "erotic" view is entirely satisfactory, because the first usually forces the meaning in difficult places or ignores important passages altogether, and the second entirely dismisses the problem of structure. I agree with Miss Lowell's objection to the attempt of the Colvin group to read their abstract transcendental patterns into *Endymion*. It is not likely that Keats would have been very much interested in such elaborate constructs so early, and the obvious emotional drive of the poem is more instinctual than intellectual. On the other hand, the "erotic" interpretations are often too strained and far-fetched. Ford, for example, analyzes the poem in terms of fidelity and infidelity-in-love, but admits that his approach has troublesome places: namely, the entire Glaucus and Scylla episode, and the "ambiguous role" of the Indian Maiden; in short, he does not know what to do with most of Books III and IV.

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[Cambridge, Mass., 1936], I, 298.). Clarence Thorpe showed the relation of this general argument to Keats' mental development (*The Mind of John Keats* [New York, 1926], pp. 57-59.). Somewhat nearer to the transcendental vein, but still not divergent from the traditional reading, John Middleton Murry said that *Endymion* is the quest of "something between the perfect type and archetype of Beauty" (*The Mystery of Keats* London, 1949, p. 144.).

<sup>24</sup>Amy Lowell, *John Keats* (Boston and New York, 1929), I, 318; E. C. Pettet, *On the Poetry of John Keats* (Cambridge, [Eng.], 1957), pp. 123-202; Newell F. Ford, *The Prefigurative Imagination of John Keats* (Stanford, 1951), pp. 39-86.

Uncertainty and confusion need to be replaced by a sounder approach that will not succumb to the Scylla and Charybdis of imposing unlikely postulations on the one hand or far-fetched constructions on the other but will instead speak in terms of what the poem is and ask for no more than what the poet gives us. The problem is to find a coherent and meaningful interpretation of Endymion. This four-thousand-line romantic epic constitutes one-half of all that Keats published during his lifetime and one-third of his total writing. To summarily pass it off as the confused product of a confused pen would be imprudent and wrong. The solution offered by analytical criticism shows that Endymion is not a confused medley of several artificial minor plats strung together, but in my opinion it can be read as a unified legend whose structure parallels the opening stages of the individuation myth.

The reading I propose approaches Endymion as the initial phase of a psychological myth; the hero's quest it contains is a mythological form of a psychological process that promotes the creative unity of the living organism. The poem works towards its own unity that reflects the oneness which is the goal of individuation. The analytical method employed in this study is near in principle to the recent mytho-Jungian approaches to Endymion by Bernard Blackstone and Robert Harrison.<sup>25</sup> While these critics supply a welcome precedent for this interpretation, they do not cope with the problems of structure and meaning with even the success of the Colvin-allegorical school. Blackstone treats Endymion less as a consecutive narrative than as a "storehouse of ideas and images";<sup>26</sup> and

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<sup>25</sup>Bernard Blackstone, The Consecrated Urn (London and New York, 1959), pp. 116-203; Robert Harrison, "Symbolism of the Cyclical Myth in Endymion," Texas Studies in Literature and Language, I (1960), 538-554.

<sup>26</sup>Blackstone, p. 116.

though Harrison employs Joseph Campbell (The Hero with a Thousand Faces, [1949]) to the best advantage throughout most of his study, he, like Blackstone, has trouble with Book IV.

Katharine Wilson's Jungian interpretation of Endymion views the poem as the beginning of the author's quest to discover himself. But she does not attempt a full study, and her aim was more to show that it records a spiritual progress and to indicate some of the more obvious images of the self in Endymion.<sup>27</sup> She was aware that Middleton Murry had already partly done this, but her restatement in Jungian terms does lead to a further clarification and some different conclusions. Her stand claims, however, a greater measure of self realization than the poem really supports.

Another of the recent interpretations of Endymion with a psychological point of view is by Aileen Ward in her new biography of Keats. Her approach to Keats is basically Freudian, and for her the poem is about sensual love.<sup>28</sup> The best response to this brand of criticism comes, I think, from Jung himself. He says that what is essential in a work of art is that it should rise above the realm of personal life and speak from the "spirit and heart of the poet as man to the spirit and heart of mankind."<sup>29</sup> Jung is against the personalistic, reductive interpretations which view the artist as influenced by the relation to the father, another by the mother, and a third finding unmistakable traces of repressed sexuality.<sup>30</sup> He particularly objected to the type of psychologico-

<sup>27</sup>Wilson, p. 23.

<sup>28</sup>Ward, pp. 140ff.

<sup>29</sup>Modern Man in Search of A Soul (New York and London, 1939), p. 194, quoted in Morris Philipson, Outline of a Jungian Aesthetics (Evanston, Ill., 1963), p. 93.

<sup>30</sup>Philipson, p. 95.

literary analysis such as that of Charles Augustin Saint-Beuve (1804-1869) who developed an approach that required that the work of art must not be examined independently of careful study into the writer's biography. Edmund Wilson is the best known practitioner of this technique among today's distinguished critics.<sup>31</sup>

My own reading of Endymion follows Jung but stays closely in accord with the two central assumptions of the Colvin group: first, that Endymion is an allegory, and second, that it shows the quest of a transcendental reality. De Selincourt writes that the hero's search is emblematic of the development of the poet's soul towards a complete realization of itself.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Margaret Sherwood talks about Keats' sense of the organic harmony of the universe, she demonstrates how Endymion shows Keats' sense of the "oneness of life in all things."<sup>33</sup> Murry likewise says that Endymion's pursuit of essential beauty leads to a "communion with the One."<sup>34</sup>

Like these readings my interpretation is essentially allegorical; it traces a consecutive quest through stages of human development to the attainment of an ideal. My approach is not, however, in the social or moral sphere but in the sphere of what Jung calls his "psychological phenomenological" treatment of art, that is, the construction of a typology helping to serve an inquiry into the psychic significance of art.<sup>35</sup> The basic difference between my use of such terms as "self-realization" or

<sup>31</sup>Philipson, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>32</sup>De Selincourt, op. cit., p. xl.

<sup>33</sup>Undercurrents of Influence in English Romantic Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), p. 244.

<sup>34</sup>Murry, op. cit., p. 59.

<sup>35</sup>Philipson, pp. 103-104.

"oneness" and the usage of former critics is that they are speaking of a transcendental postulate that exists somewhere outside man in the Platonic sense, while I am concerned with a personal and individual reality that man attains in himself in the Jungian sense.

There is no need for anyone to assume that Keats was consciously writing poetry of the unconscious. Nor must it be presupposed that he intentionally set out to write such a myth of individuation as I shall trace. But it need not surprise us that Keats could give a sustained presentation of the precise patterns adapted more than a century later to the psychology of the unconscious, because scientific theorizations are often encountered originally by the poet. The poet precedes the psychologist: the highest truths of a civilization are often first revealed through the myth-maker and the prophet. Sometimes it may take centuries for poetic conceptions to receive their systematic genesis.

#### 4. The Story of Endymion

Endymion is a verse narrative in four books of about a thousand lines each. It is the story of the adventures of Endymion, a young shepherd chieftain who is in love with the goddess of the moon. His quest takes him into the underworld (Book II), beneath the sea (Book III), and into the heavens (Book IV).

The action of Book I begins with the description of the rites of Pan, the god of shepherds. The setting is ancient Greece amid the pastoral atmosphere of Mt. Latmos.<sup>36</sup> Endymion and Peona, his sister, are among the Latmian worshipers at the religious celebration. These people live surrounded by the mountain woodland. They are little more than children in their dancing and innocent games. Theirs is a blissfully unconscious world: "unconscious did they cull/ Time's sweet first-fruits" (i, 320-321). For some reason Endymion seems ready to faint away. Peona takes him to her quiet island bower. While he rests there Endymion reveals the cause of his strange melancholy. He has seen a beautiful goddess in a vision and is now hopelessly in love with her. He must leave the world of Latmos and begin his quest for his immortal love.

As the second book begins, the youth takes his leave of daylight and wanders through an underworld of strange and endless passageways. In his wandering Endymion enters the bower of Venus where Adonis sleeps. He witnesses Venus' descent to her lover and their annual return to earth.

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<sup>36</sup> Note that Endymion, like Hyperion, The Fall of Hyperion, "Ode to Psyche," "Ode to a Nightingale," Lamia and several other of Keats' major poems, is placed in a woodland setting. The deep impenetrable forest with its "gloomy shades, sequestered deep,/ Where no man went" (i, 67-68) represents the unconscious mind, and the unknown inner world.

Venus encourages Endymion in his quest, and he soon has the joy of embracing his "known Unknown" in an underground jasmine bower. This has a renewing effect upon him, making him more complete by love; he seems better able to cope with the marvels he must face.

The third book finds Endymion wandering on the ocean floor. After an impassioned address to his moon goddess whose silver rays penetrate even into the deeps, the wanderer discovers an old man sitting on a weeded rock and dressed in a dark blue cloak covered with symbols wrought by "ambitious magic." This is Glaucus. Endymion initially regards him with fear but takes heart when he sees that this pitiful creature means no harm. In his story Glaucus tells that he has been wasting away in palsied age for a thousand years. Circe has put a curse upon him. Only Endymion can break this spell which also grips Scylla, Glaucus' lover, in a deathly sleep. She is in a cave under the sea with a multitude of drowned lovers who can all be revived if Endymion only performs certain appointed tasks read to him by Glaucus from his book of magic. As "twin brothers in this destiny" to overthrow death, Endymion and his partner succeed. There is a joyous celebration at the palace of Neptune, and at its close the primordial gods of the deep appear. Endymion swoons. An inward voice assures him that he has won immortal bliss for his goddess and himself.

The final book begins with an apostrophe to the Muse of England. The poet looks ahead eagerly to the completion of his poem and some relief for his "dull, uninspired, snail-paced life." Great poets are a strong influence, like a beacon leading him on.

Edymion returns to the world of daylight in Book IV and discovers a beautiful, dark-haired Indian maiden. She is sad and lost. He cannot resist loving her though he knows this wavering from his true quest is



wrong. This human maid has stolen the wings wherewith he was to top the heavens. After her beautiful Song to Sorrow, Endymion is more and more ardent. Torn between his goddess Diana, the moon, and this Indian maid, he at last cleaves to his mortal love, and the goddess of his dreams melts away. Misery. His soul does not seem his own, he has no self-passion or identity. As the pair continue their journey through the sky on black-winged horses, the moon appears, and the body of the earthy maiden fades from Endymion's grasp.

Caught thus between his mortal and his immortal love, unable to decide, Endymion finds himself in the spiritual confines of the Cave of Quietude, which is a state of mind rather than an actual cave. To the very end of the poem he is plagued by self-doubtings and confusion about how his double love will be resolved. Even with the renewing effect that the Cave has upon him, he does not have the solution. The answer comes when the Indian Maiden is transformed into his moon goddess Phoebe-Diana-Cynthia. The two parts of his divided soul come together and he becomes "whole in love." This completes the quest of Endymion. At last he is united to his heavenly lover and together they pass silently into the forest.

## CHAPTER II

### FROM THE LEADING STRINGS TO THE GO-CART

#### 1. The Original Situation

In the story of Endymion, as recorded in Lempriere and the other classical authorities, which Keats only casually follows, the reader will recall that the hero is a beautiful youth loved by Selene (the moon). Sources vary greatly in the precise telling of the story. Depending on the writer, Endymion is described as a king, as a shepherd on Mount Latmos, and as a hunter. Keats seems to include something of all three personalities in his hero. (His Venus behaves like Lemprière's Selene. Like the traditional moon goddess, Venus descends to Adonis who sleeps in the underground cave.) The most common form of legend relates that Selene gained perpetual youth and everlasting sleep for Endymion so that her visits to him might be undisturbed. Keats' Endymion is generally in a somnambulant state throughout the first and second books. It was in a dream that he first saw his Phoebe-Diana. And he palely cushioned himself on Peona's care in her island bower. This dreamy, half-asleep condition in the hero characterizes the unconscious original situation--the starting point of the individuation myth.

At the stage of the original situation the infant-like hero represents the parallel state of the psyche when the infantile ego is feebly developed, easily tired, and from time to time, lifted like an island out of the ocean of the unconscious only to sink back again. This is the infant or thoughtless chamber that Keats described in his famous letter

of May 3, 1818. He tells his friend, John Hamilton Reynolds, that life is a mansion of many apartments, "The first we step into we call the infant or thoughtless Chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think--We remain there a long while" (I, 280). This statement is a very considerable psychological insight on Keats' part, and it shows that he was concerned with the nature and operations of the mind. The letter continues: ". . . and notwithstanding the doors of the second Chamber remain wide open, showing a bright appearance, we care not to hasten to it; but are at length imperceptibly impelled by the awakening of the thinking principle--within us" (I, 280-281). The awakening of thought, or the development of the ego, is slow. Endymion's dreamlike inactivity in the first book suggests an ego that is still germinal and a consciousness not yet developed into a system--the original situation.

This opening stage of the individuation myth is suggested also by Pan, the "Dread opener of the mysterious doors/ Leading to universal knowledge" (i, 288-289). He is the uroboric,<sup>37</sup> total divinity, the formless perfection of the "supreme God." Pan is essentially "An Unknown" (i, 302); he is hidden by the overhanging forest, its deep glooms and shadows. The great Hymn to Pan that Keats was so fond of and read on numerous occasions to his friends and fellow poets, presents a mystical conception of the god of shepherds. Earth and Nature predominate and the god is indistinguishable from them. Pan is a symbol of the self still in its unconscious state.

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<sup>37</sup>N.B.: This term comes originally from alchemy. It denotes the Uroboros, or circular, self-devouring serpent, which is an ancient symbol of the universe. The word has associations of protean amorphousness--it is all things in an eternal cycle of becoming and destruction. Psychologically this is the unconscious.

Pan's palace is the mighty forest. He oversees the lives of all its inhabitants. Nothing is too low for his care, and he opens the doors to divine knowledge. Pan is associated with the psyche, for he is "the unimaginable lodge/ For solitary thinkings; such as dodge/ Conception to the very bourne of heaven,/ Then leave the naked brain" (i,293-296). Further he is the "leaven,/ That spreading in this dull and clodded earth/ Gives it a touch ethereal--a new birth" (i, 296-298). Here we have something which reminds us of two letters Keats wrote near the end of his work on Endymion. In the first (22 November 1817) he says, "Men of Genius are great as certain ethereal Chemicals operating on the Mass of neutral intellect" (I, 184). And in the other (23 January 1818) he writes, "The best of Men have but a portion of good in them--a kind of spiritual yeast in their frames which creates the ferment of existence" (I, 210). These three passages elucidate one another. Men of Genius act on the mass of men of neutral intelligence with an etherealizing effect. The word "ethereal" appeared in the reference to Pan's giving a "touch ethereal" and a new birth to life. Pan is linked to that quality in the minds of men of genius that changes the face of the earth. The word "intellect" introduces psychic associations which the second citation helps explain. Its phrase "spiritual yeast," relates to "leaven" in the poem. Pan, remember, is this leaven. The spiritual yeast in great individuals acts upon them, creating the ferment of existence within them. Keats' use of the word "create" in his letter is important, because only a God can create, hence Pan and the link between Pan and the creative in man. The creative principle in man ("this dull and clodded earth"), that which creates itself, is the spiritual yeast, the leaven, the God who is the self. Jung defines the self as the creative presence in man,

and he identifies the self with the imago Dei, the God-image, writing:

" . . . when such an image is spontaneously produced in dreams, fantasies, visions, etc., it is, from the psychological point of view, a symbol of the self, of psychic wholeness."<sup>38</sup>

Pan is the hidden God, a creative all-presence. He is the "symbol of immensity;/ A firmament reflected in a sea;/ An element filling the space between;/ An unknown" (i, 299-302). The self exists before individuation in an unconscious, potential form, when it is like the potential lattice structure in a crystalline solution before actual crystallization. Keats calls him a firmament reflected in a sea, which shows the non-differentiation of the still unconscious self, because the sea (especially at night) is a symbol of the unconscious. He is the element filling the space between the night sky and the sea, suggesting an ethereal, diffuse presence, characteristic of the self in its unconscious, unknown state, the stage of the original situation.

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<sup>38</sup>Jung, Memories, p. 382.



The circle of shepherds grouped in childlike veneration symbolizes the psychic stage of the uroboros, the perfect round in which the embryonic and still undeveloped ego consciousness slumbers and awakens momentarily. It is the time of existence in paradise (Endymion "dream'd/ Of idleness in groves Elysian") where the psyche found her preworldly abode, the time of the unconscious all-envelopment, of swimming in the ocean of the unborn. When the elders of the tribe join to talk after the Hymn to Pan, the motif recurs: they form a ring with Endymion among them and they discuss the disposition of life in heaven. The detail of the circle again is a significant symbol of the Great Round, "the sober ring/ Where sat Endymion and the aged priest/ 'Mong shepherds gone in old," and what they discuss is symbolical also: "There they discours'd upon the fragile bar/ That keeps us from our homes ethereal." And Endymion's trance typifies the infantile, ego-less phase:

Now indeed  
His senses had swoon'd off: he did not heed  
The sudden silence, or the whispers low, . . .  
But in the self-same fixed trance he kept,  
Like one who on the earth had never stept.  
Aye, even as dead still as a marble man,  
Frozen in that old tale Arabian. (i, 397-406)

He is "like one who on the earth had never stept," that is to say, unborn, or, more accurately, unconscious: "his senses had swoon'd off."

This listless and abstracted condition has been caused in Endymion by dreams and visions of a beautiful but remote goddess. He is heart-sick with love. His story is that one time

my head was dizzy and distraught.  
Moreover, through the dancing poppies stole  
A breeze, most softly lulling to my soul:  
And shaping visions all about my sight  
Of colours, wings, and bursts of spangly light:  
The which became more strange, and strange, and dim,  
And then were gulph'd in a tumultuous swim:  
And then I fell asleep. (i, 564-572)

Endymion has come to a place at the western border of the wood to watch the declining sun. The sun is at once a symbol of the source of life and the ultimate wholeness of man, and at the same time its setting predicts the descent of Endymion into the underworld to find wholeness, for Endymion is a solar hero whose wandering through the darkness is driven by a longing for union with the moon goddess and the wholeness that conjunction represents. The location also is symbolic: at the western limit of the forest where the river flows beneath the open sky in the shape of a crescent moon, forming a protective nook, where Endymion finds a magic bed, blossoming suddenly with "sacred ditamy and red poppies." He suspects that Mercury has caused it magically to grow: "such garland wealth/ Came not by common growth." This magic bed of flowers will induce Endymion's dream which is his introduction to the animated psychic atmosphere. The unique lunar shape of the river and the fact that Endymion came to this place to view the setting sun, makes this a scene that to the medieval alchemist would have represented the coniunctio or wedding of Sol and Luna in the retort, which we will have cause to discuss more fully in Part Two. For the present I will only mention that the appearance of Mercury at this time is in keeping with the alchemical symbolism, because Mercury played an all important role in alchemy, and he always partook in the beginning of the work (cf. CW, XII, 457, et passim.).

Endymion's dream is at first very indistinct in character, consisting of whirling visions, colors, and bursts of spangly light brought on, presumably, by the influence of the poppies which overcome his senses; and he sleeps. The utter strangeness of the onset of the vision is emphasized, a characteristic which is always a feature of direct emanations



of the unconscious. In fact, the visionary quality of all of the poetry in the second half of Book I, where Endymion is describing his experiences to his sister, establishes it as poetry of the unconscious, or a better name perhaps is Jung's term "visionary" poetry, in which the experience that furnishes the material for artistic expression is no longer familiar. The impact of this world upon the poet is above his powers to express, as he allows Endymion to explain to Peona:

Ah, can I tell  
The enchantment that afterwards befel?  
Yet it was but a dream: yet such a dream  
That never tongue, although it overteem  
With mellow utterance, like a cavern spring,  
Could figure out and to conception bring  
All that I beheld and felt. (i, 572-578)

In the elucidation of such colorful material as is contained in visionary poetry, the analytical frame of reference is the collective unconscious. It is a fact that in eclipses of consciousness--in dreams or narcotic states such as the poem reveals here--there rise to the surface psychic contents that carry all the traits of primitive levels of psychic development. The appearance of the unknown divine woman, who reaches back to the grey mists of antiquity as the personification of the animated psychic atmosphere the poet had evoked, is just such an instance:

I rais'd  
My sight right upward: but it was quite dazed  
By a bright something, sailing down space,  
Making me quickly veil my eyes and face:  
Again I look'd, and, O ye deities,  
Who from Olympus watch our destinies!  
Whence that completed form of all completeness?  
Whence came that high perfection of all sweetness?  
Speak, stubborn earth, and tell me where, O where  
Hast thou a symbol of her golden hair? (i, 600-609)

The great influx of light is an indication of the enlightenment that belongs to the process of individuation. The emphasis on completeness too is an indication of this figure's association with the center of

wholeness, to which she will guide the hero. The description continues:

Her pearl round ears, white neck, and orb'd brow;  
 The which were blended in, I know not how,  
 With such a paradise of lips and eyes,  
 Blush-tinted cheeks, half smiles, and faintest sighs,  
 That, when I think thereon, my spirit clings  
 And plays about its fancy, till the stings  
 Of human neighbourhood envenom all. (i, 616-622)

The quality of immortality associated with Diana here and at other places throughout the poem identifies her as a psychic activity transcending the limits of consciousness. The immediate meaning of phrases like "immortality," "beyond the grave," or "on the other side of death," is "beyond consciousness" (CW, VII, 189.). The utterly overpowering forcefulness and power of the apparition of this autonomous entity, having no ties with our mortal substance, leading an entirely independent existence, perhaps in a world of invisible things, denotes the eruption into the conscious sphere of the anima archetype, the personification of the unconscious. The continuation is:

'Ah! see her hovering feet,  
 More bluely vein'd, more soft, more whitely sweet  
 Than those of sea-born Venus, when she rose  
 From out her cradle shell. The wind out-blows  
 Her scarf into a fluttering pavilion;  
 'Tis blue, and over-spangled with a million  
 Of little eyes, as though thou wert to shed,  
 Over the darkest, lushest blue-bell bed,  
 Handfuls of daisies.' (i, 624-632)

She approaches him; they touch, and Endymion swoons, not able to bear the great and inexpressible numinosity of the divinity. This is another consequence of the emergence of the anima archetype. The anima is an innate psychic structure which allows man intuitive experience of the feminine, both physically and spiritually (CW, VII, 188.). As an archetype it is a deposit of all man's ancestral experiences, and thus artists have turned to it as a reservoir of material for their art.

Since the anima is collective, that is to say, shared by the race, not individual, it must be thought of as an image lacking in solid content, as unconscious. Through the artistic phenomenon it acquires solidity, a form, influence, and eventual consciousness in the encounter with artistic facts, which touch the unconscious aptitude and quicken it to life.

To Endymion the goddess of his visions is still an unknown; she was only glimpsed briefly, never possessed. He implores the gods to tell him where she is from and who she is. And although he encounters her two other times: once, smiling in a clear well (i, 895vv.), and a third time in a cave where her voice haunted him (i, 935vv.), on neither occasion does he understand who it is that came to him. The fact that his goddess appears and disappears and Endymion repeatedly falls off into sleep reflects the amorphous stage of the ego's development. Correspondingly, Endymion's relationship with Peona reflects the dominant uroboric Good Mother whose sway overpowers the languid hero.

The mother-like quality in Peona is evident from the moment she appears.

Who whispers him so pantingly and close?  
Peona, his sweet sister; of all those,  
His friends, the dearest. Hushing signs she made,  
And breath'd a sister's sorrow to persuade  
A yielding up, a cradling on her care.  
Her eloquence did breathe away the curse! (i, 407-412)

Arriving suddenly out of nowhere, she speaks in soft tones and makes hushing gestures, resembling a mother dutifully hurrying to the needs of her child. Endymion yields to her wishes, and, comparatively, he is no more than a small child or an infant, passively accepting a "cradling on her care." He very docilely follows Peona to the island bower, or

is led, rather, as one who could not find his own way.

She led him like some midnight spirit nurse  
 Of happy changes in emphatic dreams,  
 Along a path between two little streams,--  
 Guarding his forehead, with her round elbow,  
 From low-grown branches, and his footsteps slow  
 From stumbling over stumps and hillocks small;  
 Until they come to where these streamlets fall, . . .  
 Into a river, clear, brimful, and flush  
 With crystal mocking of the trees and sky. . . .  
 Peona guiding, through the water straight,  
 Towards a bowery island opposite;  
 Which gaining presently, she steered light  
 Into a shady, fresh, and ripply cove,  
 Where nested was an harbour, overwove  
 By many a summer's silent fingering. (i, 413-432)

Endymion's entry into Peona's bower is symbolic of the hero's beatific surrender to the Good Mother; it is uroboric incest, regression on the part of a still weak and undeveloped ego that characterizes the original situation before the start of the individuation myth (Nohc, p. 277). She leads Endymion along a forest path between two streams which fall eventually into the deep river, providing an image of the regressive flow of the hero to the mother. The island is emblematic of the womb; the element of water surrounds and contains Endymion who slumbers there in pleromatic bliss. And the description of the island refuge is profuse in the vegetative imagery of Pan's kingdom linking it to the uroboric phase (the cyclic becoming and destroying of nature), when only growth and nourishment predominate. Endymion is passively placed beneath the quiet shade where Peona's couch of flower leaves comforts him, a telling symbol of return to the womb.

The vegetative imagery emphasizes the uterine character of Peona's couch and bower. The arbor which contains them is nested in a shady cove (i, 430). The element of containment is amplified by the fact that the island is surrounded by water, that the cove is within the island,

that the arbor is nested within the cove, and that the couch on which Endymion lies is in a bower that is overwoven by vines and leaves that shade and shelter him in his drowsiness. Wombs within wombs contain him.

From the moment when Peona nears Endymion (i, 407) to the point where he falls asleep in her bower (i, 442), Endymion, in every respect, represents the primitive ego wrapped in the watery abyss of the unconscious. His subthreshold psychosomatic state reflects the unconsciousness and the helplessness of his condition.

Soon was he quieted to slumbrous rest;  
But, ere it crept upon him, he had prest  
Peona's busy hand against his lips,  
And still, a sleeping, held her finger-tips  
In tender pressure. (i, 442-446)

"Busy hand" suggests the mother tending her baby, and Endymion, pressing Peona's fingers to his lips is like the infant fondling his mother's hand. The phrase "tender pressure" and Endymion's exceedingly passive condition (sleep "creeps upon him" he does not even "fall asleep") are convincing indications of the uroboric phase. In a passage that was cancelled from the printed text, probably because the publishers were afraid of offending those who had definite feelings about how a brother and sister ought to act, we have evidence that Keats saw Peona as a mother in relationship to Endymion:

She tied a little bucket to a Crook,  
Ran some swift paces to a dark wells side,  
And in a sighing-time return'd, supplied  
With spar cold water; in which she did squeeze  
A snowy napkin, and upon her knees  
Began to cherish her poor Brother's face;

Damping refreshfully his forehead's space,  
 His eyes, his Lips: then in a cupped shell  
 She brought him ruby wine; then let him smell,  
 Time after time, a precious amulet,  
 Which seldom took she from its cabinet.<sup>40</sup>

She bathes him and tends to all his needs as a mother would care for her child. Every sense is catered to; his skin is refreshed, his eyes, his lips. She gives him wine to soothe him and allows him to smell the precious amulet which seldom is removed from the "cabinet" between her breasts. She gives him complete care and protection, while he lies passively in her "bowery nest" (i, 539), suggesting Endymion's infantilism and the archetypal nature of the bower which contains, shelters, and protects him as though he were an egg in the nest. Similarly, Peona is likened to a dove whose wings beautifully embrace and cover her brother:

He said: 'I feel this thine endearing love  
 All through my bosom: thou art as a dove  
 Trembling its closed eyes and sleeked wings  
 About me.' (i, 466-469)

Securing enveloped in this infant contentment, Endymion sleeps quietly, and, like a mother, Peona watches over him. Significantly, she is likened to a sheltering tree--an unmistakable mother-symbol:<sup>41</sup>

And as a willow keeps  
 A patient watch over the stream that creeps  
 Windingly by it, so the quiet maid  
 Held her in peace. (i, 446-449)

The tableau is reminiscent of the Egyptian mother-goddess, Nut, who is sometimes represented as a tree, but commonly she is shown as an all-embracing figure hovering above and containing the diminutive pharaoh.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> According to Garrod (cf. Works, 77n.) these lines are in the Pierpont Morgan MS, located between line 440 and 441.

<sup>41</sup> Neumann, Great Mother, p. 48.

<sup>42</sup> See Neumann, Great Mother, illus. 92.

Similarly, Peona here is a maternal figure who, like a willow, leans over and protectively covers the sleeping Endymion. He is contained in the great womb of sleep in the same way that, before thought, consciousness was held slumbering in the great sea of the unconscious.

O magic sleep! O comfortable bird,  
That broodest o'er the troubled sea of the mind  
Till it is hush'd and smooth! (i, 453-455)

This is the sleep of total surrender, as Keats explained in the Mansion of Life letter (May 3, 1818): "The first we step into we call the infant or thoughtless Chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think--We remain there a long while, and notwithstanding the doors of the second Chamber remain wide open, showing a bright appearance, we care not to hasten to it" (I, 280). In the letter as in the poem, Keats represents the ego's complete subordination to the unconscious. Peona was called a dove (i, 467). To the poet sleep is a "comfortable bird" whose sheltering wing contains the sleeper: "who, upfurl'd/ Beneath thy drowsy wing a triple hour,/ But renovates and lives?" (i, 461-463). The similar metaphor is one indication that Peona and sleep are fundamentally the same reality, or different aspects of the same reality; both are the Good Mother who retains the slumbering ego in the depths of the unconscious. Peona hangs above the sleeping Endymion while he rests and weeps over him. Refreshed and changed by sleep, he becomes docile to Peona's wishes. He will not follow his immortal love. Peona's "sisterly affection" and tender urging have won him over.

Overcome by his regressive surge, Endymion lets himself become dependent upon Peona's judgment, and he resolves to remain with the common herdsman, to stay on Mt. Latmos, the land of sheep, symbolic of the infant sphere, under the sway of the unconscious Pan:

'I will once more raise  
 My voice upon the mountain-heights; once more  
 Make my horn parley from their foreheads hoar:  
 Again my trooping hounds their tongues shall loll  
 Around the breathed boar: again I'll poll  
 The fair-grown yew tree, for a chosen bow:  
 And, when the pleasant sun is setting low,  
 Again I'll linger in a sloping mead  
 To hear the speckled thrushes, and see feed  
 Our idle sheep! (i, 477-486)

"Idle sheep" is an important phrase because it characterizes the shepherd kingdom, where one "lingers" in sloping meadows while the "pleasant sun" sinks low and the "speckled thrushes" sing above the feeding flocks. When he finishes this speech Peona begins to play on her lute, and "'Twas a lay/ More subtle cadenced, more forest wild/ Than Dryope's lone lulling of her child" (i, 493-495). This maternal metaphor clearly points to Peona as a personification of the mother archetype.

When he wrote Endymion, Keats pictures his accomplishment to himself in terms of a heroic departure from an "original situation." In a letter to his publisher James Hessey (8 October 1818) he said: "In Endymion, I leaped headlong into the Sea, and thereby have become better acquainted with the Soundings, the quicksands, & the rocks, than if I had stayed upon the green shore, and piped a silly pipe, and took tea & comfortable advice" (I, 374). Peona wants Endymion to take her "comfortable advice" to stay with the shepherd people, and she makes the offer look very attractive, but it is deceiving. She argues,

'...wherefore sully the entrusted gem  
 Of high and noble life with thoughts so sick?  
 Why pierce high-fronted honour to the quick  
 For nothing but a dream?' (i, 757-760)

She wants to obscure the truth that it is only through following their dreams that men become heroes, that greatness and genius occur. Endymion's dream is "sick" to Peona because it embodies values that are corruptive



to the will of the species. It is directed at becoming separate. Peona's proposal, however noble or "high-fronted" she says it is, is only mediocrity compared to the goal of achieving an identity. Even as their leader, he would still be little more than an undifferentiated part of the mindless collective. In June 1819 Keats was reviewing his accomplishments over the preceding years, he said to Sarah Jeffrey, a good friend, "I hope I am a little more of a Philosopher than I was, consequently a little less of a versifying Pet-lamb" (II, 116). This is much like his declaration in the ode "On Indolence" not to be "A pet-lamb in a sentimental farce." But this is exactly what Peona intends to make of Endymion, little more than a pet-lamb who remains only within the fold of the collectivity, the tribal level, occupied solely with the banalities of the shepherd's existence, not scaling epic peaks, not journeying for "the world's dusky brink" (i, 977), for the higher psycho-cultural levels. He must ignore these immortal longings, and though it seems manly and alive for Endymion to climb earthly mountains and to follow the hunt, this will bind him firmly to his shepherd kingdom, while the individuation myth offers the priceless possession of his identity. To let himself be blinded to this course would be regressive; as a shepherd, he would be absorbed into the group. The hero's struggle to separate himself from the group, can be understood as ego's struggle for differentiation (Nohc, p. 269.). The conquest of fear is then the essential characteristic of the ego-hero who dares to take the evolutionary leap to the next stage. He does not, like the average man who clings to the safe and proven conservatism of the existing system, continue as the inveterate enemy of the new. In this consists the real revolutionary quality of the hero. He overcomes the old phase and succeeds in casting out fear and changes it to

joy (Nohc, p. 312.). By Endymion's eventual severance from his mother-sister and the tribe, he becomes the symbol of the ego battling for emancipation.

The wish of Peona is the will of the Good Mother to retain her young Endymion in the shepherd world. But the ensuing conflict causes him to awaken from his lethargy and begin the initial differentiation of the ego from the enveloping unconscious.

Herat the youth  
 Look'd up: a conflicting of shame and ruth  
 Was in his plated brow: yet his eyelids  
 Widened a little . . .  
 He seem'd to taste a drop of manna-dew,  
 Full palatable; and a colour grew  
 Upon his cheek, while thus he lifeful spake. (i, 760-768)

This represents a significant departure from Endymion's earlier state which was trance-like and corresponded to the ego's early containment in the unconscious. Now, the rising color in his cheek, the vitality in his speech, and the opening eyes especially typify the timorous beginnings of consciousness. He rejects what Peona says about his dream, and now the way is open through his break with the world that has hitherto held him back from his quest.

### 3. The Child Hero

Our main consideration in this section is the nature of Endymion--to what class of hero does he belong? The urge or tendency to individuation is a natural law, and, even though its effect, at first, may appear insignificant and improbable, it is a natural law and possesses invincible power. In mythological projection--which is another name for man's symbol-making capacity--these "insignificant and improbable" qualities of the initial stages of the individuation process assume a tangible form in the child hero. Endymion bears every essential feature of the child hero, as described by Jung and Carl Kerenyi in Essays on a Science of Mythology.<sup>43</sup> The child hero is characterized by abandonment, invincibility, hermaphroditism and futurity. These are mythicized equivalents of the natural law of individuation, the insignificance of its beginning, and the anticipation of its objective.

In Jung's description the "child" sometimes looks more like a child-god, sometimes more like a young hero. Whatever his aspect, the characteristics of abandonment and the associated threatening dangers are always present. The motifs of "insignificance," exposure, abandonment, and danger are indications of how precarious is the psychic possibility of wholeness and the enormous difficulties to be met with in attaining

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<sup>43</sup>Trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York, 1950), p. 124. The child motif is discussed in "The Psychology of the Child-Archetype" and in "The Special Phenomenology of the Child-Archetype," two excellent essays by Jung and Kerenyi. The discussion of the child motif in the pages that follow is deeply indebted to the work of these writers, pp. 117ff.

this highest goal. Endymion frequently expresses his sense of powerlessness and helplessness in the face of the obstacles that keep him from this attainment: "'How long must I remain in jeopardy/ Of blank amazements that amaze no more?'" (ii, 902-903). More of the hero's nature is revealed in this next complaint: "'essences,/ Once spiritual, are like muddy lees,/ Meant but to fertilize my earthly root,/ And make my branches lift a golden fruit/ Into the bloom of heaven'" (ii, 905-909). Endymion's supernaturalness includes human nature ("earthly root") and divine ("golden fruit"). He is a synthesis of the "divine," (i.e., not yet humanized) unconscious and a human consciousness. The metaphor of growth in this passage emphasizes the idea of process which is central to the meaning of Endymion. The hero at this point is a potential figure, that is to say he predicts a future approach to wholeness. Differentiation, the first stage in this process, demands a separation of consciousness and the unconscious. Without this separation consciousness can never gain the individual distinctness which is imperative for individuation. The progressive separation of consciousness from the unconscious is very likely the underlying meaning of Endymion's gradual progress through the underworld as the child hero.

For the first quarter of the second book Endymion is still upon the surface of the earth. He has departed from Peona's bower and taken his initial steps away from the original situation. He is alone and aimless. The motif of abandonment is pronounced. Absently he tosses his spear through the air and where it lands he finds a flower. To his surprise it opens before his eyes and he beholds a butterfly. When it flies away he follows and discovers the entrance to the underworld. A voice directs him:

'Descend,  
 Young Mountaineer! descend where alleys bend  
 Into the sparry hollows of the world!  
 Oft hast thou seen bolts of the thunder hurl'd  
 As from thy threshold; day by day hast been  
 A little lower than the chilly sheen  
 Of icy pinnacles, and dipp'dst thine arms  
 Into the deadening ether that still charms  
 Their marble being: now, as deep profound  
 As those are high, descend!' (ii, 202-211)

The child hero receives his direction from the outside. He is called or chosen by the forces that will transform him. Individuation has its own course that the hero perforce must follow.

Soon surrounded by fearsome wonders, Endymion sits for a moment to collect himself and to think upon his past, summarizing the action of the story to this point:

In this cool wonder  
 Endymion sat down, and 'gan to ponder  
 On all his life: his youth, up to the day  
 When 'mid acclaim, and feasts, and garlands gay,  
 He stept upon his shepherd throne: the look  
 Of his white palace in wild forest nook,  
 And all the revels he had lorded there:  
 Each tender maiden whom he once thought fair,  
 With every friend and fellow-woodlander--  
 Pass'd like a dream before him. Then the spur  
 Of the old bards to mighty deeds: his plans  
 To nurse the golden age 'mong shepherd clans:  
 That wondrous night: the great Pan-festival:  
 His sister's sorrow; and his wanderings all,  
 Until into the earth's deep maw he rush'd:  
 Then all its buried magic, till it flush'd  
 High with excessive love. (ii, 885-901)

Thinking about the past amplifies his sense of loneliness and this is related to the "child's" abandonment. Since Endymion is developing towards independence, he must detach himself from his origins. Hence, the abandonment he experiences is a necessary condition of his quest. In my understanding the meaning of his aloneness is that, as bringer of light or changer of consciousness, Endymion must overcome darkness, which is to say that he must overcome the earlier unconscious state. Higher

consciousness is knowledge going beyond what we are conscious of at the moment. This is the equivalent of being all alone in the world. Hence the loneliness of the hero, loneliness expressing the conflict between every bearer of higher consciousness and his surroundings. Endymion's solitude, then, is symptomatic of the movement toward higher consciousness.

There were several points when Keats used a terminology which was clearly psychological in his description of his hero's journey toward higher consciousness. One point which needs some explanation is at the beginning of Endymion's progress through the underworld. Strange wonders have stunned him momentarily, and he has paused, because when the wonders ceased:

thoughts of self came on, how crude and sore  
The journey homeward to habitual self!  
A mad-pursuing of the fog-born elf,  
Whose flitting lantern, through rude nettle-briar,  
Cheats us into a swamp, into a fire,  
Into the bosom of a hated thing. (ii, 275-280)

Keats' use of the word "self" in this passage does not have any connection to the goal of selfhood that stands at the end of the individuation myth. He calls it "habitual self," which is found by a journey "homeward" and into the "bosom" of a hated thing. "Bosom" and "homeward" suggest the mother archetype and the return to the original situation, a regression back along the path the hero has gone. The "flitting lantern" is an ignis fatuus, one of the devices that Pan used to lead travellers astray. Lemprière tells us that travellers had to be wary of Pan. He often terrified them or would lead them off the path, just as Keats says: into a "nettle-briar" or into a swamp. Earlier I showed that Pan was the unconscious self, the potential self at the stage of the original situation. For Pan to reappear now as a "fog-born elf" with all the associations

of the unconscious, such as fog and swamp, confirms my earlier remarks and helps explain what Keats means by "self" in the present instance. He means the self of the original situation which Endymion must depart from in order that the self ultimately be freed from its unconscious determinants.

Another instance of psychological terminology occurs directly after the passage we have been examining. Keats writes: "What misery most drowningly doth sing/ In lone Endymion's ear, now he has raught/ The goal of consciousness? Ah, 'tis the thought,/ The deadly feel of solitude" (ii, 281-284). The road of individuation does not run a straight or an even course. We see a connection here between the hero's higher consciousness and his isolation. His independence is short-lived. The goal of consciousness cannot be possessed for a long time at first. He vacillates. Only short periods of differentiation can be sustained in the beginning. Thus he turns back on his path and returns to the temple of Diana, whom he still does not realize is the divine maiden he seeks. He does not approach her as a lover, but implores her as a suppliant. She is not the anima now but closer to a mother goddess. The ego has regressed to its earlier stage. Endymion pleads:

'Within my breast there lives a choking flame--  
O let me cool it the zephyr-boughs among!  
A homeward fever parches up my tongue--  
O let me slake it at the running springs!  
Upon my ear a noisy nothing rings--  
O let me once more hear the linnet's note!' (ii, 318-322)

He wants to return homeward now, to abandon his quest. The imagery suggests a regression to the original situation:

'O think how I should love a bed of flowers!--  
Young goddess! let me see my native bowers!  
Deliver me from this rapacious deep!' (ii, 330-332)

An answer to his prayer comes in the form of a bed of flowers spread on the cold marble floor. Soon music drifts to him and all his pangs "vanish in the elemental passion" (ii, 375). Consciousness and the painful sense of isolation are gone.

This fluctuating state where consciousness rises and falls, returns and then fades, is reflected in Endymion's encounter with Adonis which occurs about midway through Book II. Overcome by the music he hears, he almost falls into a deep crevice, but the wanderer is guided and protected throughout his adventures by a power that guarantees his triumph. This invincibility is characteristic of the "child." Venus informs him that he has a benevolent guide: "Endymion! one day thou wilt be blest:/ So still obey the guiding hand that fends/ Thee safely through these wonders for sweet ends" (ii, 572-574). A magical vein of gold, studded with diamonds, leads him through the dark earth: "It seems an angry lightening, and doth hiss/ Fancy into belief: anon it leads/ Through winding passages" (ii, 233-235). The path of individuation, according to Jung, is a longissima via, a winding way, made up of fateful detours and wrong turnings. It is a snakelike path "that unites the opposites, reminding us of the guiding caduceus, a path whose labyrinthine twists and turns are not lacking in terrors" (CW, XII, 6). Endymion follows the diamond path through the dangerous underworld; it supports his invincibility.

Other supernatural help given points to the strength of the drive to higher consciousness. We will see in Book III that after Endymion successfully breaks the spell, Glaucus says to him, "A power overshadows thee!" (iii, 759). The possession of invincibility and power states mythologically the psychic fact that the natural drive for higher consciousness causes an inability to do otherwise, because all of nature cries out for it,



equipping one with all the natural and instinctive forces.<sup>44</sup> The inevitability of the individuation process objectifies itself in the mythic hero's supernatural power. Joseph Campbell writes: "The hero is covertly aided by the advice, amulets, and secret agents of the supernatural helper whom he met before his entrance into this region. Or it may be that he here discovers for the first time that there is a benign power everywhere supporting him in his superhuman passage."<sup>45</sup> The application of this finding to Endymion is self-evident.

There remain two other characteristics of the child-motif, which, though present in Endymion, do not have the same prominence as the abandonment and invincibility of the child-hero. These are hermaphroditism and futurity. Hermaphroditism means a psychological union of antinomies--i.e., the combination of consciousness and the unconscious. Mythologically, this meeting of opposites becomes the semi-devine figure, partly divine and partly human like Endymion. He is torn by this duality: "Shall I be left/ So sad, so melancholy, so bereft!/ Yet still I feel immortal!" (ii, 684-686). The two sides of him are disharmonious, lacking the balance and synchronism of the systems that characterizes the goal.

Alpheus and Arethusa reflect the aspirations of Endymion for unity. The twin streams forever divided yet flowing together, as Endymion watches in amazement at the rush of the sudden torrent bursting before him at the end of the second book, symbolize the hero's hermaphroditic dualism. The waters gushing near Endymion from the vault above consist of two mythical rivers, Alpheus and his beloved Arethusa, blended but separate streams, cascading ever deeper into the underworld because of the judgment and

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<sup>44</sup>Jung and Kerenyi, p. 124.

<sup>45</sup>The Hero with a Thousand Faces (New York, 1949), p. 97.

sentence of Diana whom they had offended. This symbolic blend of male and female is hermaphroditic, and it parallels the psychological hermaphroditism of conscious masculinity conjoined to the feminine unconscious. Endymion's prayer for them to his goddess, whom he still does not realize is the same Diana who has cursed these two, is also a prayer for himself--his desire for the balance and stability of conscious realization:

'I urge  
Thee, gentle Goddess of my pilgrimage,  
By our eternal hopes, to soothe, to assuage,  
If thou art powerful, these lovers' pains;  
And make them happy in some happy plains.' (ii, 1013-1017)

The curse of Diana upon Alpheus and Arethusa is like the curse of Circe upon Glaucus and Scylla. Endymion's wish for the removal of the spell foreshadows his mediation in the third book where his action frees the lovers and wins for himself his immortal love.

The "child's" futurity is the next and final characteristic we must discuss. Futurity is not a characteristic in the strict sense; it is more an explanation of what "child" signifies. The fact of being a "child" is an anticipation of the future change of personality. In the individuation myth this "child" motif anticipates the synthesis and balance of conscious and unconscious elements in the personality. Jung has classified it, therefore, as a unifying symbol which unites the opposites: "a mediator, bringer of healing, that is, one who makes whole."<sup>46</sup> Such a meaning is capable of numerous manifestations.

It can be said that because Endymion is the "child" he predicts the future development of the hero in the direction of higher consciousness. His nature in Book II is essentially anticipatory. The "child" denotes the

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<sup>46</sup>Jung and Kerenyi, p. 115.

evolutionary necessity of conscious emancipation. As a unifying symbol the "child" looks ahead to the conscious-transcending wholeness of the self that awaits the hero at the end of his quest.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER III

### THE REALM OF FLORA AND OLD PAN

#### 1. Transmutation

Before Endymion can complete his task, he must undergo a preparation. The record of the transformative stages through which he must pass is in the mythological sequences found in books two and three, the events surrounding the episodes involving Venus and Adonis on the one hand and Circe and Glaucus on the other. Through the phenomenon of transmutation, Adonis and Glaucus become Endymion. The term referred originally to the alchemical process of conversion of base metals into silver or gold. Used as a critical term applied to the characters in a poetic narrative, it refers to the conversion of one member of the story into another, or, more properly, the assimilation by one person of the levels of development accomplished symbolically by his paradigms. The Venus-Adonis sequence (Book II) and the Circe-Glaucus episode (Book III) alike represent different transformative stages, which are transmuted to Endymion upon whom the individuation myth focuses. This makes Endymion a cumulative figure who contains both Adonis and Glaucus. These three are really one, with the actions of each contributing to the effect of an unfolding process.

Transmutation artistically amalgamates separate elements of the plot into a unity. Seemingly unrelated happenings are really reflecting the progress of Endymion on his quest. The trivalence of Endymion not only contributes variety to the poem and makes for a smooth transition from

phase to phase, but it shows the complete development of the hero from the earliest stage to the last. Most poems and myths show only part of the individuation myth, but by transmuting the characters, one into the other, the full extent of man's development is portrayed. Therefore, the Venus-Adonis and Circe-Glaucus episodes, which are like polished gems in the centers of the second and third books, are indeed vastly more precious than simple ornamentation or poetic dilettantism in classical mythology. They are significant and necessary phases in a general pattern that becomes the individuation myth of Keats.

In Book I Endymion, and in Books II and III Adonis and then Glaucus, submits to a long and blissful period of beatific surrender to the uroboric Good Mother. This patent similarity between the three is a basic bond linking them. All three characteristically make some progress away from this original situation.

But it is Endymion who progresses farthest, revealing that he is the true hero of threefold nature, to whom the transformative stages we will see in Adonis and Glaucus convert centrally. The importance of Adonis and Glaucus, then, is that they present Endymion with an image of himself as he was at an earlier stage. The effect is a prismic mirroring of the hero so that he can be viewed diversely.

Structurally, this basic unity of the hero unifies the poem, making it a single flowing progression. The equivalence between the heroes allows the transmutation of characteristics to occur, so that in the union of Venus and Adonis, the future union of Endymion and his goddess is predicted. The same is true of Glaucus, but his sequence is on a higher level, representing a progress away from the stage represented by Adonis.

The union of Venus and Adonis is only partial, tentative, and incomplete. The partners are not equals. Adonis can never develop beyond this phase which, eternally circular, forever demands his return to living death and total subjection to his divine lover. As in the traditional legend, Adonis is held in a wintery sleep in an underground chamber and Venus visits him each summer to bring him back to life. This makes the story of Adonis essentially a vegetation myth: ". . . it was decreed he should be rear'd/ Each summer time to life" (ii, 477-478). Adonis is the new grain which ripens and thrives through the growing season but at the harvest is cut and gathered "safe in the privacy/ Of this still region all his winter-sleep" (ii, 479-480). It is only Endymion, the triune hero, who is capable of receiving the "touch ethereal--a new birth" that will make him the stable representative of the differentiated ego consciousness.

## 2. The Lady of Plants

Originally, Venus was an Italic goddess of gardens and growth, and only at a comparatively late period became identified with Aphrodite, the Greek love goddess. Though the Venus-Adonis story is of Greek derivation, Keats' handling of the tale suggests that he was combining Venus' traditional characteristics with her Italic attributes. Thus, where Venus' guardian cupids keep watch over Adonis in the underground bower that Endymion discovers, there is a significant profusion of vegetative imagery, suggesting the goddess of gardens and growth.

Above his head,  
Four lilly stalks did their white honours wed  
To make a coronal; and round him grew  
All tendrils green, of every bloom and hue,  
Together intertwin'd and trammel'd fresh;  
The vine of glossy sprout; the ivy mesh,  
Shading its Ethiop berries; and woodbine,  
Of velvet leaves and bugle-blooms divine;  
Convolvulus in streaked vases flush;  
The creeper, mellowing for an autumn blush;  
And virgin's bower, trailing airily;  
With others of the sisterhood. (ii, 407-418)

Tendrils of ivy, woodbine, lilies and convolvulus, creepers, and flowers of every kind and description circle the sleeping youth. Even the walls of the chamber are covered with myrtle, and the myrtle, Lemprière noted, was sacred to Venus. The room itself is Venus, thoroughly enveloping Adonis, who is surrounded by roses which also were sacred to her. Notably, he lies on a "silken couch of rosy pride" (ii, 392), and he has "a faint damask mouth/ To slumbery pout; just as the morning south/ Disparts a dew-lipp'd rose" (ii, 405-407). Adonis is a rose, linked to the earth, a mere growing thing. His existence is scarcely separate from Venus as her attributes enter even into the description of his physical

features. In this way Keats's imagery reflects the lack of differentiation in the uroboric phase that Adonis occupies. Venus is still the archaic Lady of Plants, described as a form of the mother archetype by Neumann in The Great Mother.

Adonis is entirely passive; his existence and destiny are ruled by the natural turn of the seasons. He is a young flower-like god of vegetation, annually reborn through the grace of Venus, the archetypal Good Mother, Lady of Plants, but Adonis takes no active rôle in these changes; Endymion discovers him asleep in his vernal chamber, watches him be revived to life by Venus, and then taken out of the underworld in her chariot. At no time does Adonis speak anything or do anything at all on his own. He is completely given up to fate.

Now it becomes a question of the meaning of this relationship between Venus and Adonis. The stage of uroboric surrender to the original situation in the form of the Good Mother, seen in the relations between Peona and Endymion were discussed in section six. Peona now has become Venus, and the infantile Endymion has been replaced by the adolescent Adonis. The earlier stage was marked by a natural surrender to fate, to the power of the mother or uroboros. At the present stage the young flower-like gods of vegetation, doomed to die, are still close to the stage of the uroboros. Neumann explains that implicit in this stage is the pious hope of the natural creature that he, like nature, will be reborn through the Great Mother, out of the fullness of her grace, with no activity or merit on his part (Nohc, p. 88.). Like Oedipus he is completely impotent against the uroboric mother and the overwhelming power of fate. We can interpret this as meaning that masculinity and consciousness have not yet won independence, and uroboric incest has merely given way to the matriarchal



incest of adolescence. The uroboric incest or ego-lessness of Endymion in Book I has been replaced by the matriarchal incest, or stage of low ego differentiation symbolized by Adonis. The plant symbolism of both sequences is explained by the predominance of the unconscious or female principle over the conscious male principle which belongs to the unconscious processes of growth that go ahead without the assistance of the ego.

Unlike Peona, Venus is unmistakably Adonis's lover. Like Attis, Tammuz, and Osiris of Near-Eastern mother-cults, Adonis is loved, slain, buried and bewailed by Venus. Each time that Adonis is brought to life there is a return to the tomb of his winter sleep that must follow. But the basic difference between Peona and Venus is that Peona wishes to retain Endymion and keep him, as it were, asleep in her bower or linked to the shepherd nation, while Venus brings revival to Adonis and conveys him to earth in annual resurrections. Endymion in Book I symbolizes the very beginning, the infant or embryonic phase of uroboric incest; Adonis symbolizes the immediately succeeding stage in the evolution of consciousness. The repetition of common details in both sequences suggests a pattern within which Adonis goes beyond Endymion to the level where he is androgynous son-lover who almost becomes the partner of the maternal unconscious figure, but is not yet strong enough to counterbalance the superior power of the mother archetype (see Nohc, p. 46.). It should be clarified that Endymion is still the central figure and the real subject of the development manifest in Adonis and later the same will be seen to be true in the case of Glaucus. The evolutionary phases revealed in these short episodes are assimilated as natural stages in the growth of Endymion as a hero. The Adonis episode in the second book is really a

sign of the hero's progress out of the original situation.

Adonis, as we have seen, is only a "thing of a season," and far from being independent, he marks the early stage in the evolution and unfolding of personality when the ego is still largely governed by processes in which the unconscious plays a more prominent role than the ego. But development calls upon the ego to break away from the unconscious, and we find the mythological equivalent of this struggle in what is called the Dragon Fight.

The transition to the next stage is formed by the "strugglers." In them, fear of the Great Mother is the first sign of centroverson, self-formation, and ego stability. The Dragon Fight is an essential part of any myth of the quest and an important and central phase in the evolution of consciousness. The Dragon Fight is the mythological form of the ego's struggle for emancipation from the unconscious. The prime task of consciousness with respect to the overmastering tendencies of the unconscious involves mainly keeping its distance, consolidating and defending its position, that is, strengthening the stability of the ego. Mythologically projected, a monster must be fought. Archetypally, this is a dragon, or where archetypal and personalistic features are intermingled, the monster assumes the form of a witch or a magician. In Keats' poem the Dragon Fight is depicted both in Glaucus' struggle against the witch Circe and in Endymion and Glaucus' battle against the power of death. There is, however, an important distinction to keep in mind. The Circe-Glaucus episode does not, strictly speaking, happen in Endymion. It is actually a flash-back revealing Glaucus' unsuccessful struggle against the witch, so that it is more proper to call Endymion's breaking of the spell the Dragon Fight.

### 3. The Lady of Beasts

Almost the complete length of Book III is involved with Endymion's concern for the plight of Glaucus, which, as subsequently comes to light, is in fact his own predicament. Briefly, the story is that Glaucus, after falling in love with the beautiful Scylla, fails to win her favor, and goes to Circe for consolation and help. He is, however, seduced by the irresistible witch, who makes him forget Scylla and snares him in the trammels of physical desire. For a while Glaucus is content to remain passion's prisoner in Circe's twilight bower, but before long, he discovers the danger that threatens him. He tries to escape. In revenge she dooms him to a living death of a thousand years beneath the sea, where he remains, a shrunken old man, until the day Endymion discovers him.

Circe embodies the transformative character of the mother archetype, that aspect of the Feminine which induces change and transformation; whereas, hitherto the Archetypal Feminine was seen in Peona and Venus, who expressed the elementary character that retarded positive development by barring the hero from the adventures of the soul.<sup>48</sup> So the meaning of the Circe-Glaucus episode falls under the general heading of differentiation in the individuation myth. The hero is still subordinate to the mother archetype, but he is nearer to independence. Glaucus represents an advanced level of differentiation over Adonis, and Circe introduces a new aspect of the mother archetype, the Terrible Mother, called by Neumann the "Lady of Beasts"--she who had the power to transform men into animals.

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<sup>48</sup> See Great Mother, passim.

Another name for the transformative character is "anima." The relation of the male to the anima is a prototype of the relation of consciousness to the transformative character. In the first two stages of differentiation seen so far, the ego (hero) was dependent on the unconscious (mother), and the transformative character was contained in the elementary character; the transformative processes--like that of embryonic life--flowed on without conflict as if decreed by nature or fate. This was, of course, Endymion in Peona's bower and the pattern likewise of the Adonis sequence, but when the masculine ego comes into conflict with the transformative character of the Feminine instead of the elementary, it would seem--mythologically speaking--as if the Feminine were determined to retain the ego-hero as a mate. The curse of Circe denotes a "trial" that the hero is called upon to withstand.<sup>49</sup> When a personality is assailed by the transformative character or anima, as in the case of Glaucus's confrontation with Circe, this means psychologically that ego consciousness has already achieved a certain degree of independence.

Like Peona's islanded bower and the underground chamber of Venus, the twilight bower of Circe is part of a progressive leitmotif which recurs in each of the four books. The bower motif bears a connection with the death-rebirth theme which is a dominant theme of individuation. The hero can only come to increased life through death, the personality can only grow by this agency, and the motif of the bower as a uterine symbol denotes birth through death. As the hero develops toward independence there is a change in his relationship to the Feminine which is apparent by the different treatment of the bower motif. In the twilight bower Glaucus is not possessed to the degree that Venus possessed Adonis.

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<sup>49</sup>See Great Mother, p. 34.

Imagery of the vegetative phase has been replaced by imagery of the animal phase.

'With tears, and smiles, and honey-words she wove  
A net whose thraldom was more bless than all  
The range of flower'd Elysium.' (iii, 426-428)

Glaucus is like an animal snared in this net, and later he becomes a hunted beast chased through the forest for three days by Circe, the huntress (iii, 566). Plant imagery amplified Adonis's submission to the matriarchate and linked him to the unconscious processes of growth that go ahead without the assistance of the nascent ego. Animal imagery permeates the entire Glaucus sequence. We are told that Glaucus is free to roam the woods, like the animals of the forest around him.

'And I was free of haunts unbrageous;  
Could wander in the mazy forest-house  
Of squirrels, foxes shy, and antler'd deer,  
And birds from coverts innermost and drear  
Warbling for very joy.' (iii, 467-471)

He even compares himself to a "new fledg'd bird" (iii, 388) and speaks of casting off his "serpent's skin of woe" (iii, 240). Like a beast at bay Circe traps him:

'...truth had come  
Naked and sabre-like against my heart.  
I saw a fury whetting a death-dart;  
And my slain spirit, overwrought with fright,  
Fainted away in that dark lair of night.' (iii, 556-560)

With a possible pun on "heart" Keats uses words that suggest the last stage of the hunt. The actions of Glaucus are described in animal terms:

'One morn she left me sleeping: half awake  
I sought for her smooth arms and lips, to slake  
My greedy thirst with nectarous camel-draughts.' (iii, 477-479)

Glaucus is like a living, active animal, very unlike the passive, herbaceous Adonis. A new and heightened level of ego consciousness is indicated in the symbolism, because as conscious activity increases, the vegetation symbol is replaced by the animal symbol (Nohc, p. 307). The masculine

ego is no longer vegetative and passive; as Glaucus's pursuit of Scylla shows, he is very active and desirous.

'Timid thing!  
 She fled me swift as sea-bird on the wing,  
 Round every isle, and point, and promontory,  
 From where large Hercules wound up his story  
 Far as Egyptian Nile. My passion grew  
 The more, the more I saw her dainty hue  
 Gleam delicately through the azure clear:  
 Until 'twas too fierce agony to bear.' (iii, 403-410)

Coinciding with the animal phase, the instinct of fear is a sign of the adoption of a negative attitude of resistance towards the mother archetype. Glaucus's fear and resistance to Circe, when he sees that she who had seduced him is an enchantress that changes men into animals, is a sign of a higher developmental phase.

'...disgust and hate,  
 And terrors manifold divided me  
 A spoil amongst them. I prepar'd to flee  
 Into the dungeon core of that wild wood:  
 I fled three days.' (iii, 562-566)

'...and I soon was near  
 A sight too fearful for the feel of fear.' (iii, 495-496)

In the activity of the hero, the first sign of individuation, self-formation, and ego stability is fear. Neumann calls this stage the youth's fear of the devouring Terrible Mother. The fear expresses itself in various forms of flight and resistance, as Glaucus clearly exemplifies. The ego now has adopted a negative attitude to the mother archetype, but this resistance is futile because the hero is still not strong enough to confront the Great Mother. Instead, she overpowers him and brings about his overthrow with a curse.

With the development in the activity of ego consciousness in the later stages of differentiation, the mother archetype reveals traits of the so-called Terrible Mother. The transformative character is predominant.

Circe is the Terrible Mother.

'Fierce, wan,  
 And tyrannizing was the lady's look,  
 As over them a gnarled staff she shook.  
 Oft-times upon the sudden she laugh'd out,  
 And from a basket emptied to the rout  
 Clusters of grapes, the which they raven'd quick  
 And roar'd for more; with many a hungry lick  
 About their shaggy jaws. Avenging, slow,  
 Anon she took a branch of mistletoe,  
 And emptied on't a black dull-gurgling phial:  
 Groan'd one and all, as if some piercing trial  
 Was sharpening for their pitiable bones.  
 She lifted up the charm: appealing groans  
 From their poor breasts went sueing to her ear  
 In vain; remorseless as an infant's bier  
 She whisk'd against their eyes the sooty oil.' (iii, 506-521)

Her power to change men into animals is a convincing sign of the transformative character. The grapes, the mistletoe, and the black phial of sooty oil are instruments of transformation and attributes of negative anima in her present form of the young witch. As the Great and Terrible Mother, the sorceress who transforms men into wild animals, Circe is the Lady of Beasts, who sacrifices the male and rends him. Indeed, the male serves her in animal form and no more, for she rules the animal world of the instincts. She presides over the orgiastic spectacle like a horrible goddess of death.

'Increasing gradual to a tempest rage,  
 Shrieks, yells, and groans of torture-pilgrimage;  
 Until their grieved bodies 'gan to bloat  
 And puff from the tail's end to stifled throat:  
 Then was appalling silence: then a sight  
 More wildering than all that hoarse affright;  
 For the whole herd, as by a whirlwind writhen,  
 Went through the dismal air like one huge Python.'  
 (iii, 523-530)

The whirling Python is the most ancient visual representation of the uroboros (snake biting its own tail). The dissolution of personality in the unconscious is indicated by the present application of the symbol. The mistletoe, "whisk'd against their eyes" (iii, 521), symbolizes the

darkening of consciousness. It is axiomatic that the dissolution of personality and individual consciousness pertains to the sphere of the Terrible Mother who rends, devours and destroys, unlike the Good Mother who soothes, protects and nourishes. But were Circe a goddess of death alone, her resplendent image would lack something that makes her perhaps even more terrifying, and yet at the same time irresistible. Her vast beauty first enslaves before it destroys; the youth burns with desire even when threatened with death. Glaucus became completely enthralled by Circe's beauty and fulsome loveliness:

'...anon  
The fairest face that morn e'er look'd upon  
Push'd through a screen of roses.' (iii, 423-425)

'Thus condemn'd  
The current of my former life was stemm'd  
And to this arbitrary queen of sense  
I bow'd a tranced vassal: nor would thence  
Have mov'd, even though Amphion's harp had woo'd  
Me back to Scylla.' (iii, 457-462)

But this beauty is nothing more than a mask to the negative side of Circe which reveals itself in this horrible curse:

"Mark me! Thou hast thews  
"Immortal, for thou art of heavenly race:  
"But such a love is mine, that here I chace  
"Eternally away from thee all bloom  
"Of youth, and destine thee towards a tomb.  
"Hence shalt thou quickly to the watery vast;  
"And there, ere many days be overpast,  
"Disabled age shall seize thee; and even then  
"Thou shalt not go the way of aged men;  
"But live and wither, cripple and still breathe  
"Ten hundred years: which gone, I then bequeath  
"Thy fragile bones to unknown burial.'" (iii, 588-599)

Glaucus's withering and loss of strength are symbolic of loss of libido, what Jung calls psychic energy, from the masculine ego, not yet strong enough to retain it or withstand the onslaught of the unconscious. Important to note, however, is the fact that a new level of differentiation



was attained, manifested in the animal imagery associated with Glaucus, the emergence of the instinct of fear, and the active resistance to Circe.

I used the term "incest" earlier but that was in the case of the passive incest of the two earlier stages; now it is a matter of "active incest," which is another aspect of the stage of the individuation myth typified by Glaucus. The forms of incest reviewed so far were essentially passive: uroboric incest (Endymion-Peona), in which the germinal ego was extinguished, and matriarchal incest (Venus-Adonis), in which the son is seduced by the mother into a continual round of death and rebirth. But the more differentiated form is an active incest, in which the male (ego) makes deliberate, conscious exposure of himself to the dangerous influence of the female (unconscious). This is what distinguishes the hero as hero, and it is the active determination of his own action when he freely chooses to visit Circe's island that shows Glaucus's heroism. He is unlike Adonis who was pursued by Venus, nor is Glaucus led as Endymion was by Peona to her bower, nor bound in the utter helplessness of Adonis. Glaucus's deliberate plunge into the sea "for life or death" (iii, 380) symbolized active incest, because the sea surrounding him threatens death in the same way that Circe envelops him and binds him to herself, intending to destroy him. The sphere of active incest characterizes the ego's higher stage of conscious activity.

A concluding point about the Circe-Glaucus sequence is that, though it denotes the attainment of a new level of ego development, it also recapitulates and contains the earlier stage that was represented by Adonis. The two stages are combined and intermingled transmutatively by the intermingling of plant and animal symbolism, especially at the beginning of Glaucus's encounter with Circe is this noticeable.

'When I awoke, 'twas in a twilight bower;  
 Just when the light of morn, with hum of bees,  
 Stole through its verdurous matting of fresh trees....  
 With tears, and smiles, and honey-words she wove  
 A net whose thralldom was more bliss than all  
 The range of flower'd Elysium.' (iii, 418-420; 426-428)

The trees and roses set up a pattern of plant imagery, but the word "net," of course, introduces hunting; the hunt unmistakably refers to animals, but this image is delicately combined with vegetative imagery, because it is a "net whose thralldom was more bliss than all/ The range of flower'd Elysium."

Moreover, Glaucus's story recapitulates the subjection of Adonis to Venus in his total infatuation for Circe:

'Who could resist? Who in this universe?  
 She did so breathe ambrosia; so immerse  
 My fine existence in a golden clime.  
 She took me like a child of suckling time,  
 And cradled me in roses.' (iii, 453-457)

Glaucus is cradled in roses, just as Endymion in Book I was cradled in Peona's care (411), and Adonis in the second part slept on a "silken couch of rosy pride" (392). And as Peona watched over her charge (445), and Venus leaned "downward open arm'd" shadowing Adonis (526), here Circe "hover'd over" her Glaucus "motherlike bewitchingly" (446). In this way Keats transmutes the earlier stages into the later, imparting a special kind of unity to his poem.

The ~~con~~tinuation of the Dragon Fight witnesses the cooperation of Glaucus and Endymion against the spell that Circe has cast upon Scylla and the curse of eternal old age that the witch has fixed upon Glaucus himself.

We have seen the initial phases of the individuation myth in the detachment of the hero from the original situation where Peona was the

symbol of the archetypal Good Mother. From there we witnessed the ascent to the natural plane where the Great Goddess of plant life, Venus, held sway. Then we saw the encounter with the higher level of differentiation symbolized by Circe, the Lady of Beasts. The poem has moved continually in the direction of higher and higher planes of differentiation. The awareness of pain and suffering that Endymion learns through Glaucus symbolizes the departure of the ego from the thoughtless chamber that Adonis still occupied on to the second chamber that Keats' letter describes as the chamber of Maiden-Thought. The first effect of this chamber of life, or condition of being, is to intoxicate with the light and atmosphere, says the letter, "we see nothing but pleasant wonders, and think of delaying there for ever in delight" (I, 281), just as Glaucus wanted to linger in Circe's bower. "However," the letter goes on, "among the effects this breathing is father of is that tremendous one of sharpening one's vision into the heart and nature of Man--of convincing ones nerves that the World is full of Misery and Heartbreak, Pain, Sickness and oppression--whereby This Chamber of Maiden Thought becomes gradually darken'd and at the same time on all sides of it many doors are set open--but all dark--all leading to dark passages" (I, 281). The sharpening of vision into the heart and nature of man can be equated to the differentiation of ego consciousness. Mythologically, the progress on through these dark passages is made by the conscious bearer of light, Endymion who brings light (awareness) to the sunken chambers of the sea as the victorious result of the Dragon Fight.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE SPACE OF LIFE BETWEEN

#### 1. The Dragon Fight

Glaucus, as he appeared in the mythological sequence that included Circe and Scylla, has already been shown to be a paradigm of Endymion. Now it will be seen that Glaucus plays an equally important rôle in the drama of the Dragon Fight which allies him and Endymion against the powers of night and death. The scene of the third book, it will be remembered, is the sea-bottom haunt of Neptune. There the two heroes combine to overcome death by releasing Scylla and Glaucus from the spell of Circe, a spell which doomed him to death after a thousand years of lingering age, and which condemned his lover to everlasting sleep in a submarine cavern. It is this offensive achievement that essentially constitutes the Dragon Fight.

But the sea is a paramount symbol of the unconscious mind, a realm of immeasurable breadth and depth.<sup>50</sup> Hence, the significance of Endymion's sojourn beneath the water is that it signalizes the decisive rapprochement with the unconscious that characterizes the beginning of individuation, whose immediate goal is the experience and production of the symbol of

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<sup>50</sup>Jacobi, Jolande, Complex/ Archetype/ Symbol in the Psychology of C. G. Jung, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York, 1959), p. 59. To express its historical character Jung used the term "collective unconscious," which as suprapersonal matrix is the unlimited sum of fundamental psychic conditions accumulated over millions of years through racial experience.

totality (CW, XIV, 529.). This confrontation follows several stages which lead from the integration of the shadow personality to the crystallization of the anima. This means that the course Endymion will follow-- "his fated way"--follows the structure of psychic happenings that lead to the realization of ego consciousness. Correspondingly, this implies too that the disposition of the background of his adventures, the setting, will be ordered in accord with the structure of the psyche itself.

Endymion's adventures in the third book begin with a visitation by the Moon who comes to succor her champion in his isolation and loneliness. He sleeps and she strengthens him before the beginning of his arduous tasks. This is the "nourishing" influence of unconscious contents, maintaining the vitality of consciousness by a continual influx of energy since consciousness does not produce its energy by itself. The moon is one of the primary forms assumed by the mother archetype (CW, IX, Vol. I, 81.).<sup>51</sup> The moon protects Endymion from the overwhelming fascination of his experiences: "A cold leaden awe/ These secrets truck into him; and unless/ Dian had chaced away that heaviness,/ He might have died" (iii, 136-139). In the wanderer's several addresses to the moon, that introduce the third book, all the qualities associated with the mother archetype are pronounced:

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<sup>51</sup>Jung makes it clear that the mother archetype appears under an almost infinite variety of aspects: "To this category belongs the goddess, and especially the Mother of God, the Virgin, and Sophia. Mythology offers many variations of the mother archetype, as, for instance, the mother who reappears as the maiden in the myth of Demeter and Kore; or the mother who is also the beloved, as in the Cybele-Attis myth. Other symbols of the mother in a figurative sense appear in things representing the goal of our longing for redemption, such as Paradise, the Kingdom of God, the Heavenly Jerusalem. Many things arousing devotion or feelings of awe, as for instance the Church, university, city or country, heaven, earth, the woods, the sea or any still waters, matter even, the underworld and the moon, can be mother-symbols" (CW, IX, Vol. I, 81.), can be seen from even this incomplete reference how closely Keats' evocative symbol parallels Jung's description.

And, by the feud  
 'Twixt Nothing and Creation, I here swear,  
 Eterne Apollo! that thy Sister fair  
 Is of all these the gentlier-mightiest,  
 When thy gold breath is misting in the west,  
 She unobserved steals unto her throne,  
 And there she sits most meek and most alone;  
 As if she had not pomp subservient;  
 As if thine eye, high poet! was not bent  
 Towards her with the Muses in thine heart;  
 As if the ministring stars kept not apart,  
 Waiting for silver-footed messages.  
 O Moon! the oldest shades 'mong oldest trees  
 Feel palpitations when thou lookest in:  
 O Moon! old boughs lisp forth a holier din  
 The while they feel thine airy fellowship  
 Thou dost bless every where, with silver lip  
 Kissing dead things to life. The sleeping kine,  
 Couched in thy brightness, dream of fields divine:  
 Innumerable mountains rise, and rise,  
 Ambitious for the hallowing of thine eyes;  
 And yet thy benediction passeth not  
 On obscure hiding-place, one little spot  
 Where pleasure may be sent: the nested wren  
 Has thy fair face within its tranquil ken,  
 And from beneath a sheltering ivy leaf  
 Takes glimpses of thee; thou art a relief  
 To the poor patient oyster, where it sleeps  
 Within its pearly house.--The mighty deeps,  
 The monstrous sea is thine--the myriad sea!  
 O Moon! far-spooming Ocean bows to thee,  
 And Tellus feels his forehead's cumbrous load. (iii, 40-71)

All of nature is seen to palpitate and respond to her presence. All creatures defer to her as their queen and majesty. The mother archetype characteristically arouses feelings of devotion or of awe. Here maternal solicitude and sympathy, the magic authority of the feminine, the wisdom and spiritual exaltation that transcend reason, all that is benign, all that cherishes and sustains, all that fosters growth and fertility is manifested in the moon. Keats voices the depth and breadth of the mother archetype, enriching the mythological background of his poem with the moon as the universal symbol of the source and sustainer of life.

Endymion questions the cause of his mysterious revival through the moon's influence: "What is there in thee, Moon! that thou shouldst move/

My heart so potently?" (iii, 142-143). But it is by virtue of its capacity for transformation--inconspicuous and almost invisible (i.e., unconscious) though it is--that this root of consciousness provides the ego sphere with all its energy. Endymion reveals (iii, 176vv) that the moon's power faded when his strange love came to him, but adds that her sway "Has been an under-passion to this hour" (179). Endymion does not yet realize that the moon is the goddess he seeks, "his strange love." Yet because the unconscious gives us the feeling that it is something alien, a non-ego, it is to be expected that it be symbolized by an alien, extraterrestrial figure like the moon. Thus on the one hand, the distance of the moon from the earth makes it the most insignificant of things, but on the other hand, since it symbolizes what the unconscious potentially contains--that round "wholeness" which consciousness lacks--makes it become the most significant of all. This is the answer to Endymion's question and the reason why he is so dependent on her while he wanders in her domain of the unconscious sphere.

When Endymion wakes refreshed from his rest under the charm of Cynthia, he enters a graveyard of sunken ocean debris and is suddenly surrounded with old rusted anchors, lost helmets, and other battered implements of war. Scattered parts of wrecks are strewn among vases and scrolls that belonged to another era. Throughout the passage (iii, 119-141) Keats emphasizes a distinctive trait of everything in this graveyard: though once they belonged to life, they have long since slipped beyond use and memory. Thus, we have the armor of "gone sea warriors," rudders which for a century had "lost/ The sway of human hand," a vase "emboss'd/ With long-forgotten story," and the writing on the ancient scrolls is long out of date, like the sunken sculpture wrought in huge stone in the mood of Nox.

In addition to all this there are

skeletons of man,  
Of beast, behemoth, and leviathan,  
And elephant, and eagle, and huge jaw  
Of nameless monster. (iii, 133-136)

If the limitless sea, presided over by the tide-swaying moon, symbolizes the unconscious of man, this buried graveyard is that portion of the "extra-conscious" psyche whose contents are personal: contents which are integral components of the individual personality and could therefore just as well be conscious, as opposed to the omnipresent, unchanging, and everywhere identical quality or substratum of the psyche per se, the collective unconscious. The personal unconscious has been called the shadow, because it is the archetype that corresponds to the unrecognized dark half of the personality (CW, VII, 94.). The reason I identify this sea graveyard with the personal unconscious is because, like the persona, it is formed of elements that one time belonged to life (i.e., consciousness) but have long since fallen out of use or been lost (i.e., forgotten, repressed). The shadow contains all those elements in the personality which the ego condemns as negative because of life's necessary adaptations. The scattered jetsam Endymion sees is like the cast-off infantile impulses and inferior personal attributes which the conscious personality will not entertain any longer. Man's natural unwillingness to encounter the face of evil, when it may be his own, accounts for the resistance Endymion displays as he approaches the place: "A cold leaden awe/ These secrets struck into him . . . He might have died" (iii, 136-139). The word "secrets" suggests repressed contents which have now become an affront to the conscious personality.

Similarities between the submerged graveyard with its skeletons of whales and nameless monsters and the great blue cape worn by Glaucus, whom Endymion encounters shortly after passing out of the place of skulls, strike



the reader and suggest a symbolic connection between the old man and the cemetery. And the awe inspired in the youth by the latter is similar to his reaction to the awesome cloak that Glaucus wears.

A cloak of blue wrapp'd up his aged bones,  
 O'erwrought with symbols by the deepest groans  
 Of ambitious magic: every ocean-form  
 Was woven in with black distinctness; storm,  
 And calm, and whispering, and hideous roar,  
 Quicksand, and whirlpool, and deserted shore  
 Were emblem'd in the woof; with every shape  
 That skims, or dives, or sleeps, 'twixt cape and cape.  
 The gulphing whale was like a dot in the spell,  
 Yet look upon it, and 'twould size and swell  
 To its huge self; and the minutest fish  
 Would pass the very hardest gazer's wish,  
 And shew his little eye's anatomy. (iii, 197-209)

Before such a spectacle Endymion can only stand in awe; Glaucus personifies all the horrors of the graveyard (viz., "every shape/ That skims, or dives, or sleeps.") with the addition of another demonic aspect, seen in the suggestion of his magical and otherworldly powers (there is a wand beside him and he reads from a book of potent spells).

The whirlpools, quicksand and other emblems of natural forces link Glaucus to the powers of earth. Correspondingly there is another side to the shadow which is rooted in the collective unconscious and gives the persona a dark, chthonic coloring, source to an even greater fear and resistance on the part of the ego. But the all important position of the shadow, located midway between the personal and the collective unconscious, requires that the ego befriend this hostile other, because the shadow is the link that roots the personality in the subsoil of the unconscious. In Glaucus the personal as well as the chthonic aspects of the shadow are constellated in the form of the Antagonist, an archetypal

personification of the destructive tendencies of the unconscious.<sup>52</sup> But the shadowy link with the archetype of the antagonist that must now be forged by Endymion is in the deepest sense part of the creative abyss of every living personality. The sign of the establishment of this bond, says Neumann, is when the shadow appears as a twin, for he is not just the "hostile brother," but the companion and friend, so that it is even difficult sometimes to tell whether this twin is the shadow or the self, the deathless "other" (Nohc, p. 353.).<sup>53</sup> At a later point in the third book Endymion will pronounce the twin brotherhood of the pair when he learns of the fated allegiance they share. But the importance of this pronouncement cannot be fully understood until all that is constituted by the shadow-antagonist is digested.

It would not be improper to add here, for the purpose of clarification, that the Dragon Fight begins really with the introjection of the antagonist, for with it occurs the initial encounter of the hero with the mother dragon. The antagonist represents the power of darkness as a transpersonal quality, symbolized in earlier myths by the ancient Egyptian Set, the Apopis serpent, or the ferocious boar (Nohc, p. 316.). In the beginning the ego is overpowered by the content entering consciousness--namely, the archetype

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<sup>52</sup>The archetypes form the "primordial pattern" for personifications of partial aspects of the psyche and hence assume figures of all kinds. Jung talks of types of situations and types of figures that repeat themselves frequently and have a corresponding meaning; he refers to these as motifs, which are akin to the morphological and functional similarities in the system of biology. As the antagonist, Glaucus corresponds to just such a form.

<sup>53</sup>The dot that expands into a whale (iii, 205) and the magical fish's eye (iii, 209) described on Glaucus' cape are definite symbols of the unconscious self and do make possible the identification of this figure with the self, the deathless "other."

of the antagonist--and goes under. And this is precisely what happens to Endymion in his initial response to the hoary bearded old man: he fears death in a number of horrible forms:

'What lonely death am I to die  
In this cold region! Will he let me freeze,  
And float my brittle limbs o'er polar seas?  
Or will he touch me with his searing hand,  
And leave a black memorial on the sand?  
Or tear me piece-meal with a bony saw,  
And keep me as a chosen food to draw  
His magian fish through hated fire and flame?' (iii, 258-265)

Death by being rent, devoured, and burnt are all recognizable as types of sacrifice peculiar to the Mother Goddesses: Glaucus acts under the dominance of the matriarchal sphere and is an expression of the terrible and aggressive character of the mother archetype. The story Glaucus tells Endymion of Circe reveals that he is under her domination, a mere exponent of her will. Endymion also is challenged because if he fails to complete the task that will free Glaucus, he likewise will die. Even though the old man announces gladly that Endymion is the man who has been appointed by fate to save him, the youth is still afraid. But gradually as the ego recognizes this destructive tendency as being not just a hostile content of the unconscious, but as part of itself, there is an assimilation of one side to the other, and the ego is able to assume a posture of defense against the unconscious. Glaucus says:

'Arise, good youth, for sacred Phoebus' sake!  
I know thine inmost bosom, and I feel  
A very brother's yearning for thee steal  
Into mine own: for why? thou openest  
The prison gates that have so long opprest  
My weary watching.' (iii, 292-297)

The instinctive sense of brotherhood alluded to here indicates an important metamorphosis in the dominant mythic constellation of this section. Glaucus no longer seems quite so terrible; he is more the helpful twin,

the fellow "struggler:" "'Be not afraid,/ For thou shalt hear this secret all display'd/ Now as we speed towards our joyous task,'" he so comfortingly says to Endymion (iii, 307-309). Now we have the familiar motif of the Dioscuri who appear in myths as kindred companions, one of whom is mortal the other immortal. They are often associated with water and frequently are assigned the task of tending the souls of those who are lost at sea, which is true of Glaucus, who has "enshrined piously/ All lovers, whom fell storms have doom'd to die" (iii, 721-722). And in religious traditions this pair is Christ and John the Baptist, Khidr and Moses, and the sun god and Mithras, to mention but a few. All of these friendships between two men are simply the outer reflection of an inner fact: it discloses our kinship to that inner friend of the soul into whom Nature wishes to transform us--"that other person who we also are and yet can never attain to completely" (CW, IX, Vol. I, 131.). Man is himself such a pair of Dioscuri; this is the meaning behind Keats' symbol; from within himself he derives the pattern of the mortal one and the immortal who though always together can never be completely one. The processes of transformation strive to approximate a unity between them, but consciousness is aware of resistances, because the other seems strange and uncanny, like Glaucus of whom Endymion can only say suspiciously: "I care not for this old mysterious man!" (iii, 280).

But the friendship with the shadow must be established, and consciousness must incorporate it, digest and assimilate it, in other words, to make it conscious. The chthonic power of the mother archetype is thereby utilized by the ego. The advent of fear encouraged resistance, until a suitable posture of defense had been assumed through incorporating this dark side--evil is a necessary constituent of individuality. Through this

assimilation, the point is finally reached where Endymion can say, "We are twin brothers in this destiny!" (iii, 713). The significance of this line should now be clear: the basis has now been laid for the strugglers' active confrontation of the mother dragon. Indeed, Neumann tells us, in psychological development, the self lies hidden in the shadow; he is the "keeper of the gate," the guardian of the threshold (Nohc, p. 353.). The way to the self lies through him; behind the foreboding aspect he initially represented there stands the aspect of wholeness, and only by making friends with the shadow can Endymion gain the friendship of the self. It should also be clear that the imagery of Glaucus' speech (quoted above), when he said to Endymion, "'Thou openest/ The prison gates that have so long oppressed/ My weary watching'" (iii, 295-297), is directly related to the shadow archetype which Jung calls "a tight passage, a narrow door, whose painful constriction no one is spared who goes down the deep well" (CW, IX, Vol. I, 21.). Jung goes on in the same passage to explain that one must learn to know oneself in order to know who one is. "For what comes after the door is, surprisingly enough, a boundless expanse full of unprecedented uncertainty, with apparently no inside and no outside, no above and no below, no here and no there, no mine and no thine, no good and no bad. It is the world of water, where all life floats in suspension; where the realm of the sympathetic system, the soul of everything living, begins; where I am indivisibly this and that; where I experience the other in myself and the other-than-myself experiences me" (CW, IX, Vol. I, 21-22.). Jung's metaphor is, in my opinion, Keats' poem. The limitless watery expanse of Neptune's kingdom--the scene of the Dragon Fight and all the trials of the soul--now opens before Endymion. Indeed, Endymion at this point coincides identically with the intermediate stage of the individuation

myth which reflects the ego's resistance to the unconscious' passage from fear and flight to the defiant attitude of the "strugglers"--who are the mythological exponents of this intermediate phase--and finally, to the aggressive attitude of Endymion, who actively champions the position of consciousness against the dragon of the unconscious (Nohc, p. 300.).

Circe's curse that holds Glaucus and Scylla in thrall is, as the reader knows, also a threat to Endymion: "The youth elect/ Must do the thing, or both will be destroyed" (iii, 710-711), is written in Glaucus' magic book. The Dragon Fight is to be met unfalteringly by Endymion; he must do the thing himself--the ego must lift itself to higher consciousness. Endymion performs every test as if overshadowed by an invincible power. Guided and advised by Glaucus, who now displays attributes of the Wise Old Man archetype, Endymion begins what he must.<sup>54</sup>

'Let us commence,'  
Whisper'd the guide, stuttering with joy, 'even now.'  
He spake, and, trembling like an aspen-bough  
Began to tear his scroll in pieces small,  
Uttering the while some mumblings funeral.  
He tore it into pieces small as snow  
That drifts unfeather'd when bleak norther's blow;  
And having done it, took his dark blue cloak  
And bound it round Endymion: then struck  
His wand against the empty air times nine.--  
'What more there is to do, young man, is thine:  
But first a little patience; first undo  
This tangled thread, and wind it to a clue.  
Ah gentle! 'tis as weak as spider's skein;  
And shouldst thou break it--What, is it done so clean?

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<sup>54</sup>"The old man always appears when the hero is in a hopeless and desperate situation from which only profound reflection or a lucky idea--in other words, a spiritual function or an endopsychic automatism of some kind--can extricate him. But since, for internal and external reasons, the hero cannot accomplish this himself, the knowledge needed to compensate the deficiency comes in the form of a personified thought, i.e., in the shape of this sagacious and helpful old man....Indeed the old man is himself this purposeful reflection and concentration of moral and physical forces that comes about spontaneously in the psychic space outside consciousness when conscious thought is not yet--or is no longer--possible. . . . more often still he gives the necessary magical talisman, the unexpected and improbable power to succeed" (CW, IX, Vol. I, 217-220.).

A power overshadows thee! O, brave!  
 The spite of hell is tumbling to its grave.  
 Here is a shell; 'tis pearly blank to me,  
 Nor mark'd with any sign or character--  
 Canst thou read aught? O read for pity's sake!  
 Olympus! we are safe! Now, Carian, break  
 This wand against yon lyre on the pedestal.' (iii, 745-765)

Endymion's three tasks equal the traditional number of trials the hero must perform. Untying the thread, reading the enigmatic shell, and breaking the wand overcome the spell of Circe who is a threat to Endymion. The Circe episode which occupies so large a part of the third book is in no way discordant with the rest of the poem. In fact, Circe presents the hero with his whole reason to be. She is the Mother-Dragon Endymion has to confront. In his fight with the dragon his activity is that of the acting, willing, and discriminating ego which, no longer fascinated and overpowered, and abandoning its youthful attitude of passive defense, seeks out the danger, performs new and extraordinary deeds, and battles its way to victory (Nohc, p. 318.). Endymion's actions--i.e., loosening delicate threads, reading cryptic characters, and breaking the magic wand--signalize the triumph of consciousness over unconscious passivity: "The spite of hell is tumbling to its grave" (iii, 760). What he accomplished was symptomatic of an increased concentration of consciousness and a new autonomy of the ego, of the higher spiritual man who has a will of his own and follows his reason. In going on to rescue Glaucus, Scylla, and the drowned lovers, Endymion's achievement is comparable to Faust's wresting of the land from the sea, both symbolize the central action of heroic consciousness, which obtains new territory from the unconscious and locates it under the rule of the ego.

When Endymion scatters some magic fragments upon Glaucus, the old man becomes a youth (iii, 775). Then Scylla, whom Circe had murdered, is

brought to life in the same manner and reunited with her lover. Keats' poetry is rhapsodic at this point.

'Mid the sound  
Of flutes and viols, ravishing his heart,  
Endymion from Glaucus stood apart,  
And scatter'd in his face some fragments light.  
How lightning-swift the change! a youthful wight  
Smiling beneath a coral diadem,  
Out-sparkling sudden like an upturn'd gem,  
Appear'd, and, stepping to a beauteous corse,  
Kneel'd down beside it, and with tenderest force  
Press'd its cold hand, and wept,---and Scylla sigh'd!  
Endymion, with quick hand, the charm applied--  
The nymph arose: he left them to their joy. (iii, 771-782)

The coral diadem, resplendent above the brow of Glaucus, is an alchemical symbol, and it is not too hard to imagine that Keats with his medical education, which included chemistry, would have had at least a scant knowledge of alchemy, such as Shakespeare, his mentor, certainly did. The crown is described as "Out-sparkling sudden like an upturn'd gem" (iii, 777); this jewel is the Stone of the Philosophers, the sought for and prized rubius lapis. It recalls the mystical orb of light in the fellowship with essence passage of the first book (i, 780-815); this compelling image is carefully analyzed later in my study. The presence of alchemical symbolism in Endymion amplifies the meaning of the individuation myth--transformation of personality.

The final act of Endymion's Dragon Fight is when he frees the lovers, who were drowned at sea.

Death felt it to his inwards: 'twas too much:  
Death fell a weeping in his charnel-house.  
The Latmian persever'd along, and thus  
All were re-animated. (iii, 787-790)

Endymion's conquest is a conquest over death. This recalls to mind the orbbed diamond seen at the beginning of his quest, "set to fray old darkness from his throne" (ii, 245-246). The completion of this objective



means that the hero has overcome the sway of the Great Mother. Campbell says, "The effect of the successful adventure of the hero is the unlocking and release again of the flow of life into the body of the world."<sup>55</sup> By freeing Glaucus from Circe's curse and Scylla from the spell of death, Endymion releases life into the world.

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<sup>55</sup>Hero, p. 49.

## 2. The Treasure and the Return

We have already discussed the development of the hero's masculinity in the events leading up to his fight with the dragon, and the overpowering of the Terrible Mother with which it is identical. The freeing and winning of the captive form a further stage in the evolution of masculine consciousness. The nature of this stage of the individuation myth is explained by Neumann:

The transformation which the male undergoes in the course of the dragon fight includes a change in his relation to the female, symbolically expressed in the liberation of the captive from the dragon's power. In other words, the feminine image extricates itself from the grip of the Terrible Mother, a process known in analytical psychology as the crystallization of the anima from the mother archetype (Nohc, p. 198.).

If we consider the sequence of Peona, Venus, Circe, Scylla, Phoebe, and the Indian Maiden, a progression is noticeable away from the overpowering and transpersonal Great Mother to the clear, personal image of the anima as the freed captive, who is a human creature, a partner with whom Endymion can unite himself personally. The female embodiment of the unconscious is freed from the overpowering and terrible aspects of the mother goddess and becomes a companion and partner. Endymion has won immortal life for himself and an immortal bliss for his goddess, Phoebe-Diana-Cyntheria, as announced to him in words of star-light at the end of book three.

Dearest Endymion! my entire love!  
How have I dwelt in fear of fate: 'tis done--  
Immortal bliss for me too hast thou won. (iii, 1022-1024)

Phoebe was kept prisoner in heaven by her own fear of fate and reluctance to be discovered in love with a mere mortal: ". . . foolish fear/ Withheld me first; and then decrees of fate" (iv, 989-990), but Endymion

by his heroic conquest removes the chains of fear and gains the "treasure hard to obtain," symbolized by the star-light writing, Glaucus' diadem, and the Palace of Neptune, which, as the victorious pair enter it, is

diamond gleams, and golden glows  
Of amber 'gainst their faces levelling.  
Joyous, and many as the leaves in spring,  
Still onward; still the splendour gradual swell'd.  
Rich opal domes were seen, on high upheld  
By jasper pillars, letting through their shafts  
A blush of coral. (iii, 837-843)

What we have here is another hint of the alchemical in the characteristic coral color and the Palace itself which corresponds to the "treasure-house" (gazophylacium, domus thesauraria) of philosophy, which is a synonym for the aurum philosophorum, or lapis (CW, XIV, 4.). The meaning of the "treasure" is that the unmined ore of the unconscious has been raised to the conscious level.<sup>56</sup>

The captive and the treasure are the same; mythology personifies the precious goal of the Dragon Fight into the human captive who requires deliverance from the power of a monster. But, as we have already seen with Phoebe, the captive often retains her former "treasure" character through association with gold or precious gems. The Indian Maiden likewise is depicted in terms of treasure by the words of Endymion, who upon looking into her eyes remarks:

that affectionate light, those diamond things,  
Those eyes, those passions, those supreme pearl springs,  
Shall be my grief, or twinkle me to pleasure.  
(iv, 717-719)

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<sup>56</sup>"The mythological goal of the dragon fight is almost always the virgin, the captive, or, more generally, the 'treasure hard to attain.' It is to be noted that a purely material pile of gold, such as the hoard of the Nibelungs, is a late and degenerate form of the original motif. In the earliest mythologies, in ritual, in religion, and in mystical literature as well as in fairy tales, legend, and poetry, gold and precious stones, but particularly diamonds and pearls, were originally symbolic carriers of immaterial values" (Nohc, p. 195.).

Diamonds and pearls are the most common form of the treasure.

True to the nature of the captive, the Indian is sad and lost (iv, 51); in the mournful monologue that opens the fourth book she reveals that she had been carried from her native Ganges and now is held a miserable prisoner of Sorrow. The famous Song to Sorrow tells how she was swept away in the bacchic mania and suffered to witness the vinous orgies of the wine god. She cries out to be rescued and Endymion overhears her plea.

'Is no one near to help me? No fair dawn  
Of life from charitable voice? No sweet saying  
To set my dull and sadden'd spirit playing?  
No hand to toy with mine? No lips so sweet  
That I may worship them? No eyelids meet  
To twinkle on my bosom? No one dies  
Before me, till from these enslaving eyes  
Redemption sparkles!' (iv, 44-51)

In the words of Neumann, the captive is: "something that cries out to be rescued, set free, and redeemed, and she demands that the man shall prove himself manly, not merely as the bearer of the phallic instrument of fertilization, but as a spiritual potency, a hero" (*Nohc*, p. 201.). The image of the Indian Maiden emerges from this description in the same way as her demands on Endymion coincide with the demands of the captive. "They include the throwing open of dungeons, deliverance from deadly and magical powers both paternal and maternal, the hacking down of the thorny thickets and flaming hedges of inhibition and anxiety, liberation of the slumbering or enchained womanhood in her, the solution of riddles and guessing games in a battle of wits, and rescue from joyless depression" (*Ibid.*). The parallel, I think, is clear enough to obviate a line by line demonstration.

The Indian Maiden offers Endymion a human and equal love; through his attachment to her he bids adieu to the transpersonal realm and rests content,

it would seem, with his earthly love. But there still lurk grief and fears from the past still forcing upon him "a thirst/ To meet oblivion" (iv, 123-124). Sensing his unrest, the maiden hastens to quiet his mood.

'Why must such desolation betide  
As that thou speak'st of? Are not these green nooks  
Empty of all misfortune? Do the brooks  
Utter a gorgon voice?' (iv, 126-129)

Keats' use of the adjective "gorgon" in this connection is most significant because Gorgon is the Terrible Mother who is now overthrown and replaced by the "higher femininity" of the anima.<sup>57</sup> The experience of the captive marks out, within the threatening monstrous world of the unconscious ruled by the Mothers, a quiet place where the soul, the anima, can take shape as the feminine complement of the hero and as the counterpart of his ego consciousness. The anima is a symbolic and archetypal figure; she is made up of magical, alluring, and dangerously fascinating elements which bring madness as well as wisdom. The negative attributes of the anima have already been alluded to in the discussion of Circe. The ego had been driven to seek its own reality by the centroverting effect of the negative anima; now it can find its own reality in the positive anima, which assumes the mythological guise of the freed captive.

Through the maiden, Endymion returns to earth; his love for her fixes him on the objective world of human sympathy and feeling for others. He turns his back on the starry regions and the darkened caverns, and his former subjective concern for individual immortality is consumed in his love for the mortal maiden.

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<sup>57</sup>Neumann explains: "Familiarity with this "higher" aspect of woman helps man to overcome his terror of the fanged and castrating womb, the Gorgon who bars the way to the captive, i.e., prevents entry into the creative, receptive womb of a real woman" (Nohc, p. 203.).

'Dear lady,' said Endymion, 'tis past:  
 I love thee! and my days can never last.  
 That I may pass in patience still speak:  
 Let me have music dying, and I seek  
 No more delight--I bid adieu to all.' (iv, 137-141)

The realization of his finiteness and mortality is part of Endymion's adaptation to the real world where men die and beautiful maidens do shed tears. Endymion begins to move again in the human sphere; he has emerged from the ocean and underworld to ascend to the cultural level and an earthly relation with a real woman. The treasure he has wrested from death and night is light and love for the maiden, a human love that re-acquaints him with the outer world. Endymion exults in his discovery of life:

Behold upon this happy earth we are;  
 Let us aye love each other; let us fare  
 On forest-fruits, and never, never go  
 Among the abodes of mortals here below,  
 Or be by phantoms duped. (iv, 625-629)

Between the exterior sphere of objective physis and the interior sphere of objective psyche the ego relativizes its own position by uniting himself to the reality of his own soul, the captive he has set free, and founds his kingdom with her. It was by his redeeming love that Endymion set the Indian Maiden free from the captivity of Bacchus and Gorgon-sorrow.

His rescue of the Maiden is tantamount to the discovery of a new world of human culture, of all that man has ever done for woman, everything that he has experienced and created for her sake. Through her he experiences the whole range of the domestic arts from the providing of shelter,

'Where shall our dwelling be? Under the brow  
 Of some steep mossy hill, where ivy dun  
 And where dark yew trees, as we rustle through,

Will drop their scarlet berry cups of dew?  
O thou wouldst joy to live in such a place.' (iv, 670-675)

to providing food through agriculture.

'Honey from out the gnarled hive I'll bring,  
And apples, wan with sweetness, gather thee,--  
Cresses that grow where no man may them see,  
And sorrel untorn by the dew-claw'd stag.' (iv, 682-685)

He proposes to prune and beautify nature, like Adam, the first gardener.

'The rill,  
Thou haply mayst delight in, will I fill  
With fairy fishes from the mountain tarn,  
And thou shalt feed them from the squirrel's barn.  
Its bottom will I strew with amber shells,  
And pebbles blue from deep enchanted wells.  
Its sides I'll plant with dew-sweet eglantine,  
And honeysuckles full of clear bee-wine.  
I will entice this crystal rill to trace  
Love's silver name upon the meadow's face.' (iv, 691-700)

Also he will appeal to all the gods to bestow their arts upon him.

'I'll kneel to Vesta, for a flame of fire;  
And to god Phoebus, for a golden lyre;  
To Empress Dian, for a hunting spear;  
To Vesper, for a taper silver-clear,  
That I may see thy beauty through the night;  
To Flora, and a nightingale shall light  
Tame on thy finger; to the River-gods,  
And they shall bring thee taper fishing-rods  
Of gold, and lines of Naiads' long bright tress.' (iv, 701-709)

The world of art, of epic deeds, poesy, and song, which Endymion perceives, revolves around the liberated captive spreading out like a virgin continent. Great tracts of human culture, and not of art alone, derive from the interplay and counterplay of the sexes, or rather, of masculine and feminine. But the symbolism connected with the rescue of the captive extends even further. For, with the liberation of the captive, a portion of the alien, hostile, feminine world of the unconscious enters into intimate alliance with the man's personality, if not actually with his consciousness (Nohc, p. 204.).

Endymion can address the Indian Maiden as: "My sweetest Indian" (iv, 648), "My Indian bless!/ My river-lily bud!" (iv, 663-664), because a feminine, "sisterly" element--intangible but very real--has been added to the masculine ego consciousness. The word "my" differentiates the anonymous, hostile territory of the unconscious from a region which is felt to be peculiarly "my" own, belonging to "my" particular personality. And although it is experienced as feminine and therefore "alien," (i.e., to "masculine" consciousness), and Keats chose to emphasize this difference by making her come from India, it has an elective affinity with the masculine ego which would have been unthinkable in connection with the Great Mother (Nohc, p. 204.). The captive is the "new" element whose liberation makes further development possible.

In our discussion of the Indian Maiden we have seen the dragon fight, as a triumph of consciousness, culminate in the discovery of the reality of the psyche, which corresponds mythologically to the freeing of the captive and the unearthing of the treasure. The primordial creative powers of the psyche, which in Books II and III were projected upon the subterranean and submarine realms, are now experienced humanly, as part of Endymion's personality, as his soul. The two winged, black, horses that Endymion and the maiden fly upon (iv, 343vv.) symbolize the freeing of libido from the Great Mother.

In classical legend Pegasus sprang from the decapitated trunk of the slain Gorgon. Like Pegasus, Endymion's flying steeds belong to the chthonic-phallic world ("they foster'd are/ Of earth's splenetic fire" (iv, 398-399), and represent the harnessing of creative nature and instinct. Pegasus assists the hero in the performance of his heroic deeds. The symbolism points clearly enough to the victory of the mascu-



line, conscious spirit over the powers of the matriarchate (Nohc, p. 218.).

Pegasus, it will be remembered, upon his release from the Medusa, is credited with a creative work upon earth. The myth tells us that, as the winged horse flew up to Zeus amid thunder and lightning, his hoof struck the Fountain of Poetry from the ground. Through the horse, as a domesticated animal, nature is tamed and submissive, moreover, nature is transformed through the creative action of the conscious spirit. Keats' use of the Pegasus motif can be interpreted as a symbol of his own creative fertilization; this aspect of the Pegasus myth lies at the root of all creativity. The conquest of Endymion means not only the liberation of the captive, but the ascent of libido. This refers to Keats' own grasp of his creative powers. The writing of Endymion was in itself Keats' own "Dragon Fight." He wrote to George in the spring of 1817 that the idea of poetical fame seemed to tower too high above him, and that he had no right to even talk of it until Endymion was finished (I, 169-170). For him it was a trial of his powers of imagination. There is always that sense of heroic dedication in Keats' attitude that Lionel Trilling notes. Keats, he believes, "at every moment took like in the largest possible way and seems never to have been without the sense that to be, or to become, a man was an adventurous problem."<sup>58</sup> Keats' sense of the adventure of becoming, places him in that highest category of heroism: the hero who seeks primarily to transform the personality (Nohc, p. 220.). Keats exemplifies in his life the essential characteristic of the hero who dares take the evolutionary leap to the next stage and does not cling to the conservatism of the existing system, or remain the inveterate enemy

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<sup>58</sup>"The Poet as Hero: Keats in His Letters," The Opposing Self (New York, 1959), p. 4.

of the new. This willingness constitutes the real revolutionary quality of the hero. In Endymion Keats overcomes the old phase of the personality, succeeds in casting out fear and changing it into joy.

### 3. Transformation

Except in several particulars--the most important of which is the Cave of Quietude--Keats does not emphasize the traditional story in his version of the Endymion legend. In Lemprière and in Drayton's "Endymion and Phoebe" (1593), Endymion sleeps most of the time in a cave where the moon goddess descends to him every night. Toward the middle of Book IV Endymion enters the Cave of Quietude when he has been left alone by both the Indian Maiden and Phoebe. This segment of Keats' poem comes quite close to the traditional story:

There lies a den,  
Beyond the seeming confines of the space  
Made for the soul to wander in and trace  
Its own existence, of remotest glooms.  
Dark regions are around it, where the tombs  
Of buried griefs the spirit sees, but scarce  
One hour doth linger weeping, for the pierce  
Of new-born woe it feels more inly smart:  
And in these regions many a venom'd dart  
At random flies; they are the proper home  
Of every ill: the man is yet to come  
Who hath not journeyed in this native hell. (iv, 513-523)

This is a cave which Endymion comes to at a time when he is in need of renewal. There are several parallels from other areas which deserve noting. One is the Eighteenth Sura of the Koran, entitled "The Cave."<sup>59</sup> It is a parable telling of seven sleepers who slept in a cave for three hundred and nine years, little suspecting when they went there that they would experience a prolongation of life verging on immortality. The other, more commonly known, is the resurrection of Christ from the dead, after he had been entombed in a cave. The Cave of Quietude, the Sura,

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<sup>59</sup>The Koran, trans. J. M. Rodwell (London and New York, 1911), pp. 180ff.

and the Christian tradition all carry the same psychological meaning. For, according to Jung, "Anyone who gets into that cave, that is to say into the cave which everyone has in himself, or into the darkness that lies behind consciousness, will find himself involved in an--at first--unconscious process of transformation (CW, IX, Vol. I, 135.).

The den of quietude is beyond "the seeming confines of the space/ Made for the soul to wander in and trace/ Its own existence," or in the "darkness behind consciousness" as Jung described it. Keats' cave is consistent with this, for he says: "Dark regions are around it, where the tombs/ Of buried griefs the spirit sees." These glooms are the unconscious components which constitute a "native hell," and the man has yet to come who has not journeyed there. Everyone, it is true, has had some experience of his unconscious, has seen to some extent his native hell. Jung says that everyone has a cave of transformation in himself, but not everyone gets into that cave. Just the same, Keats continues:

But few have ever felt how calm and well  
Sleep may be had in that deep den of all.  
There anguish does not sting; nor pleasure pall:  
Woe-hurricanes beat ever at the gate,  
Yet all is still within and desolate.  
Beset with painful gusts, within ye hear  
No sound so loud as when on curtain'd bier  
The death-watch tick is stifled. (iv, 524-531)

This is a place of peace and beatific calm. The woe-hurricanes strike harmlessly at the outside; no painful gusts can reach the one who is secure in that protective silence. Entrance cannot be gained to it by a struggle:

Enter none  
Who strive therefore: on the sudden it is won.  
Just when the sufferer begins to burn,  
Then it is free to him . . .  
Happy gloom!  
Dark Paradise! where pale becomes the bloom  
Of health by due; where silence dreariest

Is most articulate; where hopes infest;  
 Where those eyes are the brightest far that keep  
 Their lids shut longest in a dreamless sleep.  
 (iv, 531-534; 537-542)

This dark paradise is the place of transformation. The presence of the opposites--"Enter none/Who strive," "pale becomes the bloom/ Of health," "silence dreariest/ Is most articulate," "eyes are the brightest far that keep/ Their lids shut longest"--make it a cave of renewal and rebirth. Keats' cave is a kind of spiritual womb, out of which one is reborn to higher consciousness. It is a psychological state where one is incubated and renewed.

If we review the condition of Endymion before he entered the Cave of Quietude we will be better able to see exactly how it is the place of transformation and renewal. Endymion shows his need for renewal when he is split within himself by the confusion that his double love--for the Maiden and the Goddess--has caused him. Almost in his last extremity, he says:

'What is this soul then? Whence  
 Came it? It does not seem my own, and I  
 Have no self-passion or identity.  
 Some fearful end must be: where, where is it?  
 By nemesis, I see my spirit flit  
 Alone about the dark.' (iv, 475-480)

Endymion suffers from a sense of diminution of personality by what is known in primitive psychology as "loss of soul," a dangerous state of general malaise where the primitive supposes that his soul has gone off, just like a dog run away from his master overnight (CW, IX, Vol. I, 119.). The growth of individuality is threatened from within by the "perils of the soul," and from the outside by the "perils of the world." Poised between them, and left without "self-passion or identity," Endymion is in grave danger of a dissolution of all that he has accomplished.

The hazardous isolation of the systems is dramatized by a happening that leaves Endymion suspended alone beneath the moon and above the earth, apart from Phoebe and the Indian Maiden, the upper and lower components of his soul. He and the Maiden were in swift flight together after leaving the cloud of Morpheus when, with the sudden uprising of the moon, a sudden change occurs.

Slowly she rose, as though she would have fled,  
While to his lady meek the Carian turn'd  
To mark if her dark eyes had yet discern'd  
This beauty in its birth--despair! despair!  
He saw her body fading gaunt and spare  
In the cold moonshine. Straight he seiz'd her wrist;  
It melted from his grasp: her hand he kiss'd  
And, horror! kiss'd his own--he was alone. (iv, 503-510)

Phoebe is far above him in the form of the moon, and the maiden is equally remote by her return to earth. Now the anima is split apart: Endymion is deserted and floating between two worlds--heaven above and the earth below, a dilemma because he can turn neither way. Were he to embrace Phoebe to the exclusion of the Maiden, he would be out of touch with the world of men, and if he were to take the Maiden only, he would become earth-bound and finite. The third alternative is the centroverting entry into the Cave of Quietude, the dark paradise where he can be reborn to higher consciousness. Endymion reaches this "happy spirit-home" and marvels that the soul is "Pregnant with such a den to save the whole/  
In thine own depth" (iv, 544-545). The word "pregnant" is very important because it associates the cave directly with transformation and second-birth. Keats knows of the psyche's synthetic ability "to save the whole/  
In thine own depth." The whole-making tendency of individuation is intimated here.

To Endymion's surprise he did not have to struggle to get into the Cave of Quietude. It was won suddenly just as the sufferer was beginning

to burn. Then it was free to him,

and from an urn,  
Still fed by melting ice, he takes a draught--  
Young Semele such richness never quaff  
In her maternal longing! (iv, 534-537)

Endymion drinks the water of life, a mystical soma that heals and renews the subject through spiritual transformation of the whole. The mode of operation peculiar to such vehicles of transformation is explained by

Neumann in The Great Mother:<sup>60</sup>

The magic philter, the love potion, the poet's elixir, the intoxicant, soma, and nectar poured by this woman are vehicles of transformation, forms of the water of life, which the Feminine itself is. Through them the male rises to a sublimated, intoxicated, enthusiastic, and spiritualized existence of vision, ecstasy, and creativity, and to a state of "out-of-himselfness" in which he is the instrument of higher powers.

The life-giving water is an attribute of the anima. It flows from the melting ice, suggesting activity and transformation (i.e., solid ice to liquid). The source of everything is the "mother," the unconscious reservoir of all life and fruitfulness; she pours the living waters freely into the basin belonging to the anima, who is the link between the ego and the unconscious. By drinking the saving waters, Endymion achieves the synthesis of centroversion, assimilates the anima, that is, comes to terms with his soul, the reality of the psyche. The mana, or numinous power, that the anima formerly bore is accommodated to the ego by the symbolic draught of melting ice. The result is a balance between the former oppositions of consciousness and the unconscious.

To end the "grievous feud" (iv, 547) in himself Endymion sought relief in the Cave of Quietude and found a "content" (iv, 547) that he had not felt since the beginning of his quest. This is true to the

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<sup>60</sup>Great Mother, p. 305.

dynamic pattern of the myth of individuation: while the first half of the myth tends to differentiation and ever-increasing tension at the expense of wholeness, the second half tends towards increased stability and a lowering of tension as it approaches wholeness. Endymion has successfully "saved the whole;" a new balance and harmony has been imparted, exchanging strife for wholeness. The synthesizing function of centroverson binds psyche and physis into a higher unity, producing the calm of the Cave. This is not the sterile calm of death, but the vital quietude of new-life, of renewal, of rebirth: "by submitting to heroic incest and entering into the devouring maw of unconscious, the ego receives its essential nature and is reborn "another" (Nohc, p. 149.).

The Cave of Quietude is the locus of centroverson, characterized by ego-stability and the lessening of tensions. At this point in the myth of individuation, the systems are in harmony; the decrease of tension between the opposites points to the agreement and synchronism of the forces and the stability of the ego is no longer, on the one hand, a question of accentuation of consciousness at the expense of the unconscious, or the predominance, on the other hand, of Phoebe over the Maiden. The two have been reconciled, as the transmutation at the end of the poem shows, the tension between them assimilated into a higher unity. The ego has gained a new strength and integrity, a stability and positiveness of individuality that refuses to let itself be duped by the demands of the unconscious or of the world, so that Endymion can stand firm against the lure of this life and the beckon of phantoms (iv, 626-629). It is precisely the growing reflectiveness, self-criticism, and desire for truth and objectivity, manifested by Endymion, that enables him to give better and more adequate representation to what he must seek and the



position he has come to oppose.

'I have clung  
To nothing, lov'd a nothing, nothing seen  
Or felt but a great dream! O I have been  
Presumptuous against love, against the tie  
Of mortals each to each, against the blooms  
Of flowers, rush of rivers, and the tombs  
Of heroes gone!' (iv, 636-642)

The higher consciousness Endymion now possesses by virtue of his rebirth in the Cave of Quietude has given him self knowledge. His awareness of himself allows him to see all that he had to forego in order to attain his present state. His situation is similar to Adam and Eve who, after they had eaten of the Tree of Knowledge, experienced guilt. Endymion has also fallen from innocence to knowledge and feels that he has sinned against love, against all human bonds because he had to turn his back upon these normal values and leave the paradise of flowers, rushing rivers, and so forth, for the sake of the independence of higher consciousness. But he has an inner stability that stands by him when Peona again offers him the kingship of Latmos. He refuses,

'. . . those deceptions which for pleasure go  
'Mong men, are pleasures real as real may be:  
But there are higher ones I may not see,  
If impiously an earthly realm I take.' (iv, 851-854)

Just as his single seeking of Phoebe conspired against the proper wholeness of his soul, Peona's offer would keep him from seeing beyond his earthly realm. His decision is to become a hermit and live apart from the business of men, visited from time to time by his sister to whom he promises to impart wonders and through her impart health to the shepherd realm (iv, 860-864). The "higher pleasures" that have Endymion's allegiance recalls his last speech to her in Book I and its doctrine of fellowship with essence.

It should not be surprising that Peona's return to the poem evokes the theme of their former conversation; and since Endymion stated that

to be full-alkhemized and free was the central purpose of his quest, it is important to return to the fellowship-with-essence passage to understand it in the context of the myth of individuation, and to show how the central purpose of the quest is brought to fruition in the closing lines of book four.

While Endymion was going through the press, Keats realized that he needed to add something to the first book, and in a letter to his publisher, John Taylor (January 30, 1818), wrote:

You must indulge me by putting this in for setting aside the badness of the other, such a preface is necessary to the Subject. The whole thing must I think have appeared to you, who are a consecutive Man, as a thing almost of mere words--but I assure you that when I wrote it, it was a regular stepping of the Imagination towards a Truth. My having written that Argument will perhaps be of the greatest Service to me of any thing I ever did--It set before me at once the gradations of Happiness even like a kind of Pleasure Thermometer. (ii, 218-219)

What Keats means by "gradations of Happiness" and "regular stepping of the Imagination towards a Truth," becomes in the poem an account of the human soul's progress to complete love, a love which is a composite of Truth, Essence, and the Platonic Eros in the poet's mind--psychologically, the realization of Self. The opening lines of this most notable passage are:

'Wherein lies happiness? In that which beck  
Our ready minds to fellowship divine,  
A fellowship with essence; till we shine,  
Full alchemiz'd, and free of space.' (i, 777-780)

The word Keats uses, "fellowship," implies that this essence of the divine, that makes one "shine/ Full alchemiz'd, and free of space," is a personality superordinate to the conscious ego, embracing not only the conscious psyche but also the unconscious psyche, and is therefore, a personality which one also is--i.e., the self, our life's goal, because it is the completest expression of that fateful combination we call individuality (CW, VII, 238.). Just two and a half weeks after the letter

to Taylor, Keats wrote another letter to his close friend, John Reynolds (19 February 1818), which bears metaphysical similarities to the fellowship with essence verses and help to show how the poet's mind was occupied with the idea of self-creation early in 1818 about the time

Endymion was going through the press.

Many have original Minds who do not think it--they are led away by Custom--Now it appears to me that almost any Man may like the Spider spin from his own airy Citadel--the points of leaves and twigs on which the Spider begins her work are few and she fills the Air with a beautiful circuiting: man should be content with as few points to tip with the fine Webb of his Soul and weave a tapestry empyrean--full of Symbols for his spiritual eye, of softness for his spiritual touch, of space for his wandering of distinctness for his Luxury. (i, 231-232)

Self-creation spins from one's own inwards one's own airy citadel of identity where the original mind or nature of a man may preserve itself from the lure of custom. At the same time the self consists of a beautiful circuiting which the fine web of soul makes into a "tapestry empyrean," a compelling mandala (see below) to be hung in the Valhalla of the personality. These metaphors are a natural outgrowth of the metaphor of personality formation Keats called "a regular stepping of the Imagination towards a Truth," and felt so strongly about them that he told Taylor: "My having written that Argument will perhaps be of the greatest Service to me of any thing I ever did."

If they were to be of the greatest service to Keats of anything he ever did, these lines represent more than the working out of the key to a Neoplatonic allegory as some critics would have us believe. It can be said of these verses what Keats, in the opening lines of Book I, said of the story of Endymion: "The very music of the name has gone/ Into my being" (i, 36-37). Thus, "full alchemiz'd" means essential transformation, that is, the total rebirth of the individual, and Keats in this passage

has set down in germ the pattern of transformations man undergoes in the individual evolution of self.

'Behold  
The clear religion of heaven! Fold  
A rose leaf round thy finger's taperness,  
And soothe thy lips: hush, when the airy stress  
Of music's kiss impregnates the free winds,  
And with a sympathetic touch unbinds  
Aeolian magic from their lucid wombs:  
Then old songs awaken from enclouded tombs;  
Old ditties sigh above their father's grave;  
Ghosts of melodious prophecyings rave  
Round every spot where trod Apollo's foot;  
Bronze clarions awake, and faintly bruit,  
Where long ago a Giant Battle was;  
And, from the turf, a lullaby doth pass  
In every place where infant Orpheus slept.  
Feel we these things?' (i, 781-795)

Keats' so called "clear religion of heaven" promotes, through one's fellow feeling with the great spirits of the past, the gods of music and poetry, "a sort of oneness, and our state/ Is like a floating spirit's" (i, 796-797). This is the stage Endymion is brought to in the Cave of Quietude, where he was spiritually upbourn into a state of oneness whereby he successfully saved the whole in his own depth.

The passage proceeds:

'But there are  
Richer entanglements, enthrallments far  
More self-destroying, leading, by degrees,  
To the chief intensity: the crown of these  
Is made of love and friendship, and sits high  
Upon the forehead of humanity.' (i, 797-802)

This process of self-destroying enthrallments, leading by degrees to a chief intensity which is a crown, sitting high on the forehead of the personification, Humanity, follows an alchemical pattern. In alchemy "self-destroying" is called the separatio or solutio which means the decomposition of the original matter into elements (CW, XII, 250.). The solutio begins the work and is followed by succeeding stages which climax in the production of the lapis, often symbolized by the alchemical

crown. Keats speaks of degrees leading to the chief intensity; the words "degree" and "intensity" suggest the heat or flame used in the alchemical retort. The affinity Keats' mind had for the chemical art is highly significant here, because the secret of alchemy "has a more or less direct relation to what we know in psychology as the process of individuation."<sup>61</sup> In her essay "The Process of Individuation," Dr. Marie-Louise von Franz summarizes Jung's important discoveries about the real nature of alchemy.

Medieval alchemists, who searched for the secret of matter in a pre-scientific way, hoping to find God in it, or at least the working of divine activity, believed that this secret was embodied in their famous "philosophers' stone." But some of the alchemists dimly perceived that their much-sought-after stone was a symbol of something that can be found only within the psyche of man. An old Arabian alchemist, Morienus, said: "This thing [the philosophers' stone] is extracted from you: you are its mineral, and one can find it in you; or, to put it more clearly, they [the alchemists] take it from you. If you recognize this, the love and approbation of the stone will grow within you. Know that this is true without doubt."

The alchemical stone (the lapis) symbolizes something that can never be lost or dissolved, something eternal that some alchemists compared to the mystical experience of God within one's own soul. It usually takes prolonged suffering to burn away all the superfluous psychic elements concealing the stone. But some profound inner experience, of the Self does occur to most people at least once in a lifetime. From the psychological standpoint, a genuinely religious attitude consists of an effort to discover this unique experience, and gradually to keep in tune with it (it is relevant that a stone is itself something permanent), so that the Self becomes an inner partner toward whom one's attention is continually turned.<sup>62</sup>

Similarly in Endymion, both this religious attitude and the lapis philosophorum itself is presented in Keats' description of what he called in a

<sup>61</sup> Carl G. Jung, The Integration of the Personality, trans. Stanley Dell (New York and Toronto, 1939), p. 268.

<sup>62</sup> M.-L. von Franz, Joseph L. Henderson, Jolande Jacobi, Aniela Jaffé, and C. G. Jung, Man and His Symbols (London, 1964), p. 210.

cancelled passage the "richest Alchemy" (i, 779). The explanation of the nature of the crown as a complex of bulky and ethereal opposites is true to the nature of the lapis.

'All its more ponderous and bulky worth  
Is friendship, whence there ever issues forth  
A steady splendour; but at the tip-top,  
There hangs by unseen film, an orb'd drop  
Of light.' (i, 804-808)

And this is love, Keats calls it, for want of a better term to describe this unique experience, because the effect of the orb is transformation, an all-encompassing word that embraces every change, every strengthening and slackening, every broadening and narrowing, every development, every alteration of attitude, and every conversion that man can know. In the beginning the orb of light creates a novel sense that surprises and frightens, but at the last: "Melting into its radiance, we blend,/ Mingle, and so become a part of it" (i, 810-811). This is the unification with the self that all life is directed to. Keats concludes this wonderfully intuitive passage with

'Nor with aught else can our souls interknit  
So wingedly: when we combine therewith,  
Life's self is nourish'd by its proper pith  
And we are nurtured like a pelican brood.'<sup>63</sup> (i, 812-815)

The transformative phases seen in the fellowship-with-essence verses borrow from the symbolism of alchemy, amplifying the poem's deeper patterns of meaning: integration of the conscious and unconscious spheres impelled by individuation enforcing the self's nourishment by its proper pith, or center.

Keats intended the fellowship with essence verses to be an argument

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<sup>63</sup>The pelican feeding its young is a well-known allegory for Christ and in alchemy the name is familiar as the term for the vessel where the elements are united by means of the circular distillation. (cf. CW, XIV, 11-13.).

for the whole poem. Endymion's reflection, after he had spoken his passionate lines to Peona, shows his basic motivation is the will to immortality, which is a natural corollary of the goal of individuation. Thus Endymion is predominantly a poem concerned with the transformation of a mortal into an immortal. This explains why Keats considered the writing of these verses the most important thing he ever did, because in them he realizes for himself the paramount life-theme of the creative individual, transformation; ultimately, Keats was to develop this theme to its perfection, as we shall see in Hyperion and The Fall of Hyperion. The will to immortality is reflected in Endymion's speech on love:

'Now, if this earthly love has power to make  
Men's being mortal, immortal; to shake  
Ambition from their memories, and brim  
Their measure of content; what merest whim,  
Seems all this poor endeavour after fame,  
To one, who keeps within his stedfast aim  
A love immortal, an immortal too.' (i, 843-849)

This argument reminds us of the "higher pleasures" of Endymion's speech in Book IV where he decides to take up the life of a hermit and live in a cave apart from men with only his sister to connect him to the shepherd realm. The allegiance to this higher life is the self's directive to realization. The Indian Maiden cannot become an object in herself as Endymion first had attempted to make her; she says, "I may not be thy love: I am forbidden" (iv, 752). She encourages Endymion to become "one of all" (iv, 751), or in other words, to follow the self's directive to a higher unity.

Endymion's decision to become a hermit is a turn in the direction of self-knowledge and individuation. The choice of a cave to live in might be an attempt by the youth to resume the peace and balance he experienced in the Cave of Quietude. However, he is aware that this is

not the complete answer. Aloneness and isolation are far from the fellowship with essence that he is compelled to seek. Dismally resigned, however, and not at once seeing the solution to his quandary, he says to Peona and the Maiden:

'Are not our fates all cast?  
Why stand we here? Adieu, ye tender pair!  
Adieu!' Whereat those maidens, with wild stare,  
Walk'd dizzily away. Pained and hot  
His eyes went after them, until they got  
Near to a cypress grove, whose deadly maw,  
In one swift moment, would what then he saw  
Engulph for ever. (iv, 901-908)

The hero sees the rescued Maiden and her companion sinking back into the black captivity of the unconscious, which awaits with its dark maw ready to engulf them again. Instead, he stops them before they disappear:  
"Turn, damsels! hist! one word I have to say./ Sweet Indian, I would see thee once again" (iv, 909-910). As he waits for them to return

he press'd  
His hands against his face, and then did rest  
His head upon a mossy hillock green,  
And so remain'd as he a corpse had been  
All the long day. (iv, 916-920)

The theme of death-rebirth which thoroughly occupies the myth of individuation is marked here by the word "corpse," which introduces the beautiful lament on death sung by Endymion.

'Why such a golden eve? The breeze is sent  
Careful and soft, that not a leaf may fall  
Before the serene father of them all  
Bows down his summer head below the west.  
Now am I of breath, speech, and speed possest,  
But at the setting I must bid adieu  
To her for the last time. Night will strew  
On the damp grass myriads of lingering leaves,  
And with them shall I die; nor much it grieves  
To die, when summer dies on the cold sward.' (iv, 927-936)

The imagery of death is introduced here as it was before in the Cave of Quietude sequence. Death and rebirth implement transformation. The day is nearly over and Endymion says,



'My Kingdom's at its death, and just it is  
That I should die with it: so in all this  
We miscall grief, bale, sorrow, heartbreak, woe,  
What is there to plain of? By Titan's foe  
I am but rightly serv'd.' (iv, 940-944)

He is reaching a fuller awareness and can accept his fate. His death will be no death, but rather a transformation which is awesomely symbolized in the metamorphosis of Phoebe and the Maiden.

The final scene of the poem brings Endymion together with Peona and the Indian Maiden who have returned to him at the end of day. As they appear out of the forest Endymion seems to have descended deeply into himself:

So he inwardly began  
On things for which no wording can be found;  
Deeper and deeper sinking, until drown'd  
Beyond the reach of music: for the choir  
Of Cynthia he heard not, though rough briar  
Nor muffling thicket interpos'd to dull  
The vesper hymn, far swollen, soft and full,  
Through the dark pillars of those sylvan aisles.  
He saw not the two maidens, nor their smiles,  
Wan as primroses. (iv, 961-970)

He has gone again it seems, into the Cave of Quietude. Sensing his remoteness, Peona calls to him, asking "'What wouldst thou ere we all are laid on bier?'" (iv, 973). He embraces her and grips the Maiden's hand, answering: "'Sister, I would have ~~command~~,/ If it were heaven's will, on our sad fate'" (iv, 975v.). I interpret this much discussed line as the ego's acceptance of its own position of autonomy. And the whole poem points at the interpretation that Endymion's words reveal his readiness to assume independence. The sign of this accomplishment is in the magnificent transformation of the Maiden into Phoebe, symbolizing Endymion's own transformation. The Maiden tells him that he shall have command over his fate, that is to say, become an active, autonomous ego. And as she speaks "in a new voice, but sweet as love,"

into her face there came  
 Light, as reflected from a silver flame:  
 Her long black hair swell'd ampler, in display  
 Full golden; in her eyes a brighter day  
 Dawn'd blue and full of love. Aye, he beheld  
 Phoebe, his passion! joyous she upheld  
 Her lucid bow, . . . (iv, 982-988)

A kind of alchemical heat has transmuted the Maiden's black hair into the gold of Phoebe's. Endymion and Phoebe now are "alchemiz'd and free." The goddess reveals next the full extent of Endymion's transformation when she says:

'Drear, drear  
 Has our delaying been; but foolish fear  
 Withheld me first; and then decrees of fate;  
 And then 'twas fit that from this mortal state  
 Thou shouldst, my love, by some unlock'd for change  
 Be spiritualiz'd. Peona, we shall range  
 These forests, and to thee they safe shall be  
 As was thy cradle.' (iv, 988-995)

Spiritualization and the release of benign influences into the world is the result of the hero's triumph. This scene is really a wedding feast; the royal couple comes together, after their long delaying to form the syzygy, or conjunction of opposites, an anticipatory symbol of unity. Endymion is spiritual and material, immortal and mortal, divine and human; his goddess is dark and light, earth and heaven, below and above; together they predict the unification of conscious and unconscious into the totality of the self.

The pattern of death and rebirth will be repeated in the second half of the individuation myth which aims at self-genesis now that the genesis of the ego has been accomplished. Endymion was Keats' heroic descent into himself through which he gained the original insight into the future course his destiny must follow.

#### 4. The Time Between

It is clear that by April 10, 1818, when Keats wrote the preface to Endymion, after four slow and anxious months of revision, he was certain that his course lay in leaving behind the many traces of youthfulness and awkwardness that had marred the poem:

Knowing within myself the manner in which this Poem has been produced, it is not without a feeling of regret that I make it public.

What manner I mean, will be quite clear to the reader, who must soon perceive great inexperience, immaturity, and every error denoting a feverish attempt, rather than a deed accomplished. The two first books, and indeed the two last, I feel sensible are not of such completion as to warrant their passing the press; nor should they if I thought a year's castigation would do them any good;--it will not: the foundations are too sandy. It is just that this youngster should die away: a sad thought for me, if I had not some hope that while it is dwindling I may be plotting, and fitting myself for verses fit to live.

The young man in Keats would surely have to die. He knows that it is just that the youngster he was should die away. This is like Endymion who had faced his death willingly and although it meant his own end, he regarded the setting sun with a kind of "deathful glee." Aileen Ward is right when she explains that the end of Endymion reflects the poet's own feelings as he recorded them in his letters of October and November-- "disillusionment, depression, recovery; his loss of faith in the certainty of happiness, his renunciation of idealism, his discovery that the setting sun could put him to rights."<sup>64</sup>

As we read through those marvelous letters of the last months of 1817, we detect a new expanse of understanding when Keats was finishing

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<sup>64</sup>Ward, p. 142.

his work on Endymion. This coincidence indicates that his first major endeavour as a writer paralleled the moral and intellectual grappling with the truth about life and about himself that occupied him during this crucial time. What Keats said of his writing of the fellowship-with-essence passage can fittingly be applied to his writing of Endymion as a whole: "I assure you that when I wrote it, it was a regular stepping of the Imagination towards a truth" (I, 218). Endymion did indeed mean a great deal to Keats despite his apologies and regrets about it.

Endymion was the proving ground of his poetic powers, and, beneath the surface, the manifesto of his personality. Keats' creative trial--the great task Endymion represented to him--was the exteriorization of the challenge individuation posed to his personality. By writing his myth of individuation he underwent the long night sea journey of the hero whose tasks were the symbolic form of his life crisis.

For Keats the largest consequence of the writing of Endymion was self knowledge. All the qualities we note in him in the several months on either side of the completion of that poem late in 1817 were the result of the growing tendency to introspectiveness, developed, it is likely, by the exacting demands the great undertaking had imposed upon him.

At Haydon's and Hunt's Christmas party, Keats was repelled by the cavaliering of some of the guests. Keats had outgrown the contentiousness, pettiness and posing of these men, and no longer had the patience for their tiresome stories and warmed-over wit. He wrote to his brothers (13 January 1818) that he felt himself drawing nearer to a higher level of speculativeness: "That sort of probity & disinterestedness which such men as Bailey possess," which at the present time he felt had "come over me in its full force" (I, 205). Such a heightening of values and

outlook on life gave him only disdain for the mannerisms and vain peevishness of the fashionable men and poetasters whom on December 27 he had scoffed at in his letter to George and Tom Keats:

These men say things which make one start, without making one feel, they are all alike; their manners are alike; they all know fashionables; they have a mannerism in their very eating & drinking, in their mere handling a Decanter-- They talked of Kean & his low company--Would I were with that company instead of yours said I to myself! (I, 193)

This resolution to abjure such company forever is followed in the same letter by the poet's representation of what was for him the ideal, negative capability. Walking back to Hampstead from the Christmas pantomime at Drury Lane with Charles Brown and Charles Dilke, he found himself having

not a dispute but a disquisition with Dilke, on various subjects; several things dovetailed in my mind, & at once it struck me, what quality went to form a Man of Achievement especially in Literature & which Shakespeare possessed so enormously--I mean Negative Capability, that is when man is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact & reason--Coleridge, for instance, would let go by a fine isolated verisimilitude caught from the Penetrarium of mystery, from being incapable of remaining content with half knowledge. This pursued through Volumes would perhaps take us no further than this, that with a great poet the sense of Beauty overcomes every other consideration, or rather obliterates all consideration. (I, 193-194)

The new dimension of thought that opened to Keats in the last months of 1817 coincided with the last work on Endymion, making it appear that his enhanced powers of intellect were somehow generated by the poem, or that Pan himself, addressed in Book I as the "Dread opener of the mysterious doors/ Leading to universal knowledge" had at least partially opened these bright portals to him.

Keats had been thinking, within a month or so after completing Endymion, of the benefit of slow development, something he had tried on

his own pulses by the writing of the long poem, *Speaking with honest feeling about Charles Crips*, the artist he and his friend were trying to assist in the world, Keats told Bailey (January 23): "I have the greater hopes of him because he is so slow in development" (I, 210). That day also he wrote to Tom and George:

Nothing is finer for the purposes of great productions,  
than a very gradual ripening of the intellectual powers--  
As an instance of this--observe--I sat down to read King  
Lear once again the thing appeared to demand the prologue  
of a sonnet (I, 214).

What he meant by a "gradual ripening of the intellectual powers" is revealed in the metaphor of poetic development that we find in the sonnet he enclosed in the same letter, "On Sitting Down to Read King Lear Once Again," where the poet's understanding of life as process could very well be the very kind of significant intuition that Keats might have extracted from the long months of application to *Endymion*.<sup>65</sup> The young poet closes his book of romance (he was at this time revising *Endymion*), and turns to his master, Shakespeare, the great creator of *Lear*, hoping that when he has passed through the "old oak forest" of *Lear* once again, he would not be left in a wasteland and die as a poet. Like the poem he wrote within the same week at Hunt's, "Lines on Seeing a Lock of Milton's Hair" ("When every childish fashion/ Has vanish'd from my rhyme."), the

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<sup>65</sup>O golden-tongued Romance with serene lute!  
Fair plumed Syren! Queen of far away!  
Leave melodizing on this wintry day,  
Shut up thine olden pages, and be mute:  
Adieu! for once again the fierce dispute  
Betwixt damnation and impassion'd clay  
Must I burn through; once more humbly assay  
The bitter-sweet of this Shakespearian fruit.  
Chief Poet! and ye clouds of Albion,  
Begetters of our deep eternal theme,  
When through the old oak forest I am gone,  
Let me not wander in a barren dream,  
But when I am consumed in the fire,  
Give me new Phoenix wings to fly at my desire.

sonnet looks ahead to another beginning for the poet and reaffirms the evolution in thought we have already noted. A new stage now is to be begun that he must burn through. But could he get "new Phoenix wings" to lift him to this next level? The answer was in the very gradual ripening of his intellectual powers that would enable him to sample "the bitter-sweet of this Shakespearian fruit." The way was through humility ("once more humbly assay"), and through the new mode of disinterestedness that was becoming more and more a part of Keats' intellectual attitude.

In his recent exhaustive biography of Keats, Bate remarks an active self-criticism in the poet of Endymion, a self-redirectioning, swinging him from the dilute style he had borrowed from Hunt to a new "massive condensation."<sup>66</sup> Keats had come to appreciate several "Axioms" for the writing of poetry, written on February 27, that though he understood that he was still remote from their perfection, candidly admitting "how far I am from their Centre:"

1st I think Poetry should surprise by a fine excess and not by Singularity--it should strike the Reader as a wording of his own highest thoughts, and appear almost a Remembrance--  
2nd Its touches of Beauty should never be half way thereby making the reader breathless instead of content: the rise, the progress, the setting of imagery should like the Sun come natural to him--shine over him and set soberly although in magnificence leaving him in the Luxury of twilight--but it is easier to think what Poetry should be than to write it--and this leads me on to another axiom, That if Poetry comes not as naturally as the Leaves to a tree it had better not come at all. (I, 238-239)

The reader cannot fail being struck by the mature combination of wisdom and humility in Keats' words, qualities which were becoming more and more apparent in his demeanor in the period following the composition of Endymion. The metaphor of the rising and setting sun seems to have

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<sup>66</sup>Bate, p. 233.

been drawn directly from his individuation myth, where the hero wandered on his quest like the sun. This parallel suggests an extensively intimate identification between Keats' thinking and Endymion. The journey of the sun hero seems to have taught him what poetry must be.

What is most noticeable about Keats in the months following the composition of Endymion, while he was revising the poem and preparing it for the press, is an open turn to knowledge. He wanted to stare deeply into the mystery of life to overcome his earlier blindness to all the sufferings of mankind. He did not want the philosophy of the academies, but the wisdom born of the fullness of experience even if it meant undergoing a sort of purgatory to reach it. In the poetic epistle he wrote to Reynolds on March 25, 1818, he is a disciple of wisdom who has discovered that "Sorrow is Wisdom." This is another truth that he might have drawn from Endymion. The phrase is Byron's, but Keats would himself affirm nothing unless he had proved it on his own pulses. Endymion was such a proving. The whole tone of this letter to Reynolds is highly introspective. He has had a disturbing vision, which he puts to poetry:

I was at home,  
And should have been most happy--but I saw  
Too far into the sea; where every maw  
The greater on the less feeds evermore:--  
But I saw too distinct into the core  
Of an eternal fierce destruction,  
And so from Happiness I far was gone.  
Still am I sick of it: and though to day  
I've gathered young spring-leaves, and flowers gay  
Of Periwinkle and wild strawberry,  
Still do I that most fierce destruction see,  
The shark at savage prey--the hawk at pounce,  
The gentle Robin, like a pard or ounce,  
Ravaging a worm--Away ye horrid moods,  
Moods of one's mind!

His look into the core of the world's "creations and destroyings" has put the poet beneath the "Burden of the Mystery" with little hope for escape.



He knows that there is no way to bypass such "moods of his mind." A month later on April 25, he is writing, "There is but one way for me--the road lies through application study and thought. I will pursue it . . . I have been hovering for some time between an exquisite sense of the luxurious and a love for Philosophy--were I calculated for the former I should be glad--but as I am not I shall turn all my soul to the latter" (I, 271).

In the letter he wrote to Taylor the day before, he thanked his publisher for the solicitous care he had taken with the newly released Endymion, and expressed a shade of embarrassment for the youthful anxiety he himself had shown, because, while at one time he was deluded with his jejune hopes for perfecting the book, his present "disinterested" habit of mind makes him "know better and instead of striving from Uneasiness greet it [disappointment or unhappiness] as a habitual sensation, a pannier which is to weigh upon . . . [him] through life." In the same letter, besides the keynote of humility, we note the concern for philosophy and the acquisition of knowledge: "I know nothing I have read nothing and I mean to follow Solomon's directions of 'get Wisdom--get understanding'" (I, 271).

Colvin says that by "philosophy" Keats does not mean metaphysics but knowledge and the fruits of reading generally.<sup>67</sup> But the word, when we find it in Keats, has an additional meaning--self knowledge. Thus he was able to say a year later, while he was returning to his work on Hyperion (March 19, 1919): "I am however young writing at random--straining at particles of light in the midst of a great darkness . . . This is the very thing in which consists poetry; and if so it is not so fine a thing

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<sup>67</sup>Colvin, p. 266.

as philosophy--For the same reason that an eagle is not so fine a thing  
as a truth--Give me this credit--Do you not think I strive--to know my-  
self? Give me this credit--and you will not think that on my account  
I repeat Milton's lines

'How charming is divine Philosophy  
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose  
But musical as is Apollo's lute'" (II, 80-81).

The individuation of Keats, his search for his self and his philosophy  
are all the same and inextricably involved with his work--the writing of  
poetry. Application, study, and thought would lead to the interior equi-  
librium and discipline through which the creative in him would create  
itself.

Keats' turn to knowledge and ambition after wisdom relates very  
significantly to the alchemical context which I pointed out earlier in  
connection with the "fellowship-with-essence" passage. The "secret" of  
alchemy was really none other than the individuation process, materially  
representing the transformation of the personality through the mixing and  
joining of noble and base constituents, which Jung connects with the  
conscious and unconscious. The complete alchemical opus consisted of a  
series of three conjunctions. These are explained in the words of  
Gerard Dorn, a sixteenth-century alchemical philosopher, whom Jung refers  
to frequently because of Dorn's precocious recognition of the psychological  
basis of alchemy.<sup>68</sup> The following will explain the three stages of  
conjunction:

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<sup>68</sup> There was an English translation of Dorn's Dictionarium Theophrasti  
Paracelsi (1583) made by John French, A Chemicall Dictionary: explaining  
hard places and words met withall in the writings of Paracelsus, and other  
obscure authors (1650). This was available in the British Museum. The  
British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books lists twenty-four books by or trans-  
lated by Dorn mostly in Latin. And it gives five columns of works by  
Paracelsus, five books in English translation dated 1656-1661.

We conclude that mediative philosophy consists in the overcoming of the body by mental union [unio mentalis]. This first union does not as yet make the wise man, but only the mental disciple of wisdom. The second union of the mind with the body shows forth the wise man, hoping for and expecting that blessed third union with the first unity [e.e., the unus mundus, the latent unity of the world]. May Almighty God grant that all men be made such, and may He be one in All. (CW, XIV, 465)

In the early months of hard thinking in the winter and spring of 1818, when Keats was discovering that poetry required intellectual, philosophic, and experiential background, and, therefore followed Solomon's directive of "get Wisdom--get understanding," he became a "mental disciple of wisdom." Through his "overcoming of the body by mental union"--to rely on the words of Gerard Dorn once again he achieved a state of equanimity transcending the body's affectivity and instinctuality, Endymion's "spiritualization" (iv, 993). In his famous statement to Bailey (November 22, 1817) Keats shows how Endymion's spiritualization was also his own:

I am certain of nothing but of the holiness of the Heart's affections and the truth of the Imagination--What the imagination seizes as Beauty must be truth--whether it existed before or not--for I have the same Idea of all our Passions as of Love they are all in their sublime, creative of essential Beauty" (I, 184)

If the heart's affections are holy, that is to say that they are spiritualized above the bodily plane, as are the sublimated passions which are able to create essential beauty. The power of the creative imagination elevates sensual beauty to the spiritual plane; this is what Keats called truth or essential beauty.

When Keats declares in the same letter, "However it may be, O for a life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts!" he means feelings or intuitions, "the pure activity of the imagination," as Thorpe puts it<sup>69</sup> and de Selincourt and Colvin also pointed out. Sidney Colvin's interpretation

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<sup>69</sup>Mind of Keats, p. 64.

of what Keats meant by "sensations" is particularly illuminating:

. . . if only the reader will bear one thing well in mind: that when Keats in this and similar passages speaks of "sensations" as opposed to "thoughts" he does not limit the word to sensations of the body, of what intensity or exquisiteness soever or how-sover instantaneously transforming themselves from sensation into emotion: what he means are intuitions of the mind and spirit as immediate as these, as thrillingly convincing and indisputable, as independent of all consecutive stages and formal processes of thinking: almost the same things, indeed, as in a later passage of the same letter he calls "ethereal musings."<sup>70</sup>

Colvin and the other two writers agree that Keats passed through an important intellectual crisis in the winter and spring of 1817-1818. It can be shown that this crisis took the form of a "self-spiritualization," which can be identified with the state of mental union outlined by Dorn. In Endymion the hero becomes "whole in love" at the time of his triumph, corresponding to this unification of intellect and Eros, referred to by Dorn as the unio mentalis. Endymion's spiritualization might also be related to the Cave of Quietude, which compares to the unum vas or resort where the alchemical opus was completed. Endymion's entry into the Cave of Quietude constituted an "overcoming of the body," which is the essence of the mental union. Keats was just beginning the fourth book of Endymion when he received a letter from Bailey which moved him for its kindness. On October 29, 1817 he copied several lines from what he had written of Endymion:

"O Muse thou knowst what prison  
Of flesh and bone curbs and confines and frets  
Our Spirits Wings: despondency besets  
Our Pillows and the fresh tomorrow morn  
Seems to give forth its light in very scorn  
Of our dull uninspired snail paced lives.  
Long have I said "how happy he who thrives  
To thee"--but then I thought on Poets gone  
And could not pray--nor can I now--so on  
I move to the end in Humbleness of Heart.'" (I, 173)

The prison-house of the body, of flesh and bone, confines the spirit and

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<sup>70</sup>Colvin, p. 155.

reduces life to a dull, uninspired snail-paced existence. This was a constant plague to Keats. He constantly fought against the flaccid indolence that prevented the full exercise of his powers of mind. The mood of humility and firm dedication in the final line reflects the incursive wisdom which was making its presence apparent then. The antidote to the complaint to the Muse of England is offered in the recommendation of self-spiritualization that would overcome the disposition of the body to indolence. He said to Bailey in the same letter directly below the lines from Endymion: "This leads me to suppose that there are no Men thoroughly wicked--so as never to be self spiritualized into a kind of sublime Misery--but alas! 't is but for an Hour--he is the only Man 'who has kept watch on Man's Mortality' who has philanthropy enough to overcome the disposition [to] an indolent enjoyment of intellect--who is brave enough to volunteer for uncomfortable hours" (I, 173, italics mine). This aim of self-spiritualization seems to have been connected in the poet's mind with Endymion.

There is a connection between the hero myth and alchemy. Jung draws a significant parallel between the hero myth and the attainment of unio mentalis, showing that the story of the hero is analogous to the stages of alchemical procedure:

Only one who has risked the fight with the dragon and is not overcome by it wins the hoard, the "treasure hard to attain." He alone has a genuine claim to self-confidence, for he has faced the dark ground of his self and thereby has gained himself. This experience gives him faith and trust, the pistis in the ability of the self to sustain him, for every thing that menaced him from inside he has made his own. He has acquired the right to believe that he will be able to overcome all future threats by the same means. He has arrived at an inner certainty which makes him capable of self-reliance, and attained what the alchemists called the unio mentalis (CW, XIV, 531.).

The analogy that exists between Keats' story of Endymion and the unio mentalis of alchemy is founded upon the groundwork of individuation which underlies them both.

Another way in which Keats' basic involvement with the individuation process comes to light is his use of alchemical metaphors in his letters, as well as in his poetry. Writing to Haydon (28 September 1817) about a Mr. Crips who was in need of financial assistance, Keats said, "He does not possess the Philosophers stone" (I, 167). The philosophers' stone was the goal of alchemy. It was supposed to bring health and riches. About a month later when Keats was at Buford Bridge to "wind up" the last five hundred lines of Endymion, he wrote to Bailey, attacking Bailey for his coldness to Crips' needs. And to explain what a truly great man is he uses a metaphor that we have seen once before: "Men of Genius are great as certain ethereal Chemicals operating on the Mass of neutral intellect" (I, 184). This operation is like the alchemical combination of noble and base substances. The action of "certain ethereal Chemicals" on what Keats chooses to call the Mass of neutral intellect" unmistakably follows an alchemical train of thought. It is possible that Keats' choice of metaphor falls naturally into the spagyric pattern because there is an affinity between the creative mind and the transformative process of alchemy.

Keats might have learned about alchemy through his medical studies or through his wide reading in sixteenth-century literature. During the last nine years of Keats' short life, he studied medicine for five years in preparation for a career as a doctor. The Register of the Apothecaries Society shows that the lectures he attended were those on anatomy and physio-

logy, medicine, chemistry, and materia medica.<sup>71</sup> Keats' medical notebooks would not necessarily need to show any trace of whatever mention might have been made by his lecturers concerning alchemy, of what he might have heard casually discussed by his fellow students at Guy's Hospital, or of what he might have uncovered himself in his voracious reading. The writers of the sixteenth century were a great fascination for him, and that was the age of alchemy's ascendancy. Shakespeare certainly knew what alchemy was and employed its rich symbolism in his plays and sonnets. Robert Burton was another favorite writer of Keats who was familiar with the profound lore of alchemy: his Anatomy of Melancholy (1620) is a compendium of seventeenth-century learning and, as one would expect, contains many references to alchemy and the lives of alchemists.

It does not truly matter where Keats gained some acquaintance with alchemy: that is not really the point. The creative mind of Keats made use of the fertile symbolism of alchemy, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously, revealing his primary involvement with transformation.

Endymion's spiritualization was the loosening of the age-old attachment of the soul to the body; in the Cave of Quietude he became conscious of the conflict between the purely natural and the spiritual in man--the dichotomy that the Indian Maiden and Phoebe also represent. In the process of this separation Keats rediscovered the old truth that every operation of this kind is a figurative death--what the alchemists called "voluntary death." The death motif occurs in Endymion, and Keats, it will be recalled, wrote in the preface: ". . . this youngster should die away."

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<sup>71</sup>Sir William Hale-White, Keats as Doctor and Patient (London, New York & Toronto, 1938), p. [5].

The metamorphosis of the Maiden into Phoebe and Endymion's succeeding union with her confirms the achievement of the first stage of conjunction. But it is also a unification of opposites that is premonitory of the second stage of conjunction in which we have a re-uniting of the spiritual position with the body.<sup>72</sup> The golden hair and flow of light from the goddess symbolizes the spiritual triumph over the gorgon-world that had clung to the Maiden, whose hair and eyes were dark, denoting the vestiges of the chthonic powers. Endymion and his Cynthia vanish into thin air at the end of the poem, which shows the ascent to the spiritual. The alchemists, though, were correct in regarding "mental union in the overcoming of the body" as only the first stage of conjunction or individuation. But ultimately, the alchemists strove for a total union of opposites in symbolic form, and this they regarded as the indispensable condition for the healing of all ills. The joining of opposites at the end of Endymion predicts this unity that Keats must find within himself. The goal in alchemy was the substance in which all the opposites were combined. It would be material as well as spiritual, living as well as inert, masculine as well as feminine, old as well as young, and--so it seems--morally neutral, neither good nor evil, but both. The hieros gamos, or divine marriage of Endymion and Phoebe, anticipates this unity; we will trace Keats' progression to the second and final unions in the explication of Hyperion and The Fall of Hyperion.

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<sup>72</sup>The second stage of conjunction, the re-uniting of the unio mentalis with the body, is particularly important, as only from here can the complete conjunction be attained--the third and final stage, the union with the unus mundus, the latent unity of the world. The re-uniting of the spiritual position with the body obviously means that the insights gained should be made real. An insight might as well remain in darkness if it is simply not used. The second stage of conjunction therefore consists in making a reality of the man who has acquired some knowledge of his paradoxical wholeness. (See CW, XIV, 476.)



It was Aileen Ward who said that the final value of Endymion is a peculiarly romantic one--its value to Keats himself.<sup>73</sup> The more than four thousand lines of the poem represent almost half of the poetry Keats published in his lifetime, and took up nearly one-fourth of his writing career; composing it was certainly a major event in his creative development. The mythic structure of Endymion is the design or blue print of Keats' creative evolution. It is this that enabled him to say: "That which is creative must create itself." In the same letter that these words appear, Keats gave his own last words on Endymion. He was writing to Hessey (October 8, 1818), his publisher, who had sent him copies of the Morning Chronicle in which J. S. and R. B. answered the Quarterly reviewer's attack upon Endymion:

J.S. is perfectly right in regard to the slipshod Endymion. That it is so is no fault of mine.--No!--though it may sound a little paradoxical. It is as good as I had power to make it--by myself--Had I been nervous about its being a perfect piece, & with that view asked advice, & trembled over every page, it would not have been written; for it is not in my nature to fumble--I will write independantly.--I have written independently without Judgment--I may write independently & with judgment hereafter--The Genius of Poetry must work out its own salvation in a man. . . I was never afraid of failure; for I would sooner fail than not be among the greatest. (I, 374)

In the ten months that intervened since his composition of Endymion and this assessment, Keats had made vast progress in his ideas on what great poetry ought to be. Whatever he says here of the "slipshod Endymion" he knew what had gone into the poem--more than we know today--and in the most clear-headed judgement, it is, in the first book at least, the most beautiful and authentic English poetry ever written by a boy of twenty-one. Despite the vicious mudslinging of the hooligan-critics,

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<sup>73</sup>Ward, p. 146.

Keats knew that the Genius of Poetry was working out its salvation in him. And now that he was about to begin his work on Hyperion he was certain that he would be among the English poets after his death.

Keats seems to have been unwilling or unable to embark on the new project without the space of about nine months between the completion of Endymion and the start of Hyperion. But during this period of gestation, as it were, he remained in that state of "spiritualization" (the tendency to philosophical speculation, etc.) that was induced by the mental union he experienced in himself and symbolized in Endymion. He felt during this time, however, a great need for more knowledge and more first-hand experience, but his search for these was by no means a random one; it was guided and controlled by the whole-making tendency of the self (centroversion), the power that had been with him from the first unconsciously and which reached the level of symbol in the figure of the God or Genius of Poetry and named either Apollo or Shakespeare. In one of the Marginalia found on a fly leaf of Keats' copy of Troilus and Cressida, one finds this description of the genius of Shakespeare; it was,

an innate universality--wherefore he had the utmost achievement of human intellect prostrate beneath his indolent and kingly gaze. He could do man's utmost. His plans of tasks to come were not of this world--if what he purposed to do hereafter would not in his own Idea "answer the aim" how tremendous must have been his conception of the ultimates.<sup>74</sup>

This is what Keats saw as the complete fulfillment of human nature: Shakespeare's tremendous conception of the ultimates which were not of this world and therefore belong to the archetypal realm of extra-conscious reality, where the self remains like a sleeping god awaiting its salvation, but still forming and molding conscious experience after its will

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<sup>74</sup>The Poetical Works and Other Writings of John Keats, ed. Harry Buxton Forman, revised by Maurice Buxton Forman (Hampstead Edition) (London, 1939), IV, 306.

to wholeness. It is this whole-making tendency at work in that wonderful Mansion of Life letter, which Thorpe finds so rich in significant passages, that it might be taken as a test for Keats' whole aesthetic thought in this period (May 3, 1818); the poet declares,

Were I to study physic or rather Medicine again,--I feel it would not make the least difference in my Poetry; when the Mind is in its infancy a Bias is in reality a Bias, but when we have acquired more strength, a Bias becomes no Bias. Every department of knowledge we see excellent and calculated towards a great whole. (I, 276-277)

His mind is past its infancy--the thoughtless chamber he spoke of in the same letter--and the ego had strengthened its position through conscious realization. He goes on to explain to Reynolds that an

extensive knowledge is needful to thinking people--it takes away the heat and fever; and helps, by widening speculation, to ease the Burden of the Mystery: a thing I begin to understand a little, and which weighed upon you . . . The difference of high Sensations with and without knowledge appears to me this--in the latter case we are falling continually ten thousand fathoms deep and being blown up again without wings and with all the horror of a bare shoulderd Creature--in the former case, our shoulders are fledged, and we go thro' the same air and space without fear. (I, 277)

The conquest of fear and the widening of speculation are consequences of the assimilation of the anima which has opened the way to the inner world and the unconscious--what Keats called the "Burden of the Mystery." The riddle of the unconscious sphinx, the question posed by the universe to man, the eternal enigmas of Why? What? and Whither? all are the same "Door to which" he "found no Key," a "Veil through which" he "could not see." In the powerful sonnet he wrote during the Scotch walking tour on the top of Ben Nevis, at the pinnacle of physical exhaustion and in the pit of psychological depression, he captures the essence of man's confrontation with the unconscious, which is the Burden of the Mystery, and the problem of who he is:

Read me a lesson, Muse, and speak it loud  
 Upon the top of Nevis, blind in mist!  
 I look into the chasms, and a shroud  
 Vaporous doth hide them,--just so much I wist  
 Mankind do know of hell; I look o'erhead,  
 And there is sullen mist,--even so much  
 Mankind can tell of heaven; mist is spread  
 Before the earth, beneath me,--even such,  
 Even so vague is man's sight of himself!  
 Here are the craggy stones beneath my feet,--  
 Thus much I know that, a poor witless elf,  
 I tread on them,--that all my eye doth meet  
 Is mist and crag, not only on this height,  
 But in the world of thought and mental might!  
 --3 August 1818

If Keats knows that every area of knowledge is excellently directed towards a great whole, he also understands that it is only by the expansion and strengthening of consciousness with knowledge that it is possible to ease the Burden of the Mystery which is the sullen mist hanging above and below the inquiring poet. But the heart of the mystery is in the world of thought and mental activity, in the psychological realm where man's sight of himself is vague and imprecise. There is an unseen center to which he must burn through, because elements can no longer simply be appended to the ego if his sight of himself is to be total, since the ego still remains the center of consciousness and partial without the inclusion of the unconscious, which is vastly more extensive than the conscious sphere. Hence a new center of personality has to develop to include both spheres; Jung calls this new center the self. This is the center toward which Keats knew all knowledge to be calculated and towards which all his efforts were directed by the composition of Hyperion.

In Keats' great letter on the poetical character which he wrote to Richard Woodhouse on October 27, 1818, the question of his identity and the poet's nature occupies him to so full an extent that it is necessary to quote this important letter almost in full:

Ist As to the poetical Character itself, (I mean that sort of which, if I am any thing, I am a Member; that sort distinguished from the wordsworthian or egotistical sublime; which is a thing per se and stands alone) it is not itself--it has no self--it is every thing and nothing--It has no character--it enjoys light and shade; it lives in gusto, be it foul or fair, high or low, rich or poor, mean or elevated--It has as much delight in conceiving an Iago as an Imogen. What shocks the virtuous philosopher, delights the camelion Poet. It does no harm from its relish of the dark side of things any more from its taste for the bright one; because they both end in speculation. A Poet is the most unpoetical of any thing in existence; because he has no Identity--he is continually infor[ming]--and filling some other body--The Sun, the Moon, the Sea and Men and Women who are creatures of impulse are poetical and have about them an unchangeable attribute--the poet has none; no identity--he is certainly the most unpoetical of all God's Creatures. If then he has no self, and if I am a Poet, where is the Wonder that I should say I would write no more? Might I not at that very instant [have] been cogitating on the Characters of saturn and Ops? It is a wretched thing to confess; but is a very fact that not one word I ever utter can be taken for granted as an opinion growing out of my identical nature--how can it, when I have no nature? When I am in a room with People if I ever am free from speculating on creations of my own brain, then not myself goes home to myself: but the identity of every one in the room begins to press upon me that, I am in a very little time annihilated--not only among Men; it would be the same in a Nursery of children: I know not whether I make myself wholly understood . . .

In the second place I will speak of my views, and of the life I purpose to myself--I am ambitious of doing the world some good: if I should be spared that may be the work of maturer years--in the interval I will assay to reach to as high a summit in Poetry as the nerve bestowed upon me will suffer. The faint conceptions I have of Poems to come brings the blood frequently into my forehead--All I hope is that I may not lose all interest in human affairs--that the solitary indifference I feel for applause even from the finest Spirits, will not blunt any acuteness of vision I may have. I do not think it will--I feel assured I should write from the mere yearning and fondness I have for the Beautiful even if my night's labours should be burnt every morning and no eye ever shine upon them. But even now I am perhaps not speaking from myself; but from some character in whose soul I now live.

(I, 386-388)

This letter is probably the most concise statement Keats ever made on his own view of the poetical character and his personal identity. "These two principal points," he says, to introduce the foregoing, "seem to point

like indices into the midst of the whole pro and con, about genius, and views and achievements and ambitions and coetera." He had by this time nearly reached the middle of the second book of Hyperion; his words, therefore, are doubly interesting to us because they elucidate just what Keats was thinking as he was writing the poem, showing that Hyperion, like these indices, points to the center of the mystery of Keats, to the heart of his individual identity, his unique self. When he says that the poet or the poetical character has no self, it is certain none the less that as a man he must have an identity.<sup>75</sup> His statement is explained by the answer that on the road to wholeness, one of the experiences that Jung emphasizes as a necessary precursor of the realization of the self as the end of the individuation process is the experience of what he calls "the opposites." So the experience of the self is anticipated by the experience of selflessness: thus the numerous references to the annihilation of self in the letters. The formulation of an identity is a fusion of all diverse and discrete elements into the harmony and unity of the whole. It is the activity of the individuation process at work, calling up the opposites of self and non-self, being and non-being, light and shade, foul and fair, high and low, rich and poor, mean and elevated, that Keats evokes here. The aim is a unity transcending the opposites, not what we commonly mean by "individualism," or even by an "individualistic" way of looking at things, that is to say, a markedly egocentric attitude; it is an extension of personality beyond the egotistical sublime of Wordsworth. Keats had left the strife to become a poet far behind; also he had forgotten his meaner hopes of fame and wealth through poetry. The days of Endymion were long ago; being a poet, he now understood was

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<sup>75</sup>See Woodhouse's letter to Taylor (I, 388ff.).

merely one fact of his complete nature. But through the all-important activity of writing he was able to enter the kingdom of his own creation and expand and enrich the domain of his unique being.

Imagination, which Keats' statement represented as essential to the poetical character, is the actualization of the contents of the unconscious which must be made real if there is ever to be the full realization of the totality of the self. This is why he can be indifferent to fame and applause, and care nothing, though the night's labors be burnt every morning, because what he calls "the Beautiful" is sufficient. "The Beautiful," like the True or the Good, belongs to the ultimate reality of the self.

In the writing of Hyperion, Keats would come to grips with the challenge of the ultimate reality of the self, only now he was armed with what he had learned during 1818, the knowledge that "Sorrow is Wisdom." The absence of George and his wife, reviewers' hammering of Endymion, his own illness from the Scottish tour, love's pain and the stings of sexual passion (not yet directed at Miss Brawne), and, the worst blow of all, the mortal decline of Tom, all of these compelled him to look for a "feverous relief" in "abstract images," "those abstractions which are my only life." "Poor Tom--that woman--and Poetry were ringing changes in my senses," such changes that were to be traced in the immortal lines of Hyperion and its companion piece, The Fall of Hyperion.

## CHAPTER V

### EPILOGUE TO ENDYMION

#### 1. The Mandala

In our concentration on the course of the individuation myth and the motifs and patterns connected with it, we have had to omit the most important of all symbolic expressions of the self, the mandala. The word "mandala" comes from Lamaism and Tantric yoga where it was used as a yantra or aid to meditation (CW, XII, 91). "Mandala" means "circle" or "magic circle." To mention merely the most important forms, all concentrically arranged figures, round or square patterns with a center, also radial or spherical arrangements, divided in multiples of four, are mandalas. There is a characteristic emphasis on the center. The mandala refers directly to the New Center (i.e., the self) as it comes into consciousness (CW, XII, 41.).

As I have stated earlier, the writing of Endymion was intimately bound up with the young poet's zeal to grow, and it is the beginning of his continual endeavour to allow the realization within himself of what he calls the "genius of Poetry." Growth and growing pains account for much of what is objected to and much of what is good in Endymion. And growth is indicated by the mandala symbolism in Endymion. The mandala does two things: it amplifies the meaning of the child-motif, and even after the "child" has taken on the archetypal form of the hero myth, the mandala continues to symbolize and predict the formation of the new center



of personality. The mandala will recur in Hyperion and The Fall of Hyperion and form the basis of reading them along with Endymion as a continuous myth of individuation.

The mandala is present visually and symbolically throughout Endymion with unusual emphasis. In Book I Endymion describes the flowers he once had brought to Peona: "like vestal primroses, but dark velvet/  
Edges them round, and they have golden pits" (i, 874-875). In Book II his fancy carries him aloft in his goddess's chariot and he marvels: "How tremulous-dazzlingly the wheels sweep/ Around their axle!" (ii, 189-190). At the end of the third book "a sudden ring of Nereids" encircles the sleeping Endymion (iii, 1013-1014). In Book IV Endymion and the Indian Maiden sit beneath a tree and they are absorbed meditatively in a "hazle cirque of shedded leaves," surrounding them (iv, 769). Near the end of the poem he revisits a place familiar to his childhood where upon a tree "A crescent he had carv'd, and round it spent/ His skill in little stars" (iv, 788-789). The mandala symbolizes wholeness, and, repeated, it forms a cohesive pattern which aids in unifying the poem.

Another important mandala attracts our attention at the beginning of the second book. Endymion had been wandering alone and he sits to rest himself beside a cool brook in the shade of wild roses. This is one of the most delicate and gentle passages in the poem.

a wild rose tree  
Pavillions him in bloom, and he doth see  
A bud which snares his fancy: lo! but now  
He plucks it, dips its stalk in the water: how!  
It swells, it buds, it flowers beneath his sight:  
And, in the middle, there is softly pight  
A golden butterfly: upon whose wings  
There must be surely character'd strange things,  
For with wide eye he wonders, and smiles oft.  
(ii, 55-63)

In his discussion of the child archetype, Jung points out that sometimes

the "child" appears in the cup of a flower as the center of a mandala.<sup>76</sup> Since later in the poem *Endymion* twice identifies himself with the butterfly, where he says first, "I have been a butterfly, a lord" (iv, 937), and several lines after this repeats, "Ha! I said,/ King of the butterflies" (iv, 951-952), we can say that this enigmatic, golden butterfly is a symbolic form of the child archetype. What is being said here is that *Endymion* is a type of butterfly who has been held within his bud until this moment, when like the spreading petals of the flower his destiny now begins to unfold. His whole fate of birth, death, and rebirth shines forth from the "strange character" he reads on the embellished wings before him. The traditional symbol of transformation is the butterfly, and the symmetrical rose with this figure in its center denotes what is called centroverson. Centroverson is the innate tendency of a whole to create unity within its parts and to synthesize their differences in unified systems (*Nohc*, p. 286.). The term implies growth or process by which the unity of the whole is maintained by compensatory operations controlled by centroverson, with whose help the whole becomes a self-creative, expanding system. In this connection, the reader will remember Keats' doctrine that the creative is that which creates itself. Ultimately centroverson manifests itself as a directive center, with the ego as the center of consciousness and the self as the psychic center (*Nohc*, p. 287.).

Every mandala listed above characteristically gave emphasis to the center: the center of the circle of leaves: *Endymion* in the ring of nereids; the wheels around the axle; the golden pit of the purple flower; and the crescent among the stars, it will be recalled, all stressed the center. Thus all through *Endymion* a unifying chain of symbols, denoting

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<sup>76</sup>Jung & Kerenyi, 108-109.

centroversion, can be traced. The hero's motive power, his desire to succeed and conquer is another reflection of centroversion, which persistently strives to ensure that the ego shall not remain an organ of the unconscious, but shall become more and more the representative of wholeness (Nohc, p. 298.). In Neumann's words, the ego fights against the unconscious tendency that seeks to master it, and instead of allowing itself to be possessed, learns to keep its independence in relation to both inside and outside (Nohc, p. 298.).

One of the most striking passages in the second book is the description of the jewel hung mysteriously over the abyss. Soon after Endymion enters the underworld and follows the longissima via through several corridors, there appears suddenly this vision.

Chilly and numb  
His bosom grew, when first he, far away  
Descried an orb'd diamond, set to fray  
Old darkness from his throne: 'twas like the sun  
Uprisen o'er chaos: and with such a stun  
Came the amazement, that, absorb'd in it,  
He saw not fiercer wonders.

(ii, 243-249)

This jeweled sun over chaos is like the fragmentary ego, still a mere atom tossed between the vast collective worlds of objective psyche and objective physis: Endymion now is dwarfed by the huge glare and shadow of the wonders that engulf him, but the genesis, stabilization, configuration, and consolidation of the personality are associated with a symbolism composed of perfect form, balance, harmony, and solidity--the mandala--that opposes itself to this chaos and creates of it the symmetric structure of the self.

The Palace of Neptune, described at the end of the third book (833-887), is a mandala related by analogy to the geometrically formed crystal. It is a kind of gigantic jewel beneath the sea, housing the Lord

of the Waves. Indeed, this is a mighty conception for the young Keats to produce; it rivals Milton's idea of Pandemonium carved from solid gold. The floor of the glorious palace is miraculously lucid and reflects the gold-green zenith arched above the Sea-God's head: "the dome pomp, reflected in extremes,/ Globing a golden sphere" (iii, 886-887). "A light as of four sunsets" (iii, 877) blazes from north, south, east, and west to create a splendid quaternity of light and color; moreover, precious gems are glittering everywhere: "Diamond gleams, and golden glows/ Of amber" (iii, 837-838). A crescendo of lights mount through Keats' lines.

Still the splendour gradual swell'd.  
 Rich opal domes were seen, on high upheld  
 By jasper pillars, letting through their shafts  
 A blush of coral.

(iii, 840-843)

Endymion and the band of revived and reunited lovers can scarcely bear the power they experience in the place. The reader is at once baffled and fascinated by the extraordinary imaginative energy of Keats' fantasy; however, in his representation the analytical critic discovers a preeminent quaternity motif and can conjecture the archetype of wholeness, i.e., the self, to be casually operative.

To explain the richness of the poet's architectonic mandala, constituted by the Palace of Neptune, we shall take some care to explore the extent to which he has expressed archetypal contents. The motif we encounter here emphasizes the ego's containment in the greater dimension of the self. The structural center of the palace-mandala is Neptune, before whom Endymion and his entourage are dwarfish.

And then, behold! large Neptune on his throne  
 Of emerald deep: yet not exalt alone:  
 At his right hand stood winged Love, and on  
 His left sat smiling Beauty's paragon.

Far as the mariner on highest mast  
 Can see all round upon the calmed vast,  
 So wide was Neptune's hall: and as the blue  
 Doth vault the waters, so the waters drew  
 Their doming curtains, high, magnificent,  
 Aw'd from the throne aloof.

(iii, 862-871)

The image of the palace, room, and container brings us to their content--the inhabitant, Neptune. He is the "King of the stormy sea! Brother of Jove, and co-inheritor/ Of elements!" (iii, 943-945). Any inhabitant of the quadratic space who is either a god or a godlike human being, a prince, a priest, a great man, an historical personality, a dearly loved father, an admired example, the successful elder brother--in short, a figure that transcends the ego personality--is, apart from the geometrical and arithmetical symbols, the commonest symbol of the self (CW, IX, vol. II, 225.). But, hinting at the theme he is to treat extensively in Hyperion, Keats' Neptune is a "subdued majesty" (iii, 964). That is to say the self requires redemption and is still held under the domination of the matriarchate. Similarly, the great size of the palace which is so pronounced denotes the proportionately insignificant extent of the ego sphere and its subordination to the yet unrealized totality. The triad of Venus, Neptune, and Cupid can be regarded as a relative totality. Psychologically, the number three--and here the context indicates that it refers to the self--is best understood as a defective quaternity or as a stepping stone toward unity (CW, IX, vol. II, 224.). Endymion, as a potential figure, is the recalcitrant fourth of the incomplete quadratic structure. Although Venus encourages his patience: "What, not yet/ Escap'd from dull mortality's harsh net?/ A little patience, youth! 'twill not be long" (iii, 906-908), he is still insufficient to withstand the uroboric forces. Venus is the voice of nature itself which calls for completion and conscious realization

of the ego complex. Nature adds all it can to provide the strength and stability that is requisite: "Since the hour/ I met thee in earth's bosom, all my power/ Have I put forth to serve thee" (iii, 904-906). But in its incomplete stage of development, consciousness is all but extinguished by the crushing superiority of the unconscious.

The palace whirls  
Around giddy Endymion: seeing he  
Was there far strayed from mortality.  
He could not bear it--shut his eyes in vain:  
Imagination gave a dizzier pain.  
(iii, 1005-1009)

With this the stray shepherd bewails that he must die for love and swoons on the palace floor at the feet of Neptune. Immediately, a ring of nereids encircle him, repeating the mandala motif of containment. Psychologically, it denotes concentration on and preoccupation with a center that must be brought to realization. Correspondingly, at this point which actually seems to be the nadir of Endymion's quest he receives from his goddess the surety of fulfillment (iii, 1022-1027).

This fulfillment comes in Book IV with the mystical transformation of the Indian Maiden into the moon goddess. Accompanying this culmination of the first half of the individuation myth is a mandala symbol of far-reaching significance.

Endymion, it will be recalled, was pensive and abstracted when Peona and the Maiden returned to him at the end of day. Peona spoke first to try to draw her brother from his trance. She asks him what he desires, and, as she moves closer, he embraces her and presses the Maiden's hand in his own. Then Endymion answers Peona's question, expressing his willingness to bear the burden of his own destiny, to take full command of his own fate, and simultaneously, the Maiden becomes Phoebe. The three become four. Endymion, Peona and the Maiden now

equal four because the moon goddess is two figures in one. The imagery of the triad changing into the quaternary is mandalic. The actual physical jointure of the figures reinforces the idea of unity and oneness that is always associated with the mandala. The impression of formation, of the parts of the mandala coming together as we watch, is truly unique. This addition of the element of process to the mandala makes it a kind of living symbol, a magical synthesis of the "Three" and the "Four" in anticipation of the unity of the self. Keats' imagery looks ahead to the total synthesis of personality that the second half of the individuation myth will present.

PART TWO

APOLLO



## CHAPTER I

### THE CLEAR RELIGION OF HEAVEN

#### 1. A New Poem

The great poetry that Keats was to write in the year begun by Hyperion (starting about mid-September, 1818)--most of the poetry he is remembered by follows in the golden wake of this brilliant effort, the momentous beginning of the most productive year in the life of any poet of the past three centuries--this great poetry is accompanied by the emergence of Keats as a great individual. And in Hyperion at the beginning of that year and The Fall of Hyperion at the end of it, the poetry rises to greatness with the man. To continue to trace that emergence, and to try to understand it, the remainder of this study will show how the pattern of individuation continues to function in Keats' epic retelling of the displacement of the Titans by the Olympian gods.

The following account of the composition of the two versions of Hyperion would now stand approved without many exceptions by all critics. Keats began Hyperion in the fall of 1818 amid the trying circumstances of his brother's illness and completed it by April, 1819. By the time of Tom's death, on December 1, 1818, Keats had finished the first two books. He wrote The Eve of St. Agnes in the latter half of January. His abandonment of Hyperion came after his work on this poem, but with probability the Mnemosyne scene in Book III was written, as Murry convincingly argues, in April. Then there was a desperate span of indolence, a fallow period, followed by the bountiful resurgence in the spring and

early summer, as shown by the writing of five odes of unforgettable power. In the summer months, while he was working on Otho the Great and Lamia, Keats turned once more to Hyperion, recasting it as The Fall of Hyperion. On September 21, about one year from his first work on Hyperion, he stopped writing the revision and went on to spend the remainder of the autumn readying the original for printing, revising it with the help of The Fall of Hyperion. At one time Brown's statement that Keats was occupied with the writing of Hyperion in November and December, 1819, caused some confusion about the possibility that Keats had gone back on his resolution to abandon the Fall of Hyperion and was spending those autumn evenings on that poem. But all doubt has in recent years been satisfactorily removed--the writing to which Brown refers must have been confined to a few changes made in either version.

Keats' subject in the unfinished Hyperion poems was the fall of the Titans, the older generation of gods in the Greek theogony, and the rise of their children, the new gods of Olympus. Both versions center on the last ruling Titan, the sun god Hyperion, and his ultimate replacement by the new sun god--Apollo. We know that Keats was familiar with a wide range of mythological source information that he could easily have drawn upon in drafting his new poem. According to the summary Finney made,<sup>76</sup> Renaissance translations of Greek and Latin poems and histories provided most of the mythological body of the first and second Hyperion. He owed much to Chapman's translations of Homer's Iliad, Odyssey, and Hymns and Hesiod's Georgics (or Works and Days); he knew Cook's translation of Hesiod's Works and Days and the Theogony (appeared in Chalmer's English

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<sup>76</sup> Claude L. Finney, The Evolution of Keat's Poetry (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 494-495 & 517. Finney is the best guide to Keats' sources for Hyperion.

Poets, 1810); there was also Sandys' translation of Ovid's Metamorphosis, and Booth's Englishing of Diodorus Siculus' Historical Library for him to consult. In addition Keats was aware, Finney notes, of the many Greek allusions in Renaissance poetry, particularly those in Ronsard's ode, A Michel de l'Hospital, Spenser's Faerie Queene, Shakespeare's dramas, and Milton's epic verse. The classical dictionaries such as Lemprière's Classical Dictionary, Spence's Polymetis, and Tooke's Pantheon were available to Keats. And while he was composing Hyperion in the spring of 1819 he purchased Auctores Mythographi Latini which he probably borrowed several months before from his publishers and booksellers, Taylor and Hessey. He used this learned work, Finney says, for material in both his versions of Hyperion. We know from Charles Cowden Clarke's Biographical Notes on Keats (1846) that Keats knew Virgil. While he was at Enfield he made a voluntary exercise of translating the Aeneid into English prose.<sup>77</sup>

Commentators generally have disagreed over the question of how Keats used his sources. Caldwell's helpful essay "The Meaning of Hyperion" (PMLA, LI [1936], 1080-1097) gives a good breakdown of the controversy. The question seems to center on Saturn's deportment. Caldwell wants to dismiss Finney's contention that the benevolent character of Saturn in Hyperion comes from Hesiod's Works and Days. (Keats had access to translations by Chapman and Cooke.) Hesiod's poem and the first book of Ovid's Metamorphosis (Sandys' translation) tell of Saturn's rule during the Golden Age. But Caldwell argues that Keats' poem has nothing to do with the Golden Age and that we had rather look at Lemprière, where we can see Saturn's "crudest barbarity":

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<sup>77</sup> KC, II, 147.

Saturnus, a son of Coelus, or Uranus, by Terra. . . . He was naturally artful, and by means of his mother, he revenged himself on his father, whose cruelty to his children had provoked the anger of Thea. The mother armed her son with a scythe, which was fabricated with metals drawn from her bowels, and as Coelus was going to unite himself to Thea, Saturn mutilated him, and forever prevented him from increasing the number of his children, whom he treated with unkindness and confined in the infernal regions. After this, the sons of Coelus were restored to liberty and Saturn obtained his father's kingdom by consent of his brother, provided he did not bring up any male children. Pursuant to this agreement, Saturn always devoured his sons as soon as born.<sup>78</sup>

Because of Keats' obvious departures from this mad portrait, tranquilizing the leader of the Titans, Caldwell charges him with a flat violation of the myth.

It seems to me that a sensible way around both arguments is to ask why are Keats' Titans, as Bate described them, "humanized" by Keats"? Neither Finney nor Caldwell have considered that Keats' humanization of the Titans might have been done in accord with the same intention we found in Endymion, which was to indicate the human meaning implicit in the myths themselves, to suggest that the Greek myths were as relevant to our inner experience as the Christian myth was to Milton in a time when the pagan deities had lost their imaginative hold on men. Keats was not interested in writing another catalogue of gods and goddesses, but from out of himself he was forming under the aspect of these ancient personalities a living myth of the formation of human personality.

Certainly, before Keats could begin writing the new poem, he had to decide on a subject. By watching him making that choice we can see into his motives for writing Hyperion and learn something of the nature of the poem.

A new mythological poem was promised to the public in Keats' Preface to Endymion (dated April 10, 1818). The poet hoped that he had not done

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<sup>78</sup>John Lemprière, Classical Dictionary (8th ed. : New York, 1833).

an injustice to the beautiful mythology of Greece by his mawkish Endymion, for he wishes "to try once more, before I bid it (Greek mythology) farewell." The new poem was to be a "sequel" to Endymion. This is borne out by the Advertisement to Keats' 1820 volume of poems (Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St. Agnes and Other Poems), which says that Hyperion "was intended to have been of equal length with Endymion." Thus the sequel was to have been another ambitious tale of mythology like Endymion. Bate calls the proposed poem a "new 'trial of Invention,'" <sup>79</sup> quoting the poet's own words on the writing of Endymion. The phrase appears in a letter to Benjamin Bailey (8 October 1817), with whom Keats corresponded on the most intimate terms. Bate was justified in making this connection between Endymion and Hyperion, because they were both taken on as tasks by the poet, who said emphatically in the same letter: "'God forbid that I should be without such a task!'" (I, 170). Keats was quoting himself from a letter (now lost) which he had written to George Keats in the spring, but the October 8 date that Bailey's letter bears comes only ten days after Keats' mention to Haydon that he has in mind "a new Romance . . . for next summer" (I, 168). He had something like Hyperion in mind then, when he was thinking of his need for a task that would challenge his invention. Now we can see what Keats' motives were.

In Bailey's letter we learn that Endymion was considered a great task by Keats, because "'it will be a test, a trial of my Powers of Imagination and chiefly of my invention which is a rare thing indeed--by which I must make 4000 Lines of one bare circumstance and fill them with Poetry'" (I, 169-170). In order to challenge his inventive powers,

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<sup>79</sup> John Keats, p. 140.

therefore, Keats also constructed Hyperion from "one bare circumstance," that is, the fall of the Titans and the rise of the Olympians. Somewhat confirming this view, Robert Bridges, who had great admiration for Keats, stated that what is wrong with Hyperion is that "the subject lacks the solid basis of outward event, by which epic maintains its interest: like Endymion, it is all imagination . . . there is little but imagination."<sup>80</sup> This emphasis on the imagination over incident is a prime characteristic of Keats. What happens in his verse is inner incident rather than outward incident. This is what makes his poetry so uniquely approachable from the psychological point of view. His gods and goddesses are altered in accord with the basic psychological theme of his own inner development. Keats chose to write long mythological poems because the realm of myth is a flexible medium that the artist can readily mold into his own image and, in effect, work out that inner development. He chose, therefore, to write such a poem as Hyperion: he wrote his new poem on the displacement of the old Titans by the Olympians in order to reflect the inner displacement of the old personality by the new.

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<sup>80</sup> Robert Bridges, "A Critical Introduction to Keats," Collected Essays &c. of Robert Bridges (London, 1929), IV, 91.

## 2. The Story of Hyperion

Before moving on to the interpretive sections of Part Two let us summarize the story of Hyperion.

The first book, commencing after the vanquished Titans had fallen to earth, is largely a series of statuesque tableaux with a minimum of action. The picture of the deposed Saturn, the chief Titan, opens the poem. The words of Thea, Hyperion's spouse, amplify his anguish. And he himself is pitiful by his own impotent struggle to reassert his power. At length Thea enjoins him to meet with the other fallen Titans who are together in a mammoth cave. While this is happening, Hyperion, the sun Titan, pauses from his defiant rage in his palace to listen to the words of his heavenly father, Coelus (Uranus), who chides the behavior of his other children and counsels his most splendid son to act with directness and to join Saturn and his company on earth.

The assembly of Titans in Book II rings with echoes of the debate of Milton's fallen angels. The Titans are all hounded by their inability to understand the reasons for their overthrow. Though Coelus could expostulate against the Titans' most ungodlike behavior in displaying their helplessness, he, like Saturn, Hyperion, Enceladus, and the others, has no better plan than force to regain their sovereignty. Then comes Oceanus with his famous doctrine of evolution so characteristic of the revolutionary and romantic spirit of Keats' era: " . . . 'tis the eternal law/ That first in beauty should be first in might." The Titans had excelled their predecessors and they in turn must be excelled by "A power more strong in beauty." Neptune will take the place of Oceanus

and the others must likewise submit to the evolutionary process. Keats in his letter to Reynolds on May 3, 1818, in which he compared Wordsworth and Milton, said that there is a "mighty providence" that "subdues the mightiest Minds to the service of the time being"; just so, Wordsworth exceeded Milton in man's penetration of the burden of the mystery. Milton "did not think in to the human heart, as Wordsworth has done."

Clymene is the next to speak. She has also suffered deeply but the music of Apollo has shown her a glimpse of a new truth. His new music brings, not simple joy or grief, but "joy and grief at once"; "A living death was in each gush of sounds." (Clymene's speech prepares for Apollo's entrance which opens the third book.) Then Enceladus inserts his bid for open war, but Hyperion's entry silences him.

There was an interval of several months between the writing of the second and the third books. A corresponding change in style and tone is observable in Keats' writing as he leaves the epic stateliness of the first two books for the lush and lyrical vein he had developed earlier in Endymion. This new voice, "the true voice of feeling," came out of the period of intense intellectual activity in the interval (February 14 - April 20, 1819) that led him to revise his outlook on poetry and on life. To express this change in himself, Keats in the third book makes Apollo encounter Mnemosyne (mother of the Muses), and learns that she it was who inspired all his music which the entire universe has overheard "in pain and pleasure," as it announced the new millenium. But Apollo is oddly melancholy, not, like the Titans, for loss of power, but "Like one who once had wings," he feels disturbed, "curs'd and thwarted," and he does not know why. The world with its beauties and marvels dumbfounds him "In fearless yet in aching ignorance." The cure for all this anguish is the "wondrous lesson" he reads in Mnemosyne's pensive visage:



'Knowledge enormous makes a God of me.  
 'Names, deeds, gray legends, dire events, rebellions,  
 'Majesties, sovran voices, agonies,  
 'Creations and destroyings, all at once  
 'Pour into the wide hollows of my brain,  
 'And deify me, as if some blithe wine  
 'Or bright elixir peerless I had drunk,  
 'And so become immortal.'

(iii, 113-120)

The final lines tell how "wild commotions shook him . . ./ Most like the struggle at the gate of death," or rather a fierce pang that enables him to "Die into life." At long last Apollo becomes a god, a true poet, through comprehension of history and change and tragic vision.

### 3. Hyperion and the Critics

The significance of Hyperion has been the concern of most of the critics of Keats. Some regard it as a poem of conflict, but more usually it has been seen as a poem of progress or evolution. Kenneth Muir in his essay on the meaning of Hyperion calls it a Poem of Progress influenced by the political climate of Keats' day. He shows that in order to understand the first Hyperion it is necessary to read the second.<sup>81</sup>

Bate is very good to follow for a survey of critical attitudes.<sup>82</sup> He says in his new critical biography of Keats that though Hyperion certainly drew more praise from Keats' contemporaries than anything else he ever wrote and continues to delight writers as well as readers despite predictable changes in taste, it is a work which has caused considerable divergence of approach. Bate expresses some dismay at the vagaries of categorical criticism that the poem has been subjected to because it is a fragment. Hyperion, he feels, has all too frequently been pulled in one way or another through the strictly categorical interpretations of critics. One look at the "Miltonisms," and it is affirmed that Keats had become sidetracked--he was, they hasten to aver, "Shakespearean," of course, not "Miltonic." Some stress the speech of Oceanus, others point out the prominence of the theme of human evolution and change--citing Keats' letters for support. The heart of the poem is here, or there, or

<sup>81</sup>"The Meaning of Hyperion," Essays in Criticism, II (January 1952), 54-75.

<sup>82</sup>John Keats, pp. 392-394.

wherever the critic's personal whim places it, says Bate regretfully. Again, a chorus of protestors bids us to forget the first two books, because the important thing is that we witness the drama of Keats' own poetic development in the figure of Apollo near the end of the fragment.

Caldwell's essay called, like Muir's, "The Meaning of Hyperion" is one of the ablest and most sensible analyses of the poem. He puts aside the arguments of G. R. Elliott and J. H. Roberts, which contended that the poem reflects an opposition between sensation and intellect on the one hand, the primacy of imagination and the claims of mankind on the other.<sup>83</sup> In his brilliant essay Caldwell answers that Keats meant simply to reveal that Apollo--the poet, the ideal--excels the "unpoetic" order of the Titans by his energetic potential for intense experience. In this, Caldwell aligns himself with Colvin, Thorpe, and others.

There are some who see Hyperion quite differently, as from the first badly and confusedly conceived with an allegorical structure that is contradictory in its basic premises. This view depends, however, on the assumption that Keats intended the Titans to represent a coarse and barbarous order of being, according to Colvin "the dethronement of an older and ruder worship by one more advanced and humane, in which ideas of ethics and of arts held a larger place beside ideas of nature and her brute powers." Because the majority of critics agree in assuming some such meaning as this to be fundamental, the result, Caldwell finds, is that they have objection that "although the story for its own conduct demanded that the defeated Titans should be inferior to the victorious Olympians," yet their downfall is, as he quotes Murry for support, actually "but a defeat of the wise and kind and beautiful by the wise and

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<sup>83</sup> PMLA, LI (1936), 1084-1087.

kind and beautiful." It was justly observed by Caldwell that some of the earlier commentators, like Hunt (1820), Hoops (1898), Buxton-Forman (1907), and Ker (1921), all felt that for Keats to make Apollo superior to the almighty Titans "meant nothing less than a miracle . . . something brighter than the visible sun itself." Thus the earlier critics concentrated on studying Keats' characters and the problems that grew out of his plan for the poem.

Some of these earlier controversies seem to be forgotten in the views of recent commentators such as Bate (1963), Wilson (1964), and Bush (1966), who turn to other problems and emphasize other possibilities. My own view is quite close to Bate who states that the subject of Hyperion was potentially "an exploration of the development of consciousness, epic grandeur, and possibly even something of the drama."<sup>84</sup> He goes on to say that Hyperion was not a solitary search for self-discovery in the manner of Alastor or Endymion, but conceived on a more capacious and objective scale. Katharine Wilson, the Jungian critic, works parallel to my own views. She sees Hyperion as an advance in attitude over Endymion. The poet now, sings of Apollo, she observes; it is no longer the archetypal mother, the moon goddess, who inspires, but the father of all verse. For Wilson this implies Keats' greater span of consciousness--a deeper realization of his unconscious potential.<sup>85</sup> Douglas Bush also sees certain psychological implications in Hyperion. He contrasts Endymion, who had chosen "reality as against abstract idealism (and had found that the one led to the other)," to Apollo, in whom "poetic experience is more maturely realized," noting that Apollo's acceptance of historical process, with all its conflicts and agonies, is the achievement

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<sup>84</sup> Keats, pp. 390f.

<sup>85</sup> Nightingale, pp. 74f.

of widened and deepened human consciousness.<sup>86</sup>

My own approach to the meaning of Hyperion is like Muir's in that I see the necessity of making full use of the second Hyperion. And my approach is like Caldwell's in so far as I place the emphasis on the superior level of being represented by Apollo. Like the more recent critics my interest is psychological in so far as I also trace the expansion of consciousness. But the problem which I particularly undertake is that of relating Hyperion to the body of Keats' works, especially to Endymion and to The Fall of Hyperion. I try to locate it within the total context of Keats' writing, to show how it is related to what he had written earlier and why it became necessary for him eventually to write The Fall of Hyperion. I think the answers to these questions can be found in the individuation myth, which in each of the three larger poems of Keats, continues to unfold another degree, unifying the body of his work into a coherent whole.

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<sup>86</sup> John Keats His Life and Writings (New York, 1966), p. 103.

#### 4. Apollo and the Golden Seed

Even while Keats was busy writing Endymion he was already thinking of his new poem and of the hero he would select to express his newly won sense of himself. By the completion of the fourth book the decision had been made:

Endymion! unhappy! it nigh grieves  
Me to behold thee thus in last extreme:  
Ensky'd ere this, but truly that I deem  
Truth the best music in a first-born song.  
Thy lute-voic'd brother will I sing ere long,  
And thou shalt aid--hast thou not aided me?

(iv, 770-775)

In the new poem Keats will sing of Endymion's "lute-voic'd brother," who can only be Apollo, the god of poetry whose emblem is the lute.

Endymion is not, strictly speaking, Apollo's brother; but Phoebe, the moon, whom he loves, is the sister of Apollo, whose other name is 'Phoebus because he is also the sun.

Apollo, the Father God of Poetry, was something of an obsession with Keats throughout his career. At least ten references to Apollo are sprinkled about the 1817 volume of Poems. Apollo was Keats' high exemplar and mentor of the poetic art. "Ode to Apollo" (1815), written while Keats was still a medical student, is one of his first poems. It describes Apollo as a king in his heavenly halls of gold, surrounded by Keats' poetic worthies, who were Homer, Maro, Milton, Shakespeare, Spenser, and Tasso. The ode is the young poet's first act of fealty to his liege lord of verse. The chivalric metaphor is taken up again in "On First Looking into Chapman's Homer" (1816), where the poet depicts

the vast demesne of the great God of Bards:

Much have I travell'd in the realms of gold,  
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;  
Round many western islands have I been  
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.

In "Sleep and Poetry" (1816) the metaphor changes to pagan sacrifice, where the poet offers himself on the altar of Poesy,

that I may die a death  
Of luxury, and my young spirit follow  
The morning sun-beams to the great Apollo  
Like a fresh sacrifice.

Keats' second "Hymn to Apollo" (1817) belongs to the incident of the laurel crown that took place sometime in the spring or summer.

Woodhouse tells the story<sup>87</sup> of an occasion at Hunt's when Keats playfully wore a crown of laurel during a visit of friends. Afterwards, feeling foolish for his pretense, he produced some apologetic verses, referring to himself as "a worm--too low crawling for death." He wants to forget his silly pride in daring

To tie for a moment thy plant round his brow,  
And grin and look proudly,  
And blaspheme so loudly,  
And live for that honour, to stoop to thee now?  
O Delphic Apollo!

Thus Keats begs forgiveness for what he fears was a sacrilegious transgression against his God of Poetry. It is a favorite thing with him to assume the role of a devout votary in a religion of his own devising. He imagined himself a kind of nineteenth-century pagan and worshipper of Apollo. It was often half-jokingly that he did this, as when he put on the laurel at Hunt's, and it was in the spirit of fun that he wrote his sportive lines to Reynolds (31 January 1818), swearing off Burgundy,

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<sup>87</sup>The incident is preserved in the Woodhouse Transcripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library. It was first printed by Colvin in the Times 18 May 1914. Garrod gives the full background and Woodhouse's story (cf. Works, pp. 430-431n.).

Claret, and Port. He wanted no more earthly wine to drink. Only the heavenly elixir of Apollo would satisfy his thirst:

My bowl is the sky,  
And I drink at my eye,  
Till I feel in the brain  
A Delphian pain--  
Then follow, my Caius! then follow:  
On the green of the hill  
We will drink our fill  
Of golden sunshine,  
Till our brains intertwine  
With the glory and grace of Apollo!

Now he is braver than ever before with his god of verse as he presumes to take Apollo's sacrament, and even intertwine with the glory and grace of Apollo. The theological metaphor is very strong in the words "glory" and "grace," imparting the suggestion of the sacrament of communion. This theological note is developed further in "God of the Meridian," which Keats wrote while he was working on the revisions of Endymion (February, 1818):

God of the Meridian,  
And of the East and West,  
To thee my soul is flown,  
And my body is earthward press'd.  
It is an awful mission,  
A terrible division;  
And leaves a gulph austere  
To be fill'd with worldly fear.  
Aye, when the soul is fled  
To high above our head,  
Affrighted do we gaze  
After its airy maze,  
As doth a mother wild,  
When her young infant child  
Is in an eagle's claws--  
And is not this the cause  
Of madness? --God of Song,  
Thou bearest me along  
Through sights I scarce can bear:  
O let me, let me share  
With the hot lyre and thee,  
The staid Philosophy.  
Temper my lonely hours,  
And let me see thy bowers  
More unalarm'd!



This poem climaxes the whole series of Apollo poems, where the poet put himself in the imaginary context of a pseudo-religion. The first poems picture him as an uninitiated layman who does not dare include himself among the elect of poetry. As the series continues, a somewhat elaborate system of sacraments is developed where penance and communion are metaphorically presented in "Hymn to Apollo" and "Hence, Burgundy" respectively. He took the communion with Reynolds, his Caius of the latter poem, as though they were co-religionists in the same congregation, but in "God of the Meridian" the poet is lifted up alone. His soul has flown upward, as in the death of one of the faithful and his God of Song bears him into "sights which I scarce can bear." This is precisely the Beatific Vision, which the poet now solemnly prays for, the look into the divine nature itself. He asks that Apollo temper his loneliness and "let me see thy bowers/ More unalarm'd!"

The choice of Apollo, then, to become the hero of his new poem is no surprise, the name of the poem notwithstanding. His last great work would actually culminate the development that began long before, starting with one of his earliest poems and continuing through his early work as a major theme.

Not only did Endymion announce the choice of Apollo for the central place in his new poem, but Endymion was germinal in a very special way to the later work. Oceanus, who plays an important part in Hyperion, is introduced in the third book at the great celebration beneath the sea, after the hymn to Cupid had been drowned in the clamor of the opening of the golden palace door. Then significantly,

from without, in shone  
A new magnificence. On oozy throne  
Smooth-moving came Oceanus the old,  
To take a latest glimpse at his sheep-fold,  
Before he went into his quiet cave  
To muse for ever.--

(iii, 992-997)

Wilson describes this passage as "a bass voice held in reserve"; and to her the return of Oceanus into his cave is "almost like the seed of Hyperion falling into fertile soil."<sup>88</sup> It seems likely that the poet's encounter with the unconscious through Endymion acquainted him with that portion of himself which Hyperion was to explore more fully. Wilson makes the sound claim that through Endymion, "Keats had become aware of gods from an older or profounder layer of unconsciousness, that then receded into the far background. It is the story of these gods from a deeper layer of the unconscious being superseded that he celebrates in Hyperion."<sup>89</sup> It is proper to say then that Endymion introduced Keats to the archetypal realm and planted those golden seeds that were to grow into the fruitful garden of Hyperion. There was much meaning in those words Keats addressed to Endymion: "And thou shalt aid--hast thou not aided me?" (iv, 775).

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<sup>88</sup> Nightingale, p. 68.

<sup>89</sup> p. 70.

## CHAPTER II

### THE GRAND MARCH OF INTELLECT

#### 1. The Ferment of Existence

The new beginning in the autumn of 1818 was momentous for Keats; it affected him in every aspect of his life--intellectually, artistically, emotionally, and morally--so that, when he began Hyperion, he began on an altogether different plane. No English poetry since Milton can match the majesty and certainty of phrase of what Keats was to write during the next few months. And since Endymion was published and Isabella was written within the preceding half year, it is sometimes hard to understand how it is the same hand that now can write:

Deep in the shady sadness of a vale  
Far sunken from the healthy breath of morn,  
Far from the fiery noon, and eve's one star,  
Sat gray-hair'd Saturn, quiet as a stone,  
Still as the silence round about his lair;  
Forest on forest hung above his head  
Like cloud on cloud. No stir of air was there,  
Not so much life as on a summer's day  
Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass,  
But where the dead leaf fell, there did it rest.  
A stream went voiceless by, still deadened more  
By reason of his fallen divinity  
Spreading a shade: the Naiad 'mid her reeds  
Press'd her cold finger closer to her lips.

(i, 1-14)

This preciseness of diction, and range and control of versification proceed without flaw through the full extent of the first two books. Bate saw this stylistic advance in so short a time, sustained at such length (a total of 748 lines), as an unparalleled achievement, unique in the

annals of English literature.<sup>90</sup> Keats had been occupied for months with careful reading and rereadings of Paradise Lost, and Hyperion has retained numerous echoes of Milton's masterpiece. Some of the eloquence also of the Elgin Marbles is in the majesty that stirs in each and every gesture of his overthrown deities. The walking tour through the Lake Region and the Highlands is retraced in the sublime grandeur of the mountains and cascading waterfalls of the poem's scenery. And the gigantic world of plastic forms found in his experience of Egyptian art and statuary enhances the power and splendor of the imagery. But none of these satisfactorily explain the miracle of Hyperion. The only conclusion is that Keats was a different person from the man who had composed Endymion the previous year. This growth or transformation became the theme of Hyperion--the struggle of spiritual growth, "the grand march of intellect."

It was the continuing individuation tendency at work within him that brought about this great change in Keats. And, as he left behind him the prettiness and lush fluencies of his first poetic models for a severely majestic idiom, he also exchanged his former audacious ambition and egotism for a new but sublime humility and penetrating self-scrutiny. In response to James Hessey's concern about the hostile reception Endymion had met in the reviews, Keats says in a letter dated October 8, 1818:

I cannot but feel indebted to those Gentlemen who have taken my part--As for the rest, I begin to get a little acquainted with my own strength and weakness.--Praise or blame has but a momentary effect on the man whose love of beauty in the abstract makes him a severe critic on his own Works. My own domestic criticism has given me pain without comparison beyond what Blackwood or the Quarterly could possibly inflict, and also when I feel I am right, no external praise can give me such a glow as my own solitary

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<sup>90</sup> John Keats, p. 393.

reperception & ratification of what is fine.

(i, 373-374)

In the fall of 1818 the advances Keats had achieved swept all before them and demanded a new beginning in the direction of self-formation. To progress beyond the stage of conscious realization, the individual who is aware of his uniqueness must cut a new way through hitherto untrodden territory. To do this he must first return to the fundamental facts of his own being, disregarding the old ways of authority and tradition, and allowing himself to become conscious of his own distinctiveness. The self-questioning and probing self-analysis that occupied Keats in the months while he was writing Hyperion and caring for Tom is clear in the first of his journal letters to George and Georgiana Keats. On the 24th of October he is writing of his freedom from the need to marry and says defiantly,

I hope I shall never marry. . . . my Solitude is sublime. . . . The roaring of the wind is my wife and the Stars through the window pane are my Children. The mighty abstract Idea I have of Beauty in all things stifles the more divided and minute domestic happiness--an amiable wife and sweet Children I contemplate as a part of that Beauty. but I must have a thousand of those beautiful particles to fill up my heart. I feel more and more every day, as my imagination strengthens, that I do not live in this world alone but in a thousand worlds. . . . I am as happy as a Man can be . . . with the yearning Passion I have for the beautiful, connected and made one with the ambition of my intellect. . . . I have in my breast so great a resource.

(I, 403-404)

But lest these words be taken to mean the wrong thing, Keats cautions his brother and sister not to make the mistake of believing that he has the least contempt for his species: ". . . though it may sound paradoxical: my greatest elevations of soul leave me every time more humbled." This "paradoxical" humility coupled with the great resource he has within himself comes from the unification of what he calls his passion for the beautiful with the ambition of his intellect. Translated into our own

terminology, this implies that the harmony of consciousness and the unconscious is beginning to take effect under the promptings of centroverson. In the integration process, life carries the personality back along the path it followed during the differentiation phases of conscious realization. It now becomes a question of establishing a synthesis between the conscious mind and the psyche as a whole, that is to say, between the ego and the self. This results in the constellation of a new wholeness between the hitherto diametrically opposed systems of conscious and unconscious (Nohc, pp. 411f.).

In Hyperion we see this new wholeness constellated after the downfall of the Titans, for they are followed by a "fresh perfection." Oceanus, who is pictured as the oldest Titan, and by some authorities is credited with being the father of the gods, speaks to the fallen Titans. He tells the whole story of creation in the voice of ancient wisdom:

'Thou art not the beginning nor the end.  
'From Chaos and parental Darkness came  
'Light, the first fruits of that intestine broil,  
'That sullen ferment, which for wondrous ends  
'Was ripening in itself.'

(ii, 190-194)

This passage is very reminiscent of the letter he wrote in January, 1818, saying, "The best of Men have but a portion of good in them--a kind of spiritual yeast in their frames which creates the ferment of existence" (I, 210). We connected this idea of the "ferment of existence" with the description of Pan who was the "leaven,/ That spreading in this dull and clodded earth/ Gives it a touch ethereal--a new birth" (i, 296-298). Now we have Oceanus speaking of "'That sullen ferment, which for wondrous ends/ 'Was ripening in itself'" (ii, 193-194). The "spiritual yeast" in man, the "leaven" in the dull earth, and the "sullen ferment" ripening in the universal night are analogues of the process of self-

genesis. Oceanus continues:

'The ripe hour came,  
'And with it Light, and Light, engendering  
'Upon its own producer, forthwith touch'd  
'The whole enormous matter into Life.'

(ii, 194-197)

Just as Pan (who was shown to be the self in its unconscious stage of nondifferentiation) was the leaven which gave the clodded earth a touch ethereal, a new birth, so also the ripening ferment that Oceanus speaks of engenders upon its own producer and touches the "whole enormous matter into Life." The similarity is quite clear. Both descriptions are indicative of Keats' perception of the ferment of existence in himself, the process stirring with the spiritual yeast of his evolving self.

The continuation of Oceanus' teaching presents a description of the evolutionary happenings that led up to and go beyond the Titans.

Following the birth of Light came the Heavens and the Earth:

'Upon that very hour, our parentage,  
'The Heavens and the Earth, were manifest:  
'Then thou first born, and we the giant race,  
'Found ourselves ruling new and beauteous realms.'

(ii, 198-201)

Then he explains the painful truth that the Titans must accept:

'Mark well!  
'As Heaven and Earth are fairer, fairer far  
'Than Chaos and blank Darkness, though once chiefs;  
'And as we show beyond that Heaven and Earth  
'In form and shape compact and beautiful,  
'In will, in action free, companionship,  
'And thousand other signs of purer life;  
'So on our heels a fresh perfection treads,  
'A power more strong in beauty, born of us  
'And fated to excel us.'

(ii, 205-214)

Beginning with chaos and blank darkness Oceanus outlines a progression toward higher and higher forms of life. The process of evolution Oceanus describes parallels individuation. The movement toward "form and shape compact" is indicative of a process of integration that

proceeds as individuation does, first to the level of free will or conscious realization and then to the "power more strong in beauty," or self realization. Oceanus uses a most revealing metaphor to explain what he means:

'Say, doth the dull soil  
'Quarrel with the proud forests it hath fed,  
'And feedeth still, more comely than itself?  
'Can it deny the chieftdom of green groves?  
'Or shall the tree be envious of the dove  
'Because it cooeth, and hath snowy wings  
'To wander wherewithal and find its joys?  
'We are such forest-trees, and our fair boughs  
'Have bred forth, not pale solitary doves,  
'But eagles golden-feather'd, who do tower  
'Above us in their beauty, and must reign  
'In right thereof; for 'tis the eternal law  
'That first in beauty should be first in might.'  
(ii, 217-229)

The imagery of natural growth, beginning with the characterless soil, which nourishes and supports the lofty and beautiful trees and culminates in the bird-life that breeds and lives in the green boughs, reveals the evolution of ever higher forms of life that characterizes the development of personality. The thought is very close to Coleridge's concept of the "principle of individuation," which he saw as operating on all levels--mineral, vegetable, and animal--culminating finally in a psychological individuation.

The Titans are forest trees to the Olympians who are the golden-feathered eagles that see and can soar from place to place. This superiority suggests a higher and more individual consciousness. Also the increased complexity and beauty of the Olympians suggests the fuller and more complete personality they represent. Personality is at first a buried seed which can only develop by slow degrees throughout life, finally achieving the eagle-like independence and definiteness, wholeness and ripeness of the completed self.



The advance that Poseidon, the new sea god, makes over Oceanus shows implicitly the free development of personality that the dethronement story symbolizes. Seen mythologically, the further step from Chaos taken by the younger sea deity and his fellow gods represents much more than the simple replacement of the old by the new. Oceanus emphasizes the superiority of his counterpart in the new race of conquerors:

'Have ye beheld the young God of the Seas,  
'My dispossessor? Have ye seen his face?  
'Have ye beheld his chariot, foam'd along  
'By noble winged creatures he hath made?  
'I saw him on the calmed waters scud,  
'With such a glow of beauty in his eyes,  
'That it enforc'd me to bid sad farewell  
'To all my empire.'

(ii, 232-239)

Poseidon's chariot is drawn by noble winged creatures he has made himself. He does not have to depend on the wind or waves to propel him, because he can glide even when the water is calm and there is no wind. Like the advance of steam power over sail, Poseidon is a fresh perfection with greater capabilities than Oceanus, who in Endymion sat upon an "oozy throne" that was "smooth-moving" (iii, 993-994). The particular emphasis here upon the young sea god's beauty of face and, especially, the "glow of beauty in his eyes" refers directly to the higher plane of personality he represents.

The evolution Oceanus describes recalls Keats' important letter of May 3, 1818, where he compared Wordsworth and Milton. As we saw once before, Keats says Wordsworth is first, not because of an individual superiority but through the general progress among mankind that makes a later age superior to an earlier one. He sums up his thought; "What is then to be inferr'd? O many things--It proves there is really a grand march of intellect" (I, 282). Similarly, on September 18, 1819 he commented: "All civilized countries become gradually more enlightened

and there should be a continual change for the better" (II, 193).

These thoughts are really implicit in the basic premise of Oceanus' teaching, the eternal dictate: "That first in beauty should be first in might." Sea-change, the development of personality, the highest realization of being is the real theme governing Oceanus' law of the primacy of beauty. "Beauty" is equivalent to the perfection of human personality. The superiority in form and compactness, the "purer life" of the new gods suggests a synthesis of the beauty of physical form with psychological beauty. We can equate this synthesis with the unification of what Keats called his passion for the beautiful and the ambition of his intellect. Thus, the theme of Oceanus' speech and of Hyperion generally, the grand march of intellect which causes the first in beauty to be first in might, is fundamentally the theme of the evolutionary development of personality--the actualization of the fullest potential of a human being.<sup>91</sup> This theme could be related to the last two lines of Goethe's often quoted stanza:

The Highest bliss on earth shall be  
The joys of personality!<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Jung tells us that "Personality, as the complete realization of our whole being, is an unattainable ideal. But unattainability is no argument against the ideal, for ideals are only signposts, never the goal" (CW, XVII, 172.).

<sup>92</sup> Westoslicher Diwan, Suleikabuch.

## 2. The Solar Hero

Endymion, Hyperion, and Apollo are all sun heroes. But true to the theme of the grand march of intellect they represent a progression in which the first in beauty is the first in might. The God Apollo is the highest, most perfect expression of the sun; Hyperion is less than Apollo because he is only a Titan, and Endymion, a mortal, is merely a kind of hero-priest of the sun.

Endymion's spiritualization made him an immortal. He was lifted to the level of a deity and united with his goddess, a ritualistic marriage of the sun and the moon. Other features of Endymion's nature ally him to the sun. First of all, the central symbol of the hero's reality as a bearer of consciousness is light. The hero is always a light-bringer and emissary of the light. The direction of his mission is upward toward conscious realization. At the nadir of Endymion's night-sea-journey, he was face to face with death. Scylla and the others under Circe's spell depended on his victory over the darkness that held them. The new sun was figuratively kindled when Endymion conquered. A great light like the dawn filled the undersea realm ("a faint dawn surprised them. . . ./ They shouldered on towards that brightening east" [iii, 832-835]). It is also true that Endymion began with a sunrise (i, 95vv.) and ended with a sunset (iv, 930vv.).

It is sunset also when we first see Hyperion (i, 158vv.). This is an ominous sunset that marks the end of his reign. Hyperion is another Endymion. That is to say, Hyperion continues the development of

consciousness from the point to which Endymion brought it. But whereas Endymion brought the light upwards out of the underworld like the rising sun, Hyperion is the setting sun, bringing consciousness downwards in the direction of integration.

The fruit of this integration, seen in Hyperion's descent to earth and combination with underworld darkness, is the rise of the new sun, Apollo. Apollo is the culmination of the development that began with Endymion. He is the last stage in the evolutionary movement that links each of the three heroes together in the one unfolding process, which at bottom is the process of the artist's self-formation.

A continuous chain, then, of solar figures runs through Keats' mythological poems, unifying his works into a single opus. This chain can be traced in the imagery of solar attributes that shows up in some of his earlier poems and extends even to his last work.

The most notable of these images is the chariot. The chariot is a traditional emblem of the sun, and it appears in various forms in a number of Keats' poems. In "Sleep and Poetry" (1816) a mysterious chariot appears out of nowhere. The poet spies it and says:

I see afar,  
O'ersailing the blue cragginess, a car  
And steeds with streamy manes--the charioteer  
Looks out upon the winds with glorious fear:  
And now the numerous tramplings quiver lightly  
Along a huge cloud's ridge: and now with sprightly  
Wheel downward come they into fresher skies,  
Tipt round with silver from the sun's bright eyes.  
(125-132)

The wheels tipped round with silver cast by the sun make this a solar chariot. And the charioteer, although Keats does not specify who he is, writes poetry. Visions grow up around him and while they play,

Most awfully intent  
The driver of those steeds is forward bent,  
And seems to listen: O that I might know  
All that he writes with such a hurrying glow. (151-154)

The charioteer could be Apollo himself, the God of Poetry. At least here we have a clear anticipation of Apollo and a hint of the important place he will occupy in Keats' verse.

The second link in this chain of sun charioteers is, of course, Endymion. It will be remembered that he rode in a chariot when we saw him for the first time (i, 163vv.). A chariot is not really an appropriate conveyance for a shepherd. It would seem more natural if he were borne on a litter or if he walked with his pastoral crook in his hand. But in the context of the Pan celebration, the chariot suggests that Keats conceived of Endymion as a kind of lesser Apollo, who was called the great "Charioteer/ Of the patient year" in the "Ode to Apollo" (1816).<sup>93</sup>

Keats' most splendid and powerful chariot image is the fiery orb of Hyperion:

The planet orb of fire, whereon he rode  
Each day from east to west the heavens through,  
Spun round in sable curtaining of clouds;  
. . . ever and anon the glancing spheres,  
Circles, and arcs, and broad-belting colure,  
Glow'd through, and wrought upon the muffling dark  
Sweet-shaped lightnings from the nadir deep  
Up to the zenith . . . .

Two wings this orb  
Possess'd for glory, two fair argent wings.

(i, 269-271; 273-277; 283-284)

It is a winged concentration of light, and though not in the strict sense a chariot, this dazzling sphere is a mandala, an important unifying symbol that links together the various sun heroes of Keats' poems. It recalls the "orbed drop/ Of light" (i, 806-807) that Endymion associated

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<sup>93</sup> Another charioteer, though not a sun hero, is Lycius in *Lamia*. This handsome youth is riding in the Corinthian games when *Lamia* falls in love with him: "She saw the young Corinthian Lycius/ Charioting foremost in the envious race,/ Like a young Jove with calm uneager face" (i, 216-218). The Jovian comparison makes him a kind of demigod like Endymion.

with fellowship with essence in the "clear religion of heaven" (i, 781).

The God of this clear religion of heaven is Apollo. It is Apollo who will assume command of Hyperion's chariot orb which refuses to answer the Titan's command. In the case of an artist like Keats it is not reasonable nor is it very likely that he would have prepared such a stunning sun chariot only to have Hyperion abandon it as he does when he descends to earth. Though the poem was not completed, we can speculate that Apollo's ascent to the orb would have approximated Endymion's desire to melt into the radiance of the orb'd drop of light, to blend, mingle, "and so become a part of it" (i, 811).<sup>94</sup> Apollo expressed this identical wish in his speech to Mnemosyne:

'There is the sun, the sun!  
'And the most patient brilliance of the moon!  
'And stars by thousands! Point me out the way  
'To any one particular beauteous star,  
'And I will flit into it with my lyre,  
'And make its silvery splendour pant with bliss.'  
(iii, 97-102)

His impulse ~~is~~, however, more active than the passive Endymion who merely wanted to mingle and become a part of the orb of light. Apollo on the other hand offers actively to enter the sun or a star and touch it to life with the power of his song, recalling Pan's "touch ethereal." Apollo embodies the epitome of these powers because he represents the fullness of the creative self.

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<sup>94</sup>Outlining the original plan of Hyperion, Richard Woodhouse says that the poem "would have treated the dethronement of Hyperion, the former god of the Sun, by Apollo--and incidentally of those of Oceanus by Neptune, of Saturn by Jupiter, etc., and of the war of the Giants for Saturn's re-establishment--with other events, of which we have but very dark hints in the mythological poets of Greece and Rome. In fact, the incidents would have been pure creation of the poet's brain" (The Poems of John Keats, ed. Ernest de Selincourt /5th ed. ; London, 1926/, p. 486.). There is no mention here about what would happen with Hyperion's chariot, nor do any other commentators that I am aware of speculate.

### 3. The Keatsian Mercurius

The succession of heroes, beginning with the unknown charioteer in "Sleep and Poetry" and continuing ultimately to the Poet in the Fall of Hyperion forms, as we shall see, a path of transformations which bears a close resemblance to the hermetic process of alchemy. Endymion's spiritualization was alchemical, and alchemical symbolism shows up again in connection with the Titan Hyperion. The giant of the sun is a modern form of the central actor in alchemy's ancient drama, Mercurius: the active spirit-substance who acted as mediator and savior of the Macrocosm by uniting the above with the below (CW, XIV, 484.). Mercurius was conceived of in several different ways by the alchemical philosophers.<sup>95</sup> He was the planet Mercury, which stands closest to the sun but wanders through the entire zodiac. He was the chemical quicksilver which was deemed to have special powers and was used extensively in the opus alchemicum. And he was the God of Alchemy, Hermes, who was thought to participate in the hermetic process.

Hyperion is the only Titan who has not lost his sovereignty to the upstart conquerors led by Jupiter. He is introduced as a powerful natural force, still in the full blaze of his rule, receiving libations from grateful mankind and ruling supreme in his vast celestial palace of the sun.

His palace bright  
Bastion'd with pyramids of glowing gold,

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<sup>95</sup> See the extensive investigations by Jung on Mercurius for background information in CW, IX, vol. II; CW, XII; and CW, XIV, passim.

And touch'd with shade of bronzed obelisks,  
 Glar'd a blood-red through all its thousand courts,  
 Arches, and domes, and fiery galleries;  
 And all its curtains of Aurorian clouds  
 Flush'd angrily.

(i, 176-182)

The impression of unrestrained grandeur is offset, however, by the presence of an ominous darkness. Huge wings overshadow, eerie neighing of steeds awesomely intrudes, and incense rising from earth is choked with the odor of poisonous brass and sick metal. At the approach of Hyperion the door of the palace is a magnificent vermilion rose, full-blown, awaiting him, but his fiery rage is like a canker that he brings into its center:

His flaming robes stream'd out beyond his heels,  
 And gave a roar, as if of earthly fire,  
 That scar'd away the meek ethereal Hours  
 And made their dove-wings tremble. On he flared,  
 From stately nave to nave, from vault to vault,  
 Through bowers of fragrant and enwreathed light,  
 And diamond-paved lustrous long arcades,  
 Until he reach'd the great main cupola;  
 There standing fierce beneath, he stamp'd his foot,  
 And from the basements deep to the high towers  
 Jarr'd his own golden region.

(i, 214-224)

A defiant speech ensues, full of violent gesture and fierce resolve, but Hyperion is forced to recognize that his world is poisoned at the core.

'Am I to leave this haven of my rest,  
 'This cradle of my glory, this soft clime,  
 'This calm luxuriance of blissful light,  
 'These crystalline pavilions, and pure fanes,  
 'Of all my lucent empire? It is left  
 'Deserted, void, nor any haunt of mine.  
 'The blaze, the splendor, and the symmetry  
 'I cannot see--but darkness, death and darkness.  
 'Even here, into my centre of repose,  
 'The shady visions come to domineer,  
 'Insult, and blind, and stifle up my pomp.--'

(i, 234-245)

All his swollen might cannot resist what is inevitable, because even as he speaks,



A mist arose, as from a scummy marsh.  
 At this, through all his bulk an agony  
 Crept gradual, from the feet unto the crown,  
 Like a lithe serpent vast and muscular  
 Making slow way, with head and neck convuls'd  
 From over-strained might.

(i, 258-263)

At this he can delay no longer, so he at once flies to the doorway of the dawn to try desperately to prove that his power is still unshaken, and he attempts to make the day begin before its appointed hour. But the winged orb will not respond to all his urgings. Disconsolately then, Hyperion lays his huge length along the margin of day and night and listens to the advice of his father, Coelus, who tells him that he must descend to earth. This is the task of uniting the Above with the Below--celestial light with infernal darkness--that is imposed upon Hyperion. The office of mediator and savior and his other characteristics makes Hyperion a Keatsian Mercurius.

A series of motifs throughout the poem suggest Hyperion's task of uniting above and below. The Titan's fall was signalized by the vast and muscular serpent which convulsed and coiled itself around his body with an agony that "Crept gradual, from the feet unto the crown" (i, 260). The movement progressing from feet to head joins above and below. Hyperion's presence among his minions excites awe, as when among soldiers "earthquakes jar their battlements and towers" (i, 200), frightening them. When he stamps his foot in rage, the shock "from the basements deep to the high towers/ Jarr'd his own golden region" (i, 223-224). His winged globe is bright with "lightnings from the nadir deep/ Up to the zenith" (i, 276-277). And Hyperion unifies the above and the below when he pauses over the darkness with his eyes on the stars before diving into the night:

Hyperion arose, and on the stars  
 Lifted his curved lids, and kept them wide

Until it ceas'd; and still he kept them wide:  
 And still they were the same bright, patient stars.  
 Then with a slow incline of his broad breast,  
 Like to a diver in the pearly seas,  
 Forward he stoop'd over the airy shore,  
 And plung'd all noiseless into the deep night.  
 (i, 350-357)

Ascent and descent, above and below, up and down, are the opposites which the alchemists always associated with their Mercurius. The union of opposites involves an ascent to heaven and a descent to earth in the bath of the tincture, which is the alchemical equivalent of the Titan's cave. The pattern of ascent-descent, as we have already said, is the overall pattern of the individuation myth; and, as we shall see, it is the pattern of the alchemical opus. A passage quoted by Jung from an hermetic text (Ars Chemica [1566]) bears on what we have been saying:

His soul rises up from it and is exalted to the heavens, that is, to the spirit, and becomes the rising sun (that is, red), in the waxing moon, and of solar nature (waxing in Luna into the nature of the sun). And then the lantern with two lights, which is the water of life, will return to its origin, that is, to earth, And it becomes of low estate, is humbled and decays, and is joined to its beloved, the terrestrial sulphur (CW, XIV, 220).

This well shows, the alchemical terminology notwithstanding, how thoroughly the ascent-descent pattern is used by alchemy. Furthermore, even in the alchemical terminology, we can discern a general outline for the structure formed by the two poems, Endymion and Hyperion, taken together. The text of the Ars Chemica describes the ascent of the soul, which, like Endymion, rises up to be united with the moon. Hyperion, who is the culmination of this ascent, bears a name that means in Greek: "the Moon's man on high."<sup>96</sup> He constitutes therefore the union of the sun and the moon that was accomplished in the conjunction of Endymion--himself a type of sun hero--with the moon goddess. Hyperion is what the alchemist would

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<sup>96</sup> Robert Graves, The Greek Myths (New York, 1957), I, 41, 2.

call Luna in her plenilunium (full moon), sunlike brilliance, but there is in him, as in the alchemical text, a waning into the novilunium (new moon) with its sinking down into the embrace of the terrestrial death and corruption that we see in his descent ("I cannot see--but darkness, death and darkness,/ 'Even here, into my centre of repose'" [i, 242-243]). Endymion and Hyperion taken together, then, describe the ascent-descent pattern of alchemy.

The poisonous brass and exhalations of sick metals\* (i, 189) present in earth's libations to Hyperion indicate an imperfect state that must be made perfect. Keats' reference to these corrupt substances gives a decidedly alchemical coloring to the poem, for it makes Hyperion the divine superman, or Mercurius, who is the spirit of the stone or the quicksilver that the alchemists treasured because it could penetrate all substances, thus curing the sick metals and transforming the base metals into noble ones by a process of coloration. Jung explains:

This "spirit-substance" is like quicksilver, which lurks unseen in the ore and must first be expelled if it is to be recovered in substantia. The possessor of this penetrating Mercurius can "project" it into other substances and transform them from the imperfect into the perfect state. The imperfect state is like the sleeping state; substances lie in it like the "sleepers chained in Hades" and are awakened as from death to a new and more beautiful life by the divine tincture extracted from the inspired stone (CW, XIV, 285.).

It can be seen how Hyperion functions analogously to the alchemical operation: his descent to the underworld makes him a kind of divine awakener who redeems the Titans chained there in their anguish, lifting them from the sleeping to the waking state by the light which he brings to the darkness.

The serpent of agony that twined itself around Hyperion (i, 260vv) formed a living caduceus, the staff of the physician and emblem of

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\*The sick metal is the corrupt metal or the base metal of alchemy.

Mercury, symbolizing the power to heal and bring harmony--a power which, as we shall see, Hyperion eminently possessed.

The serpent at the same time symbolizes the Uroboros (the One, the All), an archaic symbol of the universal process of death and rebirth. In its usual form as eating its own tail, the self-eating, self-generating serpent is the symbol of the beginning and the end. For this reason uroboric symbolism comes at the beginning and the end of the individuation myth. (We will see it again in The Fall of Hyperion when a death agony chokes the Poet until, as he begins to mount the stairs, life rushes in [i, 122vv<sup>7</sup>].) Indeed the transmutation of all Keats' heroes into one evokes a similar meaning--the One and the Many, the Origin and End at once. In alchemy Mercurius is this identical reality:

Time and again the alchemists reiterate that the opus proceeds from the one and leads back to the one, that it is a sort of circle like a dragon biting its own tail (Cf. figs. 20, 44, 46, 47). For this reason the opus was often called circulare (circular) or else rota (the wheel). Mercurius stands at the beginning and end of the work: He is the prima materia, the caput corvi, the nigredo; as dragon he devours himself and as dragon he dies, to rise again as the lapis. He is the play of colours in the cauda pavonis and the division into four elements. He is the hermaphrodite that was in the beginning, that splits into the traditional brother-sister duality and is reunited in the coniunctio, to appear once again at the end in the radiant form of the lumen novum, the stone. He is metallic yet liquid, matter yet spirit, cold yet fiery [fn.: "Know therefore that the quicksilver is a fire which burns bodies more than fire (itself)."], poison and yet healing draught--a symbol uniting all opposites (CW, XII, 281-282.).

What is outstanding here is the remarkable correspondence between this Mercurius, who belongs to the seventeen centuries of philosophical alchemy, and Keats' Hyperion, who, the more we study him, the more he takes on the attributes of his alchemical counterpart.

The fiery Hyperion, lord of the sun, displays another attribute of Mercury, spoken of everywhere in the spagyric texts. Hyperion is what the alchemists conceived of as the spiritus igneus, the hidden indwelling

fire, especially when he fills the underworld den with his all-penetrating light. Mercurius was the decocting fire the alchemists personified as the "great south wind," who was a fiery and dry, huge flaming figure (see CW, XII, fig. 210), closely resembling what Hyperion became in the poet's imagination.

More of Hyperion's nature is revealed by what Coelus tells of the forces that formed his son:

'. . . at whose joys  
'And palpitations sweet, and pleasures soft,  
'I, Coelus, wonder, how they came and whence;  
'And at the fruits thereof what shapes they be,  
'Distinct, and visible; symbols divine,  
'Manifestations of that beauteous life  
'Diffus'd unseen throughout eternal space:  
'Of these new-form'd art thou, oh brightest child!'  
(i, 312-319)

If Hyperion is formed of "symbols divine/ 'Manifestations of that beauteous life/ 'Diffus'd unseen throughout eternal space," he is the hermetic world soul. Chemically, the term "mercurius" denotes quicksilver, the argentum vivum, but philosophically, it signifies the spiritus vitae, or living spirit of the world. This anima mundi is that part of God which, "when he 'imagined' the world, was left behind in his Creation or, like the Sophia of the Gnostics, got lost in Physis" (CW, XIV, 491.). Hyperion is this "spirit-in-matter" when he makes his descent into the underworld den of the Titans:

. . . suddenly a splendour, like the morn,  
Pervaded all the beetling gloomy steeps,  
All the sad spaces of oblivion,  
And every gulf, and every chasm old,  
And every height, and every sullen depth,  
Voiceless, or hoarse with loud tormented streams:  
And all the headlong torrents far and near,  
Mantled before in darkness and huge shade,  
Now saw the light and made it terrible.  
It was Hyperion.

(ii, 357-367)

Here we have a poetic approximation of an alchemical conjunction, with

Hyperion in his role of Mercurius as mediator. The den is the equivalent of the retort or distilling vessel or matrix in which the coniunctio takes place. Jung explains: "The vessel is also called the grave, and the union a 'shared death.' This state is named the 'eclipse of the sun'" (CW, XIV, 460.). Hyperion's descent into the underworld cave is just such an eclipse of the sun which in its union with darkness accomplishes an alchemical marriage of opposites. This makes Hyperion the same as Mercurius who is the divine mediator. His light penetrates everywhere and is shown uniting the opposites of the "beetling gloomy steeps" with the "sad spaces of old" (i.e., the low with the high), every voiceless depth with the "loud tormented streams" (i.e., silence with sound); and the "torrents far and near," which before were mantled in darkness but now are lighted.<sup>97</sup>

By virtue of Jung's all-inclusive investigations on the subject, we are able to relate Hyperion's unifications to Mercurius who is the "'mediator between body and spirit'" (CW, XIV, 461.). When Hyperion, as we remember, stretched himself along the margin of day and night to listen to Coelus' words, he was suspended between the above and the below--a position that signifies mediation. So that, by his descent Hyperion becomes the mediator between the transcendent spirit-world of celestial light and the chthonic body-world of underground darkness.

Regarding Hyperion's role on the level of the hero myth--equivalent in all important respects to the various sequences of alchemy because both portray the identical psychological substratum of meaning--

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<sup>97</sup> Jung cites several authorities that show the mediation of Mercurius: he is the "'mediator making peace between the enemies or elements, that they may love one another and in a meet embrace.'" (CW, XIV, 12.). Later, when we discuss Hyperion's effect upon the Titans we will see how he is an exponent of Mercurius as a peacemaker, "the mediator between the warring elements and producer of unity" (CW, XIV, 13.).

he is the hero and bearer of the light of consciousness, and accordingly must minister to his suffering fellow Titans, even if this means sacrificing his governance over the heavens. This fate is universally true of the hero: whether like Herakles, his life is seen as a series of arduous trials, or whether his fate involves the bull-sacrifice of Mithras, or the ignominy of crucifixion as with Jesus, or the torture of Prometheus on the Caucasus. In every case we discover the motif of sacrifice and suffering. Therefore, Hyperion relinquishes his flaming orb and descends into the deep night

with a slow incline of his broad breast,  
Like to a diver in the pearly seas,  
Forward he stoop'd over the airy shore,  
And plung'd all noiseless into the deep night.  
(i, 354-357)

Keats has chosen the perfect metaphor, for the pearl diver comparison is uniquely descriptive in its symbolic aspect. The objective of the myth has become the pearl-like self, and the orient center of the personality must be redeemed from the deep night. The path of differentiation and spiritualization has been turned in the opposite direction so as to accomplish an integration of consciousness with the unconscious contents. He sinks like Mercurius into the alchemical sea to bring order and synthesis out of discord and chaos.

This is the way that the first book of Hyperion ends and we do not see Hyperion again until the end of Book II. The second book is primarily occupied with descriptions of the Titans and the speeches which four of them deliver.

Before Hyperion's coming, the subterranean den of the Titans was a veritable chaos. Completely black, nothing could be seen and nothing heard but the continual groaning of the broken giants and the tremendous but aimless roar of the underground torrents. The huge fallen warriors

are strewn everywhere: "Heaving in pain, and horribly convuls'd/ With sanguine feverous boiling gurge of pulse" (ii, 27-28). Some of them are chained in torture, some are fixed in solid stone like compressed veins of metal, some wander confused in the upper world, but most lie here below all tumbled like the vast stone pillars of Stonehenge. One has shattered his stone mace before dropping into utter dejection, one has crushed life out of a snake in his frustration, one still grinds his wounded skull madly upon the flinty ridge, but all remain gripped by the same profound dejection, wildness and disorder. Not one can even be clearly distinguished from the others, so total is their confounding: "all clouded round from sight./ No shape distinguishable, more than when/ Thick night confounds the pine-tops with the clouds" (ii, 78-80).

This chaos prevails as an undertone through the main body of Book II, especially in the conflict and confusion generated by the four speeches of Saturn, Oceanus, Clymene, and Enceladus, who are attempting to propose what should be done after the defeat they have suffered. No real agreement or satisfactory consensus seems possible, only the pre-dominant note of gloom and discord. Chaos is all.

In the first of these speeches, Saturn, who searches every quarter for the reason why his following is brought so low, takes chaos as his text:

'Not there, nor in sign, symbol, or portent  
 'Of element, earth, water, air, and fire,--  
 'At war, at peace, or inter-quarreling  
 'One against one, or two, or three, or all  
 'Each several one against the other three,  
 'As fire with air loud warring when rain-floods  
 'Drown both, and press them both against earth's face.  
 'Where, finding sulphur, a quadruple wrath  
 'Unhinges the poor world;--not in that strife,  
 'Wherefrom I take strange lore, and read it deep,  
 'Can I find reason why ye should be thus.'

(ii, 139-149)



The war of the elements is one of the principal features of chaos.

Saturn's desperate question remains unanswered and instead the stark image of unleashed chaos emerges, the poor unhinged world. Then Oceanus is asked for his response.

When the sage God of the Sea rises to speak, he tells of the continual upheaval upon upheaval that must ensue throughout history. Nature, in his view, is seen to keep creation and destruction forever at odds in the cosmic progress toward higher life. He talks of "'Chaos and parental Darkness. . . that intestine broil,/ 'That sullen ferment'" (ii, 191-193), which at the origin of things started the alternations between creation and destruction that still continue. Chaos and Darkness were succeeded by Heaven and Earth, and they in turn by the Titans who are to be supplanted by their dispossessors, the new-reigning Gods.

A long silence follows, which does not indicate the conviction or disdain of his audience for the elder Titan's position. A huge indecision grips them all. The silence continues until the mild-voiced Clymene speaks out timidly among the fierce others.

'O Father, and O Brethren, had ye felt  
'Those pains of mine; O Saturn, hadst thou felt,  
'Ye would not call this too indulged tongue  
'Presumptuous, in thus venturing to be heard.'  
(ii, 296-299)

Her voice is the voice of feeling and contrasts sharply with the philosophical one of Oceanus. She has never even seen Apollo, only listened once to his music, but she has been touched to the heart by its penetrating beauty. Her message speaks from the realm of pure feeling. The limitation on visual imagery which characterizes her language is in direct contrast to Oceanus' emphasis upon what he has seen ("'Have ye seen his face?/ 'Have ye beheld his chariot . . ./ I saw him on the calmed waters scud.'" ii, 233-236). The simplicity of Clymene's words,

moreover, denotes the simple realm of feeling and sensation that is her primary domain. Her exploration of this realm is productive of some of the richest beauty in all of Keats' verse:

'Just opposite, an island of the sea,  
 'There came enchantment with the shifting wind,  
 'That did both drown and keep alive my ears.  
 'I threw my shell away upon the sand,  
 'And a wave fill'd it, as my sense was fill'd  
 'With that new blissful golden melody.  
 'A living death was in each gush of sounds,  
 'Each family of rapturous hurried notes,  
 'That fell, one after one, yet all at once,  
 'Like pearl beads dropping sudden from their string:  
 'And then another, then another strain,  
 'Each like a dove leaving its olive perch,  
 'With music wing'd instead of silent plumes,  
 'To hover round my head, and make me sick  
 'Of joy and grief at once.'

(ii, 275-289)

The metaphors of the shell, the necklace, and the dove intensify the ambivalent death-in-life, joy-in-grief feelings that Clymene experienced. Here feeling is everything. Her words are pure feeling, pure poetic luxury: this is the "life of Sensations rather than of Thoughts." But side by side with it stands Oceanus' philosophy.

These two speeches present a rare insight into the creative mind of Keats, because it is as though we see directly into the vital congeries of opposites at the center of the creative nexus. The forest on forest that surrounded Saturn in the opening scene, and this hidden cave which they all have sought out and to which Hyperion will descend, suggest a centering process focusing on these two speeches of Clymene and Oceanus which come between those of Saturn and Enceladus. Structurally these four speeches describe a kind of verbal mandala in which the first and last orations form a circle of chaotic and belligerent elements, within which the poetry and philosophy form an inner center of opposites. This mandalic structure is the same as in "The Eve of St. Agnes," where the war and hatred of men and the cruelty and cold of the

weather form an outer ring that encompasses Porphyro and Madeline. This poem was composed in the interim between the second and third book of Hyperion in the critical winter of 1818-1819. The similarity may have been due to Keats' preoccupation with the problems involved in making the difficult transition between Books II and III, while he worked on "The Eve of St. Agnes."

The structural mandala in Hyperion corresponds to the pattern of dualities Clarence Thorpe saw in his analysis of Keats: a set of conflicts involving a tendency toward the dreamlike against the demands of the real, also the learning toward the exclusively sensuous side of art and life against a desire for knowledge and the rational.<sup>98</sup> Thorpe felt that the reconciliation of these conflicting impulses became an increasingly conscious aim as the poet's mind developed and he came to see the exigencies of his art and its relatedness to the realities of existence.<sup>99</sup>

Thorpe does not claim final reconciliations, but he does believe that Keats was making definite progress toward solutions and that a study of the process reveals a man and poet of broad and deep sympathies, who in greater maturity, without at all surrendering his affection for material beauty, became more and more aware that great poetry--the serious poetry of "character and sentiment" he aspired to write--is never created by shallow, unfurnished minds doting merely on fanciful dreams and physical loveliness but can be produced only by an understanding intellect grown wise through knowledge and experience and disciplined by thought and hard work.<sup>100</sup>

The reconciliation of the differences between all the Titans that occurs when Hyperion descends into their caverned chaos symbolizes the tendency to reconciliation of the opposites within the poet. At the end of the second book Hyperion becomes the center of a wheel of four Titans formed by Enceladus, Iapetus, Creus, and Phorcus, who together shout Saturn's

<sup>98</sup>"Keats" in English Romantic Poets, p. 217. <sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

name as an expression of their newly gained unity. At the center of the four-fold pattern, Hyperion becomes the one who unifies all the opposites, suggesting his affinity with the alchemical Mercurius.

Another wheel associated with Hyperion is his winged sun-chariot, which is majestically described as a brilliant ball that

Spun round in sable curtaining of clouds;  
Not therefore veiled quite, blindfold, and hid,  
But ever and anon the glancing spheres  
Circles, and arcs, and broad-belted colure,  
Glow'd through, and wrought upon the muffling dark  
Sweet-shaped lightnings from the nadir deep  
Up to the zenith.

(i, 271-277)

The turning wheels and spheres of the earlier poems have evolved into this more complex and intense symbol--revolving spheres inter-wound with spinning circles, and arcs gapping within broad belts of rushing color. This very marvelous representation seems to have been taken directly from some alchemical scroll. (Here as elsewhere Keats' conscious or unconscious reliance on alchemical structures expresses his basic occupation with the individuation process.) The spinning congeries of wheels and spheres that Keats' imagination has reproduced is an ancient symbolic motif that connects Hyperion's spherical fire with Mercurius, who is commonly pictured as the sun-moon hermaphrodite, standing on a winged sphere (see CW, XII, fig. 125), which is closely approximated by Hyperion. Hyperion is the Moon's man on high and the sun (i.e., hermaphroditic), who daily rides his own bright winged orb.

Two wings this orb  
Possess'd for glory, two fair argent wings,  
Ever exalted at the God's approach:  
And now, from forth the gloom their plumes immense  
Rose, one by one, till all outspread were;  
While still the dazzling globe maintain'd eclipse.

(i, 183-288)

In alchemical symbolism the winged sphere is the hermaphrodite. The orb's

argent wings denote the moon, whose characteristic color is silver, in contrast to the dazzling gold of the fiery sphere which is the sun. Thus Hyperion's winged globe is the same sun-moon, hermaphroditic chaos associated with Mercurius, partially because it is his emblem and partially because they have the same meaning. The paradoxical combinations of cloud and light, height and depth, order and confusion, surmounted by the hermaphroditic pair of wings suggests the precious complex of opposites that constituted the lapis philosophorum, or stone of the philosophers' which was the goal of alchemy.

As the sphere is said to be spinning within its curtain of clouds, and lightnings are flashing "from the nadir deep/ Up to the zenith," it becomes what was a favorite symbol for the circulating process of the alchemical opus--circulatio. Rotation is the movement of ascent and descent, which, as we have said, is the basic movement of Hyperion and the dynamic of alchemy. The dethronement and fall of the Titans, the descent of Hyperion, the ascent and apotheosis of Apollo parallels the ascensus and descensus, or the movements of the transforming substance in its work of unification.

The mythological projections of the modern poet coincided directly with historical visualization having roots far back in other epochs. The winged sphere served the seventeenth-century alchemist, Christianus Balduinus, as a symbol of the aurum aurae, the goal of the work, and he used it in the frontispiece of his Aurum hermeticum, triumphantly suspended with wings outspread above the fountain of life where it was reflected (see CW, XII, fig. 209). More than a demonstration of the universality of a certain symbolic motif, this concurrence Keats makes with the ancient representation shows the activation in the poet's consciousness of a significant new constellation that indicates a radical

restructuring of the personality. The wings borne by the orb of Hyperion denote intuition or spiritual (winged) potentiality. In the last analysis, all these symbols shadow-forth the consciousness-transcending fact, described by the elusive term, "self". The visual impression of Keats' image compares to a photograph of an evolving process as it leads on to the next stage. Ego development is being replaced by the development of the self.

The first sign of the transformative effect of Hyperion's descent is in Enceladus, who had spoken with horrible rage, urging new revolt, but he no sonner mentions Hyperion's name than the recalcitrant Titan mystically appears and the speaker's savagery is magically quieted:

All eyes were on Enceladus's face,  
And they beheld, while still Hyperion's name  
Flew from his lips up to the vaulted rocks,  
A pallid gleam across his features stern:  
Not savage, for he saw full many a God  
Wroth as himself.

(ii, 346-351)

In the beginning only traces of dawning light can be seen in the expectant eyes and faces of the Titans gathered around listening to him, but then Keats' verse swells into a full rhapsody of light and excitement:

He look'd upon them all,  
And in each face he saw a gleam of light,  
But splendor in Saturn's, whose hoar locks  
Shone like the bubbling foam about a keel  
When the prow sweeps into a midnight cove.

(ii, 351-355)

This mystical lighting up of the Titans' faces symbolizes a conquest over the darkness of the unconscious by the light of consciousness. This victory takes the form of an integration, symbolized by the prow cutting the dark and casting a phosphorescent wake over the midnight cove. The illumination of Saturn's countenance resembles the illumination at the end of Endymion when the Indian Maiden became transformed

into the Goddess Phoebe (iv, 982). They are different, however, because in the first instance the enlightenment focused upon the feminine sphere, symbolizing the crystallization of the anima out of the mother archetype, and now the enlightenment represents an expansion of masculine consciousness through its refocusing in the unconscious sphere. The lighting up of the faces is important also because it symbolizes an influx of new conscious awareness where passionate instinct and undisciplined rage, that is to say unconsciousness, had formerly predominated. As Hyperion's light strengthens with his approach, the faces of the Titans are progressively illuminated, indicating a general extension of consciousness into the unconscious sphere and an integration of the unconscious contents, existing in projected form in the figures of the overthrown Titans. Hyperion has majestically penetrated the darkness with his light reaching to every height and depth, crevice and pinnacle of the cave. Again, Mercurius was called the penetrating substance which could be projected into other substances to transform them from the imperfect into the perfect state (CW, XIV, 285.).<sup>101</sup> Thus he stands splendidly among the stunned figures he has awakened to a dawning awareness of themselves. It should be emphasized further that Hyperion's descent to the underground cavern is analogous to the decensus ad inferos of Christ, which the alchemists frequently related to their Mercury. Just as Christ's descent into hell, Hyperion makes his glorious entry into the shadowed cave, dispersing shadow and darkness before him. And just as Christ's descent preceded his glorification and resurrection, the descent of Hyperion opens the way for the ascent and apotheosis of Apollo. The psychological equivalent to both of these is the integration of the collective

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<sup>101</sup> See supera, p. 169.

unconscious, the central aim of the individuation process (CW, IX, vol. 11, 39.).

The light which Hyperion casts--reaching into every corner and height of the cavern, and shining in the face of every Titan--makes him the awakener of souls, like the Redeemer in hell, spreading light and order and unification throughout the region of chaos and darkness.

The individuation myth has reached the crucial synthesis of the opposing systems: the polemics of Saturn and Enceladus, the dichotomy between Oceanus and Clymene, the doubt and disorder of all the Titan race become subsumed into a unity. This transformation is the first fruit of the self-knowledge produced by Hyperion's penetrating light which brought to the Titan clan its "most hateful seeing of itself." The crushing weight of sorrow and suffering they have borne is translated into wisdom; they are stung by the efficacious presence of Hyperion into a simultaneous act of self-understanding, symbolized by the illumination of their eyes and faces as they stand around the glowing form of Hyperion:

Golden his hair of short Numidian curl,  
Regal his shape majestic, a vast shade  
In midst of his own brightness, like the bulk  
Of Memnon's image at the set of sun  
To one who travels from the dusking East:  
Sighs, too, as mournful as that Memnon's harp  
He utter'd, while his hands contemplative  
He press'd together, and in silence stood.  
(ii, 371-378)

The image of Hyperion as a vast shade within his own brightness, compared to the huge contemplative head of Memnon with a corona of sunlight, symbolizes the synthesis of sorrow and wisdom. It is the moment of sunset when a death-like hush falls over nature, but it is also a moment of new life with the meditative position of Hyperion's hands indicating a Buddhistic recognition. The last lines of Book II show



the general extension of this insight to the other Titans:

Despondence seiz'd again the fallen Gods  
 At sight of the dejected King of Day,  
 And many hid their faces from the light:  
 But fierce Enceladus sent forth his eyes  
 Among the brotherhood; and, at their glare,  
 Uprose Iapetus, and Creus too,  
 And Phorcus, sea-born, and together strode  
 To where he towered on his eminence.  
 There those four shouted forth old Saturn's name;  
 Hyperion from the peak loud answered, 'Saturn!'  
 Saturn sat near the Mother of the Gods  
 In whose face was no joy, though all the Gods  
 Gave from their hollow throats the name of 'Saturn!'  
 (ii, 379-391)

When with one voice the Titans shout the name of "Saturn," they together make an assertion of unity and a single-minded affirmation of the oneness of their fate, however painful the recognition may be. Saturn is seated next to the Mother of the Gods whose joyless face reveals the integration of knowledge and sorrow. Oceanus' philosophy, Clymene's affective attitude, along with every diverse point of view and conflicting standpoint has been made one in the collective iteration of Saturn's name.

The unification of knowledge and sorrow is the wisdom of self knowledge. Thus Hyperion achieves symbolically that condition Keats so often aspired to in his letters, the condition of total happiness which would be when "the yearning Passion I have for the beautiful [is] connected and made on with the ambition of my intellect" (I, 404).<sup>102</sup>

Psychologically, Hyperion's descent unifies the transcendent spirit-world of consciousness with the chthonic body-world of the unconscious. This is the union of the Above and the Below by the mediating power of Mercurius, constituting the second union of the alchemical

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<sup>102</sup> When Keats said this, it was October 24, 1818. This makes it more significant because at that time he was working on Hyperion, and therefore the connection is more than coincidental.

coniunctio, which unifies the mind with the body and shows forth the wise man. The second stage of conjunction is the re-uniting of the unio mentalis, Endymion achieved, with the body. What Hyperion accomplished by bringing the sun to the underworld is precisely this second union which is particularly important because it is only from this point that complete conjunction can be attained--the third and final stage, the union with the unus mundus, the latent unity of the world (CW, XIV, 476.). With its second goal of unification and transformation realized, the individuation myth moves into its third and final phase which parallels the unus mundus of alchemy, marked by the emergence of the archetype of the self under the symbolic form of the young Apollo.

#### 4. Beyond the Burden of the Mystery

A long and trying period of uncertainty separates the composition of the third book of Hyperion from the first two, extending from the time of his brother Tom's death (December 1, 1818) until sometime before Keats sent the manuscripts of the unfinished poem to Woodhouse in April (it is virtually impossible to pinpoint the resumption precisely). Shaken and frustrated by an inability to finish to his satisfaction what he felt to be his major poem, which Hyperion really was at the time, Keats' remarks during this period frequently reflect a very real anxiety:

March 8 (to Haydon) I am mostly at Hampstead, and about nothing . . . not exactly on the road to an epic poem . . . I have come to the resolution never to write for the sake of writing, or making a poem, but from running over with any little knowledge and experience which many years of reflection may perhaps give me--otherwise I will be dumb.

March 13 (to George) I know not why Poetry and I have been so distant lately. I must make some advances soon or she will cut me entirely.

March 17 (to George) On Sunday . . . I dined--and had a nap. I cannot bear a day an~~ni~~/hilated in that manner--there is a great difference between an easy and an uneasy indolence.

April 12 (to Fanny Keats) I have thought also of writing to you often, and I am sorry to confess that my neglect of it has been but a small instance of my idleness of late--which has been growing upon me, so that it will require a great shake to get rid of it. I have written nothing, and almost read nothing--but I must turn over a new leaf.

April 13 (to Haydon) I dread as much as a Plague the idle fever of two months more without any fruit.

April 15 (to George) I am still at a stand in versifying--I cannot do it yet with any pleasure--I mean however to look round<sup>103</sup> at my resources and means--and see what I can do without poetry.

Despite the exceeding worry over his career and the preoccupation he had with the problem of indolence, the months from December to April were not

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<sup>103</sup>Quoted by Bate, John Keats, pp. 459-460.

entirely idle. He composed "The Eve of St. Agnes" and "The Eve of St. Mark," some of his finest sonnets, and a scattering of short pieces, but none of these concerned him very deeply, because his Hyperion still remained incomplete and he had resolved not to go on with it--indeed he might even relinquish poetry altogether--unless he could come to terms with himself. We might observe that "Know thyself" echoes through all his March letters. Keats was encountering that crucial moment in his career when this important question had to be coped with. Disillusionment, lassitude, disappointment, and the nagging premonition of the shortness of time were only secondary to the need to solve in himself the problem of the nature of the artist and his relationship to his art and his epoch. It was this that brought the silence that put a pause to Hyperion. As we would expect, the impasse he had reached in his epic poem paralleled this crisis in his career. The basic questions about himself would have to be answered, it would seem, before Apollo could emerge as the ascendent god of poetry to replace Hyperion.

The answer came in the letters. It was in them that Keats was able to be alone with himself to weigh and consider every aspect of his life. They are confessions of a master spirit and unique in the history of literature, because even among the great artists Keats is said to be the only one whose letters have an interest which is virtually equal to that of his canon of created work.<sup>104</sup>

In the long journal-letter (14 February-3 May 1819) to George and Georgiana Keats, that roughly coincided with the period of inactivity in his creative output, the poet shows himself carefully fermenting his thoughts. One idea which particularly occupied him was disinterestedness,

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<sup>104</sup>Trilling, Opposing Self, p. 3.

for which he owed much (see below) to his recent reading of William Hazlitt's early essay on The Principles of Human Action (subtitled An Argument in Defence of the Natural Disinterestedness of the Human Mind) at this time. Keats' thoughts on disinterestedness fall within the matrix of his speculations on instinctual unity, that condition of body and mind wherein conflicting elements of the personality become one with the whole. Describing this state on March 19 he explains that he slept very late that morning with the result that it "weakened the animal fibre all over me to a delightful sensation about three degrees on this side of faintness." This was that delicious indolence which was peculiar to Keats; describing it further, he continues:

In this state of effeminacy the fibres of the brain are relaxed in common with the rest of the body, and to such a happy degree that pleasure has no show of enticement and pain no unbearable frown. Neither Poetry, nor Ambition, nor Love have any alertness of countenance as they pass by me: they seem rather like three figures on a greek vase--a Man and two women--whom no one but myself could distinguish in their disguise. This is the only happiness; and is a rare instance of advantage in the body overpowering the Mind.

(II, 78-79)

The mention of Poetry, Ambition, and Love who no longer can entice him out of his "only happiness," reminds us of the "Ode on Indolence" (1819) where the same three figures are rendered powerless:

They faded, and, forsooth! I wanted wings:  
O folly! What is Love! and where is it?  
And for that poor Ambition--it springs  
From a man's little heart's short fever-fit;  
For Poesy!--no,--she has not a joy,--  
At least for me,--so sweet as drowsy noons,  
And evenings steep'd in honied indolence;  
O, for an age so shelter'd from annoy,  
That I may never know how change the moons,  
Or hear the voice of busy common-sense!

This "honied indolence" is something like the Cave of Quietude, where "anguish does not sting; nor pleasure pall:/ Woe-hurricanes beat ever at the gate,/ Yet all is still within" (iv, 526-528). Now also the poet is

"shelter'd from annoy" so that he does not see the changing of the moon, nor hear the "voice of busy common-sense." The fever-fit of Ambition and the world's busy common-sense is stilled by what the letter called the relaxation of the "fibres of the brain . . . in common with the rest of the body." He calls this condition a "state of effeminacy . . . a rare instance of advantage in the body overpowering the Mind." Since the unconscious psyche is symbolically feminine, and since the unconscious includes the bodily, instinctual sphere, the condition that Keats' letter and the Ode refer to is a harmonization of consciousness and the unconscious. The conscious aspirations after Love, Ambition, and Poetry are quieted; the fibers of the brain are in common with the rest of the body; the body and the mind for a time actually for a time become one. Unity of being; reflection becomes indistinguishable from feeling.

Besides representing this state in the "Ode on Indolence," Keats dramatizes it in Hyperion, where the second stage of the alchemical unification is accomplished by Hyperion's descent. It is possible to say that when Hyperion brings the sun to the underworld he represents the unity of mind and body which Keats considered his "only happiness." The union of sunlight with the darkness of the underworld is the reuniting of the unio mentalis (spiritualized consciousness) with the body--the second coniunctio of alchemy.

Our conclusions about the poetry thus are confirmed by Keats' comments on his own life. This suggests a basic relationship between art process and life process that may be formulated: poetry is the mythopoeia of the creative event within the man.

In the same journal-letter of March, 1819, Keats' train of thought was interrupted by the delivery of a message about the gravely serious illness of William Haslam's father. Here his thoughts shift to the

question of disinterestedness or purpose in human life.

From the manner in which I feel Haslam's misfortune I perceive how far I am from any humble standard of disinterestedness--Yet this feeling ought to be carried to its highest pitch, as there is no fear of its ever injuring society--which it would do I fear pushed to an extremity\*--For in wild nature the Hawk would loose his Breakfast of Robins and the Robin his of Worms The Lion must starve as well as the swallow--The greater part of Men make their way with the same instinctiveness, the same unwandering eye from their purposes, the same animal eagerness as the Hawk--The Hawk wants a Mate, so does the Man--look at them both they set about it and procure on(e) in the same manner--They want both a nest and they both set about one in the same manner--they get their food in the same manner--the noble animal Man for his amusement smokes his pipe--the Hawk balances about the Clouds--that is the only difference of their leisures.

(II, 79-80)

These reflections on the scarcity of disinterestedness and the prevalence of purpose and instinctiveness, linking man to the animals, are followed by his thoughts on Socrates and Jesus who were disinterested.

But then as Wordsworth says, "we have all one human heart"--there is an electric fire in human nature tending to purify--so that among these human creature/s there is continually some birth of new heroism--The pity is that we must wonder at it: as we should at finding a pearl in rubbish--I have no doubt that thousands of people never heard of have had hearts completely disinterested: I can remember but two--Socrates and Jesus.

(II, 80)

The electric fire in human nature that purifies away the dross recalls once more Hyperion who acted like a purifying substance against the rage and discord of the other Titans. The continual birth of new heroism which occurs like a pearl found in a rubbish heap indicates that the goal of disinterestedness is identical with the self, symbolized by the wondrous pearl. A few lines further Keats said, "Give me this credit--Do you not think I strive--to know myself?"

Hazlitt's essay "On the Principles of Human Action" which Keats

\*It would seem that Keats left something out of this sentence and that it ought to read: "Yet this feeling ought to be carried to its highest pitch, as there is no fear of its ever injuring society--which it would do I fear pushed to an extremity in nature."

had been reading, as we know from the many references in the letters, contributed greatly to the formation of these concepts that were pre-occupying him and forcing him to search out solutions to the problems they entailed. This discourse on human action is actually a psychological tract which is interesting to us because it compares in several important respects to Jung's personality theories. "Self," "identity," "individuality" and "consciousness" are some of the pertinent psychological terms that Keats would have been familiar with through Hazlitt, as the following citation shows:

But to proceed to a more particular account of the origin of our idea of self, which is this relation of a thinking being to itself. This can only be known in the first instance by a consciousness of what passes in our own minds. I should say then that personality does not arise either from the being this, or that, from the identity of the thinking being with itself at different times or at the same time, or still less from being unlike others, which is not at all necessary to it, but from the peculiar connection which subsists between the different faculties and perceptions of the same conscious being, constituted as man is, so that as the subject of his own reflection or consciousness the same things impressed on any of his faculties produce a quite different effect upon him from what they would do if they were impressed in the same way on any other being. Personality seems to be nothing more than conscious individuality: it is the power of perceiving that you are and what you are from the immediate reflection of the mind on it's own operations, sensations, or ideas.<sup>105</sup>

Hazlitt's concentration on the problem of self and the question of personal identity had a telling influence on Keats that came to the surface April 21, 1819, a month after his writing on disinterestedness, in the same journal-letter to George and Georgiana which includes the now famous remarks on the world as a vale of soul-making.

To make his metaphor clear Keats divides man's being three ways: into Heart and Mind and Soul. Soul has only potential existence; it has

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<sup>105</sup> William Hazlitt, The Complete Works of William Hazlitt, ed. P. P. Howe (London and Toronto, 1930), vol. I, 36-37.



to be created. Originally, man has just the two: Mind and Heart. Mind is both "an atom of intelligence" and "a spark of Divinity"; these atoms of intelligence "know and see and are pure, in short they are God." Like the German mystic Meister Eckhart, Keats understands that "The eye with which I see God is the same eye with which he sees me." But he comes closer to modern psychology when he defines Heart as "the seat of the Human Passions." In the widest sense it is man's instinctive being, the body, which in rare instances can overpower the mind; this makes the Heart the source of all immediate knowledge, "the seat from which the Mind or intelligence sucks its identity." Keats makes it clear that the whole purpose of this system of life he outlines is the formation of "the Soul or Intelligence destined to possess the sense of Identity" (II, 102; italics Keats'). Individuation is implicit here.

Though his thought is still somewhat unclear to him, Keats attempts to explain, metaphorically:

I can scarcely express what I but dimly perceive--and yet I think I perceive it--that you may judge the more clearly I will put it in the most homely form possible--I will call the world a School instituted for the purpose of teaching little children to read--I will call the Child able to read, the Soul made from that school and its hornbook.

(II, 102)

Thus a world of hardship, even defeat, serves a proper purpose, to let the heart "feel and suffer in a thousand diverse ways!" This interaction, or integration, rather, of Mind and Heart, it seems to me, is the individuation of the personality whereby the totality of the individual is realized through the unification of consciousness and the unconscious. Keats' speculations are an amazing approximation of Jung's definition of individuation:

Individuation means becoming a single, homogeneous being, and, in

so far as "individuality" embraces our innermost, last, and incomparable uniqueness, it also implies becoming one's own self. We could therefore translate individuation as "coming to self-hood" or "self-realization" (CW, VII, 171.).

Compare how closely this comes to Keats' system of soul-making:

As various as the Lives of Men are--so various become their souls, and thus does God make individual beings, Souls, Identical Souls of the sparks of his own essence. . . I began by seeing how man was formed by circumstances--and what are circumstances?--but touchstones of his heart--? and what are touchstones?--but proofings of his heart?--and what are proofings of his heart but fortifiers or alterers of his nature? and what is his altered nature but his soul?--and what was his soul before it came into the world and had These proofings and alterations and perfectionings?--An intelligence/s/--without Identity--and how is this Identity to be made? Through the medium of the Heart? And how is the heart to become this Medium but in a world of Circumstances? (II, 103-104)

Of this important document on the psychological development of the poet, Aileen Ward concludes that, whatever the experience that sometime between April 15 and April 30 brought Keats to this insight, one thing is certain: "from his struggle with the world of circumstance, heart and mind together, he had emerged at last, altered and fortified, with the firm sense of his own identity which had eluded him so long."<sup>106</sup> The Jungian position on the meaning of the soul-making letter, as given by Katharine Wilson, agrees substantially with Ward's idea that Keats now knows himself, but she is more explicit in relating this new knowledge to self-realization.<sup>107</sup> Wilson says that Keats' soul-making letter shows that he perceives what he himself actually is like. She calls it a realization of his own nature, and therefore of his own identity.

An equally important third elucidation of what was constituted by Keats' concept of soul-making comes from John Middleton Murry who holds that the poet's appreciation of these truths reveals a condition of the personality in him that did not exist before; something new and altogether

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<sup>106</sup> Ward, p. 278.

<sup>107</sup> Wilson, p. 114.

unique has been created. Murry writes:

This condition, in which the Soul, or true Self, has now come into existence, is quite different from 'conscious knowledge'; it involves a change in the very nature of 'conscious knowledge.' 'Conscious knowledge' is somehow merged together with 'unconscious knowledge,' to form this deeper knowledge of an indefeasible self-existence. This self-existence is the soul, and that which knows it is the soul. The soul knows itself, and a true and inviolable personality is achieved.<sup>108</sup>

When, therefore, through the world's provings and alterations and perfectionings, an Identity has been made and the Mind becomes personally itself with a bliss peculiar to its individual existence, there has been accomplished, as Ward and Wilson and Murry all concur, the "coming to selfhood" or "self-realization" that Jung identifies with individuation. Keats shows that he had crossed the impasse in himself that had barred the way to continuing Hyperion; now the road was open to the great poetry that was to make the remainder of 1819 the poet's "annus mirabilis."

Exactly how this coming to selfhood came about in the inner man, producing this great new phase of life for Keats, can never be definitively determined, but on the 16th of April in the same journal-letter, his reading of the Divine Comedy enters into a dream, important enough and sufficiently compelling to make him try to work it into a sonnet. The dream and the sonnet together constitute a signal that the long molting period was over--the old self had at last been cast aside and replaced with the renewed synthesis of the wholeness of personality. Both the dream and the sonnet are reproduced in their entirety because they appear to mark the moment of psychic transformation:

The fifth canto of Dante pleases me more and more--it is that one in which he meets with Paulo and Franc(h)esca--I had passed many days in rather low state of mind and in the midst of them I dreamt of being in that region of Hell. The dream was one of the most delightful enjoyments I ever had in my life--I floated about the

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<sup>108</sup>Murry, pp. 139f.

whirling atmosphere as it is described with a beautiful figure to whose lips mine were joined at (for as) it seem'd for an age--and in the midst of all this cold and darkness I was warm--even flowery tree tops sprung up and we rested on them sometimes with the lightness of a cloud till the wind blew us away again--I tried a Sonnet upon it--there are fourteen lines but nothing of what I felt in it--o that I could dream it every night.

(II, 91)

He followed this directly with the sonnet:

As Hermes once took to his feathers light,  
 When lulled Argus, baffled, swoon'd and slept,  
 So on a Delphic reed, my idle spright  
 So play'd, so charm'd, so conquer'd, so bereft  
 The dragon-world of all its hundred eyes;  
 And, seeing it asleep, so fled away,  
 Not to pure Ida with its snow-cold skies,  
 Nor unto Tempe, where Jove griev'd that day;  
 But to that second circle of sad hell,  
 Where in the gust, the whirlwind, and the flaw  
 Of rain and hail-stones, lovers need not tell  
 Their sorrows,--pale were the sweet lips I saw,  
 Pale were the lips I kiss'd, and fair the form  
 I floated with, about that melancholy storm.<sup>109</sup>

The sonnet not only proves the great significance the dream must have had for Keats, but also it shows the intimate connection that there was between the poet's psychic life and his poetry. It confirms that the poet customarily drew upon his dream-life and other products of his unconscious for his poetry--"La Belle Dame sans Merci" and the "Ode to Psyche" involve dream conditions and The Fall of Hyperion is in fact subtitled "A Dream." "Do I wake or sleep" in "Ode to a Nightingale" describes precisely the reciprocative balance between the dream world of the inner psyche and the conscious mind's alertness that habitually belonged to Keats' creative processes. Thus, in the letter of the 19th of March 1819, he talked of himself as "pursueing the same instinctive course as the veriest human animal you can think of--I am however young writing at random--straining at particles of light in the midst of a great

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<sup>109</sup> I use Garrod's text, cf. Works, p. 471.

darkness--without knowing the bearing of any one assertion of any one opinion. . . . This is the very thing in which consists poetry" (II, 80). He calls this "graceful, though instinctive" attitude of mind the very condition proper to poetry. This condition is a descent to the instinctual sphere, to what Keats calls "diligent indolence," or, instead of descent, Murry describes it as an advance to what he refers to as an "organic self-awareness."<sup>110</sup> Thus, according to Murry, and my own view is in line with this, poetry occurs when there is a "re-integration into organic unity of the would-be autonomous Mind."<sup>111</sup> And Murry makes the connection between this state and that "state of effeminacy [when] the fibres of the brain are relaxed in common with the rest of the body." In the sonnet on the dream this integration of mind and body is expressed, reiterating, as it were, the integrative descent of Hyperion. The difference is that the sonnet which is drawn directly from Keats' dream pertains to the poet's inner experience of himself. It involves, as it were, a proving out of Hyperion's mythological role on the poet's own pulses.

The metaphor of Hermes's escape from Argus begins the sonnet. As when Argus slept the winged god took flight, the poet's spirit takes wing when the dragon-world with all its myriad eyes is quieted with sleep. Like Hyperion, another Keatsian Mercurius, this Hermes-Keats flies to the second circle of Dante's hell. The many eyes of the dragon-world make it a symbol of consciousness, and the circle of hell symbolizes the great round of the unconscious. A likely reading of the poem, then, is the integration of consciousness and the unconscious.

Keats had read the description in the Divine Comedy of the whirlwind

<sup>110</sup> Studies in Keats (London, 1930), p. 69.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

perpetually spiralling Paulo and Franchesca:

The stormy blast of hell  
With restless fury drives the spirits on  
Whirl'd round, and dash'd amain with sore annoy.<sup>112</sup>

In Keats' sonnet as well as in his dream there is no unpleasantness; quite the contrary, he calls the dream one of the most delightful experiences of his entire life, wishing: "O that I could dream it every night." The whirlwind is a kind of oasis of their own, sheltering the lovers from the melancholy storm. Such a center of calm recurs again and again in the poems of the period, beginning with the paradisaal oasis of Porphyro and Madeline in "The Eve of St. Agnes", written in January, and continuing as a virtual leitmotif throughout the odes and poems of the late spring and summer, 1819. This leitmotif of the quiet center is epiphenomenal with Keats' realization of his unique nature, and as Katharine Wilson emphasizes in her treatment of this period in the poet's development, this realization was followed by a sense of peace, a feeling of calm sanity, indicating he had at the same time a sense of the wholeness of the self.<sup>113</sup> In the poet's dream and in the sonnet, the integration basic to this wholeness of the self is symbolized in the mystic conjunction of his spirit with the lovely female form, the anima. The mood of harmony and the rotating whirlwind connote unity and wholeness.

The atmosphere of the dream world was becoming the most appropriate setting for the expression of Keats' new experience of himself. The dream, as Jung says in the following excerpt from his autobiography,

is a little hidden door in the innermost and most secret recesses of the psyche, opening into that cosmic night which was psyche

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<sup>112</sup>Cited by Garrod (Works, 471n.) from the London Magazine (1848).

<sup>113</sup>Wilson, p. 114.

long before there was any ego-consciousness, and which will remain psyche no matter how far our ego-consciousness may extend . . . All consciousness separates; but in dreams we put on the likeness of that more universal, truer, more eternal man dwelling in the darkness of primordial night. There he is still the whole, and the whole is in him, indistinguishable from nature and bare of all ego-hood. Out of these all-uniting depths arises the dream, be it never so infantile, never so grotesque, never so immoral.<sup>114</sup>

This wholeness "indistinguishable from nature and bare of all egohood" was what made the dream so wonderful and so important to Keats, and the depth of its incommunicable beauty explains why he thought the sonnet inadequate ("I tried a Sonnet upon it--there are fourteen lines but nothing of what I felt in it" [II, 917]). It is all but impossible to express the unity of being which came to him when "the fibres of the brain were relaxed," when the conscious mind had yielded to "that which is far older, far deeper, and far richer than itself."<sup>115</sup>

But Keats was to attempt additional representations of this new experience of himself in the "Ode to Psyche" and in "La Belle Dame sans Merci." The ode and the ballad both come within two weeks of "As Hermes once" (April 16); he wrote "La Belle Dame" on April 21 and copied the "Ode to Psyche" into the journal letter on the 30th. These two poems and the sonnet are, moreover, very close thematically. Murry says that the Dantean dream was the inspiration at a second remove of "La Belle Dame," inspiring the sonnet directly.<sup>116</sup> The common bond between these three poems is that they all function around the same purpose which Keats stated on April 21 in the soul-making letter as "the purpose of forming the Soul or Intelligence destined to possess the sense of Identity" (II, 102). The process of self-making is symbolized in the recurring pattern of conjoined opposites, in the theme of the male/

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<sup>114</sup>Jung, Memories, p. 382.

<sup>115</sup>Murry, Studies, p. 66.

<sup>116</sup>Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, p. 124.

female pair, repeated in all three instances.

The beautiful lady of the meads that the young knight of the ballad encounters is once more the same anima figure that appeared in the dream. Because there is such a thing as an unconscious that is not personal--i.e., is not made up of individually acquired contents, whether forgotten, subliminally perceived, or repressed--there will be processes going on in this non-ego, spontaneous archetypal dream-dramas, projected autonomously into consciousness (CW, XVI, 290.). "La Belle Dame" originates in this way. The similarity between the phenomena of archetypal projections and the poetry Keats was writing in this period, especially "La Belle Dame," will be seen in the following description of the nature of projected contents by Jung:

They are immemorially strange and unknown, and yet we seem to have known them from everlasting; they are also the source of a remarkable fascination that dazzles and illuminates at once. They draw us like a magnet and at the same time frighten us; they manifest themselves in fantasies, dreams, hallucinations, and in certain kinds of religious ecstasy. The coniunctio is one of these archetypes. The absorptive power of the archetype explains not only the widespread incidence of this theme but also the passionate intensity with which it seizes upon the individual, often in defiance of all reason and understanding (CW, XVI, 290.).

The otherworldly atmosphere of the coniunctio in "La Belle Dame" is preserved by the remote location, the exotic foods, and the enchanting nature of this mysterious lady.

## VI

I set her on my pacing steed,  
And nothing else saw all day long,  
For sidelong would she bend, and sing  
A faery's song.

## VII

She found me roots of relish sweet,  
And honey wild, and manna dew,  
And sure in language strange she said--  
'I love thee true'.



## VIII

She took me to her elfin grot,  
 And there she wept, and sigh'd full sore,  
 And there I shut her wild wild eyes  
 With kisses four.

## IX

And there she lulled me asleep,  
 And there I dream'd--Ah! woe betide!  
 The latest dream I ever dream'd  
 On the cold hill side.

## X

I saw pale kings and princes too,  
 Pale warriors, death-pale were they all;  
 They cried--'La Belle Dame sans Merci  
 Hath three in thrall!'

Stanza six reveals the fascination this bewitching lady holds for the loitering knight-at-arms; he is completely captivated by her; his glance is glued to her all day long. The uncommon meal, consisting of roots, honey, and manna dew, her unfamiliar language, and the faery grotto, where he swoons and dreams of deathly noblemen, characterize an eruption of unconscious contents into the conscious sphere--"unconscious" because foreign and otherworldly. The knight's mystical encounter with the female stranger is a conjunction resembling the one in the dream. There is in Keats at this time a continuing preoccupation with the process of integration, with establishing a rapprochement with the unconscious. The ghostly statement of the grey nobles: "La Belle Dame sans Merci hath thee in thrall" indicates a confrontation of the conscious mind by the unconscious, and the male/female conjunction consequent to this is an archetype of compelling power, called variously the hieros gamos, syzygy, or coniunctio.

But the coniunctio in "La Belle Dame" is not a permanent synthesis. The knight is abandoned to loiter alone on the withered heath, and the

coniunctio becomes a disiunctio with painful results. The strangeness and unknowableness of La Belle Dame, her ability to fascinate and dazzle, attract and at the same time frighten, belongs to her because she symbolizes the autonomous non-ego, the unconscious. The otherness of her "wild wild eyes" and her strange voice are indicative. The hallucinatory or dream-like character of the stricken kings and princes, who are under her spell, shows the power of the alien unconscious to hold elements of the conscious personality "in thrall." Keats' poem does, in fact, reveal the extreme consequence of the dissolution of the ego in the objective psyche: a death-like state, as the cold hill side and the withered sedge and the silent birds reflect. This wasteland implies the more or less complete identification of the ego with unconscious factors-- a kind of total disinterestedness of the conscious mind, relaxing it in common with the objective psyche.

The "Ode to Psyche," on the other hand, reflects the more beneficial side of the relationship of the conscious mind with the unconscious. Instead of the strangeness and unknowableness of La Belle Dame and the tentative coniunctio with its destructive after-effects, we have the poet's beautiful, newly resurrected Psyche and a permanent union which is to be centered in the sanctuary of the poet's mind. Now the underlying psychological purport of Keats' poetry comes boldly to the surface; no longer is it disguised behind allegory or myth, because this poem marks Keats' first writing where, in the words of Katharine Wilson, he "puts the self before poetry as the goal."<sup>117</sup>

The "Ode to Psyche" announces the start moreover of a new artistic temper in Keats; he said himself that for the first time he was writing

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<sup>117</sup>Wilson, p. 114.

poetry as an artist. To his brother George, he confided:

The following Poem--the last I have written is the first and the only one with which I have taken even moderate pains--I have for the most part dash'd of my lines in a hurry--This I have done leisurely--I think it reads the more richly for it and will I hope encourage me to write other thing/s<sup>7</sup> in even a more peaceable and healthy spirit. You must recollect that Psyche was not embodied as a goddess before the time of Apulieus the Platonist who lived after the Agustan age, and consequently the Goddess was never worshipped or sacrificed to with any of the ancient fervour--and perhaps never thought of in the old religion--I am more orthodox that to let a hethen Goddess be so neglected--  
(II, 106)

This reference to a new mode of writing recalls his words to Hessey in October, 1818, when he was looking back upon Endymion and looking ahead to Hyperion, saying that he had written "independently without Judgment" up to that time but he awaited the moment in his career when he would "write independently & with judgment" (I, 374). The ode clearly demonstrates that this independence and judgment had developed in Keats, and furthermore it marks the appearance of the Genius of Poetry, which, as he told Hessey, must work out its own salvation in a man.

Since it is overtly concerned with the psyche, the ode presents an excellent opportunity for an incisive look into the poet's soul. The poem is addressed to the Goddess Psyche who was the last to enter the Olympian hierarchy, and accordingly she never was given proper ceremony or worship. In the ode Keats assumes the role of hierophant to the goddess, much as in some of his earlier poetry he became the pagan worshipper of Apollo. The poet-priest now enters the real sanctuary of his religion, the temple of self-creation:

O Goddess! hear these tuneless numbers, wrung  
By sweet enforcement and remembrance dear,  
And pardon that thy secrets should be sung  
Even into thine own soft-conched ear:  
Surely I dreamt to-day, or did I see  
The winged Psyche with awaken's eyes?  
I wander'd in a forest thoughtlessly,  
And, on the sudden, fainting with surprise,

Saw two fair creatures, couched side by side  
 In deepest grass, beneath the whisp'ring roof  
 Of leaves and trembled blossoms, where there ran  
     A brooklet, scarce espied:  
 'Mid hush'd, cool-rooted flowers, fragrant-eyed,  
     Blue, silver-white, and budded Tyrian,  
 They lay calm-breathing on the bedded grass;  
     Their arms embraced, and their pinions too;  
     Their lips touch'd not, but had not bid adieu,  
 As if disjoined by soft-handed slumber,  
 And ready still past kisses to outnumber  
     At tender eye-dawn of aureorean love:  
     The winged boy I knew;  
 But who wast thou, O happy, happy dove?  
     His Psyche true!

O latest born and loveliest vision far  
 Of all Olympus' faded hierarchy!  
 Fairer than Phoebe's sapphire-region'd star,  
     Or Vesper, amorous glow-worm of the sky;  
 Fairer than these, though temple thou hast none,  
     Nor altar heap'd with flowers;  
 Nor virgin-choir to make delicious moan  
     Upon the midnight hours;  
 No voice, no lute, no pipe, no incense sweet  
     From chain-swung censer teeming;  
 No shrine, no grove, no oracle, no heat  
     Of pale-mouth'd prophet dreaming.

O brightest! though too late for antique vows,  
     Too, too late for the fond believing lyre,  
 When holy were the haunted forest boughs,  
     Holy the air, the water, and the fire;  
 Yet even in these days so far retir'd  
     From happy pieties, thy lucent fans,  
     Fluttering among the faint Olympians,  
 I see, and sing, by my own eyes inspired.  
 So let me be thy choir, and make a moan  
     Upon the midnight hours;  
 Thy voice, thy lute, thy pipe, thy incense sweet  
     From swung censer teeming;  
 Thy shrine, thy grove, thy oracle, thy heat  
     Of pale-mouth'd prophet dreaming.

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-cluster'd trees  
     Fledge the wild-ridged mountains steep by steep;  
 And there by zephyrs, streams, and birds, and bees,  
     The moss-lain Dryads shall be lull'd to sleep;  
 And in the midst of this wide quietness  
 A rosy sanctuary will I dress  
 With the wreath'd trellis of a working brain,

With buds, and bells, and stars without a name,  
 With all the gardener Fancy e'er could feign,  
 Who breeding flowers, will never breed the same:  
 And there shall be for thee all soft delight  
 That shadowy thought can win,  
 A bright torch, and a casement ope at night,  
 To let the warm Love in!

The ode reflects the poet's new state of consciousness. The trials and introspectiveness of the preceding months and his obvious involvement with soul-making, manifested only seven days before, clearly had initiated consciousness of the self in the poet of Hyperion, amounting to a decisive change of personality. This new self-knowledge extends into the untrodden regions of the mind where, in a temple fashioned out of his growing self-awareness, his Psyche will be enshrined with her lover, Eros.

Speaking of the profound significance that the myth of Psyche had for the modern era, Eric Neumann, though he never mentions Keats, brings out a meaning that applies in an important way to the "Ode to Psyche" and our understanding of the present crucial juncture in the poet's creative development:

Through her ascension to Olympus she demonstrates that a new epoch has begun. That Psyche has become a goddess means that the human is itself divine and equal to the gods; and the eternal union of the goddess Psyche with the god Eros means that the human bond with the divine is not only eternal, but itself of a divine quality.

The psychic turn of the divine, the inward journey of the gods into what we call the human psyche, within which this divine principle now appears, has its archetypal beginning in this apotheosis of Psyche.

Strangely enough, the tale of Psyche thus represents a development which in an extra-Christian area, without revelation and without church, wholly pagan and yet transcending paganism, symbolizes the transformation and deification of the psyche.<sup>118</sup>

The deification of Psyche and her expected enshrinement within the mind of the poet initiated a new epoch in Keats. His writing now is marked

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<sup>118</sup> Amor and Psyche: The Psychic Development of the Feminine, trans. Ralph Manheim (New York and Evanston, 1956), p. 143.

by a sudden release and fluency, coming after three months of barren indecision. The emergence of this new divine principle in Keats, symbolized by the inward gradient of Psyche to her human sanctuary, was the onset of a new spontaneity that proved catalytic in the most valuable way, for within two or three weeks--not more than a month--all the five remaining odes, exclusive of "To Autumn," were to appear. The prolonged silence of those long months, when Keats palely loitered under the thrall of the unconscious, is transcended by this sudden transformation and deification of the psyche.

By entering the poem and taking part in the action of the fantasy Keats initiates an active participation of the conscious mind with the unconscious processes; the effect of this is that he gains possession of them. When Keats offers to be Psyche's choir, her voice, her lute, all her adoration, and become her shrine, her grove, her oracle and her prophet, this is the sign that the ego has become once more the vehicle of the totality (i.e., the self). In other words, Keats' motive of becoming Psyche's priest and ministrant to her shrine is the ego's will to establish its inner dialectic with the collective unconscious. The emphasis on natural imagery in the opening stanza and the religious imagery in the last presents a contrast that highlights the tendency away from an exclusively unconscious orientation of the self (i.e., possessed by nature) toward an integration with consciousness (i.e., adopted by culture). By thus joining the conscious to the unconscious, Keats throws off the thrall of La Belle Dame, thereby occupying the untrodden regions of the mind and constructing a fane for his Psyche, promoting inner harmony.

Active participation and the conscious mind's experience of the unity of the psyche mark the appearance of the transcendent function--

the real aim of individuation (CW, VII, 217.). The transcendent function is the assimilation of the unconscious inferior functions to the conscious mind. This brings about a change of personality, extends the horizon of consciousness by the addition of unconscious contents, and diminishes the dominance of the unconscious. Keats' first great ode coincides with the acquisition of a profound self-knowledge and corresponds to the transformation of personality that signalizes the emergence of what we have called the transcendent function,<sup>119</sup> pointing to the conscious mind's experience of the unity of the psyche.

The union of Psyche and Eros in the opening stanza of "Ode to Psyche" is a mythological "syzygy," or divine marriage of lovers, notably one of the pre-eminent symbols of the self, because the male/female coniunctio expresses the perfect unity of opposites and symbolizes totality. The archetype of Psyche united with Eros is one of the highest forms that the symbol of the coniunctio has taken in the West.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>119</sup> Jung's explanation of the transcendent function elucidates the far-reaching significance of the ode: "Continual conscious realization of unconscious fantasies, together with active participation in the fantastic events, has, as I have witnessed, . . . the effect firstly of extending the conscious horizon by the inclusion of numerous unconscious contents; secondly of gradually diminishing the dominant influence of the unconscious; and thirdly of bringing about a change of personality.

This change of personality is naturally not an alteration of the original hereditary disposition, but rather a transformation of the general attitude. Those sharp cleavages and antagonisms between conscious and unconscious, such as we see so clearly in the endless conflicts of neurotic natures, nearly always rest on a noticeable one-sidedness of the conscious attitude, which gives absolute precedence to one or two functions, while the others are unjustly thrust into the background. Conscious realization and experience of fantasies assimilates the unconscious inferior functions to the conscious mind--a process which is naturally not without far-reaching effects on the conscious attitude . . . . an important change does take place. I have called this change, which is the aim of our analysis of the unconscious, the transcendent function" (CW, VII, 217.).

<sup>120</sup> Neumann, Amor, p. 144.

Keats has produced one of the profoundest symbols of the creative process. His lovers embrace, their arms and wings interlocked, their lips held parted in a suspended kiss, ready to return together with the "tender eye-dawn of aureorean love." This phrase "eye-dawn" contains a disguised allusion to "I-dawn," or what might be described as the awakening of the slumbering self to conscious activity. It was in the spirit of mock piety that Keats said he had written the "Ode to Psyche" to give proper honor to a goddess who "was never worshipped or sacrificed to with any of the ancient fervour." His real intention was, as the symbolism clearly reveals, more psychological than religious.

Thus, Keats, the modern myth-maker, imparted to Apuleius' original a decidedly psychological pertinence.<sup>121</sup> Where he aspires to take Psyche out of her neglected place in the unfrequented forest and give her the sanctuary she should have, the underlying meaning is the expansion of consciousness imparted by the development of the self and the integration of that system. Since Psyche's sanctuary will be within the poet's own mind and a spiritual marriage is to be completed there between this goddess and Love, we can say that the eidetic structure of the ode is dictated by the surfacing of the self to the level of conscious activity. Analytical psychology defines the totality of consciousness and the unconscious as the "psyche," and "psyche" is the Greek word for soul. Thus the enshrinement of Psyche within the poet means the unity with his own being that constitutes individuation, the intention of becoming a self, the creation of a lasting Cave of Quietude.

Keats' most explicit indication of his awareness of this intention came in the soul-making letter where he spoke of the formation of a

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<sup>121</sup> Keats' letter (II, 106), which was quoted above, indicated that Apuleius was a primary source for the ode.



Soul (or self) destined to possess a sense of Identity from an Intelligence without Identity. The self is life's goal; it is the completest expression of that fateful combination called individuality. Keats expressed this goal of individuality in his letter, writing of the infinitely multiplied uniqueness of a world altered and perfected by soul-making: "As various as the Lives of Men are--so various become their souls, Souls, Identical Souls of the sparks of his own essence" (II, 103). The "Ode to Psyche," written within days of these thoughts, became Keats' poetic rendering of the task of making one's being individual, of gaining an identity. The note of individuality is sounded in the last stanza where the sanctuary in the mind is described as uniquely formed by the imagination and the poet's working brain. The birds and bells trellised there are without a name, symbolizing the introduction of new contents into consciousness, constituting an individual uniqueness, distinguished also by the flowers bred by the garden-er Fancy that occur this once but will never occur again. All this confirms that the ode refers to the goal of the individuation process, the actualization of the self.

Although the "Ode to Psyche" does not portray the actual enshrinement of Keats' goddess of the soul or the glorious denouement in which she is married to Eros, these events are so strongly implied that it is as though they actually did occur. These symbols of the goal are anticipations that indicate a subliminal readiness on Keats' part to consciously realize his wholeness, at a later stage. The final lines promise Psyche, if she come, "all soft delight/ That shadowy thought can win,/ A bright torch, and a casement ope at night,/ To let the warm Love in!" The open window and the vigil torch intimate the future consummation and unity of Psyche and Eros. The promise of "soft delight" made

here is more than an earnest of happiness; it signifies much more, because, referring to William Adlington's *Apuleius* (1566), which was the version of the Psyche story Keats read, we read: "And thus Psyche was married to Cupid, and after she was delivered of a child whom we call Pleasure."<sup>122</sup> Like Euphorion, who was the child of Helen in the last and greatest work of alchemy, Goethe's *Faust*, Pleasure is the divine child, which Keats called soft delight. Neumann explains that the gloriola of Eros and Psyche, "and at the same time the supreme fruit of their union, whose earthly reflection is pleasure, is their divine child, heavenly bliss."<sup>123</sup> The "birth" of delight is implicit also in its derivation from all that shadowy thought can win. That is to say, all the consciousness can gain from its integration with the unconscious. "Shadowy thought" suggests the mingling of the light of consciousness with the darkness of the unconscious, out of which is conceived the child of Joy.

This whole pattern is analogous to the "royal marriage" of alchemy. The path of transformation that Keats' symbols follow again resembles the hermetic process; the creative tendency of his imagination seems subliminally in harmony with the wealth of material that belongs to the spagyric art. The bright torch left burning in the darkness joins the opposites by guiding Eros to the temple. The same can be said of this flame as applies to the corresponding philosopher's fire, which burns and the result is "ascension in the flame, transmutation in the alchemical heat, the genesis of the 'subtle spirit.'" (*CW*, VII, 221.). The divine child and this inner fire are both important

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<sup>122</sup> *The Golden Ass of Apuleius*, trans. William Adlington (London, 1893), p. 129.

<sup>123</sup> Neumann, *Amor*, p. 145.

symbols for the goal of the opus. Witness the following letter<sup>124</sup> by the English theologian and alchemist, John Pordage (1607-1681), to his soror mystica, Jane Leade, which interests us by the close way Keats' symbolism parallels his description of the production of the Tincture.

This sacred furnace, this Balneum Mariae, this glass phial, this secret furnace, is the place, the matrix or womb, and the centre from which the divine Tincture flows forth from its source and origin. Of the place or abode where the Tincture has its home and dwelling I need not remind you, nor name its name, but I exhort you only to knock at the foundation. . . . You know the fire of the philosophers, it was the key they kept concealed. . . . The fire is the love-fire, the life that flows forth from the Divine Venus, or the Love of God; the fire of Mars is too choleric, too sharp, and too fierce, so that it would dry up and burn the materia: wherefore the love-fire of Venus alone has the qualities of the right true fire.

This true philosophy will teach you how you should know yourself, and if you know yourself rightly, you will also know the pure nature; for the pure nature is in yourself. And when you know the pure nature which is your true selfhood, freed from all wicked, sinful selfishness, then also you will know God, for the Godhead is concealed and wrapped in the pure nature like a kernel in the nutshell. . . . The true philosophy will teach you who is the father and who is the mother of this magical child. . . . The father of this child is Mars, he is the fiery life which proceeds from Mars as the father's quality. His mother is Venus, who is the gentle love-fire proceeding from the son's quality. . . .

Accordingly, if you think to become a learned artist, look with earnestness to the union of your own Mars and Venus, that the nuptial knot be rightly tied and the marriage between them well and truly consummated. You must see to it that they lie together in the bed of their union and live in sweet harmony; then the virgin Venus will bring forth her pearl, her water-spirit, in you, to soften the fiery spirit of Mars, and the wrathful fire of Mars will sink quite willingly, in mildness and love, into the love-fire of Venus, and thus both qualities, as fire and water, will mingle together, agree, and flow into one another; and from their agreement and union there will proceed the first conception of the magical birth which we call Tincture, the love-fire Tincture.

(CW, XVI, 295f.)

Pordage's secret furnace is the vas hermeticum or retort in which the

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<sup>124</sup> The letter is printed in Roth-Scholz, Deutsches Theatrum chemicum (Nuremberg, 1728-32), I, 557-597. The only English text of the letter is in CW, XVI, 295-299. Pordage wrote in Latin as it was common for alchemists to do in the sixteenth century to avoid detection and the imputation of witchcraft.

opus ran its course; the alchemical vessel, moreover, was modelled on the human head or brain cavity,<sup>125</sup> giving Keats' choice of the brain for Psyche's sanctuary a precedent in alchemical thought. The divine marriage of Mars and Venus is consummated within the learned artist, just as Eros and Psyche will come together within the poet. Pordage associates the goal of self-knowledge with the goal of alchemy, and the production of the Tincture, symbolized by the birth of the magical child, the love-fire Tincture, is the illuminating knowledge of the pure nature which is one's true selfhood. The similarity between these alchemical symbols and, in Keats' poem, the birth of delight and the bright torch makes it possible for us to identify the "Ode to Psyche" with the same quest for self-realization we associate with the individuation process. Moreover, we know that now the stage of the climacteric has been reached and this begins the unfolding of the final phase of the individuation myth. To witness this we return to Hyperion and the revised Fall of Hyperion. The casement window remains open in anticipation of the long-awaited entry of the self. The totality of Psyche-Eros would be the self. But we do not see this totality accomplished until the triumphal entry of Apollo and his union to Mnemosyne.

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<sup>125</sup>"According to tradition the head or brain is the seat of the anima intellectualis. For this reason too the alchemical vessel must be round like the head, so that what comes out of the vessel shall be equally "round," i.e., simple and perfect like the anima mundi." (CW, XII, 84.).

## CHAPTER III

### A FORE-SEEING GOD

#### 1. The Golden Theme

The reader's foremost impression, when he departs from the Miltonic elegance of the first two books of Hyperion and encounters the luxuriance and flow of Book III, is that this is an entirely new phase of the poem. The first two books belong together; their style is imitative and abstract; they were written substantially before Tom's death. Apollo never entered them, except in Clymene's description. The hundred-and-thirty-six-line fragmentary third book is a unit in itself; its style is Keats' own; it was written intermittently during the winter and spring following the death of his brother. Stylistically, Book III seems like a return to Endymion with Shakespearean overtones. Some have harshly criticized what strikes them as a step backward to habitual idiom and stock phrasing. But the regression is only an apparent one, for with the third book Keats begins to emerge into the full sunlight of his own poetic style. Milton's influence, though magnificent poetry came of it, was something of an eclipse upon Keats' powers; and the momentary faltering that from time to time occurs in Book III is the result of the sudden flare of his own idiom, dazzling him at first as Phaeton was at the reins of his father's chariot. The occasional lapses into Endymionisms like "soft warble from the Dorian flute," "voluptuous fleeces," and "many a green recess" are more than compensated for by the new freshness and virtue that has entered his line to give us the majestic final scene.

And the return to Shakespeare is an indication of the new focus that was occurring in Keats.<sup>126</sup> Murry called it "a movement of Keats' whole being."<sup>127</sup> The full gist of what was happening is only clear when we recall the poet's own remarks to Haydon (10 and 11 May 1817) where he had been talking of the difficulty of his work on Endymion and his hope for the support of a High Power "while I clime this little eminence and especially in my Years of more momentous Labor. I remember your saying that you had notions of a good Genius presiding over you--I have of late had the same thought. for things which I do half at Random are afterwards confirmed by my judgment in a dozen features of Propriety--Is it too daring to Fancy Shakespeare this Presider?" (I, 141-142). This good genius-presider that Keats identifies here with Shakespeare compares with the Genius of Poetry that, as he later told Hessey, needed to work out its own salvation in a man. This "genius" is a kind of indwelling presence that may be identified with the self, the High Power which, now at the time of more momentous labor, comes into increased activity. And the manner of composition Keats described above became true of him again as he was working on Hyperion. Woodhouse's description of the poet's method of composition shows the prevalent operation of the poet's good genius:

He is impatient of correcting, & says he would rather burn the piece in question & write another or something else--"My judgment, (he says,) is as active while I am actually writing as my imagination. In fact all my faculties are strongly excited, & in their full play--And shall I afterwards, when my imagination is idle, & the heat in which I wrote, has gone off, sit down coldly to criticise when in Possession of only one faculty, what I have written, when almost inspired."--This fact explains the reason of the Perfectness, fullness, richness & completion of most that

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<sup>126</sup> M. R. Ridley, Keats' Craftmanship (London, 1933), p. 92.

<sup>127</sup> Keats and Shakespeare, p. 193.

comes from him--He has said, that he has often not been aware of the beauty of some thought or expression until after he has composed & written it down--It has then struck him with astonishment--& seemed rather the production of another person than his own--He has wondered how he came to hit upon it. This was the case with the description of Apollo in the third book of Hyperion . . . Perhaps every one in the habit of writing verse or prose, may have had a somewhat similar feeling, that of the extreme appositeness & happiness (the *curiosa felicitas*) of an idea, of the excellence of which he was unaware until he came to read it over. It seems scarcely his own; & he feels that he could never imitate or hit upon it again: & he cannot conceive how it came to him--Such Keats said was his Sensation of astonishment & pleasure when he had produced the lines "His white melodious &c--It seemed to come by chance or magic--to be as it were something given to him.--"128

Keats' consciousness of the operation of all his faculties during composition is an indication of his developing awareness of the self.

This inner experience of Keats' is a special instance of what Jung calls the participation mystique of the artist.<sup>129</sup> The artist can achieve a level of experience at which it is only man who lives, rather than the individual. Jung's concept overlaps with one of Keats' most famous poetic principles--negative capability. In the letter which he wrote to his brothers around Christmas, 1817, Keats spoke of the quality which "went to form a Man of Achievement especially in Literature," and pointed out that Shakespeare possessed this quality to a very high degree. He chose to call it "Negative Capability, that is when man is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact & reason" (I, 193). This condition permitted an imaginative identification with the object, so that the poet

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<sup>128</sup>KC, I, 128f.

<sup>129</sup>"The secret of artistic creation and of the effectiveness of art is to be found in a return to the state of participation mystique--to that level of experience at which it is man who lives, and not the individual, and at which the weal and woe of the single human being does not count, but only human existence. This is why every great work of art is objective and impersonal, but none the less profoundly moves us each and all" (Modern Man in Search of a Soul [New York, 1939], pp. 198-199.).

could participate in the small sparrow's pecking about the gravel. This is very much Jung's idea of participation mystique which contained the same notion of identification: "the weal and woe of the single human being does not count, but only human existence." Participation mystique is self-experience, not to be confused with ego-centeredness.

Another sign of Keats' developing awareness of the self is his experience of the "other" in his creative work.<sup>130</sup> Woodhouse's letter said that Keats sometimes felt his writing to be the work of "another person," something magical, "to be as it were something given." This "other" is the self, hitherto present in all his work, like Pan in Endymion: "the leaven,/ That spreading in this dull and clodded earth/ Gives it a touch ethereal--a new birth" (i, 296-299), but remotely intuited so that he conceived of it vaguely as the high presider or Genius of Poetry, Shakespeare or Apollo.

Now, as this "other person" becomes increasingly active as a factor in his creative work, and as, simultaneously, Apollo is about to appear in Hyperion, Keats has to discard all that is foreign, all the Miltonic abstractness and artifice; he must rely on his own true voice,<sup>131</sup> only

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<sup>130</sup>" . . . the self is a quantity that is superordinate to the conscious ego. It embraces not only the conscious but also the unconscious psyche, and is therefore, so to speak, a personality which we also are." (CW 7, 175).

<sup>131</sup>On 21 September 1819 Keats wrote to Reynolds telling him that he had given up his Hyperion (the revision) because "there were too many Miltonic inversions in it." He was looking for a purity of self expression to answer to his inner purity of self experience, which can never be done entirely. Keats' further remarks on Milton and Thomas Chatterton are illuminating: "I always somehow associate Chatterton with autumn. He is the purest writer in the English Language. He has no French Idiom, or particles like Chaucer--'tis genuine English Idiom in English words. . . . It may be interesting to you to pick out some lines from Hyperion and put a mark X to the false beauty proceeding from art, and one // to the true voice of feeling. Upon my soul 'twas imagination I cannot make the distinction--Every now & then there is a Miltonic intonation--But I cannot make the division properly" (II, 167).



the "golden melody" of the song of his self is sufficient to announce:  
 "Apollo is once more the golden theme!" (iii, 28). The self can only properly be expressed in one's own Keats' unique idiom, just as when Clymene overheard Apollo singing, his song was none other but the golden chanting of his own name:

'A voice came sweeter, sweeter than all tune,  
 'And still it cried, "Apollo! young Apollo!"  
 '"The morning-bright Apollo! young Apollo!"  
 'I fled, it follow'd me, and cried "Apollo!"'  
 (ii, 292-295)

Thus the theme of the fallen Titans fades in the brilliance of Keats' introduction of the Father of all verse into his poem in Book III.

But if the "golden theme" is a departure, it is also a return. The style of the third book is reminiscent of Endymion, and Apollo himself recalls the earlier hero. It could just as well be Endymion instead of Apollo who leaves "his mother fair/ And his twin-sister sleeping in their bower" (iii, 32) so that he can wander "Beside the osiers of a rivulet,/ Full ankle-deep in lillies of the vale" (iii, 34-35). It is the moment of morning twilight and a few stars are lingering in the sky; the nightingale had finished and the calm-throated thrush was singing. The whole atmosphere brings Endymion to mind. Like Endymion, Apollo weeps, "his bright tear/ Went trickling down the golden bow" (iii, 42-43). This tearfulness and his tendency to "Spurn the green turf as hateful to my feet" for the sake of a remote ideal are very much in the style of Endymion. The similarity between Endymion, at the beginning of the individuation myth, and Apollo at the end is an attribute of the basic "family likeness" between the ego and the self (Nohc, p. 358.). By encompassing many of the characteristics of the original hero, and being himself "a fore-seeing God," Apollo unifies the beginning and the end, symbolizing the all-embracing wholeness of the self.

To understand the full import of Apollo's advent into Hyperion, it will help if we refer once again to Keats' "God of the Meridian," which he wrote about one year before his work on Book III:

God of the Meridian,  
And of the East and West,  
To thee my soul is flown,  
And my body is earthward press'd.  
It is an awful mission,  
A terrible division;  
And leaves a gulph austere  
To be fill'd with worldly fear.  
Aye, when the soul is fled  
To high above our head,  
Affrighted do we gaze  
After its airy maze,  
As doth a mother wild,  
When her young infant child  
Is in an eagle's claws--  
And is not this the cause  
Of madness? --God of Song,  
Thou bearest me along  
Through sights I scarce can bear:  
O let me, let me share  
With the hot lyre and thee,  
The staid Philosophy.  
Temper my lonely hours,  
And let me see thy bowers  
More unalarm'd!

Apollo is the God of the Meridian, the noonday sun at the center of the sky. The line of the meridian and the east-west equator intersect at two points, dividing the global sphere into a quaternity. Symbols of the self universally possess this "fourness" which appears to be something innate in the psyche representative of its tendency to wholeness. The poem is indeed a prayer for integration; Keats wants to heal the division between soul and body. Just as the meridian and the equator join the earth's four quarters, he wants to unify the opposites in himself. The divine sun mandala he prays to is a unifying symbol which indicates that he is on the road to integration and that the numerous contradictory and discrete elements in his personality are on the point of uniting. Between the conscious and the unconscious (earthly and

extra-terrestrial) there is a "terrible division/. . . a gulph austere/  
 To be filled with worldly fear." His body is earthward pressed; that  
 is, he still experiences an essentially egocentric attitude in himself.  
 The aim of individuation is to expand consciousness beyond the ego  
 sphere, that is, to "share/ With the hot lyre and thee/ The staid  
 Philosophy," suggesting the wish for beatific insight into the self.  
 The result of the realization of the Apollonian in Keats will be a har-  
 mony and concord which derives from the unification of the opposites:  
 "Temper my lonely hours/ And let me see thy bowers/ More unalarm'd!"

The assurance of this high vision is suggested by the dramatic  
 entry of Apollo, because it is dawn:

Flush every thing that hath a vermeil hue,  
 Let the rose glow intense and warm the air,  
 And let the clouds of even and of morn  
 Float in voluptuous fleeces o'er the hills;  
 Let the red wine within the goblet boil,  
 Cold as a bubbling well; let faint-lipp'd shells,  
 On sands, or in great deeps, vermilion turn  
 Through all their labyrinths; and let the maid  
 Blush keenly, as with some warm kiss surpris'd.

(iii, 14-22)

The great significance of Apollo's coming is conveyed by the virtuosity  
 of this intensely wrought passage. His entry is preceded by a splen-  
 dorous transfiguration of the natural world, overflowing everything with  
 a suffusion of warmth and color. Magically, a living redness mounts and  
 gushes into the rose, touches the clouds with scarlet, sets the cool  
 wine to boil as if alive, fills the shells with vermilion though deep  
 in the sea, and colors the young maid's lovely cheek. Apollo is the  
 high god of poetry and his presence touches new life into the world.  
 This mystical lighting up and transformation announces an event of pro-  
 found importance--the entry and apotheosis of the God of Song, the  
 Father of all Verse.

The color red and the mystic apparition of the youthful god is properly identifiable with the rubedo, or "reddening" of alchemy, which was, moreover, the stage in the hermetic process that was symbolized by the dawn (aurora consurgens) because it immediately preceded the completion of the work (CW, XII, 180.). Psychologically, the rubedo is the elevation of the self into consciousness. The reddening that accompanies Apollo's entry is allied to the rubedo of alchemy and can be shown to have the same psychological core of meaning. Jung says that the growing redness of the rubedo denotes an increase of warmth and light coming from the sun (consciousness) (CW, XIV, 299.). This means that there is an increasing participation of consciousness, now beginning to react emotionally to the contents produced by the unconscious.<sup>132</sup>

Keats seems to have intuitively understood the symbolic heritage of alchemy; it is as though his mind reaches back to borrow from the rich store of symbols developed through seventeen centuries of the Christian era. One explanation for this, if explanation there need be, is Jung's hypothesis that the experience furnishing the material for artistic expression need not be familiar, but more usually, especially in the case of great art, is a strange something that derives its existence from the hinterland of man's mind.<sup>133</sup> The wealth of alchemical lore, developed during long years of study and dedicated effort, was not forgotten by the human spirit, but remained stored up in the timeless depths, able to thrust upon the human scene at any time to be shaped and reformed

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<sup>132</sup>"At first the process of integration is a "fiery" conflict, but gradually it leads over to the "melting" or synthesis of the opposites. The alchemists termed this the rubedo, in which the marriage of the red man and the white woman, Sol and Luna, is consummated" (CW, XIV, 299f.). Hyperion presents this "marriage" in the conjunction of Apollo (sun) and Mnemosyne (moon).

<sup>133</sup>Modern Man, p. 180.

according to the artist's vision who receives it.<sup>134</sup> Hyperion consists of such primordial material as rends from top to bottom the tapestry woven with the picture of an ordered world, allowing us a glimpse into the unfathomed gulf of time. Such is the tremendous view we are given of Saturn and the other fallen Titans, Hyperion and his gargantuan actions, and such is Apollo who rises like the dawn. These symbols stand for psychic happenings. Their meaning never can be completely known, but they cover an experience of the inner world, which most often is expressed by mythological or alchemical forms. The primordial experience at the source of Keats' creativeness is an inner wisdom that requires an appropriate imagery to give it form. Thus it is that we find his work bearing the mark of earlier, forgotten epochs; it is as though the truth he expresses has itself chosen the ancient form that belongs to it.

Apollo's majestic entry into Keats' field of glory as a youthful, health-bringing, divinity makes him comparable to the Gnostic Anthropos, who also was identified with the sun (CW, XIV, 100n.). The fires of alchemy were understood to melt the opposites into a unity. By this synthesis there was the production of the panacea on the one hand, and on the other, "of a living being with human form, the filius philosophorum, who is often depicted as a youth or hermaphrodite or child" (CW, XIV, 228.). Apollo assumes this likeness when he first comes into the poem. He, as we pointed out before, is reminiscent of Endymion, Keats' original here; in the same way the Anthropos is like Adam, the Original Man.<sup>135</sup> As Endymion represented the dawning of ego conscious-

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>135</sup> Keats' conception of Apollo as the sun (especially when celestial glory dawns in him and he is a God [iii, 135-136]), is paralleled by the

ness, Apollo represents the dawning consciousness of the self. This is confirmed by Jung's persistent emphasis on the symbolic equivalence of the god-image, the sun, and the original man with the psychological self, or psychic totality, because all of these images denote wholeness and transcendence (CW, XIV, 356.).

Every alchemical drama culminates in the union or "marriage" of Sol and Luna, the divine coniunctio of the hieros gamos. The dawning consciousness of the self is brought to its full radiance by this mystical wedding with the unconscious. Apollo and his Goddess of Memory, Mnemosyne, compact the "marriage" of opposites in the alchemy of Keats' art. She comes upon the sun god by surprise; uncertain where she has come from, Apollo wonders how she reached him because Delos, his island home, is surrounded by water:

'How cam'st thou over the unfooted sea?  
'Or hath that antique mien and robed form  
'Mov'd in these vales invisible till now?  
'Sure I have heard those vestments sweeping o'er  
'The fallen leaves, when I have sat alone  
'In cool mid-forest. Surely I have traced  
'The rustle of those ample skirts about  
'These grassy solitudes, and seen the flowers  
'Lift up their heads, as still the whisper pass'd.  
'Goddess! I have beheld those eyes before,  
'And their eternal calm, and all that face,  
'Or I have dream'd.'

(iii, 50-61)

He senses that she visited him in dreams before, and traced her presence in the sweep of fallen leaves and in a movement stirring in the grass and flowers. A whisper seemed to pass him when alone. But he

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following gnostic description of the birth of Adam: "Then God made Adam. . . . And when the angels saw his glorious appearance, they were moved by the beauty of the sight; for they saw the form of his countenance, while it was enkindled, in shining splendour like to the ball of the sun, and the light of his eyes like to the sun, and the form of his body like to the light of a crystal (Carl Bezold ed. and trans., Me'arrath Gazze Die Schatzhohle /Leipzig, 1883-88/, II, 3, quoted in CW, XIV, 407.).

knows those deep calm eyes; and that face still tantalizes his memory. This is the first time, however, that she has appeared visibly before him. She has come because she wonders why he is sad, but it is clear that she has been with him for a long time:

'Thou hast dream'd of me; and awaking up  
'Didst find a lyre all golden by thy side,  
'Whose strings touch'd by thy fingers, all the vast  
'Unwearied ear of the whole universe  
'Listen'd in pain and pleasure at the birth  
'Of such new tuneful wonder. Is't not strange  
'That thou shouldst weep, so gifted? Tell me, youth,  
'What sorrow thou canst feel.'

(iii, 62-69)

According to Lemprière Apollo actually received the lyre from Mercury. Keats certainly knew this fact. Therefore, by attributing the gift of the lyre to Mnemosyne, he consciously made her a female Mercury, the feminine side of the manifestation of Mercurius we initially detected in Hyperion. The feminine half of Mercurius was called Luna, the masculine half Sol.

Generally Sol is regarded as the masculine and active half of Mercurius. . . . Since, in his alchemical form, Mercurius does not exist in reality, he must be an unconscious projection, and because he is an absolutely fundamental concept in alchemy he must signify the unconscious itself. He is by his very nature the unconscious, where nothing can be differentiated; but, as a spiritus vegetativus (living spirit), he is an active principle and so must always appear in reality in differentiated form. He is therefore fittingly called "duplex," both active and passive. The "ascending," active part of him is called Sol, and it is only through this that the passive part can be perceived. The passive part therefore bears the name of Luna, because she borrows her light from the sun. . . . Consciousness requires as its necessary counterpart a dark, latent, non-manifest side, the unconscious, whose presence can be known only by the light of consciousness. Just as the day-star rises out of the nocturnal sea, so, ontogenetically and phylogenetically, consciousness is born of unconsciousness and sinks back every night to this primal condition. This duality of our psychic life is the prototype and archetype of the Sol-Luna symbolism (CW, XIV, 97.).

Hyperion was Mercurius descending into the body of nature, and Apollo replaces him as the new sun, the active rising principle, Sol. It is by

his light that Mnemosyne is seen. Formerly she was invisible as the dark, non-manifest side of Mercurius, Luna, who is seen only by the borrowed light of the sun. The redness cast before him, penetrating everywhere, is the dawning light of consciousness by which the unconscious becomes manifest.

As the personification of ego consciousness<sup>136</sup> Apollo had his origin at the hands of Mnemosyne who gave him his lyre and produced the new birth of wonder that gave him his being as the creator of song. She was with him from his infancy, watching over him in sleep and sheltering his rest from harm. Now he has come of age and it is the time of "loveliness new born," or rebirth. This reflects the dependency and rise of consciousness out of the unconscious like the sun out of the sea.

Apollo desires to ascend the heavens and unite himself to the moon or to the "silvery splendour" of some star:

'Goddess benign, point forth some unknown thing:  
'Are there not other regions than this isle?  
'What are the stars? There is the sun, the sun!  
'And the most patient brilliance of the moon!  
'And stars by thousands! Point me out the way  
'To any one particular beauteous star,  
'And I will flit into it with my lyre,  
'And make its silvery splendour pant with bliss.'  
(iii, 95-102)

This overt wish to unite himself to a celestial body clearly anticipates integration--the idea of the hieros gamos is suggested by the erotic

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<sup>136</sup>There is no contradiction here in speaking of Apollo as the personification of ego consciousness, though formerly he was identified with the self. Cf. CW, XIV, 110: "I have defined the self as the totality of the conscious and the unconscious psyche, and the ego as the central reference-point of consciousness. It is an essential part of the self, and can be used pars pro toto when the significance of consciousness is borne in mind. But when we want to lay emphasis on the psychic totality it is better to use the term 'self.' There is no question of a contradictory definition, but merely of a difference of standpoint."



association in making the star "pant with bliss." From the alchemical standpoint this union of the sun, or gold, with the silver of the nocturnal luminaries is an anticipation of the final synthesis of Sol (gold) and Luna (silver) which constitutes the Chymical Wedding that concludes the opus. Apollo's desire to have his darkness and ignorance dispelled is the impulse for the final illumination. Then he can understand the recent turmoil in the elements which he senses is at the root of his sadness. So he pleads with Mnemosyne to reveal what this power is; however, she remains silent:

'Mute! yet I can read  
'A wondrous lesson in thy silent face:  
'Knowledge enormous makes a God of me.'  
(iii, 111-113)

The lesson he seeks is open to him without a word from her. This is because through their integration the two have become one in understanding:

'Knowledge enormous makes a God of me.  
'Names, deeds, gray legends, dire events, rebellions,  
'Majesties, sovran voices, agonies,  
'Creations and destroyings, all at once  
'Pour into the wide hollows of my brain,  
'And deify me, as if some blithe wine  
'Or bright elixir peerless I had drunk,  
'And so become immortal.'

(iii, 113-120)

Notice that the progression of terms from "Names" to "destroyings" is regressive in the sense of a movement from the differentiated to the primordial, from coherence to formlessness. The list telescopes backwards into the past: from the age of adventure with its outstanding heroes and individuals, through to the faceless beginnings of time. All this floods upon him instantaneously and with it the experience of godhood and immortality. The sense of immortality, everlastingness goes with the achievement of self-actualization. Keats' search for a

metaphor to express this transformation is revealing:

Soon wild commotions shook him, and made flush  
 All the immortal fairness of his limbs  
 Into a hue more roseate than sweet pain  
 Gives to a ravish'd Nymph when her warm tears  
 Gush luscious with no sob. Or more severe,--  
 More like the struggle at the gate of death;  
 Or liker still to one who should take leave  
 Of pale immortal death, and with a pang  
 As hot as death's is chill, with fierce convulse  
 Die into life: so young Apollo anguish'd.<sup>137</sup>  
 (iii, 123-130)

The deep wisdom of the unconscious has been brought to consciousness; its unfathomable obscurities have been directly absorbed by Apollo, who is like a mirror in which the face of Mnemosyne becomes aware of itself.<sup>138</sup> All the worlds that ever had existence before man are focused in the span of that all-knowing brow. Apollo's immediate experience of the lesson it holds indicates the conjunction of Sol and Luna; they are one mind. The integration of the unconscious is a coincidence of opposites: the pleasure/pain experience of the ravished nymph; the dying into life; the pang as hot as death's is chill. This rising heat compares to the intensification of the alchemical flame at the moment of synthesis. The comparison of Apollo's convulsive anguish to the ravishment of a nymph imparts a suggestion of the hermaphroditic unity of opposites which characterizes the lapis philosophorum. And the roseate hue, which was the characteristic color of the end-product of the opus, now flushes through all the immortal fairness of his limbs. This is the rising dawn of total awareness of the self. To accomplish this

<sup>137</sup> The third, fourth, and fifth lines did not appear in the printed version, possibly cancelled by Woodhouse, but left uncanceled in the autograph. (cf. Works, p. 304.).

<sup>138</sup> Jung gives us the following very illuminating definition of the ego as a "relatively constant personification of the unconscious itself, or as the Schopenhauerian mirror in which the unconscious becomes aware of its own face." (CW, XIV, 107.).

Apollo had to die into life, that is to say, be reborn; this detail corresponds to the mortificatio of alchemy where Sol dies to be reborn as his own son, the filius philosophorum (CW, XIV, 142.). The birth of the philosophers' stone parallels the resurrection of Christ: the God who rises from the dead is the totality of the human self.

During the pain Mnemosyne upheld  
Her arms as one who prophesied.--At length  
Apollo shriek'd;--and lo! from all his limbs  
Celestial Glory dawn'd: he was a god!<sup>139</sup>  
(iii, 133-136)

There Keats laid his poem aside once again. But it was finished, just as at this point the second stage of the coniunctio is finished. The substantia coelestis has been brought forth. Whatever the names the alchemists gave to the mysterious substance they sought to produce, it was always a celestial substance, i.e., something transcendental, incorruptible, and yet alive (CW, XIV, 525.). Keats used the word "celestial" to describe his glorified Apollo. Thus, it appears more than coincidental that Hyperion ends where it does. It concludes just where alchemy concluded its second stage--the production of the incorruptible Anthropos, an image pervading the whole hermetic art and finding its classic literary exponent in the figure of the homunculus in Faust.

If we return to the text of John Pordage's letter, we will see the undeniable similarity between the alchemist's goal and Keats' Apollo:

Now the Man of Paradise is become clear as a transparent glass, in which the Divine Sun shines through and through, like gold that is wholly bright, pure, and clear, without blemish or spot. The soul is henceforth a most substantial seraphic angel, she can make herself doctor, theologian, astrologer, divine magician, she can

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<sup>139</sup> The final line is the ending pencilled by Woodhouse into his clerk's transcript: "probably a subsequent amendment," says Murry (KS, p. 230). The line was left incomplete probably to give the effect of "A Fragment."

make herself whatsoever she will, and do and have whatsoever she will: for all qualities have but one will in agreement and harmony. And this same one will is God's eternal infallible will; and from henceforth the Divine Man is in his own nature become one with God.<sup>140</sup>

The production of this symbol of totality (the Divine Sun) constitutes the special achievement of a physical equivalent of the idea of the self, thereby completing the second stage of the alchemical coniunctio. But a further, third stage still remained, the alchemists' final unio mundus, the union of the whole man with the potential world of the first day of creation, the eternal Ground of all being (CW, XIV, 534.), and to reach this final unity Keats would have to write The Fall of Hyperion.

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<sup>140</sup> See note 124 for the source of this citation which appears in CW, XVI, 299.

## 2. To See as a God Sees

The third and highest degree of conjunction is the union or relationship of the adept who has produced the caelum or lapis with the unus mundus, the underlying unity of the world, the undifferentiated state of the universe on the first day of creation. It can be shown that this unification of the hermetic artist with the unus mundus is duplicated by the poetic artist of The Fall of Hyperion (who in Hyperion produced his symbolic celestial substance, the glorified Apollo, his caelum), when, in the person of his Poet-narrator, he is unified with the whole span of creation disclosed out of the "globed brain" of Moneta. This admittedly takes us into mystical regions, comparable to the ineffable mystery of the unio mystica, or tao, or the content of samadhi, or the experience of satori in Zen; this is an area of extreme subjectivity where all the criteria of reason is left behind.

In the second Hyperion Keats himself enters this realm of the "Mystery of acceptance,"<sup>141</sup> a sacred, inner world of ancient pieties and secret ritual. In the central role of Poet-narrator, Keats has replaced Apollo as the main actor in the drama of his soul. More than simply Poet-narrator, Keats takes on the role of Apollo's Poet-priest, not in the playful spirit of the laurel-incident at Hunt's, but in the sincerely devout attitude he assumed in "God of the Meridian" where he asked to share Apollo's "staid Philosophy" and to "see thy bowers/ More unalarm'd!" Once before, in "Ode to Psyche" he offered similarly to

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<sup>141</sup>Murry, Keats and Shakespeare, p. 169.

enter the religion of Apollo's "latest born" fellow Olympian, saying to her: "So let me be thy choir . . . thy heat/ Of pale-mouth'd prophet dreaming./ Yes, I will be thy priest." Even more completely now, in The Fall of Hyperion, his magnum opus, does he profess Apollo's sacrament.

Perhaps the four intensely prolific months since April, which, though he did not know it, had already secured his immortality, made Keats confident enough in his powers to declare himself at last "a glorious denizen" of Poesy's "wide heaven," as three years before he had hoped (in "Sleep and Poetry," ll. 47-49) one day to be. He is ready, as he then desired, to "die a death/ Of luxury, and my young spirit follow/ The morning sun-beams to the great Apollo/ Like a fresh sacrifice" (ll. 58-61), ready to read what the god Apollo read in the silent face of Mnemosyne: "'Names, deeds, gray legends, dire events, rebellions,/ 'Majesties, sovran voices, agonies,/ 'Creations and destroyings'" (iii, 114-116), a penetrative vision into all times, coming as an evocation of the collective memory of mankind, Mnemosyne is Memory, the personification of the collective unconscious. In his rewriting, Keats replaces the Greek "Mnemosyne" with the Latin "Moneta." She, similarly, is called "'Shade of Memory'" (i, 282), showing that the two are one and the same. We find even that though he used "Moneta" all through The Fall of Hyperion, at the end of the fragmentary second canto he uses "Mnemosyne" (ii, 50), indicating that Apollo's goddess and the Poet's priestess are identical. In the same way by supplanting Apollo himself in the role of Poet-priest and encountering the goddess of Memory as Apollo did, Keats does, in effect, become one with Apollo and "see as a God sees."

Now that these relationships are understood, we may proceed to the

poem itself: The Fall of Hyperion: A Dream. The eighteen-line induction is a good place to begin, because it is very relevant:

Fanatics have their dreams, wherewith they weave  
 A paradise for a sect; the savage too  
 From forth the loftiest fashion of his sleep  
 Guesses at Heaven: pity these have not  
 Trac'd upon vellum or wild indian leaf  
 The shadows of melodious utterance.  
 But bare of laurel they live, dream and die;  
 For Poesy alone can tell her dreams,  
 With the fine spell of words alone can save  
 Imagination from the sable charm  
 And dumb enchantment. Who alive can say  
 'Thou art no Poet; mayst not tell thy dreams'?  
 Since every man whose soul is not a clod  
 Hath visions, and would speak, if he had lov'd  
 And been well nurtured in his mother tongue  
 Wheather the dream now purposed to rehearse  
 Be Poet's or Fanatic's will be known  
 When this warm scribe my hand is in the grave.  
 (i, 1-18)

Here the twin themes of unity and immortality are introduced. The Poet feels a kinship with all men, fanatics and savages alike, for all are poets. Anyone who has loved and been well nurtured in his native tongue has visions and could tell them, and everyone must live and dream and die. He feels a continuity between himself and every man: the hand that traces its dreams on vellum or wild Indian leaf is the same. It is true also that his warm hand that wrote then must one day become cold in the icy silence of the grave, but death is the door to immortality because only death can show the vitality of the hand's work to live after him. These two themes are overtured in the induction as a way of preparing for the exploratory insights they will lay open in the main body of the poem.

At the poem's beginning the Poet is standing in a delicious paradise, rounded with beautiful trees and filled with flowers and vines. He discovers a partially tasted banquet which may have been left behind by Eve or Persephone. This then is a kind of abandoned paradise, because

both Eve and Persephone were forced to leave their Edens. And the Poet is forced to leave also, because when he takes a drink of cool transparent juice after eating, he swoons away and wakes among far other circumstances.

We have passed from the ante-chamber into the great hall; the Poet's vision of fair trees is gone and when he looks around, he sees

the carved sides  
Of an old sanctuary with roof august,  
Built so high, it seem'd that filmed clouds  
Might spread beneath, as o'er the stars of heaven;  
So old the place was, I remembered none  
The like upon the earth: what I had seen  
Of grey Cathedrals, buttress'd walls, rent towers,  
The superannuations of sunk realms,  
Or Nature's Rocks toil'd hard in waves and winds,  
Seem'd but the faulture of decrepit things  
To that eternal domed monument.

(i, 61-71)

He is standing in the center of a huge temple, around him now are the remnants of sacred ceremonies in a religion unknown to him. There are precious vessels and draperies of an incorruptable linen, robes, golden implements, and holy jewels. They are mingled and in a confused heap like scattered treasure. With this at his feet he looks in every direction as far as he can see "to fathom the space every way." Upward to the roof which might contain the filmy clouds, to the north and south he looks at the "silent massy range/ Of columns . . . ending in mist/ Of nothing" (i, 83-85). Then to Eastward he turns his eyes where darkness hides the sunrise, and finally in the West he

saw far off  
An Image, huge of feature as a cloud,  
At level of whose feet an altar slept,  
To be approach'd on either side by steps,  
And marble balustrade, and patient travail  
To count with toil the innumerable degrees.

(i, 87-92)

At the Poet's feet is the unknown, and in each direction his eyes are met



by the infinite. The statue, looming "huge of feature as a cloud," is again the infinite, an image of the infinity of understanding that he must cross to reach God-sight. He stands at the mid-point of a cross. This is a huge mandala or magic circle symbolizing totality. At its center is the treasure of religious implements which lay in a disordered pile. Their confusion needs ordering, He who stands amid them must likewise order his own confusion of parts. The motif symbolizes the task of self formation that must be performed. The gold and jewels are precious and the cloth incorruptable, all pointing to the value and incorruptability of the self--qualities of the alchemical lapis.

Moreover the center of the mandala, where the Poet awakens, is the place where the four become one. It is the meeting place of the north-south, east-west directional lines which recalls immediately the "God of the Meridian and of the east and west," Apollo, whom the Poet now begins to emulate ritualistically. Just as the meridian and the equator become one at their intersection, the Poet's task is to become one with his supreme God of Poetry. But to accomplish this he must die and be born again, that is, "follow/ The morning sun-beams to the great Apollo/ Like a fresh sacrifice." The place of death and rebirth is in the west where the sun submits to the night and undergoes regeneration in the womb of darkness. As he nears the shrine he sees and hears a priestess who points out the way to him:

'If thou canst not ascend  
These steps, die on that marble where thou art.  
Thy flesh, near cousin to the common dust,  
Will parch for lack of nutriment--thy bones  
Will wither in few years, and vanish so  
That not the quickest eye could find a grain  
Of what thou now art on that pavement cold.  
The sands of thy short life are spent this hour,  
And no hand in the universe can turn  
Thy hour glass, if these gummed leaves be burnt  
Ere thou canst mount up these immortal steps.'

(i, 107-117)

His body is common dust; even his bones will be reduced to grains and be swept away by the winds of time. This is fragmentation. The idea of fragmentation is also carried by the metaphor of the sands of his life which now have been exhausted. All of these associations express disintegration, a breaking up of the self and a loss of identity:

" . . . not the quickest eye could find a grain/ Of what thou now art"  
(i, 112-113). This threat can only be countered by the conquest of death.

The religious ritual of the ancient Egyptians managed a conquest of death in the person of their king who as Horus united himself with Osiris. This was actually a ritualistic enactment of the process of psychic unification and psychic transformation, by which "the descrete soul parts become integrated and the earthly-Horus-ego aspect of the personality combined with the spiritual divine self" (Nohc, p. 251). The fear of the body's disintegration in death was projected into the story of Osiris' dismemberment. The restoration of the severed members by the Mother Goddess renewed the god's bodily unity; it was a rebirth. We read in the Book of the Dead: "I have knit myself together; I have made myself whole and complete; I have renewed my youth; I am Osiris, the Lord of Eternity."<sup>142</sup> The Poet is motivated to mount the immortal steps by the threat of withering away that Moneta confronts him with. This same motivation was basic to the myth and ritual of the Egyptians, giving rise to the practice of mummification, the preservation for all eternity of the body's shape, as the outward and visible sign of its unity. Thus in The Fall of Hyperion Keats is dealing with the most ancient of religious ideas; his imagination delves back to the very dawn

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<sup>142</sup> The Book of the Dead: An English Translation of the Theban Recension, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1938), p. cxx, quoted in Nohc, p. 228.

of civilization to express the deep truth he perceives in himself.

As the Poet begins toward the stairs a violent change progresses within him:

Prodigious seem'd the toil, the leaves were yet  
 Burning,--when suddenly a palsied chill  
 Struck from the paved level up my limbs,  
 And was ascending quick to put cold grasp  
 Upon those streams that pulse beside the throat:  
 I shriek'd; and the sharp anguish of my shriek  
 Stung my own ears--I strove hard to escape  
 The numbness; strove to gain the lowest step.  
 Slow, heavy, deadly was my pace: the cold  
 Grew stifling, suffocating, at the heart;  
 And when I clasp'd my hands I felt them not.  
 One minute before death, my iced foot touch'd  
 The lowest stair; and as it touch'd, life seem'd  
 To pour in at the toes: I mounted up,  
 As once fair Angels on a ladder flew  
 From the green turf to heaven.

(i, 121-136)

The question may be asked here why specifically the Poet has to mount the immortal steps? The answer to this also takes us into very primeval territory. Once again Keats' imagination evokes an ancient religious pattern.

In the Egyptian mystery of wholeness and integration belonging to the Osiris rite, there was always included the mystique of ascension; as Neumann tells us,

The figure of Osiris is from the very beginning bound up with the principle of ascension. The earliest picture of him shows him as "the God at the Top of the Staircase." He is the ladder from earth to heaven, and those who could not be buried in Abydos itself tried at least to set up a stone there at the "staircase of the great God" (Nohc, pp. 232f.).

Thus we find a striking comparison between the altar of Moneta approached by a perilous staircase and the symbolism that gravitates round the figure of Osiris, "the God at the Top of the Staircase," referred to as "the ladder from earth to heaven."<sup>143</sup> The Poet, it will be remembered,

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<sup>143</sup>In this connection Professor Wallace Budge, the noted translator

said, "I mounted up,/ As once fair Angels on a ladder flew/ From the green turf to heaven" (i, 134-136). The Poet's ascent is for the sake of union with his God of Poetry, Apollo. His symbolic action is a modern recapitulation of the Egyptian Horus king's union with the God Osiris.

Osiris was the Self-Transformer or the Self-Begotten. He was the sun god, murdered and dismembered by Set but resurrected by the goddess Isis. Budge says,

He is a form of the rising sun and his seat is in the boat of the Sun-god. He is the god of matter which is at the point of passing from inertness into life, and also of the dead body from which a spiritual and glorified body is about to burst forth.<sup>144</sup>

Osiris was born of himself through the mediation of Isis in the precise sense that Apollo was born of himself through Mnemosyne's aid. Osiris speaks at the beginning of one of the oldest chapters of the Book of the Dead, the fourteenth, and sums up all the essential features in the Osiris mystery, he says: "I am Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow, and I have the power to be born a second time; I am the divine hidden soul who created the gods" (Nohc, p. 237.). Apollo was another who had the power to be born a second time, and in his typifying of the manner in which first in beauty is first in might, he embodies the principle that created all the Gods. Osiris became a deathless double being, Osiris-Ra, who is the higher glorified sun which Osiris became by attaining his ka-soul, a transcendental reality conceived as "a man's double, as his genius or

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of the Book of the Dead and Egyptian authority, has this to add: "This ladder is referred to in the Pyramid Texts. It was made originally for Osiris, who by means of it ascended into heaven. It was set up by Horus and Set, each of whom held one side while they assisted the God to mount it; in the tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires several models of ladders have been found" (Budge, into. to Ch. 98, quoted in Nohc, p. 233.).

<sup>144</sup>Budge, p. 4n, quoted in Nohc, p. 236.

guardian angel," according to Neumann, his self (Nohc, p. 243.). Here we have a solution to the puzzle of why Apollo, already divine, must become a god. Apollo is also a self-begetter, and like Osiris he achieves the higher glorified form of himself, which Neumann calls the first historical example--in mythological projection--of the psychic process we call "individuation" or the "integration of personality" (Nohc, p. 243.).

In the Osiris ritual connected with the coronation ceremonies of the patriarchal kings of Egypt, the "sons of Horus," the essential element was the reincarnation of Osiris in the initiate, establishing in him a fresh dwelling and simultaneously constituting his higher self (Nohc, p. 247.). The sonship of Horus was connected with the apotheosis of his father Osiris which he reenacted. The son regenerates himself as a hero by a rebirth of his father in him and himself in his father, formulated: "I and the Father are one." Both Osiris and Horus have an identical relation to Isis who becomes to both of them mother, wife and sister (Nohc, p. 248.), making Osiris and Horus the same.

The union of Osiris and Horus takes place in the ritual of the king's coronation. The union of Osiris with his higher Ra nature is on the mythological plane. This same relation of ritual to myth is apparent again in the two Hyperions: Hyperion which is mythological and The Fall of Hyperion which is ritualistic. In the former the self-transformation of Apollo takes place among the gods, but in the latter this process becomes humanized as soon as the role of Apollo is taken over by the Poet. Once the Poet enters the divine drama, as Keats' persona, mythological processes begin decidedly to reveal themselves as psychological ones.

The similarity between The Fall of Hyperion and the Osiris ritual

is now apparent, for the crowning of the king in ancient Egypt and the ceremony initiating the true poet in the modern poem by Keats involve the same approximation of the Father deity; the Horus king becoming the sun god Osiris and the Poet becoming the sun god Apollo both enunciate the formula, "I and the Father are one." The creative mind bridges the ages, telescoping time, making past and present one moment.

This enunciation takes the form of the Poet's recapitulation of the same ordeal of death and rebirth that Apollo underwent. He seemed to die and yet he lives. Puzzled he asks:

'What am I that should so be sav'd from death?  
What am I that another death come not  
To choak my utterance sacrilegious here?'  
Then said the veiled shadow--'Thou hast felt  
What 'tis to die and live again before  
Thy fated hour. That thou hadst power to do so  
Is thy own safety; thou hast dated on  
Thy doom.'

(i, 138-145)

Just as Apollo did, the Poet now has died into life; he has "dated on" his doom and now knows what it is to die and live again. The support of heaven at the moment of death means nothing less than to be begotten by a god and born anew. It is only by the paradox of experiencing death as a simultaneous act of self-reproduction that the twofold man is reborn as the total man (Nohc, p. 255.).

Everything points now to the unity of the Poet and Apollo. The shriek of the initiate at the instant of rebirth (i, 126) echoes the shriek of Apollo at his glorification. Just as the identity between Osiris and Horus was shown by their relationship to Isis, the sameness of Apollo and the Poet is shown by their encounters with Mnemosyne and Moneta, who are both the same Goddess of Memory: the name of the former means memory and the latter was at one point called "Shade of Memory"

(i, 282).<sup>145</sup> But the complete synthesis of the two cannot be until the Poet undergoes the same experience as Apollo did when he looked into the face of Mnemosyne and read a wondrous lesson of enormous knowledge that made him a God. Thus the Poet now asks Moneta, "'Purge off/ Benign, if it so please thee, my mind's film'" (i, 145v.). And he had earlier asked, "What am I that should so be sav'd from death/ What am I" (i, 138v.). The Poet will have to experience the same wondrous lesson of enormous knowledge which he is, all that the full extent of the human personality harbors, the total truth about man and himself. That total experience will bring the God in him to be. He seeks, therefore, to know fully what he is.

The lesson begins, and at first we find it to be complex, confusing, and even contradictory. Moneta tells him that he has been favored and twice born because the miseries of the world do not let him rest. Others who find a haven in life and "thoughtless sleep away their days"

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<sup>145</sup> Moreover, one commentator, Helen Dartshire, feels that Moneta is Isis; she wonders if Keats could possibly have woven "some memories of this ancient deity into his creation of Moneta, who mourns over the departed race, who when she removes her awful veils looks forth with half-closed unseeing eyes like an Egyptian statue, gazing out upon humanity with the mild blank gaze of the moon?" (op. cit., p. 9.). It is possible that Keats could have absorbed some of the details of the Osiris ritual from his reading of The Golden Ass. In Adlington's translation he would have read: "Then was all the Laity and prophane people commanded to depart, and when they had put on my back a linnen robe, they brought me to the most secret and sacred place of all the temple. . . . Thou shalt understand that I approached neere unto Hell, even to the gates of Proserpina, and after that, I was ravished throughout all the Element, I returned to my proper place: About midnight I saw the Sun shine, I saw likewise the gods celestiall and the gods infernall, before whom I presented my selfe, and worshipped them" (op. cit., p. 244.). Here the elements of an approach to death (Proserpina's gates) and a re-birth (the return to his proper place) might have given Keats some clue about what took place in these ancient rites. The vision the initiate has of the sun at midnight and the celestial and the infernal gods together make up a synopsis of Hyperion and the vision the poet has in The Fall: the infernal gods are the Titans, the sun shining at midnight is Hyperion, and Apollo himself is the celestial deity.

would rot completely on the marble where the Poet "rotted'st half." Gaining confidence, he says that surely there must be thousands who "feel the giant agony of the world" and work for moral good who should also be favored. These, she says are not visionaries. "'They seek no wonder but the human face;/ No music but a happy-noted voice'" (i, 163v.). And then, perplexingly, she adds, "'Thou art here, for thou art less than they'" (i, 166). There is no benefit that the dreamer tribe can do the world, she tells him. Because he is a fever of himself and finds no haven in the world, he has been permitted to stand "'safe beneath this statue's knees'" (i, 181).<sup>146</sup>

There is a paradox, then, in the Poet's privilege:

'That I am favored for unworthiness,  
By such propitious parley medicin'd  
In sickness not ignoble, I rejoice,  
Aye, and could weep for love of such award.'  
(i, 182-185)

"Favored for unworthiness" and "medicin'd/ In sickness not ignoble" and "weep for love" convey some of the paradoxical quality of the situation. This paradox introduces the deep experience of the self, which is by definition a complex of opposites. This is why death and rebirth converge at the moment of realization. To be absolutely total, the self must include even its own negation: to be demands the experience of not to be and to be a poet demands the full sense of what the poet is not. The antinomies exist side by side in the self: God and man, to be and not to be, poet and dreamer.

'Art thou not of the dreamer tribe?  
The poet and the dreamer are distinct,  
Diverse, sheer opposite, antipodes.  
The one pours out a balm upon the world,

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<sup>146</sup> This motif is identical with some of the representations we have of Egyptian kings standing between the protective knees of the god Horus (see appendix I).



The other vexes it.'

(i, 198-202)

This puzzling passage has given commentators much difficulty. They either see it as a sweeping denunciation of the imaginative mind, or they want to exclude it from the poem altogether because Keats cancelled the lines and, as Murry thinks, "they were not true of himself."<sup>147</sup> But it cannot be denied that Keats wrote these lines. They are included in every modern edition, and we do have them to cope with, even if they did not appear in Lord Houghton's original printing (1856). Dismissing them as a blanket denunciation of the imaginative mind is not satisfactory. Regarded correctly they are the triumph of the imaginative mind of the Poet who has penetrated to the fullness of himself which is greater than poet or dreamer because it contains them both in its creative totality. The self embraces the antipodes, joins the opposites and makes them one. Here is the area of extreme subjectivity where the criteria of reason must be left behind. The full extent of the "mystery of acceptance" of the self is in this moment affirmation-in-denial. He implores Apollo "with a Pythia's spleen," that is to say, in Apollo's own voice:<sup>148</sup>

'Apollo! faded, farflown Apollo!  
Where is thy misty pestilence to creep  
Into the dwellings, thro' the door crammies,  
Of all mock lyrists, large self-worshippers,  
And careless Hectorers in proud bad verse.  
Tho' I breathe death with them it will be life  
To see them sprawl before me into graves.'

(i, 204-210)

Death and life are again blended in the Poet's ultimate submission to what he is. It is this act that lets him in to the knowledge enormous which Moneta now permits him to have. By utterly clinging to the will

<sup>147</sup> Keats and Shakespeare, p. 178.

<sup>148</sup> "Apollo destroyed with arrows the serpent Python. . . hence he was called Pythius" --Lempriere, p. 672.

of the Father Apollo, death will be life. The division of the personality into two systems has been bypassed. His unity with Apollo shows the displacement of the center of the personality from the ego to the self, the inmost experience of the individuation process. The visionary goal of the individuation myth--immortality and lastingness--has been reached. The transitory, life-seeking character of the ego is relativized by the acceptance of death and its (the ego's) new relation to the self. There is no longer any fear of disintegration and annihilation, the Poet even welcomes it, because the ephemeral ego has come to experience its identity with the imperishable self. Neumann equates this new condition with the sense of "godlikeness" or that of "cleaving to the godhead" of which the mystics speak (Hqhc, pp. 359f.).

The salient feature is that the personality's sense of no longer being identical with the ego prevails over the mortality which clings to egohood. But that is the supreme goal of the hero myth. In his victorious struggle the hero proves his godlike descent and experiences the fulfillment of the primary condition on which he entered into battle, and which is expressed in the mythological formula "I and the Father are one" (Ibid.).

The Poet's mortality is elevated to the godlike and the long awaited answer to the prayer in "God of the Meridian," that the "sights I scarce can bear" be tempered and that he might see Apollo's "bowers/ more unalarmed," is now granted. The sacrificial fires lower and Moneta speaks:

'The sacrifice is done, but not the less,  
Will I be kind to thee for thy goodwill.  
My power, which to me is still a curse,  
Shall be to thee a wonder; for the scenes  
Still swooning vivid through my globed brain  
With an electral changing misery  
Thou shalt with those dull mortal eyes behold,  
Free from all pain, if wonder pain thee not.'  
(i, 241-248)

The mortal will share the immortal's vision of the Titans' desolation. He will see as a god sees the vast creations and destroyings that Apollo

viewed in Mnemosyne's face. Now Moneta draws back her veils.

Then saw I a wan face,  
 Not pin'd by human sorrows, but bright blanch'd  
 By an immortal sickness which kills not;  
 It works a constant change, which happy death  
 Can put no end to; deathwards progressing  
 To no death was that visage; it had pass'd  
 The lily and the snow; and beyond these  
 I must not think now, though I saw that face--  
 But for her eyes I should have fled away.  
 They held me back, with a benignant light,  
 Soft-mitigated by divinest lids  
 Half closed, and visionless entire they seem'd  
 Of all external things--they saw me not,  
 But in blank splendor beam'd like the mild moon,  
 Who comforts those she sees not, who knows not  
 What eyes are upward cast.<sup>149</sup>

(i, 256-271)

This is among the most breathtakingly powerful passages ever written by Keats. It is in a special sense his whole poetry brought to a magnificent climax: here is the benignant face of Phoebe, the veiled majesty of Melancholy, Lamia and La Belle Dame in a single epiphany. The white, driven beauty of Moneta's face is the ultimate image of Keats' poetry: the "one scene, one adventure, one picture" that Yeats said was the secret image of a man, which, "if he would but brood over it his life

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<sup>149</sup> Apuleius' orison to the moon goddess, Isis, presents her as the comfort of those she does not see. In Adlington the passage is very beautiful and it is likely that Keats would have been strongly moved by it. Something of its charm and power seems to have entered his portrait of Moneta. The prayer reads: "O holy and blessed dame, the perpetuall comfort of humane kind, who by thy bounty and grace nourishest all the world, and bearest a great affection to the adversities of the miserable, as a loving mother thou takest no rest, neither art thou idle at any time in giving thy benefits, and succoring all men, as well on land as sea; thou art she that puttest away all stormes and dangers from mans life by the right hand. . . thou environest all the world, thou givest light to the Sunne, thou governest the world, thou treadst downe the power of hell: By thy meane the times returne, the Planets rejoyce, the Elements serve: at thy commandement the winds do blow, the clouds increase, the seeds prosper, and the fruits prevaile, the birds of the aire, the beasts of the hill, the serpents of the den, and the fishes of the sea, do tremble at thy majesty, but my spirit is not able to give thee sufficient praise, my patrimonie is unable to satisfie thy sacrifice, my voice hath no power to utter that which I thinke, no if I had a thousand mouths and so many tongues" (Adlington, pp. 245f.).

long," ends in complete self-knowledge.<sup>150</sup>

The Poet's intense look into the awesome face of Moneta is an attempt at this complete self-knowledge. As the "voice," which has all the immediacy of a dictate, Moneta's is the unique inner utterance of the self. As Memory she is the collective unconscious of man which holds all the wisdom and all the terror of the race. By staring as deeply as he can into Moneta's compelling eyes, he is trying to enter her very mind:

As I had found  
A grain of gold upon a mountain's side,  
And twing'd with avarice strain'd out my eyes  
To search its sullen entrails rich with ore,  
So at the view of sad Moneta's brow,  
I ached to see what things the hollow brain  
Behind enwombed: what high tragedy  
In the dark secret Chambers of her skull  
Was acting, that could give so dread a stress  
To her cold lips, and fill with such a light  
Her planetary eyes; and touch her voice  
With such a sorrow--'Shade of Memory!'  
Cried I . . .  
'Let me behold, according as thou said'st,  
What in thy brain so ferments to and fro.'  
(i, 271-283, 290v.)

Moneta personifies the vast reservoir of the world's giant agony and wisdom. She bears the rich treasure of all the wisdom that sorrow can teach. The dark mountain with its entrails rich with ore is another symbol of the collective unconscious. The grain of gold on the mountain side is a symbol of the self, because it is like a seed which contains potentially the full grown golden tree of personality. As a point of

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<sup>150</sup>W. B. Yeats, Collected Works (London, 1908), VI, 109-110, quoted in Ward, p. 340. It should be noted that Ward's commentary on lines 256-271 confirms my own conclusion. She says that Keats at this point "became a true poet in facing and accepting the burdens of his own identity--now at last in his fullest self he confronts the experience that so greatly shaped him and regards it with love and pity, not with terror" (p. 340). Ward's avenue to this position was reductive, however, and based on the background of the poet's life in contrast with my emphasis upon the transpersonal background.

light, it suggests the alchemical doctrine of the scintilla, which conceived of the creative center of the world as just such a grain of light, or spark, or eye. The scintilla was the intersection at the center of the world-quarternity, hence it was the unification of opposites, the beginning and goal of the process. Remarks pertaining to the scintilla were often stated cryptically: "When a man is illuminated by the light of nature, the mist vanishes from his eyes, and without difficulty he may behold our magnet, which corresponds to both centres of the rays, that is, those of the sun and the earth" (CW, XIV, 49.). The Poet likewise had his mind's film purged enabling him to see the golden particle which drew him magnetically to the rich-veined mountain of truth. The scintilla is the caelum of alchemy (CW, XIV, 52f.), the precious "quintessence which was the physical equivalent of heaven, of the potential world . . . the caelum . . . corresponded to the pure, incorrupt, original stuff of the world, God's adequate and perfectly obedient instrument, whose production, therefore, permitted the alchemist to 'hope and expect' the conjunction with the unus mundus" (CW, XIV, 543.).

The juxtaposition of the visible speck of ore and the unseen golden mass is symbolic of the integration of personality, the poet's synthesis with the mind of Moneta. Neumann informs us that the integration of the personality is equivalent to the integration of the world.<sup>151</sup> The integration of the world is the unus mundus, the third and highest conjunction of alchemy. The world of the fallen Titans has

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<sup>151</sup>"Just as an uncentered psyche which is dispersed in participations sees only a diffuse and chaotic world, so the world constellates itself in an hierarchical order about an integrated personality. The correspondence between one's view of the world and the formation of personality extends from the lowest level to the highest" (Nohc, p. 359.).

been devastated; Thea, speaking to the utterly dejected form of Saturn, says:

I have no comfort for thee, no--not one;  
 I cannot cry, Wherefore thus sleepest thou:  
 For heaven is parted from thee, and the earth  
 Knows thee not, so afflicted, for a God;  
 The Ocean too, with all its solem noise,  
 Has from thy sceptre pass'd; and all the air  
 Is emptied of thine hoary Majesty.  
 Thy thunder, captious at the new command,  
 Rumbles reluctant o'er our fallen house;  
 And thy sharp lightning in unpracticed hands  
 Scorches and burns our once serene domain.  
 (i, 355-365)

Thus the myth of the Titans and Olympians takes on the aspect of a creation myth. Its creations and destroyings show one world fallen and a fresh perfection treading on its heels. Apollo's entrance in Book III of Hyperion was like Adam surveying his kingdom on the first day. When the poet of the second Hyperion receives this high legend the whole of it is received at once:

Then Moneta's voice  
 Came brief upon mine ear,--'So Saturn sat  
 When he had lost his realms'--Whereon there grew  
 A power within me of enormous ken,  
 To see as a God sees, and take the depth  
 Of things as nimbly as the outward eye  
 Can size and shape pervade. The lofty theme  
 At those few words hung vast before my mind,  
 With half unravel'd web.  
 (i, 300-308)

He sees with an inner eye, with the mind's eye; this is a synthesis, an integration of unconscious contents. The giant world processes of creation and destruction range themselves around the newly integrated personality constituted by the synthesis of the poet's mind and Moneta's globed brain. Their unity is evidenced by her silence; she speaks no more than a few brief words and then the whole dark secret of the world's eternal cycle of creation and destruction floods upon him. This is the unus mundus. It is this third degree of conjunction, like the

relation or identity of the personal with the suprapersonal atman, and of the individual tao with the universal tao that makes the self a reality (CW, XIX, 535.).

In August while he was at work on the Fall of Hyperion, Keats expresses himself in a way that only a man whose self is a reality can speak. He is writing to Reynolds from Winchester on the 24th and his tone is noticably exultant. He informs his friend that a letter is off to James Rice by the same post; this is a mutual friend who will tell Reynolds "why we have left Shanklin; and how we like this Place"; then remarks:

I have indeed scar(c)ely any thing else to say, leading so monotonous a life except I was to give you a history of sensations, and day-night mares. You would not find me at all unhappy in it; as all my thoughts and feelings which are of the selfish nature, home speculations every day continue to make me more Iron--I am convinced more and more day by day that fine writing is next to fine doing the top thing in the world; the Paradise Lost becomes a greater wonder--The more I know what my diligence may in time probably effect; the more does my heart distend with Pride and Obstinacy--I feel it in my power to become a popular writer--I feel it in my strength to refuse the poisonous suffrage of a public--My own being which I know to be becomes of more consequence to me than the crowds of Shadows in the Shape of Man and women that inhabit a kingdom. The Soul is a world of itself and has enough to do in its own home--Those whom I know already and who have grown as it were a part of myself I could not do without: but for the rest of Mankind they are as much a dream to me as Miltons Hierarchies. I think if I had a free and healthy and lasting organisation of heart and Lungs--as strong as an ox's--so as to be able\* unhurt the shock of extreme thought and sensation without weariness, I could pass my Life very nearly alone though it should last eighty years. But I feel my Body too weak to support me to the height; I am obliged continually to check myself and strive to be nothing. It would be vain for me to endeavour after a more reasonable manner of writing to you: I have nothing to speak of but myself--and what can I say but what I feel? If you should have any reason to regret this state of excitement in me, I will turn the tide of your feelings in the right channel by mentioning that it is the only state for the best sort of Poetry--that is all I care for, all I live for.

(II, 146f.)

This is the self-assured voice of a man who knows himself and who has integrated his personality to the point of an incorruptible unity.

\*Woodhouse supplied "(to bear)."

Thoughts and feelings of the self continue every day to make him, in his own idiom, "more Iron," Keats' way of saying that he is a whole man, in contrast to the "crowds of Shadows in the Shape of Man," the vast number of humans who have no self and are as a dream to him. He experiences the self as a world complete and entire, enough to make him content to live and be alone eighty years. So full and all-consuming is his awareness of the self that he can talk of nothing else, but this is the only state for the best sort of poetry--all that he cares for all that he lives for.

This achievement of individuation was through the poetry where the working out of the poet's individuality took on the characteristics of the hero myth and the creative process of alchemy. At the moment of realization of the self, the unus mundus, the entire epic of Saturn, Hyperion, and Apollo hung vast before the mind's eye of the poet. The great saga of suffering and wisdom fills the ultimate boundaries of what it is human to know, even more than human: the "giant agony of the world" made eloquent in the spectacle of Thea and Saturn:

She press'd her fair large forehead to the earth,  
 Just where her fallen hair might spread in curls,  
 A soft and silken mat for Saturn's feet.  
 Long, long, those two were postured motionless,  
 Like sculpture builded up upon the grave  
 Of their own power. A long awful time  
 I look'd upon them; still they were the same;  
 The frozen God still bending to the Earth,  
 And the sad Goddess weeping at his feet.  
 Moneta silent. Without stay or prop  
But my own weak mortality, I bore  
The load of this eternal quietude,  
The unchanging gloom, and the three fixed shapes  
Ponderous upon my senses a whole moon.  
For by my burning brain I measured sure  
Her silver seasons shedded on the night  
And ever day by day methought I grew  
More gaunt and ghostly--Oftentimes I pray'd  
Intense, that Death would take me from the vale  
And all its burthens--Gasping with despair  
Of change, hour after hour I curs'd myself:



Until old Saturn rais'd his faded eyes,  
 And lock'd around and saw his kingdom gone,  
 And all the gloom and sorrow of the place,  
 And that fair kneeling Goddess at his feet.  
 (i, 379-403)

The italicized lines are the ones Keats added to the passage as it originally appeared in Hyperion. In them the miseries of the world become real to him and will not let him rest. The entire weight of the eternal truths fall upon him and in his own burning brain a month passes. With the fallen Gods actual to him, he is experiencing the complete sense of devastation and annihilation the alchemists underwent when they endured the nigredo. Pordage describes it:

The old philosophers named this work or labour their descension, their cineration, their pulverization, their death, their putrefaction of the materia of the stone, their corruption, their caput mortuum. You must not despise this blackness, or black colour, but persevere in it in patience, in suffering, and in silence, until its forty days of temptation are over, until the days of its tribulations are completed, when the seed of life shall waken to life, shall rise up, sublimate or glorify itself, transform itself into whiteness, purify and sanctify itself, give itself the redness, in other words, transfigure and fix its shape.<sup>152</sup>

The forty days of suffering and silence of the nigredo, the first stage of the opus, were endured by the adept with great demands upon him in patience and moral strength. The thirty days waited out by the poet evince a similar anxiety and sense of despair. Moreover, Saturn was the name the alchemists assigned to the lead that was to be transmuted into their gold. The lead was introduced at the beginning of the work at the stage of the nigredo. Saturn was identified with the nigredo because the planet Saturn was the farthest from the sun in medieval cosmology, for this reason Saturn was always associated with gloom and darkness. The opus always began with him because the work started in the outer

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<sup>152</sup> See note 124 for the source of this citation which appears in CW, XVI, 297.

darkness and progressed toward the inner light; this was seen to parallel an astrological progress through the planetary houses inward toward the sun. The wandering planet Mercury, which came nearest to the sun, was the most important because its erratic course took it through the other houses so that it had the effect of unifying the zodiac.

We said that Hyperion was a Keatsian Mercurius because his journey united Above and Below by bringing the sunlight to the underworld. This stage corresponds astrologically with Mercury's bringing the light of the sun to Saturn in the outermost sphere. It was called the albedo or brightening, the stage in the opus when the alchemical fire has been struck but has not yet reached its reddest intensity.

The Poet witnesses the entry of Hyperion bringing fiery light to the saturnine gloom he endured while he waited out Saturn's agony. Like the alchemical flame uniting the elements, Hyperion's fire is to synthesize the titanic chaos into oneminded unity. The result we expect is the intensification of the alchemical fires to the reddening or rubedo, the color that flowed through all nature when Apollo came into Hyperion, and flushed finally through all his limbs when he became a God. And this result is accomplished, because the final lines of The Fall of Hyperion give us, in spite of the fragmentary ending, a clear surity of the long awaited goal:

Now in clear light I stood,  
Reliev'd from the dusk vale. Mnemosyne  
Was sitting on a square edg'd polish'd stone,  
That in its lucid depth reflected pure  
Her priestess-garments. My quick eyes ran on  
From stately nave to nave, from vault to vault,  
Thro' bowers of fragrant and entwreathed light,  
And diamond paved lustrous long arcades.  
Anon rush'd by the bright Hyperion;  
His flaming robes stream'd out beyond his heels,  
And gave a roar, as if of earthly fire,

That scar'd away the meek ethereal hours  
 And made their dove-wings tremble: on he flared  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 (ii, 49-61)

The Poet has come out of the saturnine gloom of the nigredo into the full sunlight of the rubedo. The roaring fires of Hyperion, streaming out beyond his heels, suggests the rising of the alchemical heat that produces the treasured lapis philosophorum. This precious result of the alchemical work is represented by the four-sided stone on which the Goddess of Memory is seated. The splendid "square edg'd polish'd stone" is clearly the lapis of the philosophers. "Fourness" was always a feature of the philosophers' stone, because it was understood to be a repetition of God's work of creation, to have been made of the four elements, as the earth itself was supposed to have been.

Because of its fourfold nature, Keats' lucid stone is also a mandala. The mandala was one of the most frequent symbols of the lapis. Keats' mandala does not simply anticipate wholeness, as the earlier mandalas were seen to do; it attests to the accomplished realization of the self. It is the perfected image of the perfected self; the entire individuation myth points to this "square edg'd polish'd stone" as its conclusion.

Seated on this wondrous stone is the Goddess of Memory. As the change in her name shows (ii, 50), she is the combined Moneta-Mnemosyne, recalling Phoebe-Maiden at the end of Endymion. As the collective memory of mankind, Mnemosyne, reflected in the stone's lucid depth, is an image of the realization of the integrated self. The whole story of creation is summed up in her. At the moment when he looked into her face the Poet discovered that the "lofty theme/ At those few words hung vast before my mind" (i, 306-307). The "'Names, deeds, gray legends, dire

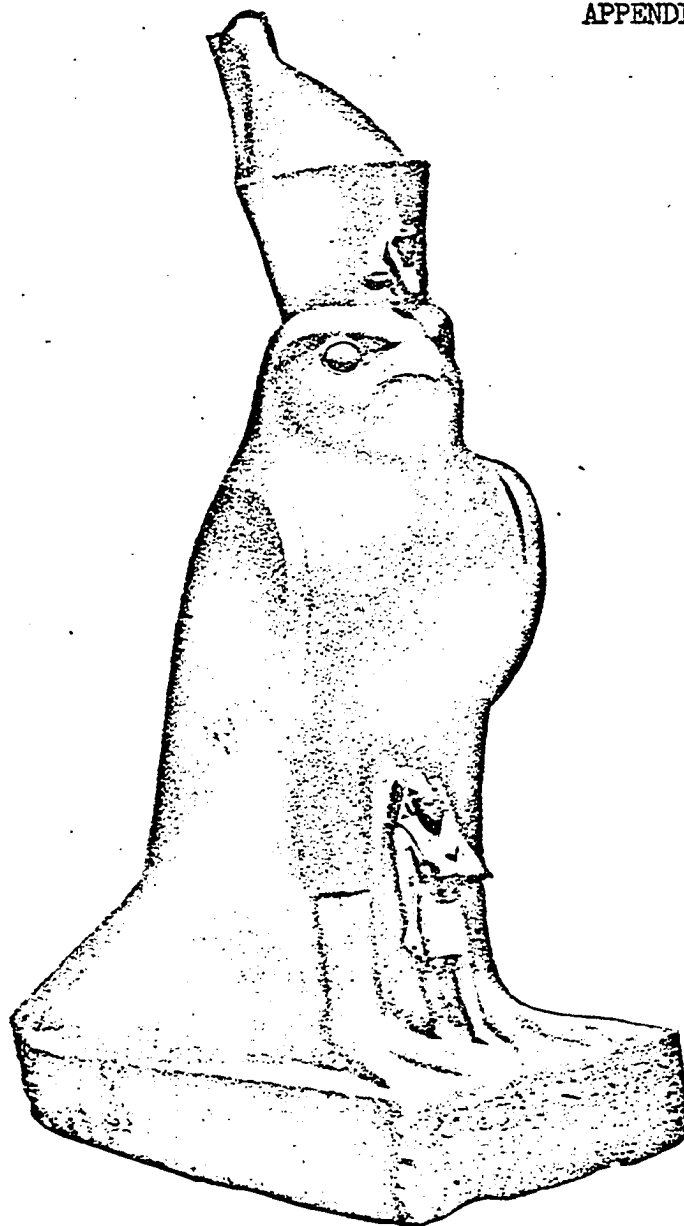
events, rebellions,/ 'Majesties, sovran voices, agonies,/ 'Creations and destroyings, all at once'" (Hyperion, iii, 114-116) are chronicled in Mnemosyne's countenance. The Goddess of Memory is the legend of creation and destruction that her face reveals. Her image "reflected pure" in the clear stone constitutes the unus mundus. Mnemosyne within the polished stone symbolizes the integration of the Poet with the world on the first day of creation when the Titans were replaced by the Olympians. Recalling the "God of the Meridian," the poet now can look upon Apollo's bowers without alarm ("My quick eyes ran on/ From stately nave to nave, from vault to vault,/ Thro' bowers of fragrant and enwreathed light,/ And diamond paved lustrous long arcades" [ii, 53-56] ), because he has the prized Philosophers' stone, wrought by the alchemy of the creative self in its supreme opus of self creation. A triumphant image of fulfillment, Mnemosyne's stone is the long awaited lapis of human wholeness, the mandala of the full personality: a living stone with the indestructibility and permanence of diamond and the life-giving quality of a Physician to all men.

The myth of individuation concludes here in this fragment, suggesting perhaps that life never completely attains to the absolute, but rather is the continuous evolution expressed by Goethe's Faust:  
 "Formation, transformation, eternal preservation of the eternal meaning."

On September 21, 1819 at Winchester, Keats set aside The Fall of Hyperion scarcely nine hundred days from his first work on Endymion at Margate about March 21, 1817. Within this brief span had occurred some of the finest masterpieces of the English language, poems that rank among the great treasures of world literature. But the real triumph of these nine hundred days, as we have witnessed, was the creation of the poet's

creative self, the unique treasure of Keats' individuality worked into being by the poetic alchemy of the poet's art.

## APPENDIX I



The hawk god Horus with King Nectanebo II  
Egypt, 370 B.C.

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