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PROVOKING PANDORA: THE USE OF THE PANDORA SYMBOL IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE SINCE THE ELIZABETHAN AGE

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PROVOKING PANDORA: THE USE OF THE PANDORA
SYMBOL IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE
SINCE THE ELIZABETHAN AGE

by

Hilda Collins

A thesis submitted to the Graduate Council of
Longwood College in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts in Education

Farmville, Virginia

April, 1958

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Hilda Collins entitled "Provoking Pandora: The Use of the Pandora Symbol in English and American Literature Since the Elizabethan Age." I recommend that it be accepted for six semester hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Education.

Richard K. Meeker
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We have read this thesis
and recommend its acceptance:

B. C. Simonini, Jr.
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Accepted for the Council:

George W. Jeffers
Chairman

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Foreword

I am grateful to Dr. R. C. Simonini, Jr., for encouraging me to write a thesis and to Dr. R. K. Meeker for carefully supervising my work.

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Chapter I

The recurrence of the Pandora symbol in English and American literature since the Elizabethan Age excites inquiry. Although the classical tradition in literature wanes at times, elements of the myth of "Pandora's Box" continually quicken creative imagination. While books and essays tell of Pandora's role in Greek religion, art, and literature, there has probably been no attempt to analyze the appearances of the symbol in English and American writing. Such appearances invite analysis and are numerous enough to suggest there may be a pattern in the use of the symbol.

The essential features of the Pandora myth, the status of Pandora and the nature of her vessel, have long engaged mythologists, whose decisions illuminate the literary symbol. As early as 1900, Jane Harrison wrote that the "vessel was neither a box nor properly hers," and over fifty years later, Dora and Irwin Panofsky recounted the changing aspects of the mythical symbol from jar to box.¹ The Panofskys do not dwell upon the position of Pandora, but Jane Harrison identifies her, as she is in Orphic poetry, with Ge, or Mother-Earth.² Robert Graves also thinks Pandora is an Earth-goddess, the All-giving Rhea;³ and Erich Neumann, who in The Great Mother shows the relationship between Pandora and the vessel, calls her the Enchantress, an archetype of the Good and Terrible Earth-mother.⁴ The deductions of these

¹ Dora and Irwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box: the Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol (New York, 1955), pp. 1-17.

² Jane Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (New York, 1957), pp. 281-285.

³ Robert Graves, The Greek Myths (Baltimore, 1955), I, p. 148.

⁴ Erich Neumann, The Great Mother, an Analysis of the Archetype (New York, 1955), p. 172.

scholars are important for literary explication, not only because they explain the variations in the Pandora myth, but, because, viewed collectively, they point toward the establishment of a literary symbol.

Why the Pandora symbol seems established in art and literature is best explained by Neumann, who finds the Great Mother archetype in the myths and symbols of mankind.⁵ Like Maude Bodkin, who found archetypal patterns in poetry,⁶ he has applied Dr. Carl G. Jung's "collective unconscious" theory: certain motifs and legends repeat themselves the world over as manifestations of archetypes or images which are assumed to be the "deposits in the human psyche of the constantly repeated experiences of humanity."⁷ Identified as a manifestation of the Great Mother archetype in mankind's collective unconscious mind, the Pandora symbol, according to this theory, is to be expected.

Besides the Good or Terrible Mother, Pandora might presumably be the anima, another of the relatively few dominant archetypes that Jung names. The anima he defines as the archetype of the feminine, of life itself, which belongs to man as his own unconscious femininity. It is what Jung calls a "soul" or personality image which man unconsciously projects upon a woman, just as the animus in woman is the masculine soul-image that she projects.⁸

The "bi-polar" structure of an archetype which Jung describes clarifies why the anima image may be positive one moment and negative the next, good

⁵ Neumann, pp. vii-xlii.

⁶ Maude Bodkin, the pioneer literary analyst of archetype published Archetypal Patterns in Poetry (London, 1934).

⁷ Carl G. Jung, Two Essays on Analytical Psychology (New York, 1956), pp. 75-79.

⁸ Carl G. Jung, Symbols of Transformation (New York, 1955), pp. 391, 437.

fairy or witch, saint or sinner,⁹ why the Great Mother can be both Good and Terrible, and why Pandora can be both fascinating and destructive.

Jung believes that the archetypes in literature are consciously moulded, but that the visionary artist uses them unconsciously because he presents "primordial" experiences.¹⁰ The mythology of antiquity is rich in such experiences; and it is therefore to be expected, as Jung says, that the writer will use mythology to give the experiences the most fitting expression.¹¹

While Jung thinks that borrowing from myths, particularly in poetic creations, is not always conscious on the part of the writer, he indicates the boundaries the critic must observe in applying the "collective unconscious" theory to literature. Since the rule in mythology is that the typical parts of a myth can be united in all conceivable variations, Jung regards interpretation of one particular myth difficult for the reader who lacks knowledge of the others. Equally pertinent to literary criticism is his statement that inferences about the artist from the work of art, and vice-versa, are never conclusive.¹² Here his thinking seems in accord with that of modern critics who maintain that the meaning of the work of art is not exhausted by nor even equivalent to intention.¹³

⁹ Carl G. Jung and C. Kerényi, Essays on a Science of Mythology, tr. R. F. C. Hull (New York, 1949), p. 225.

¹⁰ Carl G. Jung, Psychology of the Unconscious (New York, 1952), p. 22.

¹¹ Carl G. Jung, Modern Man in Search of a Soul (New York, 1933), pp. 154-164.

¹² Ibid., p. 153.

¹³ Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (New York, 1949), pp. 34, 149.

Such limitations are recognized in this study, which is intended as explication of literary examples of the Pandora symbol in England and America since the Elizabethan Age. Consequently, no interpretation of the symbol is offered as definitive; wherever the symbolism of Jung or his followers is applied, or wherever intention, which may be part of the literary tradition, is considered, it is for illumination only.

These examples of the Pandora motif in literature are not presented as exhaustive of the periods in which they appear. They do represent what could be found in available sources and probably represent all typical forms.

Chapter II

The Greeks first told the story of Pandora. They believed that Prometheus, the maker of all men, made her image which was animated either by the goddess Athena or by Prometheus himself with the fire from Olympus.¹ Hesiod, who wrote possibly a century after Homer, tells the story in Theogony and in Works and Days as part of the Promethean fire-bringing myth.

Zeus, delightedly playing with a thunderbolt, had not seen Prometheus steal the heavenly fire and carry it to mankind in a fennel stalk. Discovering the theft, Zeus in requital devised "baneful" cares for men by bidding Hephaestus mix earth with water "to the likeness of a goddess." Athena arrayed the woman and taught her weaving; Aphrodite gave her beauty and "painful desire"; Hermes gave her a "shameless mind, tricky manners, wily speeches, falsehoods, and a winning voice." Because all the gods in Olympus had bestowed a gift on the "mischief to man," she was named Pandora.²

Then the gods and men "beheld a deep snare against which men's arts are vain." She was the first woman, "the beautiful evil,"³ and Hermes bore her through the air to Epimetheus who disregarded the warning of his brother Prometheus to refuse any gift from Zeus. Pandora "with her hands" lifted the lid of a jar in the keeping of Epimetheus and released all evils on men. Hope alone remained, "nor did it flit forth abroad" because

¹ Panofsky, p. 7.

² Hesiod, Works and Days, The Works of Hesiod, Callimachus, and Theogonis, tr. by J. Banks. (London, 1886), pp. 76-78.

³ Hesiod, Theogony, Works of Hesiod, p. 30.

Pandora, by Zeus's counsel replaced the lid. Thus did "myriad ills and diseases unbidden haunt mankind."⁴

Apollodorus the Athenian, who according to Sir James Frazer cannot have written his summary of the Greek myths and legends before the middle of the first century B. C., gives this version of the Promethean myth:⁵

Prometheus moulded men of water and earth and gave them fire which, unknown to Zeus, he had hidden in a fennel stalk. When Zeus learned of the theft, he ordered Hephaestus to nail Prometheus to Mount Caucasus where an eagle devoured his liver which regrew every night. Hercules afterward delivered Prometheus. Deucalion, son of Prometheus, married Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, "the first woman fashioned by the gods." When Zeus would destroy the erring men of the Bronze Age, Deucalion, by the advice of Prometheus, constructed a chest or ark, and Deucalion and Pyrrha were safe aboard when the flood came and destroyed the men of earth. Parnassus alone overtopped the waves, and there Deucalion and Pyrrha found refuge. It was they who repopulated the earth by casting stones over their shoulders; those that Deucalion threw became men; those that Pyrrha threw, women. ⁶

Not all the Greek writers included Pandora in the Promethean story. Aeschylus, for instance, substitutes the Io legend. Among the Pandora myths, it is usually Hesiod's account that invites commentaries.

⁴ Hesiod, Works and Days, p. 79.

⁵ Apollodorus, The Library, with English trans. by Sir James Frazer (London, 1921), I, vii, 7, pp. 51-55.

⁶ According to other accounts the gods created men; there followed the ages of metals, with which account this myth conflicts.

Jane Harrison explains Hesiod's treatment of the myth, which in his Works and Days is followed by his dissertation upon the frivolity of women. Pandora, she says, was to the primitive patriarchal Greek, a real Earth-goddess in Kore or maiden form who was effaced in popular ritual. But in the patriarchal mythology of Hesiod, Pandora emerges again; her greatness is strangely diminished, for Hesiod, although enchanted himself by the vision of a lovely woman, shows the ugly "malice of a theological animus." Pandora is no longer Earth-born, but the creature, the handiwork of Zeus. She is no great Earth-goddess rivaling the patriarchal power of Zeus; she is eclipsed, sunk to be only a beautiful, curious, woman.⁷

Jane Harrison also established the fact that the vessel opened in the Pandora myth was a pythos, an earthenware jar, with a lid, large enough to shelter the living or to hold the dead.⁸ How the jar came to be called a box the Panofskys have explained: Erasmus confused pyxis (box) and pithos (jar) when he used the myth to illustrate the proverbs, "the gifts of enemies are not gifts" and "the fool gets wise after being hurt" in his popular collection of quotations, Adagiorum chiliades tres (Latin, 1508). His story is that Zeus sent Pandora to Prometheus with a beautiful box containing every calamity, and that refused by Prometheus, she gave it to Epimetheus. With a sentence which may be construed that either he or she opened it, Erasmus further influenced the modern versions of the myth.⁹

⁷ Harrison, Prolegomena, pp. 281-285.

⁸ Jane Harrison, "Pandora's Box," Journal of Hellenic Studies, XX (1900), pp. 99 ff.

⁹ Panofsky, pp. 15-17.

The contents of the Pandora vessel, too, vary with the narrator. Hesiod's account suggests that the escaped evils have power over man, and that Hope, remaining inside, can have no influence, but he may have meant to convey the opposite.¹⁰

The idea that the vessel held a blend of good and evil comes from the Iliad of Homer:

This is the lot the gods have spun for miserable men,
that they should live in pain, yet themselves are sorrow-
less. For two urns stand upon the floor of Zeus filled with
his evil gifts, and one with blessings. To whomsoever Zeus
whose joy is the lightning dealeth a mingled lot, that man
chanceth now upon ill and now again on good, but to whom he
giveth but of the bad kind he bringeth to scorn, and evil
famine chaseth him over the goodly earth, and he is a
wanderer honoured of neither gods nor men.¹¹

Only Dabryus, Greek fabulist who wrote between the first and third centuries A. D., has the contents of the vessel all good, conceiving the myth as man's choice between knowledge and contentment because Epimetheus forfeits the goods, but retains hope when he opens the container.¹²

The question is not which myth is a variant of another, but of what basic situation both are variants.¹³ The curiously symbolic interweaving of circumstance and character among the mythological figures around Pandora may illuminate her status as an archetype of the enchantress. They may be thought to form two triangles, one of fire and one of miraculous birth that converge in Hephaestus, the one figure who belongs in both groups.

¹⁰ Panofsky, p. 8.

¹¹ Homer, The Iliad, trans. Lang, Leaf and Myers (New York, 1930), p. 450.

¹² Panofsky, p. 8.

¹³ Jung, Psychology of the Unconscious, p. 240.

In the fire triangle are Prometheus, Hermes, and Hephaestus; in the triangle of miraculous birth are Athena, Aphrodite, and Hephaestus.

The Olympians may be symbolically significant in Pandora's nature because they represent the complexities of the Dual Mother in beauty, ugliness, intelligence, fascination, purity, seductiveness, divinity, and pro-creativity. Hephaestus, who moulded Pandora, was born of the thigh of Hera who bore him thus to avenge herself upon Zeus for the miracle-birth of Athena.¹⁴ Various stories are told of his lameness, but his crippled feet are considered symbolic of pro-creativity.

The birth of Athena, the goddess who adorned Pandora, indicates intelligence since she sprang full-grown from the head of Zeus. Her endowment indicates positive qualities for she is eternally the virgin goddess of wisdom. She may connect Pandora with the archetypal mother because the weaving she taught is an attribute of the Great Mother and a symbol for the creation of the human body.¹⁵ Athena's exact opposite is the third of the miraculously born deities, Aphrodite, said to have risen from the foam of the sea when Uranus was wounded. The qualities she gave Pandora are the ambivalent qualities of feminine and seductive charm, for in Greek mythology she is the goddess of love and beauty who rules the hearts of men.¹⁶ In other cults she too is an Earth-goddess.¹⁷

¹⁴ Herbert J. Rose, A Handbook of Greek Mythology. (New York, 1929), p. 166.

¹⁵ Neumann, pp. 226-230.

¹⁶ Charles Gayley, The Classic Myths in English Literature and Art (New York, 1939), pp. 31-32.

¹⁷ Harrison, Prolegomena, p. 285.

Pro-creativity is represented in the other triangle by life-giving fire. Hephaestus is god of the smithy's fire, he who forged at the will of Zeus.¹⁸ And while Hermes, who bore Pandora to earth after she was moulded by Hephaestus and endowed by the gods, is not a god of fire, he is credited with the invention of fire-making in the pro-creative sense; thus he is associated with human fertility.¹⁹ Opposite him is Prometheus, the Titan, the God-defier, the "fore-thinker" who is forced to steal fire for man after Epimetheus has given the best "creation" gifts to the animals. And although the Promethean fire is the fire of heaven and therefore spiritual, it is also generative.²⁰

Outside the triangles, Epimetheus, the "after-thinker" who accepts the uncertain gift from Zeus, may be considered the "human" symbol; he succumbs to the fascination of the unknown and reinforces the position of Pandora as the archetype of the enchantress.

Pandora's own symbol, whether jar or box, suggests both pro-creativity and death. The primordial image of life, before human consciousness differentiated images into particular archetypes, was the Earth Mother, the womb, the vessel that brings forth. This image is what Neumann designates as the elementary character of the Maternal, the Great Round, which may be symbolized in the jar. The attraction that emanates from the feminine vessel is a fascination for good and evil because the vessel not only creates, it ensnares. In the course of the development of patriarchal

¹⁸ Rose, p. 166.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

²⁰ Jung, Symbols of Transformation, p. 145.

values the negative aspect of the Feminine was submerged, and today is to be detected only as the content of the unconscious.

Not only is the Earth-Mother the archetype of creativity and fascination, she is the archetype of death, that which takes back, for the earth is grave as well as womb. When Hesiod told the story of Pandora, every Greek was familiar with the pythos as a grave jar; similarly, the box, chest, or casket may signify womb or coffin. Since, as Neumann says, the Terrible Goddess rules over the seduction that leads to sin and destruction, and since Pandora is the fascinating and yet deathly vessel of the Feminine, like the Earth-Mother's, her vessel is the symbol of both life and death.²¹

It is an essential feature of the primordial archetype that it combines both the positive and negative aspects which constitute ambivalence. Early man experienced good and evil simultaneously.²² As consciousness developed, the attributes of the Great Mother remained in the collective unconscious as a sort of residue or eternal presence which may explain why a particular aspect such as the fascination of the enchantress has imaginative appeal for a writer or reader.

²² Neumann, pp. 11-12.

Chapter III

The plot of the Pandora myth provides the imaginative writer with six episodes:

1. Why Pandora was created--the Promethean theme
2. The creation of Pandora
3. The endowment of Pandora
4. The warning
5. The acceptance of the gift (Pandora)
6. The opening of the vessel and the consequences.

In all the episodes except the Promethean theme Pandora is a dominant figure. The third episode, the endowment of woman, leaves the artist free to present Pandora's positive qualities--her beauty, her winning voice, her gift of weaving--and/or her negative qualities, desire, wiliness, and falsehoods, all of which are the attributes of Pandora, the archetype of the enchantress.

As a decorative figure, Pandora attracted the foremost English writers of the Elizabethan Age and the Puritan Period: Spenser, Drayton, Lyly, Kyd, Dekker, Jonson, and Milton. Their use of mythology is not surprising since the meanest scholar translated the classics; the use of a decorative figure is to be expected in an age when writers used mythological figures and allusions to adorn allegory in poetry and drama, sometimes intermingling them with Biblical figures to avoid suspicion of paganism; the use of Pandora is remarkable because the history of mythology and the Renaissance tradition in literature is largely an account of the Metamorphoses of Ovid, and Pandora does not appear in Ovid. While the popularity of contemporary manuals of mythology and of Latin and Latin-English dictionaries as sources of classical

lore during the Renaissance¹ indicates that other writers used the Pandora symbol, in all likelihood they followed a similar pattern of use for adornment.²

Without Epimetheus or the box, Pandora appeared in English Renaissance poetry in 1597 in John Lyly's The Woman in the Moone, a pastoral comedy. Nature, at the request of the shepherds of Utopia, creates a woman with all the excellences of the gods who preside over the seven planets. Then, filled with envy, the gods bring about her ruin by their influence. Saturn causes her to treat with discourtesy Gunophilus, the clown; Jupiter causes her to reject with contempt the scepter he offers and to exact dangerous tasks from the shepherds; Mars brings the group to blow, with Pandora joining in the fray; Sol makes her sweet-tempered; Venus causes her to behave wantonly; Mercury fills her with lying and theft and also fills the shepherds with intrigue to betray her conduct to Stesias whom she has chosen as husband. She retaliates by planned assassinations with the shepherds, which Stesias, hiding in a cave, overhears. Pandora elopes with the servant, Gunophilus, but Stesias overtakes them in their flight to the sea.

Meanwhile, Luna has assumed ascendancy over Pandora, whose wits wander. The Planets dissuade Stesias from his plan to kill Pandora, and nature assigns her a place in the moon with special influence over women. Stesias, who will attend her as Man in the Moon, rends Gunophilus, who is changed into a hawthorn bush at her back.³

The title of the play has symbolic significance for Pandora if she is considered an archetype of the Great Mother, for in the mythical universe,

¹ Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry (Minneapolis, 1932), pp. 6, 296.

² DeWitt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries (Chapel Hill, 1955), p. v.

³ John Lyly, The Woman in the Moone, The Complete Works ed. R. Warwick Bon (Oxford, 1897), III, pp. 229-236.

which Erich Neumann describes, the moon is the manifestation of the temporal process in the cosmos. The moon also expresses the temporal quality of human life since it controls the tides of the great waters which have maternal meaning.⁴ Furthermore, woman is regulated by and dependent upon the cycles in the twenty-eight stations of the moon.⁵

From the title to the last line, The Woman in the Moone has symbolic implication. The explanation of the aggressive, masculine behavior of Pandora who, under the influence of the gods, may be considered "unconscious," is that whatever rules from the unconscious mind takes on a negative aspect in behavior.⁶ Unusual actions of people when they are "not themselves" might be classified as negative behavior.

Pandora in this play might also be considered the projection of what Jung calls the "opinionated" animus, the soul image of man within woman which is projected consciously in aggressive actions.

Other symbols in the play may have become conventions in English drama by the sixteenth century. The gods are said to appear in a balcony, possibly the theatrical symbol of heaven, and Stesias is informed of stage action and conversation through the Elizabethan convention of hiding in order to eavesdrop. Jung, however, would interpret Stesias' hiding in the cave as pointing to the death and rebirth of the hero. It also seems likely that the flight of Pandora and Ganophilus to the sea refers

⁴ Jung and Kerenyi, p. 221

⁵ Neumann, pp. 226-227.

⁶ Frances G. Wickes, The Inner World of Man (New York, 1930), p. 105.

to a return to the original waters--all things having had their origin in the sea.⁷ Lastly, Gunophilus may be changed into a bush because bush or tree, as bi-sexual, expresses the relation between the two sexes.⁸

Both Luna and Pandora in The Woman in the Moone have been construed as satirical allegory of Queen Elizabeth.⁹ If Lyly were addressing the Queen in his portrayal of an aggressive Pandora, he was following the Renaissance tradition of using mythology as "fugitive allegory," an instrument to bring to the attention of the monarch virtues to be desired and vices to be avoided.¹⁰ It was his custom to select some slight mythological theme suitable for high comedy in pastoral form and to borrow his figures from Ovid, Virgil, and Erasmus.¹¹

Queen Elizabeth, however, did not object to comparison to Pandora, who in literary allusions in the Elizabethan Age, is usually the "all-gifted," the divinely endowed.

In a personal love poem in Amoretti (1595), Spenser has Pandora a beautiful evil,¹² but in Fears of the Muses (1590) he alludes to Elizabeth as "the true Pandora of heavenly graces."¹³

⁷ Jung, Symbols of Transformation, pp. 218, 369.

⁸ Jung explains analogy that in Latin trees have masculine endings and feminine gender. Ibid., p. 221.

⁹ Lyly, p. 232.

¹⁰ Gilbert Highet, The Classical Tradition (New York, 1940), p. 26.

¹¹ Cambridge History of English Literature, V, pp. 137-138.

¹² Panofsky, p. 70.

¹³ Ibid., p. 69.

Michael Drayton, also honoring the Queen, wrote nine eclogues (1593), the sixth of which is a panegyric of 160 lines extolling all the virtues of Pandora. "Long may Pandora weare the Laurell crowne," sings Perkin in prayse of the Muse of Britayne.¹⁴

The Queen could not be displeased when Thomas Dekker (1600) wrote of her: "Some call her Pandora: some Gloriana: some Cynthia . . . yet all those names make but one celestial body."¹⁵ Had not Thomas Kyd (1599) compared Pandora to Diana in chastity? "Was she not chaste--As is Pandora or Dianaes thoughts?"¹⁶

"The Pandora of heavenly graces" became, as Puritanism expanded in England, the instrument of divine retribution in the Eve-Pandora comparison in Milton's Paradise Lost:

[Eve] . . . more adorn'd
More lovely than Pandora, whom the Gods
Endowd with all their gifts and O too like . . .
 she ensnar'd
Mankind with her faire looks, to be aveng'd
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.¹⁷

During the time when Pandora was used to decorate allegory and comparison, the box was seldom mentioned. Ben Jonson's allusion in The Alchemist (1610) to Pandora's tub as "the box in which the ills of

¹⁴ Michael Drayton, The Shepheard's Garland in Nine Eglogs to the Nine Muses in The Works of Michael Drayton, ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford, 1931), I.

¹⁵ Thomas Dekker, Old Fortunatus, q. Panofsky, p. 69.

¹⁶ Thomas Kyd, Soliman and Perseda, 2131 f., q. Panofsky, p. 70.

¹⁷ John Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 708 ff., q. Panofsky, p. 71.

mankind were confined until the inquisitive Pandora lifted the lid to peek¹⁸ is prophetic of a later phase in the development of the Pandora symbol in literature.

¹⁸ Charles Francis Wheeler, Classical Mythology in the Plays, Masques and Poems of Ben Jonson (Princeton, 1938), p. 5.

Chapter IV

Puritan influence in England during the early seventeenth century brought a decline in the use of mythology which during the Restoration was to reappear only in travesty, and Pandora, in both periods, is little more than a name used perhaps to please a queen.

Peter Hausted wrote The Rival Friends,¹ satirizing religious hypocrisy, to be presented before King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria when they visited Cambridge in 1632. Two friends, Lucius and Neander, rivals for the love of Pandora, in their altruism towards each other, lose the lady who gives her hand to another.²

Years later (1662), Sir William Killigrew chose the name Pandora for a chaste character deeply concerned about manners. Seeking to reinstate his fortunes with the restored Stuarts, Sir William wrote Pandora, or The Converts¹, also to please Henrietta Maria, now the Queen Mother. Pandora has to be converted from her aversion to marriage, and Clearcus from his rakishness and his resolve never to marry a woman who will consent to marry him. A group of virtuous ladies and gentlemen succeed in making the match, which must have been highly satisfactory to Henrietta who liked sentimental romance.³

Although she is said to have had not a jot of literary taste, Henrietta by her preferences had immeasurable effect on Carolinian drama. Not only did she make stage appearances and encourage Charles I to take part in amateur theatricals, she dictated by patronage what playwrights

¹ Not seen.

² Cambridge History of English Literature, VI, 2, p. 366.

³ Alfred Harbage, Cavalier Drama (New York, 1936), pp. 11-24, 242-243.

wrote. This court invasion of the theater produced a special type of play, ornate, rhetorical, sentimental, and decorous. In such a play, classical images, already limited in literature by Puritanism, were further confined by decorum.⁴

The value of the literary Pandora symbol in the seventeenth century, as in any period, is subject not only to the writer's genius but to his use of the symbol and the tradition in which he writes. Chronologically Paradise Lost belongs to the seventeenth century, but it was in his Renaissance manner of treating myth⁵ that the great Puritan poet adorned a Christian epic with a mythological figure, both beautiful and evil. Two Cavalier playwrights, however, were evidently right in thinking only a name would evoke an image of the all-endowed Pandora to please another queen.

⁴ Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, pp. xiv, 3-4.

⁵ Ibid., p. 294.

Chapter V

Only two examples of the Pandora theme in English literature during the eighteenth century may support the statement that pagan tastes were frowned upon. Distrusting the imagination and censuring pastoral writing, the classicists looked to Greece and Rome only for rules and "reason." Few Augustans appealed to myth seriously, and only the classical travesty, to which mythological reference had sunk during the Restoration, remained popular.¹

It is as a comic figure that Pandora appears in Thomas Parnell's poem, "Hesiod: or the Rise of Women" (1711), a satire on the fair. Parnell has followed Hesiod's account of Pandora's creation. The wind brings the "shining vengeance" safe below, bearing a golden coffer in her hand. "The man" catches "the falling star" and the box with open arms. "The fondling mistress" and "the ruling wife" opens the box and releases old age, sickness, and divorce.

Then Parnell explains that Love swore vengeance for the tales Hesiod wrote. To the poem he attaches a revision of the legend that Hesiod, at eighty, seduced a maiden, Clymen, whose brothers killed him and cast his body into the sea.² Parnell has Hesiod wandering near the trysting place of the lovers, Troilus and Evanthé. The brothers of the girl, who think Hesiod is her betrayer, kill him for a deed he did not commit.³

¹ Douglas Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry (Cambridge, 1937), pp. 23-25, xv.

² Will Durant, The Life of Greece (New York, 1939), p. 103.

³ Thomas Parnell, "Hesiod: or the Rise of Women" in the Poems of Thomas Parnell, in Works of the English Poets, ed. Alexander Chalmers (London, 1810), IX, pp. 346-351.

The poem is the work of a man "with no fertility of mind who delighted in writing," as Samuel Johnson says of Parnell in the introduction.⁴ The poet, however, has devoted more lines and better imagery to the newly created Pandora than to any other part of the composition. His only archetypal metaphors apply to her. She is brought by the wind which in myths may be interpreted as the Jungian symbol of life-breath. (Aphrodite, born of the sea-foam, was wafted by the wind to Cytherea.) Pandora is a "shining vengeance," a "falling star" which Jung has indicated is symbolic of identification with a god.⁵

There is so little that is goddess-like in Pandora, the ruling wife who releases ills but no hope from the box, that the reader questions what conflicting images motivated Parnell. [He may have censured divorce and feared sickness and old age.] The answer may be in the biographical evidence that he was a young minister who found solace in the bottle and in translation of the classics after the death of his wife. Johnson, as well as Parnell's other friends, thought he was deranged.⁶

Late in the century (1792), Frank Sayers, a physician who used both Northern and Greek mythology in poetry, also suggests in "Pandora; a Monodrama" that Pandora is a goddess by bringing her to earth upon the wind. He emphasizes in the monodrama, however, the traits of curiosity and faith in her power of persuasion and hints at feminine jealousy and vanity.

Passing from heaven to earth, Pandora speaks of the celestial fire throbbing through her veins since she is newly sprung from Vulcan's

⁴ Chalmers, p. 347.

⁵ Jung, Symbols of Transformation, pp. 86-87.

⁶ Chalmers, p. 347.

touch. She has the choicest gifts of the gods; the Queen gave her grace; Venus, beauty; and the god with the golden locks, eloquence. Then Jove, thinking her perfect, gave her a casket, safe-bound in glittering ribs, to bear to Prometheus, warning her not to open it. Pandora wonders why Prometheus who stole the forbidden flames and now has a vulture tearing at his heart should be rewarded. She teases herself with questions. Does the casket contain the ambrosia that makes the gods immortal or poison to kill Prometheus, robbing her of him? No, for Jove has meant her to bless the earth and bear offspring.

She recalls that Mars told her to be bold. No one can see her, and if Jove sees her open the casket, she can beguile him to forgiveness. She opens the casket as a voice tells her that she has loosed Bloody Strife, Gnawing Care, Pride, Hatred, and Despair to prey on all that breathe below. To her cry, "What have I done?" the voice answers that Hope

will join the gloomy throng
And bending o'er the wounded heart
Gently steal the poison'd dart.⁷

Sayers, who devotes one sentence to Hope in the vessel, emphasizes the fascination of the Pandora archetype by presenting her in soliloquy. The device may stimulate the image of the enchantress in the mind of the reader, accentuating Pandora's awareness of her own charms and her insensibility of the fatality, the abstract evils, within the glittering vessel.

⁷ Frank Sayers, M. D., "Pandora: a Monodrama," in Poems: Containing Sketches of Northern Mythology (Norwich, 1803), pp. 211-219.

Sayer's poem may be significant in the history of Pandora as a literary symbol; the monodrama marks the appearance in this study of the Pandora theme in serious literature. The archetype, with or without Epimetheus or the evidential box, will appear here in varying circumstances, but she will seldom be a comic figure.

Chapter VI

The Pandora symbol, which may be adapted not only to the cultural temper of the literary tradition but to varying techniques of writing, in the nineteenth century appears in the Romantic and Victorian tradition and also in the "psychological" work of art. Romantic poets, revolting against the neo-classic formalism of the eighteenth century, sought in the classics the pagan, the strange, the naive, and the beautiful. Victorian writers, under their burden of social responsibility, looked for moral implications in myth;¹ and late in the century, writers found subjects for psychological novels in mythology. The revival of mythological imagination brought to English and American literature new uses of the Pandora symbol.

Not all the uses of the symbol during the century are of literary merit, but among the nine examples found, five are in the works of two well-known poets and three famous prose-writers.

The first example (1631) might appear to belong to an earlier age when Pandora was used to decorate comedy. In The Olympian Revels, or Prometheus and Pandora, an extravaganza by James Robinson Planché, she is a "mettlesome lady" forged by Vulcan.

Among the Olympian revelers, in addition to the usual gods and goddesses in the Pandora story, appear Plutus, Neptune, Hercules, Bacchus, Momus, Esculapius, Somnus, Cupid, Ganymede, a Swiss Boy, and Hope.

The gods are playing whist when Jupiter interrupts the game to send Mercury to Vulcan to inquire if the woman he ordered is finished and if a

¹ Dush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, pp. xiv, 44.

broken thunderbolt is mended. He ordered the woman three weeks ago. When Vulcan arrives with the newly made lady, Apollo gives her tongue a gentle swing that she may speak; Esculapius gives her health; Venus, lasting charms; and Plutus, wealth. Jupiter names her Pandora and gives her a casket, warning her that good fortune depends upon its remaining closed. Just then Juno enters and thinks Jupiter has a new love, but he assures her that Pandora is a wife for Prometheus. Juno, begging Pandora's pardon, bestows upon her the gift of curiosity.

In the second scene, a street on earth, Pandora and Mercury inquire of a Swiss boy where Prometheus lives. The boy knows because Prometheus made him just three weeks ago. They must hurry as the Titan closes shop at eight o'clock.

Prometheus is reading an order from King Tereus for more men when Mercury presents Pandora to him in the third scene. Finding that she has only a little box for a dowry, Prometheus calls himself a fool for saying that he will marry her. Her face, says Pandora, is her fortune; and while Prometheus goes off to make out a bill, she, thinking perhaps there is snuff in the box, takes a peep. Immediately there is a crash of thunder, followed by clouds and the appearance of fiends.

When all the deities, followed by Prometheus, come running on stage, Jupiter says Pandora shall pay for prying by being an old maid and that Prometheus, for the theft of Jupiter's "lights," shall die of a liver complaint. A vulture descends and fastens upon Prometheus.

Then Minerva intervenes with:

Hold, hold, papa; your anger please abate.
Wisdom can always pluck the thorns from fate.

She tells Pandora to look in the box. (Evidently there is a large one too.) A woman—Hope—arises, and a chorus warns Jupiter that if he does not repeal his decree, he may soon feel the loss of hope. Jupiter relents, and Pandora sings:

"Smile ye, kind gods, on our Olympic revels;
Ye gay gallants, come banish my blue devils,
Let not my grapes be sour as fox's,
But fill with patrons all Pandora's boxes."

Mythology interested Flanché, and after the unusual success of Olympian Revels, he produced a series of burlettas on mythological themes, which "enjoyed the favour of the public for upwards of thirty years."²

Flanché's use of the Pandora symbol seems of little literary value. In two brief lines, Thomas Lovell Beddoes (1822), called the last of the Elizabethans in his manner of treating myth, used the symbol more effectively as a simile:

Here's the blue violet, like Pandora's eye
When first it darkened with immortal life.³

Pandora appears in five other poems⁴ written during the nineteenth century, ranging in tone from the Victorian-sentimental and moral to the romantically mystic.

² James R. Flanché, Olympian Revels: or Prometheus and Pandora in The Extravaganzas, ed. Thos. F. Croker and Stephen Tucker, (London, 1879), I, pp. 43-60.

³ Thomas Lovell Beddoes, The Bride's Tragedy, in Works, ed. H. W. Donner, (Oxford, 1935), I, i, p. 174.

⁴ I. Harwood, "Pandora" (1883), not seen.

Thomas Kibble Hervey (1832) included R. A. Flaxman's "Mercury and Pandora" in Illustrations of Modern Sculpture, a series of engravings with his own descriptive prose and illustrative poetry. He notes that the "moral" of the Pandora fable may be treated three different ways. First, it is "vulgar"—to consider that Pandora brought evil into the home of man. The second is on a higher level—the vessel contained blessings which were released by man and flew back to heaven. He prefers the third: the casket contained evils or blessings, placed in man's abode by Jupiter before Pandora came. Through man's curiosity the contents escaped, and Pandora preserved Hope as a solace.

Using this third version, he eulogizes Pandora in a philosophical poem, praising the charm of old stories and describing Nature when Pandora came, "A child of earth, but coloured by the skies . . . who had all an angel's gifts, except its wings." She is described as sitting with Hope, healing and calming man with song.

'Tis ever thus
Golden gifts repay their own alloy;
Had woman filled the world with night
She charmed it back to light.⁵

The engraving of Mercury bringing Pandora to earth, as well as the other classical subjects Hervey included in the volume—Arethusa, Venus, and Prometheus—testifies to his mythological taste and suggests that he was a better critic of art than of his own poetry.

Hervey, ignoring the box, used the Pandora figure in her mildest form to decorate a sentimental Victorian poem, but John Stuart Blackie,

⁵ T. K. Hervey, "Mercury and Pandora" in Illustrations of Modern Sculpture (London, n. d.).

professor of Greek at Edinburgh University, moralized on the negative implications in the myth in the poem, "Pandora" (1856).

Zeus is both jealous and fearful of Prometheus for creating man and stealing fire. He sends Hermes with the newly created woman to the Titan with a hypocritical speech that Pandora is a "solace for Prometheus' labor." The Titan refuses her, but Epimetheus, indolent and thoughtless, is enthralled by the ravishing woman and promises the god that both he and Pandora will worship Zeus if he may have the gift.

When the moon has "wheeled four honeyed weeks away," Pandora, arrayed seductively, brings from her chamber a box "all bright with lucid opal," telling Epimetheus that Zeus gave it to her, and she does not know what is inside. Epimetheus swiftly opens the box, and fumes, clouds, and stenches arise as from things that rot in a charnel-vault. "Hope alone, a sorry charmer,/ In the box remains."

Epimetheus knows "too late" what the contents are and curses the fair Pandora. He curses in vain, for "Still to fools the lasting pleasure/
Buys the lasting pain."⁶

The poem cannot be said to enrich literature, but Blackie's use of the Pandora box as the symbol of death and a thing of horror is an example of the terrible aspect of the feminine vessel.

Who is responsible for the release of the ill-born things in Pandora's casket? And is Hope alive or dead? These pertinent questions Dante Gabriel Rossetti asks in his sonnet, "Pandora" (1870).

⁶ John Stuart Blackie, "Pandora" in Lays and Legends of Ancient Greece (London, 1856), pp. 17-31.

What of the end, Pandora? Was it thine,
The deed that set these fiery pinions free?
Ah! wherefore did the Olympian consistory
In its own likeness make thee half divine?
Was it that Juno's brow might stand a sign
For ever? and the mien of Pallas be
A deadly thing? and that all men might see
In Venus' eyes the gaze of Proserpine?

What of the end? These beat their wings at will,
The ill-born things, the good things turned to ill,--
Powers of the impassioned hours prohibited,
Aye, clench the casket now! Whither they go
Thou mayst not dare to think: nor canst thou know
If Hope still pent there be alive or dead.⁷

Paraphrase and query will not answer the questions, but they may illuminate the symbols in this sonnet. What will happen now that Pandora has opened the casket? Is Pandora responsible for the deed? Why did the gods make her in their own likeness? That constancy, with jealousy, may reign forever? That knowledge be deadly? That Love be discontent?

Hera, or Juno, the faithful but jealous wife of Zeus, suggests the mother archetype. Although not all the children of the philandering Zeus are hers, as the successor to Rhea in the Olympian hierarchy, she is mother of gods. Her qualities are ambivalent. Her benign characteristics are dignity and virtue: she is the supreme protector of women and monogamy. But she also has the malevolent traits of the shrewish and suspicious wife, and her brow is the symbol of all her traits.⁸ If Pandora, the first woman, is made that Juno's sign stands forever, will all women be like Juno?

If Pandora is made in the likeness of the gods so that Pallas Athena's mien be deadly, is knowledge deadly? Athena is the goddess of wisdom.

If all men see in the eyes of Venus, the goddess of love, "the gaze of Proserpine," will they see death or desire? Persephone, or Proserpine,

⁷ Dante Gabriel Rossetti, "Pandora" in The Complete Works of Rossetti (New York, 1886), p. 161.

⁸ Gayley, p. 22

ravished by Hades, is interpreted variously. Jung sees her as the daughter of the primordial three-goddess concept of mother-wife-daughter, the maiden clinging to the seducer;⁹ she is desire outwitted by Hades.¹⁰ Generally in mythology she is Hades' consort in the underworld, the captured maiden unwillingly made the queen of death and destruction. "Afar are the flowers of Enna" and home to the captive Proserpine in another of Rossetti's sonnets, "Proserpina" (1881).¹¹

"Proserpina," which Dr. Simonini considers the best in either version among a group of Rossetti's Italian-English poems,¹¹ may illuminate the Pandora sonnet. There is nothing of the deadly and destructive in Rossetti's unhappy Proserpine in Tartarus who sees one instant through her palace-door the light of her other, lost world. The "gaze of Proserpine" in the Pandora sonnet, then, may be the longing look toward home of the prisoner of desire. While the other symbols in this poem connect Pandora with the ambivalent mother and with deadly knowledge, comparison of the two sonnets suggests that Pandora, like Proserpine, is a victim of design.

The two sonnets, each accompanied by the poet's picture of the subject, may express the obsession of Rossetti, romantic symbolist, with the fatality of "the beauty in evil and the evil in beauty."¹² They may also be evidence that Rossetti did not "exploit legend"¹³ in poetry and painting, but visualized in mythic images the terrible power of the gods.

⁹ Jung and Kerényi, pp. 22, 225.

¹⁰ Neumann, p. 319.

¹¹ Dr. R. C. Simonini, "Rossetti's Poems in Italian," *Italica*, XXV, No. 2 (1948), pp. 133, 137.

¹² Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry, p. 411.

¹³ Cambridge History of English Literature, XIII, pp. 124-133.

In lighter vein, Isabella Aitken in "Pandora" (1891), gives the story an unusual turn that makes Jupiter responsible for men's ills, while Juno is responsible for hope. The story of Pandora's creation follows Hesiod. The Graces give Pandora a winning smile; Apollo gives her a thrilling voice; Minerva, jewels and a crown; and Jupiter, a box to give Prometheus. When Prometheus will not accept it, Epimetheus, less acute, does. He opens the box and the ills escape, but Hope remains. Juno speaks the last line—that she put Hope in before Jupiter closed the box that made men sin.¹⁴ The poet, however, has not minimized Pandora's enchantment.

Epimetheus rather than Pandora is the predominant figure in the myth which Charles Kingsley retold in The Water-Babies (1863).

Once there was a little chimney-sweep named Tom who ran away from his master. Everyone made a grave mistake thinking the black thing in the water was Tom's body and that Tom had been drowned. The fairies had changed him into a Water-Baby. There, under the water, Mother Carey told him the story of Epimetheus and Pandora to prove that "if you look behind you and watch carefully whatever you have to pass . . . then you will know what is coming next as plainly as if you saw it in a looking glass."

Prometheus was very clever and always looked before him, but his brother Epimetheus was very slow and always looked behind him. Whatever he did he never had to do over again. Then came beautiful Pandora with a box in her hand. "Forecasting, suspicious, prudential Prometheus" would have nothing to do with her, but Epimetheus took her for better or worse and together they opened the box and out flew: measles, mumps, scarlatina,

¹⁴ Isabella T. Aitken, "Pandora" in Bohemia and Other Poems (Philadelphia, 1891), pp. 67-70.

idols, whooping coughs, Popes, wars, peacemongers, famine, quacks, unpaid bills, tight stays, potatoes, bad wine, despots, demagogues, and worst of all Naughty Boys and Girls. One thing remained in the box--Hope.

Prometheus kept on looking before him, running around with a box of lucifers, the only thing useful he ever invented; but Epimetheus, with the three best things in the world, "a good wife, and experience, and hope" continued looking behind him until he learned to know now and then what would happen next. His children are the hard-working scientists who accomplish things, but Prometheus' children are the fanatics and theorists--"always telling people what will happen."

Like The Heroes, in which he retold the stories of Perseus, Theseus, and the Argonauts, Kingsley wrote The Water-Babies for his own children, but it was long a favorite with numerous young readers.

The analyst may only speculate upon Kingsley's unconscious use of myth despite his daughter's statement that, always a fluent writer, he wrote The Water-Babies with unbelievable speed.¹⁵ His use of archetypes may be judged, however, by the approval he receives. Max Muller, comparative mythographer whose theories Jung accepts, was his favorable critic,¹⁶ and Jung himself praises Kingsley's novel Hypatia as a literary portrayal of the timeless anima.

During this period mythological reference in American literature, although profuse, is generally considered mediocre;¹⁷ nevertheless, the

¹⁵ Charles Kingsley, The Water-Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby (London, 1910), 209 pp.

¹⁶ Cambridge History of English Literature, XIII, p. 392.

¹⁷ Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, p. 481.

next two examples of the literary Pandora appear in the works of Longfellow and Hawthorne, whose classical scholarship is unquestioned.

In 1851 Nathaniel Hawthorne used the Pandora myth in "The Paradise of Children." Pretty, inquisitive, persistent, provoking, Pandora is a child in the story. When all the world was young, and there was no work, nor pain, nor death she was brought to Epimetheus as a playmate by Quicksilver (Hermes) who wore a feathered cap.

The first question she asked when entering the house was: "Epimetheus, what have you in that box?" All she could learn was that Quicksilver had brought it too. The beautifully carved wooden chest, fastened with a gold cord, so fascinated Pandora that dissatisfaction grew between the children. One day when Epimetheus had gone off alone to play, Pandora, after long hesitation, gave the cord a twist, and, as if by magic, the cord untwined itself. If Epimetheus had cried out as he entered, Pandora might not have opened the box. But she did. She lifted the lid, and the room grew dark as black clouds blotted out the sun and a storm arose outside. From the chest flew a sudden swarm of winged creatures, Troubles, Cares, Sorrows and Diseases, stinging the children pitifully. Pandora quickly closed the box. As they sobbed, the children heard the voice of someone within begging for release. Epimetheus helped Pandora lift the lid, and out fluttered a bright and airy creature that touched their hurts and made them well. It was Hope. Pandora and Epimetheus trusted her, and "so has everybody trusted Hope" ever since.¹⁸

¹⁸ Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Paradise of Children," in The Wonder-Book for Boys and Girls, (Boston, 1879), pp. 88-102.

Although Pandora seems but a child-copy of Hesiod's beautiful, curious woman, there is evidence in this fairy-tale of more than borrowing. Interpreting the symbolism in the terms of Jung and his followers reveals possibilities of archetypal meaning.

Evil in a paradise of children is darker than evil in Eden, and since childhood in most myths is a motif of futurity, the inference is anticipation of further development of the evils released by Pandora.¹⁹ Her prettiness and naughtiness may be considered the fascination of evil in good that Neumann notes. The feathers on Quicksilver's cap Jung interprets as symbolizing power like that of the sun's rays.²⁰ The chest may be womb or coffin. Wood, the substance of the chest may signify the vessel of death just as the maternal substance of the tree may be represented in cradle or crib. The chest Pandora opens in the story is heavily carved, and in primal art, a network of decorative symbols produces a disembodied effect, distinguishing a sacral, ornamented vessel from the profane. It is for the same reason that savages are thought to tattoo the body.²¹

The knot in the gold cord that fastened the chest may be the dire instrument of the enchantress, and the cord that of itself writhed loose in Pandora's hand may symbolize the snake, a universal and polyvalent symbol, associated with the lower earth as a fertility symbol.²² The storm that followed the opening of the vessel may be the sign of the devouring, feminine darkness; and the stinging creatures or insects,

¹⁹ Jung and Kerényi, p. 115.

²⁰ Jung, Symbols of Transformation, pp. 127, 88 n.

²¹ Neumann, pp. 105-107.

²² Neumann, pp. 113-114, 233.

signs of eternally active evil.²³

It is unlikely that Hawthorne, writing a story for children, deliberately and consciously employed such symbolism of a juvenile but destroying femininity. Although to define meaning or intention is impossible, there can be no objections to any study directed toward the total meaning of the literary work of art.²⁴ Analysis of "The Paradise of Children" reveals, not Hawthorne's intention, but symbolism that cannot be ignored as contributing to the meaning of his version of the Pandora myth.

The Pandora story is but one example of Hawthorne's use of classical mythology which he used in some way in twenty-four of his literary productions during thirty-six years of writing. He drew upon classical myths for the essence of A Wonder-Book, Tanglewood Tales, and The Marble Faun, and in other works used them as adornment. Roger Penn Guff found that he has references to 312 subjects from Greek and Roman mythology which his fancy modifies in at least thirty different ways.²⁵

Hawthorne's preoccupation with the devil archetype, which he uses in the Faustian contract of a character's selling the soul to the arch-fiend, is as notable as his use of myth, and may throw some light upon his use of the feminine archetype. Stein observes that he perceives in the devil

²³ Wickes, p. 132.

²⁴ Rene Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (New York, 1949), pp. 34, 119.

²⁵ Roger Penn Guff, A Study of the Classical Mythology in Hawthorne's Writing (Nashville, 1936).

image a core of revelation that has irresistible appeal to the imagination. "He anticipates Dr. Carl G. Jung who claims that each mythic image contains a piece of human psychology and human destiny, a relic of suffering or delight that has happened countless times in our ancestral story. This dynamic image or its prototype guides man's understanding of the polarities that characterize the processes of nature and the life of man."²⁶

Hawthorne's use of the Pandora myth, no less than the perhaps unconscious symbolism that portrays Pandora's dual nature, suggests the presence of the polarity of the archetypal feminine in the creative imagination of Hawthorne. He himself spoke of the depth in his mind which he could neither fathom nor explain.²⁷ Perhaps, as an artist, Hawthorne, as Jung might say, "without any digression or searching on his part, without any studious investigation or effort found himself in the primordality that was his concern."²⁸

As a writer Hawthorne was singularly detached, working alone except for a slight relationship with Melville,²⁹ but after he moved to Boston his friendship with Longfellow ripened, and it is likely they discussed the Faust myth which Longfellow had traced through folklore and mythology. It is more certain that Hawthorne consulted Longfellow about incorporating classical mythology in children's stories, which Longfellow approved.³⁰

²⁶ William Bysshe Stein, Hawthorne's Faust: A Study of the Devil Archetype (Gainesville, 1953), pp. 7-8.

²⁷ Robert E. Spiller, et al., ed., Literary History of the United States (New York, 1955), pp. 351-370.

²⁸ Jung and Kerenyi, p. 10.

²⁹ Spiller, p. 118.

³⁰ Stein, pp. 27-30

The discussion may have suggested The Masque of Pandora to Longfellow. Both writers followed Hesiod, and there are traces of borrowing from The Paradise of Children in The Masque.

Longfellow has Pandora fashioned of clay in the workshop of Haphaestus, and animated by Zeus who says she shall possess all gifts: song, eloquence, beauty, and the fascination and the nameless charm that shall lead all men captive.

In the first chorus, the three Graces, Aglaia, Thalia, and Euphrosyne sing of her azure eyes and golden hair and give her the name Pandora. Meantime Hermes prepares to take the newly-made woman to Prometheus, saying that whoever thinks of marrying has already taken one step upon the road to penitence.

Prometheus, however, refuses the gift because "whatever comes from the gods though in a shape as beautiful as this, is evil only."

The three Fates, Clotho, Lacheis, and Atropos, announce that she shall be taken to one weaker, and when she is presented to him, Epimetheus receives Pandora as a goddess. She assures him that she is a mere woman fashioned of clay and pleads to stay with him as there is a spell upon her.

"Thou thyself/ art the enchantress," is his reply.

When Pandora comments upon the oaken chest, carved with figures and embossed with gold, Epimetheus tells her it is a forbidden mystery; concealed therein is the secret of the gods. He goes off to the garden to be warned, belatedly, by Prometheus, not to accept Pandora:

Whom the gods would destroy they first
make mad.

• • •
Make not thyself the slave to any
woman.

But Epimetheus says he has inherited the softness of the Oceanides from their mother, and that he cannot resist Pandora.

The Chorus of Dreams from the Ivory Gate come to Pandora, asleep in the house, and whisper into her ear words tempting her to open the chest. When she awakens and lifts the lid, a dense mist fills the room, and she falls senseless to the floor as the Chorus of Dreams from the Gate of Horn chant that evils have escaped and only Hope remains.

A storm rages outside, and later in the wrecked garden Pandora begs forgiveness of Epimetheus who assumes the responsibility for betraying the secret and leaving Pandora alone with temptation. He considers her a goddess still, but Pandora pleads:

I am a woman
And the insurgent demon in my nature,
That made me brave the oracle, revolts
At pity and compassion. Let me die:
What else remains for me?

Epimetheus comforts her:

Youth, hope and love
To build a new life on a ruined life.³¹

There is evidence in The Masque of borrowing from several sources. The plot follows Hesiod and Hermes' speech on marriage and is an echo of Hesiod's diatribe on woman.³² The use of choruses comes, of course, from Greek drama; the decorated chest and the dark storm are probably from Hawthorne; and from Homer, Longfellow borrowed the two gates to dreams:

³¹ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, The Masque of Pandora in The Complete Poetical Works (Boston, 1875), pp. 297-307.

³² Hesiod, Theogony, p. 38.

The disguised Odysseus interprets his wife Penelope's dream of an eagle's killing the geese as the return of her husband who will kill the bothersome suitors. But Penelope is dubious because there are two different gates which let out the shadowy dreams: one of elephant's tooth, full of untruth so that any dreams which come through are never true, the other of carven horn through which come dreams that tell the truth.³³

Nor was Pandora's plea for death as punishment original with Longfellow. One version of the myth states that Epimetheus refused Pandora as a gift, but hastened to marry her to avoid punishment such as Zeus meted out to Prometheus. She opened the box in which Prometheus had enclosed delusive Hope as well as the ills that flew out, and it was Hope that, through her delusive lies, discouraged them from suicide.³⁴

On the other hand, the azure eyes and golden hair of Pandora may be the signs Longfellow unwittingly used of her ethereal or transformative character. Neumann explains that woman as the vessel which brings forth is the elementary character of the archetypal feminine, whereas woman as the nourisher or sustaining factor is the transformative character, a higher level of representation.³⁵

The symbolism of the mythological figures (Clotho, the spinner; Lachesis, the guardian of Fate; and Atropos, holder of the fatal shears) may relate neatly to Pandora's gift of weaving which has been noted as an attribute of the Great Mother.

Finally, when Longfellow has Pandora aware of the insurgent demon in her own nature, he is recognizing the primal aspect of good and evil.

³³ Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. W. H. D. Rouse (New York, 1949), p. 210. Ivory is opaque, but horn is transparent.

³⁴ Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths*, I, p. 145.

³⁵ Neumann, p. 68.

Pandora is the central figure in The Masque, but the contrast between Prometheus, "the humanitarian toiler" (who can refuse Pandora) and Epimetheus, "the aesthetic dreamer" (who cannot), the one inheriting the father's strength and the other, the mother's weakness, suggests that the two dominating inherited impulses of Longfellow motivated the poet. The choice of his mother's day-dreaming rather than his father's practicality turned him to the "glamorous twilights of the past,"³⁶ although he was not, as Spiller notes, "a poet by compulsion of inward and innate necessity."³⁷

The source of Longfellow's mythological inspiration is recorded in a letter he wrote in 1843: "I agree with you entirely in what you say about translations. It is like running a ploughshare through the soil of one's mind: a thousand germs of thought start up . . . which otherwise might have lain and rotted in the ground."³⁸

It is conjectural that Longfellow identified himself with Epimetheus, but in the following poem he does not, apparently, question the nature of Pandora's fascination.

Epimetheus

Sweet Pandora! dear Pandora!
Why did Jove create thee
Coy as Thetis, fair as Flora
Beautiful as young Aurora,
If to win thee is to lose thee?

Him whom thou dost once enamor,
Thou beloved, never leavest;
In life's discord, strife, and clamour
Still he feels thy spell of glamour;
Him of Hope thou ne'er bereavest
Therefore art thou ever dearer,

³⁶ Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, p. 486 n.

³⁷ Spiller, pp. 591-594.

³⁸ Longfellow, p. xiv.

O my Sibyl, my deceiver!
For thou makest each mystery clearer
And the unattained seems nearer,
When thou fillest my heart with fever!³⁹

In nineteenth-century fiction the Pandora archetype probably appeared first in Henry James' Pandora, (1885), one of a group of short psychological novels he wrote about the American girl facing a hostile society.

The reader knows Pandora through the awareness of Count Otto Vogelstein who is impressed more by her inquiring air when he first sees her on ship-board than he is by her beauty. There is about her a perfect simplicity and self-possession which attracts him because he will be afloat in an oblong box for ten days with such people as the Days, Pandora's parents, who add nothing to Pandora's natural endowment of poise and loveliness except money. The Count is warned by a fellow-passenger, Mrs. Dangerfield, that Pandora is the "new type."

When the boat docks in New York, Count Otto observes this new Pandora coax the customs officers into opening only the right trunk for examination. (It is here that James comments: "What we often take to be the new is simply the old under some novel form. Were there not remarkable natures in the past?")

Mrs. Bonycastle warns the Count that Pandora is the new, self-made girl and that it is never safe to fix your affections on her because she has almost always an impediment somewhere in the background. The Count loses the girl he loves because of his exaggerated deference to public opinion. After Pandora marries Bellamy, much older than she, the Count sees Pandora wheedle the President into granting her husband a desired

³⁹ Longfellow, Complete Works, p. 186.

diplomatic post in Holland. The Count has realized that but for his snobbery, Pandora would have married him.⁴⁰

Here Pandora resembles what L. W. B. Lewis calls the Adamic narrative image that James used in Daisy Miller, another novel in this group.⁴¹ Like Daisy, Pandora is a new-comer in an unknown world, an innocent who resembles Adam more than she resembles Eve. Her archetypal status does not appear minimized by her being the victim of the mildest form of emotional cannibalism, opinion about the private life of another person. She is a first woman in that she is a new type, a self-made woman; the Pandora-idea appears in the symbolic actions of her charming the customs officials and the President of the United States. The reader is reminded that the first Pandora may not have been so curious as she was determined to have her own way.

On the surface there may appear to be fewer archetypal traits in this Pandora than in any other example found in English or American literature, but Andreas has said that the unspoken and unwritten thoughts between the lines of the characteristic Jamesian page outnumber the ones actually printed there.⁴² Pandora, like the other books James wrote about American girls in conflict with the cruel stupidity of society,⁴³ may be taken as one of the lesser forms of allegory that he developed in image and metaphor.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Henry James, Daisy Miller, Pandora, The Patagonia, and Other Tales (London, 1909), pp. 97-167.

⁴¹ L. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam (Chicago, 1955), p. 152.

⁴² Osborn Andreas, Henry James and the Expanding Horizon (Seattle, 1948), pp. 1, 11, 171.

⁴³ Spiller, p. 1049.

⁴⁴ The symbolism in The Golden Bowl is more apparent as the transformative archetypal feminine, as Neumann calls it, than the symbolism in the lesser known Pandora.

James had little of the classical learning which influences many writers who use myth. Despite his unlimited knowledge of the world which he acquired in the "varied human soil," as Spiller calls it, which his father provided for him in both America and Europe, he had no organized command of any of the possible, general traditions of literature. Santayana labeled him "an ignorant man" because he knew so little great literature in quantity.⁴⁵

The "human soil" furnished James one general theme for fiction: the nature of consciousness. He was deeply curious about levels of awareness and the effects of personal relations on consciousness. He considered a sense of the past as a positive help to quickened consciousness;⁴⁶ his belief in expanded consciousness may have produced this Pandora.

The nine examples of the Pandora symbol found in literature of the nineteenth century (when the mythological poem was reborn in England and mythological allusion in America is said to be a boundless, bottomless sea of mediocrity)⁴⁷ may be summarized as:

- a. decorative effect in Flancke's burlesque
- b. decorative effect and suggestion of the archetypal in the poems of Hervey, Blackie, and Mitken
- c. more pronounced evidence of the archetype and the archetypal theme in Rossetti's sonnet, Longfellow's masque, and the stories of Kingsley, Hawthorne, and James.

In only two examples, Hervey's "Mercury and Pandora" and James' Pandora, is there no emphasis on the box. The ill-born contents of the

⁴⁵ Spiller, pp. 1041-1047.

⁴⁶ Andreas, pp. 11, 159-170.

⁴⁷ Tush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, p. 481.

boxes may vary from clouds to diseases, fiends, and stenches, or they may vary from seventeen specific items [which Kingsley or his family may have disliked] in one vessel, to abstract troubles, cares and sorrows in others. Even Hope, which is in every vessel, is a "sorry charmer" in one.

Chapter VII

The use of Pandora and her box in English and American literature of the twentieth century becomes increasingly symbolic. Although the entire Pandora theme independent of the Promethean myth has not appeared in poetry or prose since 1900, allusions to Pandora, frequently to her curiosity, and to Pandora's box, which may contain almost anything, occur in prose. In poetry, the symbolism is confined almost entirely to the vessel or box.

There are plausible explanations for these conditions. The relative weakness of the classical tradition today may explain why the imaginative writer does not select a mythological theme. On the other hand, what Hight calls the "fragmentation of classical learning,"¹ the result of mass education and the production of "popular" books on classical subjects, has increased the use of mythological allusions. As for the use of the symbol in poetry, the mythological symbol says more than actually meets the eye, which is what the best of modern poetry does.

Rather in the Victorian-Romantic tradition, the Pandora figure, however, appears in "Pandora: a Dialogue," (1903), a poem by Lord de Tabley, an Oxford graduate and a classical poet. Beautiful and guiltless, she is a suppliant rather than an enchantress.

In the meadows Epimetheus finds Pandora who says, as she awakens from slumber, that Zeus has sent her as a marriage gift to Prometheus and a sign that he is forgiven. She is the daughter of Zeus whom she has never seen but whose voice she heard in a "birth-trance." Earth is

¹ Hight, The Classical Tradition, pp. 467-499.

half-familiar to her--"old broken images of thought mix with the present."

When Pandora is brought to him, Prometheus questions Zeus' sincerity: "This is a delusion to work me death." "Can Zeus be sour in soul and sweet in gift?" She begs to remain with Prometheus unloved, even a slave, and Epimetheus thinks his brother is wrong not to trust her:

Most holy must she be that is so fair--
Her fresh young beauty answers for her truth.

Although he confesses that he could love her if she were not "the instrument" of Zeus, Prometheus refuses to accept Pandora, and here the poem breaks to an end with a chorus of nymphs singing of Pandora's loveliness and entreating Prometheus to "take the joy and dream no wrong."²

In this quiet poem, de Tabley, who responded to the better qualities of the archetype, perhaps reveals his own half-consciousness of the part in the phrase, "old broken images of thought mix with the present."

The next example, however, is conventional treatment of myth, a poem of statement. Ethel Louise Cox describes Pandora (1904) as lifting the lid of the box, releasing blessings, and then dropping the lid in time to retain hope. As Pandora reaches for the blessings the poem ends with the moral that to work with hope is a sweet task and with the poet's prayer to the Olympians for courage and a dauntless mind.³

In the same volume appear conventional poems by the author on other mythological subjects: Circe, Helen, Persephone, Psyche, and Andromeda.

² Lord de Tabley, "Pandora" in Collected Poems, (London, 1903), pp. 311-322.

³ Ethel Louise Cox, "Pandora" in Poems Lyric and Dramatic, (Boston, 1904), pp. 106-107.

Probably the most ambitious composition of the century with Pandora as a dominant figure is William Vaughn Moody's The Fire-bringer, a lyric drama which presumes that man had fire before the flood and that the Promethean theft was restoration.

Without Epimetheus or the box, Pandora appears, always in the background, as a transformative figure among the survivors of the flood. Zeus, angered by the quarreling and wrangling of the people of earth, has sent the darkness and the water which has extinguished the spiritual fire. Deukalion and Pyrrha, crouching by the ark which Prometheus had warned them to build, hear Pandora singing of her love for Prometheus. She appears when Prometheus tells how he had secured fire in a vase but was pursued by "the dogs of thunder" and wounded by "the white tongue"; the vase was rended, and the fire quenched. Handing him a fennel stalk, Pandora asks, "Where is he, the real Prometheus, gone?"

Stirred by Pandora and the chorus of the Stone Men and the Earth Women, and disregarding Deukalion's advice to submit to God, Prometheus goes again for fire.

The survivors feel Pandora has been sent to earth in mockery, and they blame Prometheus for loving one whom the gods sent in wrath. They want to appease Zeus by sacrificing Lykophon's daughter and Aeolus, son of Deukalion and Pyrrha, but Pyrrha delays the sacrifice. Even before Prometheus returns the survivors are renewed in spirit when Pandora appears in a flood of light on the crag, standing among the unborn men and singing of the trinity, Dionysus, Eros, and Apollo.

When Prometheus returns, he speaks to Pandora: "Thou gavest me the vessel; it is filled."

She answers: "I am the vessel, and with thee 'tis filled."

Prometheus endows the boy and the girl with the passion of the fire before he returns to the crag "to wrestle with the bird of God" as his punishment, and the poem closes with the young men's chorus to Apollo, praising the "Dionysian way of life," the theme of Pandora's songs that lilt throughout The Fire-Bringer.⁴

It is Pandora and her shaft of songs that give sustained power and developing intensity to this play, logically first in Moody's trio of plays⁵ asserting the eternal human effort to justify the ways of men to God. The Fire-Bringer is said to voice the conflict between religion and paganism,⁶ and the Promethean problem, to deal with the importance of emotional fire in man's existence. The fire is not only the divine spark, but the zest for living and the passion of desire. Pandora, symbol of the divine, as well as the living, alone among the earth people keeps alive the embers of passion, courage, and hope in a crumbling world.⁷

In this decaying world the Stone Men and the Earth Women symbolize the spiritual deadness of mankind. Moody found them in the Promethean story of Apollodorus which tells that Deukalion, who was son of Prometheus and his wife Pyrrha, who was the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, escaped the wrath of Zeus because of their pure lives. (After the flood they repopulated the world by casting over their shoulders stones which sprang to life as men and women. See Chapter II, p. 6.)

The most powerful and the most evident mythological influence discernible in The Fire-Bringer, particularly in Pandora's songs, is

⁴ William Vaughn Moody, The Fire-Bringer (Boston, 1904), 107 pp.

⁵ Including The Second Coming and The Masque of Judgment.

⁶ Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry, p. 496.

⁷ Ibid., p. 494.

that of Euripides' Bacchae.⁸ But in The Fire-Bringer, the trio of gods, Bacchus, Eros, and Apollo, whom Pandora invokes, have certain transcendental qualities.

It is true that Bacchus, or Dionysus, in mythology is the god of wine and revelry; he signifies desire and appetite, but Jung clearly indicates that the Dionysian qualities are to be interpreted not as Freud's libido, but as "compulsion" or "life-urge."

Both Eros and Apollo are what Jung calls "transformed symbols." Eros, he points out, has significance as a world-shaping force which places the god of love on a higher plane than he is generally regarded in mythology, and Apollo is not only the sun-god, but the divine musician.⁹ With her gift of song, her responsibility for the Promethean restoration of fire, and her effect upon the earth-people, the Pandora image in The Fire-Bringer is not unlike the Apollo symbol.

The mood or manner of song in which Moody shows Pandora, a beautiful woman exercising for a supreme cause the powers that are naturally hers, is said to be Moody at his best as a lyrical genius.¹⁰ The songs, "Of wounds and sore defeat," "I stood within the heart of God," and "Because one creature of his love," sung by Pandora, are called surpassingly lovely. As the archetype of feminine entrancement, Pandora richly rewarded the poet and entralls the reader.

Moody had discussed the possibility of using the Promethean theme with his friend, Trumbull Stickney, whose "Prometheus Pyrophorus," which preceded The Fire-Bringer, pictures Pandora in her most tragic and gloomy aspect.

⁸ David D. Henry, William Vaughn Moody: A Study (Boston, 1934), p. 154.

⁹ Jung, Symbols of Transformation, p. 137.

¹⁰ Henry, p. 135.

She is hardly more than an echo. Her voice throughout the scene is always heard from within a rude stone house on the plain of Haimonia. She is addressed as Mother, and Epimetheus, as Father, by Pyrrha. Deukalion tells how Pandora became the beloved of Zeus, and how ever since she has sat stonelike against the wall of the house.

In a world made fireless because Prometheus has cheated Zeus with wind-eggs, the hopeless Deukalion and the faintly hopeful Pyrrha provoke the pity of Prometheus who resolves to steal fire from heaven. Epimetheus considers Prometheus is a fool not to realize that men are tied to earth.

Prometheus returns with the torch lighted on Olympus, fire for man and the sign that he himself has had his will. He is called by the voice of Zeus to his everlasting agony, but convinced that his deed transcends the penalty, Prometheus proclaims his own immortality before he vanishes. Pandora sings a last song of melancholy hope.¹¹

The only archetypal signs in this Pandora are the gift of song, the element of hope, and the suggestion of mysticism. Stickney used them not brilliantly, but effectively.

In twentieth century verse the Pandora name may appear only in the title as it does in Dame Edith Sitwell's "Pandora's Box," one of the first "modern" poems in which the symbol is used. The title of the volume, Troy Park (1925), in which it is printed may indicate the poet was aware of the incongruous diversity of the content as Troy is used figuratively of any scene of disorder or confusion.¹² The other poems in the book, like "Pandora's Box," are pearly with mythological allusions.

¹¹ Trumbull Stickney, "Prometheus Pyrphoros," in Poems of Trumbull Stickney, ed. George Cabot Lodge, et al. (Boston, 1905), pp. 107-131.

¹² Crowell's Handbook for Readers and Writers, ed. Henrietta Gerwig (New York, 1925), p. 679.

Suave as music the long house seemed platformed
On the grassy clouds' wide landing stage
Where we could disembark with our plumed helmets
From all the strangest voyages, the most plumeless
Flights. There was no Ind we did not know:
And the sharp prows of our beaked ships have scattered
pearls like snow.

And always the wide windows were far open
And, perching on the sill was many a bird
Whose eyes were full of an unknown music---
Enchantment waking mortals never heard.
They whisper secrets to our ears, that fade
If they are caged in words. Upon these perilous
Landing stages were the softest bosquets
Where in the Olympian heat, the mirage
Flowers and blazing fruits that ever glittered
Like a song, could fade into deep silence.

But in that great house was a little room
Far from the sound of the great gods feasting
Or the sharp prows that scattered pearls like snow.
And on the walls was one small dark engraving---
A flat and feathered sea was staged above
A desert isle, and underneath, the words
"This is the Sea of Fortune,---this the sea
You have not found." . . . But oh, on one dark day
Of summer darker-plumaged than a harpy,
I crept to that small room . . . there was a box
(A flat thin sea that seemed a crystal box) . . .
And all the mad Cassandra tongues of birds
Cried "Troy is burning,"---there, outside the window,
Yet all that box held was a small thin letter.¹³

This poem is an example of Dame Sitwell's highly calculated poetry, her literary equivalent of modern music and painting. Decorative effect, as well as meaning, is achieved by the double reference to the Sea of Fortune and the flat, thin sea that seemed a crystal box, set off by the "mad Cassandra tongues of birds." The knowledge in the letter, which this box contains, destroys not the Babrius-contentment, but the power of impassioned love. The artist has polished with sophistication a facet of a universal symbol.

¹³ Edith Sitwell, "Pandora's Box," in Troy Park (London, 1925), pp. 96-97.

Agnes Arnall's "Pandora" (1926), however, is another poem of statement. Written in couplets, it tells a modified version of the original myth with the creation of Pandora omitted. In answer to Epimetheus' prayer, she is brought by Hermes, who does not bring the carved casket until later. Pandora disobeys Epimetheus' warning, and when she opens the vessel, bats, owls, and fiendish forms fill the room. As Epimetheus throws himself upon the casket, Hermes returns to tell them they have hurled every evil upon mankind, but Hope is in the casket.¹¹ The poet has embellished the mythological framework with ornate description.

The appearance of a second symbolic poem, "The Casket of Pandora," (1941), with the name of the enchantress only in the title suggests the quickening of symbol in modern verse, discernible in this poem not only in the casket, the emblem of the unknown and forbidden, but in the archetype herself. Pandora seems a revived medieval symbol, the only literary example found in this study.

When for a long time I contemplate this box
Carved so cunningly by the hand of a god
Glittering with withheld treasure

I take no delight in my eye's light, the body's pleasure.

How many times awake, or in sleep, a voice
Through the open window, from the earth or the shore,
Says "This thing, this thing, you must not explore."

The shade of evil falls on the pure grass;
It shoots up from my life's root, its face
Troubling the emptiness of clear water.

And somewhere in my dream, the sound of pain and slaughter.

Then waking in my room, the casket gleams;
The maiden pallor of the morning light
Pierces my heart with an unnatural night

¹¹ Agnes Arnall, "Pandora, a Mythological Poem," Pandora and Other Poems (Philadelphia, 1926), pp. 43-64.

For in my world it is always morning;
The dew refreshes the mind, the early flowers
Hint of a delicate spring, foretell a green summer.

Now always at my door, the step of a newcomer
Whose face I never see though I open the door,
Though I look through sun-struck windows,
Though I peer through the enchanted dawn.

Then I touch the casket's lid, jewel-bright as dew on the lawn,

Locked, locked as a scent in a closed flower's heart,
O, to open the glittering box, to shut my ears
To the small voice that seems to sound from a tree.

Through my window the tree takes shape, has a face I cannot see,

High, marvellous tree! half-sun, half, wine-dark.
I feel the murmur run through your sap like blood
Eager for the deed to be done, wild to be understood!¹⁵

Without the clue in the title, the unopened box is recognizable as the mythical symbol, but the use of the tree is more oblique. Just as Eve is associated with the "tree of knowledge" in western theology, Pandora through a chain of symbols may be connected with the more universal "tree of life." It has been noted that Neumann derives the box or crib, as well as the casket or coffin, from the maternal wood, the substance of the tree, (Chapter VI.p. 34) which, rooted in the earth, becomes a symbol of the Earth-Mother. Not only is Pandora considered an archetype of the primordial Earth-Mother, in medieval art she is associated with the tree.

In the last lines of this poem the tree takes the shape of a person, part good, part evil, eager for the vessel to be opened, "wild to be understood." The inference that Pandora is identified with the tree may be accidental or unconscious on the part of the poet, or even contrived by the poet or the reader. The possibility of the inference, however, indicates that symbol, tree as well as box, is the fabric of this poem.

¹⁵ Marya Zaturenska, "The Casket of Pandora," The Listening Landscape (New York, 1941), pp. 26-27.

The ambiguity of the "good" in Pandora's box expressed in the next three examples is not new in poetry. In a sonnet written in 1870, Rossetti questioned if Hope in the casket were alive; in what John Crowe Ransom labels a "quasi-sonnet," Merrill Moore (1929) in "Pandora and the Moon" lightly inferred there is no hope.

Ransom describes Moore as a poet without fixed purpose or philosophy who wrote under no principles and in no tradition, producing an inevitable fountain of charming novelties.¹⁶ Here the charming novelty is Pandora in a new attitude.

Minds aware in bodies that were asleep
Caused the winged troubles to be born
That made Pandora one time feel forlorn,

Because, in spite of the box, she could not keep
Her troubles there, the worrisome animalcules
Fluttered out never to be regained,
For every method evil especially trained
And subject neither to God's nor the devil's rules.

What shall she do? Nothing, sit and ponder,
Watch the dying leaves drop from the tree
Until they all are gone and she may see
The same moon then that used to make her wonder
At the unbelievable stories she sits and reads,

And if she succeeds in that then she succeeds.¹⁷

The inevitable Moore has inquisitive minds rather than curiosity causing the winged troubles, and in "minds awake" he may be reverting to the mythical idea that contentment is destroyed by knowledge. But the deed is done. There is nothing Pandora can do now. There is no hope in the box. She may not regain contentment, but if she succeeds in dreaming again, she succeeds--in dreaming.

¹⁶ Merrill Moore, "Pandora and the Moon," The Noise That Time Makes (New York, 1929), pp. ix-xiii.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 55.

Pandora's name again is written only in the title of a poem,
Ronald Bottrall's "Pandora" of 1949, but symbol bespeaks the enchantress.

The ambiguous box, loitering in a corner,
Capricious gift of Zeus, attracts our prying fingers
And then the air is smothered with a hellish murmur
Of boils, blains, itches, coughs, coryzas, haemorrhages,

The soul rummaging forlornly in its box of toys
Hits at the bottom on poor half-starved talkative hope
Grieving ill-grounded platitudes in a shipwrecked voice.
Deep, give up your dead! Artificer, our isotope,
Redress our sea-strewn bodies in that tidal moment
When time is vanquished and action is an athlete's poise
Without a tremor and without time's gnawing torment!¹⁸

The box bespeaks the enchantress because it is ambiguous, it loiters,
and it attracts. It deceives the new-comer with evil consequences, but he
seeks, forlornly now, in this box of toys for the first enticement. Even
when he finds at the bottom a meaningless hope, enchantment was so desirable
that the disenchanting would be deceived again.

The poem is notable, not for any aesthetic appeal, but for the use of
symbol as substance. As an isotope, the box is scarcely distinguishable
from the mythical "element" which it symbolizes, the terrible aspect of
Pandora.

This "Pandora" is published in The Palisades of Fear containing other
mythological references metaphorically applied to modern life in bald,
brutal words of disillusionment in God and man.

The contents of the box in "Pandora" (1953) by Edgar Bogardus,
one-time pupil of Ransom in the Kenyon School, are as abominable as those
of Bottrall's box, but Bogardus, like Moore, has Pandora the sufferer for
her deed.

¹⁸ Ronald Bottrall, "Pandora," The Palisades of Fear (London, 1949).

Pandora, unquiet Eve of Greece,
At the door of Epimetheus arrived, fresh
From those gods that formed
Her for their curse, gave
Her their best goods, and sent
Her here with nothing but the box
Entrusted to her secret care.

Paradise was perfect, and Pandora,
Desirous with too much leisure,
Trifled with the lid of her
Abominable box, so
That the dirty wings
Of every pest, the diseased gush
That troubles blood,
And all initial pain,
The whispering tumult of her enterprise,
Flew out and stung their queen.

Pandora would have clawed her hair
And grasped her legs
And rocked and moaned
Forever
But that the box
Lay empty of its ills,
And on the bottom, smiling,
She saw hope,
Honeyed hope,
The last clandestine sting,
Its smothered wings
Black as any bug,
The giant horsefly of the years.¹⁹

Although Bogardus is thought to write with no poetical restraint,²⁰
the first and last phrases of this poem are effective contrasts in imagery,
"Pandora, unquiet Eve of Greece" and "the giant horsefly of the years,"
Hope.

Hope? Rossetti questioned, Moore shrugged, but Bottrall and Bogardus
deride.

Bogardus used mythology as witty and sophisticated allusions in "The
Rock Without Prometheus" and "Narcissus and Echo," also printed in

¹⁹ Edgar Bogardus, "Pandora," Various Jangling Keys (New Haven, 1953), p. 23.

²⁰ Ibid., Foreword by W. H. Auden.

Various Jangling Keys.

To note the progressively cynical implication in Pandora's box as a symbol in modern poems may be merely to comment on "modern poetry"; the implication may, however, indicate that the symbol is segmented, that each segment is a symbol of the symbol, having its own entity, the whole having lost nothing.

The symbolism in poetry reveals its mythical origin, but in fiction, both the box and its contents, even the Pandora name, may be only barely suggestive of myth.

Twice in short stories in this century Pandora's box is a hat-box. Joseph Noel wrote of a box containing a fragile chiffon hat accidentally exchanged on a bus for a similar box holding a mechanism which magnetizes nearby metal objects.²¹ "Pandora's Box" by Stephen McKenna is a Paris hat-box in which a butler smuggles champagne to the young Daventrys who thereby avoid the disapproval of Arthur's employer who might not give the young man a wished-for appointment if he knows the young couple drink. The heroine's name is Paula, not Pandora, but she has all the archetype's charms. If Pandora, the archetype, were the inspiration for Paula, it is in Pandora's newest, most sophisticated, yet charming and apparently consciously formed type.²²

The curiosity suggested in the Pandora archetype may appeal to the short story writer. It is the only archetypal trait of Miss Pandora Fulcher in A. C. Allenson's "Pandora the Resolute."²³ Curiosity is also

²¹ Joseph Noel, "Pandora's Box," Overland Monthly, LIV (Dec. 1909), pp. 590-593.

²² Stephen McKenna, "Pandora's Box" in Great English Short Stories ed. Melville and Hargreaves (New York, 1930), pp. 999-1011.

²³ A. C. Allenson, "Pandora the Resolute," Lippincott's Magazine (McBride's) (Nov. 1915), XCVI, pp. 74-82.

the characteristic of the heroine in "The Pandora Complex."²⁴

"Pandora's Box" holds a corpse in Richard Austin Freeman's story. Known as the best detective story writer in England, Dr. Freeman, who retains his surgery practice, has made his Dr. Thorndyke second only to Sherlock Holmes. "Pandora's Box" probably went through Dr. Freeman's laboratory where he carefully works out his plot solutions which are so efficient that his methods are frequently adopted by the British police.²⁵

None of the short stories cited develops the Pandora theme, and two novels since 1900 feature Pandora in the title without too much resemblance in either one between the heroine who bears the name and the archetype. The Pandora in the novel of Christopher Morley and Don Marquis becomes involved with a septuagenarian financier and a master bootlegger in an adventure comedy of smuggling and big business.²⁶ A. E. Reeve maneuvers Pandora in a similar plot. A venturesome heroine may have suggested the name to Morley and Marquis, but beauty seems to be the only excuse for the name of the tabloid heroine in the Reeve book.²⁷

This chapter shows that the Pandora symbol was used more often in poetry than in prose, but, with the exception of The Fire-Bringer, the twentieth century has not yet produced in literary art a Pandora theme acclaimed by critics as distinguished. In poetry, the figure or the vessel is a significant symbol; the symbol may even be the essence of the poem, but the allusions in prose seem, on a whole, commonplace, referring

²⁴ Frederick Irving Anderson, "The Pandora Complex," The Saturday Evening Post, vol. 204, May 7, 1932, pp. 10-11, 34-38, 42.

²⁵ Richard Austin Freeman, "Pandora's Box" in The Dr. Thorndyke Omnibus. (New York, 1932), pp. 170-198.

²⁶ Christopher Morley and Don Marquis, Pandora Lifts the Lid (New York, 1924).

²⁷ Arthur B. Reeve, Pandora. (New York, 1926).

more often to the box than to the enchantress. The box itself has archetypal status of ambivalent nature. It may indicate hope or disaster; it may imply merely curiosity on the part of the opener. The contents of the box may be abstract or concrete, or they may signify the unknown.

Chapter VIII

Surveying the examples of the use of the Pandora symbol in English and American literature which have been cited discloses:

1. Twenty-five poems, sixteen of which make direct use of the symbol and one of which is comic treatment
2. One poetic comedy
3. One poetic burlesque
4. One masque
5. Two "serious" comedies with Pandora allusions
6. Three novels
7. Two children's stories
8. Five short stories with Pandora allusions.

Among the forty examples found, twenty-two represent direct uses of the symbol. Three tell of Pandora in the Promethean theme; eight, recount her creation; seventeen, her endowment; four, the warning against accepting Pandora as a gift; eight, the acceptance of Pandora; and sixteen, the opening of the box and the consequences. The other eighteen uses are allusive to parts of the myth; ten are to Pandora's endowment, five of which are remote; one, the warning against accepting Pandora; and two, the opening of the vessel. Among remote references are three allusions to the contents of the box and two to Pandora's curiosity. Such a numerical count indicates that the endowment of the enchantress and the fatality of the box particularly appeal to the creative imagination. The numbers also indicate that, independent of the Promethean theme, the Pandora myth tends to be repeated in imaginative literature.

This study shows that Pandora as a decorative figure, without emphasis on the box, appealed to early writers, that the Pandora myth, like other mythology, has been subject to the literary tradition, appearing less frequently in literature when mythology was frowned upon but constantly recurring, and that the enchantress and the box attract writers who vary from mediocrity to genius. If the box is mentioned more often recently than Pandora, [it may be as a "segment of the symbol," or] it may be that the right genius, as Douglas Bush would say, has not been born.¹

Nineteen of the thirty-eight writers who use the symbol are known to have (had) classical interests, and eight of the nineteen may be said to have given serious thematic treatment to the Pandora symbol: Sayers, Hervey, Blackie, Rossetti, Aitken, Longfellow, Moody, and de Tabley.

In this latter group, the psychological critic may detect partly unconscious archetypal symbolism of Pandora in the poetry of Rossetti, Longfellow, and Moody. In prose, the serious thematic allusion in James' Pandora and the fanciful re-telling of the myth in Hawthorne's "The Paradise of Children" and in Kingsley's The Water-Babies indicate the greatest possibility of the unconscious use of symbolism.

As few writers consciously present myths as symbols of the unconscious, the plots are almost always the same as the myths on which they are based.² The stability of the Pandora motif is, therefore, not surprising. New implications, new explanations, new lights on character, remodeled values, motives, and results—all credible angles—³ require creative imagination.

¹ Bush, Mythology and the Romantic Tradition, p. 5.

² Hight, pp. 525-533.

³ Ibid., p. 522.

We may conclude that at moments when the gods intervene,⁴ the provocative Pandora archetype is an unconscious reaction, consciously moulded in art, a symbol of the desires which all mankind feels but does not acknowledge.⁵

⁴ Jung, Two Essays on Analytical Psychology, p. 111.

⁵ Hight, p. 523.

Appendix A
Parts of the Pandora Myth Used Imaginatively
(x) indicates remote

	Direct Use	Allusion	Remote Allusion	Promethean Theme	Creation	Endowment	Warning Against Accepting Gift	Acceptance of Gift	Opening Vessel	Curiosity Only as Pandora Trait	Name for Container
Sixteenth Century											
Woman in the Moone	x				x	x					
Amoretti		x				x					
Tears of Muses		x				x					
Shepherd's Garland	x	x				x					
Old Fortunatus		x				x					
Soliman and Perseda		x				x					
Seventeenth Century											
Paradise Lost		x				x			x		
Alchemist		x				(x) (x) (x)				x	
Rival Friends			x								
Pandora or Converts			x								
Eighteenth Century											
Hesiod: or Rise Pandora, Sayers	x				x	x		x	x		
Nineteenth Century											
Olympian Revels	x				x	x		x	x		
Bride's Tragedy		x				x					
Mercury and Pandora	x					x			x		
Pandora (Blackie)	x			x		x			x		
Pandora (Rossetti)	x					x			x		
Pandora (Attkin)	x					x			x		
Water-Babies	x					x			x		
Paradise of Children	x					x			x		
Trasque of Pandora	x					x			x		

	Direct Use	Allusion	Remote Allusion	Promethean Theme	Creation	Endowment	Warning Against Accepting Gift	Acceptance of Gift	Opening Vessel	Curiosity Only as Pandora Trait	Name for Container
Epimetheus	x					x					
Pandora (James)	?		x			(x)	x				
Twentieth Century											
Pandora (de Tabley)	x				x	x			x		
Pandora (Cox)	x					x					
Fire-Bringer	x			x		x					
Prometheus Pyrophoros	x	x		x		x					
Pandora's Box (Sitwell1)								x	x		
Pandora (Arnall)	x								x		
Casket of Pandora	x								x		
Pandora and the Moon	x								x		
Pandora (Bottrall)	x								x		
Pandora (Bogardus)	x					x			x		
Prose	22	8	10	3	8	27	5	8	18	3	3
			7			(xx)				(xx)	(xxx)

Appendix B

The Pandora Figure and Name in Literature

Elizabethan Age

Poetry

Lyly--comic figure for adornment

Spenser--beautiful evil, divinely endowed

Drayton--divinely endowed, decorative

Dekker--divinely endowed

Kyd--chaste

Drama

Johnson--"curious"

Seventeenth Century

Poetry

Milton--beautiful evil, divinely endowed

Drama

Hastard

Name to suggest

Killigrew

royally endowed

Eighteenth Century

Poetry

Farnell--comic, decorative figure

Sayers--the archetypal enchantress

Nineteenth Century

Poetry

Planché--comic, decorative figure

Beddoes--name, allusion to beauty and life

Hervey--inspirational figure

Blackie--archetypal enchantress

Rossetti--archetypal enchantress

Aitken--archetypal enchantress

Longfellow--archetypal enchantress

Prose

Kingsley--fanciful, "good" aspect of archetype

Hawthorne--juvenile archetypal enchantress

James--figure, suggestive of archetypal enchantress

Twentieth Century

Poetry

de Tabley--archetypal enchantress

Cox--conventional conception of enchantress

Moody--transformed, inspirational figure

Stickney--transformed, inspirational figure

Arnall--conventional conception of enchantress

Zaturenska--possibly figure in medieval symbol, tree

Moore--modern version of archetypal figure

Bottrall--suggestive fusion of box and figure in terrible aspect

Bogardus--the archetypal enchantress

Prose

Allenson

name to suggest curiosity

Anderson

Morley

name to suggest beauty
and enterprise

Reeve

Appendix C

The Contents of Pandora's Box in Literary Examples

Elizabethan Age

Ben Jonson--ills of mankind

Eighteenth Century Poetry

Parnell--old age, sickness, and divorce

Sayers--Bloody Strife, Gnawing Care, Pride, Hatred, Despair and Hope

Nineteenth Century Poetry

Planche--clouds and fiends, Hope

Blackie--fumes, clouds, stenches and Hope, a sorry charmer

Rossetti--fiery-winged, ill-born things, and Hope

Aitken--ills and Hope

Longfellow--mists, evils, and Hope

Nineteenth Century Prose

Kingsley--seventeen items including three diseases, and Hope

Hawthorne--Winged Cares, Troubles, Sorrows, Diseases, and Hope

Twentieth Century Poetry

Cox--blessings and Hope

Sitwell--a letter

Arnall--bats, owls, fiendish forms, and Hope

Zaturenska--unopened

Moore--worrisome animalcules

Bottrall--symptoms of disease and half-starved hope

Bogardus--winged pests and a horse-fly Hope

Twentieth Century Fiction

Noel--a chiffon hat; a magnet

McKenna--champagne

Freeman--a corpse

Appendix D
Writers Using the Pandora Symbol Known or Thought (?)
to Have Classical Interests

Elizabethan Age

John Lyly

Michael Drayton

Edmund Spenser

Thomas Doldor

Thomas Kyd

Ben Jonson

Seventeenth Century

John Milton

William Killigrow (?)

Eighteenth Century

Thomas Parnell

Frank Sayers

Nineteenth Century

Thomas R. Planché

Thomas Lovell Beddoes

John Stuart Blackie

Isabel Aiken

Charles Kingsley

Nathaniel Hawthorne

Henry W. Longfellow

Twentieth Century

Lord de Tabley

William Vaughan Moody

Trumbull Stickney

Edith Sitwell (?)

Agnes Arnall (?)

Ronald Bottrill (?)

Edgar Bogardus (?)

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